Volume 22 No 1 June 2010, pp. 41-56

JOURNAL OF AFRICAN CULTURAL STUDIES

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

ISSN 1369-6815

Journal of African Cultural Studies
Vol. 22, No. 1, June 2010, 41–56

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

The muse's journey: transcultural translators and the domestication of Hindi music in Hausa popular culture

Abdalla Uba Adamu*

Department of Mass Communications, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria

The diffusion of entertainment forms made available through small media technologies has created transnational pathways for the adoption, appropriation, adaptation and domestication of entertainment forms in African mediascapes. In Muslim northern Nigeria, the most common transnational entertainment template is Hindi film and music from the Indian Bollywood film industry. The popularity of Hindi films has stimulated an appropriation strategy that relies on onomatopoeic translation of lyrics from popular Hindi film soundtracks, which are reworked so that they become part of the Muslim Hausa entertainment space. This article traces the antecedent Muslim Hausa onomatopoeic tradition rooted in Hausa shamanism, *tsibbu*, which reworks selected verses from the Qur'an as vocal amulets to 'cure' various ailments. The cure relies on the vocal harmony between the Qur'anic verses and appropriate Hausa equivalents. This practice eventually found its way into popular culture mediated by the massive popularity of Hindi films, which saw local Hausa musicians using vocal harmonies from Hindi film lyrics and reworking them into Hausa versions. This process was strongly entrenched in the performances of the Ushaq'u Indiya (Society for the Lovers of India), a Sufi *bandiri* (frame drum) group in the heart of the city of Kano, northern Nigeria. The Ushaq'u Indiya's performance repertoire consisted of reworking the vocal harmonies of Hindi film lyrics into Hausa versions in which the Hausa lyrics sing the praises of the Prophet Muhammad. This onomatopoeic translation strategy thus domesticated Hindi film soundtracks and lyrics.

Keywords: Hausa film; Kano; Bollywood; onomatopoeia; translation; tsibbu

1. Introduction

The number of Arabic loan words in the Hausa language has resulted in a great deal of similarity between Arabic and Hausa linguistic forms and expressions (Abubakar 1972). Islamic religious texts were the first texts to be translated into the Hausa language using the *ajami* script, a domesticated form of written Hausa using the Arabic alphabet. This form of writing, however, remained fairly limited and restricted to a few local Muslim Hausa scholars and was not part of popular consumption. With the availability of secular Western education and the acquisition of the English alphabet, especially from 1910 in northern Nigeria,

> knowledge of the Qur'an, beyond the pure mnemotechnical mastery of the text or parts of it, is not restricted any more to a small elite of linguistically and theologically well-trained ulamah, but has become 'democratized' in the context of Muslim mass education (Loimeier 2005, 413).

This democratization principle led to the late Hausa Islamic scholar Abubakar Gumi becoming 'the first Nigerian ever to write a complete translation of the Qur'an [. . .] in 1979' (Brigaglia 2005, 428). However, while both the *ajami* and Romanized translations of the Qur'an follow conventional paths of translation, a sub-group of Muslims, existing on the margins of public space, acquired a strategy of translation that relied on using onomatopoeia rather than literal

*Email: auadamu@yahoo.com

ISSN 1369-6815 print/ISSN 1469-9346 online

DOI: 10.1080/13696810903488579
http://www.informaworld.com

translation of the various verses of the Qur'an. These translators were known as 'Malaman Tsibbu' (shamans) and they relied on vocal similarities between Arabic words and sound-alike similarities in the Hausa language to 'cure' a range of ailments – from warding off mosquitoes, to locating lost goats. Their use of onomatopoeia gave early purveyors of Hausa popular culture a template by means of which to domesticate transnational entertainment forms into the local Hausa language. This article analyzes the use of onomatopoeia as a creative translation device in the appropriation and domestication of transnational music via the Hausa language of northern Nigeria, particularly as this language is used in locally produced video films.

2. The task of translating

In general, the *purpose* of translation — of searching for local cultural and semantic equivalents for something foreign — is to reproduce various kinds of texts (which may include religious, literary, scientific, and philosophical texts) in another language, thus making them available to a wider readership. The term 'translation', then, is generally confined to the *written*, and the term 'interpretation' is generally used for the *spoken* (Newmark 1991, 35). Comparing different languages (whether in written or spoken form) inevitably mobilizes theories of *equivalence*. Equivalence can be said to be the central issue in translation although its definition, relevance, and applicability within the field of translation theory have caused heated controversy, especially as the secondary text or 'target text' (as it is often called) can never be equivalent to the source text in every detail. Thus many different theories conceptualizing equivalence have emerged, the most notable of which are those by Jakobson (1959), Catford (1965), Nida and Taber (1969), House (2002), Baker (1992), and Vinay and Darbelnet (1995).

Catford (1965, 1994) argues for the existence of an extralinguistic domain of objects, emotions, and memories, and he suggests that translational equivalence occurs when source texts (STs) and target texts (TTs) are relatable to *at least some* of the same features of this extralinguistic domain. Jakobson (1959), in contrast, suggests that interlingual translation involves substituting *entire* messages in one language with *entire* messages in another language. Thus, he argues, 'the translator recodes and transmits a message received from another source. Thus translation involves two equivalent messages in two different codes' (Jakobson 1959, 114). For Nida (1964) there are two different types of equivalence, *formal equivalence* and *dynamic equivalence.* Formal equivalence 'focuses attention on the message itself, in both form and content', unlike dynamic equivalence which is based upon 'the principle of equivalent effect', and thus is more focused on the audience (Nida 1964, 159). Formal equivalence consists of a target language (TL) item which represents the closest equivalent of a source language (SL) word or phrase. Dynamic equivalence is defined as a translation principle according to which a translator seeks to translate the meaning of the original in such a way that the TL wording will trigger the same impact on the target correspondence (TC) audience as the original wording did upon the source text (ST) audience.

Baker (1992) provides a more detailed list of conditions upon which the concept of equivalence can be defined. These conditions include: equivalence occurring at word level and above word level (collocating or conjoining words); grammatical equivalence; textual equivalence, referring to the imparting of information and the general cohesiveness of the text; and pragmatic equivalence, referring to certain necessary 'infidelities' during the translation process. Vinay and Darbelnet (1995), whose categorization of translation procedures is very detailed, view equivalence-oriented translation as a transculturation process that attempts to draw into the target text the cultural realities of the target audience. Equivalence, to them, therefore encompasses figures of speech such as proverbs, idioms, clichés, nominal or adjectival

phrases and the onomatopoeia of animal sounds. They identify two 'methods' of translation (which, in turn, cover seven different procedures): direct translation (which covers borrowing, calque [loan translation] and literal translation), and oblique translation (which involves transposition, modulation, equivalence and adaptation).

