

CULTURE, MEDIA TECHNOLOGY AND GLOBALISATION: THE CASE OF FOLKTALES IN KANNYWOOD VIDEOS

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Abstract

This paper investigates what comprises the storyline in Kannywood videos and finds out that folktales can be proven to be sources of the videos against the initial criticism that the videos are mere adaptations of Bollywood in which case the Kannywood actors/actresses are described as the *Indiyawan Kano* (The Indians of Kano). The paper also looks at what elements are changed in the storylines under investigation particularly the elements that are added. The additions help in assessing African culture in general, its flexibility and the effect of globalization on Kannywood as an industry in particular. Furthermore, the paper discusses how the inclusion of folktales in Kannywood has led to a cultural shift from orality to digital media and its subsequent preservation. To achieve what we plan to accomplish, we shall consider looking at some selected videos such as *Ruwan Bagaja*, and *Sangaya*. At the end, the paper impresses on the filmmakers that should they have transformed much of other Hausa genres into videos, they would not have been accused of adaptations. On the part of the critics, the paper argues that it would be better to assess the videos based on their thematic details and also consider the fact that adaptation is a global phenomenon.

Introduction

In most cases, when people talk of globalization, what usually comes to the thinking process of some individuals is the issue of economic globalization. Those who think in this direction fail to relate globalization to language and culture. Interestingly, this aspect of globalization is rampant nowadays and it refers to the transnational circulation of popular culture. African languages and cultures are influenced by foreign languages and cultures. These linguistic and cultural assimilations enable African culture to be flexible. The flexibility shows that language and culture are dynamic, hence the human society has been characterised by continuity and change. African traditional medium of entertainment and information dissemination have therefore

been affected mostly by electronic media especially the videos, which now is a popular means of entertainment in Africa. When the films started, discourses of enlightenment, education and the desire for national identity to the hopeful striving for development were some of the most striking messages or themes. In addition to these issues, the conflict between modernity and tradition was frequently expressed by the first generation of African filmmakers. Pioneer African filmmakers in the 1960s like Ousmane Sembène in Senegal and Ola Balogun in Nigeria and, a little later, Kwaw Ansah in Ghana actively collaborated to consolidate schemes of oppositions such as tradition/modernity, countryside/city, old/new, which, in fact, translate the opposition between hero and villain, that is, between good and evil/bad.

On its rise and development, the colonial film and the emergence of *Littattafan Soyayya* (Love Books) written by Hausa authors are some of the factors that set the trend for the development of Kannywood industry. As the colonial film helps the natives in creating a film culture or practice free from the shameful act of nudity and promotion of un-Islamic religious and cultural values, the film also serves as a tool for the colonialists as a means for presenting and inculcating state ideology. On the other hand, *Littattafan Soyayya* (Love Books), which started in 1989, created a space for young urban boys and girls to adapt a style of romance interaction presented in the books. In addition, filmmakers extend the adaptation by using the plots of these love books in Kannywood videos. The subsequent result of this is that Kannywood videos were received with overt criticisms from ethnic Hausa, who see the films as pollution of their cultural values (Adamu 2011). One of the critics openly states that,

All dances copied from Indians are a form of worship of Indian gods depending on the signs made in the dance.....In this respect Hausa home videos are serving as agents for the spread of Indian culture of love singing and worship of Hindi gods in contravention of the teaching of the Prophet (SAW) that prohibit such actions. The Indians would be very pleased for this unsolicited propaganda (Ado-Kurawa, 117).

In like manner, a critical remark on the intrusion of foreign values into Hausa culture through Hausa film is reflected in a letter to the Editor of *Fim* (Film) Magazine No. 4, December 1999, 10 thus:

I want to advice Nigerian Hausa film producers that using European music in Hausa film is contrary to portrayal of Hausa culture in films (videos). I am appealing to them (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? (Adamu, 64).

