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The changing linguistic codes in Hausa hip-hop songs

Abstract

The objective of this article is to examine the use of varying linguistic codes in the lyrics of the Hausa hip-hop songs. It discovers that Hausa hip-hop singers switch languages, drawing inspiration from global hip-hop classics (African-Americans) and Nigerian hip-hop to signal socio-cultural awareness and the complex weave of contemporary hip-hop music culture. It also reveals that the singers construct their lyrics by combining Hausa and English with a little influence from Arabic and native languages (mostly Nigerian Pidgin English and Yoruba) to create a distinct soundscape for their music. It also reveals switching strategies at inter-sentence and intra-sentence levels resulting in the discursive constructions appropriate for the expressed message.

Keywords: code switching, Hausa hip-hop, language choice, linguistic codes, lyrics

1. Introduction

The significance of changes in linguistic codes is seen in the fact that some genres of Hausa popular culture, specifically Hausa hip-hop music, have gradually metamorphosed in the 21st century, resulting in the discursive construction of multiple language mixing at global and local positioning. Basically, this article is built within the argument of Feld (1974), as centred by Omoniyi, that "linguistic analysis and investigation of popular music are both recent developments in research on cultures" (Omoniyi 2006: 197). Such is the case of Hausa hip-hop

music, a type of popular culture and genre that entails expressions that can be observed linguistically from social, contextual, ideological, register features and other forms of discursive construction. Therefore, the aim of this article is to examine aspects of inserting words, phrases, lexical items or sentences from other languages into the lyrics of Hausa singers of hip-hop music.

Topics related to music and hip-hop culture are of basic interest in many countries around the world, including, i.a. Algeria (McLain-Jesperson 2014), Brazil and Portugal (Souza 2012), the Czech Republic (Stepankova 2012), Finland (Westinen 2014), Germany (Androutsopoulos 2009), Japan (Ian 2006), Malawi (Fenn & Perullo 2000), Tanzania (Clark 2013). This genre of music has been examined through a survey of its history (Harkness 2013), culture (Andy 2000, Stepankova 2012), communication (Adamu 2019, 2021a, b), linguistics (Musa 2014, Omoniyi 2009), and folklore (Asante 2009, Liadi 2012).

Linguistic aspects of studies on hip-hop music connect the change of linguistic codes with popular culture and contact between languages (Westinen 2014). Various aspects of discursive constructions and practices of linguistic codes are manifested extensively in various genres of literature (Adamu 2007, Akande 2013, Babalola & Taiwo 2009, Balogun & Oladayo 2021, Chamo 2023, Gbogi 2016, Kachru 1989, Kraśniewski 2016, Liadi & Omobowale 2016, Omoniyi 2006, Sani 2019, Zulyadaini 2023). In other words, the changing of linguistic codes within a "single discourse, sentence, clause or constituent" (Poplack 1980: 583) is not new neither in the global hip-hop scene nor in the African or national (Nigerian) music settings. One example is Alhaji Musa Ɗanƙwairo Maradun[1] from Nigeria – a nationalist and a classical Hausa oral singer with his songs *Yaki muke da rashin ɗa'a* [War against indiscipline], *Shehun borno mazan jiran daga* [Shehu Borno the hero], *Sarkin Muri uban galadima* [Emir of Muri – Galadima's idol] to cite but a few instances of songs composed by Ɗanƙwairo that entail discursive construction and practices of linguistic codes in English, Arabic, Kanuri, and Fulfulde. There are also other nationalist musicians, in the person of Fela Kuti[2] from Nigeria with the songs *Zombie*, *Coffin for head of state*, *Beasts of*

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[1] Alhaji Musa Ɗanƙwairo Maradun (1901-1991) was a famous classical Hausa oral singer, who hailed from Ɗankadu village in Bakura Local Government of Zamfara State. Ɗanƙwairo is his nickname which he got from his father's servant or cousin named Ƙwairo (Gusau 2019: 2023).

[2] Fela Aníkúlápó Kuti (1938-1997), full name: Olufela Olusegun Oludotun Ransome-Kuti, also known by his stage alias Abami Eda ['the Strange One'], was a famous Nigerian musician, bandleader, composer, political activist and pan-Africanist. He is credited with founding the Nigerian musical genre – afrobeat – which fuses West African music with American funk and jazz. He was hailed as one of Africa's most "challenging and charismatic music performers", as well as "a musical and socio-political voice" of international significance.

no nation, Osibisa[3] from Ghana with the song *I feel pata pata*, Manu Dibango[4] from Cameroon with *Soul Makossa*, to mention but a few cases, who use different forms of discursive constructions and practices of linguistic codes in their music. In a different range of genres, there is an influx of discursive constructions and practices of changing linguistic codes in Hausa films dialogues, which is often motivated by character situations, occurs in the process of sharing identity with a group member or as a characteristics of youth language (Chamo 2012). Such also is the case when we consider discursive constructions and practices of changing linguistic codes in conversations in social settings (Abdulƙadir 2018, Abubakar 2018, Idris 2017, Sami 2019), religious (Ibrahim 2018), administrative and academic settings (Abdullahi 2018, Aminu 2011, Lawan 2019, Mika'ilu 2015). So, discursive construction or practice of linguistic codes is not an attribute limited to hip-hop music alone. Therefore, to examine the changing linguistic codes in Hausa hip-hop music, this article addresses how language choice and switching strategies are used to enact hybridity and assert the cultural allegiances of discursive practices as a form of youth language. Given that rap music is a globally shared, learned culture as well as a medium that sums up a society's knowledge and beliefs, which are primarily held by the youth, the present analysis of the changing linguistic codes in the lyrics and performances of Hausa hip-hop music would be a contribution to the current knowledge in this field.

