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The Malgwa in Maiduguri

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Introduction

This article concentrates on the Malgwa in Maiduguri and aims at various objectives. First of all, it wants to characterize the situation of a minority group within contemporary Metropolitan Maiduguri. Secondly, it answers some important questions: how is the social network of the Malgwa established, which religion do they practise, whom do they marry, which languages do they speak, and to what extent are they integrated in everyday life in Maiduguri?

The Malgwa were chosen as an example for a minority group, because it is a widely accepted assumption that they have been “swallowed” by the Kanuri after heavy processes of acculturation initiated by the dominant group, i.e. the so-called “Kanurization”. Cf. e.g. Cyffer *et al.* (1996) for a brief outline of some cultural assimilation processes of the Malgwa people and Löhr (1998) for a description of some linguistic assimilation processes of the Malgwa language. This article presents a more differentiated portrait. Hausa language competes with Kanuri language as far as status and use are concerned. But as of now, the former has replaced the latter as second language (L2) in Maiduguri. This paper demonstrates that the process of Kanurization is giving way to a process of Hausanization. Hausa presents a threat to the use and future of smaller linguistic entities/languages spoken in Maiduguri. Cf. Sambo (2000) for details on the “glottophagic” nature of Hausa in Maiduguri. Other studies, e.g. Broß (forthcoming and in this volume) or Othman & Bashir (2000), confirm this phenomenon as well.

An own sociolinguistic survey conducted in 1998 confirms the presence of Malgwa in several wards of Maiduguri.¹ The paper presents hitherto unpublished socio-economic information and data on the language use and repertoire of the Malgwa. Empirical information on the Malgwa people in Maiduguri and their actual presence as an independent cultural group with its own language is given here. The survey was conducted among various age-groups of the Malgwa and focuses on twelve residential quarters within Maiduguri Metropolitan Area. It also deals with a variety of further aspects, such as the length of stay in Maiduguri or the ethnic affiliation of parents

¹ The “Həgya (or: Hayava) Social Club” shall serve as an example. It has about 1,000 inscribed members and has been registered at the Ministry of Youth, Sports and Social Development in Borno State since 1988. It was “solely formed to develop Malgwa culture”, as the club statutes read.

and spouses. Furthermore, information about their places of birth and their occupations in Maiduguri are included. This shall help to counter the common myth of the complete (physical as well as ethnical) absence of the Malgwa – not only – in Maiduguri and to invalidate the prejudices which are circulated by some people. It is just recently that studies try not only to challenge the stereotypical view of the Malgwa in Borno, but also give sound information on historical and medical aspects of Malgwa culture, cf. Kirawa (1987), Birma (1996) or Gana (1999).

Another aim of this paper is to gather historical and contemporary sources which support the impression of the almost non-existence of the Malgwa language and community in the area. Interestingly enough, the reputation of the Malgwa as the first inhabitants of Borno prior to the coming of the Kanembu/Kanuri and their connection with the Sao, the ancient mythical, “classical” inhabitants of Borno, was never doubted by the Kanuri.

Historical and contemporary sources

The Malgwa live in north-eastern Nigeria, predominantly between the rivers Ngadda as well as Yedseram and the sandy plains north and northeast of the Gwoza Hills. Within Borno State, their Local Government Areas are Damboa, Gwoza, Konduga, Dikwa and Bama. According to Barkindo (1989: 32), the area between Bama and Maiduguri was

“settled by the ancestors of the Gamergu. According to traditions this is the actual area where the Wandala originally settled and where the nucleus of the Wandala State or more correctly, community, was formed at Ishga-Kewe some 20 km north of Bama along the river Yedseram.”

Temple (1922: 113) locates the Malgwa in Konduga district. Wentelukas (1985: 129) states: “present location: Borno State: Dikwa division, Bama district; Borno division, district of Auno, Konduga, Margi.” According to Palmer (1970: 68) they live in “the region extending from the present district called Ngumati along the river Yedseram valley down to Mubi and Uba”.

Linguistically, Malgwa and Mandara are dialects and as such closely related. They both belong to the Mandara group, but have experienced different historical developments which still have effects on their present situations. Approximately 20,000 speakers of this Central Chadic language live in Nigeria, and about 23,500 Mandara live in Cameroon (cf. Crozier & Blench 1992: 108). Middleton (1997, IV: 531, Appendix) enumerates “60,000 Mandara and Gamergu.”

