

LANGUAGE, IDENTITY AND IDEOLOGY IN SELECTED ÈDO (BINI) GUILDS

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CERTIFICATION

I certify that this research was carried out by Aigbedo Ighasere William in the Department of Linguistics and African Languages, Faculty of Arts, University of Ibadan, Nigeria, under my supervision.

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DEDICATION

To the memory of my late father, Johnson Nosakhare Aigbedo, may his gentle soul and the souls of all the faithful departed through the mercy of God rest in peace, Amen.

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To God, be all the glory for leading me thus far in this intellectual journey; honour and adoration to His holy name. My sincere gratitude to my mentor and supervisor, Professor H. Igboanusi, who was always there for me in the course of the initiation and completion of this work, directing every step of the work and every aspect of my intellectual life. May God richly bless him and his family Sir, Amen.

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ABSTRACT

The Edo guilds system is a professional body associated with the Edo (Bini) socio-cultural and political institutions revolving around the monarch. Extant studies on this system have essentially concentrated on its historical development and cultural features, with little attention paid to members' discursive practices. This study was, therefore, designed to investigate the forms of expressions used among the guilds' members, with a view to identifying and describing the markers of self identity and the ideological underpinnings behind language use.

van Dijk's Socio-cognitive Representation Model of Critical Discourse Analysis and Bucholtz and Hall's Sociocultural Linguistic Approach were adopted as framework. Ethnographic design was used. Three guilds (Ematon 'iron', Eronmwọ 'bronze' and Ogbelaka 'singers') out of the 46 that exist in Bini were selected using purposive sampling, while taking cognizance of traditional political restriction. Key informant interviews were conducted with five coordinators of the guilds, two each from Ematon and Eronmwọ and one from Ogbelaka as the first two had two coordinators each, while the latter had one. Non-participant observation was used with other members of the guilds in their respective workshops and meeting places. Data were subjected to discourse and register analyses.

The *òtù ìgún* (the Association of craftsmen) term, as opposed to *ogboi* (non-members), is a generic marker of self identity among the different guilds in Bini. The guilds expressed the following ideologies: patriarchal, gender, ethnic, purist and relevance. The first two were expressed thus: *Ne imẹvbe ta ovbehe, ovbidigun ruẹ ore emọ okpia ne ó rro nọ, emọ ikhuo I ruẹ ore. ọmọ ne okpia biẹrẹ nọ, ẹrẹ ọmọ ne ikhuo bi evbe egbe igun, Íràn I kue. ó má u ruẹse* (that it is only the male children of the guild (*idigun*), who are from the father's side, that can learn this craft). This is a reflection of the patriarchal nature and gender restriction associated with the guilds' ideological and identity projection. The ethnic ideology expressed by the guilds consists in their employment of figurative and complex constructions in order to conceal their activities from other members of the Edo public. This is illustrated by the expression, *Ítán à fí mà rẹn Edo, ọgbòí á gbé ẹró má* (One uses a proverb when speaking to an Edo person but it is a novice that needs further explanation of the meaning of the proverb). The purist ideology is conveyed through the use of certain terms identifiable with the older variety of Edo as a linguistic strategy for the expression of the groups' identity. *Gbè* (to spread), *Rùé* (to fix or arrange), *Àkpá* (a coil of bronze), *Ọná* (art work) are some of the terms from the guilds' register. The relevance ideology is portrayed by the use of the term, *ùkọ ọbá* (the monarch's representative) to the Edo public. The guilds' interactional strategies exist to maintain the prestige of the group and project their relevance in Bini as associates of the monarch.

The Edo (Bini) guilds system portrays linguistic identity and ideological structures that demonstrate its sociocultural significance.

Keywords: Edo guilds, Linguistic identity and ideology, Occupational register

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ABBREVIATIONS

AE	Advanced Edo
AUX	Auxiliary Element
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CE	Common Edo
EC	Ethnolinguistic Community
ELT	Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory
ELVT	Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory
FGT	Figurative Translation
FT	Free Translation
GAT	Gesprachsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem (Conversation Analytic transcriptionssystem)
GE	Guild Edo
LG	Lexical Gap
LT	Literal Translation
LXT	Lexical Translation
SIT	Social Identity Theory
SL	Source Language
ST	Source Text
TL	Target Language
TT	Target Text

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

The relationship between language and society has triggered a lot of attention since 1960, with the publication of such works as: ‘Social identity and intergroup behaviour’ by Tajfel (1974), ‘Towards a theory of language in ethnic group relations’ by Giles et. al. (1977), ‘The social identity theory of intergroup behavior’ by Tajfel and Turner (1986) and ‘Language and Social Identity’ by Gumperz (1982) to mention but a few have provided different accounts of social and cultural impacts on language studies emerging in different academic publications all over the world. Thus rather than see language as a mere reflection of society, recent work has been increasingly inspired by ideas drawn from social, cultural, and political theories that have emphasized the constitutive role played by language and discourse in all areas of social life (Johnson & Milani, 2010)

The aforementioned development has contributed to the existence of a lot of extant studies on the of ideology and identity especially as they manifest in aspects of language use by any social group. These studies are often accompanied with extensive theorization of the underlying concepts of discourse, context and general social behaviour. There have been scholars who have seen these concepts as the different ways of conventionalized social reaction to abnormal social behaviour. 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, 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 present study examines the Edo guild system with reference to the concepts of ideology and identity as emergent issues from language use. There exist very few works on the social

or sociolinguistic aspects of Edo (Benin) language especially from the perspective of group and intergroup relations and the cultural aspects of language use. The present study seeks to account for the discourse patterns of the guilds in the Edo (Benin) society in the course of the groups' discursive practices with a view to discerning their ideological orientation and the process of identity construction through the group's social activities.

The concepts of identity and ideology fall within the grouping of linguistics in the social realm and represent the major theme of any ethnolinguistic investigation. These two concepts are highly connected yet maintain some levels of distinction and are often used in association with each other in most studies in Sociolinguistics (Ajayi, 2015). The theory of social identity can be traced to the works of Tajfel (1975, 1978). It emerged some decades ago as a socio-psychological concept for theorizing social processes (Capozza and Brown 2002). It is a theory about the self with emphasis on individual and group distinction in any social setting.

This study intends to describe the guilds from a sociolinguistic perspective as markers of social identity in the Edo (Benin) society. The study also evaluates the ideological foundations of the Edo (Benin) society responsible for the creation of this complex social institutions and professions. The study is therefore concerned with the interaction of ideology, identity and variation in the Edo (Benin) society and how this in turn affects the use of the language. Emphasis will be on the ideological features of the Edo (Benin) society which create such group identities as the 'Guild' whose discourse is being considered in this research. In addition to the above position, the study examines the cultural ideology of the Edo (Benin) society with respect to how this has triggered the evolution of different groups' identities with their own varieties of the language (sociolect). It is important to mention here, that the guilds use a specialized register, which is a reflection of their differing activities in the society.

1.2 The Edo (Bini) People

The label 'Edo' was introduced during the mid 15th century when the then Oba, Ewuare I named the Kingdom, known then as 'UBenin,' after his friend and saviour 'Edo' as a result of the love shown by the latter to the Oba. As this name had not gone into popular circulation as at the time of the Portuguese arrival, towards the end of Oba Ewuare's reign, the land and people were referred to in their accounts and documents as 'Benin' from 'Ubini' which was the well-known name of the place then and this became known to the outside world. The

result of the above mentioned historical event led to the use of the two names simultaneously as Edo-Benin with the former referring to the people and language while the latter refers to the seat of government and the monarchy. This position was finally ceiled in 2007 when the former Monarch, Oba Erediauwa recommended the use of the term 'Edo (Benin)' especially as reference is always made to the two names when talking about the people and the language (Oluya, 2012).

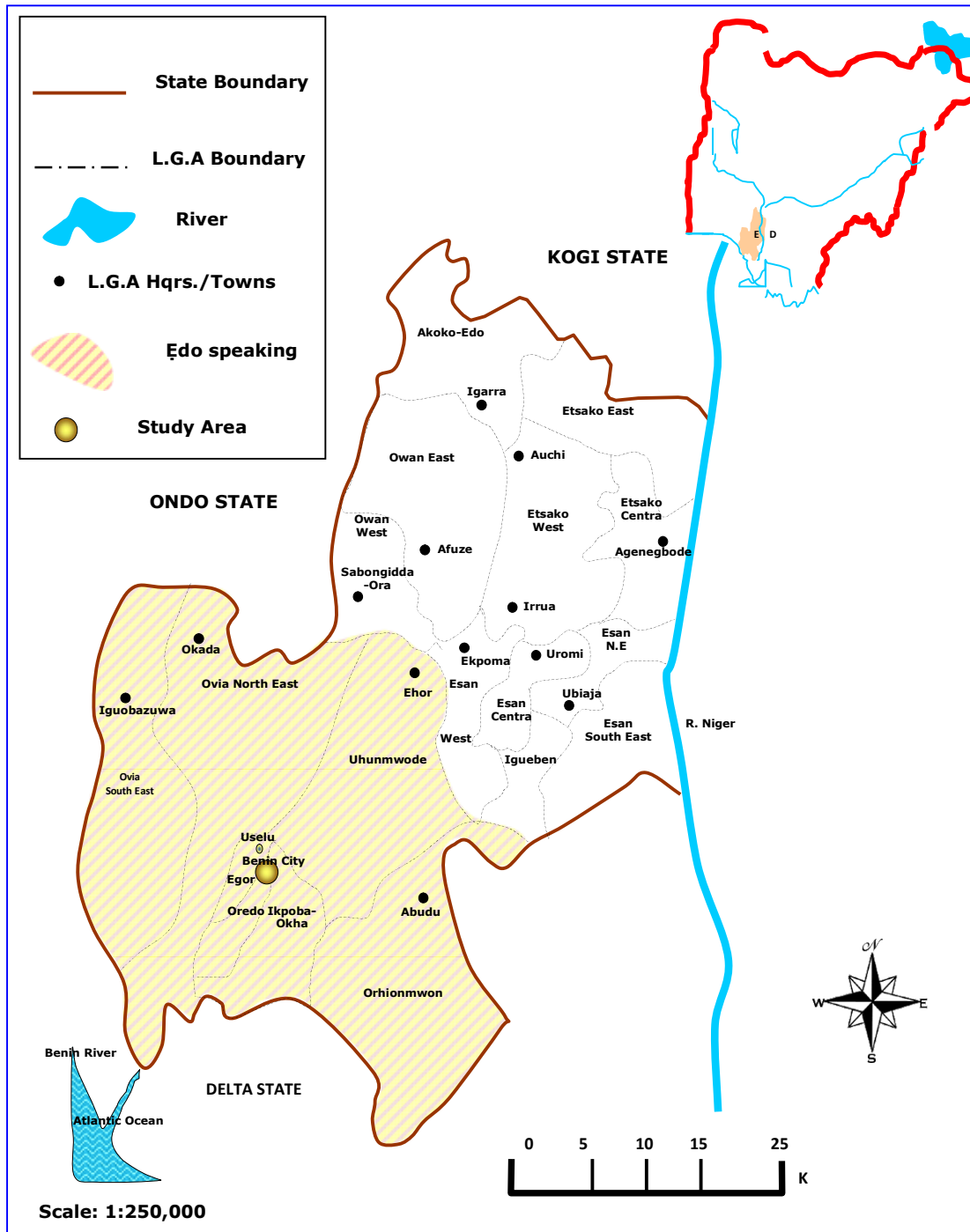
Edo is a state in Nigeria with Benin City as capital. It is made up of four major ethnic groups; namely Edo (Benins), Esan, Owan and Etsako. However the State has a high presence of residents from across the country and the world because of its cosmopolitan tendencies. Benin City the capital has a history of being one of the foremost destinations of Europeans during their exploration of the African continent 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. During the Nigerian Civil War, the Biafran forces invaded the new Mid-Western state, en route to Lagos, in an attempt to force a quick end to the war. While under Biafran occupation, the state was declared as the "Republic of Benin" as Nigerian forces were to retake the region. The republic collapsed a day after the declaration as Nigerian troops overtook Benin City. Edo State was formed on August 27, 1991 when Bendel State was split into Edo and Delta States (Oluya, 2012). A lot of communities and indeed the ruling dynasties in all the clans in the aforementioned states trace their roots to the ancient kingdom of Benin. Cultural similarities are in the areas of religious worships, folk-lore, dances, and festivals, traditional modes of dressing, arts and craft. The political pattern and behaviour are based on a situation where both the monarchial and republican ideas flourished in an integrated manner. The colourful traditional festivals in the state manifest its rich cultural heritage. Critical among these are the Igue and Ekaba festivals done among the Benins and manhood initiation (age groups) by the Etsako people. 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 (NPC, 2006), 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 Edo (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) Ego, with headquarters at Urelu
- 2) Ikpoba-Okha, with headquarters at Idogbo
- 3) Oredo, with headquarters in Benin City
- 4) Orhionmwo, with headquarters at Abudu
- 5) Ovia-North-East, with headquarters at Okada
- 6) Ovia-South-West, with headquarters at Iguobazuwa
- 7) Uhunmwode, with headquarters at Ehor

Fig. I: Map of Edo State Showing the Study Area

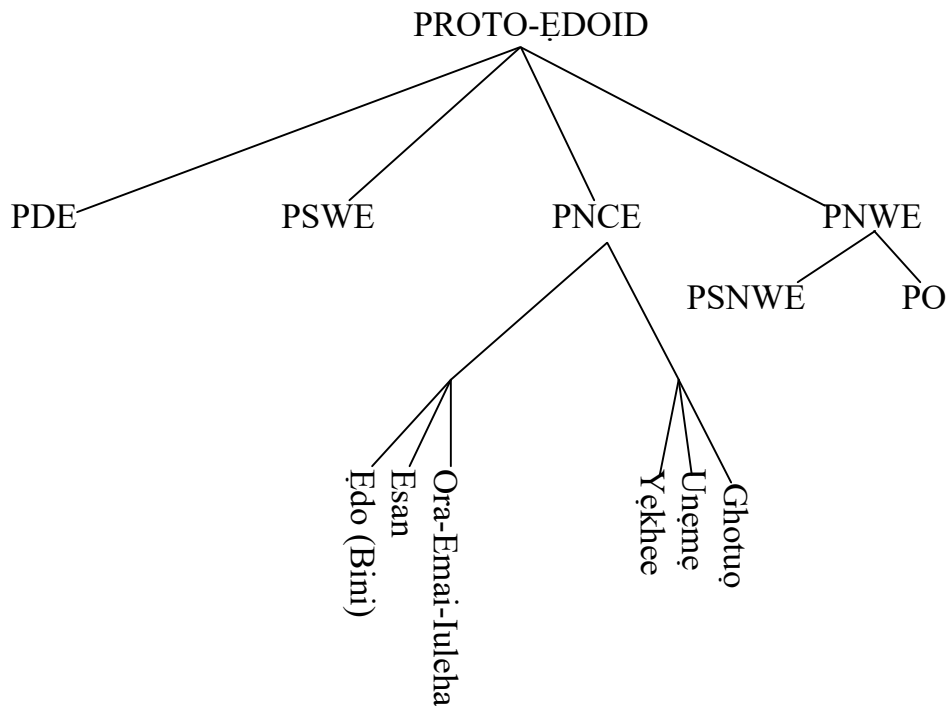


Source: Ministry of Lands and Survey, Benin City 2016

1.3 The Ẹdo (Bini) language

As stated before now, Ẹdo (Benin) refers to the language used by the people 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. This therefore places Ẹdo (and Ẹdoid languages generally) in the same group with Yoruboid, Akokoid, Igbooid, Nupoid and others. A schema of this latest classification of the language is presented below alongside that of Elugbe:

Fig.II Proto Ẹdoid family tree

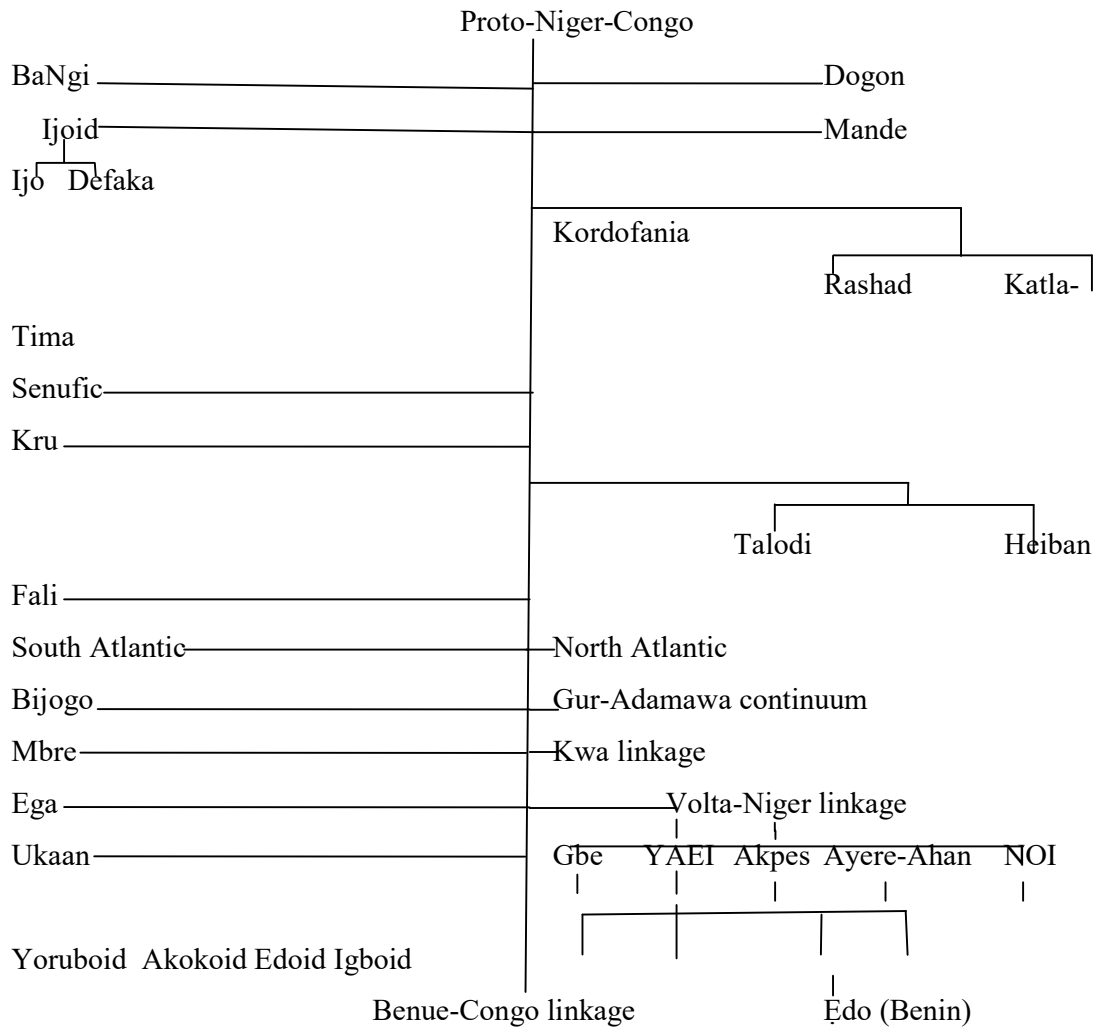


Key:

- P.E – Proto Ẹdoid
- PDE –Proto – Delta – Ẹdoid
- PSWE- Proto South Western Ẹdoid
- PNCE – Proto North Central Ẹdoid
- PNWE- Proto North Western Ẹdoid
- PSNWE- Proto South North Western Ẹdoid
- P.O- Proto Osse

(Adapted from Agheyisi, 1986:vii)

Fig. III Williamson and Blench (2000) Re-classification of Niger-Congo Languages



Key:

YAEI: Yoruboid, Akokoid, Edoid and Igboid

NOI: Nupoid, Okoid, Idomoid

(cited from Nurse, et. al. 2016:15)

The Edo language has a well-developed writing system, which is as a result of the activities of early Christian missionaries and other linguists like Melzian (1937), Egharevba (1966), and so on. The present orthography, which is widely used and referred to as the ‘Standard Edo Orthography’, was based on the recommendation of an Ad-hoc Committee on the

language at the University of Lagos in 1974. This has been modified to its present form by Omozuwa (2010) and is the one adopted for this study.

Èdo is also like other African languages, a tonal language which operates a level tone pattern consisting basically of a High Tone ['] and a Low Tone [ˊ], which are used distinctively. There is also the presence of a contour tone like the Rising Tone [ˊ] and a Falling Tone [ˋ] which are also distinctive in the language.

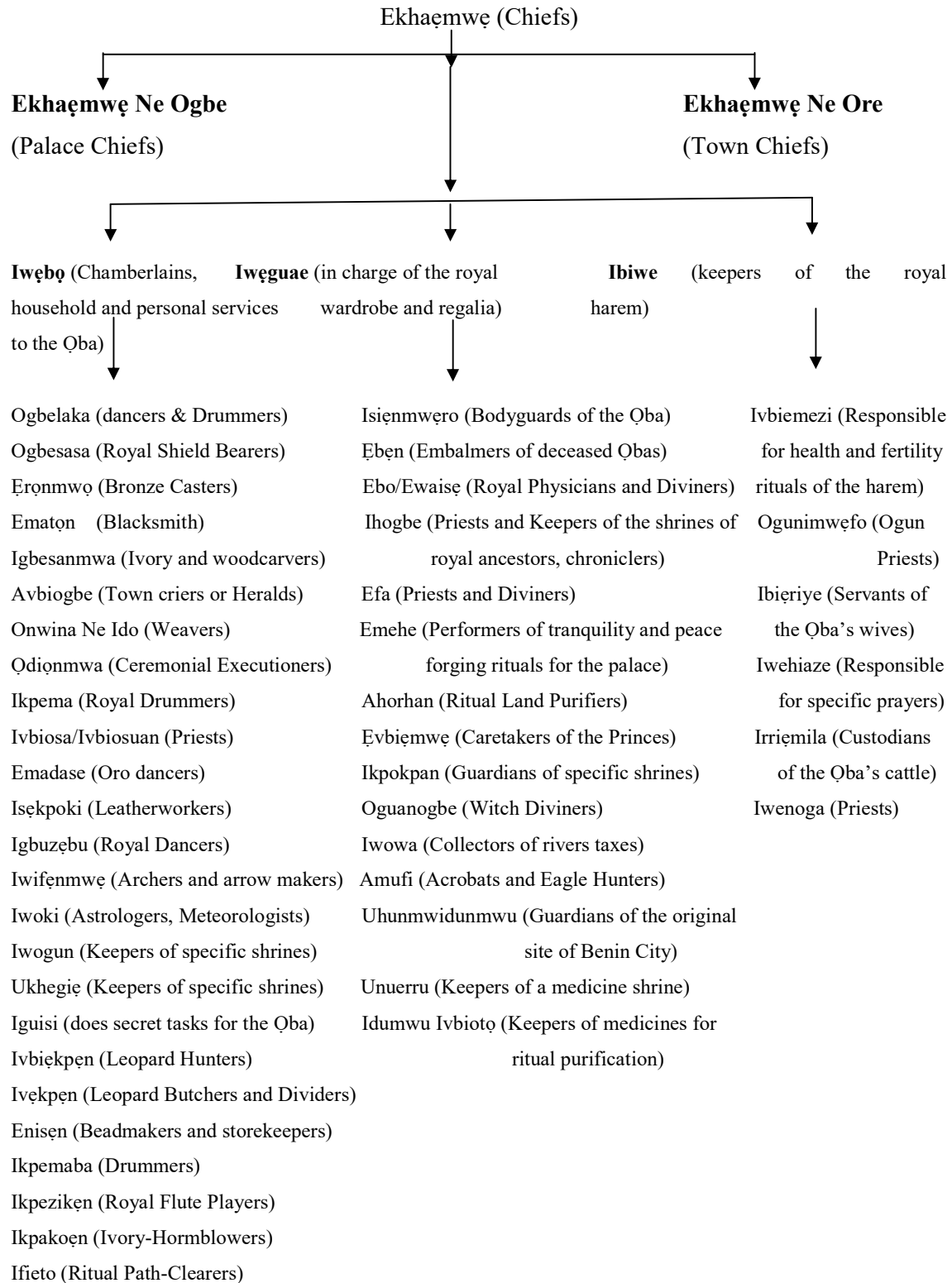
1.4 The Socio-cultural Organization of the Èdo (Bini) society

The Èdo (Benin) society is highly structured and compartmentalized in a hierarchical order with the ọ̀mọ́ *Ne Oba* 'Monarch' at the centre of political, socio-cultural and economic administration. The ọ̀mọ́ *Ne Oba* 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 *Odionwere* (eldest man) becomes the administrator of such a village or town. These people owe allegiance to the ọ̀mọ́ *Ne Oba* and his chiefs in Benin City. Politically, the Èdo (Benin) society which, centres around *the ọ̀mọ́ Ne Oba* and his palace, is organized into three major departments or palace societies as they are popularly called as follows: *Iwẹ̀bọ*, *Iwẹ̀guae* and *Ibiwe* (see meanings in Fig.IV below). These are powerful political, economic and social organs, whose services ensure the effective administration of both the palace and the kingdom (Eweka, 1992:12).

These societies which also represent the major divisions in the palace (*ugha*) and the members known as *otu* 'group/mates' are highly revered and their activities not open to the public as it is only the ọ̀mọ́ *Ne Oba* (Monarch) that has free access to all of them. They are also institutions for the recruiting and training of personnels for specific assignments in the palace and the Èdo (Benin) society at large. It is to these palace societies, particularly those of *Iwẹ̀bọ*, *Iwẹ̀guae* and *Ibiwe* (their descriptions are given in Fig. IV below) that the guilds in the Èdo (Benin) society are affiliated. These guilds were initially set up to administer craftsmen who were before then scattered all over the ancient Benin Kingdom. So by organizing and situating them in different quarters in the city, it became easy to protect their trade and services to the palace with non-members firmly 'fenced out' (Plankensteiner, 2008). This act also helped the palace to maintain good standard of craft as a leadership hierarchy was introduced to supervise production. The different products from the guilds remained royal property and production only takes place by royal permission or decree.

The guilds hold a monopoly of their products and services and membership were and are still hereditary (Egharevba, 1956). Their specialized services ensure that membership is not accessible to all. The rules of secrecy concerning their skills apply and tradition limits the exposure of details and restricts interference by non-members. There are several accounts and controversies surrounding the actual number of guilds that exist in the Edo (Benin) society. For the purpose of the present study, we will adopt the position of Plankeinsteiner (2010), which placed the total number of all the guilds under the three palace societies at forty-six (46). This we have been able to confirm with our respective informants and their distributions and organization are represented by the schema below:

Fig IV: Socio-Cultural Structure of the Edo (Benin) society
Omọ Ne Oba ne Edo (Oba of Benin)



(Adapted from Eweka, 1992:12)

The above representation shows that there are very many of these guilds in the Edo (Benin) society but due to modernization, many of the guilds have gone into extinction while the duties of others have been modified to reflect contemporary times. This and some other factors motivated this research to, among other things; provide an effective account and documentation of the socio, cultural and linguistic relevance of these groups in the Edo (Benin) society.

1.5 The Edo Guild System

In this section, a general introduction and a brief description of these guilds are provided with the aim of giving us the needed insights into the nature of their activities. We present in a hierarchical order based on the pattern of relevance in the Edo (Benin) society as follows:

1.5.1 Igun Eronmwọ (Bronze casters)

This guild represents the association of the brass and bronze casters and are organized and located in Igun Street along Sokponba Road in the Benin metropolis. Their activities are deeply rooted in the ritualization of bronze casting through the system of loss wax. This professional body of craftsmen often casts objects such as the heads and figures of past and present Oba, Chiefs, dignitaries, and other symbols of royal authorities, which is one of the ways of preserving the values of the Edo (Benin) society.

1.5.2 Igun Úgbòhà/Èmàtọ́n (Blacksmith)

This guild represents the group of the blacksmiths, who are organized into four units or departments such as: *Igunekhwa*, *Eyaenugie*, *Igun ne ugboha* and *Iguniwegie* in the Benin metropolis. These craftsmen smelt iron and cut them into smaller pieces for the production of various iron tools and war implements such as hoe, cutlass, sickle, axe, chain, javeline and others. The division of work among these blacksmiths and their grade structure depends largely on whether an individual's father is alive and a distinction is normally made between the elders, youths and children. The elders are therefore referred to as *Ediọ́n*, comprising the *Okhaemwẹ ne Idigun ne Ugboha* 'The principal Chief of the Blacksmiths'. The youths who have been prepared for apprenticeship and have attained the age of nineteen (19) and above are referred to as *Ivbiotumwẹ*.

1.5.3 Igun Ogbelaka (Royal Musician)

This guild comprises the professionals in the performative art of singing, drumming and dancing. They typically perform for the Oba ‘Monarch’ in his palace during ceremonies and annual festivals, which mark the events of the past. Chief Obamwoyi is the head of this guild and it consists of sixteen groups with the following principal members: *Eleha, Eso Izegbo, Ewa, Ikpewini, Nekighudu, Oghagua* and *Igbe uzu*. The guild also comprises of the following Chiefs in the Edo (Benin) society: *Ohonba, Agbomwoba, Oyarioba, Obamedo ne Ogbelaka* and *Efesoghoba*. It is actually one of the most important guilds in the Edo (Benin) society as the monarch cannot embark on any ceremony, rite or public activity without involving the services of this guild.

1.6 Statement of the research problem

There currently are no studies on the ideology and identity patterns of the Edo (Benin) language and society. A majority of the studies that have been carried out on the guilds tend to concentrate on the cultural and historical aspects and not the linguistic aspect of this social phenomenon in the Edo (Benin) society. In other words, several studies have explored the cultural, political, economic and artistic dimensions of the Edo guild system without examining it from the linguistic perspective. This is because the use of language by the guilds serves as the main distinguishing factor between members of this socio-cultural and economic institution and other Edo speakers.

There is also the issue of several controversies and opinions as to what constitutes the guild system in Edo and their place in the political, socio-cultural, economic and linguistic lives of the Edo (Benin) people. Previous studies on the guilds like Egharevba (1956), Plankensteiner (2008), Osagie and Ikponmwosa (2015) and Diamond (2015) have attempted to account for guilds in different dimensions: cultural, political and artistic thereby compounding the problem of properly situating the guild within the Edo (Benin) society.

Diamond (2015) made a claim in a survey of the guilds’ use of Edo language that there is practically no mutual intelligibility between their speech and that of the average Edo speaker. This view is now being considered by the present research as highly lacking in the specification of the linguistic status of the guilds. This is more so as while the guilds may employ certain linguistic devices and or markers to distinguish members from non-members in interaction, this cannot be thought of as variation rather it is a representation of certain

beliefs of the guilds members which has more to do with the elevation of social status and relevance. This research by Diamond was also of the opinion that the guilds medium of interaction pertaining to their use of Edo language constitutes a distinct variety of the language which is not backed by any detailed comparative or lexicostatistic evidence or analysis to buttress this position. This conclusion was arrived at based on aspect of the guilds' history (particularly that of the bronze casters) which claimed that they came from Ile-Ife (Eghareva, 1956).

As a result of these non-linguistic and linguistic examinations of the guild system in the Edo society and the matters arising from their positions, the need therefore arose for a proper linguistic investigation and documentation of the guild system from the perspective of the discourses of their members. This need is based on the detailed evaluation of the linguistic practices of the guild members in the course of groups' interaction with the main emphasis on the strategies of expressing their ideologies and constructing identities. It is of great importance not only to account for the ways and manners of language utilization by the guilds but to also be able to explain the basis for the use of certain expressions which are expected to obscure the intended interpretation of such expression from non-members.