2. A conceptual review of rap music and hip-hop culture

Rap, a genre often created by "a specialized beat maker and elements of turn-tables, in which portions of material created by other performers are creatively recombined and used to frame the lyrics" (Potter 1995: 1), has attracted growing interest around the globe. This includes researchers from Africa (Medubi 2009), Asia (Ian 2006, McLean 2010, Nettl 2010), Australia (Sarker et al. 2005), Europe (Androutsopoulos 2009, Beck 2010); the USA (Alim et al. 2009, Cundiff 2013), North and South America (Petten 2010, Souza 2012), among others, who studied

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[3]   The Ghanaian-British Afro-rock group Osibisa was established in London in the late 1960s by four musicians from the West African diaspora and three from the Caribbean who lived in London. They were the most successful and longest-lived of the African-heritage bands in London, alongside such contemporaries as Assagai, Chris McGregor's Brotherhood of Breath, Demon Fuzz, Black Velvet and Noir and were largely responsible for the establishment of world music and afro-rock as a marketable genre.
[4]   Emmanuel N'Djoké "Manu" Dibango (1933-2020), a Cameroonian musician and songwriter, performed on the vibraphone and saxophone. He created a musical genre that included classical Cameroonian music, jazz, and funk.

and analysed global rap music from various ethnic backgrounds and discursive practices. For instance, in an attempt to look at how language choice functions in the rap lyrics of singers originating from Tanzania and Malawi, which are two neighbouring nations on the East African continent, Fenn and Perullo (2000) noted that Tanzanian and Malawian hip-hop singers intertwined two or more languages, depending on a particular singer's linguistic acquaintance. They supported their argument by citing examples from the lyrics of the rap singers' adopting Swahili and English. Likewise, they explained the historical process that allowed Swahili to be the most widely spoken language in Tanzania and English the dominant political and economic language in Tanzania and Malawi, creating a unique environment for hip-hop music. In addition, Alim et al. (2009) considers hip-hop language practices to be a complex processes which also includes questions of transnationalism, immigration, cultural flow, and diaspora. Current theoretical approaches take into account language choice and agency, speech style and stylization, codeswitching and language mixing, crossing and sociolinguistic variation, language use, and globalization. Moving all over the global hip-hop culture, through scenes as diverse as Hong Kong's urban centre, Germany's Mannheim inner-city district of Weststadt, Brazilian favelas, the streets of Lagos and Dares-Salaam as well as the "hoods" of the San Francisco Bay Area, this global intellectual "cipha" breaks new ground in the linguistic study of popular culture. Furthermore, the researchers reported that:

Practitioners define the six major elements of rap lyrics and the hip-hop culture as: "MCing (rapping), DJing (spinning records), break dancing (also known as "street dancing", an array of acrobatic dances associated with the hip-hop cultural domain), graffiti art (also known as "writing" or "tagging" by its practitioners), knowledge and "over standing" (Alim et al. 2009: 55).

From the above explanations, the changing of linguistic codes in music is a con-scious behaviour that occurs to maintain the global culture of hip-hop cultural domain and thus has interested scholars of various research fields to the extent that some of them made every effort to apply linguistic theory to musical analysis, as well as for the fact that music heightens the effect of words, allowing them to be rendered with a projection and passion lacking in speech alone (Smitherman 1997, Taylor 1997). Accordingly, Beck (2010) concentrated on the multilingual setting through mechanisms including urbanization, but also included code--switching and pragmatically motivated borrowings from different languages that are connected to meanings related to "gangsta" rap and hip-hop culture. The research discovered that the Kenyan hip-hop singers used linguistic practices

to highlight the significance of traditional culture in young people's lives and identities. The hip-hop singers contend that authentic Kenyan identity must also include elements from traditional culture. When they use ethnic languages like Kiswahili, they are aiming to communicate this idea. Virtually, the research intensifies adornment for rap music, which has been a typical feature of youth languages. It identifies with the urban languages spoken, i.a. in Abidjan, Nairobi and Johannesburg based on linguistic differences. The speakers of all these languages are said to be extremely creative and prove it by borrowing puns and syllable games, such as "Pig Latin" (verlan) and "backward talk" from local African languages, for purposes of re-creating and changing existing lexical features. Even though the speakers know that their language competence is dwindling, they make use of precisely that knowledge, a fact that is indicative of the "continuity of specialized language practices beyond grammar or lexicon" (Beck 2010: 28).

2.1. Hip-hop and ethnolinguistic diversification

Sarkar et al. (2005) stated that hip-hop singers provide insights into how two or more languages interact or index in a specific speech community's collective linguistic and cultural identity. They affirmed that Montreal had an urban youth community with a multilingual orientation and their hip-hop groups served as a mirror of the ethnolinguistic diversity salient in the Montreal scene. In their analysis, the researchers identified lexical and phrasal code-switching in Montreal hip-hop music and observed that code-switching drew on more than two languages: Standard Quebec French, Non-Standard Quebec French, European French, Standard North American English, African-American English, and Caribbean creoles. Coming to the Nigerian hip-hop scene, it is important to mention Omoniyi (2006), who has positioned the rap genre within the globalization of popular culture. He analysed extracts from Nigerian rap singers and reported a divergence found in their lyrics through phonological variation, reinterpretation, nicknaming, colloquialisms, code-switching, and cross-referencing. In addition to this, he categorically noted that:

Nigerian hip-hop as a sub-variety differs from the mainstream in its utilization of pidgin rap, a variant of rapping that is local to Nigeria and which arguably has assumed a trans-local dimension in its use by diaspora Nigerian artists like JJC and the 419 Squad based in South London, England. It is discursively negotiated and constructed through the employment of linguistic tools such as code-switching (CS), reinterpretation, (co-)referencing, and colloquialisms. One popular media source for Nigerian hip-hop has been the MTV-UK *MTV Base* request show (Omoniyi 2006: 196-197).