The history of the “Gamergu”, as the Malgwa are called by the Kanuri, and the period since the advent of the Kanuri in Borno has been a time of constant war, suppression and slave raids on the side of the Kanuri (cf. e.g. Lange 1987). “Gamergu” is a spoonerism of the Kanuri lexeme *ngawarwü*,

meaning “first settler”. The Kanuri with their colonial manners have migrated since the fourteenth century into Borno region and forced not only the Malgwa but also other adjacent smaller Chadic speaking groups to assimilate, i.e. pretend to be Kanuri, to hide or even to leave their original places.² Lavers (1980: 195) describes the early sixteenth century as

“a period of extensive state formation among the Chadic-speaking peoples in the area south and southwest of Borno, from Mandara through Babur country to the Bolewa. Such a potentially dangerous development was likely to interest the rulers of the [Borno] Caliphate.”

According to Seidensticker (1983: 6), the Malgwa were mentioned for the first time during the reign of *Mai* Idris Aloma (1569/70 to c. 1600) “who in defence and stabilisation of Sayfawa supremacy had been involved in fighting the Gamergu.” Barkindo (1989: 195ff.) confirms:

“Idris Alooma allows the existence of pockets of resistance as represented by the original inhabitants of Borno, who menace the internal structure of the Borno Caliphate. [...] Dissident groups such as the Gamaghu [*sic!*] were contained by a series of *ribats* or frontier fortresses on the Borno side of the frontier and by alliances with the rulers of the nascent states of the Mandara and Pabir on the other.”

After their subordination, parts of the Malgwa and Mandara were forced either to live in the Mandara Mountains in southeastern Borno or to move towards the river Yedzeram.³ Despite these developments, Malgwa were still found in the area which later became Maiduguri. Seidensticker (1983: 6) remarks:

“In previous centuries rather a peripheral area was inhabited by Gamergu who had their capital or a major town in Muna, approximately 10 km north-east of Maiduguri.”

Muna was abandoned in the early nineteenth century,⁴ i.e. before the foundation of Yerwa. Villages like Mafoni and Kalwa existed then, the area around present-day Maiduguri was inhabited continuously.⁵

² Gana (1999: 21) erroneously states: “Kanuri/Gamergu contact coincided with the arrival of the British Colonial masters, i.e. less than a century ago.”

³ The reign of Ali Dunama (1750-91) was a time of heavy migration which led to a change in the demographic pattern. Borno became inhabited mainly by speakers of Central Saharan (e.g. Kanuri) and Afroasiatic languages. Cf. James (1987) or Hickey (1985) for a short history of the region.

⁴ The town Izgakyewe near Bama became the new capital. Barth indicated the place on his map of 1851 as “Site of Muna, the former Capital of the Ghamergú, destroyed by the Fulbe or Fellata”. A “new village Muna” is situated right next to it. Today, a motor park in Maiduguri (where taxis start to eastern places in Borno like Dikwa) is still referred to as “Muna garage”, thus pointing to the importance of the Malgwa in the area.

⁵ The Malgwa are consistently ignored in connection with the importance of Maiduguri (e.g. Migeod 1924). According to a Kanuri oral tradition, the Kanuri elder *Maidugu* Ibrahim

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The traveller and geographer Heinrich Barth passed through the Malgwa area on his journey to Adamawa in June 1851, reporting that the “Gamergu, most properly, took possession of land abandoned by the Marghi” (Barth 1857/58, II: 377). He called the area around Maiduguri the “Province of Gamergu”. Gustav Nachtigal (1881, app.) outlined the “Gamergu” settlement area between “Udsche Maiduguri”, “Dikoa” and “Bama”, thus forming a triangle.⁶ A large number of small prosperous settlements existed, populated by Shuwa, Kanuri, and Malgwa. Patterson (1921, app. F) even distinguished between the Malgwa of Uje and those of Konduga district:

“The Malgwa of Uje district have a separate political history in relation to that of the Bornu Empire, and the majority of them, unlike their fellow tribesmen further East, have become much Kanurified. [...] Nearly all of them profess Mohammedanism, whereas those in Konduga are pagans.”⁷

Porter (1985: 151) states:

“Uje had been a chief province of the Gamergu people but they had been greatly reduced in numbers, practically exterminated, according to Barth, and the survivors were heavily taxed. The population was by that time predominantly Kanuri but there were settlements of Shuwa Arabs near Maiduguri.”

