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"THEY CALLED US WHORES, YET THEY CAME TO US." – LANGUAGE AND PATRIARCHAL IDEOLOGY IN ADIMORA-EZEIGBO'S *TRAFFICKED*

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Abstract

Extant studies on literary texts have indicated the interconnection between language and the construction of ideology. In furtherance of this perspective, this article examines the relation between linguistic choices and the construction of ideology. Specifically, this study investigates the juncture between code-switching and patriarchal ideology construction in Akachi Adimora-Ezeigbo's novel, *Trafficked*. In order to tease out the relation between language use and patriarchal ideology construction, the study draws analytical insights from critical discourse analysis and feminist linguistics. Adimora-Ezeigbo's, *Trafficked* is purposively sampled for analysis in this study because it textually accounts for how language is deployed for patriarchal ideology construction. Published in 2008, in 2009 *Trafficked* received honourable mention as runner-up for the ANA/NDDC Flora Nwapa prize for women. The study reveals that discourse participants deploy language to perform the following forms of patriarchal ideologies: enslavement and messianic. Beyond that, the study reveals that language shapes ideology and ideological sentiments in turn shape the way people use language.

Introduction

This study examines the relation between linguistic choices and ideology by paying attention to how code-switching is deployed in foregrounding patriarchal ideology and gender inequality in the Nigerian novel. Given the difficulty in insulating literature from its historical materiality, the issue of trafficking is thematically textualized in Adimora-Ezeigbo's *Trafficked*. Ushie (2008, p. 8) is of the view that "literature has never been a phenomenon detachable from the material realities of the society in which it is produced". Most scholars who

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follow this view argue that the society is the pond from which the writer fishes his or her ideas. Corroborating Ushie's view, Aboh and Igwenyi (2021, p. 125) aver that "it is less helpful to analyse Nigerian novels without recourse to or accounting for the Nigerian sociocultural significations that underpin their production". The novel, in keeping faith with the social function of literature, depicts the trajectory of female trafficking and its semantic implication on the lived experiences of Nigerians, the Igbo culture and some other subcultures in Nigeria. In agreement with the foregoing argument, Aboh (2018, p. 1) argues that "the [Nigerian] novel can be studied from various disciplines within the humanities because it challenges issues of subjectivity and experiences in ways that are yet to be explored in academic-oriented exercises". What this suggests is that a study of the language of the Nigerian novel is also an inquiry into the Nigerian society and its sociocultural life.

In the light of the foregoing, this study situates *Trafficked* in the context of the global phenomenon of female trafficking. The novel narrativizes the issue of women trafficking through the lens of Nneoma, a young girl of eighteen years who decided to leave her hometown in Ihite-Agu after a slight disagreement with Ofomata. She goes to Lagos and is later trafficked along with some other girls on the pretence that they were going to teach in the United Kingdom. On reaching there, they are forced to become sex slaves. After some years, Nneoma is caught and deported back to Nigeria where she and other trafficked women (Efe, Fola, Alice and others) stay at Oasis Youth Centre for Skills Development (OYCSD). Later, she goes back to Ihite-Agu, having qualified as a seamstress and got admitted to the University of Lagos. She finally meets Dr Chindo Okehi, a woman who helped her in London and most importantly got her united with her long-lost lover, Ofomata.

Despite flourishing critical works on language and ideology, language critics have paid scant attention on how language is deployed in the construction of ideology in Adimora-Ezeigbo's *Trafficked.* This study attempts to cover this scholarly lacuna by accounting for the juncture of language and ideology construction. Language plays an important role in the production and reproduction of ideologies. "Language and ideology," argues Aboh, "are seen as two inseparable concepts." He goes on to state that "the reason for such a claim is obvious: the way a writer communicates or uses language is determined by social structures" (Aboh, 2009, p. 6). Ideology is a linguistic

