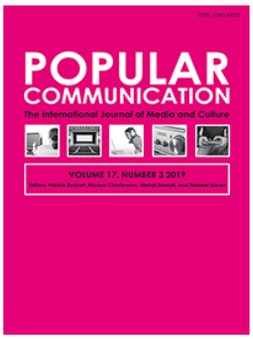

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Popular Communication
The International Journal of Media and Culture

ISSN: 1540-5702 (Print) 1540-5710 (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/hppc20

Nolly-Holly: Negotiating identity in film music

Emaeyak Peter Sylvanus

To cite this article: Emaeyak Peter Sylvanus (2019) **Nolly-Holly: Negotiating identity in film music**, Popular Communication, 17:3, 185-201, DOI: 10.1080/15405702.2018.1548018

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/15405702.2018.1548018

POPULAR COMMUNICATION
2019, VOL. 17, NO. 3, 185–201
https://doi.org/10.1080/15405702.2018.1548018

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Nolly-Holly: Negotiating identity in film music

Emaeyak Peter Sylvanus

University of Nigeria

ABSTRACT

Since becoming a globally recognized film industry, mainstream Nollywood has broadened its activities to include international co-productions. These co-productions present instances of cross-cultural tensions and borrowings between Nollywood and its foreign cinema counterparts. Given such tensions, this article explores notions of resistance and complicity in the film music process, and how identity is negotiated in such global co-productions. Adopting a cultural studies approach (understood here as the critical reading of cultural producers, consumers, products, and the power relationships that inform such interactions) with an ethnographic/analytical approach based on my communication with the soundtrack practitioners of two case study films, namely, *Baby Oku in America* and *Half of a Yellow Sun*, findings show that identity in this context is a passionately contested issue driven mainly by the film music tradition that both dominates and influences much of the creative process.

Introduction

The need for more published texts on film music outside of the dominant North American/European cinema traditions has motivated this work. Accordingly, this article considers the cinematic productions of mainstream Nollywood, which Krings and Okome (2013) refer to as "the most visible form of cultural machine on the African continent" (p. 1). Here, mainstream Nollywood refers to a segment of the Nigerian film industry that began in the early 1990s. The industry is engaged in movie productions expressed primarily in both standard English and Nigerian Pidgin English. Its productions are traditionally marketed in discs and retailed at designated local outlets. Mainstream Nollywood should not be confused with New Nollywood. The latter industry refers to a parallel framework that emerged around 2012, which some scholars and practitioners have assessed. For example, Haynes (2014) declares:

> "New Nollywood" is a phrase being used to describe a recent strategy by some Nigerian filmmakers to make films with higher budgets, to screen them in cinemas both in Nigeria and abroad, and to enter them in international film festivals. This is a major structural shift in the Nollywood model of film production and distribution. Kunle Afolayan exemplifies this trend: his restless experimentation as a director and producer reveals the current structure of opportunities, and his situation as a filmmaker informs his films culturally and thematically. There are practical limits to the current possibilities of New Nollywood, and there is less to its apparent convergence with the rest of African (celluloid) cinema than meets the eye, but New Nollywood is likely to prove to be an invaluable preparation for coming transformations in

CONTACT Emaeyak Peter Sylvanus emaeyak.sylvanus@unn.edu.ng Department of Music, University of Nigeria, P.O. Box 3081, Nsukka, Enugu state, 410001, Nigeria

> the Nigerian film industry as Internet streaming and the construction of movie theatres in Nigeria displace the sale of films on discs as the central mode of Nollywood distribution. (Haynes, 2014, p. 53)

While some scholars seem preoccupied with nuancing the distinction between both industries, some of the foremost directors/film producers in Nigeria have collectively voiced their dislike for the terms "Old" (or mainstream) and "New" Nollywood. According to Chris Eneaji (one of the respected producers and directors), "I would choose to say [that] Nollywood has evolved. We are still one family, except that some set of us chose to tell our stories differently and pay more attention to details than the rest of us" (Eneaji as quoted in McCain, 2016, p. 198). In other words, mainstream Nollywood is the "mother industry" from which other parallel cinema frameworks have emerged. This manner of evolution is possible because the Nigerian film and film music industries are practiced and refined within a noninstitutionalized vertical integration wherein there are no barriers to entry and exit (Sylvanus & Eze-Emaeyak, 2018).

To be clear, this article is the first to focus entirely on how identity is negotiated in the film music processes and products involving Nollywood, Hollywood, and British cinema. It represents a critical starting point in film music discourse concerning the interactions between Nollywood and its global counterparts, while simultaneously adding to the broad and burgeoning literature on African cinema (for example, Adamu, 2008; Dalamba, 2012; Haynes, 2016; Letcher, 2009). I have, in some other publications, established that mainstream Nollywood film music processes bear important creative expectations, which its composers deal with. These include (a) the primacy of the singing voice, which requires the film music composer to be a singer (Sylvanus, 2017); (b) the primacy of language and texted (vocal) music, which emphasizes the use of both Nigerian languages and Pidgin English as soundtrack lyrics (Sylvanus, 2018a); (c) the primacy of the strophic musical form and use of local musical instruments, as well as genres of Nigerian popular music (Sylvanus, 2018b); and (d) the primacy of prefiguring, that is the use of vocal music to predict dialogue and scenes (forthcoming in Sylvanus, 2019a). In addition, I have shown how these attributes evolved from the country's staged theater and TV music practice (Sylvanus, 2018c). In general, I note that these expectations, which constitute the core of approaches to Nollywood film music, and the resulting cultural identity reveal the broad and optimistic strokes of ethnicity, nationalism, and other mythic tropes of "Nigerianism."

Furthermore, my ethnographic (field) notes of 2015, which derived from the conversations with and studio observations of some mainstream Nollywood practitioners in Nigeria, reveal the existence of an enabling sociocultural and informal fiscal environment that supports the industry's film music business (Sylvanus & Eze-Emaeyak, 2018). Given these creative and business conditions, the composers' ideologies and intentions are then carried through in the choice of genre, style, and manner of application, which, in turn, endow each piece of Nollywood film music with cultural meaning, sociomusical symbolism, and identity. All these are further complemented by the social action, interaction, and mediation between such groups as fellow film composers, sound editors, executive producers/marketers, promoters, and even film critics and comedians who may or may not be involved in the production process. The social actions emanating from such a chain of interactions add new meanings to the film music––all of which are situated between the word, music, image, and screen.