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the area was bush and inhabited mainly by hunters. The Malgwa were and still are famous for hunting. Nonetheless, e.g. Harford (1927: 21ff.) perpetuates the stereotypical view on the profession of the Malgwa:

“Gamergu had been famous for being armed robbers, being lawless persons. [...] After the coming of the Kanuri the Gamergu found cattle raiding and highway robbery a more profitable source of revenue [than hunting and fishing].”

Seidensticker (1997: 13) states that the Malgwa

“who occupied in the 19th century the region west of Dikwa and south of Ngumati have towards the end of the 19th and particularly in the 20th century become more marginalised. [...] We are left with the imagination of processes of ethnic assimilation and culture change of quite some magnitude, if we

founded the town “at a time when the Kanuri of Birni Gazargamu started fighting wars” (Porter 1985: 149f.). Another tradition attributes the foundation of Maiduguri to Idris Aloma, because the place was geographically favourable for slave raids and he was “seeking a centre for future operations” (cf. *ibid.*: 150). One of the reasons for choosing the place was the geographical location of Mafoni along the pilgrimage and trade routes (cf. *ibid.*). The reliable constant water supply played an important role, too. Cf. I. Walad’s article in this volume.

⁶ Nachtigal (1881, II: 429): „The Gamergu live in the southern part of the real Bornû, between Dikoa and Mabani [...] in a pleasant, densely populated district with the villages Jâloe, Gâwa, Guege etc.“ (own translation)

⁷ An interesting observation is the probable link between Wuje (a Kanuri speech variety) and Uje Maiduguri, the name of a Malgwa settlement area in the nineteenth century.

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contrast that 1% [i.e. of the Kanuri population in 1976] against the ‘Province of Gamberghu’ of the 19th century.”

After a glance through these selected studies, the Malgwa dilemma becomes apparent: they had to hide their identity, were driven away or enslaved. This is taken for granted by most of the quoted authors. However, some original settlers stayed in their area. Oral traditions collected in 2001 in Mandarari (a part of Bəlabəlin) and narrated by a certain Baba Isa, 91 years old, recall in detail Malgwa places inside and outside Maiduguri.

However, after Yerwa/Maiduguri was founded in 1907 next to the village of Mafoni⁸ and began to expand, the Malgwa later undoubtedly joined the migration into the booming town. Even today, the urban centre of Maiduguri attracts many different ethnic groups. Recent sources emphasize the multi-ethnic character of Maiduguri. Seidensticker (1983) describes in detail the five oldest wards of Maiduguri with their mixed population. Shehu Masta (1983: 3) states: “Maiduguri is very rapidly gaining the major characteristic of all big cities, that of a cultural melting-pot.” Tegetmeier (1924) notes more than thirty ethnic groups living in Maiduguri in the 1920s. The Max Lock Group (1976: 7.2.17) only distinguishes four major groups in their “Ethnic Group Map”, namely “Kanuri/Kanembu”, “Fulani”, “Hausa” and “other northern tribes”, with the latter subsuming about 25 ethnic groups including Malgwa/Mandara. A recent study by Othman & Bashir (2000) lists 38 languages being spoken in Maiduguri. Sambo (2000: 475) counts speakers of 15 mother tongues (L1) in the ward Mairi.

According to Seidensticker (1983: 9), specific wards have traditionally been populated by certain ethnic groups, e.g. Afunori (Hausari) by the Hausa. Strangers continuously came into the new promising urban centre of Maiduguri as migrants, merchants, (left-over) pilgrims or workers.⁹ Some names of wards are based on the ethnicity of the largest ethnic group living there (cf. Seidensticker in Rothmaler 1996: 22). For instance, there is a place called “Mandarari” (“place of the Mandara”) within Bəlabəlin, cf. R. Kawka’s second article in this volume for more details.¹⁰

⁸ According to Migeod (1924: 109), the military base of Maifoni (= Mafoni) was a Marghi village. *Ibid.* (92ff.) explains further: “to the North of the station is Yeriwa, a laid-out town with broad streets and surrounded by a low mud wall. Here the Shehu resides.”

⁹ According to Migeod (1924: 92ff.), the Hausa were recruited as architects for the houses, because the Kanuri, “whatever they may have done in the past, they [i.e. the Kanuri] cannot build like this”. *Ibid.* (95) found out that the Lake Alo workers were Sara people from the Shari River in French territory.