In a similar context, Omoniyi (2009) explored the ways in which "holy hip-hop", within the sociology of language and religion and as a cultural phenomenon, provides us with a context for looking at linguistic codes based on discursive practices. He sampled data from three religious websites: holyhiphop.com, muslimhiphop.com and kingdomroyalty.com, and conducted an interview with London-based Digital Disc Jockey (DDJ) and Kimba, aka Klarity, of playvybz.com, as well as the lyrics of the songs by religious hip-hop groups Baby Muslims, Blackstone, G-Force, FourKornerz and Jahaziel. His findings revealed that "holy hip-hop" was facilitated through "sacredization of secular language and values articulated through trans-cultural flows, especially at instances where politics of language are insinuated" (Omoniyi 2009: 197). Going in the same terrain, Babalola and Taiwo (2009) looked into the code-switching existing in the music of Sunny Nneji's "oruka" with its theme on marriage, D'Banj's "tongolo" with its theme on disappointment, P'Square's "omoge mi" with its theme on love and betrayal, StylPlus's "olufunmi" with its theme on love and that of Weird MC's "ijo ya" with its theme on dance. They sampled five artists based on their popularity as well as the quality of their songs in the national music environment. Their findings indicated that the singers mediated between the accents of Nigerian Pidgin English, Standard English, and Yoruba, which seemed to be prominent in all the five artists' songs. Even though not all these artists were of Yoruba origin, growing up in Lagos facilitated their use of similar strategies in adaptation of the language.

2.2. Rap music in Hausa

Rap music stands as a global and national language that reaches across all races and religions. Northern Nigeria is an area where this view can be verified in more detailed studies. Its compositions are predominantly patronized within the neighbouring countryside where Hausa is also spoken, such as the Cameroun, the Niger Republic, Chad, Sudan (Mai Wurno), Eritrea, Ghana, Burkina Faso, Congo, Central African Republic, Mali, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo, and the Benin Republic, to mention but a few countries (Adamu 2021a). Through rap music, Hausa as a language is exposed to linguistic diversity due to factors that can be attributed to the choice between expressional linguistic variants. Consequently, rap in contemporary Hausa musical discourse is critical for understanding youth cultures and discourse constructions (Kraśniewski 2016), as well as how much musical discourse imbibes the transnational flows of foreign ideas, aesthetics, and trans-linguistic phenomena (Adamu 2019a, b, Musa 2014) and how these interface with local, mostly Islamicate cultures. Hausa hip-hop singers align with global hip-hop artists by providing a new style of language expres-

sion, making it an easily global means of transmission, advocating creativity and adapting foreign ideas and aesthetics to the local culture of Hausa contemporary music in the world of popular culture.

Specifically, Adamu (2021a) revealed two bands, one of them is called Lakal Kaney, which roughly translates as 'no problem' in the Djerma language of Niger that uses various Nigeriene languages in their performance, particularly Hausa, Tamasheq, Fulfulde, Kanuri, French and English (the latter was used as a strategy to reach out to Nigerian audiences) and the other one called Wass-Wong – a blend of words from Hausa and Djerma that means 'message from the warriors'. The fact that they fused two language groups together to form a common name for themselves indicates how they use language as a reflection of national unity. Research findings revealed that both bands used multiple languages to focus on strong social messages in their performances, drawing attention to the betrayal of society by the ruling class. The research further buttressed that Hausa hip-hop singers "seek to reorient the musical landscape of at least northern Nigeria towards a more focused messaging in their lyrics, striking a balance between transnational rhythms and the Hausa Islamic philosophy" (Adamu 2021a: 167).

This article found a crucial need to explore Hausa hip-hop songs within the context of the ethnomusicology theory[5], an interesting and interdisciplinary field in nature. Primarily, scholars' growing interest in musical analysis has paved the way for the theory. Initially, Feld rejected the importation of linguistic models into the analysis of music, claiming that "it is epistemologically silly to assume that linguistic models explain music without some demonstration of why this is the case" (Feld 1974: 200). He went into a detailed argument that linguistic models are not suitable for musical analysis. He added in his conclusion that "linguistic models can only deal with parts of ethnomusicology" (Feld 1974: 212). The ethnomusicology theory, on the other hand, reflects the relationship and function of language and the context in which it is used, whether in spoken or written form, in rhetorical forms. The theory affirms that "music is the result of human behavioural processes shaped by the values, attitudes, and beliefs of the people of a particular culture" (Merriam 1964: 6). Hence, the theory has been simplified

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[5]   At the initial stage, researchers acclaim Kunst (1955) as being the first to coin the word 'ethnomusicology' (Freeman & Merriam 1956, McLean 2010, Medubi 2009, Nettl 2010, Pettan 2010, Rice 1987). Merriam, however, was the first to develop an influential theoretical framework for the then newly "ethnomusicology theory" in 1964, which has been criticized, modified, simplified, and misinterpreted.

to consist of three parts: concepts, behavior, and sound. In his proposed model, Merriam tried as much as possible to reconcile two disciplines: the social sciences and the humanities, in order to incorporate musical analysis into societies and professions. This is based on the fact that the singing style, which differs based on cultures and reflects such variables as social structure, level of literacy, and language functions among individuals or groups, has been targeted by the lens of the ethnomusicology theory. Thus, this article generally affirms that rap music moves around globally; various societies around the world patronize the music regardless of ethnicity, religion, race or gender. The resources of the ethnomusicological theory provided valuable tools in this article to examine Hausa hip-hop lyrics and distinguish the change of linguistic codes manifesting in the sampled lyrics, which "interpret the discourse patterns identified as descriptive, analytical, and persuasive" (Humphrey & Economou 2015: 39-40).