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phenomenon because it is strategically mediated through language. Wodak (2007) argues that ideologies are systems of representations that in strongly unconscious ways mediate individuals understanding of the world. Broadly speaking, "ideology refers to attitudes, sets of beliefs, values and doctrines with reference to religious, political, social and economic life which shape the individuals and groups perception and through which reality is constructed and interpreted" (Urujzian, 2020, p. 493). What this suggest is that ideology is ever present in the way people use language. Drawing insights from critical discourse analysis, which deals with how people's use of language resonates with their ideological sentiments and feminist linguistics, which exemplifies how language is employed to oppress women in various cultural imaginations, this study explains how trafficking is a topical issue that concerns the entire universe. Urujzian (2020, p. 493), in this regard makes the case that "the persistence of gender inequality in Africa and across the globe warrants a closer scrutiny of gender ideologies in texts." Following this interventionist call, this nexus is worthy of scholarly engagement in that it will enrich understanding of how innocent children and women are trafficked from region to region for various illegal activities, and how gender inequality is entrenched in the way people use language in socio-discursive encounters. More so, it will help different governments and policy makers to take decisive actions that will conduce to curbing the illegal practice. In the next sections that follow, we explore previous studies on code-switching and ideology and their relevance to the present study. We introduce the theoretical concepts we anchor our analysis on, focusing on their applicability to this study. This section is followed by the analysis and lastly, we conclude the study.

Previous Studies

Code alternation and patriarchal ideology have attracted attention in the fields of sociolinguistics. Thus, they are not novel concepts in the literature; however, how code alternation is used in depicting patriarchal ideology in Adimora-Ezeigbo's *Trafficked* is yet to attract adequate scholarly attention. While some researches on code alternation and patriarchal ideology have been separately carried out, using sociological and anthropological paradigms, most works on *Trafficked* are from literary perspectives. For instance, Anyoku (2009) examines some of the salient formal and stylistic features which differentiate the novel from

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the writings of the preceding generations and identifies it with those of the present generation of Nigerian writers. The analysis is not a linguistic one, hence Anyoku only argues that the traditional generic integrity of the novel is fundamentally radicalized, because of the novelist's experimental approach. On the other hand, Nder (2013), recounts, through textual analysis, the experience of Nigerian ladies in the international sex-trade and prostitution. Through characterization, setting and other literary devices, Nder dramatizes the nature, form, and effect of sex-trade in Nigeria. The rehabilitation and reintegration of victims of the trade into the society through legislation, advocacy and entrepreneurship education are some strategies suggested by the writer to mitigate the negative effects of the trade on individual victims and on the larger Nigerian society. Ugwu (2014) study involves a stylistic analysis of Adimora-Ezeigbo's *Trafficked* where he critically analyzed the text through graphology, morphology, syntax, lexico-semantics, and cohesive devices. Ugwu found that at the graphological level Adimora-Ezeigbo uses italics to foreground characters' stream of consciousness, revealing the real intention of the speaker. He also explains how the marked lexico-syntactic patterns used in the text are basically for emphasis; how the novelist idiosyncratically employed more hyphenated compounding (at the morphological level), how she uses proverbs to introduce the readers to the rich culture of the African society, and cohesive devices work to create links within the text. Ezeife (2016) investigates the lexical relationships that characterize family and marriage-related gender issues in Ezeigbo's *Trafficked* with the aim of determining the dominant ideological content, as seen in the strategic use of lexical items. Ezeife's study identifies two classes of lexical relationships (synonyms and antonyms) that illustrate how women are dominated. Apart from Ezeife (2016), other studies are not concerned with gender and ideology. However, Ezeife does not examine how code alternation is used in portraying patriarchal ideology in *Trafficked.* Thus, this chapter investigates how code alternation underpins the articulation of patriarchal ideologies in *Trafficked.*

Patriarchal ideology is the belief that women have fewer rights and less autonomy in gender relations. It is what oppresses women, treating them as unequal to men, and as if they are required, as a group, to be subservient to men. Code alternation, on the other hand, is the combination of two or more languages in any form of discourse. Auer