1.7 Aim and objectives of the study

The main thrust of this research is to investigate the discursive practices of the members of the Edo guilds as a distinct social group in the society by exploring the linguistic resources available to the group. The specific objectives are:

1. To identify the linguistic devices/markers prevalent in the discourse of the guilds for the purpose of expressing the groups' ideology,
2. To examine the types of language ideologies expressed by the guilds,
3. To describe the processes of groups' identity construction in the guilds from a socio-cultural linguistic perspective,
4. To explain the motivating factor(s) in the expression of groups' ideology and construction of identity by the guilds.
5. To present the differences that exist between the register of the guilds and the Edo used by the general public.

1.8 Research questions

This research was guided for the purpose of analysis by the following questions:

1. What linguistic devices/markers do the guilds employ in their discourse for the expression of groups' ideology?
2. What language ideologies are expressed by the guilds?
3. How is language identity constructed by the guilds?
4. What are the factors responsible for the nature of the guilds' ideological expression and identity construction through discourse? And
5. What differences/variation exists between the guilds' register and the Edo used by the general public?

1.9 Scope of the study

This study focuses on some social and linguistic features of the Edo (Benin) society especially with respect to its trade organizations known as the 'Guild Systems' and their use of Edo (Benin) language in the course of their transactions. This study surveys the Edo guild systems with emphasis on the interaction of ideology with identity and the effect of the former on the creation of the latter. This is motivated by the desire for a focused research as the guilds could be examined from several angles (even within linguistics). The study is restricted to the guild system in the Edo (Benin) society from the perspectives of language use, ideology and identity.

The study focuses on just three (03) of them, Igun Èmátòn (Blacksmith), Igun Ogbelaka (Royal Musician/Entertainers) and Igun Èròmwo (Bronze casters) of the guilds in Edo. The reasons for this are two-fold: first, these are the guilds with a lot of functions in the palace and still highly relevant to the Edo (Benin) society with a rich register. Secondly, due to the restriction of access to many of the guilds in the Edo (Benin) society, it was only possible to assess these three. It was as a result of this and the desire to concentrate our study on Benin metropolis (as some of the other guilds exist outside Benin City) that the researcher decided to restrict the scope of this work to just three of the guilds that exist in the Edo (Benin) society.

1.10 Significance of the study

This study is intended to be a comprehensive and enlightning investigation in the area of the interaction between ideology, identity and variation with special reference to the use of the

Edo (Benin) language in a functional sphere. It contributes to a proper understanding of the socio-cultural structure of the Edo (Benin) society and how this affects language use in intergroup relationships.

The research contributes to a proper understanding of the sociolinguistic features of the Edo (Benin) society. The fact that there is a hierarchical organization of institutions thereby creating different social groups is worthy of mention in this regard as this will help to comprehend the complex structure that gave rise to the existence of a functional variety of the Edo (Benin) language.

Above all, the study is significant as an ethnolinguistic evaluation of the guilds in the Edo (Benin) society acting as the conveyers of distinct group identities based on functional utilisation of language and distribution. This will be of great help to both the social and ethnolinguistic identities enterprises as more insight is provided to the cultural relevance of language in uniting ideology with identity for the purpose of intergroup relation and cooperation.

1.11 Organisation of the work

This research is structured into five (05) chapters handling the different aspects of our investigations for a proper and detailed account of the different levels of the study. Chapter one in this regard handles the introductory part of the work with focus on the background to the research, research problems, and objectives of the research, the scope of the investigation and the significance of the investigation undertaken in this study. Chapter two introduces us to the different literatures on the basic concepts of our investigation which the present study seeks to exploit and fill in the gaps observed as well as the theoretical approaches guiding the conduct of the present investigation. Chapter three ushers us to the means, how, why and methods employed for the purpose of getting the data for the study and the analytical tools/method utilized in the interpretation of these data. Chapter four chaperoned the presentation and analysis of our data from the perspectives of ideological expression with focus on the different linguistic strategies employed to portray the groups' ideology and that of the identity creation where the different discourse strategies for the construction of members' linguistic identities are examined and discussed. Finally, Chapter five summarizes all the presentations, examinations and discussions thus far in the study and highlights the

different findings arrived out with a note of recommendation/suggestions for further investigation after which the curtain is drawn on the study through the conclusion.

1.12 Chapter summary

We have presented in this chapter, an insight into the primary pre-occupation of the study. By looking at the setting of the study, the aims, research questions, scope and significance , the stage is set for an evaluation of the different issues raised at this preliminary stage in the research.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter surveys and evaluates the different researches, investigations and scholarly accounts associated with the key concepts of this study which are: ideology, identity, variation, language choice and attitudes in that order. It also involves the presentation of the theoretical framework(s) for the analysis of the data for the study. We will therefore start by looking at the different concepts for a proper understanding of the direction of the study and then the theoretical model within which the data collected will be presented and discussed.

2.2 Previous studies

It is on record that quite a few investigations have been carried out on the guild system both in the Edo (Benin) language and a related language, Yoruba. There also exist a lot of literatures covering the concepts of ideology, identity and variation either as separate entities or joint issues in sociolinguistics particularly in ethnographic studies. These are themes dwelling on the ever important issues of discourse structure, social hegemony and variation at the individual (idiolectal), regional (dialectal) and social (sociolectal) levels in the society. In this section, we will be carrying out a critical appraisal of some of the published opinions on the aforementioned themes of ideology and identity while demonstrating how these themes are linked to the general goal and focus of the present study. We also show, based on these studies, the interaction between ideology and identity and the place of variation as a consequence of this interaction between both concepts. These investigations provide useful insights and background information on the subject matter (guild system) of the study. It will also enable us concentrate the present research focus on gaps that were not filled by the previous investigations.

2.2.1 The Guild System

One of the earliest references to the guild system was Egharevba (1956) where he wrote about the titles and chieftaincy affairs of the Benin Kingdom. The author, in his work, gave a brief account of the traditional honours and offices of the Edo (Benin) people and the socio-political structure of the Edo (Benin) society in general. He presented the different societies

that exist within the palace (Iwebo, Iwegua and Ibiwe) along with the different Chiefs that head them and the guilds affiliated to them. He was able to show that the hierarchy of socio-political responsibilities in the Edo (Benin) society starts from the omó Ne Oba (King) down to the head of the village structure (Enogie and Odiomwere) which is the base of the traditional political institution. In all, he identified ten (10) guilds in the Edo (Benin) society associated with the different palace societies and they are listed below:

(a) Igbesanmwa	furniture makers
(b) Eronmwo	bronze casters
(c) Ematon	blacksmith
(d) Onwina	wood carvers
(e) Avbiogbe	information carriers
(f) Ogbelaka	royal musicians/entertainers
(g) Isekpokin	leather workers
(h) Iriamila	ranchers
(i) Oreogbeni	elephant killers
(j) Ikpema	drummers

This work by Egharevba, though very insightful as to the cultural and political structure that gave rise to the guilds in the Edo (Benin) society, did not give us any information as to the existence or not of a special communicative code employed in communication. The work also had some short comings in properly identifying the palace societies that regulate the activities of the guilds as well as the different guilds that exist in the Edo (Benin) society. The present study is a clear departure from this as emphasis is not only on the socio-cultural framework that gave rise to the guild (which we will treat as an ideology in this study) but also on the different codes employed by the guilds in group interaction and the motivation for such. The study also intends to give a comprehensive account of all the guilds that exist in the Edo (Benin) society even though only three (03) of these will be treated in details.

Plankensteiner (2010) records one of the most comprehensive account of the Edo guild system and associated palace societies in the course of examining African Arts and Craft Culture. She identifies the different palace societies in Benin and the guilds affiliated to them on a chronological basis with detailed annotation of their duties, functions and headship. Her account shows that there are a total of forty-six (46) guilds in the palace distributed as follows:

2.

- a) Iwẹbọ = twenty-five (25)
- b) Iwẹguae = fifteen (15)
- c) Ibiwe = six (06)

This is really impressive as the different accounts of the Edo guild normally range between eight (08) to ten (10) guilds in the society. This can easily be seen as the most up-to-date account of the Edo palace societies and guild system except for the non-inclusion of the language dimension.

Plankensteiner (2010) bases her research principally on the artistic and cultural features of the Edo guild system and tries to portray the unique art and craftsmanship of the people in pre-colonial and post-colonial times. The present study, on the other hand, is concerned with the use of language in the course of group and intergroup communication and how their activities and duties to the monarchy has created the particular group identities associated with these guilds. In the present study therefore, emphasis is mainly on the use of language in different functional contexts and the impact of the guild as a socio-cultural institution in the Edo (Benin) society.

The work of Raji and Abejide (2013), though not on the Edo guild system, deals with a closely related language (Yoruba) and as such will be reviewed here for more insight on the nature of the guilds in the African society. Their survey (Raji and Abejide, 2013) centres on the guild system as the base of the socio-political and economic structure of pre-colonial Yorubaland. They posit that the proper coordination and regulation of the different economic practices in pre-colonial Yorubaland was the direct responsibility of the guild system which functioned as a legitimate regulatory body that guaranteed efficiency, quality service delivery and best practices in production relation. They therefore evaluate the guilds in Yoruba land based on their forms, operational guidelines, features, activities and membership criteria in different parts of the land. By employing primary and secondary sources of data for analysis, they argue that the guild system played a very unique role in the process of stimulating change and development in the economy of pre-colonial Yoruba states. They observe that the female folks dominated the activities of the different guilds and that the dominant religious beliefs and practices also had considerable influence on the economic role of most guilds in pre-colonial Yoruba land. They identified three main categories of guild membership in every typical Yoruba town and village as:

- 1) Egbe Alajapa (Guild of general trades) that specializes in inanimate objects such as medicinal herbs, fruits and other food items,
- 2) Egbe Alaroobo (Guild of traders) that trade in animate objects such as, fowls, goat and so on, and
- 3) The specialized guilds of traders named after the particular item they trade on They are: Egbe alaso (cloth traders), Egbe olose (soap makers), Egbe alaro (dyers), Egbe alata (pepper sellers), Egbe eleni (mat makers), Egbe onisona (carvers) and Egbe alagbede (smelters).

They submit that the guild system still remained relevant to the Yoruba economy up to the post-colonial period. Their work was a reflection of the pre-colonial economic structure of Yorubaland and has nothing to do with the use of language by these guilds. There is no reference to whether these trade professionals possess a professional code of communication or the impact of their activities on language use with respect to Yoruba language. These are the areas offocus of the present study in the context of the Edo (Benin) language.

Osagie and Ikponmwosa (2015) survey the Edo guild from a socio-cultural, economic and political perspective as one of the factors responsible for the sustenance of the Monarchy in pre-colonial times. They argue that the defense, territorial expansion and economic vitality of the ancient Benin Kingdom was due to the existence of a well organized and regulated professional institution (the guild) of craftsmen who answer only to the Monarch. They posit that the guild, by producing a variety of products like palace regalia, household utensils, farming implements and equipment of war, not only ensured the prestige of the Benin Monarch, but also the general welfare and prosperity of the people. They were also seen as very important to the commercial link between the ancient Benin Kingdom and other Kingdoms as well as the West (Europeans) due to the ready availability of some of their products (like bronze) for exchange. In all they surmise that the craft (guild) in Benin ensured the social, political and economic survival and resilience of the Kingdom for many centuries up to the British subjugation in 1897.

While Osagie and Ikponmwosa discuss extensively on the social, political and economic importance of the guilds in the Edo (Benin) society, there is no reference whatsoever to the language of the guild or if there exist any variation in their use of language and the common Edo used in the society. The present study intends to step in here by filling this gap through a

proper account of the sociolinguistics significance of the guilds' use of language as a marker of group identity in the society.

The investigation carried out by Diamond (2015) represents the only direct reference to aspects of language used by the guilds in the Edo (Benin) society. In her investigation, she argues that the Edo guilds possess a special code for communication and that this should be recognised as a variety of Edo (possibly a functional one). She investigates a total of six (06) guilds in the Edo (Benin) society (Eronmwo, Ematon, Ikpema, Odionmwa, Ogbelaka and Avbiogbe) using a largely non-participant observation method to record the conversation between members of these guilds when they are working. She claims that about 55% of the discourse of the guilds is not intelligible to the average Edo person (this has not yet been verified) though the guild like modern day professions like medicine, law and engineering possesses a register of items unique to them. She surmises that the guilds still remain the main custodian of the cultural values of the Edo (Benin) people particularly the highly sensitive rites and rituals related to the palace.

Though Diamond (2015) went a step further from previous studies in presenting some aspects of the guilds' use of Edo (Benin) language as constituting a variety of Edo, her analysis focuses more on the ceremonial and ritualistic activities of the guilds. Her research focuses more on the variation between the register of the guilds and that of the average Edo without necessarily evaluating the factors leading to such variations and it is these factors (ideology and identity) which are at the forefront of the present study. It should be pointed out here that the factors responsible for the unique register of these guilds can be surveyed from two perspectives: that of the guilds themselves (ideological) and that of the general Edo public (identity). The guilds distinctive use of language therefore is a reflection of the group's ideological orientation and a perception of the public's classification of the group as a separate body (identity) from the general society.

2.2.2 Language and Ideology

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 investigations and a few of these are examined here.

Stromberg (1990:42) sees ideology as an ‘organized system of symbols, which when one comes in contact with, leads to a transformation of identity’. In other words, ideology is a manifested behaviour of an individual as a result of the adherence to some set of organized symbols in a society, organization or groups, (Stromberg, 1990).

Simpson (1993:5), treats ideology as the ‘socio-political context in which a language functions’. That is, the sum total of the discourse contexts and social systems and institutions in which a language operates. He went on to say that a dominant ideology operates as a mechanism for maintaining asymmetrical power relations in the society. It is a common sense assumption of the way things are and the ways things should be which are ingrained into everyday discourse.

Schieffelin et. al. (1998:3) defines ideology in language use as “the mediating link between social forms and forms of talk”. According to them: “representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world are what we mean by (language ideology)”. 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, gender relations, the nation-state, schooling and law. This is partly in line with the scope of the present study as our own conception of the guild ideology is one of religious rituals as a social group with direct link to the centre of the socio-cultural existence of the Edo people (palace societies).

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 (Woolard 1998) 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 CDA, 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.

According to Verschueren (2012:12), “ideology is often seen as one of the powerful tools of analyzing the relationship that exists between a group of people, which is felt to be normal for legitimizing such things as attitudes, behaviour and politics”. It has to do with perception of the meaning of certain social values and acts in the society. It is a concept that was closely associated with political and economic scientists of old (Marx, Lenin, Smith and so on) before it gradually found its way into language. It is closely connected to ‘Ethnography’ and hence ‘Ethnolinguistics’ as its subject matter falls within the social and cultural spheres of a social group or community.

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 stylelect (Hurst, 2008). 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.

2.2.2.1 Language Ideology and the Edo guilds

The concept of ideology as seen from our reviews thus far reflects a triumverate of beliefs, orientation and as well as the core of human existence. We also saw, from the reviews the different ways ideology can influence or transform one's identity either from a political, spiritual, economic or social angle. Based on the objectives and goals of the present study, we propose a definition of language ideology thus: "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 is why some sections of the society may see language as the tool for the portrayal of the group's solidarity while others may see it as the expressions of the behaviour of the group. This disparity can be linked to the disparity in the society caused by age, gender, social class, profession (occupation) and literacy and politics in the Edo society.

2.2.3 Language and Identity

There exist several dissecting studies on the nature and composition of the question of identity in the linguistic literature. These studies treat this concept especially on its connection to language from a variety of standpoints and theoretical orientation which tend to reflect the complex nature of the question of identity. The different conceptions of identity therefore will give us a clearer picture of the nature of the identity question in linguistic research as the literatures in below reveal.

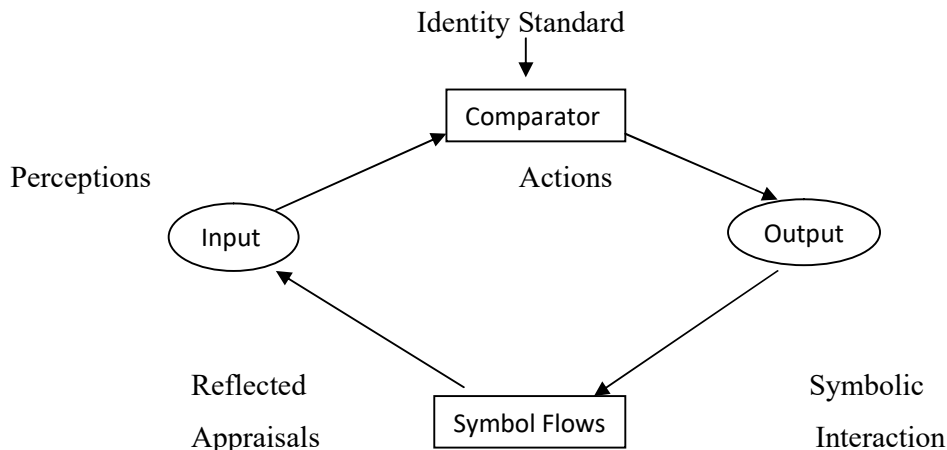
Stets and Burke (1996:23) are of the opinion that a social identity is 'a person's knowledge that he or she belongs to a social category or group'. A social group here is taken as a number of individuals who hold a common social identification or view of themselves as members of the same social category. They went on to say that this is actualized through a social comparison process where persons who are similar to the self are categorized with the self and are labeled the 'ingroup'. Identity has often been presented as a process of self verification in a group through motivation and reflexivity (Burke, 1991). This process has to do with how a person's behaviour is determined by his/her identity and the implication of this in maintaining a link with the behaviours and identity of other members of a group. This

reflexibility can be taken as a form of control system and not only as an account of a feedback about the self from the environment but of self-views already incorporated into the identity standard (Riley and Burke, 1995).

Burke (1991) contends that identity motivates role performance because these roles are meaningful (they have meanings based on the context where they are performed). That is to the actor (role performer), by providing for self-verification, to other members of the group because they provide ways for them to identify and categorize an actor. He goes on to say that self-verification motive is particularly strong because the failure of it leads to dissatisfaction, discomfort and distress (ibid: 7). Identity is therefore viewed as a control system (Powers, 1973) which comprises four parts which are: Input, Output, Comparator and Symbol Flows.

The assertion above by Burke represents the natural flow of identity motivators in a social environment. This can be represented by means of a schema developed by Burke (1991) in explaining the identity feedback process. This is presented below:

Fig. V Model of the Identity Process



(cf. Burke, 1991)

The schema above presents the identity process as a naturally occurring one triggered by the environment, responded to by the person/individual through the performance of an act by way of the flow of symbols. This act is reflected on the symbolic interaction between individual social actors in a discourse setting based on the input perceptions which, after appropriate comparison with the environment or setting, yield the goal of the identity process. This is a representation of the interplay between perceptions, actions, symbolic interaction

and reflected appraisals of a communicative act on the one hand and the input, comparator, output and symbol flows in activating certain communicative behaviours on the other hand.

Ideology on the other hand, has generally been treated as the systematic analysis of sensations and ideas which should provide the basis for all scientific knowledge. This was the position of early scholars on the theme of ideology from a philosophical stand Verschueren (2012). Linguistic ideology represents the general way of thinking about language and language-related issues.

The impact of language on social identity has been examined in different domains across the world. For example in such domains as classroom (MacRuire 2011), in nation building (Chua, 2010), in the market place (Connell, 2009), in the refugee camp (Nwagbo, 2014), in the workplace (Nair-Venugopal, 2000), in the online community (Warschauer et. al. 2006) and in a political setting (Oloso, 2017). There exists an intricate relationship between language and identity which reflects the social division of individuals or groups in a community. There are several literatures devoted to this concept due to its relevance in the fields of interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1982) and discourse analysis (Chew 2014). Some of these literatures on identities and social identities are reviewed below:

In the conceptualization of national identity in the Arab Middle East, Suleiman (2003) links identity to the pervading cultural ideology of nationalism in the Arab world. He equates the question of language to the marking of national identity. He also advocates the importance of symbolic meaning in the study of nationalism necessitated by the national identity question and makes a case for the use of the qualitative method as a tool for analyzing issues of ideology and identity. He says this is as a result of the fact that “interest in quantitatively based analysis can easily be dismissed as bias and pseudo-scientific” (2003:4). He goes on to say that identity is a collective thing with such variables as: genealogy, age, gender, sect, ethnicity, nationality or citizenship. All these factors in one way or the other evokes a sense of identity in a state or a society. His focus was on the Arabic national identity as defined by: race, religion and nationalism based on the following fundamental features:

- 1) A historical homeland or terrain
- 2) A common mass public culture
- 3) A common myths and historical memories
- 4) A common legal rights and duties for all members, and

5) A common economy with territorial mobility for members

The present study agrees with Suleiman's position that the question of identity and ideology is not one to be subjected to a survey-based investigation method (quantitative) but rather a descriptive one (qualitative). This is due to the issue of bias as many persons may not be forthcoming or enlightened enough to provide the appropriate responses. The present study though is concerned with the creation of identity based on ideology and sees identity as not restricted to age, gender, ethnicity and citizenship but also involves such group division as 'profession'. So this is a clear departure from the position of Suleiman on the collectivity of identity based on shared historical and religious heritage.

Chew (2014) treats this concept as one that is inseparable from language. He is of the view that identity is formed by a combination of factors such as ethnicity, gender, social class and language. He claims that in the social science, identity is used as an umbrella term to describe a person's expression of their individuality or affiliation to a group. In other words, identity can be an individual's expression or that of a social group membership, (2014: 51). Identities are therefore facilitated by the choice of language used by different social groups or individuals.

His work on language choice and religious identities employed the ethnographic research method of field notes, participant observations and video-taped interview of pupils, teachers and parents. He argues that the language choice or medium of instruction, Arabic, Malay or English directly affects and is connected to religious identities in some of the classrooms, semiotic and pedagogical practices. The choice of language used here for instruction is influenced by the socio-cultural and historical context of the discourse. This is a case of religion and identity as the Islamic religion surveyed here has its base in the Arabic language thereby favouring it in the course of pedagogy over other languages. In the present study, we are concerned with the influence of the guilds' activities on the language used and the identity projected.

Joseph (2004) argues that identity is not an easy concept to understand as long as we need to know who the person really is. However, he proposes three definitions for the term: (1) ethnic identity which focuses more on a shared common descent, cultural heritage and political aspirations for autonomy; (2) national identity which focuses on political borders; and (3) racial identity – which focuses on the colour of one's skin (now a concept virtually taboo in American discourse).

Kamalu and Tamunobelega (2013) examine the linguistic expression of religious identity and ideology in selected postcolonial Nigerian literature. The postcolonial Nigerian nation has suffered calamitous losses from religious conflicts. Consequently, some of Nigeria's 21st Century writers have tried, in their works, to present a situation in which groups use language to construct individual and collective identity and ideology, legitimize their actions, and justify acts of violence against others. The grammatical resource of mood and transitivity employed by the writers enables us to access and appraise individual and group experiences, and intergroup relations in social interactions. The resources of language enable us to perceive how individuals and groups relate to each other in social activities and implicitly or explicitly sustain ideologies that support the structures of oppression and violence. Therefore, working within the tenets of critical stylistics and critical discourse analysis (CDA), their study aims at exposing the motives that underlie the expression of religious identity and ideology in Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's *Purple Hibiscus*, Chidubem Iweka's *The Ancient Curse*, and Uwem Akpan's *Say You're One of Them* and their implications for national stability and development. The data reveal how the sociopolitical climate in postcolonial Nigeria breeds a culture of hatred, intolerance, violence, exclusion, and curtailment of individual and group rights in the name of religion, and how these acts are expressed in diverse discourse grammatical patterns.

Ushei and Aboh (2013) present a linguistic, as well as, a socio-ethnic interpretation of Elechi Amadi's novels – *The Concubine*. It describes significant "Igbo linguistic features", along with extra-textual entities naturally associated with ethnic and cultural representations. The paper has two concerns. First, it illustrates that socio-cultural entities such as ethnic identity and group membership construction are operational concepts that are reflected on literary discourse via ethno-linguistic variables. Relying on insights from sociolinguistics and ethnic studies, the paper analyses select expressions in Igbo, along with ethno-linguistic and cultural features of the people as manifested in the novel. It shows that Amadi's use of language in *The Concubine* appears to be a peculiar speech form of the Igbo language. Their study further reveals that the novelist makes conscious use of certain linguistic items in order to express ethnic identity as a way of projecting "Igbo linguistics" and their cultural values as these were before the advent of colonialism where they attempt to dislodge the dominance of English over their indigenous languages, a typical Nigerian example being Chinua Achebe and much of his oeuvre. This political disempowerment has been upheld by the novelist, who considers language an essential component of ethnic identity, especially in instances where

the novelist has a control of two languages: a borrowed language (usually a European language brought on the wings of colonialism), and an indigenous language.

The second concern of this paper is to account for the linguistic features of Igbo, as demonstrated in *The Concubine*, and to indicate that Amadi's use of language appears to be speech forms/mannerisms that are emblematic of the Igbo in eastern Nigeria. The contribution also shows how the novelist makes use of linguistic features in order to project his ethnic identity; reflect on the cultural exigencies of Igbo; and re-enact the communal identity of the Igbo people where communal imperatives take preeminence over individual ambitions.

Nwagbo (2014) surveys the identity question from the perspectives of refugees at the Oru refugee camp in Ogun state. He examines the problem of integration confronting refugees like cultural challenges which constrain them to adopt the language of their host community. He employs the ethnolinguistic identity theory and the mentalist theory of language attitude while using a questionnaire, semi-structured interview and participant observation to elicit responses. His investigation shows that the Oru refugees demonstrated a number of linguistic identities with preference given to the English language than Yoruba, which is the language of the immediate environment. Those refugees who desired integration will then need to identify more with Yoruba for the sake of inclusion and diversity. This study by Nwagbo focuses on integration and identity assimilation while the present study is concerned with identity creation through social functions. It therefore seeks to fill the gap in these previous studies by looking beyond the question of identity as an affiliation to a particular ethnic group to that of group interaction, based on the social functions which we believe are responsible for the creation of identity.

Garri and Mugaddam (2015) are of the opinion that identity is not a static trait of a person or a group. It is constantly constructed or reconstructed according to the changing dynamics and modes of interaction with others. One of the means people use to reconstruct their identities is through the language they use. They investigate the patterns of self-assertiveness when using Arabic and other native languages among the ethnic groups in Nyala, Sudan. They consider how the different communities perceive the role their native languages play in the construction of ethnic identities. By using a combination of a questionnaire, focus group discussion, indepth interviews and participant observation, they made the observation that many of the communities in South Darfur State were actively revitalizing their languages by

having a positive attitude to them in different domains. They also observed that there was a lot of aversion (negativity) towards Arabic across the different ethnic groups and that the current conflict in South Darfur State of Sudan has contributed significantly to the emergence of revitalized ethnolinguistic identities.

Oloso (2017) on the politics of language and identity in Ilorin did a study based on the political arena of identity involving the Yoruba, Hausa-Fulani and other ethnic groups in the Ilorin Emirate. She identifies the different markers of identity in Ilorin while clarifying the perspective and nature of the language and ethnicity link in Ilorin. Her focus was primarily on the role of politics of language and identity and the management of identity crisis. She was able to show the link between language and ethnicity in Ilorin. While her investigation concentrated principally on the play of politics in identity creation, the present study is all about the role of profession in identity creation and seeks to fill the gap in the exclusion of this from mainstream identity and ideological studies.

These different views of identity have highlighted amongst other things the issue of individualism whether, ethnic, social, religious or racial which serves to distinguish one from another. In other words, identity can be closely associated with the phenomena of convergence and divergence or employing the terms of Giles and Johnson (1987), 'ingroup' and 'outgroup' distinctions which determine the choice of language use in a society.

2.2.3.1 Language Identity and the Edo Guild System

Our review on identity above has shown us the different manifestations of the phenomenon and theoretical orientations of the authors involved. In this section, we will be relating these different conceptions of identity to our study with a view to identifying the extent to which these literatures reflect the scope of the present study and the gap to be filled, if necessary, by the present study. We propose, based on the observation from our reviews thus far, a conception of identity thus: "as the manifested differentiation resulting from the use of language by a section of a society arising from the possession of a set of values, attitudes, orientation and beliefs distinct from the one generally held by other members of the society about the language of the environment". This leads to differences in language use and eventually gives way to variation in the language. The issue of identity is a socio-cultural linguistic phenomenon because it is a product of social interaction regulated by cultural

norms (ideology). All of these is achieved through the peculiar use of language by a section of the society as a marker of differentiation which ultimately creates an identity.

2.2.4 Language and Variation

The study of linguistic variation is often perceived to be quintessentially engaged with phonological phenomena. This is a manifest misperception because variationist work on morphosyntactic issues began with the original foundational articles that launched the “variable rule” framework (Labov 1969) on the English copula, and Labov (1972b) on negative concord, and continues to be among the most active areas in the field (Bayley and Lucas 2007).

The study of variation has come in two different methods of analytic practice. The first of these methods in variation studies established broad correlations between linguistic variables and the macro-sociological categories of socioeconomic class, sex, ethnicity and age. The second analytic practice employed ethnographic methods to explore the local categories and configurations that inhabit, or constitute, these broader categories (Eckert 2009). In both methods, variation was seen as marking social categories.

Based on the work of Eckert (2009), a theoretical foundation was established for the analysis of variation, arguing that:

- i) variation constitutes a robust social semiotic system, expressing the full range of social concerns in a given community,
- ii) variation does not simply reflect, but constructs, social meaning, hence is a force in social change, and
- iii) the meanings of variables are basic and underspecified, gaining more specific meanings in the context of styles (personae).

He contends that central to the study of variation has been the notion that phonological variants constitute different ways of saying the same thing. This assumption is compatible with the exclusive focus in linguistics on propositional meaning, and with a view of variation as simply marking social address.

According to Bayley and Lucas (2007), ‘although the study of variation began with a focus on varieties of English, French, and Spanish, variationist studies now encompass many

languages ranging from Guyanese and Jamaican Creoles to Brazilian Portuguese to Chinese to American Sign Language and Australian Sign Language'. Variationist approaches have also met with considerable success in the studies of second language acquisition.

They maintain that despite the often conflicting approaches to variation studies, three fundamental facts about variationist studies remain constant: that the variation observed in real language use is systematic and its analysis can directly inform a number of theoretical frameworks about human language use; that the development of the study of real language use has been accompanied by the development of sophisticated methods of data collection and analysis tailored to the requirements of the study of variation; and that variationist studies have very frequently received their impetus from real human situations in the areas of education, employment, and the law, and that the results of variationist studies have had very tangible and important applications in all of these areas (Bayley and Lucas 2007:19).

Coupland (2007) relates variation to diversity which is one of the goals of sociolinguistic investigations. He maintains that variability should be stressed in sociolinguistic investigations in order to resist the ideological assumptions that what matters in language is linguistic 'uniformity' and 'standardness' (Coupland 2007:4). To him, variation gives us a detailed description of how linguistic details of regional and social accent and dialects are distributed.

We have shown in this section, the different orientations of the key concepts of the study and other related sociolinguistic concepts. The information provided here will therefore act as a guide to the conduct of the present study and the researcher will try as much as possible to toe the lines recommended by these authors and proffer appropriate modification where necessary.

We can therefore sum from the above postulations, albeit a very brief one, that variation is an undeniable fact associated with language use in the society and it manifests at different levels such as age, sex, social status, and education and so on. It is therefore an inseparable component of ideological orientation and identity creation, which this study seeks to unveil in Edo (Benin) language from a largely functional perspective.

2.2.4.1 Language variation and the Edo Guilds

The question of variation is central to the study of the guild system in the Edo (Benin) society as this is one of the motivating factors for this study. The concept of variation was introduced in the study as a result of the implication of identity which dwells on the issue of differences or differentiation in language use. The concept of variation is therefore linked here to the issue of differentiation arising from the distinct identity of the guilds in the course of members' interaction, which we claim differs to some extent from the conventional Edo spoken by other members of the society. This concept is therefore intended to reflect the hierarchy of order from ideology to identity creation and from there to differentiation and eventually variation which is a product of change in a particular linguistic form based on language use.

