A Companion to African Cinema

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Part III
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Transcultural Language Intimacies

The Linguistic Domestication of Indian Films in the Hausa Language

Abdalla Uba Adamu

Indian cinema has had a powerful influence on African audiences with whom Indian films are extremely popular (Desai, 2004; Kaur and Sinha, 2005; Kasbekar, 2006; Dönmez-Colin, 2007; Hawley, 2008). The popularity of Hindi cinema in Africa came about because of the perceived cultural similarities between Indian and African social structures, particularly with regards to traditional culture and gender treatment, which generated interest in, and feelings of affinity for, Hindi film cultures among African communities (Larkin, 1997; Steene, 2008; Fair, 2009). Among the Muslim Hausa of northern Nigeria, the influence of Hindi film goes beyond audience consumption and has led to the appearance of local video-film productions, in Hausa, based loosely on Indian film creative templates (Adamu, 2007). Consequently, from 1990 when the Hausa video-film industry was created until the present, hundreds of Indian films have been "remade" as Hausa-language equivalents (Adamu, 2010). From 2014, however, Hausa filmmakers adopted a new remake strategy: The direct dubbing of Hausa-language dialogue on selected predominantly action Telugu films from India. These films are referred to as Indiya-Hausa in the local commerce. This act of dubbing Indian, Telegu-language films in Hausa can best be referred to as *interorality*. Popularized as a literary concept by Hanétha Vété-Congolo (2016), the term refers to the systematic transposition of previously composed storytales into new and distinct tales. Although Vété-Congolo used the term in reference to her analysis of Caribbean literature, the fundamental concept of transposition of two different and in this case, unrelated, languages to create a narrative of understanding to an audience of one of the languages, is perfectly captured in the dubbing of Hausa-language translated dialogue onto Telugu films in northern Nigeria.

A Companion to African Cinema, First Edition. Edited by Kenneth W. Harrow and Carmela Garritano.

The Trajectories of Hausa Film Development

The popularity of Indian films in northern Nigeria followed three trajectories. The first, starting in Kano, northern Nigeria, from the early 1960s up to about 1982 reflected itself in the way songs from predominantly Hindi-language films were domesticated by local secular and religious singers into Hausa equivalents. Local popular and secular performers often used the meters of Indian film songs and substituted the lyrics with Hausa onomatopoeic equivalents (Adamu, 2010). From 1983, religious performers, often singing the praises of Prophet Muhammad, formed themselves into singing groups (using the bandiri frame drum) called Ushaqu Indiya (Lovers of India) and also adapted the meters of Indian films songs into songs praising the Prophet (Larkin, 2002). These cross-cultural popular culture adaptations served to entrench Indian films into the hearts of local audiences of Indian films. The second trajectory started in 1982 when local drama clubs hired videographers to experiment with VHS cameras and record their dramatic performances. These dramas were based loosely on famous Indian films popular in that period and featured mimed songs, called Sidiya, which were inserted into the narrative and danced by a local female artist. These taped dramas were shown in video parlors in local communities and attracted great interest. By 1999, a commercial, Hausa industry had formed and was tagged Kanywood. During this period, the Hausa film industry adopted a variety of production strategies with the industry approximating and, in many cases directly appropriating, Hindi-language films from India in terms of storyline, cinematography, and narrative focus. From 1990 to 2015, more than 150 Indian films were directly appropriated and remade as Hausa film equivalents.

In his discussion of the remake, Thomas Leitch identifies "four possible stances a remake can adopt, each with its own characteristic means of resolving its contradictory intertextual claims" (1990, p. 142). These are the "readaptation," the "update," the "homage," and the "true remake." These stances refer to intertextual relationship between the remake and the source text – rather than the general approach (model) that motivates the need for the remake. Thus Leitch's "stances" gives us another perspective on the specific strategies adopted when a decision to remake is taken.

Here, I am arguing that Hausa remakes be understood not merely as adaptations of Indian films, but as appropriations of those films. In trying to distinguish between adaptation and appropriation, Sanders (2006) argues that "adaptation signals a relationship with an informing source text," while "appropriation frequently affects a more decisive journey away from the informing source into a wholly new cultural product and domain" (Sanders 2006, p. 26). This distinction does apply significantly to the political economy of video-film production in northern Nigeria because films appropriated into Hausa from Indian source texts, and

occasionally from Hollywood, clearly share a creative relationship with their originals; None-the-less, the Hausa video filmmakers go out of their way to combine a series of Indian films together in one film in order to re-create them as a new film. A typical example of this was *Gwaska* (dir. Adam A. Zango, 2015), a Hausa-langauge film that drew from at least four films: *Krrish* (dir. Rakesh Roshan, 2006); *Kick* (dir. Sajid Nadiadwala, 2014); and the Telugu films, *Billa* (dir. Meher Ramesh, 2009) and *Shadow* (dir. Meher Ramesh, 2013). In "translating" the four Indian films into one, Zango not only enacted the action sequences of the originals, but also donned the Zorro trademark mask of each of the main characters in the two Indian films in the original source films. This act of cultural remediation draws attention to the transnational origins of "Gwaska," a Hausa word meaning a Robin Hood-kind of folk hero, who robs the rich and feeds the poor with the proceeds. Such acts of cross-cultural appropriation through Hindi films that are then translated into a form of Hausa popular culture was what sustained the creative impulse of Hausa video films.