¹⁰ In his survey on the ward Gwange, Owens (cf. 1998: 133) identifies several houses inhabited by “others” (i.e. ethnic groups), including Mandara.

Survey

Having presented some sources which – for the most part – deny the Malgwa, the following chapter discusses recently collected data that speak for themselves and prove the Malgwa presence in Maiduguri. The survey was conducted between February and April 1998 with the assistance of two Malgwa collaborators, Katche H. Mbuliah and Bukar A. Bɔlama, within twelve areas of Metropolitan Maiduguri. These are Bulumkutu Ngomari, Fariya, Gambaru, the GRA, Gwange, Lamisula, London Ciki, Mairi,¹¹ Molai, Ngomari Gana, Wulari and Zajeri. They cover more or less all preferred residential quarters of the Malgwa. For the interviews, 142 persons were randomly chosen. The essential precondition for the selection was their affiliation to the ethnic group of the Malgwa. The following extra-linguistic demographic variables were taken into account: sex, religion, age, number of spouses, ethnic affiliation of spouses and parents, length of stay in Maiduguri, place of birth, language repertoire and occupation. In addition, cross tabulations help to formulate and solve specific questions.

1. Sex

Among the respondents, 4.9% are female and 95.1% are male. The imbalance is due to religious reasons: Islam is a religion which puts women into seclusion (*purdah*), thus, they are not part of public life and can hardly be interviewed.

2. Religion

92.2% of the respondents declare Islam to be their religion, the remaining 7.8% are Christians. These results contradict the strongly maintained belief that the Malgwa are *kɔrdi*, meaning “pagans” or generally non-Muslims. The comparatively recent adoption of Islam by the overwhelming majority of the Malgwa (the closely related Mandara adopted Islam officially in 1723 during the reign of Bukar) is still ignored or distrusted by many Kanuri Muslims. A correlation between home-ward and religion is apparent: the data show that ten out of 15 Malgwa living in Molai are Christians. Molai is a centre of several missions (e.g. Christoffel Mission of the Blind) and as such predominantly populated by Christians.

3. Age

The respondents are between 25 and 83 years old. Four age-groups were distinguished: under 30 (10.8%), 31-50 (56.1%), 51-64 (23.7%) and above 65 years of age (9.4%).

4. Number of spouses

¹¹ Cf. Sambo (2000) who describes the language choice pattern in the ward Mairi.

The majority of Malgwa men, namely 84.4%, has only one spouse despite the fact that they are Muslims and therefore are indeed allowed to marry up to four wives. 8.5% have two wives. Only 0.7% men are married with three wives, 6.4% have no spouse, i.e. they are either unmarried or widowed.

5. Ethnic affiliation of first wife/husband

Malgwa and Mandara are regarded as one language with various (mutually understandable) dialects. Talking about the ethnic affiliation, however, the difference between Malgwa and Mandara groups (clans) still has to be maintained. Generally, ethnic affiliation and mother tongue have to be distinguished. But in the case of the Malgwa, the number of persons speaking Malgwa without being Malgwa can be neglected. Of course, non-Malgwa spouses have to get a certain command of Malgwa. E.g., in places like Pulka (Gwoza LGA), Malgwa/Mandara is said to be the language of the market. This study found a nearly one-to-one relation between mother tongue and ethnic affiliation.

Tab. 1: Ethnic affiliation of spouse

Ethnic Group	Malgwa	Mandara	Kanuri	Mafa	Shuwa	other
Percentage	63.5%	10.3%	7.1%	3.2%	1.6%	14.3%

The majority of the respondents (63.5%) is married to a Malgwa woman, and 10.3% have a Mandara spouse. All in all, approximately three quarters of the Malgwa have entered into an endogamous marriage within their wider ethnic group. While it is largely assumed that the Malgwa prefer Kanuri spouses, the findings here result in a comparatively small figure of only 7.1% among the remaining 26.2%. This could confirm the negative attitude of Kanuri parents who will not give their daughter to a supposed non-Muslim. Therefore, intermarriages do not very often occur.

Within the column “other”, 12.7% are due to the mixed ethnic affiliation of first and second wife, who are mainly Malgwa and Mandara or Malgwa and Kanuri.