While the views of the above critics show that they are ardent supporters and promoters of Hausa culture, which according to them, Kannywood filmmakers fail to do. On the other hand, the critics too fail to realize that, artistic displays nowadays seek to go further than the issue of cultural imperialism because the presence of technology serves as a means of cultural outreach, irrespective of which culture. In like manner, ethnic Hausa too will be happy to see that his culture through Kannywood home video reaches to all and sundry and to all nooks and crannies of the globe, as one of my informant states, "I hope that Kannywood home video has come to stay and may it progress further than our imagination, based on our culture, religion and our day to day life".

Little did viewers know that some storylines in Kannywood are based on oral tales and this dependency is to demonstrate how orality is used by filmmakers as source of videos. This technique adopted by filmmakers is to incorporate modern technologies in order to give the best possible expression of an African genre. The strategy comes basically from oral knowledge, culture and technology. Therefore in Kannywood, we see how much film can adapt to the multimedia and performance qualities of oral tradition and how much technical refinement can give it full expression. Kannywood filmmakers having been born and brought up in Africa in the midst of African oral genres and at a later period in life, engaged in theatre and or worked with National or State Television Authorities thereby acquiring some knowledge of cinematography, hence the ability to use equipments such as cameras, recorders to their advantages and without much hesitation, they dedicate themselves to transforming in an attempt to express Africa better.

Approach to the Study

Would I had phrases that are not known, utterances that are not strange, in new language that has not been used, free from repetition, not an utterance which has grown stale, which men of old have spoken.

Nothing is said now that has not been said before.

These two quotations (see Juvan 2008) suggest that every work of art is a mention about another thing which has already at one time been mentioned, or its rejection.

Specifically, this is the central idea that is contained in adaptation and imitation, which are sub themes within the main theme of intertextuality.

This paper is based on the approach to literary studies as outlined in intertextuality which idea was introduced by Julia Kristeva. It denotes connectedness and mutual dependence of two component conditions. More precisely, it means that text is a combination of quotations; and or the absorption and transformation of another. In the space of a work of art, many utterances, taken from other works, intersect and neutralize one another in form of cross cultural influences. By its natural linguistic logic, it means relation between texts, interweaving of texts, weaving of one text into another, connectedness and interdependence of at least two related texts, the characteristic of a text of establishing a relation with another text or having another or multiple texts woven into it or interrelatedness or interaction of texts (Juvan, 13). Kristeva argues against the idea of a text as an isolated entity which operates in a self contained manner. This assertion suggests that every text and here we can include any cultural object: image, film, music etc is a reference to other texts, genres and discourses. Her argument is that no text comes into being solely on its own. By implication, there is a specific type of coextension in which part of the meaning of one particular type of thing covers part of another variety by way of overlapping; a kind of transposition of one or more events into another or a domain of transpositions of many signifying events. Although the idea behind intertextuality is connected to modern times, the act of using it is not new because the question arises as to whether the field of reference to which it refers is really new. According to Juvan, Markiewicz in his work on intertextuality, cites series of pronouncements in which writers from ancient times to postmodernism prove awareness of intertextual occurrences and the fact that every work necessarily takes into account that which was written before. (Juvan, 2008)

The choice for the adoption of this approach is born out of critics views of Kannywood videos, who consider the videos as mere adaptation and or imitation of Bollywood. In literary studies, adaptation and imitation depend on reference to a pre-existent reality which is concrete. Also, imitation is not repetition rather, it is a highlighting in which by reading, writing or filming, the imitator declares his or herself, while also engaging in a process of expressing either belonging to or separation from the culture in question. In essence, imitation is not only a means of forging one's discourse but it is a consciously intertextual practice. This is possible because by imitation, one tends to mix one's ideas with the ideas contained in the imitated material thus leading to a product of hybrid: something that consists of or comes from a mixture of two or more other things. One fact about imitation is that it has to do with materials known to the imitators because it

is logical that one cannot imitate something he or she does not know about. Interestingly, imitation of stylistic or thematic elements of older literary works into new texts, or writers mention of their predecessors, has been a part of the art of writing most noticeably in genres concerning religious or secular traditions. For example, scriptural stories were the main source for many kinds of drama.