Thus in analyzing transnational media flows in popular culture, it becomes inevitable to discuss the issues of adaptation and appropriation. While adaptation is clearly intermedial – shifting from source text to another (for instance, adapting a book to its film version), appropriation is "a more decisive journey away from the informing source into a wholly new cultural product and domain" (Sanders 2006, p. 26). Thus, appropriation is often intramedial – circulating within the same media (for instance, from a film version to another one).

Hausa cinema in northern Nigeria draws its main inspiration from Hindi cinema, such that over 130 Hindi films were appropriated in one form or the other as Hausa video films (see Adamu, 2009). This is further illustrated by the fact that when the Nigerian government provided grants for training Nigerian filmmakers in 2014, Hausa filmmakers chose to be trained in India to be as close to their cinematic models as possible (Ciroma, 2014). A sample of 12 is shown in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1 is based on the entire range of appropriation styles adopted between Indian films and the corresponding Hausa video films; some were shot-by-shot remakes; others used the Hindi songs and thematically re-arranged them using Hausa lyrics or borrowed scenes here and there. Yet, others used artwork (poster and editing techniques) from Hindi films. Finally, some use similar special effects to create similar scenes from Indian films. An analysis of the main list of 124 shows that 77 of the Hausa video films were directly based on the storylines of a corresponding Hindi film, while 30 adapted the songs, 17 used various scenes and one simply used the title of the equivalent Hindi film.

Finally, the third historical trajectory of cross pollination between Indian and Hausa saw the substitution of Indian film dialogue in Indian films with Hausa narratives, a process which started from 2001. As this is the main subject of this chapter, I will first provide a broader picture of the process of the appropriation of Indian films by Hausa filmmakers before contextualizing the interorality of the new productions.

Table 7.1 Hausa video-film and Hindi film inspirations/appropriations

Original Hindi film	*Hausa remake*	*Element remade*
Agni Shakshi	Izaya	Storyline
Azaad	Jirwaye	Scenes
Bhoot	Almuru	Storyline
Chandni	Ayaah	Storyline
Chori Chupke	Furuci	Storyline
Jurm	Jumurda	Storyline
Judwa	Abin Sirrine	Storyline
Major Saab	Kasaita	Song
Dillagi	Mujadala	Scenes
Hum Aapke Hain Kaun	Kudiri	Scenes
Sanam Bewafa	Akasi	Scenes
Yaraana	Hakuri	Scenes

Interorality and Audiovisual Translation

Interorality and audiovisual translations share a common ground in that they both involve transposition and substation of dialogue from one language to a different one. While interorality is mainly in a folktale domain, audiovisual translation achieves its effects through digital technologies.

While in northern Nigeria this translation came in the form of direct cinematic appropriation, in East Africa it took the form of narrative oral translation. Lagarriga (2007) reported that in Uganda the process was initiated by a VJ called Lingo in 1988. While more a commentator than a translator, Lingo proved catalytic to the professionalization of the film translation in Uganda. As Lagarriga's informant noted, "in 1998 we started dubbing films, with two video decks, one plays, one is dubbing, so we translate it and it was recorded. We did copies and we put them in the video library, so people could come and rent them." In Tanzania, Englert noted in 2010 that "the translation of films from languages such as English, Hindi/Urdu or Chinese into Swahili is a phenomenon that has quickly grown into a successful business in … the last couple of years" (Englert 2010, p. 138). The stars in this translation were video DJs or VJays. Englert further argues that the task of translating foreign films into Kiswahili in Tanzania was not framed by notions of "resistance" to Western cultural hegemony, but employed as devices to enable a faster and more domesticated understanding of international films for local audiences. These locally translated versions, or filamu zimezotafsiriwa, as they were referred to, proved to be extremely popular, especially among the youth in Tanzania. The mechanism of the translation provides an insight into the process. As Englert further reported, "the oral translations provided by the film translators are neither proper dubbings nor voice-overs but rather what could be termed as "delayed

dubbing," i.e. the voice of the translator is inserted after the original voice which remains to a large extent audible" (Englert 2010, p. 148).

This would seem to indicate that at least two voices can be heard in the same film – the original voice and the translator's voice. It goes beyond this, however, as the translators also provide running commentaries on the film and the actors, thus providing a third script to the translated film – two scripts from the source and the target, plus a third exposition from the narrator which is not part of the original source dialogue. English-language source films were much easier to translate more accurately, while non-English films, such as Hindi or Chinese, were translated based on their English subtitles. Even then, the lack of subtitles in non-English films was not a barrier to the translation; for, as Englert's interview with one of the translators indicated, he was able "to understand any filmed story – even if he does not know the languages" (Englert 2010, p. 150).