2.2.5 Language Ideology, Identity and Variation

The concepts of ideology, identity and variation represent a viable aspect of the ethnography of communication within sociolinguistics especially in the area of Interpretive Sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 1982). According to Gumperz, human interaction account for the role that communicative phenomena play in the exercise of power and control in the production and reproduction of social identity. In recent times, the various fields of ideology and identity have received a lot of attention from researchers within the sociolinguistic domain. This was motivated in part by the need to acquaint individual and social attitudes to means of communication with the different social strata and status associated therein. Studies in the fields of ideology and identity are actually part of anthropology with some recipe of sociology.

Ideology is often seen as one of the powerful tools for analyzing the relationship between groups of people which is felt to be normal for legitimizing such things as attitudes, behaviour and politics (Verschuere, 2012). It has to do with perception of the meaning of certain social values and acts in the society. It is a concept that was closely associated with political and economic scientists of old (Marx, Lenin, Smith and so on) before it gradually found its way into linguistics. It is closely connected to the ethnography of communication and hence ethnolinguistics as its subject matter falls within the socio-cultural and linguistics sphere of a society or social groups.

The issue of linguistic differentiation has also been treated as the core of language ideologies and practices (Hollington, 2015). Language ideologies comprise all sorts of ideas, practices and beliefs about a language, linguistic practices and speech forms which in turn is related 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 society and eventually in the language. The present research is interested in the role of ideology in social configuration (political, socio-cultural and economic) and linguistic manipulation through the creation of distinct social identities.

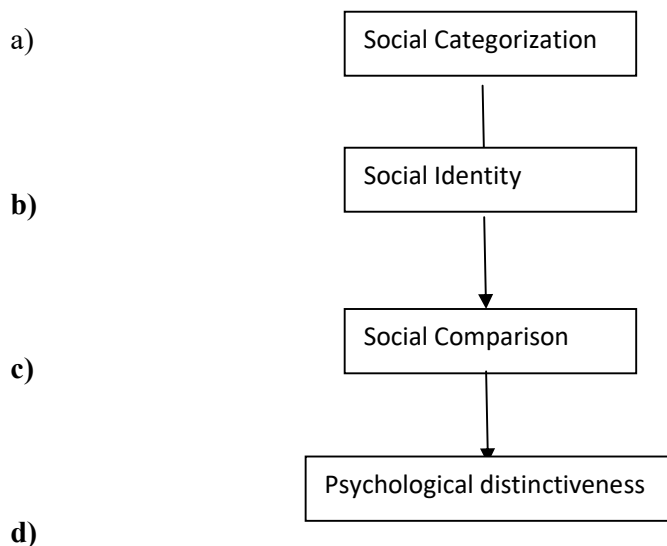
The connection between ideology and identity can be seen from the perspective of Stromberg (1990) who examines the conversion experiences of Christians. He argues that this conversion is an ideological and identity transforming experience. He posits, based on this, that ideologies indeed create a sense of self-transformation because the subject (converted Christian) is able to use the ideological language to resolve enduring problems of identity. To him, ideology is an organized system of symbols and this can be used to change a people's identity when they come in contact with a particular group like Christian missionaries. He demonstrates this with ample illustration from the experiences of converted Evangelical Christians in a contemporary American society. In this case, the doctrines of the Christian faith conveyed by the Bible represent the ideology while the membership of a Christian body constitutes the identity (Christ-likeness) of the group. While we agree with this position, evidence from our studies have shown that not all ideology influence identity especially when multiple ideologies are at play. For example, many of the informants for this study confessed to being baptized Christians but that this does not in any way affect the rites and rituals performed in the guilds.

This connection has also been examined by others in the Nigerian contexts such as Kamalu and Tamunobelega (2013), Olusola and Alabi (2013), Amao (2014), Nwagbo (2014), Ajayi (2016), and so on. In this respect, Olusola and Alabi (2013) and Ajayi (2016) drew on the role of ideology in the portrayal of identity in the contexts of Chimamanda Adicie's 'Purple Hibiscus' and Yoruba Christian Songs respectively. As for the former, the work examines the special and unique use of language in the course of establishing and addressing the issue of ideological configuration of gender and power in the Nigerian society. While the later, examines how Yoruba Christian Songs are employed by Christians of Yoruba extraction in portraying individual and group identity in line with ethnic socio-cultural ideology in addition

to the general identity as a member of the body of Christ (Christian brethren). In both works, the link between ideology and identity were drawn on the one hand, as well as that between the two concepts and language use with the implication that language is an essential tool of ideological expression and identity marking.

We contend here, based on the review of literature so far, that an invariable link exists between identity, ideology and variation in ethnolinguistic investigation. The study of the cultural values and policies of a society for instance portends the investigation of the identity structure of these people. Since identity and ideology are linked to language with the distinction between different social groups in the course of communication constituting variation in ethnolinguistics. We are of the opinion that studies on ideology provide an insight into the social-psychological affairs of people in a social setting, which creates the platform for the designation of different groups as shown by Tajfel and Turner (1986) casual sequence of the main categories in the Social Identity Theory. This is illustrated below in the schema:

Fig. VI: The Casual Sequence of the main categories of SIT



(adapted from Tajfel & Turner, 1986)

Based on the schema above, the division of individuals into different social settings based on age, gender, profession and so on is what we will call social categorization here, which is a product of the ideology of the society. This in turn leads to social identity by which group membership is defined in the society giving rise to such concepts as in-group and out-group.

This will naturally lead to social comparison which is the competition that exists between the different groups in the society based on the self-evaluation of the status of the group vis-à-vis other groups. The final layer is psychological distinctiveness which is the recipe for variation as these different groups possess different perspective as far as language use is concerned automatically leading to variation in the language used in that society.

2.3 Review of Related Literatures

Though the focus of this work is on ideology, identity and language use by the Edo guilds, it is worthy of note that some other concepts other the ones highlighted here are also related to the scope of the present study. It is therefore imperative on our part to present a review of these other concepts which are: language choice and attitude because the issue of language use actually reflects the idea of choosing and adopting a particular language for a particular social purpose. So in this section therefore, reviews will be carried out on language choice (and the factors affecting it) and attitude with a view to grasping the different components of the study.

2.3.1 Language Choice

In the course of reviewing works on language choice, one of the main themes is domain which is a group of institutionalized social situations typically constrained by a common set of behavioural rules (Corson, 1990). Based on Fishman's (1972, in Holmes, 1996) conceptualization of the domains of language choices, there are five domains, which can be identified from many communities: family, friendship, religion, education and employment. These domains are also known as the factors that influence or determine the choice of language use in any human society.

In the opinion of Coulmas (1997:31) "People make linguistic choices for various purposes. Individuals and groups choose words, registers, styles and languages to suit their various needs concerning the communication of ideas, the association with and separation from others, the establishment or defense of dominance". Although it is obvious that people are endowed with the ability to adjust their linguistic repertoires to ever new circumstances, languages are, for certain purposes, constructed as if they were a matter of destiny, an autonomous power quite beyond the control of their speakers, both as individuals and groups. In this connection the notion of the mother tongue plays a crucial role, as it is more often than not understood as an entity which exists in its own right rather than merely a first skill to be

supplemented throughout one's lifetime with others according to one's needs. This [author] takes issue with this notion by investigating a number of cases where people choose languages, including their mother tongue.”

Ferguson (1996:272-273) discusses language choice more in its “official” context of language planning: “Many countries as a matter of national development or even of national existence, must answer a set of language questions. The policy decisions which these answers constitute then require implementation, often on a large scale and over long periods of time. Some of these questions are of *language choice*: What language(s) shall be the official language(s) of the government, used in laws, administration, and the armed forces? What language(s) shall be used as medium of instruction at the various levels of the educational system? What language(s) will be accepted for use on the radio, in publishing, in telegrams, and as school subjects?” Decisions on language questions are notoriously influenced by emotional issues such as tribal, regional and religious identification, national rivalries, preservation of elites, and so on.

Li (1994:6) “language choice may occur at several different levels, ranging from small scale phonetic variables such as the ones studied by Labov (1966, 1972a) to large scale discourse patterns such as address systems, conversation routines (e.g., greetings and partings), politeness strategies, and of course choices between languages”.

Bissoonauth (1998) investigates the language choice of young Mauritian adolescents in secondary schools. His project was designed to examine the patterns of language use, choice and attitude of adolescents in the small African Nation of Mauritius. A complex language choice phenomenon was observed as a result of the complex history of the Island (first under the French and subsequently under the British colonial administration). This coupled with the extensive emigration of Indians and Chinese to the Island resulted in a complex bilingual situation. His observation is that Creole which is more or less a national language is used in the home domain, while English and French are used in official domain (schools, offices, administration). Hindu and Chinese are used principally in the spiritual worship (Hinduism and Buddhism) which are widespread in the Nation as well as serving as the third language in schools.

Igboanusi (2008) surveys the changing trends in language choice in Nigeria. He identifies the multitudes of languages and nationalities in the country coupled with the presence of

English and Nigerian Pidgin as being responsible for the complexity of language choices. In other words, he asserts that Nigeria has to deal with choices of language to use in different domains or situations. This is more evident in the South-South zone of Nigeria with States like, Delta, Edo, Rivers, Bayelsa, Akwa-Ibom, Cross River and in the Middle Belt areas as well as part of the North-East of Nigeria: Taraba, Plateau, Benue and so on with a multilingual complexion. He goes on to identify some domains that are directly responsible for the language choice in the country as:

- State Houses of Assembly
- The youths/young people
- Electioneering campaign
- Ethnicity
- Media and
- Professional Writing

He concludes by saying that “the trends in language choice in the country have been influenced by the rise in ethnic consciousness, political developments, migration and economic factors”.

2.3.1.1 Factors affecting language choice and the Edo guilds

In the area of language attitude, although there is no complete agreement on a standard definition of the term, at least there are those who have attempted to offer concrete definitions. In the case of language choice, such a concrete definition is not forthcoming, although there does seem to be a general consensus on the process or action of choice. Perhaps the closest to a definition per se is Sridhar's question, “Who uses what language with whom and for what purposes?” It is perhaps significant to note that Sridhar, as well as many others, limits his conception of language choice to bilinguals, and language choice is manifested as code switching from situation to situation (although some also talk of code-switching or code-mixing within a single speech event). To account for other researchers' descriptions, who also include monolinguals in their views of language choice, the word “language” could be changed to “code”, in which case both monolinguals and bilinguals would be accounted for: a speaker must determine the social and personal parameters of a given speech situation to determine which code (i.e., language, dialect, register) to use.

As observed from the position of Igboanusi (2008) above, several factors seem to influence the choice of language use in a society and in the case of Nigeria which is a multilingual country these factors were linked to the challenges of language in education for the sake of promoting indigenous languages development and vitality. Linking this to the Edo guilds, there is a definite cultural position on the choice of language used by members of the group constrained by the need to maintain a high level of secrecy and professional relevance of the group.

2.3.2 Language Attitude

Baker (1996:41-42): outlines a typology of attitudes to the language environment, although he does not actually define “attitude”. Williams (1991a) sums up differing 'environmental' attitudes to the survival and spread of minority languages. First, the evolutionist will tend to follow Darwin's idea of the survival of the fittest. Those languages that are strong will survive. The weaker languages will either have to adapt themselves to their environment, or die. However, survival of the fittest is too simplistic a view of evolution. It only accents the negative side of evolution: killing, exploitation and suppression. A more positive view is interdependence rather than constant competition. Cooperation for mutually beneficial outcomes can be as possible as exploitation (Williams, 1991a). The second approach to languages is that of conservationists (Williams, 1991a). Conservationists will argue for the maintenance of variety in the language garden [that is, they believe that minority languages must be protected and preserved somehow]. The third attitude to languages is that of preservationists (Williams, 1991a). Preservationists are different from conservationists by being more conservative and seeking to maintain the status quo rather than develop the language. Preservationists are concerned that any change, not just language change, will damage the chances of survival of their language. Such a group is therefore traditionalists, anti-modern in outlook. Whereas conservationists may think global and act local, preservationists will tend to think local and act local.

Edwards (1994:6-7): “It is not surprising that most linguistic preferences – based upon historical pedigree, aesthetic judgement, logic or whatever – reveal a liking for one's own variety”. The most important attitudes, prejudices and preferences about language and language choice are enshrined in law or sanctioned practice, for these are the codified wishes of the socially dominant. Many of the difficulties encountered by minority language communities in particular emerge because local desires do not mesh with state policy (: 97-

98): “The concept of attitude, a cornerstone of traditional social psychology, is not one about which there has been universal agreement. At a general level, however, attitude is a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects. This disposition is often taken to comprise three components: feelings (affective element), thoughts (cognitive element) and, following upon these, predispositions to act in a certain way (behavioural element). That is, one knows or believes something, has some emotional reaction to it and, therefore, may be assumed to act on this basis. Two points may be made here. The first is that there often exists inconsistency between assessed attitudes and actions presumably related to them. The second point is that there is sometimes confusion between belief and attitude; this is particularly so in the domain of language attitudes, and often shows up clearly on questionnaires and interviews designed to tap them.

Adegbija (1994) views language attitudes from a broad perspective: which accommodates evaluative judgements made about a language or its variety, its speakers, towards efforts at promoting, maintaining or planning a language, or even towards learning it (:77).

Omeregbe (2005) examines the vitality of the Edo (Benin) language within the context of use in Edo State, Nigeria. Her study was based on the idea of language choice with focus on the following domains of language use:

- Government
- Home
- Media
- Church

Igboanusi (2008) surveys the attitudes and practices towards mother-tongue based bilingual education in Nigeria. He identifies the great disparity between the major languages (Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo) and the minority languages where the former have widespread use in education alongside English language especially at the primary school level. He therefore surveys in the light of this development, the attitudes of students, teachers, parents and officials of the ministry of education towards bilingual education in Nigeria. His work shows that bilingual education has not been effective in Nigeria due to amongst other factors the following:

- Policy implementation of the NPE, and

- The presence of many minority languages many of which are not well developed for learning

On the way forward, he submits that the educational policy of the country should be revised with the introduction of long term bilingual education (up to six years in primary education).

- That the ministry of education and education stakeholders be committed to the implementation of the bilingual education policy in schools.
- That more programmes be adopted in teachers training with the aim of bilingual methods in education.

And finally that the media should be used to provide the necessary publicity in a bid to convince parents, students and stakeholders to have a favourable attitude towards mother tongue in education.

In a survey of the attitude of Edo speakers towards their language, Ikhimwin (2011) observes a variety of malaise which if not curtailed will lead to the extinction of Edo (Benin) language and culture. She observes that there is a general lack of positive attitude to the use of Edo (Benin) language due to the pressure and functions of English language and particularly Pidgin English. She equally observes the general tendency of the average Edo speaker to employ Pidgin English as a means of communication in various domains like the home, school, and workplace and so on. This is particularly rampant among the younger generations of Edo speakers.

2.3.2.1 Language Attitude and the Edo guilds

It is clear that while there is a broad range of perspectives from which to define language attitude, the general unifying concepts about attitude are that it involves both beliefs and feelings, that it theoretically should influence behaviour, and that there are a range of issues about which people have language attitudes, from opinions about one's own language, to foreign speakers of one's own language, to foreign languages, to official policies regarding languages.

Different researchers in various fields (such as linguistics, social psychology, and sociology) focus on these different areas, and hence their definitions of language attitude reflect their perspectives. This explains in part why, as several researchers above noted, there is no one accepted definition of language attitudes.

One such difference of perspective is the behaviourist vs. mentalist definitions of attitude which Fasold among several scholars, discusses. As he points out, most researchers tend to follow the mentalist attitude, which is the one which breaks attitude down into feelings, beliefs and behaviour. This statement is supported by the number of researchers who do not specifically say they are using a mentalist approach but all mention these three components. Also, those who do not specifically define attitude at all, but rather assume a commonly accepted definition, almost all invariably discuss these three components (without necessarily making it explicit that they consider them to be components of attitude). Such approaches (behaviourist vs. mentalist) are applicable both in attitudes of individual speakers and in those of populations of speakers; it is this latter group which often have an impact on language policy and planning.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

The present study adopted two theoretical models (which in this case are: a theory for the analysis of discourse and ideological expression and an approach proposed for the analysis of identity construction in interactions) for the sake of proper analysis of data and evaluation of results on the language used by the guild system in the creation of a group identity within the Edo (Benin) society. The theories adopted are: The Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth, CDA and the Sociocultural Linguistics Approach (henceforth SLA). The former was adopted to handle the ideological aspect of our investigation while the latter, the identity angle. The two theories are hereafter evaluated on their merits in the subsequent subsections that follow.

2.4.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

The concept, 'Critical Discourse Analysis (hereafter CDA)', a kind of discourse analysis method, is a new branch of modern linguistic approach in recent years. To study discourse in a critical perspective began in the late 1970s, and developed later on in the turn of the century. So far, both in China and abroad, great achievements concerning CDA has been made. Through reviewing the multiple perspective studies of CDA at home and abroad, the purpose of this paper is to help scholars to get a comprehensive understanding of the development of CDA, with the ultimate purpose of promoting related academic researches, monographs and papers have been published continuously. The well-known representatives include Fowler, Kress, Fairclough, Wodak, van Dijk, etc. On the basis of M.A.K. Halliday's Systematic Functional Linguistics, not only the theoretical studies but also the discourse

analytical approaches concerning the study of CDA have been developed by a number of scholars, who have made great contribution to the development of CDA and put their own analytical approaches forward. The present study is oriented more on the analytical premise of van Dijk

2.4.1.1 A Socio-cognitive Model of CDA

According to 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. The activities of such group can therefore be relatively predictable as a common socio-psychological orientation exist among and between its members as well as a commonly held attitude to outsiders/non-members.

The proponents of the socio-cognitive approach to discourse analysis are van Dijk (2004) 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, 2009) 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 (Koller, 2012). In doing CDA, Van Dijk offers some practical principles and guidelines and asserts that he has no special school or approach.

He is often referred to as the most referenced and quoted authority in critical discourse analysis (Sheyholislami, 2014). 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 processes” (van Dijk, 1988:2).

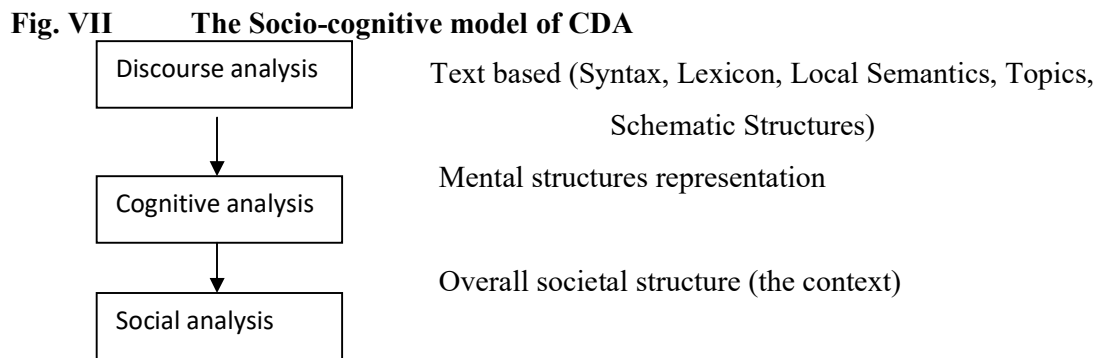
He does not consider CDA as a branch of discourse analysis, like conversation analysis or psycho-discourse analysis; for this reason he suggests researchers to look at the CDA as an interdisciplinary, and take an eclectic approach towards it using the findings of other cultures, countries, and other humanities disciplines. On the basis of his interdisciplinary attitude towards the field he labels his methodology as socio-cognitive discourse analysis and states that despite his reluctance to labeling, which shows to what extent studying cognition is significant in CDA, communication, and interaction. However, this does not mean that CDA should confine its limits to cognitive and social analysis; rather, due to the real world problems, its complexities and people’s needs CDA should have historical, cultural, socio-economical, philosophical, logical, and neurological approaches as well.

2.4.1.2. Justifying SCR as a method of choice within CDA

One could say that in spite of the differences which exist in major approaches to CDA, all of these approaches pursue one common goal that is representing the dialectic relationship between language, power, ideology, and the influential role that language plays in emanation of power and legitimizing social inequalities. For as it was shown the dominant ideology, as a result of excessive use, will be presupposed and it becomes natural and neutral. Therefore, critical discourse analysts are giving a serious effort to clarify and denaturalize the hidden power relations, ideological processes that exist in linguistic text. They attempt to awaken the

unconscious of those people who contribute to the establishment and legitimization of ideology through their ignorance.

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, 1995) 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:



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.

This study 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 Edo 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.

The analytic tool employed here will be based on van Dijk model of the CDA (see van Dijk 1995a, 1995b 2006 and 2016). Here, we are striving to explore the expressions of ideology

through the socio-cognitive interaction structure of members of the guilds so presented. In a broader sociocultural context, we will be able to appreciate the power and dominion dynamics in the Edo society with respect to this institution (guilds). To accomplish this goal therefore, we will present the different sets of discursive extracts using the following preliminary analytic and discourse features:

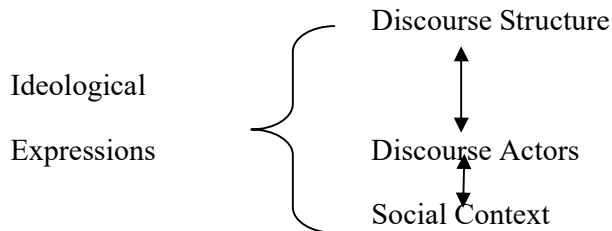
- Relationality Modality
- Honorifics
- Indexicality, and
- Order of Discourse

These items will constitute the themes under which the presentation and discussion of the ideological devices and expression strategies of the guilds will be based. The highlight of these will be the evaluation of the different discourse strategies of ideological expressions in the socio-cultural setting of Edo (Benin). This has in turn made the focus of our analysis here to be on the utilization of certain linguistic devices in expressing group activities and social behaviour within the wider social domain of the society.

2.4.1.3 Relational Modality

This is one of the modalities for discourse analysis as advocated by Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995, and 2002) 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 chapter with the socio-cognitive model of CDA as a benchmark for this. The ideological orientation of the larger Edo 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:

Fig. IX: The Discourse flow chart



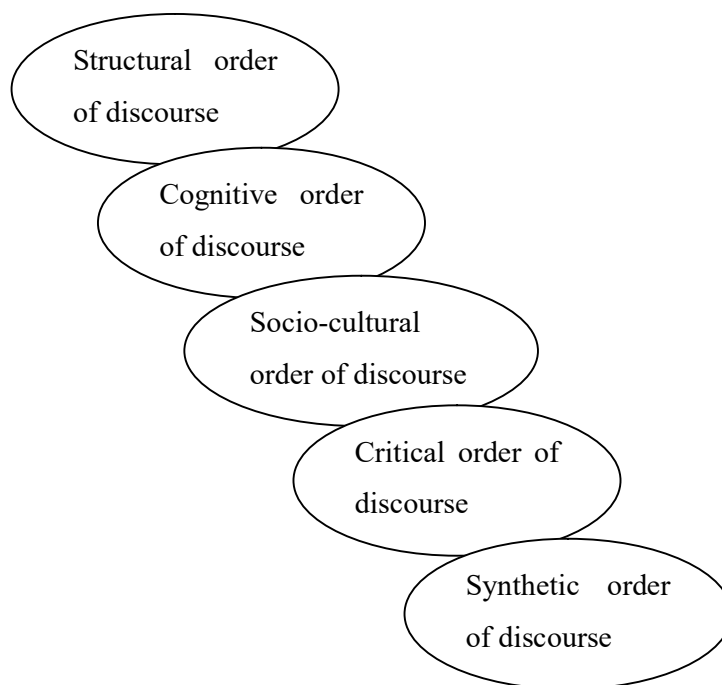
This is a model of ideological expression that demonstrates the inverse link between discourse structure and discourse participants on the one hand and social context and discourse participants on the other hand.

2.4.1.4 The Order of Discourse

The order of discourse represents an important appraisal of interactional structure which is a product of Fairclough socio-cultural CDA approach (Foucault, 1979). It has to do with the various configurations of different types of genres in a discourse. This analytic concept is akin to interdiscursivity (Fairclough, 1993). Foucault talks about discourse as an interaction that exists long before participants have joined it even though the conventions for its initiations are followed. That is discourse topics exist in a kind of mental state in the minds of discourse participants as well as the events surrounding it and this materializes only when discursive participants come together to engage in a conversation. The setting of this is often time determined by the location and the confidentiality requirement of the discourse participants.

Therefore, the creation of discourse is controlled, selected, organised and distributed by some number of procedures all at once. The role of these procedures is to filter the powers and dangers of chance events coming into play in the original discourse content. In our modifications to the order of discourse, we propose the following categories of discursive analysis thus.

Fig. X: The order of discourse flow chart



This chart can be explained in a variety of ways to illuminate the socio-cognitive representation of interactive procedures in different discourse settings. The manifestations of these categories are explained based on the nature of the data for the present study below.

The order of discourse is also used to refer to the ordered set of discursive practices associated with a particular social domain or institution. The order of discourse in the present study will be restricted to the structural, cognitive and socio-cultural in that order. The choice of these orders was based on the theme of the current investigation which dwelt extensively on cognitive and socio-cultural orientation of the guilds discursive practices in the Edo society.

The basic textual analysis of the clausal data obtained will be done in line with the principles of socio-cultural linguistic approach (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). This will involve the evaluation of the content of the text and the significance of certain items used in discourse. The distinct lexical items, which will constitute for this study, the register of the guild and their identity markers are underlined in the clauses.

2.4.2 Sociocultural linguistics approach (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005)

This model of identity analysis was developed by Bucholtz and Hall (2005) whose article in the same year *Identity and Interaction: a sociocultural linguistic approach* proposes a framework for analyzing identity within linguistic interaction. Towards this end, they provided a definition of identity which reflects this position as “Identity is the social positioning of self and other” (p.586). Identity operates on multiple linguistic levels simultaneously – vowel quality, turn shape, code choice or ideological structure, and all these levels receive social meaning. The framework we outline here synthesizes key work on identity from all these traditions to offer a general sociocultural linguistic perspective on identity that is, one that focuses on both the details of language and the workings of culture and society. By *sociocultural linguistics* here is meant the broad interdisciplinary field concerned with the intersection of language, culture, and society.

This term encompasses the disciplinary subfields of sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, socially oriented forms of discourse analysis (such as conversation analysis and critical discourse analysis), and linguistically oriented social psychology, among others. Identity is a relational and sociocultural phenomenon manifesting in a discourse rather than a structure expressing fixed social categories. In pursuant of this position, they posit that identity does not emerge at a single analytic level whether vowel quality, turn shape, code choice, or ideological structure, but operates at multiple levels simultaneously. This approach by Bucholtz and Hall approach privileges the interactional level, because it is in interaction that all these resources gain social meaning. Their goal is to assemble elements of sociocultural linguistic work on identity into a coherent model that both describes the current state of research and offers new directions for future scholarship. This approach is based on five principles: Emergence, Positionality, Indexicality, Relationality and Partialness. Identity is produced by linguistic resources that are broad and flexible such as: labels, stances, styles, and even languages and varieties.

One of the theoretical models available for the investigation and description of the different components of identity in discourse/interaction was conceptualized by two scholars: Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall. In their article on *identity and interaction* (2005), they proposed a framework for investigating identities as products of linguistic interaction known as ‘the socio-cultural linguistic approach’. In their evaluation of this approach, they conceptualize of identity as based on the following principles itemized below.

- That it is the product rather than the source of linguistic and other semiotic practices, thereby making a case for the social and cultural conditioning of identity as oppose to a basic psychological phenomenon (not restricted to a primarily mental interpretation). This is what led to the emergent characterization of identity in discourse as will be explained further in our evaluation of the nature of identity construction in interaction latter in this section.
- Identities transcends macro-level and demographic categories, stances, participant roles as well as ethnographically emergent cultural positions. This is the aspect of positionality in discourse as a determinant of identity categorization.
- Identities are indexed linguistically through certain elements of discourse such as: labels, implicatures, stances, styles or general linguistic structures (phonological, grammatical and so on) and systems. That is identity is a product of indexicality as will be illustrated from our appraisal of other components of this approach in the latter part of this section.
- That identities are produced through the over lapping of aspects of the relationship between self and others which include but not restricted to such dichotomies as similarities/differences, genuineness/artifice and authority/delegitimacy. This is one of the cardinal aspects of identity as the distinction between self and others in interaction.
- Lastly, identity may be in part intentional, habitual and sometimes less than fully conscious as well as also being the outcome of intentional negotiation on the part of discourse participants. It can also be viewed as the outcome of certain ideological processes and structures.

In other words, based on the principles postulated above by Bucholtz and Hall, identity is a construct of emerging trend in interaction, position, indexicality, relational distinction and ideological processes. All of these manifests in different ways to give us a clear picture of the process of identity construction in interaction. This approach seeks to evaluate identity as a relational and socio-cultural phenomenon which emerges and flow in local discourse context of interaction as opposed to being a stable structural configuration located primarily in the mind of an individual or as fixed social categories (2005:585). The approach here is according to its proponents, one that focuses on both the details of language and the markings of culture and society.

They (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005:586) extend the conceptualization of socio-cultural linguistics to mean the broad interdisciplinary field concerned with the intersection of language, culture and society. This will therefore make the approach to encompass the various disciplinary fields of linguistics, sociolinguistics, anthropology and sociology. Identity as a human phenomenon does not emerge at a single analytic level but manifests and operates at multiple levels of analysis simultaneously. The emphasis of this approach is on interaction because it is through this medium that all the resources of discourse and social practices gain social meaning. In the evaluation of identity as a phenomenon of study therefore, the authors of this approach proposed five (05) analytic principles (which will be referred to as modules here) to guide researchers along this line of linguistic investigation as enumerated below.

1. Emergence module

This module stipulates that identity emerges from the specific conditions of linguistic interactions as illustrated by the statement by its proponents below.

Identity is best viewed as the emergent product rather than the pre-existing source of linguistic and other semiotic practices and therefore as fundamentally a social and cultural phenomenon.

(Bucholtz & Hall, 2005: 588)

Identity here is viewed not as simply a psychological mechanism of self-classification that manifests in people's social behaviour but as something that is constituted through social action and most importantly, language.

2. Positionality module

This principle investigates the micro details of identity as it is shaped from moment to moment in interaction. They argue that at the most basic level, identity emerges in discourse through the temporary roles and orientations assumed by participants such as evaluation, joke teller, listener and so on. This principle broadens the traditional referential image of identity to cover not only more widely recognized constructs of social subjectivity but local identity categories and transitivity interactional positions as conceptualized below.

Identities encompass (a) macro-level demographic categories (b) local ethnographically specific cultural positions and (c) temporary and interactionally specific stances and participants roles.

(Bucholtz & Hall, 2005: 588)

This module demonstrates the fact that different kinds of positions normally occur simultaneously in a single interaction. These positions serve as the primary determinant of the discursive roles typically assigned to different participants in an interactive setting.

3. Indexicality module

This is concerned with the mechanism by which identity is constituted in a discourse. It represents one of the basic means through which linguistic forms are used to construct identity positions. This indexical process operates at all levels of linguistic structure and use and equally outlines some of the different linguistic means through which identity is discursively produced as illustrated by the following seminal statement by its proponents.

Identity relations emerge in interaction through several related indexical processes, including (a) overt mention of identity categories and labels, (b) implicatures and presuppositions regarding one's own or others' identity position, (c) displayed evaluative and epistemic orientations to ongoing talk, as well as interactional footings and participants' roles and (d) the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific persons and groups.

(Bucholtz & Hall, 2005:594).

It therefore stands to reason that the most direct and overt way identities are constituted through talk is the obvious introduction of referential identity categories in discourse. It should be noted here that indexicality is not tied to only such micro-level linguistic structures like stance markers and style features but to entire linguistic systems as languages and dialects which are indexed to identity categories.