As a result, Nollywood film music possesses different functions for its local and diasporic audiences. To some (local) viewers, the music epitomizes recognizable, symbolic, and discursive cultural tropes upon which they compare themselves with/to "Others." This manner of comparison is clearly an enactment of identity. To some other (diasporic) audiences, the music invokes a sociocultural reality that its viewers have no actual experience of, and yet meets a yearning for "a home of their own" by simply filling the void of cultural dislocation. The ability to fill this void is also a testament to Nollywood's development of a unique film music identity, which subsists in a blend of the lingual, structural, genre, and ethnic identity referents.

That said, scholarship on European and American film music is replete with publications and theories of aspects that range from the creative and business processes to listening practices, reception, history, and structure (e.g., Gorbman, 1987; Kalinak, 1992; Kassabian, 2003; Sonnenschein, 2001). Indeed, the preponderance of literature is in and of itself an invitation to develop propositions and counterarguments about the practice in Nollywood and, more broadly, contemporary African cinema. However, publications that specifically or remotely address the identity of Euro-American film music remain notably scant. Mera and Burnard's (2006) *European Film Music* and Cooke's (2010) *The Hollywood Film Music Reader* are two of the very limited examples.

As an overview, the first text features essays from several (European) film music scholars on the film music practice of different European countries. The book aims to show that European and, at least, American (Hollywood) film music/film sound approaches are distinguishable and different. For example, Vernon and Eisen (2006, pp. 41–59) suggest that the narrative of a European film can be disregarded in order that the soundtrack may assume a life of its own. In other words, the soundtrack does not need to be loyal to the plot or moving image. This is quite intriguing, especially in relation to how music functions in mainstream Nollywood films wherein the lives of the music and the storylines are inseparable. The book's contributing authors understandably argue from the point of view of their respective (European) nationalities and traditions. Logically, the differences in perspectives and contexts do not quite allow for the emergence of an agreed European film music identity to which its American counterpart (or any other film music tradition) may be fully compared. It does appear that the identity of European film music is as multidimensional as the cultures of the member nations that make up Europe.

My interest in the second text (i.e., Cooke, 2010) was motivated by its title, particularly because I thought that it would reveal the identity of Hollywood film music. I was also curious to know what methodology the author may have employed. To date, I am not certain that the text accomplishes what the title suggests. In other words, the publication does not fundamentally theorize Hollywood film music in relation to identity. It is, however, full of information on film music practice in America, including, among other things, spotting (i.e., how and where to place music on a Hollywood film) and the film "score" (i.e., notated music). In this sense, Cooke's text has been useful for comparing the practices of spotting and scoring in both Hollywood and Nollywood. Significantly, the concept of a film score is alien to mainstream Nollywood (discussed in Sylvanus, 2017). As a shorthand guide, I offer a tabular overview of some differences between the film music attributes and approaches of mainstream Nollywood and Hollywood (Table 1).[1]

[1]For a detailed discussion of the ideas in this table and how I arrived at them, see Sylvanus (2017).

Table 1. Some differences between Nollywood and Hollywood film music approaches.

Hollywood	Nollywood
The singing voice is not critical to film music.	Film music must be sung. As such, all composers are required to be vocal performers.
Music is fluid in tonal and formal organization, and completed over several months.	Music is completed in a few days, and the long-form narrative tonal construction is not considered.
Music is homogeneous, and develops both thematically and seamlessly throughout the entire film.	Music is strophic, so the integration of music into the narrative and visuals of films is not seamless.
Music is not hyper-explicative because of the emphasis on picture composition and movement of camera.	Music remains hyper-explicative because dialogue and drama are stressed above picture composition and movement of camera.
Music is used both aesthetically and rhetorically to connect scenes where there is no dialogue.	The aesthetical and rhetorical power of music is significantly underused in scenes without dialogue.
The strong attraction for music without words makes the soundtrack very gestural with emphasis on diegetic and non-diegetic narrativity.	There is little or no appeal for purely instrumental music. Music is rarely in synchronization with the moving image, and diegetic music is often very scant.
There is a strong tradition of reliance on source music.	Owing to issues of royalties, copyright infringement, and litigation, the use of source music is strongly discouraged
Prefiguring is not critical to the narrative construction of the film score.	Prefiguring is the norm, and its understanding and use is not the exclusive preserve of the film music composer.
The composer works closely with the film's director to decide the "appropriate" music for the film.	The film's director is totally ignored in the collaborative process. Instead, the composer works to the specifications of the executive producer/marketer (EPM).
Soundtrack reveals significant preference for underscoring.	Soundtrack is linguistically marked by the use of texted (vocal) music in local languages—a behavior that is culturally informed.
When there is texted music, the soundtrack does not normally reference the specific storyline.	Texted music is a sung synopsis (abstract or verbatim) of the storyline, and usually in a local dialect and/or Nigerian Pidgin English.
Music seems well budgeted for and in terms of logistics and personnel.	The budget for music is quite minimal because the composer is considered a dispensable rather than strategic constituent of the film.
The creative environment and production line for soundtrack always involve a network of individuals from lyricists to arrangers, orchestrators, performers, and copyists.	Production remains a single-artist endeavor. As such, the cost of additional personnel is borne solely by the film composer.
Film music draws materials from Anglo-American pop and art music culture.	Soundtrack materials draw mainly from Nigerian pop music culture.
Musical scores are produced for rehearsal and recording purposes.	There are no musical scores. Instead, songs are learned and recorded by rote.
The cue sheet is an important component for the production team.	The cue sheet is an unknown term/concept. Instead, composers create what they call a "log sheet," which shows how sound samples are matched with moods.
Temp tracks are indispensable and vital for initial presentations and polling of audience reception to the soundtrack.	Temp tracks do not exist. Instead, the EPM's intuition guides his or her assessment of what will appeal to the audience.
The term "score" does not refer to spotting (i.e., where to place music on a film).	The term "score" refers strictly to decisions about where to place music on a film.
Film working titles are decided early and seldom change from script to final release.	Film titles get changed as many times as the EPM decides, often without informing the composer.
Film music is practiced and refined within "an open system model of social structure" (Faulkner, 2005, p. 11).	Film music is practiced and refined within a noninstitutionalised vertical integration.

To reiterate, this article considers instances of international co-productions between Nollywood, Hollywood, and British cinema. It interrogates the ways in which the Nollywood film music approaches and identity referents become challenged and/or negotiated. This is achieved by exploring the similarities and differences between the film music practice and the respective cultures within which they operate (refer to Table 1). I argue that the identity resulting from such co-productions is sometimes an accurate reflection of Nigerian cultural markers. However, when that reflection is in doubt, chances are that the resulting identity has been

imposed by the dominant cinema tradition perhaps, for the silent propagation of values and ideas to the technologically dependent "Other."