In view of the views of critics of Kannywood based on the narrow sense of imitation, which is a concept similar to contemporary perception of intertextuality, it is not a matter of copying the pre-text, but competing with it in an attempt to surpass it with inventive techniques and applying its meaning to the needs of self speech or utterances. Therefore the pre-text is reshaped by different means such as condensing and omitting certain segments, or expanding and developing more succinct formulations in the pre-text, and re-changing or changing of expressions from the original. In changing the source, orators and filmmakers seek some performances or figurative space for demonstrating their mastery, inventiveness, or even superiority over their predecessors' eloquence.

Cultural Transformations

The issue behind culture: the so-called traditional discourses and media technology: the new cultural medium is based on the concept of convergence culture, which deals with the interaction or interwoven of basic and corporate media. According to Jenkins (2006), it is where old and new media collide and where the power of the media producer and the power of the media consumer interact in unpredictable ways. This can be understood primarily as a new process bringing together many media functions within the same devices, a kind of representation of cultural shift as stakeholders are encouraged to seek out new information and make connections among dispersed media content. It is within this perspective that Gitelman in Jenkins (2006) offers a model of media that works on two levels. First, it is a technology that enables communication; secondly, a medium is a set of associated protocols or social and cultural practices that have grown up around that technology. It is evident that a medium's content is not fixed or static. Rather, it is moving, changing or developing, especially when movement or change would be good. It shifts as in the case of storytelling and folktale media, which radio displayed and now radio is being displayed by television through the use of DVDs; and performances move from a travelling theatre: a typical local form to stage theatre: those stage for the elite. In these cases, displacements are not necessarily elimination. For example, printed words did not kill spoken words, cinema did not kill theatre, and television did not eliminate radio. Each old medium is obliged to function side by side with the emerging media. Old media therefore are not vanished into thin

air. Rather, their functions and status are shifted by the introduction of new technologies. We seem to be in an era where media is almost everywhere. Media technologies have controlling interests across the entire entertainment industry. Today, snapshots if not full-pledge Kannywood home videos are being fully accessible via Youtube and it continues to be seen how this kind of distribution fits into people's lives. Filmmakers can produce their own movies and distribute all of this worldwide via the internet. Prior to this time, many societies have succeeded in bringing about a fundamental change in the ways of the people's thinking and mentality by making acceptable and positive use of media technology in this direction:

- Use of the media technology in order to promote literacy among the people, and to bring about a change in the educational system
- Use of modern technology such as video cassettes to promote general health care services in rural areas
- Use of long-range television pictures to promote modern ways of agriculture
- Use of media and communication technology for creating understanding, awareness and the need for peaceful coexistence among different ethnic groups

Technologies generally, and indeed media technologies in particular, do not develop in isolation from the social structures and contexts that produced them. Rather, the technologies and the social structure in society influence and shape each other. In essence, it is the social and cultural structures, which necessitated technological innovation, and not the opportunity provided by the technologies. The development of media technology therefore is like an extension of cultural institutions. Linkage between technology (both as a cultural process and a vital tool in social transformation) is an essential facilitator in the process of cultural transformation in the traditional societies. This crucial linkage is vital to our total understanding of both the socio-cultural evolutionary trends in African film production and the changing concept of visual entertainment as transformed by these technologies in African societies.