There are three main reasons why an exact equivalence of content, form or effect is difficult to achieve. First, as Hervey, Higgins and Haywood (1995) have noted, textual interpretation is dynamic, and thus, for example, one person may have a different interpretation of the same text over time. Secondly, translation is often a subjective process; while the material text itself may be 'objective', the translator is certainly not. Thirdly, the time gap between the production of the original source text and the translation often leaves translators uncertain about the impact of the original source text on its audience at the time of primary contact, and, given that the new target audience will have different preoccupations, it does not make sense anyway to attempt to replicate the effects of the original text.

Thus the general current view in translation studies is that the term 'equivalence' can only be used to define the relationship between texts in two different languages, rather than between the entire languages themselves. And as Dorothy Kenny (1998, 78–9) has pointed out, 'this step liberated translation studies from debates on interlingual translatability based on entire language systems with all their unactualized meaning potential'. As Walter Benjamin argued much earlier,

> Translation [. . .] ultimately serves the purpose of expressing the central reciprocal relationship between languages. It cannot possibly reveal or establish this hidden relationship itself; but it can represent it by realizing it in embryonic or intensive form. This representation of hidden significance through an embryonic attempt at making it visible is of so singular a nature that it is rarely met with in the sphere of non-linguistic life (1969, 72).

The 'central reciprocal relationship' between transcultural texts and the Hausa language is explored in this article first through analysis of the use of onomatopoeia as a form of translational 'equivalence' in Hausa shamanism (*tsibbu*). This analysis is used to establish a conceptual basis for a further analysis of how purveyors of Hausa popular culture have domesticated transcultural music forms, especially from Bollywood films, and reworked them linguistically in Hausa. Thus, in looking at the process of translating transnational popular culture into the Hausa language, I focus more on vocal similarities (onomatopoeia) between texts than on translation as a vehicle for conveying the same meaning between the two texts. In other words, in the terms used by Nida, I am more interested in the dynamic equivalence than the formal equivalence between these texts. In fact, I show that sometimes there is very little formal equivalence between them since when purveyors of popular culture, particularly within the sphere of music, have engaged this translation strategy, they have found it easy to transmutate transnational music forms into Hausa film remakes which do not at all share the same meaning as the original source texts, but rather convey the same aural pleasure. I also reveal that there are antecedents for these vocal similarities within Hausa popular religious culture.

3. Religious text and Hausa shamanism

The meaning of a given word or set of words is best understood as the contribution that word or phrase can make to the meaning or function of the whole sentence or linguistic utterance in which that word or phrase occurs. The meaning of a given word is governed not only by the external object or idea that particular word is supposed to refer to, but also by the use of that particular word or phrase in a particular way, in a particular context, and in relation to a particular imagined effect. Onomatopoeia, as a figure of speech, provides a very good example of how the meaning of any given word is governed by its context. According to Hugh Bredin,

> The strict or narrow kind of onomatopoeia is alleged to occur whenever the sound of a word resembles (or 'imitates') a sound that the word refers to. The words 'strict' and 'narrow' suggest that the sense in question is a kind of original usage or practice, in respect of which other senses of onomatopoeia are metaphorical or perhaps extensional enlargements (1996, 555–6).

In his analysis of onomatopoeia, Bredin suggests three categories. The first is *direct onomatopoeia* (the denotation of a word as a class of sounds, and the sound of the word resembling a member of the class); or 'to put it less technically, the sound of the word resembles the sound that it names. Some typical examples are *hiss*, *moan*, *cluck*, *whirr*, and *buzz*' (Bredin 1996, 558). The second is *associative onomatopoeia* (the conventional association between something and a sound, and the conventional relationship of naming between a word and the thing named by it); according to Bredin, 'some examples of this are: *cuckoo*, *bubble*, *smash*, *whip*. None of these words has a sound that resembles the objects or actions that they denote' (Bredin 1996, 560). The third is *exemplary onomatopoeia* (the amount and character of the physical work used by a speaker in uttering a word), whose 'foundation rests upon the amount and character of the physical work used by a speaker in uttering a word. Words such as *nimble* and *dart* require less muscular and pulmonary effort than do *sluggish* and *slothful*' (Bredin 1996, 563).

In my use of the word 'onomatopoeia', I refer to a relation between the sound of a word and something else. This is the understanding of the word used by Hausa shamans who started using selected verses of the Qur'an as vocal amulets for the purposes of ritual healing in the Hausa communities of northern Nigeria. The earliest traced uses of this practice can be found in the pre-jihad (1804) period in the Muslim emirates of northern Nigeria, which in fact served as one of the triggers of the reformative jihad of Sheikh Usman Dan Fodiyo (Adamu 1999). Despite the relatively strong presence of Islam in modern northern Nigeria, this shamanism, referred to locally as *tsibbu*, is still an ongoing practice, in both urban and rural areas.

In his work on Hausa shamanism, Bello Sa'id (1997) refers to the use of onomatopoeia in religious contexts among the Hausa as 'kwatanci-fadi' (similar utterance). He provides the following example:

> **Example #1**
> Vocal amulet for winning a legal case – Qur'an (Shura) 42:13.
> Original Qur'anic transliteration: SharaAAa lakum mina al**l**ddeeni ma_wassa
> Onomatopeic Hausa version: ***Shara'a lakum minaddiini maa wassee***...
> English translation of original: 'The same religion has He established for you as that which He enjoined on Noah' (Sa'id 1997, 117).

In this vocal amulet, the shaman focuses on two words – ***Shara'a*** and ***wassee***. The first, *shara'a*, is familiar to Muslim Hausa as referring to Shari'a, the Islamic law; the second word, *wassee*, sounds similar to the Hausa words *wasa* (playfulness) and *wasar* (ignore, make redundant). Thus, this vocal amulet is intended to dispel any dispute involving the law in which the defendant is not certain of winning the case. The shamans therefore advocate using only part of the original verses – those that fit in with their perceived properties as amulets. It is clear that the original verse refers to a historical incident; the shamans adapt the original verse to use the vocal similarities of the shortened verse as an amulet. Sa'id's second example is as follows:

> **Example #2**
> Vocal amulet for locating a lost goat – Qur'an (Abasa) 80:1, 2
> Original Qur'anic transliteration: AAabasa watawalla, An jaahu al-aAAma
> Onomatopeic Hausa version: ***Abasa wa tawallee, An jaa' ahu la 'amee***.
> English translation of original: '(The Prophet) frowned and turned away, Because there came to him the blind man (interrupting).' (Sa'id 1997, 121).

The key word in this vocal amulet is *amee* – which, when vocalized in a high-pitched voice, sounds like a goat bleating. The amulet, which is recited over and over again, therefore exploits

the sound of a goat itself in order to fulfil its function of locating a lost goat. The word *amee* is expected to be the main expression that will bring the goat back to its owner by using the sound resonance of the bleat embedded in the word. Sa'id's third example is as follows:

Example #3
Vocal amulet for winning a wrestling match – Qur'an (Fil) 105:1
Original Qur'anic transliteration: Alam tara ***kay***fa faAAala rabbuka bi-as-habialfeel**i**
Onomatopeic Hausa version: ***Alam tara kai***. . ***kayar shi***
English translation of original: 'Seest thou not how thy Lord dealt with the Companions of the Elephant?' (Sa'id 1997, 121).