4. Relationality module

This principle advocates for the treatment of identity as a relational phenomenon. This relationality was conceived based on two goals: to portray the point that identities are never autonomous or independent but always acquire social meaning in relation to other available identity positions and social actors. Secondly, to call into question the widespread but oversimplified view of identity positions as revolving around a single axis which are sameness and difference. This principle emphasizes a much broader range of relations that are forged through identity process as the essay below illuminates.

Identities are intersubjectively constructed through several, often overlapping complementary relations including similarity/difference, genuineness/artifice and authority/deligitimacy.

(Bucholtz & Hall, 2005:598).

Identity relations are therefore synonymous with the concept of tactics of intersubjectivity. There are also different dimensions of relationality created through identity construction and manifest as any of the following: adequation/distinction, authentication and denaturalization, authorization and illegitimation. This last one has to describe the structural and institutional aspects of identity formation.

5. The partiality module

This is the principle of SCLA is based on the cultural conceptualization of feminism in many societies. The principle represented identities as being constituted by context and are themselves asserted as partial accounts (Viswesweran, 1994, Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). It attempts besides accounting for the partialness construed by a kind of identity relations, to examine the entire variety of ways by which identity exceeds the individual self. Identity as a natural relational phenomenon is always partial and produced through contextually situated and ideologically informed configuration of self and other in a discourse. These interactional and ideological constraints on identity construction are articulated thus:

Any given construction of identity may be in part deliberate and intentional, in part habitual and hence often less than fully conscious, in part an outcome of interactional negotiation and contestation, in part an outcome of others' perceptions and representations, and in part an effect of larger ideological processes and material structures that may become relevant to interaction. It is therefore constantly shifting both as interaction unfolds and across discourse contexts.

(Bucholtz & Hall, 2005:606)

This essay above perhaps reinforces the position of this approach as one that views identity as a dynamic constantly shifting/shaping phenomenon constructed through discourse rather than as a static normative phenomenon. It was also shown, were the kind of constraints that exist results in the sharpening in the construction of identity: structural, ideological, personal and group perception.

The principles/modules examined thus far represent the different and varied conceptualization of the strategy of identity formation through interaction. This is important because as stated here, identities are constantly shifting being shaped and reshaped at the instances of contexts and social actors' intentions and agencies and these modules represent the different levels of identity construction in discourse. The strength of this model/approach lies in the incorporation of both the broad sociological categories commonly aligned with the concept of identity with that of local positioning of ethnography and interactions. Identity therefore is conceived of as having come into being through the relations of habitual practice to interactional negotiation and representations of ideologies. These modules therefore constitute the analytical procedure for our discussions on identity creation in the guilds.

In pursuant of the theoretical frame above, this study is cast within the sociocultural linguistic approach as it is believed to possess parts of the answers to the objectives and goals of the present study. This can be seen from the emergence and positionality principles which are reflections of the peculiarities of ideology and identity in language use. We will now move to present some of the theoretical strength of this approach with a view to justifying its adoption in the present study.

2.4.2.1 Critique of the Socio-cultural linguistics approach

There have been several criticisms of the theoretical leanings of the proponent of the socio-cultural linguistics approach. Some of these critics such as Cameron and Kulick (2003) as well as Pable and Haas (2009) are of the opinion that the socio-cultural linguistics is too rigid in some of its assertions such as the total rejection of essentialism. Pable and Haas (2009) for example did an integrational critique of the approach by Bucholtz and Hall (2005) where they particularly pointed out some aspects of the limitations of this approach as follows:

- (i) The claim that sociolinguistics and sociocultural linguistics do not adhere to the fixed-code or an essentialist view of language and society,
- (ii) The emphasis on the establishment of fact based on verbal output (that is identity as emerging from interactions), and
- (iii) The exclusive attention given to gender-based and gender-related identity studies (especially with reference to homosexuality) which has led to a kind of scientific partiality and ultimately political-ideological goals.

They regarded the claim by socio-cultural linguists that linguistic signs are intersubjectively shared. Their position being that only if signs are regarded as private (as inextricably bound to an individual's personal experience with them) is it okay to argue against the notion of indexicality. In other words, there is nothing like a shared verbal experience as individual's conception of that differs from one person to another even when they share the same social grouping.

2.4.2.2 Justifying the Socio-cultural linguistic approach for the present study

The different research traditions within the sociocultural linguistic dimension have particular strengths in analyzing the varied dimensions of identity outlined as seen from the objectives of this study. The method of analysis selected by the researcher makes salient which aspect of identity comes into view, and this account contributes to the broader understanding of identity that we advocated in this study. The five principles outlined in this approach: Emergence, Positionality, Indexicality, Relationality, and Partialness all represent the varied ways in which Butchotz and Hall approach the question of identity.

The socio-cultural linguistic approach is an effective framework for investigating language ideology and identity contents from a socio-cultural background. Here, emphasis is on the role played by cultural practices (ideology) in the sharpening of individual or group distinctions (identity) through language use. This has been successfully employed in such studies as Gong et. al. (2013) which investigated the construction of cross cultural identity by language choice and linguistic practices by Mainland Chinese in Hong Kong. The other research along this line is that of Amao (2014) investigation of the relations among discourse, group ideology and social identity in the Motor park discourse of South-Western Nigeria. These are but a few of the several studies on discourse, ideology and identity from a socio-cultural perspective which will justify our application of this approach to our analysis.

While identity has been a widely circulating notion in sociocultural linguistic research for some time, few scholars have explicitly theorized this concept as an approach for conducting proper identity research. The present study by offering insight into this approach presents one way of understanding this kind of work by anchoring identity in interaction. By positing, in keeping with recent scholarship, that identity is emergent in discourse and does not precede it, we are able to locate identity as an intersubjectively achieved social and cultural phenomenon as will be seen from the different interactional contexts of the guilds activities in

the Edo (Benin) society. This discursive approach of sociocultural linguistics further enables us to incorporate within identity not only the broad sociological categories most commonly associated with the concept, but also more local positioning, both ethnographic and interactional like those of ideology, variation, choices of communicative medium and attitudes to the forms of interactive medium. It is for all these and other reasons not mentioned here that the present study decide to adopt this approach for the study.

2.4.3 Critical Discourse Analysis and the Socio-cultural linguistic approach

The two theoretical approaches discussed thus far represent different models of accounting for the phenomena of ideology and identity. While CDA is quite suited to the appraisal of the ideological structure of a discourse due to its ability to unveil such issues as power, tension, conflict, values, morals, beliefs and ideas, the socio-cultural linguistic model is suited to treating issues of identity and how it can be projected from interactions or discourse. These two models therefore are triangulated in this study as a single framework for the treatment of ideological expressions in discourse and identity construction from the context of the discourse.

2.5 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, we have been able to present a step by step evaluation of the different concepts related to this study and previous studies on the theme of this study. We also present the links between these different concepts: identity, ideology, variation, and language choice and language attitudes in line with the objectives of the study. We were able to show through various illustrations the underlying link between all three which this study seeks to unveil from the perspective of a functional group (guilds) in the Edo (Benin) society. We have also shown here the theoretical frameworks adopted for data presentation and analysis. The theoretical foundations of the study (critical discourse analysis and socio-cultural linguistics approach) have been laid along with the different perspectives to the study (ideological and identity respectively), we will then move in the following chapter to appraise the methodological aspects of the study with a view to presenting the steps taken in the course of obtaining and utilizing the data for the study.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This part of the work outlines the methods employed in the course of our investigation especially with respect to the design of the work which involves but not limited to the following: the research population, research instruments and the extent or scope of data collection, as well as the analysis of data. In line with the dictates of a descriptive research, the study adopts both the primary and secondary sources of data collection. The former consists of the utilization of such research instruments such as: interviews and direct observation while the latter deals with the consultation of documentary materials on the focus of study. The qualitative method was adopted because the study dwells on the ethnolinguistic features of a social institution in the Edo (Benin) society.

3.2 Area of the study

This study covers the Oredo Local Government Area of Edo State which also comprise of the Capital City of the State, Benin. The area of the City (ogbe quarters) where the Monarch resides is of great importance to the study because the guilds tend to congregate around the area as their activities are based on the requirements of the palace of the Oba of Benin. This is also a reflection of the affluent nature of the guilds as this is the area in the state where influential people reside. So the base of the present study is Benin City in the area known as *Ogbe* ‘palace quarters’ where many of the traditional institutions of Edo (Benin) people are established as well as a great number of the guilds (especially the ones selected for the present study).

3.2.1 Population of the study

Towards actualizing the objectives of this study, the targeted population consisted of all the guilds in the Edo (Benin) society whereby only three were selected. We also considered those people (outside the guilds) that are familiar with the socio-cultural institutions that exist in the area of our investigation. Emphasis was placed on the male members of these guilds as preliminary investigation already revealed that there is a gender restriction (women do not generally participate) on the activities of the guilds making the affairs of the guilds to be predominantly male dominated. The research population therefore consisted of principally males based in the *Ogbe* quarters of Benin City with affiliation to the guilds and the palace

societies in the Edo (Benin) society. The population consisted of both educated and uneducated members of the guilds and affiliated palace societies.

3.2.2 Sample size

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 (3000 members of the different guilds) reflects the characteristics of the whole in this regard. Due to a number of constraints 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 Eronmwọ* and *Emátòn* each and one from *Ogbelaka*), 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 *Odionwere* 'oldest man' in that order. As for *Igun Eronmwọ* and *Igun Ematòn/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.

3.2.3 Sampling method

Multi-stage sampling was employed in the course of selecting sampling informants for the study. The first stage involved the selection of Benin City as the area of study. This was closely followed by the isolation of the Ogbelaka quarters in the City which houses the palace of the Monarch, the different palace societies/social institutions and some of the guilds in the society. This was then followed by the selection of the three guilds (*Eronmwọ* 'bronze', *Emátòn* 'blacksmith' and *Ogbelaka* 'royal entertainers') examined in the study. The selected guilds were chosen based on the following factors:

- a) Perceived relevance of these guilds as emblems of social cohesion and royal authority as demonstrated by the continued importance/relevance of these guilds to the Edo (Benin) society and the palace;
- b) The relative accessibility of these guilds to members of the public coupled with the fact that they are not based inside but outside the palace of the Oba of Benin;

- c) The fact that the services of these guilds are required on a regular basis thereby creating avenues for the direct observation of their works and their communication;
- d) The observed relatively rich and creative use of the Edo (Benin) language by members of these guilds as opposed to others in the Edo (Benin) society; and
- e) The personal desire of the researcher to maintain the focus of the work on linguistics which will not be possible if more of these guilds are examined.

3.3 Research instruments

The present study utilizes two instruments for the collection of data: the interview method (indepth-IDI) and observation method (non-participant). These instruments were chosen for the sake of having a direct contact with informants and getting information that reflects the ideology, identity and attitudes of these informants for the purpose of fulfilling our research objectives. These instruments are explained further in the sub-sections that follow.

3.3.1 Interviews (key informant K 11)

A semi-structured interview (whereby some of the questions asked were determined by the responses obtained from preceding questions) was adopted in the study as a bridge between the structured and the unstructured interviews. The essence of this is to obtain a general structure that can be subjected to modifications at any point in time in the course of interaction with interviewees. This was also done to provide an avenue for insights into the socio-cultural world and orientation of informants. Some of the leading questions asked in the interview were:

- 1) Do you have a special way/code for communicating among yourselves?
- 2) Is the way of communication in the guild different from the common Edo used by other members of the society?
- 3) Is the guild membership restricted to certain persons or open to anyone?
- 4) How the guild organized and what are your beliefs and or principles?
- 5) How to tell if one is a member of your group?

There was a need to revise the questions, ask the question over and over again and add certain prompting questions along the way in line with the research objectives. As a result of the nature of the present study and in the light of this research instrument, the population of persons interviewed consisted of five (05) principal Benin Chiefs (three of whom also double

as the heads of the guilds being described). These informants were selected based on their wealth of experience in the affairs of the palace societies and the guilds in particular. The setting for the data collection was in the residences of three (03) of the principal Chiefs who are heads of the guilds studied. These residences also housed the workshops where the main activities of the guilds are carried out and a collective point for the different members of the guilds. This also made the informants relaxed and uninhibited as they freely provided answers to all the questions asked.

The interviews were conducted in three different sessions for the guild of blacksmith, with each of the sessions lasting an hour on two occasions and up to three hours on the other occasions. As for the guild of bronze casters, the interview was conducted twice, each of them lasting a total of forty minutes due to the engagement of the principal informant for the guild. The interview session for the guild of the royal entertainers took place in two sessions as well with each of them lasting an hour and thirty-five minutes respectively. All interview sessions were recorded for the sake of clarity and consistency and to make further verification easier for the researcher.

3.3.2 Observation (non-participant)

Employing this method, the researcher spent a period of a year and eight months (from July 2016 to March, 2018) in order to be able to collect a substantial amount of data reflecting the discourses and different registers of the guilds in the course of group interaction and functions in the guild's workshop which is a natural setting for the appraisal of their socio-cultural characteristics. This was achieved by getting invitation to the meetings and workshops of these guilds and a verbal consent to do an audio recording. This was achieved through a member who is a personal contact of the guilds that made it possible for these places and people to be accessed. In the course of these meetings/works, the researcher was made to sit in a corner of the room or workshop where the activities or meetings are taking place in order to be able to record the conversation between the different members of these guilds. So here the focus was on discourse data which were later sifted after the session to filter out those expressions that are deemed incomprehensible to the researcher who is a native speaker of Edo (Benin) language. It was these incomprehensible lexical items that now constituted the basis of our analysis in the subsequent chapter.

3.4 Validation of Research Instrument

These research instruments though may have some deficiencies; their effectiveness greatly outweighs such deficiencies/disadvantages as have been shown by several pilot and substantive investigations. The data collected were subjected to further evaluation by going through them again with the informants and confirming the information obtained and transcribed with different members of the guild and other persons knowledgeable in the affairs of these social institutions.

3.5 Method of Data Analysis

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, 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 the socio-cultural linguistics approach (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). The data obtained through observation were first of all represented on a sentence-by-sentence basis and glossed following a 3-level translation method (Uwajeh, 2007) of lexical, literal and figurative depending on the nature of the data. In this way, we were able to identify the distinct register of these guilds when compared with the regular Edo usage and as seen from the work of Kamalu and Fortress (2000), register (lexical items) is one of the ways different groups assert their identity. The essence of doing this is for us to be able to compare side by side the variation between the Guild Edo and the Common Edo which is the basis of the present study.

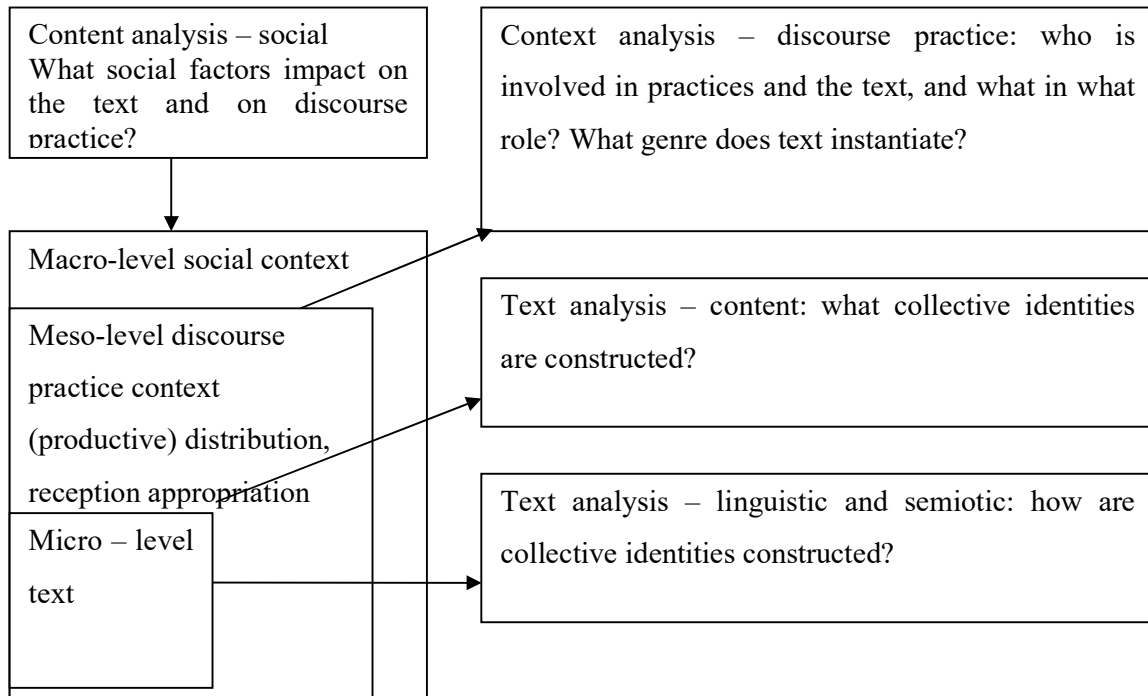
In order to properly examine some parts of the data, (especially those dealing with identity) we employed as a means of analysis, the method of vocabulary comparison or verification.

This method which is akin to that of mass comparison in historical comparative linguistic investigations, seeks to compare lexical items between two or more groups or varieties of a language and in this case that between the guilds' register and the one of the average Edo speaker. In this case, our verification is based on the distinction if any exist between the vocabulary of the guilds and those of non-members in the Edo society. This was done with the aid of a comprehensive dictionary of the Edo language (Melzian 1937, Agheyisi, 1986) and consists of the representation of items from both units of the language on a side by side basis in a tabular form where the similarities and distinctions can be captured fairly easily for the purpose of the present study.

3.6 Analytical Framework

The data used in this study were descriptively presented and discussed using the socio-cognitive model of van Dijk (2009) for the ideological aspect of our investigation (see section 2.4 for a detailed account of this framework). The analytical framework is therefore presented by means of a schema below and the different levels explained by the table that follows.

Fig. VIII: Levels of analyzing collective ideology and identity in a discourse



Adopted from Koller (2012:24)

The schema above is based on the collective evaluation of the different discourse models revolving around the socio-cognitive approach. The different categories in the schema above are explained in detail with the aid of the table below:

Table 3.I: 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.

The guilds in the Edo society operate along this line as will be shown by the results of our investigation. They employ language as a means of accentuating social contrast with other Edo speakers. They tend to focus on an authoritative projection of their knowledge of the language and in passing reference to older variation of the language as well as knowledge of such socio-cultural linguistic devices such as proverbs, riddles and figures of speech. This more than other socio-cultural factors serves as the distinctive features of the guild as a social institution within an institution in the Edo society.

3.7 Chapter Summary

We have shown in this chapter, the research method and the different techniques that will be employed in obtaining data for this research and how these will be applied for a successful analysis. These methods have also been shown to have been very effective in past researches of this nature and are therefore expected to deliver successfully with a narrow margin for errors and deficiencies. These may be modified as the research progresses due to the nature of the phenomena currently within the scope of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

The chapter discusses data from the three principal guilds selected for the study which are: the *Igun Èmátòn* or *Ugbòha* (Guild of Blacksmiths), *Igun Èrònmwọ* (Guild of Bronze Smith) and *Igun Ogbelaka* (Guild of Royal Musicians and Dancers). In the case of the interviews conducted, the responses of interviewees will be discussed alongside the questions used to elicit them and this will be followed by a discussion on the identity and ideology content of these responses. This chapter presents the different levels of the discursive analysis of the guilds' speech. The presentation and discussion here cover the different settings of the guilds' discourse obtained in the course of their meetings and workshops. Special attention will be paid to the linguistic devices/markers found in the speech of this group for expressing their ideologies, the ideologies expressed and the process of group identity construction among other things. The data are therefore organized into two sets: the first being extracts of discourses while the second consists of extracts of interviews.

4.1 Linguistic markers of ideology in the guilds' discourse

This section seeks to provide answers to our research question one which is centered on the devices/markers of ideological expression by 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 Edo society. In this section therefore, the tenet of socio-cognitive representation model of CDA: Relational Modality, Honorifics, Indexicality and Order of Discourse will be used to evaluate available data. 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. One of these discourse strategies is the employment of figurative expressions when presenting issues or cases that may be deemed insulting to a member of the guilds. The following excerpts buttress this position.

Excerpt 1

Ávbe' tàrà érhá óghé imà ghẹ òkhaèmwẹ Inẹ nẹ ọ yá lá kòdẹ ké òdẹ wẹ ọ khéké nẹ ọ ná ré ènónwàrẹn nẹ ọ yá ékhòè ènónwàrẹn yá mù òtù ná khián nẹ imà ní kẹrè miẹ èkè ná ghá lélè èrè khián vbọ rhùnmwùdá íghó nẹ á yá rrié èvbàrè ùkpó ní ọ má hàá èrè gbá, àwàrókpá ní óná ghì khàré wẹ íghó ní irèn ghá hà èrè vbè èghẹ nẹ é khián kpẹ 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 reveals the following: that the head (supervisor) of this guild is affectionately referred to as *érhá óghé 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 ó nà re ènónwárèn* ‘as he is an elder’ and *ye ékhòè óghé enonmwaren* ‘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 figurative linguistic devices in making allusion to a wrongdoing by a member(s) of the guilds. This is illustrated by another discourse extract as seen below.

Excerpt 2

Èmítìn òkàrò èrè nà khín, òmwá nè ó nà èrhùnmwù ne a yá kie owa keghi re ọten ima ighe Ìkpònmwósà nè ó nà re èmítìn òkàrò vbè ùkpó nà, à má rré rré suẹn rhùnmwùdá èmwá níí bún má rré rre rré vbè iràn má rẹn ghé éré nà èrè èmítìn suẹn rẹn.

“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 extract above 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 witness. A careful observation of this speech sample reveals a variety of linguistic devices employed in portraying the ideological orientation of the group which is the use of a figurative expression *rhùnmwùdá èmwá níí bún má rẹn*. In this extract, attention is paid to some of the subtle reference to the issue of promptness by members of the guild, the first of which is the use of the term *ọten* (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

Edo society and to also protect the reputation of some persons involved in acts seen as inimical to the activities of the guilds. These expressions as used in the two excerpts are mutually intelligible to other Edo language speakers but not in the sense they are used here. Their interpretation here therefore differs from what the average speaker will normally take them to mean in the context they are used.

(A) The guilds' honorific discourse ideological expression

The guilds express some of their ideologies 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 Edo society at large within the hierarchical framework of the socio-cultural organization of the society (see figure IV, pg.14). 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

Ákòwé óghé owa nà keghi gù owa nà guan wé evbe ne ima ka yá guan i eghé i mobò rro ne ima khián ta vbe éré na. We a gbé isẹlogbe ne egbe vbe ofumwegbe vbe ukpo ogbon èrè mobò nọ kevbe wé Ávbe emwẹ ne orro hia ne a mu onrèn khẹ emeetin ne ó de. Ugbenmwẹ ó ghí guan ghé oten ima Akeghe ne kherhe ghé Ikponmwosa we ne Ákòwé óghé owa nà ne ó gbẹnẹ vbene a yá lo igho óghé ufomwẹ óghé ukpo ladian.

“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 reveals 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. The honorifics used here are: *Ákòwé*, *Akeghe*, *isẹlogbe*, and *ofumwegbe*. 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 *Ákòwé* 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

Evba ere Ákòwé óghé igho owa ná wé ebe hia ne ó gù iren ghe ehia gbare. A ná ghí we ne ó tie ere, ugben vbe ó ghí tie èrè nẹ, Aigbe ná we ó te gha rré iren orhiọn vbe ede ne a rrie evbare emwi ukpo nii ne iren hae igho nii ye aza óghé Ogbemudia ne ó re ako óghé owa ná ná miẹ ná rrie igho nii lá emeetin ne a miẹ ná yá de emwi ne agha lo.

“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 (1995b) calls the ‘systematic linking of discourse structures with ideological structure’. This is a socio-cultural way of constructing the guilds world based on a critical evaluation of the underlying ideology of honoring personality’s perception such as: *Ákòwé, Aigbe, Ogbemudia and ako óghé owa ná* 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 not to acknowledge the monarch (usually referred to as *asòmó 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

Eh emwa ọvbehe ghí sẹtin laho do ruẹ ọre, ọmwá ọkpa ne ọ mwẹ ẹtin ne aya rri ọmwá ọ ghí rri ẹrè gha de oni ọre ọmó ne Ọba ne ọ do ruẹ ọre, Ọba gha tọ kpere – Isee

“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

Okaro, Ọba mwa tobọre, iren ọ nyaẹ inwina Na, iren OSA yá re we, nogieva, ọre ọkhaẹmwẹ, Inẹ ne igunẹrọnmwọ ne ebo tiere custodian. Ireń ọ gbé aro ghe inwina nà vbe odin Edo hia fẹfẹfẹ. Emwa vbe hia vbe rro Ávbe Ehanire, Ihama, Ávbe Akenuwa eni hia fẹfẹfẹ vbe rro, te a rriọre vbe ukhu.

“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 Edo 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 Edo 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 personalities notwithstanding, the *Ọba* still remains the single most important authority/power guiding and dictating the activities of the groups in question while the others are merely nominal authorities.

(B) The indexicalization of the guilds' discourse ideological expressions

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 6

Sokpan imẹ nà ta má ọnrẹn wẹ ghe egbe igho vbe rriọ abọ ọghé emwiku rro nẹ sokpan vbe ne eghẹ khare. A vbe tare sẹ rriọ wẹÍràn ne ọ zẹ igho gheghẹ ne ọ má zẹ igho fo ne a khián yá ruẹ emwi ukpo ghẹ igho ọghé Íràn ọ gbé o.

“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 by trying as much as possible not to refer to certain persons by names. 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 *ime* ‘me’ is used to indicate the speaker who in this context happens to be the secretary *Ákòwé* 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.

(C) The guilds’ ideological order of discourse

This level of discourse analysis within CDA involves the representation of the structural components of the linguistic process of ideology expression by the guilds in their discourses. It involves the conscious evaluation of the grammatical, semiotic and pragmatic features of the guilds discourse in the course of members’ interaction as will be considered from the extract below. It is important to note here that all the discussions thus far center on the linguistic markers/devices for expressing ideologies by the guilds in answering our first research question. In subsequent sections, we will be looking at the types and nature of ideologies expressed by the guilds and their process of identity construction.

Excerpt 7

Emeetin okaro èrè nà khin, òmwá ne ó nà erhunmwu ne a yá kie owa keghi re oten ima ighe Ikponmwosa ne ó nà re emmetin okaro vbe ukpo na, a má rré rre suen rhunmwuda emwa nii buun má rré rre rré vbe Írán má rên ghé éré nà èrè emeetin suen.

“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 will start today”.

In this extract, attention will be given to some of the subtle reference to the ideology of the guild, the first of which is the use of the term *òtén* (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. The use of *emwa* too is a representation that 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 Edo society.

The structural tilt of this expression will become different when this discourse is taking place when some members of the upper echelon of the guilds are present. In this context, the discussion becomes more formal and takes on a solemn note as will be revealed by the expression in the sample below.

Excerpt 8

Akọ iwe óghé owa nà keghi gù owa nà guan wé evbe ne ima ka yá guan i eghé i mobọ rro ne ima khián ta vbe éré na. We a gbé isẹlogbe ne egbe vbe ofumwegbe vbe ukpo oghon èrè mobọ nọ kevbe wé Ávbe emwẹ ne orro hia ne a mu ónrèn khẹ emeetin ne ó de. Ugbenmwẹ ó ghí guan ghé oten ima Akeghe ne kherhe ghé Ikponmwosa we ne Ákọ iwé óghé owa nà ne ó gbene vbene a yá lo igbo óghé ufomwẹ óghé ukpo ladian.

“The secretary informed the house (assembly of the guilds) that the body may not be able to discuss many of the issues scheduled for that day due to time constrain. Other than the usual tradition of wishing one another a successful new year and good health every other items are to be rescheduled for subsequent meetings. It was at this junction that one of the members (oten as used above) requested the secretary to also update members on the financial expenditures for the previous year in line with their standing order”.

This is a categorization which involves the analysis of the crucial social dimensions of dominance which is based on who is allowed to say what and from whom, where, when and how. This is a representation of the cognitive dimension of the interactive expression of ideology. This order was introduced as a theme in this section with a view to getting a proper insight into the mind of the guilds members with respect to their interactional behaviours. This cognitive dimension constitutes the shared representations of societal arrangements, groups and relations and the mental operations such as interpretation, thinking and arguing, inferencing and learning (van Dijk, 1993). This is further illustrated by the discourse sample below:

Excerpt 9

En o, wé ima gha miè eninwaren vbe owiẹ, ima ghí diguẹ tuẹ domo baba, lani oh, domo ediõnmwa lani. Otuẹ evá èrè ima tuẹ vbe igun, lani debae laeki ne a miè ken a rẹn egbe ne u ké rre. Ima i mwé vbene a ghí yá tu egbe sẹ oni. A gha vbe miè otu òmwá a ghí wé ose mwé obowiẹ oh.

“Well when we see elders in the morning, we knee down to greet in line with the general Edo family *ukhu* greeting and in this case our greetings are in the form of *delani* and *delaeki*. These enable us to know the family a member of the guild is from within the quarter housing us. We do not have other greeting system beyond these two except in the case of encountering one’s age group where the common salutations like good morning, good afternoon and good evening”.

In this context, reference is made to one of the cardinal pillars of the Edo society which is the greeting system ‘ukhu’ that is used by every member of the society as a means of expressing the line of identity of such a person. We can deduce from the extract above that discourse, communication and other forms of action and interaction are monitored by social regulations. It is a mediating link between micro (individual) and macro (the group) levels of social institution, between discourse and action as well as being the overall conceptualization of social and cultural moral organisation of the society as a whole.

(D) The guilds’ socio-cultural ideological order of discourse

This order of discursive appraisal has to do with the social domain where a particular order of discourse is taking place. It is a chart of the relationships and boundaries between local order of discourse such as the classroom, peer group and family. This order of discourse is amenable to the socio-cultural changes that are taking place in the society. This order of discursive practice networks the various ways dominance relationship are portrayed in a discourse. Let us consider the following utterances as an illumination of this phenomenon in the discursive practices of the Edo guilds.

Excerpt 10

Ima ye hia ne ima ya da emwi ne ede oghé ima yi. Ima na ne ivbi orre na we ima wa ze edo na kakabo rhunmwuda ebe do laro. Eghé ne ede Oba ere ima nwina lele vbane omó vbe do gha saen ese ne érhá oghé ime. ó ghí ya ivie ne, ó ghí mu oto mu ne. Oba ó nyaé emwi hia. Oba gha to kpere, ó ni ó siere, u gha ghe idin Edo hia, idin igun na ó ghimwe ekhaemwe ne ó bun se vbe Edo, Írán ó vbe mwé ekhaemwe ne ó aseke se (duty/title) rhunmwuda emwi ne Írán ru ne Oba.

“We actually are trying to hold the things of old intact. We that are the children of the soil speak the old variety of Edo because of modernisation. In the olden days, it is the Oba we work for while he normally rewards us from time to time. He usually gives out beads, lands and other things as he owns everything. May he live long, Amen. This is why when you get to the heart of Edo land, it is this guild that has the highest number of Chiefs. We are also the quarter in the land with the highest number of title holders due to services we render to the Oba and the Edo society”.

This expression reflects the socio-cultural orientation of the guilds as a dominant socio-cultural institution in the Edo society with responsibilities for the protection and preservation of the socio-cultural values of the society. This is buttressed by the expression: *Ima ye hia ne ima yá da emwi ne eḍe óghé ima yi*, an allusion to the fact that the guilds are the custodian of the cultural values of the Edo people. In this regard, reference is made to the fact that before now, the only patron of the activities of the groups is the monarch and the Edo traditional institution with all its glories and prestige in the society. This is portrayed by the expression: *Eghe ne eḍe Oba èrè ima nwina lele vbene òmò vbe do gha saen ese ne érhá óghé ime.ó ghí yá ivie ne, ó ghí mu otọ mu ne. Oba ó nyaḗ emwi hia*. This position is illustrated further in the form of the following extract of interaction in the guilds.