Similar interoral devices were also adopted in Congo in which foreign films, particularly those from Nigerian "Nollywood," were translated into kiKinois, "a mixture of Lingala, French, and Hindubill (youth slang that originated during the early postcolonial period)" (Pype 2013, p. 220). In Uganda, Dominica Dipio (2014) reports that Nigerian Nollywood films, recorded in English, were remixed in Luganda language by local VJs and proved to be immensely popular.

These various modalities of interoral translation – which transpose the target narrative over the source – often extend beyond the film narrative.Miller (2016, p. 85) reports that "narrators can localize this foreign content, connecting, for instance, a destructive fire in a Nollywood movie to one that recently destroyed a local market, affecting the lives of many in the market video hall audience." This practice became an established VJ tradition in Uganda because at times during the film, the translator bestowed the actors with local nicknames (Dipio, 2014).

In the first instance, as indicated earlier, Hausa filmmakers directly appropriate mainly Hindi-language films as Hausa equivalents, with a parallel storyline structure, which more or less domesticates the original Indian film as a Hausa version. In the second stage of the transnational appropriation, Hausa marketers experimented with the idea of language dubbing – a practice long-established in East Africa. In northern Nigeria, this process started with the first direct voice dubbing of a Tamil-language film, Namma Ooru Poovatha (dir. M. Manivasagam, 1990) in late 1990s. It was marketed by Ace J. Ventures and Video Palace of unknown location but most likely in Jos, northern Nigeria, where Indian films were more popular than anywhere else in the north of the country. Figure 7.1 shows the VHS cassette cover of the film.

The Hausa translators named it "B. Manic" after one of the characters in the film. Appearing as it did at the time, the film created a flurry of interest in that it provided Hausa viewers of Indian films with a direct access to the dialogue. The film is quite rare. The only copy I was able to locate on a VHS cassette has deteriorated considerably and was barely audible – but it was definitely in Hausa and marketed as "the first Indian film in Hausa" on the cover artwork of

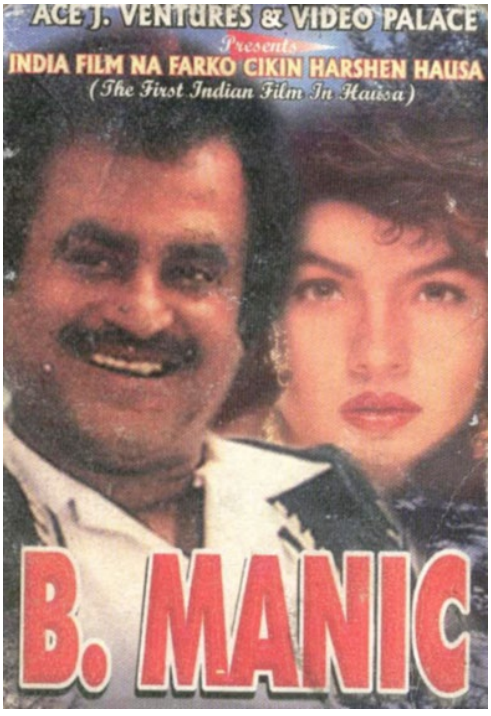

Figure 7.1 *Namma Ooru Poovatha* as Hausa "B. Manic."

the film's cassette packaging. *B Manic* was moderately successful. Since there were no details on how the dub-over translations were done, one might assume that the dubbing into Hausa was most likely based on a deductive understanding of the dialogue, rather than a linguistic understanding of Tamil. This deduction device was used by Tanzanian translators of particularly Hindi films who based their linguistic expertise on their understanding of the dialogue in the source films and creating vocal narrative equivalents. This method works well only in dubbed-over translations, rather than live rendering of the source film dialogue, since some members of the audience could have a superior understanding of the source film's dialogue than the narrator. This mode of audiovisual translation differs remarkably from the strategies of video narration adopted by East African VJs. For whereas the VJ translation phenomena in East Africa started with live rendering of the dialogues of the foreign films into Kiswahili, the Nigerian translators, perhaps operating in a stronger economy, bypassed the live narration and launched directly into the voice-over dubbing. translations. After B. Manic, one or two other films were translated into Hausa, but the practice was discontinued. My field work indicated that this was caused by the high cost of doing the dub-over translations, coupled with a technology (VHS recorders) that was cumbersome to use.

