

The Name Ningi and Developing Pre-Colonial Citizenship:

A 'Non-Tribal' Perspective in Nineteenth Century Hausaland

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In the course of the nineteenth century, dissident Kano *mallamai* (religious practitioners and teachers) organized non-Muslim mountaineers into revolt against the Sokoto Caliphate, culminating in the establishment of the Ningi Chiefdom ca. 1847. The mountaineers of Ningi resisted successfully the emirates of Bauchi, Kano, Zazzau, and a number of others down to 1902, when the British defeated them. Their social structures consisted of numerous small scale patrilineal and heterogeneous societies, and the linguistic classifications of the people were as equally diverse. For the most part scholars neglected these societies in northern Nigeria — with emirate formation studies receiving due attention — and in the few references to them in print, the “Ningi tribe” or “Ningi pagans” finds expression as a territorial unit. The writer was asked about a “Ningi religion” during the course of research. This interpretive essay is an attempt to put the “Ningi” nomenclature into proper perspective because of errors by early ethnographers and observers in northern Nigeria in tagging people casually with “tribal” names. This has happened elsewhere in Africa and greater care must be exercised in this regard, especially when dealing with little known people¹.

The origin of the word “Ningi” appears problematic and in the early literature writers linked “Ningi” to a spoken language and “tribe” by that name. The Kano Chronicle contains the earliest reference to some of the people and territory but the word Ningi is not mentioned. There are references to the “Warji” (Warjawa) in the

¹ The research for this paper was funded by the Foreign Area Research Program from July 1972 to January 1974 in northern Nigeria, and based on my dissertation: “The Ningi Chiefdom and the African Frontier: Mountaineers and Resistance to the Sokoto Caliphate, ca 1800–1908” (Ph. D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1975), and expressed henceforth as Patton, Thesis. This paper was originally presented at the Southeastern Regional Seminar in African Studies, October 1976, VPI, Blacksburg, Virginia. I wish to thank both Malam Ibrahim Mukoshy, Professors Patrick Bennet and William A. Brown for valuable linguistic suggestions to this paper. I wish to express a special thanks with the usual disclaimer.

reign of Yaji (eleventh Sarki, A.D. 1349–1385) and to the “Umbatu” (Butawa) during the reign of Kanajeji (thirteenth Sarki, A.D. 1390–1410). The imperialism of the old Hausa states brought Butawa and Warjawa influences into Kano. This is especially probable in the reign of Mohammed Rimfa (twentieth Sarki, A.D. 1463–1499), who introduced many innovations into the kingdom². The nearest settlements of non-Muslims to Kano lived at the end of the northernmost massif of the Jos Plateau complex and in these mountain-like clusters Kano captured people in raids for slaves; in time some became officeholders. If Ningi had been in existence at that time, it would most likely have been remembered by those involved in the flow of Rimfa’s innovations and thus would have appeared in the literature. Not even in the nineteenth century travelers’ accounts was the area between Kano and Bauchi defined. Dr. Eduard Vogel was not only the first European traveler to visit the region in 1855, but he also produced the earliest map of the area, showing only such place names as Jucoba (Bauchi), Salia (Zaria), Gongola (Kuka), Tsad (Chad), Schari (Chari), and a few other places. And later travelers left no better description of the Ningi territory³. Paul Newman suggests hypothetically that travelers did not mention Ningi in their accounts because Ningi (or Nungu) was simply the name of the small village of that name inhabited by Butawa (or Kudawa?) that existed before the *mallamai* arrived on the scene. The name was never mentioned in early writings because the village was too small and unimportant to be worth mentioning. It was only with the arrival of the Hausa in the nineteenth century during the successful opposition to establish rule that people began to hear about Ningi. As a geographical entity, however, Ningi appeared for the first time on a European map of the area in 1905⁴.

² H. R. Palmer, *Sudanese Memoirs* (London, 1967), pp. 104, 106–07, 111–12; Abdullahi Smith, Personal Communication, December 16, 1970. The *awa* suffix, henceforth, refers to the plural form of “people” in the Hausa language.