Excerpt 11

Ima ne igun, ima nà ima da emwi ne eḍe yi ne ima nà giè èrè wi. A gha do gha lo usun emwe ne a ghí miè na, emwi nibun do gha wi. Edo èrè ima wa zẹ edo neḍe. oni ó siere ne uwa nà lo Ávbe evbo ne u wa yá talọ Ávbe emwi nà uvbi ima ne ima rẹn vbe ne a zẹ Edo neḍe rẹ, Íràn ghí vbe rẹn onrẹn, ó siẹe ne ima nà guan be nia.

“We the members of the guilds, are the custodian of the cultural values of the Edo society to prevent these from becoming extinct. If we were to let people know about our activities, many things about the group and the Edo society may be lost from both the cultural and linguistic perspectives due to modernisation. We know that many Edo people of today are not conversant with this variety of the language as a result of modernisation and that is why we use these terms to remind us of our heritage”.

In the expression above, a deliberate attempt is made to stress the importance of the guilds as a dominant socio-cultural force in the Edo society. This is done with a clear reference to the identity of group membership as *ima ne igun* ‘we the guilds’ as a prominent institution with the society who are still very much utilizing the older and more prestigious variety of the language in the transaction of discourses between members in each group.

(E) The Guilds’ Discursive Structure

This section introduces us to the different aspects of the discursive structure of the guilds from the socio-cognitive, socio-cultural perspectives as well as the general ideological structure of the guilds. In doing this a sampling of the different aspects of the guilds’ discourse along with their different settings will be provided to justify the different analytic claims made in the different subsections.

The ability of members of the guilds to recognize or know the different discursive practices and structure of their organization is an interesting aspect of the socio-cognitive representation of the guilds' discourse. By way of the examination of the different discourse structures of the guilds, we are able to glimpse the underlying mental orientation and perception of the members of the different groups that constitute the guild system in the Edo society. The cognition of discourse structure and setting are illustrated in the expressions presented as extracts below:

Excerpt 12

Okaro ghé yá fíḍon ne u yá má ọviẹn era ray a má ọrriọvbehe ere. Emwi ne ó rré uwe ẹrè ó kpolọ gbe, unu i khián sẹtin tare. Enikaro ó ruẹ ye otọ ne a ghé má ọmwá ọvbehe ere.

The first of which is that we should not allow outsiders into the activities of the guilds. What is involved in our works is so great that one may not be able to talk about them freely. This is the rule laid down by our ancestors that non-members of the guilds should not be involved in the works of the guilds.

This expression portrays one of the cardinal regulations of the guilds which has to do with the need to keep the groups' activities a secret from any prying individual. This regulation is so imprinted into the mental consciousness of members of the guilds that even certain family members, friends and associates of the groups are actually shunned whenever there is a show of interest in the activities of the group. The enormity of this is conveyed by the expression: *Enikaro ó ruẹ ye otọ ne a ghé má ọmwá ọvbehe ere* the reference to the ancestors 'Enikaro' as used is a strong reminder to the members of the guilds that their activities has serious spiritual significance or ramifications. This more than any othe thing ensures an adherence to a strict information sharing protocol by members. It is also for this particular reason that visitors are rarely allowed into the workshops of the guilds except with the express permission of the monarch (Ọba) which is rarely given. All these practices were observed first hand by the researcher in the course of gathering the needed information for the present study.

4.3 The nature and types of ideologies expressed by the guilds

This section provides answers to our research question two which dwells on the types of ideologies expressed by the guilds discourse. This it does by introducing us to some socio-cultural aspects of the guilds' discourse structure and settings in the Edo society and ultimately the ideologies expressed by the guilds. An investigation of the excerpts of text at our disposal reveals certain socio-cultural practices exhibited by the groups being examined.

An instance of such socio-cultural practices which is a component of discursive practices which manifest in the discourse of the guilds examined here are: gender ideology, ethnic ideology, relevance ideology and patriarchal ideology. Consider the following discourses as an illustration of these socio-culturally induced discourse structures.

Excerpt 13

Eke ne alughæen ye vbọ, ọre ọ khọn rẹn ne a biẹ uwẹ vbe emwa ne ugha re ovbi Edo, a biẹ uwẹ idigun, emwa nà a nà biẹ erherha ọ ghe uwẹ gha de, ai kue ne u ruẹ emwi ne igun nà ru. Akugbe ni ye vbe rrọ ne ima hia nà re ovbi Edo, Edo hia yá ere hiọ alughæen ne ọ rrọ vbe èvbá ọ re deghe Edo hia fe ọ yá èrè hiọ, èrè Edo hia fe ọ ruẹ ọre. Sokpan ivbi Edo Ávbe má ọre èrè òmọ ne Oba vbe rrie rré ne i do ruẹ ọre. òmọ ne Oba ọkpa ọ mwé etin ne a yá rri òmwá do ruẹ ọre (ivbi Edo).

The main distinction between us and other Edo people is this, no matter how long you have spent in this society (Edo), you will not be allowed to learn the works of the guilds. Though we are all Edo, there are things we do that are not known to other Edo persons. So even if we are all from the same land, it is not all Edo people that practice the same occupation. As said before now, the Oba is the only one that can introduce new members to the guild but such a person must be a 100% Edo (both parents must be from the land) and must have served the palace in any capacity.

The extract above is all about part of the socio-cultural orientation of the guilds and is one that involves the criteria for membership of the group in the Edo society. For example the use of the expression: *ọ khọn rẹn ne a biẹ uwẹ vbe emwa ne ugha re ovbi Edo, a biẹ uwẹ idigun, emwa nà a nà biẹ erherha ọ ghe uwẹ gha de, ai kue ne u ruẹ emwi ne igun nà ru*, this is the first occasion of the expression of *a supremacist ideology* which manifests in various forms as will be illustrated as we progress in the study. It is clearly pointed out in this expression the rigid conditions laid down for new members to join the society and the discrimination on the basis of ethnicity and family.

Excerpt 14

Ne imẹ vbe ta ọvbehe, ovbidigun ruẹ ọre emọ okpia ne ọ rrọ nọ, emọ ikhuo i ruẹ ọre. òmọ ne okpia biẹ èrè nọ, èrè òmọ ne ikhuo biẹ vbe egbe igun, Íràn i kue. ọ má u ruẹse, epa uwa nii ru emwi nana, sẹ òmwá ye ama na, evbene uwa yá guan vbe otu rrọ ra?

Let me say here that it is only the male children of the guild (*idigun*), who are from the father's side, that can learn this craft. Those from the mother's side and all females in the family cannot learn the job.

This discourse reflects the gender bias of the guilds whereby females (even members of a guild family) are restricted from participating in the activities of the guilds. The reference to

the fact that only the children from the father's side are a reflection of gender bias associated with the general activities of the guilds. So it is not enough to be an Edo native nor is it enough to be born into any of the families constituting the foundation of the socio-cultural institution of the guild but one must be of the male gender to be considered qualified as a member of the guild in question.

Excerpt 15

Emwi ne ó mobọ vbe się ne ima nà kue ne emọ ikhuo ruę ore, Íràn gha rọnmwẹ ọdọ ne vbe aban, Íràn sẹtin mu ọnrẹn wue ne ẹgbẹ arowa ẹre.

The reason why we do not allow our female children to learn the craft is to prevent them from teaching their husbands and their families when they eventually get married.

This other discourse is a reinforcement of the previous one which illustrates the gender bias of the guilds with respect to the participation of females in the activities of the guilds. Here, the reason for the gender bias is provided which has to do with the generally held position that females would grow up in a household and get married to another family thereby taking on a new identity of the family married into. In a bid to curtail the exposition of the groups' activities to other families therefore, the female members of the guilds families are not taught the act of bronze casting neither are they allowed to come near the meeting places and workshops of the group.

Besides this gender bias position of the guild, the other discourse ideological orientation observed about them is that of relevance. This is whereby the group by its very action and activities seek to project its image in the wider Edo society. The generally held belief therefore is that the guild is responsible for the socio-cultural importance of the Edo society as it is their craft that has thrown the society to limelight. This position is projected by the following extract of discourse.

Excerpt 16

Okaro emwi ne Ávbe érhá ima ru ye otọ Edo ghe hin usi sẹ vbe nia. A ta emwẹ Edo vbe ẹrena na, rhunmwuda Ávbe emwi ne erhima ru ye otọ. Iguna na, emwi ne ima ru ẹrè Edo yá ghan, Ávbe ẹronmwọ nà ó ye emwa nya nun. Evbe ne ima yá sa ẹronmwọ nà ẹ rré ihe ọvbehe, ọmọ ne Oba gha tọ kpere. Isee.

First of all, what our fathers did in the Edo society is very significant. Edo today is very prominent as a result of the things our fore-fathers did for the society. This guild in particular (bronze) is responsible for the political, economic and artistic prowess the Edo society is known for and even in the present. These bronzes are what made the Edo society and Benin

kingdom very important tourist destination today. The ways we cast these bronzes are very unique and cannot be found anywhere else in the world. May the Oba live long, Amen.

This discourse is a reflection of the *relevance* orientation of the guild which is a constituent of the ideologies expressed by the guilds in their discourses. The projection here is based on the aesthetic importance normally attributed to the bronze casted by the guilds which is seen as unique in this respect. Not only that, the guild is viewed from the perspective of this extract as one with very important political, economic and artistic attributes in the Edo society and as such many of its members are very active in the political scene of the modern political activities of Edo state.

Excerpt 17

Ere ekhe dan o si ere, vbene Avbe igbesanmwa yena, Irun te vbe gha mwe otiti egbe ne ima ye vbe eghe ne o kpere. Irun na kue ne domwande emwa laho, eghe ghi se Na, Irun ghi mwe uyi vbe Edo.

It is not as a result of any selfish reason. For example, the guild of wood carvers, *igbesanmwa* used to be very popular before now but they are gradually becoming extinct due to their revelation of the nature of their activities to non-members. They opened up their activities to everyone interested in what they do and now that guild is no longer counted as relevant in the Edo society.

This is another instance of the expression of socio-cultural relevance by the guilds in the Edo society. The group is trying through this discourse to justify the reasons for the non-disclosure of the group's activities to other persons especially the female members of the guilds families. The position here is that it is not out of selfishness they are trying to prevent others from learning the act but rather out of the need for the group to be relevant in the society and to preserve the cultural purity of the Edo society. The guild therefore is using this comparison as a justification for the secrecy surrounding their activities and craft which may become like the *igbesanmwa* guild if allowed to be opened up to everyone in the Edo society.

Excerpt 18

O nii o siere ne u gha na miè erhan ne a kare vbe ehia sokpan eronmwọ i ye vbe rriọ. Ima se three hundred vbe otu na ni sa eronmwọ

That is why it is very difficult to see people replicating the work of the bronze casters thereby ensuring the enormous status we enjoy today in the Edo society. We are presently approximately three hundred (300) bronze casters in Benin.

This discourse is in furtherance of the relevance nature of the guilds discursive practice as seen from the previous examples. The narrator is still in this place dwelling on the loss of prestige by the *igbesanmwa* guild on their generous exposition of the secrets surrounding their craft. He went on to say that presently the members of the guild (those actively involved in the act of bronze casting) is now approximately three hundred in number. This number further reflects the extent to which the group will go to protect the exposure of their activities as it is only male children from the father's side who are willing to learn the act and have taken the oath of secrecy that are taught the craft.

(A) The ideological structure of the guilds' discourse

This subsection presents and discusses the ideological structure of the guilds in the Edo society based on their discursive practices. In the preceding section, we have been looking at the different aspects of the guilds' discursive practices and social structure in the course of conveying their ideological orientation within the wider Edo society. This is shown by means of the following expressions:

Excerpt 19

Ogieva, okhuo ghi setin do ya hiyo ye ehe ne ima na sa eronmwọ. Eghẹ ne ede, ikoroba ne okhuo ya khue a i rrie erè lá uwe owa. Ezi ekèn a rrie erè yi, a i ya sa amẹ nwọ. Emwi hia fẹfẹfẹ vbe Edo fi werriẹ nẹ, Edo ne a zẹ na ó ye vbe ilavbẹ, Edo ne Edo ne a zẹ rro. Ovbi Edo ne Edo.

Secondly this son of the King, used to dress with bronze from his head to his toes, all of his regalia are made of bronze. When he is walking therefore, there is this jingling sound that accompanies him from all the ornaments of his vestment so much so that, when he raises his hands, there is the sound of bronze, his legs, the sound of bronze and so on. So the use and casting of bronze has been in existence for a very long time now in the Edo society, starting from the time of the Ogiso Kings.

This extract reflects the strong ideological bias towards the gender group as anything pertaining to the female folks is strictly restricted from interfering with the activities of the group. In addition to this, is the allusion to the fact that there are two varieties of Edo language: the old Edo which is regarded as more authentic and prestigious and the common Edo which is regarded as more modern and adulterated? The guild in this case sees their use of the language as reflecting the natural original form of Edo with the expression *ovbi Edo ne Edo* 'child of the real Edo' which will therefore group other speakers not using this variety as less an Edo person. This is one of the ideologies (ethnic supremacy) expressed by the guilds so presented in this study and will be classified here as 'ideology of linguistic prejudice' as

the guilds by their very attitude to the use of Edo language are prejudiced against those deemed to be using a different form of the language regarded as adulterated. This is therefore termed here in line with our objectives the *purist* ideology of the guilds.

It is our position here that one of the major goals of the guild in modern day language planning is language purification. They strive to preserve and maintain the internal structure of Edo. Their roles in language planning should, therefore, be acknowledged and if properly empowered, the guild can be the Edo equivalent of the French Language Academy, Japanese Language Academy and Korean Language Academy.

Though so many things have changed with modernisation and education in our society for example, the Edo language many people speak now is not the real Edo unlike the old variety used by the members of the guilds that is unadulterated.

Excerpt 20

ghá rué vbè ìgièmwi:

for example these expressions: *òvbì mwé rriè àguè mé vbè èvbá*
my child bring me salt from there

The word for salt here *àguè* which could also be called *ikekan* or *ihion* which in common Edo is *ùmwé*.

Làhó rriè ùnwé mè vbá
Please give me spoon from there

The word for spoon *unwe* in common Edo is *èkùyé*

Òténmwé rriè iwawa rré
My brother bring me that bread

The word for bread here *iwawa* in common Edo is *ebiređi*

The second rule is that women cannot come around the place serving in the workshop of the guilds nor do anything around there like taking their bath or cooking. This is referred to in our study as the *gender* ideology of the guilds as there is a widespread restriction of women from the activities and discourse of the guilds.

These expressions reflect the ideological structure of the guilds as an institution that sees itself as the protector of the socio-cultural and linguistic heritage of the Edo society. In this place, some of the expressions regarded as the old variety of the language are presented alongside their contemporary usage by other members of the society.

(B) The use of language by the guilds as an expression of ethnicity and relevance

In this section we will present the language used by the guilds as their ideological inclination (culturally) and identity marker in the Edo (Benin) society which is used to set them apart from each other on the one hand and from other members of the society on the other hand. These will be done with recourse to three of the principles of the socio-cultural linguistic approach to identity which are: emergence, positionality and indexicality.

The Edo guild system is a social or professional class of individuals whose use of the Edo (Benin) language reflects the socio-cultural functions of group. The identity of the guild system is therefore derivable from the groups' interaction with members and non-membership through the use of their distinctive register in discourse. Identity as an emergence trend from concrete social interaction therefore revolves around the social cultural world of an individual on the one hand and the social context of interaction on the other hand. Let us consider a particular structure that reflects this position from the guilds' discourse below:

21 (a). òkhaèmwe màrrièèguàè rhùnmwùndá ègbékhùèrè ògiòbò.

CHIEF NEG COME PALACE BECAUSE SOFT-BODY HERBALIST

The Chief did not come to the palace because of his calm body

'The Chief did not come to the palace because he is sick'

This speech was taken during one of the meetings held by members of the blacksmith (Ematon) guild at the residence of the supervisor. Here, it was observed that one of the prominent members (a Chief in the palace) was absent and on enquiring about his whereabouts, the guild supervisor was told that he is indisposed. The issue here is with the presentation of the information with four principal lexical items standing out of this discourse and they are:

22

Okhaèmwe 'a Chief'
Eguae 'palace'
Ogiobo 'Herbalist/Witchdoctor'
Egbekhuere 'soft/calm body'

The expression above is a reflection of the discursive strategy of the guilds which besides showing sophistication in the style of speech chosen for this setting also portrays the secretive

nature of the discursive practices of the group in the Edo society. They employ linguistic creativity (in the form of coded language) to exclude non-guilds from their discourse.

The allusion made to *Okhaemwe* 'Chief' here shows the influential nature of these guilds which virtually placed them in the same status as the traditional political institution. It is a strong reference to the fact that membership of the guilds are not meant for ordinary people but the influential (economically, politically and socially) members of the society with connections to the Monarchy. The reference to the palace too is also along this line as a show of affiliation to the powerful traditional political institution in the Edo (Benin) society. Here a direct comparison is made between the palace of the Oba of Benin with the Chiefs-in-Council and that of the guilds' supervisors who also possess their own Chiefs and all the trappings of the office of the Oba of Benin. The reference to *Ogiobo* (which actually signifies a great herbalist or witchdoctor) is to show the efficacy of the spiritual orientation of the guilds as prominent members are regularly compared to great herbalist/witchdoctors with a lot of supernatural power. This is directly related to the use of the euphemism, *egbekhuerhe* 'soft/calm body' other than the common Edo usage of *khuonmwi* 'sick'. In other words, it will be considered unpleasant and insulting if someone already considered to be very powerful with certain supernatural traits is said to be sick. So instead of this, a more endearing term is used one that does not make a direct reference to the state of health of the person considered but at the same time expresses the weak state of the human body at a particular point in time.

The affiliation of the guild system with the Benin Monarchy and the constraint on membership has in the end projected them into a prestigious social circle which is a positive one for the guild's identity. This is a reflection of the positionality principle of Bucholtz and Hall (2005) which advocates the social positions of actors in a discourse as a determinant of their social influence. That is identity includes macro-level demographic categories such as: gender, age, social class. It also at the same time includes local, ethnographic/cultural positions. And lastly, identity is being represented by temporary and interactionally emerged roles (joke teller, listener and so on).

In the case of the guilds, their use of Edo project them as a group familiar with the cultural and social dictates of the Edo world with a mastery of the standard variety of the language. Infact, the location of a majority of the guilds in the metropolitan area of Benin City (Ogbe) where the standard variety of Edo is used (Omozuwa, 2010) has really helped to project the

social status of members of these guilds. A pointer to this can be deduced from the following structure extracted from one of the guilds discourse:

23 (a) À í gbéúkóbá yéèvbò.

DO NOT KILL ROYAL MESSENGER IN LAND

You do not kill a [LG]in the land

‘A royal messenger is as important as the king’

In the structure above, which is a common expression by the guilds of the royal musician (Ogbelaka), a direct reference is made to the values attached to the guild in the Èdo (Benin) society. This is by referring to them as the Oba’s messenger, which automatically confers on them certain immunity from members of the public as they can always claim that they are acting on the dictate of the monarch whom the Èdo (Benin) people hold in high esteem. This is also with reference to the fact that the guilds do not exist as an independent social group but as one whose every activity or action is dictated by the Monarch. This expression therefore positions the guilds as a special institution under the protection of the Èdo traditional institution whose members can be taken as the palace’s representative with powers to act on behalf of the political institution.

(C) The nature of the guilds discourse as a reflection of patriarchal ideology

Thus far, we have examined the different manifestations of the guilds’ register in the course of group discourse. This is with a view to demonstrating how ideology is expressed through the use of certain lexical items to reflect the activities/functions of each group for the purpose of members’ inclusion in groups’ activities as well as for the exclusion of non-members. This section will therefore examine the guilds’ discourse as a reflection of the ideology of the group and of the larger Èdo (Benin) society which imposes a lot of constrain on their activities especially along the line of descent (father). The analysis is based on the information obtained through interview and examined discursively. Consider the extracts above of the exchange between the researcher and a representative of the guild of bronze casters (igun ematon). The interview and much of the others took place in English at the insistence of the interviewee.

Q: What is the name of the special code used for interacting among members?

R: What we speak sometimes in the guild can also be referred to as *Igodomigodo* which is an ancient version of Èdo (Benin) language used by the pioneer ancestors of the

Edo (Benin) people when the place was still known as *Igodomigodo* during the first dynasty (Ogiso Dynasty).

In this extract, this guild (eṛoṇmwọ ‘bronzesmith) acknowledges the use of specialized medium of communication that is not known to other Edo speakers. On the other hand there is a direct reference here to the fact that the guild may be the custodian of the early version of the Edo (Benin) language. This can be seen from the reference to the highlighted terms in the response. The significance of this is two-fold, firstly an average Edo native speaker in claiming the superiority or originality of his/her lineage tends to make reference to either *ovbi igodomigodo* ‘a child/product from the *ogiso* era’ or *ovbi aronto* ‘a child of product of the pioneer (Edo (Benin) people). Secondly, reference to these terms signifies the fact that one is not only conversant with the early origin of the Edo (Benin) people but is well grounded in the the socio-cultural, political and economic affairs of the people. These are instances of the projection of a supremacist ideology and a special identity by the members of the guild as a group that has not been adulterated by any of the modern factors of migration, intermarriage and intergroup assimilation through contact. It is in a bid to maintain this ideological superiority over other Edo (Benin) people and distinct identity that the membership of many of these guilds is highly restricted to a few families as it is believed that anything to the contrary will lead to the lack of relevance of the guilds to the Edo (Benin) society. This in discourse is known as the process of the enactment of power in a discourse by justifying the originality or authenticity of a participant. So by claiming a direct link to the original line of descent of the Edo (Benin) people (through the use of some terms and practices purportedly from that era), the guilds have succeeded in creating a special status for members which places them far and above other members of the society save for the royal institutions.

Another instance of the expression of a supremacist ideology by the guilds is in certain ritual practices and rites such as festivals. In the Edo (Benin) society, festivals are generally carried out at the instance of the Oba, who is the political and spiritual head of the people or by any of his representatives at the village level (Odiṛwere ‘oldest man’ or Enogie ‘duke’). In other words, no other individual has the power or authority to initiate a rite, festival or any ceremonies without the authorization of these institutions. This case is different in the guilds, as our preliminary investigation reveals that the different guilds have their individual rites/festivals different from the ones generally practiced by the Edo (Benin) society. These festivals are peculiar to the different guilds that practice them as shown by the extract of the

interview conducted with a representative of the blacksmith guild (igun ematon) Chief Obsasogie below.

Q: What are some of the rituals performed by the guilds?

R: There are a lot of rituals/rites carried out in the guild because every year we do what we call the *Ihekp* festival which all members of the guild must participate in. It is done around the period of bush clearing especially around the month of March. That is when farmers normally bring their wares for amendment and making new ones and this is the boom period. The festival is done with Chief Obsasogie buying a dog, a sheep, goat, tortoise, snail, cock, fish and kolanut. The 'Ogu'n workshop where we work is decorated with fresh palm fronds. This is the dress of Ogun while a white chalk is used to decorate the place with all the animals slaughtered hurriedly in no particular order by severing their head from the body. Other members are also required to get a dog too and other items they can afford but the Chief must get everything mentioned above. This is when members of the guild pay homage to Chief Obsasogie as their head by bringing him a cock. This ceremony is done around all the different principal guild members' homes.

In the interview extract above, the respondent actually went on to identify the different components of the festival as a way of buttressing the fact that just like the Monarch, they also have the authority to initiate any festival in line with their profession along with the different components of it. The respondent equally emphasized at the beginning of the response that there are several other festivals and rites associated with this guild besides the ones mentioned here. The other point worthy of note here is that, these rites/festivals are carried out much the same way the regular Edo rites are conducted with the important part being the paying of homage to the Monarch which in the case of the guild is to the supervisor or head of such a guild. The implication of this is that the guilds enjoy a lot of social and political statuses that confer on them the authority to carry out certain functions reserved exclusively for the Monarch and this is responsible for the special and powerful identity of these groups of craftsmen. The mention of the *ogun* attire here is a reference to the nature of the work engaged in by the guild as they are iron/steel specialist this deity represents for the group. Another point worthy of note in this extract is the reference to *ogun* which is one of the main deities worshipped by the Edo (Benin) people and worshippers of this deity even in

modern times are still feared and respected by the populace. This is another case of the projection of a supremacist ideology through the use of festivals and deity worship.

This response can also be considered as leading or exploratory as the emphasis was on the ideological and organizational structures of the guild which also by default translates to the other guilds in the study. These questions were asked to primarily test the researcher's footing with the guilds and also to ascertain the level of openness in responses by the members of the guilds. It will be observed that, the responses were pretty straight to the point and elaborate in some contexts where the respondent in a bid to show off the prestige/status of the guild and its members went to great length to provide a detail account of the activities of the guilds. In the subsequent questions to follow, the researcher moved from the issue of history and ideology to that of linguistics in order to gain an insight into the interactional processes of these guilds and the motivation for engaging in a coded communication practice by members of these guilds.

Finally, we will examine another instance of the projection of group ideology in a discourse by the guilds and this will be coming from the *Ogbelaka* (royal entertainers) guild. These expressions represent ways of gaining the relevant insights into the worldview and orientation of the guilds in the Edo (Benin) society. The expression in this case has to do with the issue of membership of the guilds that though different guilds have different induction criteria, the general criterion for all the guilds investigated is that of being born into the family of a guild (from the paternal side angle). Let us consider the interview extract below for more insight into this phenomenon.

Q: Who can become members of the guilds?

R: It is only the families of the guilds that are allowed to be members of the guild through the father's side. Though sometimes other people are sent to us like from the *òmó ne Oba* or any of the high Chiefs in Benin. When this is done, we use the following expression to show that the person in question was sent and not born into the family of the guild:

- (a) Íràn nwá òmó giè ímà
They grow child send us
They have sent us a child/member

This expression shows that membership to any of the guild is strictly regulated with the only exception being the case of assignment from the traditional political institution. This is a reflection of superior social standard and prestige as this restriction on membership has succeeded in positioning the guild as a very special institution in the Edo (Benin) society, one to be feared, envied and respected.

From the interview extracts examined thus far, we can now account for the ideological and identity features of the Edo guild with a little insight into the ideological orientation of the Edo (Benin) people. This was done to substantiate the research objectives and proffer some answers to the research questions formulated as to their validity and other wise. We will note that most of the responses were in reference to the linguistic, ideological and socio-cultural identity complexes of the guilds in the Edo (Benin) society.

(D) An appraisal of the guilds' ideology

The discussion of elements of ideological and power manifestations in a discourse thus far treated in this chapter from a socio-cognitive perspective have helped to unveil the orientational configuration of the guilds discursive practices. The ideologies observed from their discourses so far: supremacist, patriarchal, relevance and ethnicity reflect the sum total of the mentality of members of the guilds examined in this study (all the guilds tend to portray the same ideology as they all belong to the same socio-cultural and political unit *iwẹbọ* palace society as illustrated in the diagram on page 10). The data transcript above is a reflection of the general ideological orientation of the guilds as distinct social groups in the Edo (Benin) society. The resultant information after all these examinations is that the guild system is a closely-knit group of professionals who will do anything in their power to protect the status of their identity and medium of communication in the Edo (Benin) society. Since most of the discussions thus far have revolved around the discourse practices of the guild and the implication of these for the wider Edo (Benin) language used in everyday communication, we will in this section appraise some of the motivations for the ideological manifestation of the guilds.

Q: Are non- Edo natives allowed to be members of the guilds?

R. Concerning membership of the guild, as soon as one is born into the family of the guild, he/she becomes a member irrespective of gender, age or social status in the society. There is no formal initiation except for the promotion of members from one rank to another in the guild. For instance for one to become an **Ediṣon** (an elder), a

small ceremony must be performed and the same goes for a promotion to the rank of **Urhonigbe** (a higher rank that plays a supervisory role over the affairs of the guild). **Urhonigbe** are members from other guilds like **Erɔnmwɔ**, **Adaa**, and so on who are called for the purpose of choosing people into this office. The head of the guild (Chief Obasogie) can appoint anybody as an **Ọdiɔn** based on meritorious services to the guild by pronouncing such a person as such. The person so appointed is then expected to come seven days later as the Chief will invite other elders of the guild to the **Ọgua Ediɔn** (Shrine of Elders) for the person so appointed to perform the **Igbikɛn** (loyalty and thanksgiving) ceremony and automatically becomes an **Ọdiɔn** (singular for **Ediɔn**) after that. There can be prices fixed to this promotion sometimes but meritorious services can also be used to choose an elder in the guild.

Q: How are some of your festivals performed?

R. As mentioned before, the **Igbekɛn** is a ceremony performed when one knees down with his two hands clasped, then he pressed the hands to the floor in an intricate pattern to show submission to the authority of the Chief of the guild. The person then takes his hand from the floor and pressed to his forehead and finally waved around in a sign of supplication. This is done seven times by the person so appointed/promoted and it is a sign of submission to the elders and other constituted authority within the guild. In some other circumstances, when the person performing this rite is older than many of the elders present (this is due to the fact that anyone irrespective of age can be appointed into this council at the discretion of the Chief who is the head), he is prevented from doing this kneeling and instead is told **iyaboruɛ** (literally you are forgiven or excluded from doing this). This is because it is possible for members of the **Ediɔn** to be younger in terms of age than the person just promoted/appointed and as such it will be wrong for the elderly person to knee to those younger to him. So one can become an **Ọdiɔn** before those who are his seniors and whenever an older person is appointed **Ọdiɔn** after performing all the rites and ceremonies automatically becomes senior to others who are younger than him in the council. It is during these ceremonies that the older person being promoted will pay respect to those younger than him in the **Ediɔn** council. So after this rites of promotion, the seating arrangement in the council changes as the older in age sit first before others in

proportion to the Chief who is at the dais/seat of his office in the order of seniority in age.

We can deduce from the extract of the response in the previous section that the respondent's orientation is based on the fact that his profession is as old as the Edo society. Infact, he sees his ancestors as pioneers of the society whose activities sustained the status of the people and their prosperity. The overriding idea here is that of superiority and dominant social relevance as occasioned by the resentment to the prominence given to the bronze casters' guild (*igun eronmwo*) which was a latter introduction to the society in terms of functional relevance.

In line with the socio-cognitive representation model of CDA position on discursive practices, this extract represents a collection of beliefs and values of the *Èmátòn* 'blacksmith' guild. The opinion subsists by placing the guild as one with the products that sustain the Edo society, group whose services are indispensable to both the palace and the general society at large. In the first instance, the respondent went on and on about the fact that his guild *Èmátòn* was one of the original guilds in the Edo society basing this on the fact that the discovery of iron ore (the basic ingredient of iron works) led to the formation of different professional social groups of craftsmen in the Edo society. Appraising this position is the complex of status superiority and supremacy as this guild on the other hand strives to maintain a leading position which unfortunately is occupied by the bronze casters *igun eronmwò*. This is what Tajfel (1982) referred to as 'Psychological distinctiveness' as a group strives to assert itself from others by placing itself at the head of others. In other words, this guild regards her profession as a dimension of comparison to others which we call 'outgroup'. As claimed by Oakes and Turner (1980), seizing an opportunity to adopt strategies of differentiation in an intergroup situation allows one a more positive self-concept as a result. We can therefore say that this group *Èmátòn* has a positive self – attitude and hence of vitality. We should quickly mention here that the use of the term *Èmátòn* for the guild of blacksmith is for consistency sake as this is the name with which the common Edo know the guild as the guild is known among members as *ugbohà*.

As for the second extract, the respondent here re-emphasis the fact that the guild is a distinct social group in the Edo (Benin) society who are directly responsible to the *òmó Ne Obà* which is justified by the fact that like the Benin royal institution, the guilds have the authority to initiate their own festivals/rites and specify the components and ways of carrying out such. In line with this therefore a positive socio-cultural identity is being portrayed as the monarchy to

which the guilds are affiliated is held in high esteem by the Edo (Benin) people thereby giving the guild the reverence and mysticism associated with them from the populace. The respondent also went on to say that several festivals are actually carried out which ordinarily will constitute a breach of tradition hence the ideological projection of the group. Consider the interview extracts below:

Q: Is there a special form of communication among the members of the guilds?