These formations are significant, not least, because they show the effects of both globalization and glocalization (the practice of conducting any kind of collaborative work without prejudice to either local or global views) on the divergent approaches to film music practice in Nollywood. Again, this article focuses on the possible identity issues from Nollywood's involvement in global co-productions with both American and European cinema traditions. To begin, I present a comparative overview of the plot and music of two films that are indicative of Nollywood in international co-production. They are *Baby Oku in America* (2013) and *Half of a Yellow Sun* (2013).

Baby Oku in America and *Half of a Yellow Sun*

Baby Oku in America (2013) and *Half of a Yellow Sun* (2013) are international co-productions between Nollywood and Hollywood (or Nolly–Holly) and between Nollywood and British cinema, respectively. Although the two films belong to different genres, they are broadly love stories set to different backdrops. Specifically, *Baby Oku in America* is directed by Ikechukwu Onyeka. It features American actors such as Archie Ashcroft, Dianne Diaz, Laura McCray, Andy Khoeler, Tim Grill, Clarice Kulah, and their Nollywood counterparts, namely, Mercy Johnson, Patience Ozokwo, Bola Komolafe, and Maureen Okpoko. *Baby Oku in America* is the story of a young woman (Mercy Johnson) nicknamed Baby Oku (literally meaning "hot chic") who initially resided in a rural town in Nigeria where she met Okechukwu (a Nigerian-American man on a short holiday). Baby Oku becomes pregnant, and Okechukwu would conclude plans for her to join him and be delivered of the baby in the United States. This decision would lead to a flurry of outcomes for both adults. For example, Baby Oku would have Okechukwu lawfully evicted after discovering that women's rights are better protected by the law in America than in Nigeria.

This film raises certain fundamental identity issues, which mainly manifest as a clash of Nigerian and American cultures. Here, the Nigerian social values that Baby Oku (the protagonist) embodies come head-to-head with America's. These clashes appear in both direct and subtle forms, such as language, food, music, dance, dressing (fashion), names, forms of salutation, and gender in/equality. The significance of this film lies in the self-reflexive ways that it is framed: both as narrative and as the reiteration of social critique from socioeconomic class distinction to the naïveté of women in the Nigerian society. The film is structured as a travel tale and told in two distinct but narratively integrated parts. The first deals with Baby Oku's life in the village and the second focuses on her time in America. Both parts of the narrative have genuine implications for the plot as a journey of discovery. Specifically, the narrative privileges the connection between rural Nigeria and the metropolis in America. Baby Oku is notably exhilarated about traveling to America, where, according to her, "you will chop dollars"––a common Nigerian parlance referring to an affluent life abroad. Before departing Nigeria for America, Baby Oku engages in a series of quasi-comic skits––mesmerizing her peers in the village with knowledge of an America that she has yet to experience.

To the viewer, it is clear that the knowledge she dispenses is largely incorrect. But this is narratologically relevant to underscore her difference from other villagers and peers. She achieves this by performing how Americans talk and walk before the bewildered villagers.

By this act she reinvents herself in a somewhat exaggerated movement and gestural codes. To complement, and as a conscious display of difference, she puts on a stylized outfit that is only suitable for cold climates. Bizarre as it may seem, the villagers are convinced. As she sets out for America (see 22:00–24:00), the soundtrack continues to reiterate this sense of a new spatial location and notes the transition from the village in southeast Nigeria ("the local") to the city of Atlanta ("the foreign"). The plot of *Baby Oku in America* broadly represents an interesting experience of a cross-cultural production in which we explore the cultures of both the First and Third Worlds for the points of agreement and disagreement. In my view, this is one co-production that is far from demeaning to the Nigerian or African sensibility, especially as the protagonist goes about "establishing" her culture on that of the host society.

On the other hand, *Half of a Yellow Sun* is a historical drama directed by Biyi Bandele and sponsored by both Nollywood and the British Film Institute (BFI). It is based on a novel of the same name written by the acclaimed Nigerian author Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie. The film is set in postcolonial Nigeria––shortly before and during the Nigeria Civil War (1967–1970). It features a mixed cast of largely British and Nigerian (more specifically, mainstream Nollywood) actors. These include Academy Award nominee Chiwetel Ejiofor (Professor Odenigbo), BAFTA award winner Thandie Newton (Olanna), Anika Noni Rose (Kainene), Onyeka Onwenu (Odenigbo's mother), John Boyega (Odenigbo's steward), Genevieve Nnaji (a university teacher), Joseph Mawle (the English writer called Richard), and Zack Orji (Nigerian businessman and father of Olanna and Kainene).

Half of a Yellow Sun opens with scenes from 1960 in which Nigeria celebrates her independence from British colonial rule. The joy of sovereignty and a newfound nationality provokes many things, including the return of Nigerians in the Diasporas. One such returnee is Odenigbo (the "revolutionary" professor of mathematics), who resides in the university town of Nsukka, southeast Nigeria. Odenigbo's worldview is firmly founded in socialism and tribalism: hence his opposition to capitalism and nationalism, as well as Pan-Africanism. As the film progresses, there is serious mayhem in Kano (northern Nigeria), where hundreds of mainly Igbo-speaking people––including Olanna's beloved auntie and uncle––have been gruesomely massacred. The aftermath of these killings would ultimately lead to the declaration of an Igbo state called Biafra, as well as a civil war.[2] The film ends with mixed emotions for two sets of people: Nigerians and Biafrans. While Nigerians declared victory and celebrated the end of the civil war, Biafrans were left to suffer a deep physical and psychological trauma. This film also raises identity issues at both the local and global levels through arguments on and around the effects of colonialism, racism, and ethnicity. Later, I explore the effects of these issues on the film music collaborative process between mainstream Nollywood and the BFI.