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(1995, p. 116) defines code alternation as "a relationship of contiguous juxtaposition of semiotic systems, such that the appropriate recipients of the resulting complex sign are in a position to interpret the juxtaposition as such." He uses the term as a hyponym to replace code switching (CS). Alternation is used in the literature to refer to instances of one language being replaced by the other halfway through the sentence, and it is mostly, but not always, associated with longer stretches of CS. Evidently, code alternation patterns are located within bilingual interaction. Therefore, Auer's (1995) approach is adopted in this chapter as a generic term to refer to code-switching. Code-switching is the alternate use of two or more languages within one "conversational episode" (Auer 1998, p. 1). It is "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages belonging to different grammatical systems or subsystems" (Gumperz, 198 p. 59). Gumperz suggests that there are two types of code-switching: situational and metaphorical. Situational code-switching occurs when speakers use one language in one situation and another in a different one. Specifically, language changes according to the situation in which speakers find themselves. "Metaphorical code-switching, on the other hand, occurs when speakers switch to another language upon a topic change (Wei 1998, p. 156).

Accordingly, code alternation appears as a significant social practice that takes various forms and occurs in different points of interaction to accomplish certain conversational activities. This implies that languages are clearly separated from each other in code-switching as it may involve a complete shift to another language system for a word, a phrase, a sentence, etc. It also suggests that switching from one language to another in one conversation is not arbitrary; rather, it may be associated with local problems of language choice, competence, preference and so forth (Auer, 1984, p.104). Central to this argument is the idea that code-switching is used for emphasis, solidarity, clarification or confirmation, and expression of identity and affinity. It occurs when "language alternation leads to the adoption of a new language-of-interaction" (Gafaranga, 2007, p. 205). However, Myers-Scotton (1993), among other scholars, argue that code switching does not necessarily require a complete shift to another code, but one of the used languages in talk-in-interaction takes a more predominant role. Evidently, it is based on the fact that speakers intend to express some factors that may include but are not limited to "solidarity,

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accommodation to listeners, choice of topic, and perceived social and cultural distance" (Wardhaugh, 2006, p. 104). Perhaps it is obvious that the choice of code also reflects how a speaker wants to appear to others, that is, how they want to express their identity and/or how they want others to see them.

Theoretical Framework

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) studies discourse and its functions in society and the ways society, and especially forms of inequality, are expressed, represented, legitimated or reproduced in text and talk. According to van Dijk (2001), CDA deals with social issues and power relations in the society. It aims at making more visible the ideological loading and the relations of power that underlie discourse (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p. 258). Discourse analysts who do CDA do so in opposition to those groups and institutions who abuse power, and in solidarity with dominated groups, for example, by discovering and denouncing discursive dominance, and by cooperating in the empowerment of the dominated. Thus, it takes an interest in the ways in which linguistic forms are used in various expressions and manipulations of power. Power is signalled not only by grammatical forms within a text, but also by a person's control of a social occasion by means of the genre of a text. Fundamentally, critical discourse analysts are interested in not only analyzing opaque, but also transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power. and control as manifested in language use. For CDA, therefore, ideology is seen as an important means of establishing and maintaining unequal power relations. In the words of van Dijk, "ideologies […] are the overall, abstract mental systems that organize […] socially shared attitudes" (1995, p. 18). Thus, they (ideologies) "indirectly influence the personal cognition of group members" in their act of comprehension of discourse among other actions and interactions (1995, p. 19). Evidently, since the ways in which language mediates ideology in a variety of social institutions is one of the interests of critical discourse analysts, ideology becomes our concern in this study in order to decipher how code alternation is used to express patriarchy in Adimora-Ezeigbo's *Trafficked*.