R. The guild has a special code for members' communication due to the desire for secrecy as many of our activities involve the affairs of the palace and royal family. As a result of this, most times in the workshop non-members do not know what we are talking about and as such cannot decipher the process of iron smelting. Sometimes, the guilds use the same conventional Edo like every other speaker but the interpretation of terms or meaning are usually different from the common usage. Everything in the guild is done according to the rules and regulations of the guild. In the case of **Ugboha**, people working with iron normally worship the deity of iron (**ogun**) as their spiritual head.

Q. Is this use of a special code as a result of the worship of the ogun deity?

R. I am not implying that the guild engage in idol worship because I am not a spiritual person, but a physical being. The reality is what matters most like I learnt from my father based on the expression:

I gha gbé ebe ogun ye emwi, ina ru emwi nà ru nà yọ, amẹ Èmátòn nà yá kpe ekue a mu ònrèn yọ, mu ne òmwá yá khue lo efematòn.

T. If I take the leaves of ogun (palm frond) and place in a bowl, and does all things that needed to be done to it (like praying libation), put the water that is used to wash the bellow of an iron, then give it to a person to bath along with other properties of iron.

This expression may be interpreted to mean that we are serving idols but it should be noted here that Edo has no idols. Most of the idols came from Yoruba land through Oba Ewuare in the mid-fifteen century. That is why the Oba was given such appellations as:

Ewuare Ne Ogie Obo

'Ewuare the King of Witchdoctors'

Ewuare Ne Ogidigan

'Ewuare the Great'

He brought all the idols from the West to Edo. The guild practitioners therefore do not serve any idol but perform certain rites due to the connotations associated with them. These are normally discovered during the course of our work in the guild. People normally confuse culture and religion because they do not know what happens inside the guild. So we always acknowledge the iron deity due to the fact that we work mainly with iron and a lot of things happen in the course of our work which common people do not understand.

Q: Is there a name for the special code used by the guild in communication among members?

R. What we speak sometimes in the guild can also be referred to as **Igodomigodo** which is an ancient version of Edo language used by the pioneer ancestors of the Edo people when the place was still known as '**Igodomigodo**' during the first dynasty (Ogiso Dynasty).

We are workmen or skilled workers in iron or iron mongers (as it is called in the Fine Art). Our unity comes from Chief Obasogie through the Oba of Benin. This is just as in the Christian faith, where no one can come to see God except through Jesus Christ. Another one is that we reason the same way, speak the same language and eat the same food. Our best food is dog meat, tortoise and this is one of the things that brings everyone together in the guild. As for production, there are areas of specialization even though they are one in the guild. There is a departmentalization of responsibilities in the guild. For example, the **Ilekhufba** specializes in geometric metal works as he can manufacture any gun or weapon by doing it according to specification and is as good as any Engineer from the West. He also makes keys, and other geometric products (products with a particular specification in terms of length, breadth and width). The **Obaiwi** and **Edokpayi** are good at general art works. The other groups like the one that is expert at **eben** (state sword) and **ada** (sceptre) making is the Obaiwi. Obasogie, the head of the guild is popularly called maker of the lights for the palace **o gbé urhukpa ne igun** (the light maker from the guild). Supervision in the guild is also determined by ones area of specialization. That is

the nature of the work to be done is determined by the specialization of the guild members.

The rendition of the different texts from the guilds' interactions gave us an insight into the composition of the register of the guilds from the clausal data examined before now which were extracted from the recorded conversation of guild members in their workshop. This has also enabled us see the differences and otherwise between some lexical items in the guilds and their counterpart in common or conventional Edo usage. Here, lexical items in bold are used to represent the special usages by this guild which is quite different from the common Edo usage by the rest of the population. It will be observed that in some instances there is no direct equivalence of the guild term in the common Edo thereby making such terms exclusive to the guilds. It is believed that these lexical items and the resultant LG in the corresponding common Edo version is an aspect of functional variation between the guild and the common Edo usage as these items are parts of the lexicon of the *Ugboha* guild practitioners. While these expressions are generally used to obscure the activities of the guild from the eyes of the general guild, they also represent a demonstration of the professional outlook of their work. These expressions also followed the translation variables highlighted in Uwajeh (2007) which are: Who? What? Why? Where? and Whom? in this case. These variables represent the path of departure between the conventional Edo usage of these terms and the Guild's usage which is responsible for the variation between the two. As mentioned before now, the overriding reason for this usage is the cultural constraint on the activities of the guilds being disclosed to other members of the society (Edo and non-Edo alike) who are not members of the guilds.

4.4 The linguistic construction of identity by the guilds

This section presents our data on the construction of group identity by the guilds which seek to present answers to our research question three. This is where the second set of our data come into play (interview) and some of the discourse extracts to enable us pay close attention to the themes of, identity creation/construction, reasons for the expression of groups' ideology and construction of identity by the guilds and the differences that exist between the register of the guilds and the Edo used by the general public.

(A) Extracts from Igun Eronmwo (Bronze Casters)

The data are presented first on a clausal basis which is extracted from larger discourse with emphasis on those expressions that portray the identity of the guilds (their profession) and their distinctive register. Let us consider some of the data from the guilds below:

27 (a) Òsàzẹ́ẹ̀ yá mù ónwò ní yè óvèn nè úgbè.

OSAZE GO CARRY HONEY THAT IN SUN THAT YOU BEAT

Osazee go and carry that honey and beat it in the sun
'Osaze carry that honey and spread it in the sun'

(b)

èfè yè néné ónwò yá ruè àkpà ní.

EFE USE THE HONEY TO FOLD COIL THAT

Efe use the honey to fold that foetus

'Efe use the honey to make that coil'

(c)

Úyì yá suèn èkèn ná yá guè éré.

GO MIX SAND THIS TO COVER IT

Go and start the sand to cover it

'Go and mix the sand to cover it'

(d)

Òzó dò mù òná ná yá khion yé .

OZO COME CARRY ART WORK THIS IN HEAT PUT FIRE

Ozo come carry LG and LG in fire

Ozo come and carry this artwork and heat it on the fire

(e)

Òsàzẹ́ẹ̀ mù ìnwìná nè ọ́ rré úwé èrhèn rré òvién nè.

OSAZẸẸ CARRY WORK THAT IS BE INSIDE FIRE BRING COOKED HAS

Osazẹẹ carry the work that is on the fire LG already

Osazẹẹ bring the work that is on the fire for it is already cooked

(f)

Mù ìwìná ní yè ùvún ná sai.

PUT WORK THAT IN HOLE SO CAST

Put that work in the hole so we can cast it

Put that work in the hole so we can burst it

(g)

ètínósà yéòlimà dó yá suèn yá nwiè ònà ná.

ETIOSA USE FILE TO DO START THE ARTWORK

Etinosa use the file to start scraping or shining the artwork

Etiosa use the file to start and squeeze the artwork

(h)

Yá mù òná ní nè ọ rré èvbá nè úkálóì èrhán nè rré èvbá kuà.

GO CARRY ART THAT IS BE THERE REMOVE WOODEN THAT IS THERE AWAY

Go and carry the artwork that is there and remove the wooden rubbish therein away

Go and carry the LG there and LG the wood therein away

(i)

Wà guòghòè èkèn nè ọ rhọọ ná miè nè á béghè èmwí ná sai.

YOU BREAK SAND THAT IS THERE SO THAT WE SEE THING WE CAST

You break the sand that is there so that we can see the thing that we bursted

‘Please break the sand that is there so that we can see the casted object’

(j)

Zè èkèn rré vbè vbá ní yá gbé àkpà.

TAKE SAND COME IN THERE THAT TO BEAT/KILL COIL

Pick sand from there to beat the coil

‘Take some sand from that place to spread the coil’

The data in a-j above represent some of the instances of the guild’s (erõnmwọ) discourse and group interaction in the course of bronze casting. It will be observed that the translation is in three parts: the first level (in caps) represent the lexical or word-for-word translation, the second level the literal or conventional Èdo translation while the last level which is the free translation represents the point of view of the guild in question. So from here there is a direct contrast between the meaning of an item in the guild and that same item in conventional Èdo usage. While this may not constitute a direct variation from the common Èdo used by the

generality of the public (because these expressions are still intelligible to a number of Edo speakers), they represent the core of the present study which is identity creation. These usages by the guilds (register) therefore constitute an identity marker as they are used to beside showing group's affiliation demonstrate the distinction between this group and other groups in the Edo (Benin) society. Haven said this, we will now proceed to an item-by-item presentation of the distinct words in the structure below for a better review of their significance in the guild's discourse.

Gbe: This term as used in the structures above is a unique one in the guild here with a variety of interpretation in conventional Edo. It is used by the guild to represent the act of spreading or shading something in the sun to dry. In conventional Edo usage, it means any of the following: beat, hit, play and dance depending on the context of use. So in a typical guild discourse where the word *yá gbé* is used, the common interpretation will be to go and either beat somebody/something or dance which are the two common interpretation of this term. This term is used by the guild in this context to among other things conceal some of the things they do from any inquiry eye who is not a member of the guild.

Rue: This is another term in the guild that is quite distinct from the point of view of the typical Edo native speaker. The distinction is actually in the form of the final vowel which is realized as 'o' in common Edo usage. This term is used in the guild discourse to mean the act of folding or arranging something or an object. It is commonly used at the end of casting when a coil of bronze is made to be used for a ceremony in the Oba's palace and as such proper maintenance of items is carried out. This is used to throw nonmembers off the activities and purposes of certain items/objects used by the guilds in order to guide against theft of objects and knowledge.

Akpa: This is a highly significant term in guild which is used to refer to a coil of something like a rope, bronze and so on. To the average Edo native speaker, this term simply means a foetus and when used, attention simply goes to things that have to do with babies and child-bearing. This is not the case as it is simply a strategy to obscure the significance of the object it refers to in the guild.

Ona: This refers to a work of art or creativity be it drawing, sculpture, casting, molding and so on. In conventional Edo usage, this simply refers to either a narrative or a criticism like the common expression: *ghé ná mwé* 'do not criticize me'. This term is used across all the guilds

and not restricted to that of bronze casters *erɔnmwo* alone with reference to general artistic patterns or works. The use of this term is therefore intended to conceal the general reference to art works which is the specialty of these guilds by making non-members think of criticism as their reference in a discourse.

Sai: A term peculiar to the guild of bronze casters, it refers to the actual act of casting and the product of such a process. So rather than saying from the point of view of the average Edo native speaker, *I khián kun erɔnmwo* ‘I want to make/cast a bronze work’, the expression, *I khián sai erɔnmwo* ‘I want to make/cast a bronze work’ is preferred by the guild. It should be noted here that the common Edo interpretation of *sai* is actually the act of bursting or destroying something and not creation or construction as intended by the guild.

Kaloi: This is another term in the guild that has a different interpretation in common Edo which has to do with part of the act of bronze casting. The general meaning of the term is to peel off something using an object like a cutlass or knife and it is used along with the noun, wood. In this guild, there is a different interpretation of this term which is, to move or remove something from a particular position to another one. In this case, the term is used with reference to this displacement of items or objects which are in a position to be disposed off.

Olima: This term, though not peculiar to the guild is a general name for a file which is used to sharpen objects like a cutlass or a knife. It is closely associated with the guild because it is not a term known to many Edo (Benin) people except either those living in the village or around the neighbourhood where the guilds exist as our preliminary investigation has shown. The average Edo speaker refers to a file as ‘efali’ which is a borrowed and nativized term here, hence whenever the term ‘olima’ is used by any of the guilds (especially those of bronze and iron casting), there is a problem decoding the meaning by the average native speaker because it is not a term widely used and known to only a few privileged persons.

Vien: This term is closely associated with the process of cooking and in common Edo it is *leɛ* ‘cook’ and *gaɛ* ‘already cooked’ which are quite distinct from the one used by the guild here. As a part of the process of bronze casting, some of the materials are first of all cooked on the fire to make them malleable before the actual casting. The use of the term here therefore is to besides demonstrating the linguistic repertoire of the guild, keep some of their activities from prying eyes in order to retain the monopoly and prestige associated with the profession.

Khion: This is the act of heating something up on the fire to achieve a specific requirement for a work of art. This term is unique to this guild as there is no variant of it in conventional Edo used by every other native speaker. In common Edo usage, there is no such thing as heating up something as the general term is le ‘the act of cooking’ which also incorporates ‘heating’. The use of this term by the guild therefore will sound strange to the average native speaker as there is no corresponding variant in the common Edo used by other speakers.

Suen: This is another interesting term used by the guild being evaluated here which has a different interpretation in conventional Edo (Benin) language. The term here refers to the act of mixing something or to mix something like, sand, water and so on. In conventional Edo, it means to start or begin something or an activity as the structure in (c) shows which is quite different from the interpretation in the guild. Just as mentioned for the other lexical items that are distinct from conventional Edo usage, this term is used to prevent non-members from gaining a proper understanding of the workings of the guilds.

(B) Extracts from Igun Èmátòn (Ugbòha)-The Blacksmith Guild

In this section, we present the data obtained through the direct observation of the guild (Ugbòha) communication in the course of carrying out some of their assignments. These are presented in sentential/clausal forms and represent the careful and deliberate extraction of certain expressions considered different from common Edo usage in the discourses recorded. The data are presented below in clausal structures:

28 a)

Làrré nè á yá rriètaèmwì vbè Éguaè
COME THAT WE GO TAKE WORK IN PALACE
Come that we go take talk in palace
‘Let us go and take our assignment from the palace’

a)

Òsàyòmòrré, yèàfián yá fiàn Èmátòn níí
OSAYOMORRE USE CHISEL TO CUT IRON THAT
Osayomorre, use a cutter to cut that iron
‘Osayomorre use a chisel to cut that iron’

b)

Èhigiè kàkábòkpèéékué nà
EHIGIE INTENSITY HIT BELLOW THIS
Èhigie intensity hit bellow this
'Èhigie is pumping the bellow very well'

c)

Èbèn rré òdè isèkpòkin, Íràn khián sé òhián yó
SCEPTRE BE PLACE LEATHER THEY GOING SEW LEATHER ON
The sceptre is at the place of the leather-worker they will sew the leather
'The sceptre is at the leather-worker's place, they want to fix it'

d)

Òténmwé yèava yá dià Èmátòn níí
MY BROTHER USE SPATULA TO STRAIGHTEN IRON THAT
My brother use LG to straighten that iron
'My brother/friend help me use a spatula to fix that iron'

e)

È í ré òvbí idígùn, nè ó yé àrò bèghé èrè nò
IT NEG CHILD IRON WHO P USE EYE SEE IT BE
It is not the child of the iron deity but the one who saw it
'It is not the child of ogun deity(that is responsible) but the person that saw it'

g

Ògún ghá khián gbé òmóbò è í ghé àrò èrè
DEITY WANT TO KILL CHILD HE NEG LOOK EYE IT
When the ogun deity is about to kill an infant, it does not consider
'The Ogun deity does not discriminate when killing'

f)

Èmátòn èvá ghá vbà ègbé, Íràn ghí già érhèn
IRON TWO IF MEET BODY THEY WILL SPARK FIRE
When two iron meet, there will be a spark
'There will be a reaction when two like objects come in contact'

g)

Ónwínà làhó rriè emoranmwe níí gù mwé
WORKER PLEASE BRING MOLTEN-IRON THAT TO ME
LG please bring LG that to me
'Apprentice please help me bring the molten-iron'

- h)
- Ògún mù nyà ọnrèn
 IRON-DEITY CARRY ON HIM
 The iron-deity has carried on him
 ‘He is possessed’

The data above were extracted from an observed discourse by the guild members in the course of a particular assignment in their workshop. This conversation involves a guild supervisor and some apprentices after getting an assignment involving a particular iron work from the palace. The underlined lexical items in structures above are the special usages by this guild (as mentioned before now) which are quite different from the common Ẹdo usage by the rest of the population. We observed that in some instances there is no direct equivalence of these terms/expressions in the common Ẹdo thereby constituting what is known in lexical semantics as a ‘Lexical Gap (LG)’ as in b-e. It is believed that these lexical items and the resultant LG in the corresponding common Ẹdo version is an aspect of functional variation between the guild and the common Ẹdo usage as these items are parts of the lexicon of the Ugbọha guild practitioners. While these expressions are generally used to obscure the activities of the guild from the eyes of the general guild, they also represent a demonstration of the professional outlook of their work.

The data in f-j represent more of the discourse obtained from group interaction in the guild (ugbọha) workshop by the researcher. It was observed in this later transcript that there are a lot of lexical gaps when rendering the text from the GE to CE. While some of these structures are proverbial in nature which is one of the communicative styles of many of the guilds in the Edo society, some others are important to the guild in carrying out their daily activities which is not present in the society. We noticed that in some instances, there is no corresponding rendition of the Guild text in Common Ẹdo, the reason for this being the absence of an equivalent representation of these in the latter from the former. Though something close to it can be obtained in the language but the communicative effect would have been dented and misconstrued by then. As a result of this therefore, we decided to leave the Common Ẹdo version of the Guild expression (in f) blank to demonstrate the absence of an appropriate equivalence in textual experience.

These represent the path of departure between the conventional Ẹdo usage of these terms and the Guild’s usage which is responsible for the variation between the two. As mentioned

before now, the overriding reason for this usage is the cultural constraint on the activities of the guilds being disclosed to other members of the society (Èdo and non-Èdo alike) who are not members of the guilds. A proper presentation and analysis of the distinct terms (register) used by the guild of blacksmith can be glimpse below:

Itaemwi: This term is used to refer to a job or an assignment by the guild whenever there is a message from the palace of the Oba in Benin. The essence is to avoid making a direct reference to the nature of a summon from the Monarch which in conventional Èdo will be *inwina* ‘work’. This term is used at the beginning of every assignment to denote the nature of assignment and the people that will be involved in the assignment. The use of this term on the other hand denotes a type of conversation from the point of general Èdo where itaemwi refers to a special talk or secret conversation.

Afian: This is a special kind of an instrument in this guild that is used for cutting steel and any strong object in the course of smelting. That is a kind of chisel used by modern day smelters and probably carpenters. This term has no variant in conventional Èdo hence the presence of a lexical gap (LG) in our presentation above. The implication of this is that whenever this term is used in discourse by the guild, it will not be comprehensible to non-members as this is not a term found in common Èdo usage but a creation of the guild in question for the purpose of concealing activities and creating identity markers.

Kpee: This term is usually associated with a lot of misconception even in conventional Èdo usage as it has a variety of meanings that can only be interpreted in certain contexts. For instance among native speakers of the language it could mean any of the following: washing, playing (of drums), cleaning and erosion. It is used by this guild to refer to the act of pumping air through an object (bellow) when forming steel-objects. The use of the term therefore is a clear departure from the regular polysemous usage by speakers who are therefore prevented from comprehending what is meant when this act is to be carried out as they are non-members of the guild.

Ekue: The use of this term by the guild is an interesting one which is used to refer to a bellow (an object for pumping air into a fire to increase its intensity). The common Èdo use of the term is for the male testicles and thus every other application cannot be understood by the speakers as there is no direct connection between the object, bellow and male organ, testicles for instance. In our investigation of the use of this term, we discovered that besides

the blacksmith, people that are involved in the worship of the ogun deity are also familiar with this term.

Isekpokin: This term though not a unique one to the guild is a general Edo label for people involved in leather working. It is closely associated with guild here because even though the term is a general one as seen from our investigation, a large number of Edo speakers are surprisingly not familiar with the term including the researcher. It was only some selected elderly people and some palace Chief interviewed that brought it to the fore that the term is not peculiar to the guild but a common Edo term for that profession or anything involving leather. In other words, it is a term in advanced Edo which is the one commonly favoured by elderly Edo (Benin) people, those living in and around the palace (Ogbe quarters) and some rural dwellers.

Ava: This is also the name for an object used by this guild for straightening solid materials or objects. It is a kind of plier used in modern time to cut or straighten metal objects and it has no variant in conventional Edo as this is the exclusive creation of the guild. There are also no contextual clues to its interpretation as this is a term that does not exist in the world orientation of other native speakers but that of members of this guild.

Emoranmwe: This term from all ramifications does not exist in the vocabulary of conventional Edo which is the usage of the generality of native speakers. It refers to what can commonly be called molten iron and sand (that is an object made from the combination of sand and iron) in the course of smelting. This term is not known to the generality of the Edo (Benin) people because the object it refers to is found only in the guild workshop and the palace of the Oba of Benin hence it is not something that can be purchased or given out to people not affiliated to any of these institutions. So, the lexical items illustrated above are exclusively used by the bronze casters to mark their distinct identity.

(C) Extracts from Igun Ogbelaka – The Guild of Royal Musician

The data here are from the guild of the royal musician (Ogbelaka), one of the very important guilds in the Edo (Benin) society due to their prominent roles especially during festivals, coronations and funeral of the monarch or any member of the royal family. As we did for the other guilds before it, the data will be presented first in clauses with the unique lexical items underlined and these will subsequently be analyzed in the light of their use in the guild vis-à-vis conventional Edo usage. Consider the examples below:

29 (a).

Wàfiè èmwí

YOU HIT DRUM

Drive the drum
'Hit the drum'

(b).

Wàdè òbó yì.

YOU STOP DRUM

You hold your hands

'Please stop the drum'

(c).

Òvbiéòbó nè ó guàn.

CHILD HAND THAT BE TALK

The child of the speaking hand

'Praises of the effect and efficacy of the drum'

(d).

Gì á sè òdè ógbè.

LET REACH ROAD HOUSE

Lets us go to the inner section of the palace
'Let us go home'

(e).

Gì árráè.

LET JOIN CHORUS

Let us raise it
Let us join the chorus

(f).

Èmà ná yá là òdè.

DRUM THAT USE FOLLOW

The introductory part of the drum beats
The drum of transit

(g).

Ìkpèwini vbòó i
DRUMMER WHERE !

Where is the (LG)
Where is the drummer

(h).

Íràn *nwáòmó* giè ímà.

THEY BRING CHILD TO US

They have grown the child to us

‘They have brought the child for us to initiate (into the guild)’

A close look at this guild will show us copiously that it is dominated with certain lexical items such as: drums, maracas, gong, player and tones of drum beats which is a reflection of the nature or scope of their activities as one usually associated with musical instruments. This data like the preceding ones are translated on three levels: lexical, literal and free with the first representing the concept-concept translation or rendition, the second reflecting the general Èdo rendition while the third and last represents the translation from the point of view of the guild. A detailed examination of the constituent distinct lexical items is provided below:

Fie emwi: This term consists of two words, fie ‘hit/drive’, emwi ‘thing’ which can be generally translated to hit something but this is not the interpretation in the guild. The guild uses this term to mean the act of playing a drum by members in the course of group’s performance. In other words, the common Èdo interpretation of this will be either of the following: hit something or drive something which is quite different from what is meant by the guild.

De obo yi: These three words term are commonly used in the Èdo (Benin) society though in a different sense in that it is used to signify a pause or a temporary stop to what one is doing. Some persons even interpret it as holding one’s hand in the course of performing a chore. As for the guild, this term represents stopping the playing of a drum during certain ceremonies especially when there is a breach of certain protocols. This is usually issued by the head of the guild to stop either a particular tune that is now in-line with what has been rehearsed or not appropriate to the occasion then. This is quite different from the use of the term in general Èdo which usually denotes something far more serious.

Obo: In conventional Èdo, obo refers to a hand while in this guild, it refers to something else which is an instrumentalist. A common way of referring to a professional drummer/instrumentalist in this guild is to compare such a person to a hand. This use of the term obo, has nothing to do with the act of concealing the activities of the guild from

members of the public but a kind of creative comparison between a person and a part of the body by the guild.

Guan: This term in Edo refers to the act of speaking or talking by humans which as used in this context by the guild is quite different as it refers to the sound made by a drum. This term is closely used with *obo* 'hand' above when during certain ceremonies a drummer and his drum are to be praised either by the Oba or a member of the royal council. So a drum that sounds very well is usually referred to as *Ema ne o kakabo guan* which literally means a 'drum that talks very well' in conventional Edo.

Ogbe: This is the common Edo name for the quarters housing the palace of the Oba of Benin and affiliated institutions. It has been discovered in our research that the guilds in the Edo (Benin) society besides possessing a distinct register also uses Edo (Benin) language in line with certain cultural regulations. For instance, it is generally frowned upon especially by elders for a person to say, *I rrie owa* 'I am going home' as the word *owa* here refers to a place of rest after death (heaven). So instead of *owa*, it is recommended that people use *oṣgbe* which in the context of the guilds and some elderly members of the Edo (Benin) society is the appropriate term for home/house.

Rrae: This refers to the act of joining or raising one's voice in a chorus. It also refers to the act of recitation especially when a song is raised by someone and others are being encouraged to join in the singing to create a special kind of harmony. This is a term familiar with people of musical orientation and though it originally was peculiar to this guild but it is now gradually being used by other people especially in religious worship either traditional or Christianity. The only difference in use presently is in the general interpretation whereby in the guild it means the act of joining in a song, for the common Edo usage, it simply is the act of raising the voice when singing.

Lode: This term has a lot of interpretation from the common Edo perspective one of which has to do with the act of embarking on a journey or activity. In the case of the guild, it is used to signify the kind of preparations normally done when embarking on certain singing and dancing activities like the *ekasa* dance during coronation and funeral ceremonies of royalties. The preparation is usually carried out with a particular drum rhythm to which the head of the guild will dance to before performing for the monarch. It is therefore a kind of ritual performed to demonstrate the extent of preparedness for an assignment in the palace.

Ikpenwini: This term has a variant in common Edo usage which is *okpema* (a drummer or one who plays the drum). It is used here by the guild to conceal the identity of a particular individual who plays the drum very well, that is a kind of an expert or professional drummer. When the head of the guild was asked why the use of this term as opposed to the one mentioned now in common Edo, he replied that this term 'Ikpenwini' is used to show among other things the expertise of the person concerned and to hide such a person's identity so that he will not be enticed by other wealthy individuals other than the monarch.

Nwa: This term is very significant in the guilds generally as it is used to denote one of the processes by which one becomes a member of a guild in the Edo (Benin) society. This is usually done by either the monarch or a senior chief who recommends a child from either the royal family or any of the influential family in the society to become an apprentice under the head of any of the guild as a kind of political favour to the family concerned. The variant of this term in conventional Edo usage is *Zẹ ọ mọ* ('chose or give a child out' which is also a common practice in traditional Edo (Benin) society and not restricted to the guilds alone.

So far in this section, we have presented some aspects of the discourse of the three guilds adopted for this study with special emphasis on their use of Edo (Benin) language in its variant form. We have equally shown the extent to which interpretation of some terms in the guild differ from conventional Edo even when the same lexical items are used. In the next section, we will be making a comparison between the register of the guilds and that of conventional Edo in order to be able to draw a line of distinction between them in line with peculiar social identity of the group.

4.5 The factors that determine the nature of the guilds' ideological expression and identity construction

This section seeks to provide answers to our research question four. In the course of examining the discursive structure of the guilds, we observed the emergence of certain culturally determined phenomena. These phenomena which are the reflections of the ideologically expressed practices of the guilds represent an essential aspect of identity construction. These features of the linguistic identity of the guilds unfurls in the course of certain specific encounters in the socio-cultural activities of the group.

Excerpt 30

Usun emwi ne igun eronmwọ ru vbe Edo èrè i khián rrie unu kaen na. Ima n a gha re otu ne i se emwi ye ama ne ebo tiere local photographer èrè ima khin ne omó ne oba. Eghẹ ne ó kpere fua, okpe emwa nibun gha rré Edo, emwi nibun hia vbe gha sunu vbe Edo.

Some of the things that the guild of bronze casters do in Benin is what i will talk about here. We are the group that cast things for record purpose which is akin to the job of a local photographer and that is what we do for the Oba. In time past, several great people once lived in the Edo society, important personalities and several significant events took place.

The extract above represents a discourse through which a cultural strand is produced which draws on the multiple voices of the discourse participants. The guilds identity portrayed here as that of bronze casters emerged from the interaction of the activities of members of this guild and their specific functions in the Edo society. This position is buttressed by the following expression:

Excerpt 31

Avbe eronmwọ ne ima ma, Íràn vbe mwé eni, eso rroọ ne ima tie èrè osakpon, oybehe rro ne ima tie èrè oduduma, nà tiere usegberhia nibun vbe rriọ.

All the bronze that we cast, we have a name for them, they have their names, there are some we call *osakpon*, there is another that is *oduduma*, another *usegberha* and so on.

U gha setin tama ima ghẹ otu óghẹ uwa Íràn lughaen ne ivbi edo. Eno ima ore Edo kpataki, Avbe ivbi esan, ivbi Edo Íràn khin, Avbe afemai, ivbi Edo Íràn khin.

We can say that we are different in character from other Edo people. We are the real Edo while we have other Edo from other places and places like: Esanland, Afemai and so on.

Vbene uwa nà ye, Edo ne uwa zẹ

As for us like I said before now, it is the Edo of the old variety that we speak and use during our deliberations.

In this case, attention is drawn first to the classification of the guilds and the Edo people which as we know from now also refer to other linguistic entities and ethnic groups within Edo state like the Esan, Afemai and so on (see map on page 9 for proper representation of these groups). In this case, the guild is identified as a community within the Edo (Benin) speaking part of Edo state who employs a different variety of the language (old Edo) in conducting its discourse as a way of securing its activities from non-members.

The examination of identity as it is shaped from moment to moment in interaction is very important to the evaluation of its construction through discourse and discursive practices. The

emergence of identity is definitely controlled by the position or situation of participants into different roles in the discourse. The discursive position that different social actors occupy and then forego in the course of changing roles in a discourse tends to shape who does what and how in interaction based on the ideological orientation of the group. Consider the discourse below for an illustration of this position.

Sample 32

Evba èrè Àkò iwé óghé igho owa nà wé ebe hia ne ó gù irèn ghe ehia gbare. A nà ghí we ne ó tie èrè, ugben vbe ó ghí tie èrè nẹ, Aigbe nà we ó te gha rré irèn orhìon vbe ede ne a rrie evbare emwi ukpo nii ne irèn hae igho nii ye aza óghé Ogbemudia ne ó re ako óghé owa nà nà miè nà rrie igho nii lá emetin ne a miè nà yá de emwi ne agha lo.

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 positional stance of the guild by locating the different discourse participants in this gathering starting with that of the secretary *akọ iwe*, who is presiding over the deliberations, Aigbe, the speaker at this point and Ogbemudia who happens to be the financial secretary of the group. The pronominal *irèn* is used here to position the speaker Aigbe who in order to block his classification as a debtor to the group, is expressing here that it was his intention before now to pay his levies to enable the group have enough money to carry out its necessary financial obligations.

Excerpt 33

Eghe nii ai miè emwi ne ebo tiere ekamerra, eh ima ó sẹ emwi nii hie ama, ima ghí do maẹ deghe òmwá nà gha rro zẹvbe igiemwi Ávbe Oba nii gberra, okpomwa nii gberra, ne Íràn n ate kpa ai ghí miè emwi yá ye Íràn rre, èrè ima nà má ne emọ ne a má re biẹ miè ónrèn vbe eghe ne a khián yá biẹ iran. Vbe igiemwi, ona ó gha re vbe nia, ó nà ó gha re Oba vbe nia, erriọ ona yá sunu, erriọ ima gha khin ne Edo.

At that time, there was nothing like a camera, we were the ones that cast the event or persons in the form of an image in bronze especially for important figures such as the Obas that reigned in the past, what they did and how they lived. These figures and events used to be forgotten in the past but we now made it possible for the present and future generations to remember them. We cast these in the form of images for our present and future generation to

be conversant with these persons and events. For example, we can now say that this was the Oba that did this or that this person was like this or this event occurred like this in the past.

Haven established the different interactional strategies and devices used to construct membership identity by the guilds so examined in this study, we will now look at the nature of this representation and construction of identity by the different guilds studied. In the same vein, we will be looking at the discourse structure of the guilds and the ways these project the groups identity in the Edo society.