The dub-over translations were revived some years later in Kano by Algaita Music Studios, which was established in Kano in 2003 as a general-purpose music recording. These dubbed films were targeted at capturing a share of the burgeoning soundtrack music for Hausa video films before eventually branching into Hip Hop music. The founder of the studio, Sadiq Salihu Abubakar (who goes by the stage name of Buzo Ɗanfillo), had established himself as an accomplished session musician (and a Rapper). By 2012, he had started the business of Hausa dub-over translations, which the youth language in Kano refers to as "suburbuɗa" – a coined Hausa word that simply suggests a transformation. Buzo Ɗanfillo started with Hausa dubbing of an Iranian TV series, *Yousuf-e-Payambar* (dir. Farajollah Salahshoor, 2008) or "Joseph, the Prophet." Some of the episodes in the series had English voice-over dubs. It was these that Algaita retranslated into Hausa by first translating the English subtitles. Using an Audio Dialogue Replacement technical process, Algaita then substituted the original Farsi dialogue of the film with Hausa translations. To achieve this substitution, Algaita used Sonar X1 music software to separate the sound tracks and remove the English voice track. He then transcribed the dialogue on that track into Hausa, recorded it in Hausa and dubbed it back onto the video. This process created a Hausa version of the original, the first in a series to follow and established a sub-industry of transnational translation. The poster artwork for both the original and the translated is shown in Figure 7.2.

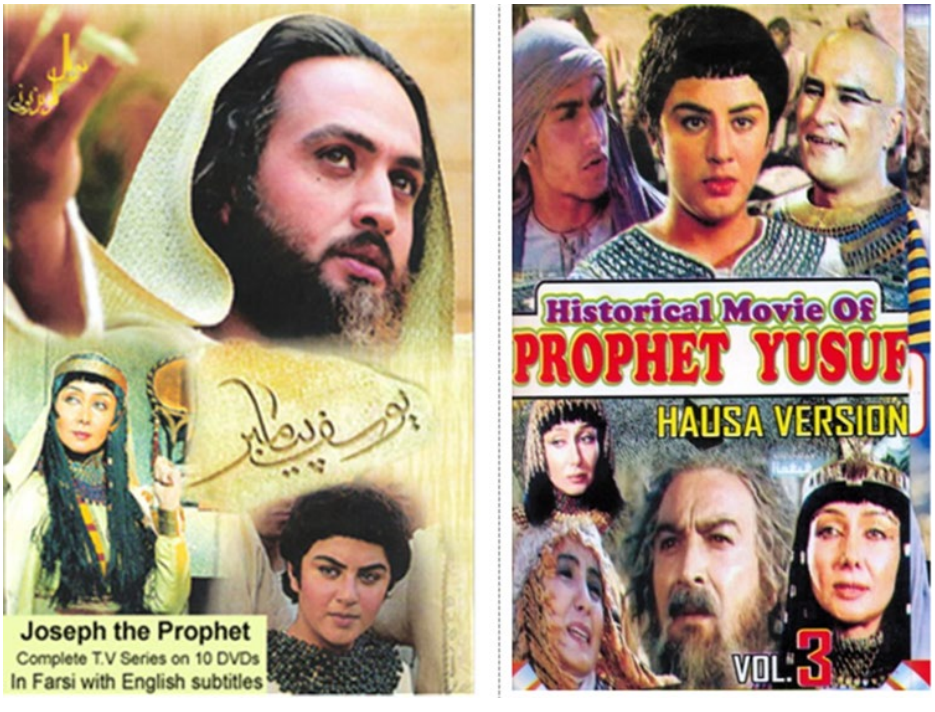

Figure 7.2 *Joseph the Prophet* DVDs in Kano markets – original and dubbed both pirated.

Released as "Historical Movie of Prophet Yusuf – Hausa Version" on eight DVDs for the entire 45 episodes, the translations proved massively successful for a number of reasons. First, there was the inherent popularity of the story of Joseph (Yusuf), which, as narrated in the Qur'an (Chapter 12), taught many lessons, especially perseverance, hope, patience, forgiveness, etc. Second, the Hausa translations, rather than subtitles (which would require a level of literacy) domesticated the narrative and delivered it in a form easily digestible by the Hausa. By "speaking" to the audience, the Hausa narration engages the audience in a personal encounter, as if talking directly to the viewer. This personalization created avenues for debate and discussions on the film in many conversational groups – thus immersing the audience in a way the original Farsi and English versions would have done.

The success of the Prophet Joseph translation DVD in Kano and other northern cities created a new business model for translation of transnational films into Hausa and attracted the attention of a resident Indian merchant, K. Pawan, whose company, Speedy Ventures Nigeria Limited, imported films from India. Seeking to experiment with translated dub-overs, Pawan sought out Nazeer Magoga, a Hausa performer resident in Kano who had a high standard of Hindi. He had published Hausa to Hindi phrase books in 1996. In 2005, he was given a one-hour slot on Radio Kano FM during which he presented *Mu Kewaya Indiya* [Let us visit India], a program in which he translated Hindi film songs into Hausa. His fluency in Hindi was such that in 2007 the BBC World Service in London showed interest, which resulted in a live-on-air interview with him about his life with an Indian journalist, Indu Shekhar Sinha, in Hindi. This attracted so much attention in India that the BBC Delhi office sent a crew to interview Magoga in Kano in July 2008. The crew was led by Rupa Jha, who recorded the entire interview in Hindi at the Tahir Guest Palace Hotel in Kano and was broadcast in India. It was this latter broadcast that came to the attention of the Indian merchant resident in Kano, K. Pawan, who immediately thought about getting a Hausa person to translate films from India with Hausa voices. The desirability of such a venture was supported by the success of the Joseph films in Kano.