In this amulet the beginning of the expression is taken up to a point where a word appears with a Hausa equivalent, ***kai*** (you); the word is shortened only to the point where it bears similarity with the Hausa word, then the shaman adds completely new words to create a new meaning, ***kayar shi*** (throw him down; defeat him) – even though the new words were not part of the original Qur'anic text (one of the many reasons the shamans are shunned by Hausa Islamic orthodoxy). The amulet is used to empower wrestlers – any wrestler who recites the amulet over and over again during a match is likely to win the match by putting a hex on the opponent. And, notably, a draw will probably result if both opponents recite the *same* vocal amulet.

It is significant that the Hausanized versions of the Arabic words used by the shamans — what Bredin would call associative onomatopoeia (1996, 560) — are not translations of the original Qur'anic words, but are rather used to serve 'as the nexus of acoustic properties which constitutes them as objects of consciousness for a normal speaker of the language' (Bredin 1996, 557). This is more pronounced in Hausa since onomatopoeia, in this language, not only involves the natural resemblance of the two words, but is governed by certain conventions. This is illustrated, for instance, by a vocal amulet that serves as a warning to Qur'anic school pupils not to cheat:

Example #4
Vocal amulet to warn against grade skipping in Qur'anic education – Qur'an (An-Nabaa) 78: 30
Original Qur'anic transliteration: Fa ***dhuuquu*** falan naziyadakum ***illaa*** '***Adhaabaa***
Onomatopoeic Hausa version: Fa ***zuku*** falam nazida kumu ***illa azaba***
English translation of original: 'So taste ye (the fruits of your deeds); for no increase shall We grant you, except in Punishment' (personal field work).

The keys to this amulet are ***zuku*** (skip, cheat), and ***illa*** (except) and ***azaba*** (harsh punishment). The Hausa onomatopoeic use of this verse works to discourage Qur'anic school pupils from skipping a portion of their Qur'anic studies (a cheating process referred to as *zuku*), and to warn them that if they do cheat in this way, they will face punishment (*azaba*). In this amulet, two words have the same meaning in both Arabic and Hausa: *illa* (except, but) and *azaba* (punishment). Notably, the Hausa shamans shift the focus from the *written* source *text* (ST) to the *spoken* target *sound* (TS) — for the shamanic rituals are not written but vocalized.

Consequently, common sense dictates that any medicinal value attached to the original expression would be lost in the re-working of the expression into Hausa shamanistic language since the same meaning is not conveyed in the translation. Thus the Hausa shamans – considered little more than charlatans exploiting the spiritual gullibility of ignorant Muslims, and thus occupying a narrow space in Hausa public discourse – resort to vocal, onomatopoeic interpretations of selected phrases in the Qur'an in order to create new meanings out of this old source. As Walter Benjamin argues,

> Translatability is an essential quality of certain works, which is not to say that it is essential that they be translated; it means rather that a specific significance inherent in the original manifests itself in its translatability (1969, 71).

The shamans' interpretation of the selected words and expressions from the Qur'an for medicinal purposes appeals to less discerning members of the Muslim Hausa public sphere who accept the shamans' medicine as curative. However, and somewhat ironically, the fact that these vocal amulets are derived from the Qu'ran is what is seen to validate and authorize them as powerful.

4. The Colonial Translation Bureau in northern Nigeria

When the British colonized in 1903 what later became northern Nigeria, they inherited a vast population of literate citizenry, with thousands of Qur'anic schools and Muslim intellectual scholars. A modern Western-oriented schooling system was created in 1909. However, it lacked indigenous reading materials. To address this problem the British set up a Translation Bureau, initially in Kano in 1929, but later moved it to Zaria in 1931. The objectives of the Bureau were, amongst others, to translate books and materials from Arabic to English, and later to Hausa. Arabic was chosen because of the antecedent scriptural familiarity of Hausa with Islamic texts. This saw Hausanized (roman script) versions of local histories recorded in Arabic texts, notably *Tarikh Arbab Hadha al-balad al-Musamma Kano*, or *Kano Chronicles*, translated by H.R. Palmer (1908). The Hausa translation was called *Hausawa Da Makwabtansu.* This was followed by a translation of the Arabic text *Alf Laylah Wa Laylah*, a collection of oriental stories of uncertain date and authorship, whose tales of Aladdin, Ali Baba, and Sinbad the Sailor have almost become part of Western folklore, and were translated into Hausa (as *Ruwan Bagaja*) by Mamman Kano and Frank Edgar. In colonial Nigeria, the most prolific of the translators in Hausa prose fiction was Abubakar Imam, who translated over 80 books, poems and short stories of Middle Eastern, Asian and European provenance into Hausa in 1936. The result was *Magana Jari Ce* (talk is a virtue), which became an unalloyed classic of Hausa literature. Malumfashi (2009) provides a close analysis of how each story was painstakingly translated into Hausa so as to convey the cultural realities of Hausa society, so that the stories seem to have never been intended for readers from other cultures.[1]

5. Cinematic antecedents in northern Nigeria[2]

Cinema houses in northern Nigeria were established by resident Lebanese merchants who, during the British colonial rule of Nigeria (from 1903 to 1960), screened predominantly American and British films, essentially for colonial officers. No cinema from either the Middle East or Asia was shown – principally because initially cinema was targeted at Europeans and settlers from other parts of West Africa, who were not interested in non-European films. Thus the standard fare was war, Roman history, cowboys or historical films. When Nigeria became independent from British colonial rule in 1960, the Lebanese cinema owners took the unilateral decision to reduce the number of European films and show films from Asia, particularly India. It was not clear what motivated this decision; however it was likely that this was forced on them by reduced European clientele and more interest from newly independent local residents – thus forcing a rethink of the film screening policy. The Lebanese, who decided what was screened in the cinemas, were Christians, and thus had little reason to promote Islamicate films from North Africa.

Since the main purpose of setting up the cinemas in the first place had been to provide commercial entertainment, Hindi films with their spectacular sets, storylines that echo those of Hausa traditional societies, costumes, as well as the lavish song and dance sequences worked well. Rex cinema (established in 1937) led the way to screening Hindi cinema in 1961 with *Changez Khan* (dir. Kenda Kapoor, 1957), and thousands of Hindi films followed, so that, from the 1960s up to the 1990s, Hindi cinema enjoyed significant exposure and patronage among Hausa youth.

Although predominantly based on Hindu culture, mythology and traditions, there were a few Hindi films with Islamic content, such as *Faulad* (dir. Mohammed Hussain, 1963), *Alif-Laila* (dir. K. Amarnath, 1953), *Saat Sawal Yane Haatim Tai* (dir. Babubhai Mistri, 1971), *Abe Hayat* (dir. Krishna Gopal, 1933), and *Zabak* (dir. Homi Wadia, 1961), among others.