A critical reading of *Baby Oku in America* and *Half of a Yellow Sun* soundtracks

This section draws from the textual analyses of both soundtracks, as well as the oral accounts of Stanley Okorie (the composer of the *Baby Oku in America* soundtrack) and Yemi Alade-Lawal (the film music supervisor of *Half of a Yellow Sun*). The decision to

[2]In a separate text, I explore Biafra's identity as conveyed in the soundtrack of *Half of a Yellow Sun* (Sylvanus, 2019b, forthcoming).

interview both men was based on their direct involvement in the film music process of both films, as well as on their depth of knowledge in the craft and intrigues of international co-productions. Analytically, the outline of music in both these films is straightforward. *Half of a Yellow Sun* features a list of cue music of mainly European and North American extraction. The songs include *Un poquito de tu amore, Finlandia, Naughty Little Flea, Funeral Ceremony, A Night in Tunisia, Corcovado, Go Lil Lisa, My Little Suede Shoes, Arrival of the Queen of Sheba, Dramatic Event, Simini Yaya, Santa Baby, Bere Bote*, and *Hail Biafra*. Of the list, only the last two songs are from the Nigerian popular music industry. It is on the merit of this list that some practitioners in Nollywood (including such film music composers as Stanley Okorie, Shadrach John, and Maxwell C. Leonard) have questioned the cultural relevance and, therefore, identity of the soundtrack. Beyond the list of songs, the film music production covers such conventional Hollywood approaches as the use of licensed music, cue sheet and temp tracks, an orchestrator, a copyist, and so on. The English Session Orchestra, conducted by Matt Dunkley, performs the film score.[3]

Furthermore, the music develops thematically from opening to end credits with much underscoring (e.g., 18:07–18:37; 52:57–55:22). This clearly confirms what I have established as some of the differences between Nollywood and Euro-American film music aesthetics. For example, the music of *Half of a Yellow Sun* does not give back the story to the local viewer in the manner that mainstream Nollywood film music does. In other words, the soundtrack neither foretells nor retells the story to the viewer in a Nigerian language because it has, in many respects, been abstractly conceived and applied. This, arguably, affirms the influence of the colonialist's "mighty hand." It is thus the first real evidence of complicity on the part of Nollywood.

By contrast, *Baby Oku in America* uses a single song titled "Baby Oku" to *sing the film* as well as provide commentary from start to finish. This is in keeping with the rules of Nollywood film music practice (summarized in Table 1). For example, the soundtrack is vocalized and performed in the composer's own singing voice––a sharp contrast to the largely instrumental music found in *Half of a Yellow Sun*. Second, the music is strophic in form, and laid in a block-by-block manner to reveal the storyline to the audience (e.g., 00:02–01:22). Third, the music does not develop thematically or aesthetically. As a final unique attribute, the *Baby Oku in America* soundtrack employs the name of the protagonist (Baby Oku) in both the verses and the chorused refrain.[4] As expected, *Baby Oku in America* privileges Nigerian popular music, specifically the highlife music––a genre that has been well theorized (see Emielu, 2009, 2011, 2013, 2018). Together, these approaches ensure that the narrative is given cultural currency and duly invested with critical musical functions.

In *Baby Oku in America*, the protagonist represents the rural archetype of the post-colony. Yet as a character, she functions as one who is designed to reverse the countryside stereotype that is perceived as the embodiment of the unintelligent being. This is instructive because the narrative actually challenges and reframes an existing episteme that is the First World discourse on African values and knowledge systems. It is an episteme that subtly exalts and institutionalizes Euro-American culture above its African counterpart. From the point of music, and as a sung synopsis of the film, the soundtrack equally deregisters the same

[3]Listen to an excerpt at https://clyp.it/arq4yxww.
[4]Listen to an excerpt at https://clyp.it/0jr2iqsr#.

episteme. As a common narrative device in Nollywood, the music carries through the special qualities of the film language by directing the viewer to the intentionality of challenging the aforesaid episteme, which an American metropolis arguably conveys. This intentionality manifests mainly in parts of the soundtrack's lyric—for example, "America willu neva be di same oh, maka na Baby Oku" (meaning "America will never be the same because of Baby Oku"). Through singing the plot as well as obedience to the aforementioned approaches of mainstream Nollywood film music practice, *Baby Oku in America* functions effectively to oppose and reconstruct Hollywood film music approaches.

I note that this kind of application and reading is not present in *Half of a Yellow Sun*: Its soundtrack is not, for instance, hyper-explicative; nor does it function as a commentary on the journey of the Igbo (Biafra state) and their quest for liberation from the Nigerian state. All that it does is obey the rules of Hollywood/European film music, namely, the use of preexisting (cue) music, underscoring, and the aesthetic, rhetorical, and thematic development of music in film. This is the article's critical framework for contextualizing the identity of Nollywood film music in international co-productions. The soundtrack of both film examples essentially sets up the resistance versus complicity debate.

But the manner of application of music is not the only barometer for a comparative analysis. A second aspect to consider in the identity argument is the cultural–historical representation of the music to the story of each film. Regarding *Half of a Yellow Sun*, Yemi Alade-Lawal argues that the choice of songs aptly represents the period of the plot and therefore speaks correctly to the Nigerianness of the soundtrack.

> What we wanted was music from the period 1960–69. I was with the film before principal photography and shooting and until the very last day that the film got locked and delivered. So, we had that nine-year period to pull music. We went through tons of songs. And as we were looking at it, we felt that in 1960s Nigeria, music was coming from all over. American music was coming to Nigerian radio, and we also had music from all over Africa—Congo, Ghana, you name it. It was just a collage of music, it was beautiful. Basically, the music was very rich, and that is what the director wanted. He wanted music from that era, and he wanted music that he knew we could hear on the radio in those days. So, the 14 cues that we ended up with, basically, were the ones that we could work with, and they worked well for us. We had two Nigerian cues in there: *Hail Biafra* and *Bere Bote*.[5]

From the point of musical genres, it is fair to suggest that the soundtracks of both films depict the Nollywood (geographical) space where they have been first experienced, then obtained or even (re-)created. There is yet a third and perhaps most important element, which is the distinctive conditions of production and influences on the creative process of both soundtracks. Although both films seemingly employ Nigerian popular music, *Half of a Yellow Sun* leans heavily on an actual foreign licenced music repertoire, which Yemi Alade-Lawal defends:

> For the record, they [Nigerian musicians] sang over the whole place, and there were no instrumental [versions to licence]. When we were looking for the license to work, it was kind of difficult to chop the track or recreate them. I mean, we could have recreated some of the tracks but … for instance, you could not get a Victor Olaiya highlife track that was just devoid of vocals. No, none of that existed; not even one with a minute of instrumentals only. If you wanted to loop a little particular section, it wouldn't really be very endearing. So, this naturally made us expand our search to a global one, and that is why we ended up having smooth jazz cues in there.

[5]Interview with film music supervisor Yemi Alade-Lawal, London, December 3, 2014.

This is instructive because mainstream Nollywood film songs are localized creations that are largely unimpeded by the formalities of the Nigerian music industry and popular culture. So, regardless of the preceding quote, composers' choices in both films actually provide the context for examining a notion of identity and the forces of its negotiation.