As CDA often chooses the perspective of those who suffer, and critically analyses the language use of those in power, it has a link with

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feminist linguistics. Hence, its aim of "demystifying" discourses by deciphering ideologies work in *paripasu* with feminist linguistics' investigation of the possibilities of gender symmetric language. Feminist linguistics deals with the analysis of differences between men and women in talk and how these differences contribute to discrimination. Its main goal is the criticism of patriarchal consciousnesses in language, and the language reform that aims at eliminating the defective representation of the woman's image in language and sexist asymmetries. According to this approach, language also fixes gender roles distribution that has become out-of-date in the modern society: a man undertakes something creative, innovative and the destiny of a woman is home, childcare and gossips with neighbours.

Feminist linguists (such as Lakoff, 1975; Poynton, 1989; Motschenbacher, 2010) believe that language fixes a male vision of the world, "imposing" male values and estimations. It follows that almost all languages, functioning in patriarchal societies, are "male". And the image of a woman, reflected in language, is supplied with negative connotations and characteristics. In fact, the concern of feminist linguistics has two basic directions: replacement of sexist words and concepts by gender neutral ones; and creation of a positive image perception of feminity and a woman in language. As cultural stereotypes of feminity and masculinity exist, compelling women to define and express themselves in the language embodying the male vision of the world, feminist linguists argue that women should be allowed to see and express themselves in a different way from the way men and society see them through the language.

Data Analysis and Discussion

The critical textual analysis involves purposive random sampling of excerpts that have evidence of patriarchy in the text. This means that other aspects of the novel that do not illustrate how code-switching is deployed to construct patriarchal ideology are left out in this study. The identified forms of patriarchal ideology in the text are categorised into two thematic frames. These are enslavement ideology and messianic ideology. They are discussed in turns.

Enslavement Ideology

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This ideology derives from the concept of slavery. It does not mean that women are slaves; rather, it suggests their dependence and craving for men in virtually all stages of their lives, seeking for a man's validation consciously and unconsciously in all they do, can be equated with enslavement. Enslavement simply means dependence, which connotes slavery. By implication, the concept of enslavement or slavery necessitates reliance on somebody, a form of conquest, subjugation, or take-over. The underlying structures of this ideology are that (1) the essence of womanhood lies on a man, and (2) female trafficking/sex slavery is a form of male violence and a show of hegemony over women.

Women often tend to assert their identities as married or unmarried with certain names and titles, depending on the context and event. Most times, such names/titles that are used for the married ones accord them some respect in the society, as well as differentiate them from unmarried women. Correspondingly, an instance is shown when Ogukwe feels that he is 'promoting' his wife, Adaeze, by addressing her in some particular ways (depending on his mood).

> "Mrs, what have you cooked for dinner?" he would say as soon as he entered the house after playing draught with his friends. He would sit in his favourite chair and wait to be served his dinner (Adimora-Ezeigbo 2008, p. 10)

We are meant to understand from the above excerpt that the essence of womanhood lies on man because her pride is showcased when her relevance is attached to the man. This ideology is reflected by Adimora-Ezeigbo's calculating interchange of Mrs. Eke or Mama Nneoma, from English to Igbo, and Ogukwe's preference for the names. Evidently, the code switching is used to mirror properly the societal means of identifying a wife and a mother. The fact that Ogukwe Eke addresses Adaeze, his wife as Mrs. Eke or Mama Nneoma, when he is particularly pleased, indicates solidarity with the existing norm of the society in gender relations. As Mrs Eke means 'wife of Eke', Mama Nneoma implies 'Nneoma's mother,' and these two names/titles when used, construct a high value ideology to the woman in the Igbo culture as reflected by the novelist. Probably, the name, Mrs Eke designates the

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notion that Adaeze has a shield, a man as her husband; and most importantly, Mama Nneoma connotes the hallmark of womanhood – motherhood. Ideologically, these code-switched items propose that the essence of womanhood lies in her marriage and her ability to bear children. Furthermore, this ideology can be buttressed by the emphatic brackets that are used to encode the code-switched concepts.

In furthering this alternation that indicates the societal identification of womanhood, we can use another name/title to buttress our point. Subsequently, Mma and Hannah, Nneoma's sisters are teasing and advising her as she plans to move into her husband's house as a new bride. Their tease and advice are reflected in *iyawo*.