³ C. Ritter, “Neueste Nachrichten von Dr. Eduard Vogel aus Kuka,” *Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Erdkunde*, Vol. 6 (Berlin, 1856): 484; and Hermann Wagner, *Reisen und Entdeckungen in Central Africa*: Dr. Eduard Vogel (Leipzig, 1860), pp. 278–9; and Gerhard Rohlfs, *Quer durch Afrika. Reise vom Mittelmeer nach dem Tshad-See und zum Golf von Guinea* (Leipzig, 1874), p. 154; Heinrich Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in Central Africa*, Vol. 1 (London, 1965), pp. 617, 619, where he described the Ningi territory only “as a frontier place”.

⁴ See map of Northern Nigeria, 1905, reprinted by Survey Department, Kaduna, Nigeria, 1969.

A more recent study of events in Hausaland by Mervyn Hiskett shows a map of Ningi as a demarcated territory as far back as 1812 but obviously this is without foundation⁵.

In a 1919 publication, C. L. Temple was probably the first to make note about a “Ningi language” and “Ningi tribe”⁶. District officers collected the ethnographic and historical data in their divisions but most lacked training for this task. Since so little has been written about Ningi even up to the present time, Temple’s reliance upon improperly trained political staff laid the framework on which future scholars would view and draw conclusions of their data on Ningi. This also holds true for other similar societies in northern Nigeria. Through the process of language shifting, according to Temple, the Ningi language was being replaced by the spread of Hausa and that as few as 3,700 spoke the language at that time. Temple suggested further a close affinity — supposedly cultural — between the Ningi people and others such as the Warjawa, Afawa (Pa’awa), Kudawa (Chamawa and Basawa) and the Butawa, all living in the Ningi Division. He referred to the Sirawa as Maguzawa who also lived in Ningi. In two later volumes, C. K. Meek continued the “tribal” approach in his anthropological collection⁷.

Through the use of some unpublished materials and correspondence in 1956, Harold D. Gunn imposed upon the existing ethnographic data and generally refers only to “Ningi,” the “Ningi bush” or the “Ningi plateau”⁸. Hence, from earlier writers and Gunn, who did not discredit but encouraged the Ningi “tribal perspective,” the “Ningi tribal” nomenclature now appears in more recent literature. Writing in 1967 about Ningi’s nineteenth century location, H. A. S. Johnson said: “In the first half of the century the Ningi people were no more than a tribe [sic] inhabiting an area between Kano, Zaria and Bauchi emirates”⁹. Jean-Claude Froelich cited “Ningi” as a separate “tribe” a year later while making a distinction between the Butawa

⁵ Mervyn Hiskett, *The Sword of Truth: The Life and Times of the Shehu Usman Dan Fodio* (New York, 1973), p. 100.

⁶ C. L. Temple, *Tribes, Provinces, Emirates, and States of Northern Provinces of Nigeria* (London, 1956), pp. 312, 313–14.

⁷ C. K. Meek, *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, 2 Vols. (London, 1931).

⁸ Harold Gunn, *Pagan Peoples of the Central Area of Northern Nigeria*, Part XII (London 1956), p. 11.

⁹ H. A. S. Johnson, *The Fulani Empire of Sokoto* (London, 1967), p. 198.

and Kudawa¹⁰. Hence, earlier contributors to the ethnology on the mountaineers left many questions unanswered.

It is from an indigenous writer that a "non-tribal" perspective emerges on the origin of "Ningi" which was overlooked by previous writers. Although the conclusions reached lack historical validity, the approach does not link "Ningi" to "tribe" or "language". Malam Abdulkadir Akabi reports an oral version that "Ningi" was the name of a very skillful hunter and knowledgeable about the whereabouts of game refuge places for protection against raids. As a hunter, "Ningi" was also a warrior whose skills proved valuable to the dissident Hausa *mallamai*; for the most part because of their plains existence, they lacked familiarity with mountain ecology and warfare, and asked for "Ningi's" help toward the mid-nineteenth century. Following the death of "Ningi", the oral version goes, the *mallamai* named the capital of their chiefdom "Ningi" as a befitting memorial¹¹. This hunter's image in Hausa-lore is frequent; and in this beneficiary role analogous to the mythical origin of the hunter Mbegha among the Shambaa in East African history, who laid the non-conquest foundation of the Shambaa Kingdom in nineteenth century¹².