6. Ethnic affiliation of parents

An even more definite picture arises when the ethnic affiliation of the parental generation is taken into consideration:

Tab. 2: Ethnic affiliation of parents

Ethnic Affiliation	Malgwa/ Malgwa	Malgwa/ Mandara	Malgwa/ Kanuri	Malgwa/ Mafa	Malgwa/ Waha	Malgwa/ other
Percentage	77.1%	10.7%	1.5%	6.9%	1.5%	2.3%

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The parents of the respondents are predominantly both Malgwa (77.1%) or Malgwa/Mandara (10.7%). Thus, most spouses and parents belong to the same ethnic group in a broader sense. 73.8% of the respondents' spouse(s) belong to the Malgwa or Mandara. In the parents' generation, the figure is even higher, it counts 87.8%. So, intermarriage obviously played a less important role in the olden days compared to today. Marrying a Kanuri spouse occurred even less often in the parents' generation with only 1.5% compared to 7.1% in the one of the interviewed persons. These 1.5% are an unexpectedly low figure considering the supposed process of Kanurization that presumably affected the marriage attitudes of ethnic groups such as the Malgwa. A mixed origin of the parents is surprisingly rare. Neither Hausa nor Shuwa nor Fulani are mentioned.

Today, there is a tendency towards more exogamous marriages which may be due to a relaxation of traditional rules and limitations. The correlation between the ethnic affiliation of the partner and his or her origin points to a certain tendency: Malgwa coming from the eastern region prefer to marry Kanuri. This is also true for the Malgwa from the southern and central regions. Those coming from the eastern part of Borno are almost the only ones to marry Shuwa wives.

7. Duration of stay in Maiduguri

Tab. 3: Duration of stay in Maiduguri

Duration	< 5 years	6-15 years	16-25 years	26-39 years	> 39 years
Percentage	4.8%	36.5%	32.9%	16.9%	8.9%

A large number of people (69.4%) live in Maiduguri for a time span of six to 25 years. As 56% of the respondents are between 31 and 50 years old (cf. age-group), it is possible to correlate the figures and conclude that work might be the strongest reason to come to Maiduguri, although this was not asked for. Possible important causes may be employment or educational as well as family/private reasons.

The figures do not allow to determine peaks of immigration of the Malgwa. Looking at data from the 1970s, the survey then encountered an

“increasing rate of migration into Maiduguri and change in balance of ethnic groups migrating to Maiduguri. These had radically altered the ethnic composition of the city within the last 10 years” (Max Lock Group 1976: 7.4.19).

Only few of the respondents were actually born in Maiduguri. Those who live with their families in Maiduguri and have children will most probably alter the picture after a few years. After retirement, the Malgwa normally go back to their villages, as only 32% of the Malgwa in Maiduguri are older than 50 years. A cross tabulation of the variables age and duration only confirms expected figures:

Tab. 4: Cross tabulation age-group * duration of stay in Maiduguri

Age-Group	Duration of Stay in Maiduguri				
	< 5 years	6-15 years	16-25 years	26-39 years	> 40 years
< 30 years	15.4%	69.2%	–	15.4%	–
31-50 years	4.4%	41.2%	39.7%	14.7%	–
51-64 years	3.6%	21.4%	32.1%	32.1%	10.7%
> 65 years	–	–	16.7%	16.7%	66.7%

8. Place of birth

51 places of birth were collected during the interviews. They can be assigned to six geographical zones: Mafa and Dikwa, Konduga and Bama, Metropolitan Maiduguri, the Local Government Area (LGAs) of Gulumba and Gwoza in Borno State and a zone embodying Cameroon.¹²

Tab. 5: Origin of the Malgwa living in Maiduguri

Central (Konduga, Bama LGA)	East (Gulumba LGA)	South (Gwoza LGA)	North (Mafa, Dikwa LGA)	Cameroon	Metropolitan Maiduguri	other
31.2%	27.5%	19%	10.1%	8.5%	2.4%	1.3%

The Malgwa in Maiduguri come predominantly from the central and eastern regions. The northern and southern regions have a fertile soil (*firgi*), enabling those Malgwa to earn their living as farmers in the rural areas. Despite the fact that the Malgwa favour Gwange, Molai, the GRA, Lamisula and Ngomari Gana as their quarters of living, no correlation can be drawn between their home-ward and their origin. However, the Malgwa living in Gwange predominantly come from the central and eastern regions.

After presenting mainly demographic data focussing on the domain “home”, the language repertoire will be discussed in the following.