3. Research method

The method adopted in this article to impart its message is a discourse-type qualitative analysis of sampled Hausa hip-hop lyrics. Qualitative analysis uses data examination to yield measures of central tendency and depict emerging themes (Dörnyei 2011). Researchers argued that qualitative research could be described as "textual surveys that determine and describe the way things are in greater or lesser depth" (Gay et al. 2006: 159). The present study was carried out with Hausa hip-hop singers between 2013 and 2014. Participant observation was also carried out. Handwritten notes of lyrical extracts made during participant observation were typed up later. Therefore, this article employed the extracts of the lyrics (texts) from the repertoires of the Hausa hip-hop singers as a source of data. The term "Hausa hip-hop singers" is used in this article to describe performers of a specific hip-hop culture that accepts Hausa as their language of expression in their music. In a broader sense, rappers that use Hausa in their lyrics as their mother tongue or first language, as a second language or simply as a means of expression to appease their audience are referred to as "Hausa hip-hop singers". Moreover, "Hausa hip-hop singers" refers to artists who have embraced transnational flows of the global and national hip-hop culture (turn-tabling, MCing (rapping), DJing, break dancing, graffiti art, knowledge and overstanding) in a way that creates a balance between adhering the "path of all-time Hausa classics" (Kraśniewski 2016: 86), and the Hausa Islamic philosophy (Adamu 2021a: 167). More specifically, "Hausa hip-hop singers" are the artists who use monolingual codes (Hausa), bilingual codes (for instance, Hausa and English), or multilingual codes (a mixture of Hausa, English, Nigerian Pidgin

English, Arabic, Yoruba, Igbo, Fulfulde, and other local languages) in their music as a reflection of national unity. One of the striking features of a Hausa hip-hop singer is to be "Hausa": "He does not have to be born or even raised in the Hausa area as long as he can address Hausa listeners in their own language and has respect for Hausa tradition" (Kraśniewski 2016: 87).

In essence, the data sources used for this article are critical in describing some of the linguistic parameters evaluated from Hausa hip-hop lyrics. In fact, to further justify the practical procedures as well as the findings of this article, the convenience sampling technique was employed in order to "collect information from members of the population found available to provide it" (Sekaran & Bougie 2013: 252). In particular, lyrics from three Hausa hip-hop singers: MixterBash (real name: Idris Bashir Abubakar), Double Trouble (Nurudeen Abubakar) and Lil'TEAxY (Tijjani Mustapha 'Danbatta) were employed as the representative samples in this article. That is, the three Hausa hip-hop singers were selected for their ability to transit between languages in a single performance (often within the same stanza), while yet retaining its lyrical rhythm (or "flow"). The idea behind selecting them is to "gain information concerning a particular study as the subset representative of the population" (Sekaran & Bougie 2013: 240).

4. The use of varying linguistic codes in Hausa hip-hop

Inserting additional linguistic code to the lyrics refers to a form of discursive practice employed by Hausa hip-hop singers for poetic functions – rhyming and facilitating internal rhyme as well as beat flow, which is not only the most striking in the lyrics but is the most accessible and appreciable even to those listeners who do not understand all the words. The notion of linguistic codes rests on the assumption that languages (such as, i.a., creoles, non-standard varieties and dialects) can be identified and enumerated. Here, the use of different linguistic codes signify the Hausa hip-hop singers' social knowledge and reality, which are "produced, reproduced and transformed through a variety of speech genres mediated by a variety of communications" (Androutsopoulos 2009: 43). Arguably, most Hausa hip-hop singers share this sense of communal life, which motivates their music. Their practice and usage are influenced by the national (afrobeat) and international (American and Western trends) music industries.

4.1. Monolingual code: Hausa – the native language

Hausa hip-hop singers employ their native language, literature, and ethnicity to collect the knowledge and beliefs that sum up their experiences. Hausa is one

of the major languages in Sub-Saharan Africa, used by a number of speakers "reaching higher than 150 million" (Bunza 2019: 21), one of the three most important languages of Nigeria. To the Hausa artists, their native language has a distinct importance based on their audience, who are largely Hausa natives and, in some cases, other ethnicities residing in northern Nigeria for administrative, educational, economic, and family reasons. An example of monolingual code usage is found in a song composed by Double Trouble on education concerning a strike held by lecturers of Nigerian universities in 2013. Here, Double Trouble draws lyrics purely in Hausa, his first language[6] with a creative rhyme and rhythm yet with abundant non-standard linguistic inventions:

Excerpt 1

Chorus: *Iyammmm!*
A dinga sara ana duban bakin gatari,
Ishara ga mai nazari, an ja tunga sai ka ce yaki?
A janye yajin aiki a koma aiki! Su ASUU, a koma aiki x3

Lead: *A dube mu matasa da idon imani,*
Kan ta karke a haura ko ba tsani,
Abun da ake mana muna ji muna gani,
Abun da ka shuka tabbas shi za ka gani,
Ya Allahu ta'ala, ka yi mana magani,
Wannan iftila'in don kan ya yi tsanani,
Kar idon ku ya rufe don an danne muku hakki,
A kula a duba ana danne wa wasu hakki,
Har gaban Galadima mun je mun faɗi,
Abun da ke zukatanmu kaf muka faɗi,
Ba don sun isa ba ne don kun isar musu ne

(Double Trouble: ASUU ku koma aiki)

Chorus: *Iyammmm[7]!*
Let's be walking on eggshells[8],
A wake-up call for the mindful, facing off each other as if in combat?
Call off strike and get back to work! ASUU, get back to work, x3

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[6] Nurudeen Abubakar, better known as Double Trouble, is a Yoruba who was born, raised, and currently resides in Kano. Yoruba is his mother tongue, hence he is not a Hausa native but speaks Hausa as his first language.