> "Hmm, *iyawo*!" Mma teased. "In a few weeks Ofomata will carry you away from this house."
> "I hope you'll become less unpredictable and settle down to normal life," Hannah, her elder sister, said. "And remember to respect your husband always." (*Trafficked*, 2008, p. 20)

Considering the reverence associated with wifehood (and motherhood) in Nigeria, people, most times, uphold the ideology that a title like *iyawo* accords the woman some respect and promotes the fundamental nature of womanhood. This is evident in the use of iyawo by Mma, one of Adimora-Ezeigbo's characters. Mma code-switches from Yoruba to English, and the Yoruba word she imported into English simply means wife. As used in the above context, *iyawo* is a form of naming that gives power to the woman. Invariably, this code-switched item indicates Nneoma's social position as somebody's wife. It is used for solidarity, binding and confining Nneoma within the limits of wifehood, though marking her exclusion from the circle of the unmarried. In the excerpt, the transliteration that comes after; *Ofomata will carry you away from this house* is metaphorical; it corroborates with the Yoruba word, ***iyawo***, in suggesting that a woman's essence at a certain point in her life can only be authenticated by a man, her husband. However, the context and co-text of this code-switching give rise to the voiceless nature of the woman which society and culture had imposed upon her, only by giving her fulfilment as somebody's daughter or wife.

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Here is another instance of enslavement ideology that portrays the experiences of Nneoma, Efe and other trafficked girls when they are 'selling sex' in Europe.

> "Sometimes, while we are standing in the red light area where other prostitutes line up, youths come shouting, '*Puta! Puta*!' At such moments, I am completely overwhelmed by shame."
> "Yes, I felt the same way too," Efe said. "They called us whores, yet they came to us." (Adimora-Ezeigbo 2008, p. 130)

Adimora-Ezeigbo insightfully portrays the disgusting attitude of people towards prostitutes. This is evident in Nneoma's switching from English to Italian as she narrates her experience as a trafficked young girl to Efe, her friend. The expression *Puta! Puta*! is an Italian word for commercial sex workers. Perhaps the novelist alternates from English to Italian in order succinctly explain how a "whore" identity is constructed for the girls. Of course, she would have used an Igbo expression or an English word. But she opts for an Italian expression. The rationale for such usage is to enable her to bring out the meaning of the expression in an acute manner. This aligns with Layiwola's contention, "the use to which a language is put tells us the elastic capacity of that language […] It is this elastic quality which imprints a language or culture with a set or given identity" (2003, p. 109). A glaring irony is the fact that can readily be gleaned from the excerpt is the idea that people who call them whores come to them. By implication, these trafficked girls had no option as they are used as sex slaves, and this, ideologically, is a form of linguistic violence and a show of hegemony over women. Therefore, the novelist captures all that by the use of code switching, emphasizing that people who use the girls for gratification are cruel to them, and this is suppression.

The novelist showcases Nneoma and Efe as they make use of code switching that connotes patriarchy in discussing their after-lives from female trafficking/sex slavery.

> "You met another man and you're going steady with him! Efe, na waa for you! Be careful; we

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> don't want another Fyne face, do we?" (*Trafficked*, 2008, p. 201)

Somehow, the above excerpt shows that patriarchal ideology is not entirely dominance. At times, it involves protection of the womenfolk by the male folk. This can be seen in Nneoma's alternation of code (in the excerpt above) from English to Pidgin; *You met another man and you're going steady with him! Efe, na waa for you*! After Efe and Nneoma were rescued from sex trafficking, they went their separate ways, possibly to their various homes. From that moment, the trauma that goes with female trafficking, the deceit, the lies, the cons, and the slavery scare Nneoma away from men. However, the experience has an opposite reaction on Efe, Nneoma's friend, as she finds herself a boyfriend and moves on with her life. When Nneoma heard about Efe's boyfriend, she expressed her shock by using Nigerian pidgin expression. Having discussed enslavement ideology, I go on to examine messianic ideology.