Identity and the forces of negotiation

At the outset, I indicated that an international co-production logically presents moments of tension around film and film music approaches, particularly in the power dynamics that very often characterize First World–Third World exchanges. Such tensions are accentuated by the divergent approaches to film and film music practices found in Nollywood and other global traditions like Hollywood. As the logic of Euro-American film music refinement and capitalism stretches and exploits the circumstances of an international co-production, mainstream Nollywood film music practitioners adjust to either resist transformation (as observed in *Baby Oku in America*) or conform and allow for compromise and complicity (as noted in *Half of a Yellow Sun*). Another reason that drives the power relations is in Nollywood's strong reliance on and adoption of First World technologies for local soundtrack productions. Stanley Okorie confirms this when he says:

> Number one, do not forget [that of] all the things used in Nollywood (from equipment to cars, to even cameras), none is made in Nigeria [or] in Africa. I hope you know. So, indirectly, we are sustained by what happens over there [in the Global North]. So, we cannot run faster than the back that is carrying us.[6]

The argument thus follows that mainstream Nollywood film music may or may not be opposed to, and positioned outside of, say, the rules of mainstream Hollywood. Consequently, any discourse on the identity that results from an international co-production certainly creates new and bifurcated problems. This is true because such collaborations open up the space to assumedly give Nollywood film music a "guided" Euro-American identity––one that emerges in much the same way as Nollywood's gender narratives, which Garritano (2000) describes as "the products of multiple negotiations informed by the cultural contexts and ideological perspectives" (p. 190). Hence, a show of resistance or complicity by mainstream Nollywood film music practitioners requires that we ascertain who determines and influences the creative process in, for instance, a Nolly–Holly production; and whether the resulting identity emerges from the people as accurate expressions of their sociocultural realities and modes of existence, or whether it is imposed by those in positions of dominance for new forms of dissemination of their values and ideas.

It is equally imperative to interrogate the ways in which the incorporation of film songs into mainstream popular culture has altered the power dynamics between local and foreign approaches, and between the people and cultures that produce and consume them. These outcomes will help to establish whether or not (a) the influence of Euro-American approaches on Nollywood's perspectives to soundtrack is an imposition of foreign hegemonic values and ideals; (b) the relationship between the film music and their respective source cultures serve as a conduit for ideas that articulate and promote local identity through resistant spaces, which in

[6]Interview with film composer Stanley Okorie, Umuahia, Nigeria, August 1, 2015.

turn work to destabilize the dominant Euro-American film music narratives; and (c) both the first and second positions are true.

For a start, the questions of how and what kind of identity emerges from such international co-productions is directly linked to issues of perception and acceptance. In other words, there is a proportional relationship between how much editing goes on in the creative process and approaches to film music and the identity of the final material. For instance, I argue that the more a Nolly–Holly soundtrack is edited and managed by non-Nollywood forces/institutions, the less likely it is to contain "Nollycentric" content, but the more likely it is to gain Euro-American appeal. Conversely, the higher the resistance to foreign influences in the creative and editing processes, the greater is the freedom of the Nollywood practitioners to create "messages" of their own, but the less likely it is for the product to gain Euro-American appeal. Thus, within music scholarship, such "messages" become a means for constructing place-based and ethnic identities. (Bauman [1996], Frith [1996], and Stokes [1994] have advanced theories on the nexus between music and place.)

Moreover, it has been suggested that actual identities revolve around resources of history, language, and culture. In other words, identity is better understood when contextualized within forms of cultural representation (Hall, 1996, pp. 1–7). It has also been observed that "identity and culture are two of the basic building blocks of ethnicity," and that "individuals and groups attempt to address the problematics of ethnic boundaries and meaning" through those building blocks (Nagel, 1994, p. 172). Regardless of genre and form, music remains a constituent of both building blocks. It shapes and is in turn shaped by both insiders and outsiders of culture. Simply put, it is possible for music (and indeed any form of media) to either represent or misrepresent a people; it arguably depends on how much editing has gone into it, how it has been applied, the context/medium of usage, the persons involved, and the degree of resistance and complicity.

Resistance and complicity as identity issues

The effect of resistance and/or complicity on the part of mainstream Nollywood is critical to its localized film music processes and identity, especially when challenged by perceived "superior" cinema traditions. This statement presupposes that Nollywood is subservient to, for example, British cinema. Indeed, it seems logical, considering that "there is a political need to exploit a notion of identities," which has been acknowledged as "ideological and hegemonic constructed forms of closure by repressive institutions" (Hall, 2000, p. 18). Hegemony is "a way of representing the order of things … which makes them appear universal, natural, and continuous with 'reality' itself" (Hall, 1982, p. 65). This, according to Benwell and Stokoe (2006), implies that subordinate bodies "give their consent to particular formations of power because the dominant cultural group generating the discourse persuades them of their essential *truth, desirability*, and *naturalness*" (p. 30, emphasis in original). In such an international co-production, hegemony takes on genuine palpable domination that works through discourse. Consequently, and considering the role of colonialism and economic and technological power, Nollywood cannot be regarded as the repressive institution in relation to either Hollywood or British cinema.

Hence, in *Half of a Yellow Sun*, I reveal how the dominant cultural group (working through the British Film Institute [BFI]) persuades the subject (Nollywood) to acquire a particular ideological film music identity: one that is totally unsympathetic to

Nollywood's established film music attributes. By implication, this process of identification becomes a colonizing force that shapes and directs the subject's complicity. This is further aided by the notion that the human enablers on the side of Nollywood are diasporic Nigerians who are constantly resolving two polarities: being a part of the industry in Nigeria and their own displaced reality in Europe. In response to this notion, Yemi Alade-Lawal posits:

> Look, this world is suffering from homogeneity right now. So, everybody wants to conform with the status quo. So, if Hollywood is the benchmark, you are looking to almost copy that. I am still a Nigerian. But when you watch Nollywood movies, they have that annoying music that goes with it. Nollywood movies have limited songs, and I've got a video to show you. If [in] the scene, the mother or the son has just left the child, the music will just tell the story again of what has just happened, and it can take another ten minutes for it to move on! I guess maybe I live in the West, so my sensibilities are like "come on, move on." Whereas in Nigeria, in Nollywood, people go: "OK, cool, so that's what's going to happen," and ten minutes later you are still thinking and running your own little commentary behind it. So maybe we, here [in Europe], are trying to adapt to what is happening globally. I guess, at the end of the day, music in films will be of a standard, [and] of a quality, and eventually the Nollywood music will mirror or follow that.

Regarding Nollywood's localized film music approaches, Alade-Lawal remarked:

> I think *Half of a Yellow Sun* has set the precedent for some [mainstream Nollywood] filmmakers to make sure that they have strong music content in their films, because they now know that it can be done. And yes, Nigerians still have rich music, and there is a film music style [referring to prefiguring]. And we just need to incorporate it somehow [and] in such a way that it is not too overpowering. So that is the style, and if you are living outside of that territory, then you may not really like it. Having said that, I've watched Nollywood movies in Jamaica, and the Jamaicans do not complain about the music! They like the stories, they like the music, and they feel it. So, in a way, you could say, if it ain't broke, don't try to fix it. I am for style. I am for authenticity. We all cannot sound the same or be the same.