The above assertion is more relevant to the situation of our focus in this paper that is, Kannywood, the existing home video industry in northern Nigeria. In the first place, the emergence of VCR provides the Hausa traditional performance with a visual and expandable communication vehicle which shifts cultural narratives to the living rooms of the teeming populace of city dwellers in northern Nigeria. It also provides an open window through which an average Hausa urban settler comes in direct contact with other cultures. By the very nature of the format and production convention, home video

technologies, particularly the VCR the associated cameras allow local cultures to be packaged and delivered as popular entertainment to a multitude of audiences (both at home and in diaspora) with relative ease and at a very minimum social and economic costs. Specifically, the home video technology in particular provides the platform through which Kannywood filmmakers experiment with different narrative themes and motifs to explore the earlier popular entertainment and educative media of folktales. In Africa and most developing countries today, it seems that the components of culture are affected by technology hence there is much effect of media technology on cultural identity. For example, one of my informants recalls how viewers from Ghana call him and say that “formerly our people (referring to Hausa speakers in Ghana) were watching Nollywood films, but when Kannywood started reaching us, our children have then started wearing Hausa dresses as seen in Kannywood, they become attracted to and fond of their culture, and Hausa as a language becomes a heritage and a thing of beauty to them”

In this direction, not only does technology determines the course of cultural development, but it also determines the need for building social foundation. This assertion presupposes that a direct relationship exists between culture and technology and both of these affect the other sequentially.

Representation of Culture in Kannywood Videos

Culture is a term that many scholars have defined. Taylor offers a definition, stating that culture is that complex whole, including knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs, and other habits acquired by people as members of a society. John in Taylor (1970) considers culture as a society’s answer to a series of fundamental questions about what it values, what is worth the sacrifice and effort necessary to pursue and possess that which is most prized. For Hall, his view of culture comprises of history, identity and practice which can be regarded as a system of representation that is constantly in gradual change. This means that culture is in a flux, it is changing, thereby it brings about new formations with time in a manner that one is not sure what will happen. Added to this, there is the argument that culture must progress and incorporate new technologies, new changes. Ironically in traditional perspective, change has been interpreted as disorder, as chaos, as loss of authenticity. However, in the global intermixture of cultures that we are witnessing nowadays, the authenticity of former cultures may not be lost in quite the ways we imagine them to be. Many times local authenticities meet and merge with urban and suburban settings. This complex process of acculturation, of meeting and merging shows that the possibility of boundaries of a culture is not certain. This deals with how oral culture shifts to electronic media. Based

on this argument, Kannywood has to a greater degree become involved (among other means) in the process of Africa's self reflection and identity construction by means of its cultural representations. In this respect, Kannywood is now serving as an agent of globalization that has made it possible to export elements of other cultures without coming to the locations of such cultures. In this respect, the filmmakers inculcate into their viewers some forms of local or domestic culture including music, comedy and dance involving some traditional values. Basically, Kannywood videos on the theme of comedy tend to portray the connection between humour and performance, while videos containing song scenes seem to remind viewers of the Hausa and African musical traditions. Sometimes the songs are direct adaptations of songs from girl's traditional performances or from a local folktale in which the video is based. Already, singing and dancing are important activities during feasts. It could be right to say that in Kannywood videos, there are existing cultures which the filmmakers have already known and they make efforts to reproduce in videos. The reproduction seems to shift the viewing space of stage to that of screen thus buttressing the claim that media technology helps in the preservation of culture.

The Selected Clips

Before the start of Kannywood videos in 1990 in Kano, northern Nigeria, Hausa seemed to be satisfied with *tatsuniya* (folktale) as part of its culture as well as comfortable with how it was communicated by means of a storyteller (mostly an old woman or a newly married woman) versus audience (mostly a group of boys and girls). With the establishment of Kannywood industry, the situation changed dramatically because of the need for a more effective channel which can reach out to people in places far and near. Despite a number of criticisms, Kannywood industry has been an example that portrays the good rapport between media technology and culture in an era of globalisation because it is able to showcase a new medium which adapts one of the cultural norms containing cultural values that conform to the mindset of its main viewers.