Interestingly, southern Indian films, which started the India-Hausa voice translations, were themselves dubbed in Hindi to appeal to wider Indian audiences – which seems to indicate a divergence in southern Indian languages and Hindi films. One would have thought that their proximity would have made such interorality superfluous. Yet, despite being in the same country, they were of course, radically different. As Subramonyam (2000, pp. 37–38) noted,

> …some of the biggest hits in the "Hindi Belt" in the 1990s are South Indian films remade or dubbed in Hindi. While this kind of crossover is not new, and while over the years Hindi hits have been remade in various South Indian languages as well, dubbing of films across the nation, including Indian versions of everything from Jurassic Park to Jumanji, has never been as popular as it is today.

However, such a practice of language dubbing seems to have slightly waned, perhaps triggered by the bigger international market share of mainstream Hindi films that eclipsed regional films.

The four regional cinemas have characteristics that are particular to their respective regions, yet thanks to the practice of dubbing films into other south Indian languages initiated early by the studios in Chennai, each of the southern regions is also familiar with films from their neighboring states. South Indian films dubbed into Hindi have never been very popular in northern markets, however. It was these southern Indian films, dubbed into Hindi, that Pawan brought to Kano. He contracted Magoga, who transcribed the Hindi dialogue into Hausa, creating a new script. Magoga was able to transcribe the Hindi voices into Hausa due to his understanding of Hindi, which he acquired exclusively from watching Hindi films since early childhood. In the early stages, there were licenses obtained from the film studios in India which granted Pawan the right to translate the films into Hausa and distribute them locally. For the next stage, Pawan sought voice-over artists in Kano. His search led him to Buzo Ɗanfillo, then a guest session musician at Hikima Studios in Kano and contracted him to translate Bhojpuri- and Telugu-language films (already dubbed in Hindi) into Hausa. The recordings were done at Algaita, rather than Hikima, since Ɗanfillo was the owner of Algaita Media Entertainment Group, of which Algaita Dub Studio, dedicated to voice-over translations and dubbing, was a subsidiary. The first film translated was the Bhojpuri film, *Hukumat Ki Jung* (dir. S.S. Rajamouli, 2008). It was translated as "Yaƙi da Rashin Adalci" (Fighting Injustice). Others that followed included *Dabangg* (dir. Abhinav Kashyap, 2010), *Racha* (dir. Sampath Nandi, 2012) and *Nayak: The Real Hero* (dir. S. Shankar, 2001). In an interactive session in June 2016, Buzo Ɗanfillo told me that the Algaita Studio had translated 93 films by 2016. During the period of the partnership with Pawan, the translators were paid NGN80,000, or about US$501, according to Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN, 2013), when the U.S. dollar was worth 157 Nigerian Naira.

The first few films produced by the Algaita Studio in 2012 were considered novelties, providing relief from watching complete remakes of Hindi films by Hausa filmmakers, or even from watching the originals themselves. What made them more attractive, however, was the translation of the titles of the films in a single powerfully expressed word, or couple of words, that seemed to take a life of their own and communicate adventure, danger, or defiance. For instance, *Nayak: The Real Hero* (dir. S. Shankar, 2001) was translated as "Namijin Duniya" (lit. Brave); *Indirajeet* (dir. K.V. Raju, 1991) as "Fargaba" (Fear), and *Velayudham* (dir. Mohan Raja, 2011) as "Mai Adda" (Machete). Referred to as "India-Hausa" (Hausa versions of Indian films), they quickly became the new form of transcultural expression in the Hausa entertainment industry. In giving the Hausa versions their titles, the translators often move away from the direct literal translation from the original film; instead, they often affix a title that seems to capture the main plot of the story; for example, *The Shadow* (dir. Meher Ramesh, 2013) was translated as

"Inuwa" (Shadow), although the Hausa version of the word was intended to convey a more sinister implication). This device was useful because it created a subtext and, therefore, a hidden commentary on the film even before one watches it. This served as another basis for domestication and offered an alternative to the cinematic appropriation of Hindi films by Hausa filmmakers. Figure 7.3 shows the selective use of stills from the films to convey the same meaning to different audiences.

It is instructive that the Hausa translators of *Dabangg* used a different shot from the picture used on the official Telugu film DVD cover. The original, from a low angle, raised the profile of the character and, by bringing the pistol closer to the viewer, emphasizes the strong character of the hero, whose face is covered by dark glasses. The Hausa version shows a grim-faced character without any adornment on his face, but with a fixed gaze – something the Hausa would certainly appreciate as approximating a fearless person.