From 1976 on, the local TV station, NTA Kano, started showing Hindi films in their late-night Friday slots. These films were sponsored by local manufacturing companies, owned by resident Lebanese merchants, that produced domestic goods – such as cleaning materials and food – targeted at housewives. Thus a link between Hindi cinema on the small screen and the domestic space of the Muslim Hausa household was established. Since Muslim women were banned from going to cinema theatres, the small screen medium of television allowed them to participate in the same urban culture of Hindi cinema as their male counterparts. Spurred on by advertising returns, more companies began showing interest in sponsoring the screening of Hindi films as a platform to advertise their products, making it possible for NTA Kano to broadcast 1,176 Hindi films from 2 October 1977 to 7 June 2003. Hindi films gained greater prominence not only because they began to take up more television slots, but because the days and times they were allotted guaranteed maximum audiences (Fridays and weekends). No films from other parts of Africa (for example, Senegal with its vibrant film culture) were shown; and other Nigerian features were restricted to networked drama series. This Hindinization of Hausa entertainment was further facilitated through the repeated playing of songs from popular Hindi films on Hausa radio request shows targeted at women throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Listeners send greetings to each other and often request for specific songs to be played. These songs were primarily Hindi film songs, Sudanese music, and Hausa music. Notably, no music from southern Nigeria was played in these shows.

6. Hausa appropriations of popular Hindi film music[3]

Hindi films became popular because of what urbanized young Hausa saw as cultural similarities between Hausa social behaviour and mores, and the behaviour shown in Hindi films (such as coyness, forced marriage, gender space stratification, and obedience to parents and authority). Furthermore, with the Hindi heroes and heroines sharing almost the same dress code as the Hausa (flowing saris, turbans, and head covers, especially in the earlier historical Hindi films shown in cinemas throughout northern Nigeria in the 1960s), young Hausa saw reflections of themselves and their lifestyles in Hindi films and thus could identify with them far more than with American films. Difference was part of the appeal, as well, however: the soundtrack music, and the song and dance routines, were greatly appealing to viewers, even though they do not have ready equivalents in the Hausa traditional entertainment ethos. As Brian Larkin has noted,

> Many Hausa, for instance, argue that Hausa and Hindi are descended from the same language — an argument also voiced to me by an Indian importer of films to account for their popularity. While wrong in terms of linguistic evolution, this argument acknowledges the substantial presence of Arabic and English loanwords in both languages, a key factor in creating this perceived sense of similarity and which helps many Hausa 'speak Hindi' (2004, 100).

Bettina David records similar observations in respect to the cultural relationships between Hindi films and Indonesian public culture, where she notes that for many Indonesians, 'Bollywood still seems to represent something similar to their own culture in being distinctively non-Western' (2008, 183). Thus the relationship is, in certain ways, more symbolic than actual. One cannot deny, however, that actual Hindi culture has become a part of the Hausa mediascape. The Hindi language is so accepted now in Hausa public space that by 2005 a programme was initiated on Radio Kano FM2 in which a young writer, Nazeer Magoga, presents *Mu Kewaya Indiya*

(Let us visit India), a programme in which he translates Hindi film songs into Hausa. Magoga has also written four books that translate Hindi film songs into Hausa, and speaks the language fluently – all from watching Hindi films on television.[4]

Soon enough, cinemagoers started to mimic the Hindi film songs they heard. This mimicry was initially undertaken by young boys who, incapable of understanding Hindi, but captivated by the songs in the films they saw, started to use the metre of the playback songs, but substituted the 'gibberish' Hindi words with Hausa prose. Four of the most popular Hindi films in northern Nigeria in the 1960s, and which provided the metre for adaptation of the tunes and lyrics to Hausa street and popular music, were: *Chori Chori* (dir. Anant Thakur, 1956), *Rani Rupmati* (dir. S. N. Tripathi, 1957), *Amar Deep* (dir. T. Prakash Rao, 1958), and *Kabhi Kabhie* (dir. Yash Chopra, 1976). A fairly typical example of such a 'street' adaptation of a Hindi film song is provided here (from *Rani Rupmati*):

Hindi Original	***English Contextual Translation***[5]
Itihaas Agar. . . (Rani Rupmati)	
Itihaas agar likhana chaho	If the chronicles
Itihaas agar likhana chaho	If the chronicles
Azaadi ke majmoon se	of the freedom of our land are to be recorded
(Chor) *Itihaas agar likhana chaho*	(chor) If the chronicles
Azaadi ke majmoon se	of the freedom of our land are to be recorded
To seen khoo upne Dharti ko	Then be ready to give your lives
Veroo tum upne khom se	To your land
Har har har mahdeev	*Let each of us sacrifice ourselves to Mahdeev*
Allaho Akubar	*Allah is the Greatest*
Har har har mahdeev	*Let each of us sacrifice ourselves to Mahdeev*
Allaho Akubar. . .	*Allah is the Greatest*

Hausa street version	***Translation***
Ina su cibayyo ina sarki	Where are the warriors and the king?
Ina su waziri abin banza	Where is the useless vizier?
Mun je yaki mun dawo	We have just returned from the battle
Mun samo sandan girma	We have acquired a trophy
Ina su cibayyo in sarki	Where are the warriors and the king?
Ina su wazirin abin banza	Where is the useless vizier?
Har har har Mahadi	*Har har Reformer*
Allahu Akbar	*Allah is Greatest*
Har har har Mahadi	*Har har Reformer*
Allahu Akbar. . .	*Allah is Greatest*

In the Hausa adaptation, 'Har Har' is maintained to rhyme with the Hindi original since it provides a melodic base.

The Hausa rendering of the song uses equivalency both in rhythm and sound (onomatopoeia) to capture the harmony of the original song. Although the meaning of the original was not retained, it is important to note that the refrain, *Har Har Har Mahadeev, Allahu Akbar* in the song was the main selling point for *Rani Rupmati*, for even if the Hausa audience did not understand the dialogue, they did identify with the words *Mahdi* (a reformer, although the Hindi word in this context was *Mahdeev*, a god-form) and *Allahu Akbar* (Allah is the Greatest, and pronounced in the film exactly as the Hausa pronounce it, as *Allahu Akbar*). Thus, some

meaning was preserved. By following the rhythm of the source sound (SS), the Hausa street singers created target sound (TS) equivalents that rhymed perfectly in pitch and tone with the source sound and thereby engaged in the transcultural and transnational reworking of the song. Notably, this song became an entrenched anthem within Hausa popular culture and provided traditional folk singers with metres from which to borrow.