[7] A discourse marker used to achieve communicative goal.

[8] The literal translation of the Hausa phrase A *dinga sara ana duban bakin gatari* is 'While chopping, the edge of the axe is being looked at' that is used to connote caution and enlightenment.

Lead: *Feel for us, youth, by showing compassion,*
Before it gets to the point where we bite the bullet,
We feel and see what is being done to us,
What you sow is for sure what you will reap,
Oh Allah the exalted, give us solution,
To this catastrophe before it worsens,
Do not close your eyes because you are deprived of your right,
Keep your eyes peeled, some are bereft of their rights,
We even went and knelt before Galadima[9],
And completely said what was on our minds, It is not that they are worthy, but only that you made them worthwhile

(Double Trouble: *ASUU Go back to work*)

Considering the lyrical extracts in Excerpt 1, Double Trouble addresses his song to Hausa speakers who understand cultural code of the proverb *A dinga sara ana duban bakin gatari*. Hausa hip-hop singers make an effort to uphold Hausa cultural traditions as much as they can by inserting loanwords of Arabic origin such as *ishara* 'wake-up call', *iftila'in* 'catastrophe' and a phrase *ya Allah ta'ala* 'Oh Allah the exalted'. Their language expresses their ethnicity and their reference to locality indicates their interest in their mother tongue and Nigerian national flavours. Apparently, many of them are of the opinion that Hausa is the most vital language for rap music in northern Nigeria and the country at large. It is not just an issue of a cultural barrier; they also prefer to go along with the international hip-hop culture. It is worth noting that most of them master their native language and embark on true adventures to promote their music. The priority they have with the use of their native language enables Hausa hip-hop singers to compose lyrics which are at times complex or/and difficult to decode, even for the native speakers of the language, such as *Kan ta ƙarƙe a haura ko ba tsani*[10] 'Before it

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[9] The settings of the Hausa Emirate Council for instance in Kano, Daura, and Zazzau have the Galadima title who is next in command after the Emir or King. The title is mostly crowned to a person that is expected to inherit the throne (based on blood lineage), thus, representing the Emir or King officially *in absentia*. Galadima also serves as the administrator of the capital city of the Emirate Council. However, the title is used interchangeably with Ɗangaladima in the Katsina, Zamfara, and Gobir Emirates, whereas the Sokoto and Kebbi emirates have both Galadima and Ɗangaladima titles with different roles as a city administrator, a judge or a village/district head.

[10] The literal translation of the phrase is 'Even if it is difficult to climb, you can do it without a ladder'. Here, the term ƙarƙe 'it's difficult' is a dialectal form that often confuses listeners who would easily grasp the meaning with terms such as *kure*, *karkare*, *kuge* or *kuke* that evoke different associations.

gets to the point where we bite the bullet' used as a metaphor that encodes courage and force in a difficult or uncomfortable situation. This is consistent with Kachru's (1989) claim that the use of a distinct monolingual language and its practices do not indicate a language proficiency defect, but rather reflects the singers' flexibility and creativity. This is confirmed by examples from other areas, e.g. German hip-hop singers follow the trend of ethnicity and use their native language as a medium of discourse in rap music. They use their first language or mother tongue in their compositions and "they seldom mind if ever their piece of music reaches international audiences, they compose lyrics purely in German" (Androutsopoulos 2009: 58).

4.2. Changing codes: Bi-lingual and multilingual practices at the intra-sentential level

In some instances, however, the Hausa hip-hop singers compose lyrics in English and switch with a very little influence of other linguistic codes. Some of them, including MixterBash, Lil' TEAxY, Billy'O (true name: Bello Ibrahim), Nomiiss Gee (Aminu Abba Umar), IQ (Abubakar Nasidi Muhammad), Dr. Pure (Saifullahi Idris Musa), M.M. Haruna (Haruna Mu'azu Muhammad), and Ziiriums (Nazir Ahmed Hausawa), to mention but a few, are fluent in both English and Hausa. While, ZM (Zahra Moussa) from Niger Republic is fluent in Hausa, English and French. A case in point: MixterBash and Nomiiss Gee's are both respective graduates from the Department of Business Administration and the Department of Mass Communication and Media Studies at Bayero University, Kano (BUK). Billy'O, M.M. Haruna and Dr. Pure teach "supplementary English course for university students at Jammaje Academy, Kano" (Kraśniewski 2016: 100). As a result, some of them use the medium of English, which cuts across all ethnicities within and outside the nation by featuring artists from other backgrounds to fill such a gap. An example of an artist in this context is MixterBash who has composed hip-hop songs, some of which are varying-code versions in Hausa and English, such as *Na jajje ni gidan gwauro*[11] [Wifeless man's house] or *Zan bararraje* [I will strut my stuff] or *Zinariya* [gold] and others that are purely composed in English, such as *Too fast and too slow* and *Black to the bone*. In the song *Mafimi shere* [I'm not playing/joking with you], MixterBash featured Nasiim[12] (True Name:

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[11] *Gwauro* is a man who was once married but is no more (due to death, divorce, or another circumstance) and he is not considered a bachelor (*tuzuru*) (Kraśniewski 2016: 123).