The Hausa translations, at least in the beginning, were backed by licenses which Algaita insisted on seeing before embarking on the Hausa translations. This is the first time that copyright was respected in the transnational appropriation of

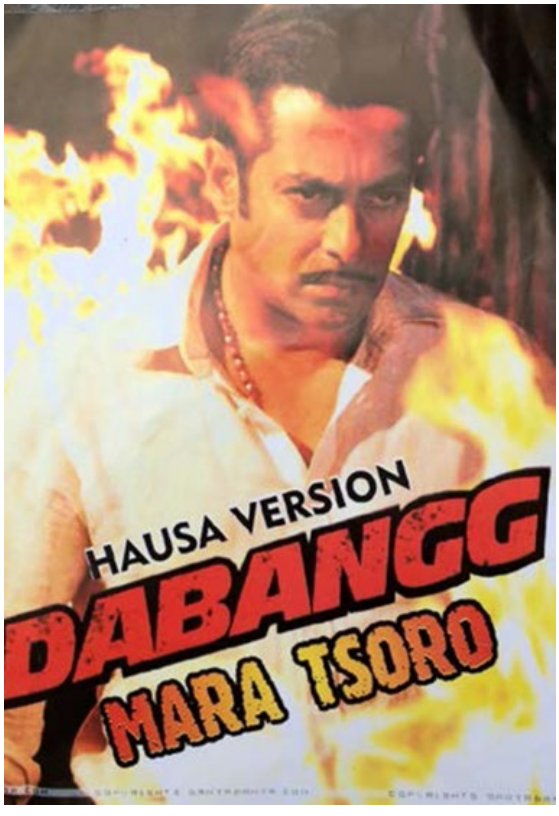

Figure 7.3 *Dabangg* ("Fearless"), original and Hausa version covers. Photo: Abdalla Uba Adamu.

popular world cultures by Hausa performers. Certainly, all the cinematic remakes and appropriations that characterize the mainstream Hausa film industry were done without any licensing agreement with the original – a stance Hindi filmmakers themselves appropriating Hollywood films take. However, the success of the first few films in 2014 opened up the doors. Whereas Algaita and Pawan were marketing the films they exclusively translated, soon enough other marketers entered into the process and started getting dub-over translators to translate the same southern Indian films illegally downloaded from YouTube and other Internet streaming sites. To bypass the process of getting a Hindi translator, the marketers simply downloaded those films with English subtitles. The subtitles were then copied out and translated into Hausa. Since there were many music studios in Kano, it was relatively easy to find voice-over artists to dub the Hausa dialogue onto the films. This considerably broke the monopoly Algaita had over the southern Indian film translations in northern Nigeria. Eventually, the studio also entered the business of unlicensed translations—especially as Pawan seemed to have faded from the scene—foraying into both mainstream Hindi, southern Indian and occasional Hollywood films, the latter of which included *Shrek*, translated as "Botorami" (monster), *Apocalyto* as "Gudun Tsira" (Deliverance) and *The Expendables*. Since they could not translate this title into Hausa, they just marketed the dubbed version with the same title. This is critical in the sense that it shows the political economy of the process and also shows how transnational markets operate in the domestication of overseas films for African audiences.

It is significant that the translations were mainly for non-Hindi language films in the beginning. There were several reasons for this. First, obtaining a license to translate the dialogue of mainstream Hindi films in other languages and marketing the resultant product as a new repackaged film was difficult. This is because these films have a high visibility internationally, featuring megastars. Second, the Hausa foreign film market was already saturated with Hindi films which are, familiar to the Hausa. Translating them into Hausa, when they were already understood by the fact of their being part of the staple visual entertainment of the Hausa, would not seem profitable. Third, non-Hindi language films are hardly known in northern Nigeria and Pawan wanted to change all this. Finally, the subject matter of the films translated were more social – dealing with injustice, insecurity, corrupt officials, poverty – subjects Nigerians would have readily identifed with. Translating these "message" films would seem to provide an alternative to the saccharine romance of mainstream Hindi films.

Unlike East African VJ translators, the India-Hausa translators did not pass through an evolutionary oral stage of live translation before dubbing the translations on the foreign films. This might reflect the different nature of the approaches to community folk theatre between the Hausa and the East African audiences. For the Hausa, spectatorship is often a personal, and silent, statement. Films were often viewed in the personal and private medium of home entertainment, instead of a collective public space and, therefore, not amenable to running commentaries.

This was more so with the death of the cinema in the 1990s which came on the heels of a new Shari'a (Islamic Law) reinforcement during which many Muslim scholars discouraged cinema attendance. This forced people to watch films on TV at home.