The second transcultural translation of Hindi music was mediated by popular folk musicians in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and spearheaded by Abdu Yaron Goge, a resident *goge* (fiddle) player in Jos. A dance floor player with a troupe of male and female dancers, Abdu Yaron Goge introduced many dance patterns and moves in his shows in bars, hotels and clubs in Kano, Katsina, Kaduna and Jos, which meant that his music was defined as 'low brow' and assigned to the moral 'exclusion zone' within the Hausa social structure. Goge's greatest contribution to Hausa popular culture, notably, has been in his appropriation of Hindi film songs and reproduction of them through *goge*, vocals and *kalangu* (often made to sound like the Indian drum called a *tabla*). A fairly typical example, again from *Rani Rupmati*, is his adaptation of the song *Raati Suhani*:

Hindi lyrics	**Contextual Translation**
Musical interlude with tabla, flute, sitar.	Music interlude, with *tabla* simulation
Raati suhani	In the beauty of the night
djoome javani	My maidenhood gently sways
Dil hai deevana hai	My heart boils with love
Tereliye	Because of you

Hausa adaptation (Abdu Yaron Goge)	**Translation**
Music interlude, with *tabla* simulation	
Mu gode Allah, taro	People, let's be grateful to Allah
Mu gode Allah, taro	People, let's be grateful to Allah
Duniya da dadi	This world is a bliss
Lahira da dadi	The afterworld is also a bliss
In da gaskiyarka,	If you are truthful
Lahira da dadi	The afterworld will be a bliss
In babu gaskiyarka,	If you're not truthful
Lahira da zafi	The afterworld will be hell

The lines 'mu gode Allah, taro' (people, let's thank Allah) actually uses the same vocal harmony as the strings and flutes of the Hindi film song – thus lending onomatopoeia to the fiddler's rendition of the same song. This is evidenced by the way the main refrain 'mu gode Allah, taro' is sung to the rhythm of the original's tabla, flute and sitar sounds. In the Hausa version, the goge fiddle reproduces both the sound of the source text's opening bars, as well as the vocal elements of the Hausa singer, before the Hausa voices enter into the performance with the line 'Duniya da daddi'. The Hausa lyrics offer a sermon to listeners, essentially telling them that they will reap what they sow when they die and go to heaven ('if you are good, heaven is paradise, if you are bad, it is hell'). The song became Goge's anthem, and repeated playing of it on radio ensured its pervasive presence in Muslim households, which also created a hunger for the original film song.

Other performers, such as Ali Makaho and Akilu Aliyu, have also employed such translation devices in their works.

The work of such popular musicians has, in turn, been appropriated by the religious poets and teachers, who were convinced that they could substitute the Hindi references to Hindu gods with praises to the Prophet Muhammad. In the 1980s, there was a religious resurgence in northern Nigeria after the 1979 Iranian Islamic revolution, which provided a template for many Muslim clusters to re-orient their entire life towards Islam. Entertainment was thus adapted to the new Islamic ethos. Subsequently, while not banning the watching of Hindi films – despite the fire and brimstone sermonizing of many noted Muslim scholars – Islamiyya (modernized Qur'anic schools) school teachers developed all-girl choirs that appropriated Hindi film soundtrack metres, but substituted the Hindi words with Islamic messages, particularly messages expressing love for the Prophet Muhammad. The basic idea here was to wean away girls and boys from repeating Hindi film lyrics which they did not know, and which contained references to the multiplicity of gods characteristic of the Hindu religion.

7. *Ushaqul Nabiyyi* (Lovers of the Prophet) to *Ushaq'u Indiya* (Lovers of Indiya)

Having perfected the system that gets children to sing something considered more spiritually meaningful than the Hindi words in Hindi film soundtracks, structured music organizations started to appear from 1986, principally in Kano, devoted to singing the praises of the Prophet Muhammad. These groups – using the *bandiri* (frame drum) – are usually led by poets and singers, and they are collectively referred to as *Kungiyoyin Yabon Annabi* (Groups for Singing the Praises of the Prophet Muhammad). The more notable of these in the Kano area include *Ushaqul Nabiyyi* (established in 1986), *Fitiyanul Ahbabu* (1988), *Ahawul Nabiyyi* (1989), *Ahababu Rasulillah* (1989), *Mahabbatu Rasul* (1989), *Ashiratu Nabiyyi* (1990) and *Zumratul Madahun Nabiyyi* (1990). All of these are led by mainstream Islamic poets and rely on conventional methods of composition for their works, often performed in mosques or community plazas (Isma'ila 1994). Most are vocal groups, although a few have started to use the *bandiri* (frame drum) as an instrument during their performance.

The most unique, however, is *Kungiyar Ushaq'u Indiya* (Society for the Lovers of India) (Larkin 2004). Although they are devotional, focusing attention on singing the praises of the Prophet Muhammad, they differ from the rest in that they use the metre of songs from traditional popular Hausa music and substitute the lyrics of these songs with words indicating their almost ecstatic love for the Prophet Muhammad. However, upon noticing that Islamiyya school pupils were making hits, as it were, out of Hindi film soundtrack adaptations, *Kungiyar Ushaq'u Indiya* quickly changed tack and re-invented itself as *Ushaq'u Indiya*, focusing its attention on adapting Hindi film music and substituting the Hindi lyrics with Hausa lyrics, praising the Prophet Muhammad. Table 1 is a small sample from over 200 Hindi film song appropriations by the group, based on intertextual analysis of their archival recordings obtained during fieldwork.

Notably, the *Ushaq'u Indiya* singers rely significantly on onomatopoeia to appropriate equivalent elements from the Hindi film songs to adapt via Hausa poetics. For example, 'Kuchie-Kuchie' from the film *Rakshak* became 'Kuci Muci' in Hausa (you eat, we also eat). Like the Hausa shamans who create new translations of the Qur'an by adapting it into Hausa vocal amulets, the *Ushaq'u Indiya* singers and poets also use vocal harmony to create equivalent renditions of Hindi film songs in Hausa. These renditions, of course, are not 'direct' in the sense that there is no semantic relationship between the Hausa versions and the Hindi originals — in fact *Ushaq'u Indiya* were not trying to 'translate' the Hindi songs; rather, they exploit the metres and sounds of Hindi songs and lyrics to publicize their art among an audience already enamoured with Hindi film songs. Like all the other songs in their repertoire, the songs are not based on

Table 1. Hindi film appropriation by *Ushaq'u Indiya* (Lovers of Indiya).