But how does one explain the widespread usage of "Ningi" as the appropriate place-name for all the inhabitants of this area? "Ningi Old" was the pre-colonial and colonial headquarters of the chiefdom down to 1934, when the British moved the Hausawa to the new administrative center called Ningi Town. A more acceptable solution to the enigma of "Ningi" lies in the use of recent findings in oral history and linguistic analysis. This approach sheds new light on the irrelevance of the "tribal perspective" in African history and suggests the designated use of "people" in referring to the specific names of cultural units. One oral version recorded from an original inhabitant, a Buta, of "Ningi Old" holds that "Ningi" comes from the Hausa word *lungu*, meaning "an out of the way corner, to hide, to conceal" or a "cubbyhole"¹³. The use of the Hausa word suggests a nineteenth

¹⁰ Jean-Claude Froelich, *Les Montagnards Paléonigritiques* (Paris, 1968), p. 203.

¹¹ Abdulkadir Akabi, "Notes on the History of Ningi Chiefdom" (Hausa Ms. trans. Ibrahim Musa Ningi, 1960).

¹² Steven Feierman, *The Shambaa Kingdom* (Madison, 1974).

¹³ Malam Mai Taba BaNingi, age 80, interviewed at Ningi Town on 8 August 1973 (Tape No. 13, Side B); G. P. Bargery, *Hausa-English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1934), p. 732; and R. C. Abraham, *Dictionary of the Hausa Language* (London, 1962), p. 263.

century derivation and that the original people who settled the area in remote times used another name for themselves. A second oral version reports that "Ningi" comes from "Nungu" [sic] of the Buta language. Hausa documents compiled by a Soviet scholar from the German archives show several references to "Ningi" with the word "Lingi", which poses an even different problem¹⁴.

Within the framework of theoretical possibilities, the appropriate stages in shifts were from "Lungu" to "Lingi", and finally to "Ningi" within the environment from the mid-nineteenth century onward. In "Lungu", the high back vowel *u* shifted to a high front vowel *i* to yield "Lingi" (*u* > *i* shift is not infrequent in Hausa). The shift from initial *L* to *N* is simply due to assimilation, resulting through time as a shift from "Lingi" to "Ningi".