Further, in contrast to the India-Hausa dubbers, East African VJs apparently insert themselves in their live translation of foreign films, substituting items for local versions as well as providing a commentary on a particular scene. As Hoad (2012, par. 3) noted, "VJs do more than simply describe the action – they frame the action in a context familiar to east Africans and add their own brand of humour." India-Hausa dubbers conspicuously remove themselves from the originals and maintain a high fidelity in their translations. What emerged was a new sub-industry that provided alternatives to the endless appropriation of Hindi films by Hausa film producers. The India-Hausa translations differ in the sense of being officially licensed and a much easier mode of immersion in transnational popular culture, than English subtitling which will not appeal to the vast majority of Hausa audiences in the same way the interoral dubs do. There was no pretext that a new film was made – the antecedent origin of the translated film was indeed its main selling point; for the translated dialogue brings the film much closer to the Hausa audiences than the appropriated remakes by Hausa filmmakers. They offer authenticity of being from India, with the credibility of being understood because they are in Hausa. Further, the subject matter of fighting injustice and corruption touches a raw nerve in a country rated as 136 out of 187 in the list of countries with a high corruption perception (Transparency International, 2016).

The India-Hausa translations have been massively successful and have attracted audiences not attuned to Indian films in the first place. This can be deduced from the numerous comments on the Facebook pages of the Algaita Dub Studio (www.facebook.com/algaitadub/). Their success created a public debate mainly online in social networks about their cultural impact. In the first instance, there does not seem to be any attempt by the translators to censor some of the bawdier dialogues of the originals – translating the dialogue directly into Hausa. Kanywood filmmakers latch on to this as an indication of cultural impropriety of the translated films. Additionally, the often romantic scenes revealing inter-gender sexuality were not edited out by the translators, since their focus is not the visuals, but the voices. This, again, was pointed out by Hausa filmmakers as a direct attack on Hausa cultural sensibilities. Kanywood filmmakers do accept that they appropriate Hindi films; but they argue that they culturally adapt the stories to reflect Muslim Hausa sensibilities.

Audiences, however, do not accept these arguments against the translated Indian films. This was evidenced in a debate a Kano local FM radio station opened on its Facebook pages to discuss the merits or otherwise of India-Hausa translations on 13 October 2014. A total of 2,027 comments were posted reflecting various views about the translations. Out of these, about 1,326 were considered valid posts and were content analyzed and categorized into five. The results are shown in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2 Radio Freedom Facebook responses to India-Hausa translations

S/N	*Comments*	*Number*	*%*
1.	Translated Indian films corrupts Hausa audiences	179	13.5
2.	Translated Indian films do not corrupt Hausa audiences	509	38.4
3.	Kanywood films corrupt Hausa audiences	451	34
4.	Kanywood films do not corrupt Hausa audiences	31	2.3
5.	Indifferent/neutral	156	11.8
	Total comments	1326	100.0

Data *source*: www.facebook.com/freedomradionig/posts/10152810476008035, retrieved 3 December 2015.

The comments focus on what is more corrupting on youth: Kanywood or the India-Hausa translations. It should perhaps be pointed that "corruption" (gurɓata tarbiya in Hausa) is a general expression for any inter-gender relation in which men and women touch each other, as well as for obscenities, thuggish behavior, and other socially undesirable traits. The corruption variable came into play because of the constant accusations by the more puritanical Hausa critical views that suggests inter-gender mixing, particularly in Hausa video films, has the potential of corrupting the morality of vulnerable youth.

From Table 7.2, it is clear that a significant number of people do not accept that the translations have any corrupting influence on Hausa audiences. This view goes beyond any media effects theory since the responses were referring basically to sexuality and offensive language in the translated films. Those defending the Hausa films point to the fact that there had been a long public debate about the desirability of Hausa films appropriating Indian films and the skimpy attire the female actresses wear, especially during the song and dance sequences. These public criticisms actually led to the establishment of a Kano State Censorship Board in 2011 to regulate the films sold in Kano markets.

From the general postings, it was also clear that a considerable number of those who hold favorable opinions about translated Indian films believed that the issues raised in the film portray a lot of Nigerian social and political realities, particularly the leadership/followership crisis and social injustice between the haves and have-nots. These motifs were rarely explored in mainstream Hausa films due to fears by the filmmakers that the political establishment will take umbrage at any portrayal of the social realities – poverty, unemployment, crime, insurgency, corruption – that bedeviled Nigerian society. Those with unfavorable views about the translations believed that the translations would kill the Hausa film industry, since there was a decline in sales of the films after the intense appearance of the films since 2014. Consequently, the commercial, if not artistic, success of the India-Hausa films generated a backlash among the mainstream Hausa filmmakers, who saw the translations as a threat to their own business. As reported by Ciroma (2014),

> Hausa filmmakers have raised the alarm that the infiltration of Indian movies translated into the Hausa language into the industry is silently killing the Hausa movie industry. In unison, stakeholders believe that the act is being hamstrung by piracy and dishonest traders. Kanywood Trends understands that marketers of the said products engage the services of Hausa linguists who understand Hindi to translate and lip-synch dialogues in the movies such that both the audio and video are perfectly synchronized with the actions that produce them. They also ensure that the movements of a speaker's lips match the sound of his speech.