9. Language repertoire and distribution

Tab. 6 shows the language repertoire pattern of the Malgwa in Maiduguri. A bi- or triglossic situation with individual multilingualism becomes apparent. In contrast to other recently conducted studies (e.g. Sambo 2000, Bashir & Othman 2000), the command of English is with only 3.5% rare among the Malgwa. As the educational status was not asked for, it

¹² The Data of the Max Lock Group (1976) have to be re-interpreted. The result “Mainly Kanuri”, when asking about the places of birth in the Maiduguri survey (Part 7, Chapter 2), neglects the demographic reality. Most of their respondents gave Konduga and Dikwa as their place of origin, a few named Monguno, Damaturu, Biu and Bauchi LGAs. Among these, only Monguno can be classified as a typical and historical Kanuri settlement. Konduga and Dikwa (as well as Bama which was not mentioned) LGAs are traditional Malgwa settlements inhabited by Malgwa, Mafa and Kanuri.

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is only possible to speculate about a low rate of secondary or higher education being the reason for this. A command of English is indispensable for a higher education and at the same time so much evidence for this, thus, they are almost synonyms nowadays.

Tab. 6: Language distribution of L2, L3 and L4

Languages	Percentage
Malgwa/Kanuri/Hausa	31.2%
Malgwa/Hausa	23.4%
Malgwa/Kanuri	22%
Malgwa (incl. Mandara)	12.1%
Malgwa/Hausa/other (Mafa, Fulfulde or Glavda)	5%
Malgwa/Hausa/Kanuri/English	2.1%
Malgwa/Kanuri/other (Fulfulde or Shuwa)	1.4%
Malgwa/other (Mafa or Waha)	1.4%
Malgwa/Kanuri/English	0.7%
Malgwa/Hausa/English	0.7%

All in all, eight different languages are spoken by the respondents, and some of them claim a command of up to four languages. The average speaker is capable of understanding at least two languages. Approximately a third of the Malgwa speakers is trilingual with Hausa and Kanuri. 23.4% have a command of only Malgwa and Hausa, nearly as many (22%) claim to speak Kanuri as L2. The rate of monolingual Malgwa speakers (including Mandara) is with 12.1% surprisingly high. As the interviews and the results of other studies show, these Malgwa will encounter difficulties in living and working in Maiduguri without at least a small command of Hausa. This figure can be splitted up according to the age-group of the respondents: 42.9% of the monolingual Malgwa are between 31 and 50 years old, and approximately 14% are either under 30 and over 65 years old.

Trilingual Malgwa prefer Hausa, Kanuri or even another Chadic language to English as L3. Among the trilingual Malgwa with a command of Hausa and Kanuri, 65.1% are between 31 and 50 years old. Among those with Hausa as L2, only 60.6% are between 31 and 50 years old. Amid the Malgwa claiming only Kanuri as L2, none of the respondents is less than 30 years old. Other languages such as Mafa, Glavda, Fulfulde or Shuwa are spoken to a lesser extent (7.8%), mainly due to intermarriage.

The command of English is very infrequent (3.5%), the Malgwa only speak it either as L3 or L4. This number extremely differs from the findings of Othman & Bashir (2000) who claim that 86% of their interviewed persons said they had a command of English.

87.9% of the Malgwa claim to be bi- or multilingual, 62.4 % of these have a command of Hausa and 57.4% have a knowledge of Kanuri. The figures change depending on the place of birth, as becomes apparent in tab.

7. This table presents the language repertoire in correlation with the place of birth. Othman & Bashir (2000: 444) mention that “English and Hausa are dominant languages [...] followed by Kanuri and Bura.” Broß (forthcoming) gives evidence for the dominance of the Hausa language in Maiduguri, too.

Tab. 7: Cross tabulation place of birth * language repertoire of the Malgwa

Region of Birth	Language Repertoire						
	M/MD	M/K	M/H	M/H/K	M/K/oth.	M/H/oth.	M/oth.
Central	7%	20.9%	18.6%	46.5%	–	2.3%	4.7%
North	7.7%	7.7%	7.7%	61.5%	15.4%	–	–
East	10.5%	26.3%	23.7%	34.2%	–	2.6%	2.7%
South	11.1%	25.9%	40.7%	7.4%	–	11.1%	3.8%
Maiduguri	–	–	33%	33.3%	–	30%	3.7%
Cameroon	41.7%	–	16.7%	–	–	8.3%	33.3%

Key: M = Malgwa, MD = Mandara, K = Kanuri, H = Hausa, oth. = other languages like Mafa, Glavda, Fulfulde or Shuwa.