As a contrast, there are instances where mainstream Nollywood clearly resists such persuasions. In *Baby Oku in America*, for example, Nollywood distances itself from a potentially Hollywood-prescribed film music style. In other words, Nollywood refuses to be treated as a mere effect of some universal film music discourse, ideology, and standard. Instead, she assumes the role of an initiator of action that leads to an inscribed localized film music identity. Thus, the creative process of the soundtrack of *Baby Oku in America* becomes clearer when Stanley Okorie says:

> Fortunately, I know the person that owns the Baby Oku film. He is my *oga* [patron]. He sent me a text message and said, "Your money has been paid. Make it local, very local." And when it comes to localisation, for me, there are four things. First, what are you localizing? [It is] the story: it is not a story in America or London. It is a story [told] in Nigeria, so let it *be* here. The second is "How?" How is … don't speak Queen's English when you are singing a song in Nollywood. Depending on the film, make it what the average person can understand. So, instead of [saying] "I am coming, my darling," you can say, "My darling, I de come." Pidgin is the language. The third is the choice of instrument/s like the xylophone, [as well as] the highlife groove, and the choice of rendition. The fourth one will be my style and voice, which a lot of people try to copy too. You know I can't stop people from copying me, but I'll just have to keep reinventing myself. So, that is localization: bringing it so close to the people and most importantly, making the music for the market! Because if you make fantastic [film]

> music that they give you award for in America, and the film does not sell here in Nigeria, nobody will bring [offer] you another film [project].

In my opinion, Okorie's creative stance is, in part, enabled by the uniqueness of language, which can be scrutinized on two levels: its compelling deliberateness and the formation of social meanings, which in turn reveal different discursive and performative constructions. For example, *Half of a Yellow Sun* makes use of standard English for the most part of its dialogue and soundtrack lyrics, whereas *Baby Oku in America* employs a linguistic mix of Nigerian Pidgin English and Igbo languages in its soundtrack. As I have noted elsewhere (Sylvanus, 2012, 2018a), the Nigerian Pidgin English is the common person's means of eloquent oration. It is a language that gives purposeful dynamism in Nigeria's multicultural and multilingual environment.[7] The efficacy of Nigerian Pidgin English has made it suitable for use in novels, pop music, advertising, radio and TV programs, Nollywood films, Nigerian computer games, and film music. The reason for this efficacy is because, in the African context, "Pidgin is not a mere simplification of English, but a separate and describable language" for which the vocabulary and lexical forms have "changed their meaning to fit into the value system and worldview of the African people" (Schneider, 1966, p. 2). Thus, the ideological and cultural baggage noted in *Baby Oku in America* is certainly not an oversight. Rather, it constitutes an opposition to the hegemony that the Global North represents in this context.

Linguistically, the *Baby Oku in America* soundtrack inscribes the overarching message of resistance in such words as "Na who dey run tings for New Yorku, hot lady for Atalanta, chop nkwobi wit Obama? Okwa nu Baby Oku!" (meaning "Who calls the shots in New York? Who is the don in Atlanta that eats *nkwobi* [local Igbo salad] with Obama? It is Baby Oku!"). To me, this reading is mediated by a First World–Third World discourse, which the relationship between rural Africa and urban North America provokes. I do think that this discourse helps to revise the film music and postcolonial contexts of the cinematic text, as well as the transnational nature of its narrative. There is, therefore, a shift from reading the film and its soundtrack from the perspective of the First World (as perceived in *Half of a Yellow Sun*) to that of the postcolonized subject in the second film example. In other words, *Baby Oku in America* can and should be read at both the ideological and cultural levels, especially as both perspectives feed off the politics of culture and difference. In all, what is fascinating is the tension created by those who resist such persuasions and dominance versus those who remain complicit in them.

As is the case in many locally produced Nollywood film music, the *Baby Oku in America* soundtrack strips the English language (the colonialist's language) of its "cultural sophistication" to pave the way for a radical reading of Baby Oku (the protagonist) as the main text of the plot. This is something that the soundtrack of *Half of a Yellow Sun* does not do, for a simple reason: It was made to meet "global" standards guided primarily by the BFI. Another underlying excuse for the difference in approach to use of language and possibly music[8] inheres in the kind of

[7]Historically, the function of Pidgin English has continually shifted: from one that was essentially a language of commerce in precolonial (before 1885) and colonial (1885–1960) times to that of an interethnic (linking) language in postcolonial Nigeria (1960 to date).

[8]I say "possibly" because there are many other reasons beyond audience appeal that inform the choice of music on film. That said, the target audience factor is persuasive when we consider that *Half of a Yellow Sun* arguably had more distribution in Europe and North America than did *Baby Oku in America*.

audience that the producers of both films targeted. So although *Half of a Yellow Sun* mainly targeted upper class Nigerians at home and abroad, *Baby Oku in America* was conceived for all Nigerians and, particularly, lower class citizens. Generally, I think that the soundtrack of *Half of a Yellow Sun* could have been more sympathetic to local (non-elitist) Nigerian audiences and their expectations by, at least, incorporating more Nigerian pop and folk music.

All these constructions have merit within theories on institutional power and are possible because of the "transformative capacity of human action," which Giddens (1981) argues is "at the heart of both domination and power" (p. 67). Thus, the resultant film music identity of international co-productions involving mainstream Nollywood is often caught up in the dichotomies of cultural imperialism, hegemony and autonomy, nationalism and globalization, among others. This is so because the film music traditions of all collaborative parties are mutually implicated in the fierce ideological warfare between complicity with dominant agendas and the creation of hegemonic spaces: a tension that is ultimately tied to the alternative acceptance of and resistance to the forces of globalization, migration/diaspora, and global capitalism.

Imagining a Nollywood global film music identity?

We live in what has been dubbed the Postmodern Age––one that is arguably driven by processes of globalization. Such processes are characterised by "faster and closer connections across geographical spaces" (Giddens, 1991), as well as "an increase in the mediation of experience" through such media as the Internet (Grodin & Lindlof, 1996). This implies that as people of diverse places across the globe face similar and interconnected kinds of socioeconomic experiences, a transnational culture that speaks to some shared sociocultural truths begins to emerge. Consequently, distant and perhaps invasive events and thoughts from around the world continually shape the consciousness of ordinary people. This consciousness is nearly always changing: a very fluid and elusive experience that impacts our postmodern identities. In *Identity*, Zygmunt Bauman states that postmodern identities are "the most acute, the most deeply felt and the most troublesome incarnations of ambivalence" (2004, p. 32).