[12] Nasiim was born in Edo State on 3 September 1988, but grew up in Kano State. The name 'Nasiim' is derived from the first letter of each of his family members: "NA" for Nana

Isa Mike Umoru) and sang by inserting Yoruba, Arabic, and Nigerian Pidgin English words or phrases. The lyrical extracts are as follows:

Excerpt 2

Lead: *I loved the way you <u>wine-it-wine-it</u>,*
Loved the way you <u>grind-it-grind-it</u>,
Loved the way you <u>shake-it-shake-it</u>,
Loved the way you do me, I loved you truly, a love! I can't abuse it!
Can't deny it! As well confusing! Just wanna hold you close girl, <u>Fumi</u>,
Let me build it with you, my lady,they call me Mixter, then a Freestyle,
I was moved by your smile and your hair style,
Hey! there I'm aint to play you, before you change your mind,
There is something I like you to know, <u>Fiilee</u>,
You are my impress, heavily princess,
With you jealousy is with success,
I loved you with excess, <u>cos</u> the way the <u>fitrah dey</u> express[13].

(MixterBash featuring Nasiim: *Mafimi shere*)

Word/Phrase	Meaning/Characteristics
Fumi	give me / common Yoruba name
	Fumi is truncated from Fumilola meaning 'give me wealth'
	and also Fumilayo which means 'give me happiness or joy'
Fiilee	leave it/borrowed from Yoruba meaning 'stop'
cos	because/conjunct /from NPE
fitrah	intrinsic feelings/borrowed from Arabic
dey	'to be' in NPE
wine-it-wine-it	the lady moves creatively and attractively/ NPE construct
grind-it-grind-it	the manner she moves her hips / NPE construct
shake-it-shake-it	the manner she moves her breast in doing so / NPE construct

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Aisha, his mother, "S" for Salamatu, his sister, "I" for him, Isa, the second "I" for Innocent, his late brother, and finally "M" for his father, Mike. He began his musical career in 2002 and continued while studying for his diploma at the University of Jos in 2006. He was one of the top ten regional finalists in both the "2008 Zain Tru Search" in Jos and the "2010 Glo Naija Sings" in Kano. Nasiim was named Artist of the Year 2010 at the Bayero University Ex-boys Award Night. He has shared the stage with artists such as Derenle, Lord of Ajasa, 2face Idibia, Faze, and D.J. Zeez. He holds a bachelor's degree in computer science from Bayero University in Kano.

[13] Meaning: Considering the ways feelings are expressed.

From the extracts presented in Excerpt 2, it can be argued that Hausa hip-hop singers discursively construct their language with choices heavily influenced by inserting words and phrases from the native languages of Nigeria. When they sing in English, they often switch to Yoruba (and in some cases to Nigerian Pidgin English). In this way, Hausa hip-hop singers construct a unique soundscape for their music, keeping in mind that "language is a chain of capability in expressing any message a human might wish to send" (Bloomer et al. 2005: 18). It should be added that the singers have the exceptional attribute of communicating in Hausa, English, Nigerian Pidgin English, and Yoruba, using whichever linguistic code they find fitting for a particular situation.

The practices of code-switching at intra-sentential level follow many patterns, from inserting whole words and phrases to combining lexical elements from different languages in one phrase and extending the sentence with a clause which reaches the standard of inter-sentential level. An excerpt from the song in Hausa is an example, when MixterBash says:

Excerpt 3

Lead: *Na jajje ni gidan gwauro kuma an ban fura da nono,*
        I went with niyyar shan romo, but I met some girls from Shanono[14],
        Mr. Bash da Mr. More Sauti, na faso da sabon sauti,
        In ka san ni, na san ka, ɗago mani hannu in maka baiti,
        Kan waka ba na wasa, in na dane mic na wuce gasa,
        Ban fili in ka kasa, bambanci masa da gurasa,
        Mr. Bash da Mr. More Music, na shigo da sabon music,
        'Yan mata, har gayu[15], 'yan birni, kauye let's go,
        Ba ni guri kai in rera waka, take na daban da taka,
        Sunana sunana ne, siffata daban da taka,

---

[14] Even if MixterBash extends the semantic meaning by using the word *shanono* to keep the beat (musical rhythm). *Shanono* is the name of a Local Government Area (a town) in Kano State, Nigeria. Its origin is traced back to the history of a Fulani herdsman called "Shanu" (meaning 'cattle' in Hausa). He used to come to the area with his cattle for grazing purposes and selling cow milk (*nono*). After studying the local climate, *Shanu* decided to build his Hirt, or rather, Ruga, and as a result, several people came to reside with them. Essentially, the derivation of the word Shanoono was created by combining the root base of nono and the first stem sha 'drink' (*Sha + nono = Shanono*).

[15] Borrowed from English 'guy'. Usually, the term *gayu* is a neologism that refers to youth in their early middle or late adolescence.

Babu guri Niga[16] *so zan faka*[17], *in ka tsaya nan sai ka taka,*
Ko da cada ko babu, buri na ni in rera waka.

(MixterBash: *Na jajje ni gidan gwauro*)

Lead: *I have been to a wifeless man's house and was given milky gruel,*
I went with intention to drink a broth, but I met some girls from Shanono,
Mr. Bash and Mr. More Music, I burst out with a new beat,
If you know me and I know you, wave at me and let me compose a verse for you,
I am not joking with singing, once I get a hold of the mic I am unbeatable,
Make way for me if you cannot, masa is different from gurasa[18],
Mr. Bash and Mixter More Music, I brought some new music,
Girls, even guys, city-people, and villagers let's go,
Hey back off and let me sing, my rhythm differs from yours,
My name is mine, my appearance is not same as yours,
There is no space, so I will wait, if you stay here you must dance,
With money (dollars) or not, my aim is to sing a song.