Hindi Film	Film Song	Ushaq'u Indiya Hausa Appropriation
Rakshak	***Koochie – Koochie***	***Kuchi Muchi***
Rakshak	***Sundra – Sundra***	***Zahra-Zahra*** gun ki nazo bara
Yash	***Subah-Subah*** Jab kirki kole	***Zuma-Zuma*** mai gardi
Lahu ke do Rang	***Hasino*** ko Tatihe	***Hassan*** da Hussain Jikokin Nabiyna
Dil	Hum ne ghar ***Chora he***	Manzon Allah ***Dahe***
Anari	Diwana me ***Diwana***	Rasulu Abin ***dubana***
Kala sona	***Sun-sun*** Kasam Se	***Sannu*** Mai Yassarabu dan Kabilar Arabu
Coolie noil	***Goriya*** churana mera jiga	***Godiya*** muke wa sarki daya
Raglu veer	***O jane man*** chehra tera jaadu	***Na zo neman*** tsari ceto
Raja	***Akiya Milaye*** kablu Akiya Churaye	***Ka ki yaye*** Manzo mu Kaki yaye kushensa
Jhony I love you	***Kabhi – Khabi*** e be zuban Parvato	***Kabi – kabi*** Annabi mu in ka ki shi za ka sha wuya
Boxer (old)	***Janu- na janu*** kabse Tumko pyar	***Yanu-na yanu*** na ba wani tamkarka
Hum	***Juma – Chumma*** de-de	***Zuma – zumar*** bege mun sha
Abettayat	***Main gari*** bo ka dil	***Na gari*** muke yabo Shugaban Al'umma
Shaan	***Janu*** meri jaan metere kurbaan	***Jani*** – babuja ba tamkar kur'an

attempts to translate the original meanings of the titles of the Hindi film songs; rather refrains, chorus, and main lines are identified and their Hausa substitutes used in rendering the original song. Thus the double meaning of 'interpretation' (Newmark 1991, 35), which is both the technical term for *spoken* translation but also hints at the act of transformation that occurs in the example I have given here, comes to the fore in the *Ushaq'u Indiya* singers' translations of Hindi film songs.

8. The Hausa video film soundtrack

Hausa video films as a major entertainment form started with the production of the first Hausa film on cassette in March 1990, *Turmin Danya* (dir. Salisu Galadanci). The first Hausa video films from 1990 to 1994 relied on traditional music ensembles to compose the soundtracks, with *koroso* music predominating. The soundtracks were, at this time, seen as necessarily involving incidental background music to accompany the film, and not as integral to the narrative. However, with the increasing availability of synthesizer keyboards such as the Casiotone MT-140 and Yamaha PSR, as well as pirated music making software such as FruityLoops Reason 3.0 and editing software such as Cool Edit and Adobe Audition, the Hausa video film soundtrack acquired a more transnational pop flavour and resulted in the creation of what I call 'Hausa Technopop' – a genre of music that departs considerably from its antecedent African acoustic roots, and embraces Hindi film melodies, while still, however, retaining Hausa language lyrics.[6]

While many songs in Hausa video films are original to the films, quite a sizeable number are direct appropriations of songs from Hindi film soundtracks – even if the narrative of the Hausa film is not based on the Hindi film from which the soundtrack derives. This in effect means a Hausa video film can have two sources of 'creative inspiration' from Hindi film: the storyline from one film, and songs from a different film. Table 2 lists the Hindi film inspirations for several of the 128 Hausa video films that appropriate soundtrack songs from Hindi films. This table is based on analysis of 615 Hausa video films, and discussions with video film producers, cast, crew and editors from 2000 to 2003 during fieldwork for a larger study.

Table 2. Inspirations from the East: Hindi as Hausa film songs.

Hausa Home Video Elements		Hindi Film Appropriated Element	
Hausa Video	Soundtrack Song	Hindi Film	Soundtrack Song
Hisabi	Zo Mu Sha Giya	Gunda Raj (1995)	Mena Meri Mena Meri
Alaqa	Duk Abin Da Na Yi	Suhaag (1940)	Gore Gore Gore Gore
Alaqa	Sha Bege	Mann (1999)	Mera Mann
Farmaki	Suriki Mai Kyawo	Kabhi Kushi Kabhie Gham (2001)	Surat Huwa Mat Dam
Hisabi	Don Allah Taho Rausaya	Angrakshak (1995)	Ham Tumse Na Hi
Shaida	Na Fi Ki Yi Hakuri	Darr (1993)	Jadoo Tere Magal
Laila	**Laila Laila Laila**	**Zameer (1975)**	**Lela Lela Lela**
Gudun Hijira	Ga Wani Abu Na Damun Shi	Josh (1950)	Hari Hari Hari
Gudun Hijira	Ina Kake Ya Masoyina	Mast (1999)	Ruki Ruki
Gudun Hijira	Gudun Hijra	Dhadkhan (2000)	Dil Ne He Ka Ha He Dil Se
Ibro Dan Indiya	Sahiba Sahiba	Rakshak (1996)	Sundara San
Tasiri 2	Kar Ki Ji Komai	Wardat (1981)	Baban Jayi
UmmulKhairi	Ina Wahala	Mohabbat	Mohabbat Ti He
Aniya	Gamu Muna Soyayya	Josh (1950)	Hari HariHari
Kasaita	Ni am Sam Ba Ki Da Haufi	Major Saab (1998)	Ekta He Pal Pal Tumse
Darasi	Duk Girmana Sai Kinsa Na Yi	Hogi Pyar Ki Jeet (1999)	Ho Dee Bana
Darasi	Tunanin Raina	Mann (1999)	Tinak Tini Tana
Taqidi	Ni A'a	Ayya Pyar	Jodi Pyar
Al'ajabi	Ayyaraye Lale	Ram Balram (1980)	Ka Ci Na Gari Mil Gay
Jazaman	Ai Na San Mai So Na	Lahu Ke Do Rang (1997)	Awara Pagal Dibana

Notably, there is a radical difference in the translation styles of *Ushaq'u Indiya* and the Hausa video filmmakers. Whereas the *Ushaq'u Indiya* singers appropriate both the music and the text of the source song, Hausa video filmmakers use only the musical harmonies of the source sound, ignoring its textual properties entirely. In fact, in my repertoire of over 50 re-renderings, I could locate only one Hindi soundtrack song, 'Lela Lela Lela' (from the Hindi film *Zameer* [dir. Ravi Chopra, 1975]) that had onomatopoeic associations with its corresponding Hausa version, as highlighted in Table 2. Leila/Layla are common female names among the Muslim Hausa. The Hindi film songs in Hausa video films are, therefore, musical 'covers' rendered locally. The originals do not simply disappear because a local version is available, however. The purpose is not to displace the originals, but rather to mobilize them as 'transnational' versions and thereby prove the translator's prowess. The Hausa translations have, in fact, fed the popularity of the Hindi originals, which are increasingly becoming available on DVDs, filled with songs (sometimes more than 100 tracks) in MP3 format and sold for less than US$1 if one bargains hard enough with the street vendors, who sell them on push carts.

Thus, beyond providing templates for storylines, Hindi films provide Hausa video filmmakers with similar templates for their soundtracks. This practice has, however, attracted critique about the 'intrusion' of new media technology into the Hausa filmmaking process. As one correspondent points out in a Hausa newspaper:

> I want to advise northern Nigerian Hausa film producers that using European music in Hausa films is contrary to the portrayal of Hausa culture in films [videos]. I am appealing to them [the producers] to change their style. It is annoying to see a Hausa film with a European music soundtrack. Don't the

> Hausa have their own [music]? [. . .] The Hausa have more musical instruments than any ethnic group in this country, so why can't films be produced using Hausa traditional music? (Umar Faruk Asarani, Letters page, *Fim*, No. 4, December 1999, 10, my translation of original Hausa language source).