But Bauman's view has also been countered by other scholars who think that postmodernity demonstrates humanity's creative capacity across and within contexts such as *diaspora* (Hall, 1995), *hybridity* (Bhabha, 1994), and *crossing* (Rampton, 1995). In my opinion, both sides of the argument only do well to confirm the paradox that is globalization: It is both an attraction that enables and a distraction that disables. As an attraction, globalization engenders creative and self-defining possibilities that global capitalism rewards. As a distraction, however, it can produce a "crisis of identity" (Erikson, 1968). In relation to cinema and film music, mainstream Hollywood productions arguably pursue a great deal of "hybridity" and "crossing" of cultures than does mainstream Nollywood. This, for me, is why it is probably more difficult to argue for the cultural identity of Euro-American film music because, unlike mainstream Nollywood, the former is more representative of the enabling and disabling processes of globalization.

To further nuance my argument, I approach the discourse from three distinct but mutually exclusive strands. First, there is a link across the African diaspora, with Nigerian social forms lodged in collective memory, which regularly manifest in language, dance, film, music, religion, and other expressive cultural forms. As a continuum within that

diaspora, mainstream Nollywood film music maintains its formal musical and compositional elements, genres, and styles (some of which were highlighted at the outset). Also, the populations trading and consuming Nollywood films/film songs no longer require physical travel for cultural contact. Rather, they rely on the movement of information across (social) media and technological networks such as the Internet.

The second dimension to the argument operates at a more autonomous level as a set of links created by diasporic residents themselves: of diasporic Nigerians such as Yemi Alade-Lawal living and working as film music composers/supervisors overseas. In *Half of a Yellow Sun*, we observe how diasporic practitioners like him set aside those already established abstractions and specific attributes, which he admits give Nollywood film music its localized identity, for the more universally appealing Euro-American standard.

Finally, there are the experiences emerging from, and defined by, the material legacies of colonization and the near perpetual dependence on Europe and North America, which continually (although not always obviously) determines the position of peoples and institutions of African origin within the globe. Conditions such as racism, class antagonism, and limited technological/economic opportunities persist nearly unchanged to date. These conditions, which have been extensively researched in other fields (e.g., van Zyl-Hermann & Boersema, 2017), have caused a few Nollywood composers such as Stanley Okorie to approach international co-productions from a default disposition of resistance to perceived "oppressive systems" and/or "higher power." Emerging out of a Nolly–Holly film such as *Baby Oku in America*, this disposition is given voice by creative practitioners like Stanley Okorie who inhabit those spaces. According to Okorie,

> You will never be American. You will only hurt your feelings. I know that they have (or there is still) a certain level of expectation for [people] coming from the Third World. So, why would you want to compete with them? You are playing in a game where the enemy is the referee and has made all the rules! So, you can give a goal and he says "No, you do not score goals when I am not in a good mood." So, you will never win. Once in a while, I get films that must have the "Western feel" … but most times I do a lot of "the local." An American is an American; a Nigerian is a Nigerian. The only identity I know is the one I have; [and] that is the only one I can convey. What I am telling you is that I have my preference for the local things.

If not already said, the opinions and counteropinions of Stanley Okorie and Yemi Alade-Lawal firmly establish the framework for the resistance versus complicity discourse in international co-productions involving mainstream Nollywood.

As a summary, *Baby Oku in America* proves a different proposition for negotiating identity in international co-productions. Its soundtrack begins this negotiation process via the art of prefiguring––the use of music to predict the storyline of a film. This confers it with the Nollywood structural identity. Through its lyrics, which are mainly in Igbo dialect and Nigerian Pidgin, the soundtrack projects the Nollywood lingual identity. Similarly, the choice of Nigerian highlife genre and the style of singing and instrumentation all encourage a notion of ethnic and genre identities in the soundtrack. Together, these attributes signal an intent to specifically resist Hollywood film music influences. On the other hand, the film music of *Half of a Yellow Sun* is structurally different: synchronizing with image and showing evidence of much underscoring (e.g., 11:40–11:55). Likewise, the music does not "sing the film" and, therefore, does not have the unique Nollywood structural identity. Although the soundtrack contains a few

texted (vocal) music cues, only *Bere Bote* is in a Nigerian dialect. Even so, the vocal music cues, including *Bere Bote*, neither reference the storyline nor follow the Nollywood mode of application of language. For this reason, this film fails to convey a Nollywood film music lingual identity. Finally, *Half of a Yellow Sun* reveals a very strong preference for European-style orchestral music, which culturally alienates the "Nolly" from the "wood." This, ultimately, denies the soundtrack of an ethnic or even cross-ethnic Nigerian identity.

Conclusion

From this article, we can infer that when the discourse on and around mainstream Nollywood film music in an international co-production is in no way connected to an effort to promote a potential (collective) Nigerian (African) identity, it merely becomes another resource appropriated by the colonizing or dominant film industry for the dissemination of foreign values. In essence, it becomes possible for Euro-American film music traditions to be perpetuated and maintained even as co-production appears to become "inclusive." Finally, as global film musics crisscross geographical spaces with limited inhibition, we are all implicated in the power dynamics inherent in our own consumption of them. Therefore, as the world's (homogenizing) system of domination narrows, hopefully, its ears will grow bigger to accommodate the intensifying global and diverse approaches to film music. My critique of the ways in which mainstream Nollywood film music identity is both negotiated and rearticulated in international co-productions can, essentially, stand as a preliminary theoretical study of music and identity politics in contemporary African cinema.

Acknowledgments

This article advances my research on music in Nigerian cinema. I am grateful to my interviewees, particularly Stanley Okorie and Yemi Alade-Lawal, for their detailed and honest responses, and for the remarks of the anonymous peer reviewers. Taken together, their perspectives and comments have been critical to the direction and structure of this article.

References

Adamu, A. U. (2008). The influence of Hindi film music on Hausa videofilm soundtrack music. In M. Slobin (Ed.), *Global Soundtracks: Worlds of film music* (pp. 152–176). Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press.

Bandele, B., (Director). (2013). *Half of a Yellow Sun*. Nigeria, UK: SODA Pictures.

Bauman, G. (1996). *Contesting culture: discourses of identity in multi-ethnic london*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bauman, Z. (2004). *Identity: Conversations with benedetto vecchi*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Benwell, B., & Stokoe, E. (2006). Theorising discourse and identity. In B. Benwell & E. Stokoe (Eds.), *Discourse and Identity* (pp. 17–47). Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press.