Ruwan Bagaja and Its Storylines

The video *Ruwan Bagaja* was directed by Ilyasu Abdulmumin. It has as its source the famous Hausa folktale also called *Ruwan Bagaja*. For a full text of the folktale, see Yahaya (1971). In the video, there is a certain man who has two wives: Bora and Mowa. The man loves Mowa more than Bora and the love extends to her daughter, while the extreme dislike towards Bora by her husband extends to her daughter as well. Bora is the person who prepares food everyday hence she has ceased to be house wife, instead

she was regarded as a cook to the detriment of her marriage: she takes the role of a maid than that of a house wife while her co-wife Mowa does no domestic work. Whenever Bora prepares food, she serves Mowa while she (Bora) starves in the midst of plenty. One day, it happens that Mowa's daughter passes urine while sleeping at night (bedwetting, which is regarded as a bad habit for grown up children). When they wake up in the morning, Bora's daughter was accused of bed-wetting, and not Mowa's daughter. Therefore, Bora's daughter was ordered to go and wash the *kirgi* (tanned cowhide used as bed sheet) in river *Bagaja* which is very far and difficult to reach. She obeys the order and goes out in search of *ruwan bagaja* (water of bagaja). During the search, whenever she comes to a river, she asks if the water in the river is the water in river bagaja in a song using humble and soft words along with exciting rhythms thus:

<i>Ko kai ne ruwan bagaja</i>	Are you the river bagaja
<i>Ko ba kai ba ruwan bagaja</i>	Or you are not the river bagaja
<i>Domin kirgi aka aiko ni</i>	For the sake of bed-sheets, i was sent
<i>In zo in wanke a ruwan bagaja</i>	To come and wash in river bagaja

At last, she finds *ruwan bagaja*. She washes the bed-sheets, obeys the instructions after which, she finds a miraculous favour. She returns to the city in triumphant entry, on horse back with escorts, drumming and musical beats befitting a princess. Now she and her mother have found honour and respect where they list expected. They continue their lives in peace and in wealth. This marks the beginning of a turning point in their lives. It shows a dramatic twist because in the beginning Bora and her daughter seem to have been doomed to outright poverty with no hope of a brighter future At the end they turn out to be in control of expensive and beautiful possessions and large amount of money, courtesy of the riches the daughter brought back from her travails in search of *ruwan bagaja*.

Having seen Bora and her daughter in this honour, Mowa instructs her daughter to bed-wet. In like manner, she is asked to go and wash the bed-sheets. But because she is her parents pet, she is being pampered hence she grows up in preferential treatment. Therefore, when she goes to wash the bed-sheets, she shows disrespect. As such, she comes back home on a donkey along with lepers as escorts. She and her mother continue to live in poverty for the rest of their lives. The dramatic twist here shows a reversal of roles because Mowa and her daughter that were the subject of love, and seem to be in heaven on earth have now turned to be relegated to the background.

The Adaptation Skill in Ruwan Bagaja

In the video, bed-wetting which is considered as a bad habit is only imagined unlike in the folktale. If a child persists in doing it, he is ridiculed by his peer group. A video in this respect called *Amalala* (A bed-wetter) was directed by Umar Jalo. Culturally, mothers are required to train their children against it by asking them to urinate before they put them to bed. So bed-wetting becomes central in the folktale *Ruwan Bagaja*.

For someone who sees only the video, its source might be unclear, but someone who has trans-media experiences may have cause to trace its trajectory across different media and will notice the skip. Such gap (like omission) reduces the flow of content and as a consequence essential information is not absorbed. By standard of classical folktale or storytelling, the system depends on repetition, eye contact, gesture and mimicry to ensure that listeners follow and comprehend the plot, even if they were distracted and this means that they need not keep their eyes on the road at all times

The scene of thigh (*cinya*) and dog (*kare*) in the folktale is entirely and skilfully omitted in the film, probably not because of its lack of importance, but because of the need of judging and dealing with situations in a practical way according to what is actually possible. Therefore, the filmmaker did not incorporate actions which are better imagined than visualized like non humans taking up the qualities and characteristics of humans for example, talking. More so skipping the scene makes the video more realistic and suitable. Indeed, non humans are not so easy to manipulate. On the other hand, it can be explained based on the assessment of how faithful a video is to its source with due reference to adaptation, which does not always upholds whole representation as stated by Rachel in Allen (2000) that every adaptation is an instance of textual infidelity.