(MixterBash: *Wifeless man's house*)

From Excerpt 3 above, it can be seen that the use of different linguistic codes unifies multilingual practice which provides singers with a way into a global scene. In line with this, Hausa hip-hop singers use their knowledge of historical, educational, and personal backgrounds to establish themselves within the hip-hop culture. In this case, many citizens, even in northern Nigeria, often regard Hausa as a language for the rural people, while English is regarded as an international as well as the country's official language and, of course, a second language. Therefore, many Hausa hip-hop singers do not evaluate their native languages in the same way; hence, they vary linguistic codes to appease their audience.

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[16] Borrowed from the English term 'Nigger'. Here, the term deviates from the derogatory norm and the racial slur used against black people. Hausa youth often used the term *Niga* to evoke a sense of youth community and identity among peer groupings. It is used as a shared neologism (semantic extension) and a metaphor used to express members of the community and the identity of youth who deviate from the dominant Hausa culture in their mode of dressing, eating habits, walking style, interaction, and so on, as they almost always consider the West to be their model.

[17] Borrowed from the English word 'park'. A form of youth language.

[18] *Masa* and *gurasa* are two different types of Hausa baked food items.

4.3. Inter-sentential switching as a means of multilingual practice

The lyrics by MixterBash illustrate how English, being the official language as well as the language of education and administration in the country, goes beyond the referential demands but rather takes the form of code-switching of a poetic nature. Hausa hip-hop singers often use two linguistic codes, i.e. Hausa and English, especially when the dominant language in their repertoires is Hausa or English. The way they are used features inter-sentential switching which is done at sentence boundaries. It is usually combined with intra-sentential code-switching, but refers more to fluent bilingual (multilingual) speakers. Extracts from the lyrics of MixterBash, which are purely in Hausa, can serve as an example:

Excerpt 4

Lead: *Na zamto ambitious, my flow so sick contagious,*
Ba na burki suspicious, mata sun ce I'm hilarious,
Ban canza ba I'm serious, to! I want to make it to the top victorious,
Shi ya sa na zamo so curious, rayuwa kun san is dangerous,
Ah! Ni ne dai More Sauti, mai waka da abun mamaki,
A baya an kira ni junky mai katon kai irin na donkey,
Mangala sai jaki, sirdin karfe sai doki,
Sunana suna, sunana More Sauti.

(MixterBash: *Na jajje ni gidan gwauro*)

Lead: *I have become ambitious, my flow so sick contagious,*
I am nonstop suspicious, ladies said that I'm hilarious,
I haven't changed I'm serious, ok! I want to make it to the top victorious,
That's why I became so curious, you know life is dangerous,
Ah! It's still me Mr. More Music, with an amazing song,
I was called a junky in the past, with head big like a donkey's,
Pannier is for a donkey, a metal saddle is meant for a horse,
My name is name, my name is Mr. More Music.

(MixterBash: *Wifeless man's house*)

Within a broader discussion of this article, examples from the Excerpt 4 above can be considered as evidence for inter-sentential aspect of using linguistic codes that signifies the flexibility and creativity on the part of the Hausa hip-hop singers. More so, since the switching between languages does not distort the function and meaning intended for listeners, the absence of "violence wreckage", as argued by Bamiro (1991), makes Hausa hip-hop more analytic and literal, thus making meaning more explicit. Likewise, this goes along with the findings

of Omoniyi (2006), which confirmed the absence of heavy or vulgar language among the Nigerian national hip-hop singers. Another example of linguistic code usage as a sign of inter-sentential practice is showcased by Lil' TEAxY, as presented in Excerpt 5 below:

Excerpt 5

Chorus: *Allah ya isa,*
         Ba za mu yafe mu dai gaskiya a ba mu canji,
         Ba za mu yafe mu dai gaskiya a ba mu 'yanci,

Lead: *No ruwa, no wuta, no abinci,*
         Lokaci ya yi da za mu zaɓa da kanmu,
         Ka wuce, make I yell,
         I am a layman, ba ni da kuɗi, so laysa l-bayān,
         Irina ake kira fuqarā'u,
         So this is for everybody who's in my shoes,
         The time has come now make you yan truth,
         Naija ta ɓaci, I no go lie you,
         Allah kare mu daga 'yan luwaɗu,
         Da sharrin da suka jawo ma kasarmu,
         Like my man Tuface said you no holy pass,
         No water, no light but u still wanna pass,
         Make we re-elect u so u go burn our ass,
         No (No no no no),
         A wannan rayuwa muna bukatar class,
`   *In da za mu ɗau jaka mu je mu koyo maths,*
         1234 za mu gane budget,
         5678 za mu gane pocket.