Messianic Ideology

This ideology originates from the concept of messiah. The term literally means "the anointed one," and refers to the ancient practice of anointing kings with oil when they took the throne in Judaism. In Christianity, messiah implies saviour. Therefore, a messiah is somebody who is chosen to lead and save the world. He is a great human leader believed to achieve greater task. Similarly, messianic concept implies sovereignty, royalty, and thus connotes power. The underlying structures of this ideology are that man (1) is a fore bearer; he maintains dynasty link, and (2) is dignified; he upholds nobility both within and outside the home.

In *Trafficked*, Adimora-Ezeigbo alternate codes to illustrate the nobility of man. In the novel, Ogukwe is a man who snores while sleeping; despite Adaeze's (his wife's) continuous mild rebuke to lie well. Ogukwe never changes, and even in the fury of his snoring attitude, his wife still addresses him with decency which indicates his sovereignty over her. This is evident in

> "*Nnamukwu*, my lord, lie well!" she would call out, and then shake him, but soon after he would begin

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> again and she would give up and leave him to bellow like a bull. (Adimora-Ezeigbo, 2008 p. 68)

The foregoing discourse exposes a form of code-switching that captures the supremacy of man: he is *constructed* as an aristocrat, a lord who has to be venerated by his wife even when he is sleeping. Nneoma's mother, Adaeze, is married to Ogukwe; she calls her husband, *Nnamukwu, my lord*, switching from Igbo to English, indicating inequality between two of them even as husband and wife. Perhaps this code-switching that represents the same concept, is used to create solidarity, and accommodate the readers who may not understand its Igbo variety. Literally, *Nnamukwu,* means big/senior father (*Nna= father, m= my, ukwu= big*); its connotations are my senior, superior father, and owner. Obviously, it is the patriarchal system that influences the novelist's choice of code in the above discourse. These code-switched items, *Nnamukwu, my lord,* equally draw attention to the dignified and possessive nature of man; according him the quality of a forebear and progenitor. As a progenitor is a person or thing from which others are descended or originated; it is often implied to be patrilineal in the culture which the novelist expresses above, demonstrating the ideological concept of inequality between man and woman (husband and wife). In fact, the context and co-text of the code-switched items depict the dynamics of power, solidarity, and supremacy in gender relations in a social system such as Nigeria.

Through the strategic switch of code, Lebechi is depicted as a mad woman who goes about with only waist slip as covering. Sequel to her madness, Lebechi is presented as a bad woman:

> Lebechi wore nothing except her *patari* – waist slip Ihite-Agu women wore next to their skin, which extended from the waist to the knee. Her huge drooping breasts swung in front of her, flapping like curtains at an open window. "*Nnaa ha-o!* Our ancestors! The woman has finally gone mad!" Ogukwe cried. (Adimora-Ezeigbo, 2008, p. 227&228)

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It is true that madness can befall anybody: man or woman. However, the fact that Lebechi's madness is expatiated with her sagging breasts, nakedness except her *patari* – waist slip, and the shouting of *Nnaa ha-o!* Our ancestors! by the first person who saw her as a mad woman connotes inadequacy and adequacy simultaneously. It suggests inadequacy on the part of woman and adequacy on the part of man. This is because of Ogukwe's switching from Igbo to English: *Nnaa ha-o!* Our ancestors! is probably an indication that man is a competent fore-bearer who maintains dynasty bond. In Igbo, *Nnaa ha-o!* literally means *our fathers!* which means our ancestors! An ancestor, therefore, is any person from whom one is descended (that is, a grandparent, great-grandparent, great-great-grandparent, and so forth). However, its (ancestor) usage to imply *Nnaa ha-o!* (our fathers) in the above context proposes that the men are primarily regarded as ancestors, as well, they are called upon as messiahs (saviours) to save Lebechi from her madness. One wonders why the above code-switched items do not involve women, or rather incorporate men and women in the concept that indicates the ancestral power of a messiah (saviour), since the mad person in question is a woman. Evidently, Adimora-Ezeigbo, illuminates a culture where a woman's dynasty symbolizes protection and refuge for her, and can always be traced only through males: her father and possibly, husband.