Sangaya and Its Storylines

Sangaya was directed by Aminu Muhammad Sabo. Its source is the Hausa folktale called *Zubaina*, one of the series of folktales read by late Adbullahi Sani Makarantar Lungu and aired by Kano State Radio Corporation, Kano. The video is one of the most commercially successful Kannywood home videos. It became a household name probably because of its song and dance scene, perfectly undertaken by Ali Nuhu, Fati Muhammad and late Hauwa Ali Dodo, the famous actor and actresses respectively. Despite the fact that song and dance are part of Hausa culture hence their inclusion in Kannywood home videos with initial soundtrack composed with indigenous musical instruments, *Sangaya* is one of the videos that marks a turning point for it does not only pioneers a change-over to electronic music, but also includes playback song and the video consists of dance (choreography), which indicates some cases of revolutionizing

and globalizing Kannywood home video song. According to Adamu (2007), trailers of the home video, with the lead song, *Sangaya* being performed in the background-complete with choreography immediately captured the imagination of Hausa urban audience, helped along by the inclusion of a whole array of instrument sound samples such as flute, tambourine and African drums. The music and most especially the choreography, from the soundtrack shoots the video to stardom and places it into the list of most successful Kannywood home videos, thanks to cross fertilization of influences, which results to sending a message through the video *Sangaya* that dancing and singing can sell a lot and can make meaningful impact.

The video presents a female servant called Tabawa, who along with other female servants are serving in a palace. Tabawa has a daughter known as Zubaina. Both Tabawa and Zubaina have no iota of favour in the sight of other servants and indeed the entire household. Tabawa is accused of stealing sorghum floor meant to prepare pap for the king. The matter did not end as mere accusation, but it goes on with abuses, scolding, and with all sorts of maltreatment and the subsequent strong stigma attached to theft. Being frustrated, Tabawa decides to seek for relief even temporarily. Therefore she goes to sit under a tree somewhere behind the compound. A woman appeared to her unexpectedly hence Tabawa is extremely frightened. Likely for her, the woman tells her not to fear. The woman says despite the fact that she is not human (likely *fatalwa* a ghost), she is a servant of God. She requests Tabawa to narrate her travails. On hearing Tabawa's problems, she promises to help her by asking her to come to the same place (under the tree) from time to time.

As fate will have it, Tabawa falls sick and demands water. Her daughter Zubaina goes to other servants to request for water, but they refused to give her even a drop as such she dies. Before her death, Tabawa instructed Zubaina to go under the tree and a woman will appear to her. "Tell the woman that I am no more and I adjure you to hold on to the woman" Tabawa tells Zubaina and then gave up the ghost. Zubaina's cry after the death of her mother attracted the attention of the servants. When they come, instead of condolence befitting to a bereaved person, they mock Zubaina and show no concern on the death of her mother. After this, the director takes us to a scene in which Maina (prince) comes back home from school in another city or country with accompanying drum beats and flutes with escorts and guards. Maina comes back home at a time his father, the king is about to leave for pilgrimage to Saudi Arabia. Before he leaves, he instructs his wife the Sarauniya (Queen) to carry on with the wedding arrangements of the prince with his cousin Kilishi who have been courting.

To fulfil what her late mother instructs her to do, Zubaina goes under the tree, the usual meeting place of her mother with the ghost. The ghost appears to Zubaina and asks her to narrate her problems. Zubaina says, “all the people in our household including the prince who recently comes back from school hate me and for this reason, i prefer to die than to live”. The ghost tells Zubaina that she shouldn’t worry, and that all those who hate her will come to love her, a kind of a turning point and a reversal of fate and destiny, which Zubaina think is due to her, a condition that seems to be an impossible hurdle to cross over. However, the proverbs depicting some truth value conditions said by the ghost comfort Zubaina and give her some assurances, for example, *bayan wuya sai dadi* (after suffering comes enjoyment) and *kome na duniya yana da iyaka* (there is an end to everything on earth). The ghost instructs Zubaina to close her eyes and then recites *Bismilla* (in the name of God) silently.