In comparison to the Malgwa coming from the central (18.6%) or especially the northern (7.7%) areas, “southerners” clearly prefer Hausa as L2 (40.7%), and many of them are only bilingual. The Malgwa coming from a northern region are to a greater extent trilingual than others (61.5% + 15.4%). Furthermore, the combination of Malgwa, Kanuri and another language (i.e. not Hausa) is unique for the northern region. 46.5% of the Malgwa from the central region are trilingual with Malgwa, Hausa and Kanuri. The Malgwa who were born in Maiduguri do not speak only Kanuri as L2.

A correlation between origin and language use becomes apparent. Among the respondents, only those coming from the central area have a command of English. The interdependence of job and language command is described in tab. 10. Furthermore, the different language situations in northern and southern Borno play an important role: Margi, Bura and other linguistic groups living in southern Borno tend to speak Hausa and/or English as L2. The people living in the northern region are more conservative and secluded so that Kanuri as L2 is not really challenged by Hausa or even English. Instead, Shuwa and Fulfulde are more often given as L3.

10. Language distribution and age-group

The correlation between language distribution and age-group is interesting: among the monolingual Malgwa/Mandara group (11.6%), persons under 30 years of age are to a greater extent monolingual compared to others. Malgwa and Kanuri are mostly spoken by elder people, whereas a strong use of Hausa – besides Malgwa as L1 – can be observed among

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younger people. Out of the few Malgwa born in Maiduguri, the survey does not find even one monolingual person.

Tab. 8: Cross tabulation age-group * language distribution

Age-Group	Language distribution					
	M/MD	M/H	M/K	M/K/H	M/E	M/other
< 30 years	20%	40%	–	20%	–	20%
31-50 years	7.8%	26%	16.9%	36.4%	5.2%	7.7%
51-64 years	18.2%	21.2%	18.2%	33.3%	3%	6.1%
> 65 years	7.7%	–	84.6%	7.7%	–	–

Key: M = Malgwa, MD = Mandara, H = Hausa, K = Kanuri, E = English, other = other languages

11. Occupation

Tab. 9 shows the frequency of occupations of the Malgwa in Maiduguri. The construction of the railway in 1964 attracted many workers. Today, the Malgwa work mainly as civil servants (20%) and traders (35.2%). Traditionally, they are farmers, of course only 6.4% have this profession in Maiduguri, and were hunters in the past. It can be imagined that the Malgwa work mainly in less prestigious or at least in low-income jobs. This could be a reason, why they go back to their villages of origin after retirement. Tab. 10 shows a correlation between the kind of jobs the Malgwa hold and their command of languages.

Tab. 9: Occupations of the Malgwa in Maiduguri

Occupation	Percentage
Trader (e.g. fish)/ Businessman	35.2%
Civil servant (incl. Teacher & Administrator)	20%
Labourer*	13.6%
Driver	7.2%
Farmer	6.4%
Housewife	4.9%
Musician/Beggar	4%
other**	8.7%

* = incl. unskilled workers like mobile water supplier (= *maimoya*), brick-layer, launderer, watchman, ** = incl. one soldier and one king of Mandara in Maiduguri, a few students and unemployed persons

Tab. 10: Cross tabulation occupation * language command

Occupation	Language command					
	M/MD	M/K	M/H	M/H/K	M/E/H + M/E/K	M/oth.
Small-scale trader (e.g. fish)	11.4%	15.9%	22.7%	34.1%	0.7%	15.2%

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Civil Servant (incl. teacher)	4%	12%	24%	32%	8%	20%
Labourer*	–	11.8%	35.3%	41.2%	–	11.7%
Driver	–	–	44.4%	22.2%	–	33.4%
Farmer	–	37.3%	–	37.5%	–	25.2%
Housewife	–	16.7%	33.3%	33.3%	–	16.7%
Musician/Beggar	–	40%	40%	–	–	20%
Other**	20%	40%	–	30%	–	10%

Key: M = Malgwa, MD = Mandara, H = Hausa, K = Kanuri, E = English, other = other combinations of languages: M/other (4%), M/H/other (8%), M/H/K/E (8%)

* = incl. unskilled workers like mobile water supplier (= *maimoya*), brick-layer, launderer, watchman, ** = incl. one soldier and one king of Mandara in Maiduguri, a few students and unemployed persons

The study shows that one third of the Malgwa is trilingual. Undoubtedly, the Malgwa have to have at least a basic knowledge of a regional *lingua franca* like Hausa or Kanuri in addition to their mother tongue. Kanuri, however, is used to a lesser extent, because it is possible to live in Maiduguri without a command of Kanuri, but it is impossible to do so without a knowledge of Hausa.