The principle of emergence operates on the premise that people's sense of self and their individual mind are reflected in a form of discourse. Identity emerges from concrete conditions of linguistic interaction and is not a preexisting source of linguistic or semiotic practices. It is a social and cultural phenomenon as illustrated by the following example by Bucholtz and Hall (2005:588).

- (a) Hijras boy who refers to himself as female (using female pronouns) thereby violating the associations between linguistic forms and specific social categories.

In line with this, consider the following interview extracts from the guilds:

Q: How did the guilds originate in the Edo society?

R. At that time, there was nothing like a camera, we were the ones that cast the event or persons in the form of an image in bronze especially for important figures such as the Obas that reigned in the past, what they did and how they lived. These figures and events used to be forgotten in the past but we now made it possible for the present and future generations to remember them. We cast these in the form of images for our present and future generation to be conversant with these persons and events. For example, we can now say that this was the Oba that did this or that this person was like this or this event occurred like this in the past.

We came to meet this job, I know as a matter of fact that this work (erɔnmwo 'bronze casting') has been in existence in the Edo society for a long time now. It can be said that this work is as old as the Edo society. There is a casting depicting this which made it possible for us to know about it. When we have not come into existence, in the past, there was a time when one of the Oba's sons during the Ogiso dynasty (the

earliest historical account of Benin) known as Egbakhavbokun. He was the son of the King then.

This son of the King, used to dress with bronze from his head to his toes, all of his regalia are made of bronze. When he is walking therefore, there is this jingling sound that accompanies him from all the ornaments of his vestment so much so that, when he raises his hands, there is the sound of bronze, his legs, the sound of bronze and so on. So the use and casting of bronze has been in existence for a very long time now in the Edo society, starting from the time of the Ogiiso Kings.

Our forbearers also taught us to the extent that it was during the Ogiiso era that these guilds you find in the Edo society today were established as seen from the activities of one of the King's sons then. Secondly, is the issue of the kind of people that may be classified as members of the guild of bronze casters.

First of all, it is the Oba himself, he owns the works of the guilds, it is to him God gave these artefacts. Secondly, is the Chief, Ine of the bronze casting guild who is the custodian of the group. He is in charge of the work of the guild in the Edo society on behalf of the Oba. 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 Edo society.

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

This issue is coming from another direction entirely. The Oba is the one that owns the jobs done by the guilds in the Edo society. Chief Ine is the one that is responsible for supervising this group on behalf of the Oba which made him one of the closest chiefs to the Monarch. This is just like the Ehofo of Igbesanmwa (wood carvers guild) who supervises the activities of that group.

Vbene 'uti' ye vbe igiemwi:

For example the word *uti* 'moller' as in the expression: *mù uti mę mwa*
bring me the moller

qvbehe ore

another one is the expression: *mù anwa mę*
bring me the thong

a vbe tie ukpe 'spatula'

we also use the expression: *rrie ukpe mę vbe evba*
bring the spatula from that place

vbene 'olima' vbe ye

there is also the expression: *rrie olima mę vbe evba*
bring me the file from that place

The object 'chisel' is called *afian* which is an Edo word but it is of the deep or old variety which is not known to the ordinary person. Identity includes macro-level demographic categories such gender, age, social class. The same time, it includes local, ethnographic/cultural positions as we saw from some of regulatory practices of the guilds in the course of conveying the identity of members. Then lastly, identity is being represented by temporary and interactionally emerged roles (for example, joke teller, listener and so on). The notion of indexicality: linguistic forms semiotically linked to social meanings and it is closely related to cultural beliefs and values, and can be found on all levels of linguistic structure.

4.6 Accounting for the differences in the register of the guilds and common Edo

In this section, we will be examining the register of the different guilds with that of conventional Edo with a view to identifying the differences between the two in answer to our research question five. This is in line with the sociocultural linguistic approach premise of identity as an emergent trend from group interaction and not as a fixed category in any language. This was also supported by Kamalu and Fortress (2013) position on register as a marker of group's identity in their examination of the religious crises in Nigeria and how different groups portrayed their distinct religious ideologies and identity. The distinction between the lexical items used in the Guild (Eronmwọ) and conventional Edo are summarized in a tabular form below:

Table 4.1: Comparing the Guild's (Ẹ̀rọ̀nmwọ̀) Ẹ̀do and Common Ẹ̀do

S/N	Terms in the guild	Common Ẹ̀do variant	Gloss
(1)	Gbè	Wáá	Spread
(2)	Ruè	Ruò	Fold
(3)	Khìòn	NIL	Heat
(4)	Vièn	Lè	Cooked
(5)	Sai	NIL	Casted
(6)	Nwiè	Khièn	Scraping/Shining
(7)	Kàloí	Rhie hin	Remove
(8)	Òlimà	NIL	File
(9)	Àfián	NIL	Chisel
(10)	Ùkpé	NIL	Spactular
(11)	Ònà	Ìnwìnà òghé Ámázé	Art work
(12)	Ẹ̀rọ̀nmwọ̀	Ẹ̀rọ̀nmwọ̀	Bronze
(13)	Suèn	Suèn	Mix-Begin

We see from the table above that there exist a lot of differences between the guild's register and that of common Ẹ̀do as different lexical items are used to describe different objects or activities. In some cases, there exists no variant of the lexical item in conventional Ẹ̀do and such are represented as a Lexical Gap (LG) and such lexical items can be termed special creation of the guild, which serves a particular discourse function.

Table 4.2: Contrast between the Guilds' Ẹdo and Common Ẹdo

S/N	Terms in the Guilds	Common Ẹdo variant	Gloss
(1)	Ìtaèmwi	Ìnwinà	Work
(2)	Kpě	Kinmwí	Hit
(3)	Sè	Dòlọ	Fix
(4)	Dià	Dià	Fix/straighten
(5)	Ékwé	LG	Bellows
(6)	Okpokuo	LG	A kind of festival/rite
(7)	Ukpe	LG	Spactular
(8)	Èrhèn	Èrhèn	Fire
(9)	Àfián	LG	Chisel
(10)	Ànwá	LG	Plier
(11)	Igunimwefo	Isanrẹn	Domestic iron locks
(12)	Ohian	Ohian	Leather
(13)	Adigba	LG	A kind of dress
(14)	Udaẹha	LG	A kind of cap
(15)	Eziken	LG	A kind of rite in ugboha
(17)	Ìsèkpòkin	Ọsòhian	A leatherworker
(18)	Ava	LG	An object for straightening iron/metal
(19)	Emoranmwe	LG	An object made from a mixture of sand and iron
(20)	Ùkpàbò	Ùrhúkpófìgbòn	A type of lamp that uses palm oil
(21)	Úgbòhà	Èmátòn	Iron/Metal/Steel
(22)	Ìhèkpù	LG	A kind of ritual
(23)	Ìgbèkèn	Èkpònmwè	A kind of thanksgiving ceremony

This is a reflection of what we obtained in table one and in this case we are seeing more differences as shown by the number of lexical items displayed here. This is a clear testament to the functional relevance of the guild in the Ẹdo (Benin) society. The register here also points to the guild's strategy for identity marking through the specialized nature of their activities as reflected from the lexical items used.

Table 4.3: Contrast between the Guilds' Edo and Common Edo

S/N	Terms in the guild	Common Edo variant	Gloss
(1)	Ikpenwini	LG	A drummer
(2)	Ahianmwęorhọ	LG	Instrumental iron gong
(3)	Gbeseкуро	LG	Title of a song
(4)	Fie	Kìnmwí	Hit
(5)	Enwini	LG	Drum
(6)	Dè òbọ yí	Dè òbọ yí	Stop the drum/Hold on
(7)	Rràé	Rrá	Join the chorus/Raise it
(8)	Isise	LG	A typical tone of the drum
(9)	Lòdé	Lòdé	Introduction/Follow the way
(10)	Obọ ne ó guan	Òbò nè ó gùan	Effective drum/A talking hand
(11)	Nwà òmó	LG	Bring child
(12)	Èkàsà	LG	A tone of drum

Based on the presentation above, we can see the variation between the Edo used in the guild (and the general one used by other members of the society. In some instances as mentioned before, there exist lexical gaps in the common usage as the items concerned here are technical ones used to explain/relate the different objects and activities engaged by the guild in the course of carrying out their assigned duties. These differences exist due to the need to prevent members of the public access to certain information, which may end up demystifying the activities of these guilds and thereby reducing their functions and roles in the Edo (Benin) society and institutions. The expressions are therefore employed to bring together members of the guild for the sake of shared identity through shared functionality as well as to separate and therefore prevent non-members access to what is being done in the guilds generally.

Indexical ties are inherently ideological, starting their creation from “a set of interactional norms for particular social groups” (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 596). Style in traditional view is seen as the intra-speaker variation of language use (Labov, 1972), while the third wave sociolinguistic approach defines it as a repertoire of linguistic forms associated with personas or identities (Eckert 2000, Shilling-Estes 2004), therefore, the social meaning of style definitely requires ethnographic investigation. Consider the response from the interview illustrated below:

Q: What are the differences between your group and other Edo persons?

R. The main distinction between us and other Edo people is this, no matter how long you have spent in this society (Edo), you will not be allowed to learn the works of the guilds. Though we are all Edo, there are things we do that are not known to other Edo persons. So even if we are all from the same land, it is not all Edo people that practice the same occupation. As said before now, the Oba is the only one that can introduce new members to the guild but such a person must be a 100% Edo (both parents must be from the land) and must have served the palace in any capacity.

Some of the new members that are introduced by the Oba most times are those who served as sword bearers (amuada) in the palace before the Oba. These people are at their retirement from service compensated for their years of service to the palace with membership of the guild. Such a person is told never to disclose the secret of the group to non-members of the group.

So it is the Oba that handles the issue of new members' introduction and will be the one to warn against the disclosure of the activities of the guilds by reminding such persons of the penalties for such.

Let me say here that, the children of the guild (idigun) being the ones that can learn this craft, it is only the males from the father's side that can do so. Those from the mother's side and all females in the family cannot learn the job.

d) Languages and dialects can express identity as well. This is captured from the interview extract below:

Q: What variety of Edo language do you use in your group?

R. Yes some of the expressions we use for our work, though they are Edo but it is the old variety of the language. When they are used, the people involved in the works of the guilds are the only ones that can comprehend them. Another person will not understand what is being said.

Identities are never isolated. They gain social meaning through interaction with other identities in the discourse. This interaction includes similarity/difference, genuineness/artifice, and authority/delegitimacy.

The principle of partiality on the other hand challenges the old view that social life is coherent. Reflexive ethnography and especially postmodernism see the identity of individuals as fractured and discontinuous localized in a discursive context. Identity is inherently relational, partial and a result of the contextual discourse where it ideologically interacts with other identities.

This approach based on the socio-cultural evaluation of the identity creation processes of the Edo guilds can be said to then conceptualize identity as a socio-cultural and linguistic phenomenon based on the following assumptions:

- (a) Identity is the product rather than the source of linguistic and other semiotic practices and therefore is a social and cultural rather than primarily internal psychological phenomenon;
- (b) Identities encompass macro-level demographic categories, temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles, and local, ethnographically emergent cultural positions;
- (c) Identities may be linguistically indexed through labels, implicatures, stances, styles, or linguistic structures and systems;
- (d) 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

(e) 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 others' perceptions and representations, and in part an outcome of larger ideological processes and structures.

4.7 Chapter Summary

We have been able in this chapter to present 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 has also been shown the different practical application of the socio-cognitive representational model of CDA as well as the analytic process of this method of doing discourse in unveiling underlying ideological orientations of a discourse. It was also shown 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.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary

We have examined the linguistic processes of ideological expression and identity construction by the guilds in the Edo (Benin) society so far in this study. By looking at the setting of the study, the aims, research questions, scope and significance the stage is set for an evaluation of the different issues raised at this preliminary stage in the research. We were able to present a step by step evaluation of the different concepts related to this study and previous studies on the theme of this study. We also present the links between these different concepts: identity, ideology, variation, language choice and language attitudes in line with the objectives of the study.

We have also shown in this work, the theoretical frameworks adopted for data presentation and analysis. We were able to present, the research method and the different techniques that were employed in obtaining data for this research and how these were utilised for a successful analysis. These methods have also been shown to have been very effective in past researches of this nature and utilised successfully with a narrow margin of errors and deficiencies. These were illustrated as the research progresses as a result of many observations in the course of data presentation and analysis.

We also present in the course of our analysis of 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 is expected that with these revelations coupled with the ones on the guilds discursive strategies for identity construction, we have succeeded in answering our research questions listed at the inception of this study as well as proffering the necessary solutions to the problems/shortcomings that necessitated this research.

The final focus of our examination of the guilds discursive practices dwelt on a socio-cultural linguistic evaluation of the process of identity construction by the Edo guilds as we have earlier examined the components of the ideological expressions. In our analysis, we have come to see the process of identity construction by the guilds and the manifestation of these

in the groups discourse and behaviour within the wider Edo society. By taking care of this and other related language use issues, we can safely say here that the study has succeeded in representing the process of identity construction by the guilds through the examination of their discursive strategies.

The data presented thus in this study coupled with their examination reflect the performative nature of the guilds (*ugboha* in this case) profession manifesting in their language use. By employing the joint Critical Discourse Analysis (van Dijk, 2009) and Socio-cultural linguistic identity approach (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005), we have been able to show the salient nature of the activities of these guilds and their ideological expression and identity orientation. We have also been able to evaluate the motivation for the activities and ideological orientation of the Edo (Benin) society vis-à-vis the guild system. In the section that follows, we provide a brief account of our findings and the implications of these for the Edo (Benin) language and sociolinguistics.

5.2 Findings

In line with our research objectives, questions and methodological orientation for this study, we posit some preliminary findings for the study conducted thus far on the Edo guild system. It is expected that with these findings, a proper insight will be gained into the linguistic practices of the Edo guild system.

We project and enumerate our findings in this study here based on the outlined goals/objectives stated in this research endeavour on the investigation of the linguistic practices of the Edo guild system and the expression of ideology and construction of identity through such. These goals became achievable due to the faithful examination of the different discursive structures and practices of the social institution that constitute the focus of this study (the guilds).

In line with our first objective which centres on the linguistic devices/markers present in the discourses of these guilds therefore, the following observations were made as presented.

- The modulation of relations whereby the hierarchical organisation of the Edo society (see Fig. IV) are duly respected and conveyed in discourses through the use of honorifics especially in the acknowledgement of elders and the monarch were

observed to be of paramount significance in the reflection of the discursive structure of the groups.

- It was also observed that indexicality is a useful tool for the discursive distinction of faithful members from unfaithful ones in the interactions involving members' financial obligations.
- The use of certain registers identifiable with the older variety of the Edo language used by members of the guild was found to be a very useful linguistic strategy employed in the expression of the groups' ideologies as a closed social category within the larger society. This was based on the perceived socio-cognitive representation of the social institution of the guilds in the minds of members of the Edo public.

Our second objective provided the basis for the investigation of the ways the linguistic devices so observed in the guilds discourse help in conveying the ideological orientation of the group. It was observed from our examination of the groups' discourse that the guilds by their very act of restricting the communication of aspects of their activities to other members of the Edo society have greatly succeeded in mystifying what they represent to the people and the society that way. This is one of the primary motivations for the present study as we seek to by doing all these investigations to be able to fully account for the way, manner and why of the guilds discursive practices. The guilds convey this message of distinction through the following means:

- The restriction of access of non-members to their gathering/meeting places, workshops (the research was able to overcome this due to the very high recommendation given by different respected members of the different groups);
- By embarking on diversionary communicative strategies especially when non-members of the guilds are present which is intended to confuse whoever is a listener as to the real meaning of what is being said at that time. This was observed to be frequently done by members of the guilds when non-members are present and even to the researcher; and
- Through the restriction of access of the female members of the respective guilds family (with the limited exception of the *ugboha* 'blacksmith' group) from learning about the activities of the guilds which will prevent the spread of this knowledge when such members get married to people outside the locale of the guilds.

As for our third objective for this study, the guilds were found to exhibit a variety of ideologies consistent with the cognitive orientation of the groups. 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.
- 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.
- Ethnicity which is based on the argument of the guilds that only people of Edo (Benin) heritage can be considered for membership in the rare exceptional cases of the induction of new members to the group. This exception to membership induction takes place when the monarch *òmó ne oba* in the course of rewarding a faithful and loyal servant, introduces such to the guilds to be taken on as a new apprentice. The persons so introduced must be of full Edo heritage (both parents from the land).
- Relevance: this term was introduced into this study for a practical appraisal of the reticence of the guilds observed with respect to the nature of their trade as reflected in their conversation. We observed from our analysis that the major reason for the guilds' interactional strategies was to maintain the prestige and hence relevance of the various groups who believed that this will not be possible if their trades are learnt by others that are not members of the different groups. As it is for now, they represent the basic pillar of the cultural values of the Edo people and traditional institutions. This will not be possible if the groups' activities are thrown open and their services rendered by so many different persons without any affiliation to the groups as the prestige and relevance erstwhile being enjoyed by these guilds will suffer a serious

setback as was shown by the demise of the guild of wood workers *igbesanmwa* in our analysis.

Based on the fourth objective of this study, the identity of the members of the groups were observed to be emergent based on three factors of (i) the content of the groups' interaction, (ii) the register of interaction and (iii) the nature of the groups socio-cultural activities and settings. It was seen based on our analysis that positioning (actors, participants and so on) of different discourse participants in the groups' interaction also leads to the creation of their socio-cultural identity. Lastly, it was observed that through the indexicalization of discursive participants a line of distinction is drawn between members and non-members of the guilds.

Finally, the fifth objective was realized through the examination of the motivation for the different discursive practices of the guilds. It was based on our analysis in chapters four on ideological expressions strategies and identity construction processes, that the predominant factor for all these is the need to project the groups' services primarily to the exalted traditional political institution represented by the *òmó ne Oba* in the Edo society. This is further joined by the need to maintain a socio-cultural relevance in contemporary times when faced with the threat of modernisation.

We therefore posit in this study in line with our findings that the distinctive discursive strategies of the guilds in the Edo society do not constitute a classification of the groups' linguistic resources as a variety of Edo language. It should rather be conceptualized as the socio-cognitive representation of beliefs and values systems (ideology) and a socio-cultural projection of distinctive social, economic and cultural functions of a group (identity) within the Edo society.

5.3 Conclusion

Based on the findings from this study we can conclude here that the Edo guild is a distinct social group with high social status catering for the need of professional craftsmen specialized in different productive endeavours in the Edo (Benin) society. It has been observed that the existence of the guilds is a case for the presence of a variety of Edo (Benin) language since the guild as a professional social group disguises their activities from the members of the public. This is known from an historical perspective as the 'igodomigodo' or old Edo which contains relics of the language as used in the past. This is therefore effectively

employed as a means of communicating among members that is not comprehensible to others who are not affiliated to the group.

The guilds operate a distinct register in the course of group interaction and activities which vary to a large extent from the common Edo register used by the generality of the people for communication. This we attribute in the study to the peculiar nature of the jobs/profession of these guilds which make use of certain materials/objects that the common people are not familiar or conversant with. Also this register is a representation of the nature of activities engaged in by the different guilds much like what is obtainable in contemporary society between practitioners of different fields like, law, medicine, engineering and so on and therefore is a marker of the guilds' cultural ideology and social identity;

The guild can be seen on the perspective of this study as demonstrating a supremacist ideology in their utilization of a functional or social variety of Edo due to their exclusive employment of terms in conversation which can be linked to both the nature of their jobs and their affiliation to the traditional political institutions in the Edo (Benin) society. The justification for this is that, the guilds like modern professions such as Medicine, Law and so on, possibly could conduct their interaction in plain terms which will be easily comprehensible to other members of the public but rather opted for more indirect and less comprehensible mode of communication. This eventually results in the mystification of such professions as only members of the respective profession will therefore comprehend the different interactions carried out by the group thereby creating the distinction of 'we' versus 'they' which is a common indexical feature of social identity and the socio-cultural linguistic approach. In other words, the guild as a social group within the Edo (Benin) society operates under a lot of secrecy and this is responsible for the group's use of a distinct code in communicating with members which is expected to obscure their activities from other members of the society.

That the guilds' identity is marked and demonstrated by the nature of their use of Edo (Benin) language with great reliance on proverbs and expressions that can be termed 'Advanced or Guild Edo. This can be found in the form of the following expression by members of some of the guilds investigated.

(a) Ìtán à fí mà rẹ̀n Ẹ̀do, ògbòí á gbé ẹ̀ró má

‘One uses a proverb when speaking to an Ẹ̀do person but it a novice that needs further explanation of the meaning of the proverb’

The implication of the above saying is that a typical Ẹ̀do person (as the guilds’ members always like to refer to themselves) does not need further explanation or interpretation when spoken to in either a proverb, riddles or figures of speech as it is expected that such a person is conversant with the different context or situation of discourse. This is a pointer to the fact that the guilds’ identity is embedded in their linguistic resources thereby supporting the position of one of our theoretical guide (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005) that identity is the product of discourse and therefore an emergent phenomenon as opposed to being embedded in the structure of any language.

Also that the guilds project a supremacist 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. Identity on the other hand is conceptualised in this study thus, a conception of identity as *the manifested differentiation resulting from the use of language by a section of a society arising from the possession of a set of values, attitudes, orientation and beliefs distinct from the one generally held by other members of the society about the language of the environment*. This leads to differences in language use and eventually gives way to variation in the language.

We draw our conclusion in this study here by positing that the need for group vitality by the guilds in the Ẹ̀do (Benin) society and social comparison between different groups are responsible for the emergence of a variety of the language used by these guilds which we termed in this study ‘Guild Ẹ̀do’ as a functional variety of the language employed by the guilds in the course of carrying out their cultural duties in the society. We will also like to recommend the use of the term *igun* ‘guilds’ as a reference to the guild system (which was previously used to refer to the bronze casters’ guild) from the perspective of the Ẹ̀do (Benin) language.

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APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW GUIDES

The following constitutes the leading questions for our key informants interview conducted on the supervisors of three guilds examined in this study.

1. How did the guild system originated in the Edo society?
2. What is the organizational structure of the guilds?
3. What are the criteria for membership of the guilds?
4. Are there any rituals/ceremonies associated with the guilds and how are these conducted if so?
5. Is it possible for a non-Edo native to become a member of the guilds?
6. Do the guilds possess a special way of communication among members that is different from conventional Edo?
7. Why do the guilds use a special code for members' communication?
8. What do you call the special code used by members in communication within the guilds?

APPENDIX II

Interview with the guilds (ẸṚỌNMWỌ, Èmátọn AND OGBELAKA)

- Q1. How did the guild system (igun) come about in the Edo society?
- R. Long ago in the Oba's palace, there existed different societies: bronze casters (ẹṚỌNMWỌ), iron mongers (ematọn/ugbọha), beads makers (isekpokin), furniture makers (igbesanmwa), wood carvers (onwina), block molders (okabere) and pot makers (imakhe). The palace was compartmentalized into different societies for different works like the ones mentioned now. This igun where you are right now is known as 'Ugbọha' though to the general population it is 'ematọn' the common Edo term for iron/steel and we have eight of such guilds in Benin which are: Igun ẸṚỌNMWỌ under the leadership of Chief Inẹ Ne Igun ẹṚỌNMWỌ with other subordinate chiefs under him covering the following areas: Igun Nekhua, Adaa, Ẹnyae Ne Ugie, Igun Isekpokin, Igun Ogbelaka, Igun Igbesanmwa and the last is Igun Ugbọha. Many of these guilds have already gone into extinction. Chief Obasogie is the head of the Ugbọha which stretches from Ogbelaka street to Asoro street in the Benin metropolis. Now to talk about this guild in general, I will just highlight some facts. The discovery of iron ore was the foundation of Igun in the Benin Kingdom and later on Iguegha from Uhe (the Edo name for Ile-Ife) followed Oba Ẹwuare to Benin which led to the introduction of bronze casting in Benin. Bronze casting today though is in extinction in Uhe but still in vogue in Benin. Igun ẸṚỌNMWỌ though is not the first as other Iguns are believed to be older than it but because it practitioner then (Igueghae) plays a prominent role in accompanying Oba Ẹwuare to Benin it was promoted to be first among the other guilds. The Oza and Ehanire were all chiefs in Igun ẸṚỌNMWỌ that followed Oba Ẹwuare to Benin. They were all foreigners in Benin then. Those who were there in the time of Igodomigodo was Ugbọha. The man Ẹvian ne u rriagbe that killed osogan at Okedo was also a blacksmith (the father of Ogiamiẹn). The blacksmithing has been going on for years. Igun Ugbọha as it is known is used makes tools like: knives, hoes, sickle, axe and so on. They also specialize in making arts for life (that is for worship) and aesthetic arts (for beauty sake or decoration). They make bracelets, rings, ada (state sword), eben (scepter). We make the keys and lights 'Ukpabọ' in the palace. The lamp 'Ukpabọ' is made with oil and thread and is used to illuminate the streets around the palace. Everything that has to do with iron are made

by this guild like iron chairs. It is only for those who are rich. We also make pipe (for smoking), bell and steel instruments (strings) *ẹgiṣon* (a kind of flute), *agidigbo* (musical instrument) and so on. So very many other iron objects are made by this guild. The guild is a society; they are the different custodians of artifacts for the palace. They are only responsible to the *Ọba* and he dictates what they should do and their works is meant to commemorate the *Ọba*.

Q2. How is this guild organized?

R. The guild is organized under different headships. Every guild has a leader like where we are now is headed by *Ọbasogie Ne Igun Ne Ugbọha*. If the *Ọba* has to send a message to this guild, it comes to the Chief in charge of such a guild. After that all the craftsmen comes to any of their workshop under the leader and at that time members of the guild comes together to do the assignment and submit same to the palace. The head takes whoever he likes when submitting the work to the palace. There is therefore a formation or hierarchy (from *Ọbasogie* to *Urhonigbe* to **Ediṣon** to **Erogbae** to **Evbinṣrobaro** to the smallest guild member (apprentices). The wives of the craftsmen are also members (as this is the only guild that does not discriminate against women) and they act as critics for the perfection of their jobs. They make the job perfect and also handle the sales of the materials produced by the guild.

Q3. How does one become a member of the guild?

R. Concerning membership of the guild, as soon as one is born into the family of the guild, he/she becomes a member irrespective of gender, age or social status in the society. There is no formal initiation except for the promotion of members from one rank to another in the guild. For instance for one to become an **Ediṣon** (an elder), a small ceremony must be performed and the same goes for a promotion to the rank of **Urhonigbe** (a higher rank that plays a supervisory role over the affairs of the guild). **Urhonigbe** are members from other guilds like **Ẹrṣnmwọ**, **Adaa**, and so on who are called for the purpose of choosing people into this office. The head of the guild (Chief *Obasogie*) can appoint anybody as an *Ọdiṣon* based on meritorious services to the guild by pronouncing such a person as such. The person so appointed is then expected to come seven days later as the Chief will invite other elders of the guild to the **Ọgua Ediṣon** (Shrine of Elders) for the person so appointed to perform the **Igbiken** (loyalty

and thanksgiving) ceremony and automatically becomes an **Qdiṣṣ** (singular for **Ediṣṣ**) after that. There can be prices fixed to this promotion sometimes but meritorious services can also be used to choose an elder in the guild.

Q4. What are some of the ceremonies/rituals that are performed in the guilds?

R. As mentioned before, the **Igbekṣṣ** is a ceremony performed when one kneels down with his two hands clasped, then he pressed the hands to the floor in an intricate pattern to show submission to the authority of the Chief of the guild. The person then takes his hand from the floor and pressed to his forehead and finally waved around in a sign of supplication. This is done seven times by the person so appointed/promoted and it is a sign of submission to the elders and other constituted authority within the guild. In some other circumstances, when the person performing this rite is older than many of the elders present (this is due to the fact that anyone irrespective of age can be appointed into this council at the discretion of the Chief who is the head), he is prevented from doing this kneeling and instead is told **iyabṣṣruṣ** (literally you are forgiven or excluded from doing this). This is because it is possible for members of the **Ediṣṣ** to be younger in terms of age than the person just promoted/appointed and as such it will be wrong for the elderly person to knee to those younger to him. So one can become an **Qdiṣṣ** before those who are his seniors and whenever an older person is appointed **Qdiṣṣ** after performing all the rites and ceremonies automatically becomes senior to others who are younger than him in the council. It is on during these ceremonies that the older person being promoted will pay respect to those younger than him in the **Ediṣṣ** council. So after this rites of promotion, the seating arrangement in the council changes as the older in age sit first before others in proportion to the Chief who is at the dais/seat of his office in the order of seniority in age.

Q5. Is it possible for outsiders to become members of the guilds?

a) It is possible for one not born into the **Ugbṣṣha** guild to become a member of the guild through initiation. In other words, the Chief as the head of the guild in conjunction with subordinate Chiefs (**Urhonigbe** and **Ediṣṣ**) can absorb new members into the guild. The Chief is the political and spiritual head of the guild. So if there is someone not born into the guild (from any tribe) and has been residing in the vicinity of the

guild for a long time can be initiated when he comes to the attention of the Chief who is the head of the guild. There is no discrimination therefore as far as one is willing to go through the formal initiation ceremonies. The current members of the guild consist of many who were not born into any of the guild's families while the original members/founders are the descendants of the **Okao Ne Ogbèide** (The first Ogbèide). They originally started as six members consisting of Ogbèide, his children and grandchildren: **Emòvọ̀n**, **Igbenọghẹ̀nẹ̀**, **Ọbasogie**, **Ọgiakha** and **Ọşẹmwọta**. **Obasogie** was the last child of **Ogbèide** but because it was **Ọba Adọlọ** that fathered him (through the one of the daughters of **Ogbèide**), he automatically became the head of the guild after his grandfather as a royal prince then. That is why presently the head of the guild, Chief Ọbasogie has his own throne where he sits as a result of his royal heritage.

Q6. Is there a special way of communication (use of Edo language) by the guilds?

R. The guild has a special code for members' communication due to the desire for secrecy as many of our activities involve the affairs of the palace and royal family. As a result of this, most times in the workshop non-members do not know what we are talking about and as such cannot decipher the process of iron smelting. Sometimes, the guilds use the same conventional Edo like every other speaker but the interpretation of terms or meaning are usually different from the common usage. Everything in the guild is done according to the rules and regulations of the guild. In the case of **Ugbọha**, people working with iron normally worship the deity of iron (**ogun**) as their spiritual head.

Q7. Is this use of a special code as a result of the worship of the ogun deity?

R. I am not implying that the guild engage in idol worship because I am not a spiritual person, but a physical being. The reality is what matters most like I learnt from my father based on the expression:

I gha gbé ebe ogun ye emwi, ina ru emwi nà ru nà yọ, amẹ Èmátọ̀n nà yá kpe ekue a mu ọ̀nrẹ̀n yọ, mu ne ọ̀mwá yá khue lo efematọ̀n.

- T. If I take the leaves of ogun (palm frond) and place in a bowl, and does all things that needed to be done to it (like praying libation), put the water that is used to wash the bellow of an iron, then give it to a person to bath along with other properties of iron.

This expression may be interpreted to mean that we are serving idols but it should be noted here that Edo has no idols. Most of the idols came from Yoruba land through Oba Ewuare in the mid-fifteen century. That is why the Oba was given such appellations as:

Ewuare Ne Ogie Obo

'Ewuare the King of Witchdoctors'

Ewuare Ne Ogidigan

'Ewuare the Great'

He brought all the idols from the West to Edo. The guild practitioners therefore do not serve any idol but perform certain rites due to the connotations associated with them. These are normally discovered during the course of our work in the guild. People normally confuse culture and religion because they do not know what happens inside the guild. So we always acknowledge the iron deity due to the fact that we work mainly with iron and a lot of things happen in the course of our work which common people do not understand.

- Q8. Is there a name for the special code used by the guild in communication among members?

- R. What we speak sometimes in the guild can also be referred to as **Igodomigodo** which is an ancient version of Edo language used by the pioneer ancestors of the Edo people when the place was still known as '**Igodomigodo**' during the first dynasty (Ogiso Dynasty).