Interestingly, as this writer implies, other musical sources – and not simply Hindi soundtracks – are also often used as templates for Hausa video film soundtracks. The Hausa film *Ibro Dan Indiya* (director and producer unlisted, 2002), for instance, uses a song from the Hindi film *Mohabbat* (dir. Reema Rakeshnath, 1997) that is in fact an adaptation of a composition by Oumou Sangare, the Malian diva – *Ah Ndiya* (2003). This was appropriated as 'Malama Dumbaru' in the Hausa video film version, and remains the only African re-rendering of the song that I am aware of.

9. Conclusion

In trying to determine what constitutes global culture, John Tomlinson argues that

> The globalised culture that is currently emerging is not a global culture in any utopian sense. It is not a culture that has arisen out of the mutual experiences and needs of all of humanity [. . .] It is, in short, simply the global extension of *Western* culture (1999, 24).

The problem with this view, as argued by J. Macgregor Wise is that it assumes that

> the process of globalization is a one way flow: from the West (read: America) to the rest. Especially in the 1970s, media scholarship supported this view, giving evidence of how the West dominated the global film and television industries as well as the international news services such as the Associated Press and Reuters. [. . .] It also assumes that this process is uniform and occurs in the same way everywhere. That is, it assumes that the world will become homogenized, that it will look the same wherever you go (2008, 35).

There are, however, many mediascapes that cannot be said to have been influenced by the 'Western' mediascape. For example, Brazilian *telenovelas* (soap operas) have been spectacularly successful not only in South America, but across the whole world. As Benavides suggests,

> It is a testament to the telenovela's success that many of the plot lines are reused or that a telenovela will be rebroadcast in different countries after being adapted to their national language and cultural configuration. This transnational element is only heightened by the incredible export success of telenovelas throughout the Americas (including the United States) and all over the world. Latin American telenovelas have been exported, with extraordinary cultural implications, to Egypt, Russia, and China, as well as throughout Europe (2008, 2).

In a similar way, Hindi films have provided powerful alternatives to those films created in the 'Western' mediascape (Vasudevan 2000; Larkin 2003; Kripalani 2005; Mehta 2005). Thus, for many non-Western countries,

> Over the decades, Hindi films emerged as an accessible, visual and ideological alternative to prescriptive, evolutionary patterns of development advocated by some Hollywood films and other select First World countries (Shresthova 2008, 13).

Contemporary Indonesian popular culture, for example,

> increasingly reorients itself, looking to other non-Western social, cultural, and religious forms as alternatives in the struggle to define a modern identity without becoming totally 'Westernized' (David 2008, 195).

In Africa, the Nigerian film industry, Nollywood, has emerged in recent years as a powerful pan-African film industry not simply restricted to the African continent, but extending to the Black diaspora (Haynes and Okome 1998; Haynes 2000, 2006, 2010 this volume; Adejunmobi 2002; McCall 2004; Ebewo 2007; Offord 2009; Omoera 2009).

These examples support what Arjun Appadurai (1996) has said about globalization, which, he argues, is not a single process occurring identically. Globalized culture does not always mean 'Western' culture, and the transnational influence does not have to be vertical (from North to South), but might also be horizontal (from South to South). As I have shown in this article, in northern Nigeria, as indeed in other countries sharing similar postcolonial experiences, the transcultural flow occurs in many different directions. Music from the 'West' is emphatically *not* a source for Hausa video filmmakers; their translations of Hindi soundtracks are based on the assumptions of cultural – linguistic, social, and religious – similarities between northern Nigeria and India. Notably, however, some of these similarities are symbolic rather than actual and, if Islamic culture is the key link between Hausa and Hindi popular culture, this does not explain why there is indifference on the part of the Hausa towards Arab popular culture. Despite the ready availability of Arab satellite television in northern Nigeria, Arab channels predominantly viewed by young Hausa are those representing the pilgrimage to Mecca; channels with more ostensibly 'cultural' content, such as films and music, are avoided. Ironically, Hausa viewers use the Arab satellite television station rather to access Western films (through channels such as MBC 1–4, Action, MBC Max, Dubai One, and Foxmovies). Such disinterest, which highlights the links between Hausa and Hindi culture even further, needs more exploration.

Notes

1. The original sources of the narratives in both *Ruwan Bagaja* and *Magana Jari Ce* were identified as *Alif Laila*, or *Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night* (the 1839 edition translated by Sir William Hay McNaghten, although other editions were also consulted by Imam), *Panchatantra* (a book of Indian fables and folktales), which came to Imam through the Arabic *Kalilah wa Dimnah* as translated by Thomas Ballantine Irving (1980), *Bahrul Adab*, *Hans Andersen's Fairy Tales*, *Aesop's Fables*, *The Brothers Grimm Fairy Tales*, *Tales from Shakespeare*, and *Raudhul Jinan*.
2. This section partly draws on Adamu (2006).
3. Information here draws, in a limited way, on Adamu (2008).
4. I have recorded Nazeer on video displaying his Hindi linguistic capabilities – probably the first Hausa record of a speech in the Hindi language. The video is now available on http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RGIVOqfct5U, titled 'Namaste from Nazeer Magoga, Kano, Nigeria'.
5. The translation here is not literal, but has been derived from a Hausa version of the verses as translated by Nazeer Magoga Al-Salgawai, Kano, Nigeria, 25 October 2009.
6. Notably, similarities can be found here with the evolution of Indonesian popular music, *dangdut*, 'a hybrid pop music extremely popular among the lower classes that incorporates musical elements from Western pop, Hindi film music, and indigenous Malay tunes' (David 2008, 179). In Indonesia, as in northern Nigeria, Hindi films were shown after independence in 1945 as entertainment for Indian troops. Subsequently, they were frequently shown on local television and thus eventually served as a model for the development of Indonesian films.

References

(a) Documentary sources

Abubakar, Aliyu. 1972. Al-Thakafatul Arabiyyati Fi Nigeriya, 1750–1960 (Arabic literature in Nigeria, 1750–1960), PhD diss., Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria.

Adamu, Abdalla Uba. 2006. Transglobal media flows and African popular culture: revolution and reaction in Muslim Hausa popular culture. Mary Kingsley Zochonis lecture for the African Studies Association, UK Biennial Conference, 12 September, 2006, School of African and Oriental Studies, University of London. http://www.asauk.net/lecture/lecture06.html (accessed 17 December 2009).

Adamu, Abdalla Uba. 2008. The Hindi cinema factor in Hausa video film soundtracks. In *Global soundtracks: the culture of world film music*, ed. Mark Slobin, 152–76. Connecticut, CT: Wesleyan University Press.

Adamu, Muhammadu Uba. 1999. *Confluences and Influences: The Emergence of Kano as a City-State*. Kano (Nigeria): Munawwar Books Foundation.