As she opens her eyes after the prayer, she discovers her in an entirely new cloth. The ghost whispers to her and tells her that any time she wants to see her she should come under the tree. On her way back home, Zubaina meets the prince who becomes attracted to her and then stops her, introduces himself to her and demands to know more about her. Zubaina says, “my name is Azumi and I am Fulani by tribe. Unknowing to the prince, his new found lover is Zubaina. They make a date to meet tomorrow. Zubaina goes back home and appears in her usual wretched cloth and stands by the entrance door. When the prince comes in and sees her there, he instructs *Jakadiya* (the chief maid) to make sure that Zubaina does not stand by his way. As per their appointment, Maina and Zubaina meet the next day and have the normal discussion between boy and girlfriend. In essence, Maina is now deeply in love with Zubaina who also assures him of her love. For this reason, Maina changes his mind towards marrying Kilishi and he tells his friend his intension to marry Azumi (Zubaina),, his new girlfriend who is a beautiful girl the type that every man will like to take as wife. Maina’s friends make attempt to convince him to marry Kilishi who is also from a royal family, but he refuse and he enjoins them to see Azumi the girl of his choice. On seeing her, one of the friends approves of their marriage.

Just as Maina hates Zubaina, so also is his proposed wife Kilishi, who along with her friends say a lot of bad and negative things about her, such as,

Kilishi: Imagine! So there is a man who will want to marry this girl?

Friend 1: I doubt it. Any man who marries this “thing” makes a big mistake.

Friend 2: As for me, if I were a man and you give me this “thing” to marry along with 7 houses, I will not take the offer. Rather, I will say take it to the market for another bidder.

On the next appointment, Maina takes his friend to meet Azumi. Maina’s friend talks to Azumi on behalf of Maina although in his (Maina’s) presence: a typical Hausa culture of courtship. Azumi agrees to marry Maina on one condition, which she demands to know from Maina’s friend by asking this question:

“Can he marry me in any condition he sees me?”

This demand or question seems difficult for Maina’s friend to answer therefore he keeps quiet, gets back and allows Maina to move closer to talk for himself. Maina agrees to marry her no matter the situation and vows to eat his words by giving her his ring to testify to his agreement. Azumi then promises to visit Maina’s mother for introduction the following day.

Maina meets his mother along with Jakadiya. He informs his mother about his intension to get married to a girl who is waiting (outside) to come and see her, and pleads with her to approve the marriage. Unfortunately for Maina the girl who is waiting close by the horse, which Jakadiya ushers in as directed by him happens to be Zubaina. On seeing Zubaina, Maina asked Jakadiya the reason for bringing her and she responds by saying that she is the girl she sees at the spot he describes. Maina rejects Zubaina, but his mother says, it is not a shameful thing for you to marry Zubaina, who despite being a servant, she can be considered as a member of this household since she was born and brought up in this household and her parents died in this household. More so, a prince is allowed to marry a concubine. Despite his mother’s explanation, Maina rejects Zubaina vehemently because according to him, the girl he met is very beautiful and he gave her a ring as an engagement. Maina’s mother asks Zubaina if that is true and Zubaina says, I am the girl he met and here is the ring he gave to me. Maina’s mother discovers that it is the ring, which she gave him. Maina’s mother requests Zubaina to narrate how this romantic affair starts between her and Maina. After she narrates the story in detail, Maina’s mother says, it is the will of God for Maina and Zubaina to be couple and the marriage ceremony shall be performed between Maina and Zubaina as well as between Maina and Kilishi same day same time. Maina asks Zubaina for forgiveness. And then Jakadiya, may be for fear of reprisals begs Zubaina (now a princess) to carry on along with her.