The findings do not show a correlation between the kind of occupation and the language repertoire as, apart from civil servants, most jobs are less prestigious. One observation has to be questioned: more Malgwa traders than expected (11.4%) declare to be monolingual. The only possible explanation is that they trade merely within their ethnic group.

Summary

The survey gives objective evidence of the Malgwa presence in the multi-ethnic and cosmopolitan town of Maiduguri, a fact that has been doubted until today. This becomes obvious in many historical and contemporary sources. They have been presented to demonstrate the unfounded opinion that the Malgwa are wiped out. The socio-economic and sociolinguistic data collected and analysed in 1998 clearly lead to a different perspective. The main results of the survey can be summarized in short:

- Most Malgwa (92.2%) have adopted Islam as their religion. This statement is valid not only in an urban context but also for the villages and contradicts the general impression of many non-Muslim Malgwa groups.
- Malgwa are predominantly monogamous despite their religion. In most cases, both parents are of Malgwa or Mandara origin, thus creating a rather conservative picture of the ethnic group. They follow endogamous marriage traditions where intermarriage seems to

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play only a minor role. However, intermarriage has become more popular today.

- Most of the interviewed persons have already lived in Maiduguri for a long time, mainly together with their families and not as singles.
- The urban Malgwa maintain their mother tongue to a great extent. They prefer Hausa as second language. This might be a recent development.¹³ However, the figures for Hausa (23%) and Kanuri (22%) as L2 are similar.
- The correlation between place of birth and language use or command is apparent. The Malgwa from the central or northern part tend to speak Kanuri as L2, since there are many Kanuri villages around. “Northerners” are more often trilingual than “Southerners”. In the southern part of Borno, there is hardly any need to speak Kanuri nowadays because of the multi-ethnic settlement patterns and the dominance of Hausa and English. The Malgwa from the eastern or southern parts speak more often Hausa as L2 due to the fact that their neighbours (such as Glavda, Waha or Guduf) also speak Hausa.
- Malgwa work in various, but mainly less prestigious jobs. In today’s urban setting, they work mainly as traders and civil servants.

It is a well-known fact that the Malgwa are influenced by Islamic and Kanuri customs (cf. Cyffer *et al.* 1996). However, Hausa dominates all other languages. Today, it infiltrates massively even traditional Kanuri wards and areas. Considering the recent findings of Broß (forthcoming and in this volume), the language of the market, i.e. in everyday life, is no longer Kanuri but Hausa.¹⁴ According to Opoku-Agyemen & Bulakarima (1988: 1), Kanuri was the *lingua franca* for about 13 ethnic groups in the old days, among them “Gamargu” and Mandara. The “gradual decline of the Kanuri as against the gradual encroachment of the Hausa” (*ibid.*) and the rise of Hausa as a *lingua franca* are not the focus of this paper. However, this development reflects the situation of the Malgwa, and it is comparable with the one of other smaller language groups. Smaller linguistic entities, like the Malgwa, favour the development towards Hausa as the general, single *lingua franca*. Unlike Kanuri language, Hausa is not tainted with the negative associations resulting from an old dominance. As the results regarding language use and repertoire confirm, more Malgwa speak Hausa than Kanuri. This situation

¹³ Within their families, the Malgwa speak their mother-tongue. Even the non-Malgwa spouses have to learn Malgwa to be able to teach their children Malgwa. This statement was given by many Malgwa, although it was not part of the questionnaire.

¹⁴ The importance of Hausa has already become clear in the 1970s, when the introduction of taxis led to a naming process of street-names and of new toponyms in Maiduguri. Nearly all the then created toponyms are in Hausa (cf. R. Kawka’s second article in this volume). In Sambo’s study (2000), 100% of the respondents have a knowledge of Hausa.

can easily be transferred to the language behaviour of other smaller linguistic groups who were not to the same extent dominated by the Kanuri like the Malgwa, namely Bura and Margi. Any process of Kanurization is nowadays overlapped by an ongoing process of Hausanization. However, the minority group of the Malgwa still tries to keep their grounds against the two dominating and widely spread languages Kanuri and Hausa with a strong tendency to neglect the former in favour of the latter.

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