Ofomata narrates to Nneoma, his wife-to-be, about an old tradition, that is, of a prestigious title that has followed his dynasty and its sacredness. This issue of sacred dynasty in Ofomata's family with its allied supremacy, is only associated with the male folk.

> "Why would I joke about a thing like this? The tradition has resided with our family since time immemorial. My grandfather and great-grand father were *ozo nkwu*."
> "Must you be *ozo nkwu* because they were? Suppose you get hurt or fall from the tree?"
> "No, an *ozo nkwu* cannot fall down. It has never happened. I will be properly dosed with the proper herbs, like my father" (Adimora-Ezeigbo, 2008, p. 77).

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As indicated in the above excerpt, the writer switches from English to Igbo; my grandfather and great-grand father were *ozo nkwu*. An *ozo nkwu*, a noun phrase, simply means a palm trampler in Ihite-agu, an imaginary town which the novelist uses to express Igbo traditions. The ideological signification of the novelist's continuous alternation of codes between English and Igbo is aimed at establishing the sacredness of the concept she narrates. This linguistic strategy not only dignifies man's nobility but functions as a process of cultural retention. The deification of the concept is also imbricated in the declarative sentence, No, an *ozo nkwu* cannot fall down. It has never happened; a calibrated response to Nneoma's musing of an *ozo nkwu* getting hurt after falling from the tree. Evidently, the nobility of an *ozo nkwu* is maintained as he is *properly dosed with the proper herbs*. Thus, the high dignity accorded to an *ozo nkwu* is an indication that he is indestructible and powerful, just like the messiah.

> The high premium placed on an *ozo nkwu* is expressed in the dialogue below:
> "It's terrible; I still can't believe that Ofomata's father is dead," Mma said, shaking her head.
> "Hmm, *oke osisi adaa!* A mighty tree has fallen!" Ogukwe sighed and went into the house. (Adimora-Ezeigbo, 2008 p. 279)

Mbonu Ezenwa, Ofomata's father, until his death, was an *ozo nkwu* in Ihite-Agu. As a prestigious title holder, his death is metaphorically equated with a mighty tree. The underlying symbolism in the use of the exclamatory expression is that man is a powerful rare gem. The messianic concept attributed to him is apparent in the code switching because *oke osisi adaa!* literary means A mighty tree has fallen! Within the concept, we are exposed to the dignified nature of man, his nobility, sovereignty, and 'redeemer' essence, both within and outside the home. In the Igbo community, *oke osisi* implies somebody of great importance, and its reference to Mbonu Ezenwa's death ideologically signifies a huge loss to the community. And so, his life (and perhaps position) may be equated with that of a messiah who people may not want to lose because of his huge relevance to them.

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Conclusion

This study examined code alternation and patriarchal ideology in Akachi Adimora-Ezeigbo's *Trafficked*. It combines critical discourse analysis (CDA) and feminist linguistics in investigating the extent and relevance of code alternation in portraying patriarchal ideology in the sampled novel. Two classes of patriarchal ideology are identified in the text in relation to code alternation pattern: messianic and enslavement/slavery ideologies. Messianic ideology is characterized by the notion that man is a fore bearer; he maintains dynasty link, and he is dignified, He upholds nobility both within and outside the home. Then, enslavement ideology features vividly on the view that the essence of womanhood lies on a man, and that female trafficking/sex slavery is a form of male violence and a show of domination on women. One contrary view that underlines patriarchy, which is laid bare using code switching in the sampled text, is that it is not entirely dominance; it sometimes involves protection of women by men. The code-switched items which refer to these ideologies reassure the continuity of bilingualism, and are used to accommodate the readers, indicate solidarity and, most importantly, express the novelist's identity and affinity to a particular culture and gender belief.

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