Adejunmobi, Moradewun. 2002. English and the audience of an African popular culture: the case of Nigerian video film. *Cultural Critique*, no. 50: 74–103.
Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity at large: cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minneapolis Press.
Baker, Mona. 1992. *In other words: a coursebook on translation*. London: Routledge.
Benavides, O. Hugo. 2008. *Drugs, thugs, and divas: telenovelas and narco-dramas in Latin America*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
Benjamin, Walter. 1969. The task of the translator. In *Illuminations: essays and refkections*, ed. Trans. Harry Zohn, with an introduction by Hannah Arendt, 69–82. New York: Schockenbooks.
Bredin, Hugh. 1996. Onomatopoeia as a figure and a linguistic principle. *New Literary History* 27, no. 3: 555–69.
Brigaglia, Andrea. 2005. Two published Hausa translations of the Qur'an and their doctrinal background. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 3, no. 4: 424–49.
Catford, John C. 1965. *A linguistic theory of translation: an essay on applied linguistics*. London: Oxford University Press.
David, Bettina. 2008. Intimate neighbors: Bollywood, *Dangdut* music, and globalizing modernities in Indonesia. In *Global Bollywood: travels of Hindi song and dance*, ed. Sangita Gopal and Sujata Moorti, 179–99. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Ebewo, Patrick J. 2007. The emerging video film industry in Nigeria: challenges and prospects. *Journal of Film and Video* 59, no. 3: 46–57.
Haynes, Jonathan, ed. 2000. *Nigerian video films.* Revised Edition. Athens: Ohio University Research in International Studies Series.
Haynes, Jonathan. 2006. Political critique in Nigerian video films. *African Affairs* 105, no. 421: 511–33.
Haynes, Jonathan, and Onookome Okome. 1998. Evolving popular media: Nigerian video films. *Research in African Literatures* 29, no. 3: 106–28.
Hervey, S., I. Higgins, and L.M. Haywood. 1995. *Thinking Spanish translation: a course in translation method: Spanish into English*. London and New York: Routledge.
House, Juliane. 2002. *A model for translation quality assessment*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.
Isma'ila, A. 1994. Rubutattun Wakoki a Kasar Kano: Nazarin Wakokin Yabon Annabi (SAW). (Written poetry in Kano: a study of the poems of the praises of the Prophet Muhammad (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him). Unpublished BA (Hons) thesis, Department of Nigerian Languages, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria.
Jakobson, Roman. 1959. On linguistic aspects of translation. In *On translation*, ed. R.A. Brower, 232–9. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Kenny, Dorothy. 1998. Equivalence. In *The Routledge encyclopaedia of translation studies*, ed. Mona Baker, 77–80. London and New York: Routledge.
Kripalani, Manjeet. 2005. The business of Bollywood. In *India briefing: takeoff at last?*, ed. Alyssa Ayes and Philip Oldeburg, 171–88. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.
Larkin, Brian. 2003. Itineraries of Indian cinema. African videos, Bollywood and global media. In *Multiculturalism, postcolonialism and transnational media*, ed. Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, 170–92. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
Larkin, Brian. 2004. Bandiri music, globalization, and urban experience in Nigeria. *Social Text* 81*,* 22, no. 4: 91–112.
Loimeier, Roman. 2005. Translating the Qur'an in sub-Saharan Africa: dynamics and disputes. *Journal of Religion in Africa* 35, no. 4: 403–23.
Malumfashi, Ibrahim. 2009. *Adabin Abubakar Imam* (Abubakar Imam's literature). Sokoto (Nigeria): Garkuwa Media Services.
McCall, John Christensen. 2004. Nollywood confidential: the unlikely rise of Nigerian video film. *Transition Magazine* 95: 98–109.
Mehta, Monika. 2005. Globalizing Bombay cinema: reproducing the Indian state and family. *Cultural Dynamics* 17, no. 2: 135–54.
Newmark, Peter. 1991. *About translation*. Lowon: Longdunn Press Ltd.
Nida, Eugene A. 1964. *Towards a science of translating*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
Nida, Eugene A. and C.R. Taber. 1969. *The theory and practice of translation*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
Offord, Lydia D. 2009. Straight outta Nigeria: Nollywood and the emergence of Nigerian video film (theory). Lost and Turned Out (production). MA thesis, Long Island University, The Brooklyn Center.
Omoera, Osakue Stevenson. 2009. Video film and African social reality: a consideration of Nigeria-Ghana block of West Africa. *J Hum Ecol* (Kamla-Raj, India) 25, no. 3: 193–9.

Palmer, H. Richmond. 1908. Kano chronicles. (Tarikh Arbab Hadha al-balad al-Musamma Kano). *Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute* 38: 59–98.
Sa'id, Bello. 1997. Kwatanci-Fad'i: Tasirin Harshe A Tsibbun Bahaushe. *Harsunan Nijeriya* Vol. XVIII: 113–130.
Shresthova, Sangita. 2008. Between cinema and performance: globalizing Bollywood dance. PhD thesis, University of California.
Tomlinson, John. 1999. Globalised culture: the triumph of the West? In *Culture and global change*, ed. Tracy Sketon and Tim Allen, 23–31. London: Routledge.
Vasudevan, Ravi S. 2000. *Making meaning in Indian cinema*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
Vinay, J.P. and J. Darbelnet. 1995. *Comparative stylistics of French and English: a methodology for translation*. Trans. J.C. Sager and M.J. Hamel. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Wise, J. Macgregor. 2008. *Cultural globalization: a user's guide*. Oxford: Blackwell.

(b) Discography

Ushaq'u Indiya, 45 C90 audio cassettes, recorded with a condenser microphone from a cassette-radio combo, from 2000 to 2005. Kano city, Magashi Quarters, Kano, Nigeria.
Oumou Sangare, Ah Ndiya, release date: 9/29/2003, length: 04:31, from the album, *Oumou*. Nonesuch record label.

(c) Films

Abe Hayat. Directed by Ramanlal Desai. India: Filmstan, 1933.
Alif-Laila. Directed by K. Amarnath. India: K. Amarnath Productions, 1953.
Amar Deep. Directed by T. Prakash Rao. India: Shivaji Productions, 1958.
Changez Khan. Directed by Kedar Kapoor. India: N.C. Films, 1957.
Chori Chori. Directed by Anant Thakur. India: A.V.M. Productions, 1956.
Faulad. Directed by Mohammed Hussain. India: Broadway Pictures, 1963.
Ibro Dan Indiya. Directed by Dan Azumi Baba. Kano, Nigeria: D.R.F. Enterprises, 2002.
Kabhi Kabhie. Directed by Yash Chopra. India: Yash Raj Films, 1976.
Mohabbat. Directed by Reema Rakeshnath. India: Dashaka Films, 1997.
Rani Rupmati. Directed by S. N. Tripathi. India: Ravi Kala Chitra, 1957.
Saat Sawal Yane Haatim Tai. Directed by Babubhai Mistri. India: Basant Pictures, 1971.
Turmin Danya (Hausa). Directed by Salisu Galadanci. Kano, Nigeria: Tumbin Giwa Productions, 1990.
Zabak. Directed by Homi Wadia. India: Basant Pictures, 1961.
Zameer. Directed by Ravi Chopra. India: B.R. Films, 1975.