When it becomes obvious that Maina chooses to marry Zubaina, Kilishi and her servants became dump founded and surprised. For Kilishi she faces the agony of rivalry

from a servant and now a co-wife and for the servants, they face the trouble of continuous perpetual torment of being servants to a fellow servant (now a princess) who they despised, castigated and ridiculed. In their attempt to subvert the marriage between Maina and Zubaina; Kilishi's friends advised her to engage the assistance of a witchdoctor in order to stop the marriage.

A contest of self-expression was conducted in a performance by mainly Maina, Kilishi, Zubaina and other male and female dancers from the background. Kilishi in a song expresses her reasons why Maina should marry her. Among her reasons are:

She is of royal blood like Maina
She is his first girlfriend
Everyone knows they are engaged.

On the other hand, Zubaina sings to express herself and why she deserves to be Maina's wife. She sings on:

How she emerges
How she wins the love / heart of Maina
How she has no lover except Maina

Reflections from the Folktales and the Clips

The folktales and their corresponding adapted videos portray the culture of one man marrying more than one wife. It is not just a case of polygamy, but an instance of the marriage rites and ceremonies of an individual (man) to two women being performed on the same day and same time. In Hausa culture, it is referred to as *auren gata* privileged marriage, as in the case of Maina to Zubaida and Kilishi. The folktales and clips go on to explain the kind of imbalance love and general treatment being rendered to the wives by the husband. Such bias treatment usually extends to the offspring of the wives, which leads to intense rivalry between wives and more often than not, it is the reason for the lack of cordial relationship between step brothers in African societies in general

In addition, the folktales and the videos as well contain issues about child upbringing and the culture of patience especially for a woman that is not the pet and pat of her husband or superior officer. This is seen in the proverbs *bayan wuya sai dadi, kome na duniya yana da iyaka* meaning, after suffering comes enjoyment and there is an end to everything on earth respectively. Both Bora's daughter and Zubaina suffered from maltreatment, but in the process of being maltreated, they endured and showed

perseverance. At the end, they triumphed. Their situation conforms to the Hausa proverb which says, *mai haƙuri yakan dafa dutse ya sha romonsa*. Literally, he who is patience can cook stone and lick its sauce. It means that the patient dog eats the fattest bone.

Furthermore, the folktales and the videos bring to limelight the issue of attitudes such as the opinions and feelings that people usually have towards certain things and how they relate to those things. For example, look at how the result of tolerance and obedience relate to horse riding, drumming, music, escorts and scented perfume. All these are associated with royalty, which indicates an upper class in the society. On the other hand, things like leprosy, flies, insects and riding on donkey are synonymous with poverty stricken condition hence they are looked at contemptuously and negatively.

Conclusion

The storylines in Kannywood home videos have various sources. In its early years of existence, it was not only the intellectuals who noticed its adaptations of *Littattafan Soyayya* (Love Books) from *Adanin Kasuwar Kano* (Kano Market Literature) that were also lifted from Indian films, even the non elites made this observation and both the intellectuals and the non elites were often critical of it. In the context of northern Nigerian Muslim Hausa, such films contain foreign cultures that can have negative impact on its youths. Despite the criticisms, Kannywood industry continues to spread out. Apart from Kano, which is the centre of production, Jos and Kaduna are emerging very fast as other centres of production. Part of the explanation to why the industry is springing up all over northern Nigeria even in the midst of strident demands of the Kano State Censorship Board is found in the popularity of the language, Hausa in which the videos are produced and the availability of technological equipments to serve the demands of the populace in the era of mass unemployment. Little did observers notice the second paradox of Kannywood which is its ability to transform indigenous cultures into videos in addition to involving other conventional mass media functions such as educating, informing, entertaining and general mobilisation thus the two videos, *Ruwan Bagaja* and *Sangaya*, which serve as case study represent an important transitional movement in the relationship between media and culture as such, we suggest that filmmakers should further adopt the use of other genres as sources of their films.

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