We are workmen or skilled workers in iron or iron mongers (as it is called in the Fine Art). Our unity comes from Chief Obasogie through the Oba of Benin. This is just as in the Christian faith, where no one can come to see God except through Jesus Christ. Another one is that we reason the same way, speak the same language and eat the same food. Our best food is dog meat, tortoise and this is one of the things that brings everyone

together in the guild. As for production, there are areas of specialization even though they are one in the guild. There is a departmentalization of responsibilities in the guild. For example, the **Ilekhufba** specializes in geometric metal works as he can manufacture any gun or weapon by doing it according to specification and is as good as any Engineer from the West. He also makes keys, and other geometric products (products with a particular specification in terms of length, breadth and width). The **Obaiwi** and **Edokpayi** are good at general art works. The other groups like the one that is expert at **eben** (state sword) and **ada** (sceptre) making is the **Obaiwi**. **Obasogie**, the head of the guild is popularly called maker of the lights for the palace **ó gbé urhukpa ne igun** (the light maker from the guild). Supervision in the guild is also determined by ones area of specialization. That is the nature of the work to be done is determined by the specialization of the guild members.

The **Ugboha** guild has a population of about 600 people. The landscape is about 4x6 square kilometer stretching from **Ogbelaka** junction to Third Circular in the Benin metropolis. If you take **Omoruyi** Street now or **Asoro** you will see that the guild has expanded to cover all these areas and even other members also reside outside the guild zone.

There are a lot of rituals/rites carried out in the guild because every year we do what we call the **Ihekpu** festival which all members of the guild must participate in. It is done around the period of bush clearing especially around the month of March. That is when farmers normally bring their wares for amendment and making new ones and this is the boom period. The festival is done with Chief **Obasogie** buying a dog, a sheep, goat, tortoise, snail, cock, fish and kolanut. The **Ogun** workshop where we work is decorated with fresh palm fronds. This is the dress of **Ogun** while a white chalk is used to decorate the place with all the animals slaughtered hurriedly in no particular order by severing their head from the body. Other members are also required to get a dog too and other items they can afford but the Chief must get everything mentioned above. This is when members of the guild pay homage to Chief **Obasogie** as their head by bringing him a cock. This ceremony is done around all the different principal guild members' homes. The other ritual we perform in the guild is the **Okpokhuo** which is usually done when someone from the guild is travelling and there is the premonition of danger like an accident happening on the way and for safety sake since the journey must be undertaken despite the early signs of danger. A cock is brought to the gathering of the Elders where children are asked to chase the fowl after being set free and

bring it to the elders. After slaughtering the cock, prayers are offered and the person can then embark on his journey. The difference between this rite and others in the guild is the fact that a sacrifice is offered before prayers in the former while in the latter; the reverse is the case.

APPENDIX III

Data from Observation

Emeetin okaro ẹ̀rè nà khin, ọ̀mwá ne ọ̀ nà erhunmwu ne a yá kie owa keghi re ọ̀ten ima ighe Ikpomwosa ne ọ̀ nà re emmetin okaro vbe ukpo na, a má rré rre suen rhunmwuda emwa nii buun má rré rre vbe Írán má rẹn ghé ẹ̀rè nà ẹ̀rè emeetin suen.

Ako iwe ọ̀ghé owa nà keghi gù owa nà guan wé evbe ne ima ka yá guan i eghe i mobọ rro ne ima khián ta vbe ẹ̀rè na. We a gbé iselogbe ne egbe vbe ofumwegbe vbe ukpo ogbon ẹ̀rè mobọ nọ kevbe wé Ávbe emwe ne orro hia ne a mu ọ̀nrèn khe emeetin ne ọ̀ de. Ugbenmwé ọ̀ ghí guan ghé ọ̀ten ima Akeghe ne kherhe ghé Ikpomwosa we ne Ákòwé ọ̀ghé owa nà ne ọ̀ gbene vbené a yá lo ighe ọ̀ghé ufomwé ọ̀ghé ukpo ladian.

Evba ere Ákòwé ọ̀ghé ighe owa nà wé ebe hia ne ọ̀ gù iren ghe ehia gbare. A nà ghí we ne ọ̀ tie ẹ̀rè, ugben vbe ọ̀ ghí tie ẹ̀rè nẹ, Aigbe nà we ọ̀ te gha rré iren orhion vbe ede ne a rrie evbare emwi ukpo nii ne iren hae ighe nii ye aza ọ̀ghé Ogbemudia ne ọ̀ re ako ọ̀ghé owa nà nà miè nà rrie ighe nii lá emeetin ne a miè nà yá de emwi ne agha lo.

Sokpan ime nà ta má ọ̀nrèn wé ghe egbe ighe vbe rriọ abọ ọ̀ghé emwiku rro nẹ sokpan vbe ne eghe khare. A vbe tare se rriọ wé Írán ne ọ̀ zẹ ighe gheghe ne ọ̀ má zẹ ighe fo ne a khián yá ruẹ emwi ukpo ghé ighe ọ̀ghé Írán ọ̀ gbé o.

Avbe tama érhá ọ̀ghé ima ghé okhaemwe Inẹ ne ọ̀ yá lá kòdẹ ké ọ̀dẹ wé ọ̀ khéké ne ọ̀ nà re enonwàrèn ne ọ̀ yá ékhòè enonwàrèn yá mu otu nà khián ne ima nii kẹrè miè eke nà gha lele ẹ̀rè khián vbọ rhunmwuda ighe ne a yá rrie evbare ukpo nii ọ̀ má haa ẹ̀rè gba, àwàrókpá nii ona ghí khare wé ighe nii iren gha ha ẹ̀rè vbe eghe ne ẹ̀rè khián kpẹ gbé o.

ọ̀ khéké ghé ukpo nà ne a ye nà ne agbon yá si irri okpa nà miè ighe nà a ha re vbe ọ̀ ké se ukpo ké fo Ávbe tare se rriọ wé ighe emelu ne a gbé vbe ukpukpo wé a werriegbe rrie ba ẹ̀rè o. Ighe ne a khián ghí gha ha ore ighe ne ọ̀nrèn 10000 vbe orhuon okpokpa rhunmwuda wé 8000 ẹ̀rè ima ka gha ha vbe ime ghí ta oni nẹ enimwàrèn, ẹ̀rè okhaemwe okao nà we iren rri ogbe hia mudia wé ukpo ne ọ̀ de nà a zẹ iren ba emwa ni ruẹ emwamwa ọ̀ghé evbare ne a re ghé iren gha yo yá gù ima de elama.

A vbe mu ọnren ladian óghé iruəmwi óghé usun ọkpa vbe owa nà ne ó ghí kpa gha rrie awua wé ó khéké ne a hẹ Íràn hin otọ rre. A vbe tare sẹ rriọ wé igho ne ó re 2000 ne a ka rrie yọ te u khéké ne agbọn hia ha èrè ó ké sẹ ẹdẹ ne ẹrẹ na. Ize ọhẹ ne a wé a khián rrie giẹ érhá óghé ima vbe ẹguae ne ima ne ké ẹghẹ ni gha de, a tare sẹ rriọ wé igho hia ne a re koko, ó má rré mwé ne ó re se, sokpan èrè nà a nà wé a gha wa tae nà mu olọ hian ọnren.

A tare sẹ rriọ wé ó khéké ne agbọn hia gha mwé ighone a khián yá ruẹ isahenmwé óghé ne a yá gbé isẹlogbe ne egbe. Igho ne ima miẹ ẹdẹ rriọ kegha re .vbe ne igho óghé owa nà ne a koko nà gha re 1000 érhá óghé ima ghẹ ọkhaemwẹ Okao ọghi nà erhunmwu ne a yá khui owa nà vbe suẹn, eninwarẹn erriọ a do èrè se.

Eninwarẹn ene okao vbọ Ávbe emwa ne ima hasa vbe igho ne ima yá rri evbare emwi ukpo kevbe wé ẹ óghé Ávbe etiẹn ima vbe érhá óghé ima ni kpa gha rrie awa atu sẹ rriọ wé agha hasa igho vbe emectin vbe ẹrena.

Eninwarẹn a mu ọni sẹ otọ ne ima rrie igho rré ne Íràn ha igho óghé ni. Sokpan egbe emwi vbe nia èrè emwi nà mu yo mu rre. Vbe ó siẹ ne emwa khián nà kọe ye orhiọn ghe agha ha igho na, emwa nà èrè ẹvbo hia nà nwina.

Uwa ọmọ eninwarẹn vbe ne a ghí tare nà igho ne ó khéké ne ọmwadẹ óghé ha ne owa nà ne Íràn hare ne a miẹ ken a mu emwi ne ó khéké hin otọ rre.

Uwa gho tọ kpe re eninwarẹn, igho agbọn hia nà ta vbe ẹrẹ nà wa gia mu ọnren ye uzọla ne ó de. A gha ru a ghí zẹ ọmwá yọ ne ó gha viọ igho na.

Deghẹ a má re wé , u ké vbá suẹn ghí ku Íràn ku gbe. A ka ku Íràn kegbe vbe asẹ ọkpa sokpan ó kpa èrè ehia vbe khin.

Emata ọvbehe ye rro ha? ẹeh izẹ ọhẹ óghé ọmọ ne Ọba ima ta re vbe uzọla èvá ne ó gberra wé vbe ne uwa khián ọnren hẹ ima má ren. ó te khéké ne ima ren egbe emwi ne ima khián rrie giẹ Íràn deghẹ ó gia ru kevbe deghẹ ẹ gia ru o. A deghẹ ima sua èrè nẹ usun emwi ne ima khián ye zẹ ọre giẹ ẹguae eninwarẹn ó kpe gbé nẹ.

Eninwarẹn óghé e nà tab a vbe asikoko a mu igho suẹn kanren abi ne a wa siẹ a re vbe rriọ ne ima do mwamwa ehia yi otọ. Vbe ne ó yá tare emwi má rhokpa ẹ ghí gia guan yi rhumwunda ima wa kakabọ gi. Te ima khián ghí zobọ na.

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 will start today'

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. Why 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.

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.

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 constrain. 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.

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.

It is necessary that in this New Year, everyone should toe the same line (be more united) so that the dues/levies of the year are paid before the end of it unlike what obtains in the previous year. It was also noted that the money for the cow to be slaughtered every year has increased from N8000 to N10,000 per person. In presenting this case, Chief Okao said he was going home and that for the coming year, he should be made a member of the committee in charge of the preparations for the New Year festivities.

We also discussed the funeral rites of some of our late members of this house so that it can be taken care of quickly. We also discussed this to the extent that the amount of N2000 levy concerning their rites so that everyone will pay this before the end of the day. The gift that we

also said will be sent to our father in the palace (Ọba) could not be achieved because the money available to us will not be enough. It was decided therefore that today the matter of finance will be settled.

We discussed the issue of everyone having sufficient amount of money that will be used to get gifts for one another during the festive season. This money we asked everyone to pay was N1000 while we were able to gather N5000 for the house. After all these deliberations, Chief Okao then said the closing prayer to round off all discussions.

Elders, the first issue of today is that of those who owe money that was used in celebrating the end of year and that of our brothers and fathers who are late. We decided in the previous meeting to resolve everything today.

Elders, we have decided that everyone will pay all outstanding money today, though this is not an issue to be debated again. Why will we all not have it in our mind that we must pay this money, after all, this is where we all work.

Greetings to you elders as we have discussed now, the money that each one of us is supposed to pay to this house should be paid so that there will be money for us to take care of issues on ground.

Elders may you live long, the money that each of us is to pay should be shifted to the following week that is coming. Then we will select someone to help us collect this money

Is there any other matter? Yes, the gift that will be sent to the Ọba as discussed in the meeting that took place two weeks ago that we do not know how the arrangement is going to be like. It is important we know the kind of gift we will send to the palace if it will be possible or not. If we are going to be able to do this, elders we must do so now because the issue is long overdue

Elders, what we said considering our gathering of money should we leave the discussions at that or make more arrangement on it? Based on earlier discussions, it is not possible to deliberate further on it as we are about to close the meeting for today.

APPENDIX IV

Data from Interview

Usun emwi ne igun ẹronmwọ ru vbe Ẹdo ẹ̀rè i khián rrie unu kaẹn na. Ima n a gha re otu ne i se emwi ye ama ne ebo tiere local photographer ẹ̀rè ima khin ne ọmọ ne ọba. Ẹghẹ ne ọ kpere fua, okpe emwa nibun gha rré Ẹdo, emwi nibun hia vbe gha sunu vbe Ẹdo.

Ẹghẹ nii ai miẹ emwi ne ebo tiere ekamerra, eh ima ọ se emwi nii hie ama, ima ghí do maẹ deghe ọmwá nà gha rro zẹvbe igiemwi Ávbe Ọba nii gberra, okpomwa nii gberra, ne Írán n ate kpa ai ghí miẹ emwi yá ye Írán rre, ẹ̀rè ima nà má ne emọ ne a má re biẹ miẹ ọnrèn vbe eghe ne a khián yá biẹ iran. Vbe igiemwi, ọna ọ gha re vbe nia, ọ nà ọ gha re Ọba vbe nia, erriọ ọna yá sunu, erriọ ima gha khin ne Ẹdo.

Te imẹ do vbá inwina na, i rẹn se rriọ wé inwina nà vbe rré Ẹdo yá gha ye erriọ Ávbe inwina nà wav be yá rre. I ro ne iya ta ruẹ inwina kpe ne vbe Ẹdo yá suẹn. Ama rro ne ọ ye ima vbe yá rẹn. Vbe a má re biẹ mwe, vbe eghe nii, eghe gha rro, ovbi Ọba okpa gha rro vbe eghe Ogiso. Ẹghẹ gha rro, ovbi Ọba okpa gha rro (vbe eghe Ogiso) nà gha tiere Evbakhavbokun, ovbi Ọba gha nọ.

Ọ ye ẹronmwọ ọ yah an, yá mu egbe vbe obọ vbe owe. Irẹn gha ghí gha khian, ehia gha tu lele ẹ̀rè giogio ra ebo gha khián tare na, Evbakhavbokun gha tọn owe mu, ẹronmwọ ghí ru giẹnrenren, o gha tọn owe mu, ẹronmwọ ghí tu giẹnrenren. ọ kpere, eghe Ogiso, ké obọ ne Osa yá bu Ẹdo, ẹronmwọ keg ha rro ẹvbo na.

Iran vbe má ima ẹ̀rè se rriọ vbe esuku ghẹ eghe Ogiso a yá mu Ávbe igun nà gbọ ẹ̀rè imẹ tare vbe aban nà ghẹ eghe Ogiso ẹ̀rè nọ Ne ukpogieha, de emwa nii gha setin gha rré usumwu igun nà ni se ọmwá ye ama.

Okaro, Ọba mwa tobore, irẹn ọ nyaẹ inwina na, irẹn Osa yá re we, nogieva, ore okhaemwe, Inẹ ne igunẹronmwọ ne ebo tiere custodian. Irẹn ọ gbé aro ghe inwina nà vbe odin Ẹdo hia fẹfẹfẹ. Emwa vbe hia vbe rro Ávbe Ehanire, Ihama, Ávbe Akenuwa eni hia fẹfẹfẹ vbe rro, te a rriọre vbe ukhu.

Ẹh emwa ọvbehe ghí setin laho do ruẹ ore, ọmwá okpa ne ọ mwé ẹtin ne aya rri ọmwá ọ ghí rri ẹ̀rè gha de oni ore ọmọ ne Ọba ne ọ do ruẹ ore, Ọba gha tọ kpere – Isẹ

Eke ne alughaen ye vbo, ore o khon ren ne a bie uwe vbe emwa ne ugha re ovbi Edo, a bie uwe idigun, emwa na a na bie erherha o ghe uwe gha de, ai kue ne u ruw emwi ne igun na ru. Akugbe ni ye vbe rro ne ima hia na re ovbi Edo, Edo hia ya ere hio alughaen ne o rro vbe evba o re deghe Edo hia fe o ya ere hio, ere Edo hia fe o ruw ore. Sokpan ivbi Edo Avbe ma ore ere omoo ne Oba vbe rrie rre ne i do ruw ore. omoo ne Oba okpa o mwe etin ne a ya rri omwa do ruw ore (ivbi Edo).

Inota na o vbe le abo ovbehe do tuorre. Eh, Oba o re omwa ne o nya inwina na, Ine ore omwa ne o ghe re ne omoo. evba nii ere Iran na kakabo sike egbe. Vbene Eholo ne Igbesamwa vbe ya gba ro ghe ehe erhan ne omoo ne Oba.

Usun emwi ne a gha su rre do ruw ore, egbe ne Avbe amada ye, Iran gha khian su Iran fua, a setin rrie ere gha de to ruw ore o gha ghi ruw ore ne, a ghi tama onren we ne ghe tama omwa ovbehe ghe iren ruw ore ne, kevbe e iv be setin ma omwa ovbehe ere.

Omoo tobore o khian ru oni, o tama onren we ghe damwe onren. U ruwe inwina na o wegbe gbe Inota ovbehe

Ne ime vbe ta ovbehe, ovbidigun ruw ore emoo okpia ne o rro no, emoo ikhuo i ruw ore. omoo ne okpia bie ere no, ere omoo ne ikhuo bie vbe egbe igun, Iran i kue. o ma u ruwe, epa uwa nii ru emwi nana, se omwa ye ama na, evbene uwa ya guan vbe otu rro ra?

Eh usun emwi ne ima ya nwina, Edo ere no, sokpan Edo ne ede ere no, a gha tie ere na, emwa ne ima vbe Iran gba ru inwina na o khian ren emwi ne i ya ere kha. omwa ovbehe gha rre emwa na, e ren emwi ne ime ya re kha.

Evbene chisel ye ima tie ere 'afian', edo vbe no sokpan Edo ne o dinmwi ere no. Edo nii wa kakabo dinmwi oh, o kakabo dinmwi.

Ima ne igun, ima na ima da emwi ne ede yi ne ima na giere wi. A gha do gha lo usun emwe ne a ghi miere na, emwi nibun do gha wi. Edo ere ima wa ze edo nedo. oni o siere ne uwa na lo Avbe evbo ne u wa ya talo Avbe emwi na uvbi ima ne ima ren vbe ne a ze Edo nedo re, Iran ghi vbe ren onren, o siere ne ima na guan be nia.

O ye vbe emwi hia ne ekhamwe oghere ima ya mu egbe na, ne omoo ne Oba ya mu egbe, chiawa mwe eni. Avbe ivie ni ya ne o ya mu egbe, chia mwe eni. Emwi hia fefefe ne Iran ya

mu egbe, ọ wa mwé eni nà tie Íràn vbe Èdo.òmwa kẹkan nà ọ wé emwi ne ọ mu ye urhu ni, ọ wé ivie nọ. Ivie èrè emwa tie ẹre, sokpan ima nag ha tie èrè odigba.

Avbe ẹrọnmwọ ne ima ma, Íràn vbe mwé eni, eso rroọ ne ima tie èrè ọsakpon, ọvbehe rro ne ima tie èrè oduduma, nà tiere usegberhia nibun vbe rriọ.

U gha setin tama ima ghé otu ọghé uwa Íràn lughaen ne ivbi ẹdo.Èno ima ọre Èdo kpataki, Ávbe ivbi esan, ivbi Èdo Íràn khin, Ávbe afemai, ivbi Èdo Íràn khin.

Ima ye hia ne ima yá da emwi ne ẹde ọghé ima yi. Ima nà ne ivbi orre nà wé ima wa zẹ ẹdo nà kakabọ rhunmwuda ebe do larọ. Ẹghẹ ne ẹde Ọba èrè ima nwina lele vbene ọmọ vbe do gha saen ẹse ne érhá ọghé imẹ.ọ ghí yá ivie nẹ, ọ ghí mu otọ mu nẹ.Ọba ọ nyaẹ emwi hia. Ọba gha tọ kpere, ọ ni ọ siere, u gha ghe idin Èdo hia, idin igun nà ọ ghimwẹ ekhaemwẹ ne ọ bun sẹ vbe Èdo, Íràn ọ vbe mwé ekhaemwẹ ne ọ aseke sẹ (duty/title) rhunmwuda emwi ne Íràn ru ne Ọba.

Ẹn o, wé ima gha miẹ eninwarẹn vbe owiẹ, ima ghí diguẹ tuẹ ọmọ baba, lani oh, ọmọ edionmwa lani. Otuẹ evá èrè ima tuẹ vbe igun, lani debae laeki ne a miẹ ken a rẹn ẹgbẹ ne u ké rre. Ima i mwé vbene a ghí yá tu egbe sẹ ọni. A gha vbe miẹ otu ọmwa a ghí wé ọse mwé ọbowiẹ oh.

ọ vbehe nè ọ vbe rro ọ re wé eni rro ne a tie edomwade ọghẹ ra

Okaro emwi ne Ávbe érhá ima ru ye otọ Èdo ghe hin usi sẹ vbe nia. A ta emwẹ Èdo vbe erena na, rhunmwuda Ávbe emwi ne erhima ru ye otọ. Igun na, emwi ne ima ru èrè Èdo yá ghan, Ávbe ẹrọnmwọ nà ọ ye emwa nya nun. Eweb ne ima yá sa ẹrọnmwọ nà ẹ rre ihe ọvbehe, ọmọ ne Ọba gha tọ kpere. Isee.

Iyobọ i mobọ rro ne ima gberra ne ọmọ ne Ọba rrie ne ima. Ima te ghí vbe kakabọ yo esuku vbe igun na.

Emwa do gha dẹ emwi ne uwa sa vbe emwa ra?

Epa uwẹ gha werriegbe lá politics ra

Iran kakabọ tie mwé vbe political matter

Ikhuo debae Ávbe inwina ọghé uwa na?

Emwi ne Íràn mobọ ru ọ re ne a nà khiẹn emwi ne ima ru.

Ọni ọ siere ne u gha nà miẹ erhan ne a kare vbe ehia sokpan ẹrọnmwọ i ye vbe rriọ.

Ima sẹ three hundred vbe otu nà ni sa ẹrọnmwọ

Okaro ghé yá fidon ne u yá má ọviẹn ẹra ray a má ọrriọvbehe ẹre. Emwi ne ọ rre uwe ẹrè ọ kpọlọ gbe, unu i khián sẹtin tare. Enikaro ọ ruẹ ye otọ ne a ghé má ọmwá ọvbehe ẹre.

Ogieva, okhuo ghí sẹtin do yá hiọ ye ehe ne ima nà sa ẹrọnmwọ. Ẹghẹ ne ẹde, ikoroba ne okhuo yá khuẹ a i rrie ẹrè lá uwe owa. Ẹzi èkẹn a rrie ẹrè yi, a i yá sa amẹ nwọ. Emwi hia fẹfẹfẹ vbe Ẹdo fi werriẹ nẹ, Ẹdo ne a zẹ nà ọ ye vbe ilavbẹ, Ẹdo ne Ẹdo ne a zẹ rrọ. Ovbi Ẹdo ne Ẹdo.

Some of the things that the guild of bronze casters do in Benin is what i will talk about here. We are the group that cast things for record purpose which is akin to the job of a local photographer and that is what we do for the Ọba. In time past, several great people once lived in the Ẹdo society, important personalities and several significant events took place.

At that time, there was nothing like a camera, we were the ones that cast the event or persons in the form of an image in bronze especially for important figures such as the Ọbas that reigned in the past, what they did and how they lived. These figures and events used to be forgotten in the past but we now made it possible for the present and future generations to remember them. We cast these in the form of images for our present and future generation to be conversant with these persons and events. For example, we can now say that this was the Ọba that did this or that this person was like this or this event occurred like this in the past.

We came to meet this job, I know as a matter of fact that this work (ẹrọnmwọ ‘bronze casting’) has been in existence in the Ẹdo society for a long time now. It can be said that this work is as old as the Ẹdo society. There is a casting depicting this which made it possible for us to know about it. When we have not come into existence, in the past, there was a time when one of the Ọba’s sons during the Ogiso dynasty (the earliest historical account of Benin) known as Evbakhavbokun. He was the son of the King then.

This son of the King, used to dress with bronze from his head to his toes, all of his regalia are made of bronze. When he is walking therefore, there is this jingling sound that accompanies him from all the ornaments of his vestment so much so that, when he raises his hands, there is the sound of bronze, his legs, the sound of bronze and so on. So the use and casting of bronze has been in existence for a very long time now in the Ẹdo society, starting from the time of the Ogiso Kings.

Our forbearers also taught us to the extent that it was during the Ogiso era that these guilds you find in the Edo society today were established as seen from the activities of one of the King's sons then. Secondly, is the issue of the kind of people that may be classified as members of the guild of bronze casters.

First of all, it is the Oba himself, he owns the works of the guilds, it is to him God gave these artefacts. Secondly, is the Chief, Ine of the bronze casting guild who is the custodian of the group. He is in charge of the work of the guild in the Edo society on behalf of the Oba. 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 Edo society.

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

This issue is coming from another direction entirely. The Oba is the one that owns the jobs done by the guilds in the Edo society. Chief Ine is the one that is responsible for supervising this group on behalf of the Oba which made him one of the closest chiefs to the Monarch. This is just like the Ehofo of Igbesanmwa (wood carvers guild) who supervises the activities of that group.

The main distinction between us and other Edo people is this, no matter how long you have spent in this society (Edo), you will not be allowed to learn the works of the guilds. Though we are all Edo, there are things we do that are not known to other Edo persons. So even if we are all from the same land, it is not all Edo people that practice the same occupation. As said before now, the Oba is the only one that can introduce new members to the guild but such a person be a 100% Edo (both parents must be from the land) and must have serve the palace in any capacity.

Some of the new members that are introduced by the Oba most times are those who served as sword bearers (amuada) in the palace before the Oba. These people are at their retirement from service compensated for their years of service to the palace with membership of the guild. Such a person is told never to disclose the secret of the group to non-members of the group.

So it is the *Ọba* that handles the issue of new members' introduction and will be the one to warn against the disclosure of the activities of the guilds by reminding such persons of the penalties for such.

Let me say here that, the children of the guild (*idigun*) being the ones that can learn this craft, it is only the males from the father's side that can do so. Those from the mother's side and all females in the family cannot learn the job.

Yes some of the expressions we use for our work, though they are *Èdo* but it is the old variety of the language. When they are used, the people involved in the works of the guilds are the only ones that can comprehend them. Another person will not understand what is being said.

Vbene 'uti' ye vbe *igiemwi*:

For example the word *uti* 'moller' as in the expression: *mù uti mę mwa*
bring me the moller

ovbehe ore

another one is the expression: *mù anwa mę*
bring me the thong

a vbe *tie ukpe* 'spatula'

we also use the expression: *rrie ukpe mę vbe evba*
bring the spatula from that place

vbene 'olima' vbe ye

there is also the expression: *rrie olima mę vbe evba*
bring me the file from that place

The object 'chisel' is called *afian* such which is an *Èdo* word but it is of the deep or old variety which is not known to the ordinary person.

We the members of the guilds, we are the custodian of the cultural values of the *Èdo* society to prevent these from becoming extinct. If we were to let people know about our activities, many things about the group and the *Èdo* society may be lost from both the cultural and linguistic perspectives due to modernisation. We know that many *Èdo* people of today are not conversant with this variety of the language as a result of modernisation and that is why we use these terms to remind of our heritage.

It is like the things our chiefs used for decorating themselves and their dwellings as well as the *Ọba*, there is a name for them other than the common *Èdo* expressions used. All the beads

and other ornaments and attires, they all have their names in the old variety. An ordinary person may refer to these as normal attires, jewels and so on, but we have a name for them. for instance, an Edo speaker may call bead *ivie* while we refer to it as *odigba*.

All the bronze that we cast, we have a name for them, they have their names, there are some we call *osakpon*, there is another that is *oduduma*, another *usegberha* and so on.

We can say that we are different in character from other Edo people. We are the real Edo while we have other Edo from other places and places like: Esanland, Afemailand and so on.

Vbene uwa na ye, Edo ne uwa ze

As for us like I said before now, it is the Edo of the old variety that we speak and use during our deliberations.

We actually are trying to hold the things of old intact. We that are the children of the soil speaks the old variety of Edo because of modernisation. In the old days, it is the Oba we work with while he normally rewards us from time to time. He usually gives out beads, lands and other things as the he owns everything. May he live long, Amen. This is why when you get to the heart of Edoland, it is this guild that has the highest number of Chiefs. We are also the quarter in the land with the highest number of title holders due to services we render to the Oba and the Edo society.

Well when we see elders in the morning, we knee down to greet in line with the general Edo family *ukhu* greeting and in this case our greetings are in the form of *delani* and *delaeki*. These enable us to know the family a member of the guild is from within the quarter housing us. We do not have other greeting system beyond these two except in the case of encountering one's age group where the common salutations like good morning, good afternoon and good evening.

Another thing that is also there is if there is a name/title for the different members of our group.

O tu ni sa eronmwọ erè a tie ima re.

The group is typically called the 'group that cast bronze' which is the generic term for the group as a whole.

U ruşe baba

Thank you very father.

First of all, what our fathers did in the Edo society is very significant. Edo today is very prominent as a result of the things our fore-fathers did for the society. This guild in particular (bronze) is responsible for the political, economic and artistic prowess of the Edo society of old was known for and even in the present. These bronzes are what made the Edo society and Benin kingdom very important tourist destination today. The ways we cast these bronzes are very unique and cannot be found anywhere else in the world. May the Oba live long, Amen. Emwi ne o mobo vbe się ne ima na kue ne emo ikhuo ruę ore, İran gha romwe odọ ne vbe aban, İran setin mu onren wue ne egbę arowa ere.

The reason why we do not allow our female children to learn the craft is to prevent them from teaching their husbands and their families when they eventually get married.

Ere ekhe dan o si ere, vbenę Avbe igbesanmwa yena, İran te vbe gha mwe otiti egbe ne ima ye vbe eghę ne o kperę.

It is not as a result of any selfish reason. For example the guild of wood carvers *igbesanmwa* used to be very popular before now but are gradually becoming extinct due to their revelation of the nature of their activities to non-members.

Iran na kue ne domwandę emwa laho, eghę ghi se na, İran ghi mwe uyi vbe Edo.

They opened up their activities to everyone interested in what they do and now that guild is no longer counted as relevant in the Edo society.

We are presently approximately three hundred (300) bronze casters in Benin.

That is why it is very difficult to see people replicating the work of the bronze casters thereby ensuring our enormous status we enjoy today in the Edo society.

Uwa mwé emwi ne uwa ga ra ugie ne uwa ru ra?

Do we really have a god(s)/deity that we worship?

Ediṣon ne ó mu ẹrṣnmwọ nà ne ima san a ẹrè ima ru aye na.

Yes, we do worship certain deities as represented by our forefathers that established the tradition of the guild of bronze casters in Benin.

De ilele ne uwa mwé ne ó do su uwa sẹ ẹdẹ ne ẹrẹ?

Do we have the rules/regulations that we normally follow in the guild?

Yes there are some rules and regulations that we are expected to abide with as a group. The first of which is that we should not allow outsiders into the activities of the guilds. What is involved in our works is so great that one may not be able to talk about them freely. This is the rule laid down by our ancestors that non-members of the guilds should not be involved in the works of the guilds.

The second rule is that women cannot come around the place serving as the workshop of the guilds nor do anything around there like taking their bath or cooking. Though so many things have changed with modernisation and education in our society for example, the Edo language many people speak now is not the real Edo unlike the old variety used by the members of the guilds that is unadulterated.

gha ruẹ vbe igiemwi:

for example these expressions: ovbi mwé rrie ague mẹ vbe evba

my child bring me salt from there

The word for salt here *ague* which could also be called *ikekan* or *ihion* which in common Edo is *umwe*.

Lahọ rrie unwe mẹ vba

Please give me spoon from there

The word for spoon *unwe* in common Edo is *ekuye*

Oṭenmwẹ rrie iwawa rre

My brother bring me that bread

The word for bread here *iwawa* in common Edo is *ebre*