Bhabha, K. H. (1994). *The Location of culture*. London, UK: Routledge.

Cooke, M. (2010). *The Hollywood film music reader*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Dalamba, L. (2012). Disempowering music: The *Amandla!* documentary and other conservative musical projects. *The Journal of South African and American Studies*, *13*(3), 295–315.

Emielu, A. (2009). Origin, development, and sustenance of highlife music in Nigeria (Doctoral dissertation). University of Ilorin, Kwara state, Nigeria.
Emielu, A. (2011). Some theoretical perspectives on African popular music. *Popular Music*, *30*(3), 371–388. doi:10.1017/S0261143011000249
Emielu, A. (2013). Ethnic and regional identities in Nigerian popular music: A special focus on the Edo. *Journal of International Library of African Music*, *9*(3), 92–110. doi:10.21504/amj.v9i3.1912
Emielu, A. (2018). Tradition, innovations, and modernity in the music of the Edo of Nigeria: Toward a theory of progressive traditionalism. *Ethnomusicology*, *62*(2), 206–229. doi:10.5406/ethnomusicology.62.2.0206
Erikson, E. (1968). *Identity, youth, and crisis*. New York: W. W. Norton.
Faulkner, R. R. (2005). *Music on Demand: Composers and careers in the Hollywood film industry*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
Frith, S. (1996). Music and identities. In S. Hall and P. du Gay (Eds.), *Questions of cultural identity* (pp. 108–127). London: Sage.
Garritano, C. (2000). Women, melodrama, political critique. In J. Haynes (Ed.), *Nigerian video film* (pp. 165–191). Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.
Giddens, A. (1981). *A contemporary critique of historical materialism*. London, UK: Macmillan.
Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
Gorbman, C. (1987). *Unheard melodies: Narrative film music*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.
Grodin, D., & Lindlof, T. R. (1996). *Constructing the self in a mediated world*. London, UK: Sage.
Hall, S. (1982). The rediscovery of 'ideology': Return of the repressed in media studies. In M. Gurevitch, J. Woollacott, T. Bennett, & J. Curran (Eds.), *Culture, society, and the media* (pp. 52–86). London, UK: Methuen.
Hall, S. (1995). New cultures for old. In D. Massey & P. Jess (Eds.), *A place in the world? Places, cultures, and globalisation* (pp. 152–214). New York, USA: OUP.
Hall, S. (1996). Who needs 'identity'? In S. Hall & P. Du Gay (Eds.), *Questions of cultural identity* (pp. 1–17). London, UK: Sage.
Hall, S. (2000). Who needs identity? In P. Du Gay, J. Evans, & P. Redman (Eds.), *Identity: A reader* (pp. 15–30). London, UK: Sage.
Haynes, J. (2014). 'New Nollywood': Kunle Afolayan. *Black Camera*, *5*(2), 53–73. doi:10.2979/blackcamera.5.2.53
Haynes, J. (2016). *Nollywood: the creation of nigerian film genres*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
Kalinak, K. (1992). *Settling the Score: Music and the classical Hollywood film*. Madison, Indiana: University of Wisconsin Press.
Kassabian, A. (2003). The sound of a new film form. In I. Inglis (Ed.), *Popular Music and Film* (pp. 91–101). London, UK: Wallflower Press.
Krings, M., & Okome, O. (2013). *Global Nollywood: The transnational dimensions of an African videofilm industry*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.
Letcher, C. (2009). *Mbaqanga*, Bollywood and Beethoven on the beachfront: A composer's perspective. *Ethnomusicology Forum*, *18*(1), 21–36. doi:10.1080/17411910902790465
McCain, C. (2016). An evolution in Nollywood, Nigeria's new wave: A conversation with Chris Eneaji. *Black Camera*, *7*(2), 194–216. doi:10.2979/blackcamera.7.2.194
Mera, M., & Burnard, D. (2006). *European film music*. Hampshire & Burlington, IL: Ashgate.
Nagel, J. (1994). Constructing ethnicity: Creating and re-creating ethnic identity and culture. *Social Problems*, *41*(1), 152–176. doi:10.2307/3096847
Onyeka, I., (Director). (2013). *Baby Oku in America*. Nigeria, USA: AMACO Films.
Rampton, B. (1995). *Crossing: Language and ethnicity among adolescents*. London: Longman.
Schneider, D. G. (1966). *West African Pidgin English: A descriptive linguistic analysis with texts and glossary from the Cameroon area*. Athens, OH: Ohio.
Sonnenschein, D. (2001). *Sound design: The expressive power of music, voice, and sound effects in cinema*. Studio City, California: Michael Wiese Productions.

Stokes, M. (1994). *Ethnicity, identity and music: The musical construction of place*. Oxford, UK: Berg.
Sylvanus, E. P. (2012). *Film music practice in Nollywood: From mimesis to the opacity of the extended present*. Saarbrucken, Germany: LAP Lambert.
Sylvanus, E. P. (2017). Scoring without Scorsese: Nollywood's divergent creative process. *Musicology Research*, *2*(1), 117–140.
Sylvanus, E. P. (2018a). Performing ethnicity in Nollywood film music: The power of texted music. *Journal of the Musical Arts in Africa*, *15*(1), [in print].
Sylvanus, E. P. (2018b). Popular music and genre in mainstream Nollywood: Introduction. *Journal of Popular Music Studies*, *30*(3), 99–114.
Sylvanus, E. P. (2018c). A brief history of TV and TV music practice in Nigeria. *Muziki Journal of Music Research in Africa*, *15*(1), 37-57. doi:10.1080/18125980.2018.1432992
Sylvanus, E. P. (2019a, forthcoming). Prefiguring as an indigenous narrative tool in Nigerian cinema: An ethnomusicological reading. *Ethnomusicology*, *63*(2).
Sylvanus, E. P. (2019b, forthcoming). Finlandia and Biafra in Nollywood? The transnational aesthetic objectivity and metaphoric journey of identity. *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, *144*(1).
Sylvanus, E. P., & Eze-Emaeyak, O. P. (2018). The business of film music in mainstream Nollywood: Competing without advantage. *Journal of Cultural Economy*, *11*(2), 141–153. doi:10.1080/17530350.2017.1409131
van Zyl-Hermann, D., & Boersema, J. (2017). Introduction: The politics of whiteness in Africa. *Africa*, *87*(4), 651–661. doi:10.1017/S0001972017000298
Vernon, K. M., & Eisen, C. (2006). Contemporary Spanish film music: Carlos Saura and Pedro Almodovar. In M. Mera & D. Burnand (Eds.), *European film music* (pp. 41–59). Hampshire & Burlington, IL: Ashgate.