                             (Lil' TEAxY: *Allah ya isa*)

Chorus: *God is sufficient for us,*
         We won't forgive, we just want to see change,
         We will not forgive, just set us free,
Lead: *Without a water supply, electricity, or food,*
         It's high time we elect by ourselves,
         Move aside, let me yell,
         I am a layman, I am lowly, and so, I am out of words,
         I am the type that is called the poor,
         So this is for everybody who is in my shoes,
         The moment has arrived, to be honest,
         Naija has been tainted, I won't lie to you,
         May Allah keep us safe from homosexuals,

> *And the evil they effectuated on our nation,*
> *"No one is more pious", as Tuface once said.*
> *Even though there is no power or water supply, you still want victory,*
> *You want us to give you a second term so you can burn our asses,*
> *No (No no no no),*
> *In this kind of life we need a class,*
> *Where we take a bag and go to learn maths,*
> *1234 we will understand the budget,*
> *5678 we will have something in our pocket.*

<div align="right">(Lil' TEAxY: God is sufficient for us)</div>

The lyrics presented in Excerpt 5 above are an example of changing linguistic codes both in the intra-sentence and inter-sentence variants. In addition to inserting words and phrases from Arabic and English to the Hausa text, we have extensive Nigerian Pidgin English sentences here. Lil' TEAxY inserted different lexical items such as *so* (English: mostly used to express degree adverb or as a discourse marker or subordinating conjunction or as an intensifier or modifier), *sharrin* (Arabic origin: 'evil doing'), *laysa l-bayān* (Arabic: 'no explanation'), *fuqarā'u* (Arabic: 'the poor'), *Naija* (Pidgin English: 'Nigeria'), *no ruwa* (English + Hausa: 'no water'), *no wuta* (English + Hausa: 'no electricity') and *no abinci* (English + Hausa: 'no food') to indicate his ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural backgrounds but mostly to reinforce the message about the need for change and freedom in the Nigeria political system.

5. Hausa hip-hop lyrics in the context of global patterns and Nigerian multilingualism

The Hausa hip-hop singers use symbolic resources from hip-hop classics (African-American and national) to signal the awareness of the complex weave of contemporary music and its socio-cultural significance. Changing codes is one of the most common practices that are experienced by Hausa youth. So, most of the Hausa hip-hop singers imitate the Nigerian rap artists as well as their American counterparts with peculiarities in the use of linguistic codes. The switching is based on the following assumptions:

- blend of local languages (i.a. Hausa, Fulfulde, Yoruba, Igbo),
- use of Nigerian Pidgin English,
- artistic licence (i.a. strain of local languages, strain of Standard English),
- linguistic acts of identity (i.a. name tagging, race, gender, ethnicity),
- use of global tropes (i.a. *wow! yeah! yo! oops!, ouch!, ah!, phew!*),

- use of onomatopoeia or sound words (e.g. *plop!, plop!, fizz!*),
- use of traditional tropes; (i.a. *ihu! uh! wayyo! ahaa! eh! ehee! uhumn*),
- use of common Hausa exclamations and fixed phrases; *wayyo Allah na*!, *na shiga uku*!, *Allah ya isa*!, *ni ne nan*!;

The code-switched lexical units are connected with the theme of the lyrics and its ideological message. The Hausa singers cover all the topics that are present in Nigerian and world hip-hop music, such as love, education, politics, corruption, unemployment, AIDS, poverty, drug abuse, adultery and fornication, bad governance. The linguistic aspects connected with the use of figurative language and stylistics, as well as possible grammatical peculiarities need further research.

The aforementioned excerpts, as imitated by Hausa hip-hop singers, demonstrate their "conscious and subconscious" (Kraśniewski 2016:88) level of discursive construction and practice in their choice of names, fashion (by incorporating elements of global hip-hop culture like dress fashion, dancing, walk-style and hairstyle), lyrics, and rhythmic qualities, to name a few. In addition to its rhythmic qualities, they sing in studios to confer reputation and forthrightness to hip-hop classics using sound demonstrations (DJing), amplified sounds and other forms of literary devices (including mode of composition, mode of performance, melodically patterns, communication patterns, to mention but a few). They also demonstrate graffiti (writing), beats in singing the lyrics (beat makers), street dancing (breaking) and elements of turn-tabling, using varying degrees of the mixtures of their native language (Hausa), official language (English) and Nigerian Pidgin English.

6. Conclusion

This article described the changing linguistic codes in Hausa hip-hop songs. It examined the discursive construction and practice of youth language exposed to linguistic diversity of changing codes that can be attributed to a choice between expressional variants. The findings revealed that Hausa hip-hop singers mediate between Hausa, English and at times even Nigerian Pidgin English, Arabic, and Yoruba relying on any of these to construct a unique landscape for their music. This article, therefore, identified Hausa hip-hop using monolingual codes (purely in Hausa or English), bilingual codes (for instance, Hausa and English), or multilingual codes (a mixture of Hausa, English, Nigerian Pidgin English, Arabic, Yoruba, and other local languages) in their music as a reflection of national unity.

The illustrative material of these processes comes from three (03) Hausa hip-hop songs composed by MixterBash, Double Trouble and Lil' TEAxY.

The article discovered that the Hausa hip-hop singers change codes in their lyrics at intra-sentential and inter-sentential levels. The change in linguistic codes occurs in their lyrics simply to reach a wider audience in Nigeria's multi-lingual society. Therefore, they contribute to understanding switching strategies and forms of linguistic codes in constructing their music. Moreover, the Hausa hip-hop singers in some cases employed proverbs or Hausa loanwords and phrases of Arabic or English origin. With these strategies, they try as much as possible to go by the traditions of the Hausa culture. The discussion on Hausa hip-hop music affirmed that one of the striking features of a Hausa hip-hop singer is to confirm being "Hausa" who does not have to be born or even raised in the Hausa area as long as he can address Hausa listeners in their language and has respect for Hausa tradition.

In addition, this article adopted the ethnomusicology theory, using a discourse-
-type qualitative research procedure of transcribed lyrics obtained through observation, watching and listening to selected Hausa hip-hop songs. Along with the presentation of discursive practices of popular music based on changing linguistic codes and their textual and contextual parameters, the article revealed the functional and rhetorical forms of linguistic codes found within the context of the sampled Hausa hip-hop musical lyrics.

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