The Hausa filmmakers that Ciroma talked to were upset by the trend. A famous Hausa actress, Hauwa Maina, voiced the feelings of most of the producers and directors when she lamented:

> I am totally against it. If the pirates want to produce Hindi movies, why don't they go to India and shoot, or go on joint productions rather than [engage in] this nonsense? Our marketers have succeeded in killing Kanywood. People should know that Hausa movies were originally inspired by the Indian films. Back then, teeming Hausa communities see Kanywood movies as a recipe for what they need. But now, it is as if the marketers are taking them back to where they were coming from, making our Hausa movies irrelevant. (in Ciroma, 2014)

The reaction of the Hausa filmmakers to translations of foreign, especially Indian films, echoes similar reactions from Bengali filmmakers, where the film industry in Bangladesh also faced the challenges of the popularity of Hindi films dubbed with Bengali voice-overs. A survey of selected Bengali filmmakers' views about Hindi films dubbed into Bengali came up with the following

> Let Hindi films run parallel to films made in Bengali by people here. We urge everybody concerned not to screen any dubbed film in theatres and serials on television any more … we are not issuing any threat to anybody. But the local industry has its stake. This is our united stand and we mean it … this is no threat, but is a request for allowing the survival of local industry. (Press Trust of India. 2014)

The Hindi film that caused the furor was *Gunday* (dir. Ali Abbas Zafar, 2014). Dubbed into Bengali, it caused insecurity and fear among the industry practitioners. Even the songs were in Bengali and *Gunday* belonged to one of the most powerful Mumbai studios, Yash Raj Films. However, as Chatterji (2014) reported,

> the issue is not West Bengal's alone. [In February 2014], the Karnataka film industry formed a solid wall of unity in protest against dubbed versions of Kannada films released in the state. Umashree, actress and Kannada Culture Minister of Karnataka who is against dubbing of content in Kannada, said, "We oppose dubbing of other language films in Kannada and will not accept it. We have to give prominence to the people who are working in the Kannada industry."

Mainstream Hindi filmmakers also often made the occasional foray into "foreign" language dubbing. This was noted by Grimaud (2006), who recorded the experiences of Hindi filmmaker, Yash Chopra, who in 1998 dubbed one of his most popular films, *Dil to Pagal Hai*, into French. The target audience was putatively the French diaspora, but the actual market was Mauritius. The filmmaker rejected the idea of using native French-speakers in Paris to dub the film into French, insisting on Indian voice artists who will read the French translations with Indian accents because "he was convinced that a film in an exportable Indianized French was the best way to attract not only the diaspora but other viewers, since the dialogue itself would convey a kind of exoticism" (Grimaud 2006, p. 168). This search for authenticity in interoral insertion introduces another dimension the dubbing process – for neither the East African or Hausa dub artists attempted accentual authenticity of the original voices they translated.

Conclusion

What film translation shows us, therefore, is the eddy of messages that kept swirling around cultural spaces throughout the world in attempting to enter the hearts and minds of cinematic audiences by any means necessary. Thus, through VJeeing, dubbing, translations and running commentaries, media circulates from its point of origin to another, perhaps not intended, audiences. The fact this circulation follows all directions – from the West to developing countries and within developing countries themselves – indicates the breaking down of barriers to the consumption of these media messages.

The transnational travel of foreign films in Africa has been domesticated in various ways. However, the most ingenious would seem to be cases of domestication of some of these films through what I can call "narrative territoriality" in which new forms of engagement with the media, or what can be called remediation and not a sentence – are created by young media entrepreneurs to create new narratives domesticated to local understanding. By following Sander's "adaptation," Hausa translators took a more domesticated path by dubbing voice-over translations of Hindi film (and occasional Hollywood film) dialogue into Hausa. This proved to be a tremendous success; indeed, so much that the sales for the appropriated Hindi films remade as Hausa films declined significantly. Comments on newspaper websites and Facebook groups clearly indicate a more direct cultural relationship between the source text and the resultant "Hausa version."

Hausa voice-over translators of foreign films in northern Nigeria do not seek to maintain continuity with the original source films. In the process of translating the dialogues into Hausa, they indeed go out of their way to domesticate the original

scenes to reflect Hausa communities in speech and lexicon. The accuracy of the Hausa versions is often confirmed by the fact that some of the source films had English subtitles. Merely following the spoken Hausa translations as against the English subtitles attests to the accuracy of the Hausa translations. For these reasons, Sander's adaptation theory could not neatly fit into the audiovisual practices of Hausa translators. I would advocate interorality as a closer label in the sense that it describes the oral juxtaposition and dependencies of two radically different, but contextually related oral narratives describing the same set of events.

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