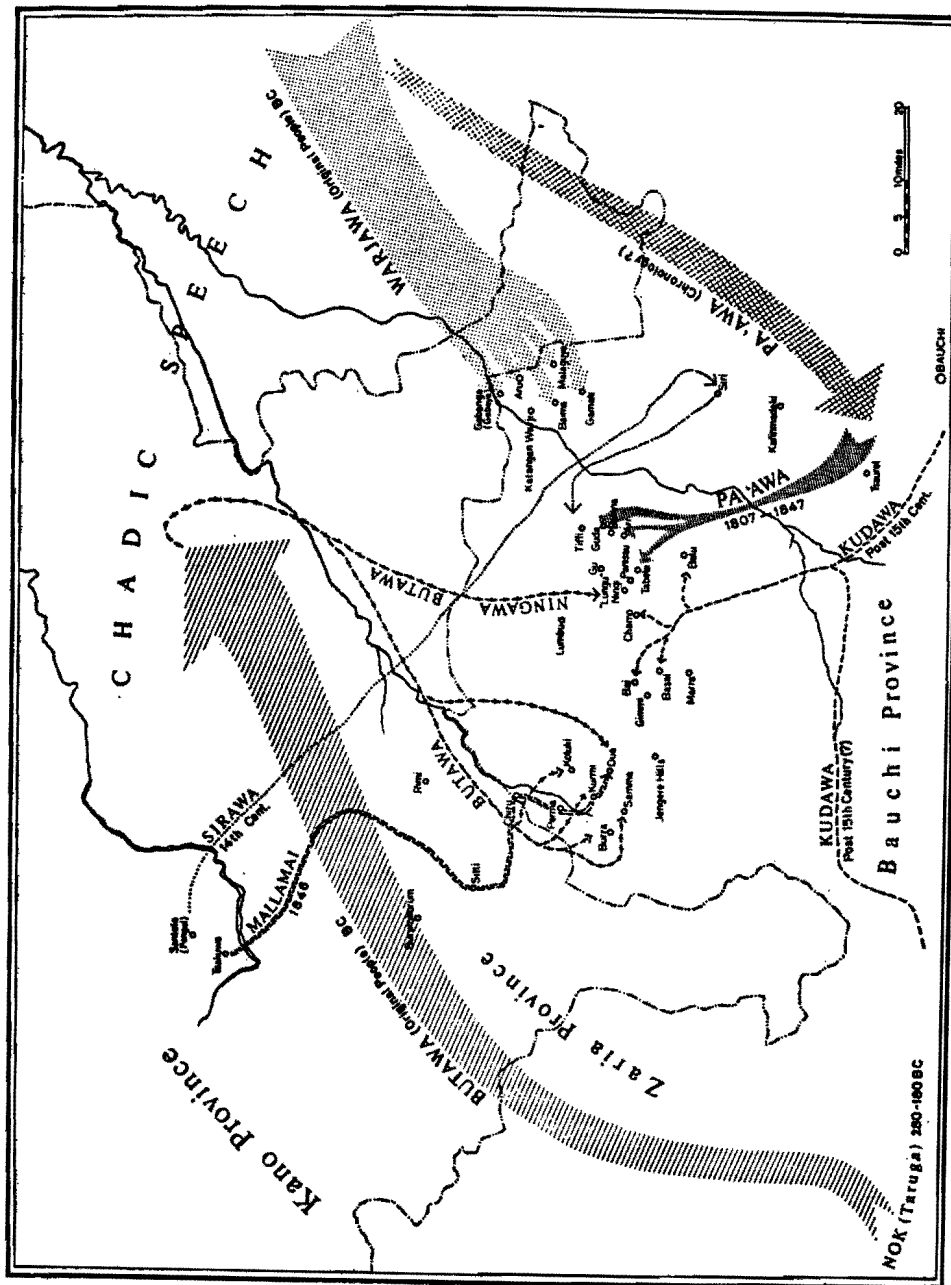
In the meantime, the comparative universality of the frontier process in history and its institutionalization in Ningi has been demonstrated elsewhere. Here, aspects of the frontier process are germane to this discussion¹⁵. Hence, when the Hausa *mallamai* and their non-Muslim compatriots obtained horses; mounted them; and rode out of their natural walled mountain fortress of "Lungu" (*ganuwa Allah*, "the wall that Allah made") for raids against the often unprotected plains of the Caliphate; and as the "warrior" designation of the raiders became known, "Ningi" became a place-name of common usage in the oral history within the Caliphate community. Through time, "Ningi" came to be applied inappropriately as descriptive of all the people of this plateau massif. And in an Arabic letter of ca. 1875 from Zazzau Emirate¹⁶, "Ningi" found expression in writing possibly for the first time (see map page 246).

In efforts to assess why "Ningi" was not mentioned in Hausa documents found in the German archives, it is not certain whether the documents were written within Hausaland or outside of it. There exist references only to "Lingi" in either situation. Two possible reasons may be cited for "Lingi" in these documents. Either the authors

¹⁴ For the expressed use of "Lingi" see O. A. Olderogge, *Zapadnyi Sudan* (Moscow, 1960), pp. 163-169; 219-22. Also see Heinz Sölken, "Afrikanische Dokumente zur Frage der Entstehung der Hausanischen Diaspora in Oberguinea", *Mitteilungen der Ausland-Hochschule* (Berlin, 1939), p. 119.

¹⁵ Patton, Thesis, pp. 88-94.

¹⁶ Commander of the army Uthman, son of the Emir of Zakkak, Abdullahi (1873-78) to Amir al-masālih wāli al-nasā'ih (Waziri of Sokoto) Abdulkadir (1874-86) ibn Gidado, ca. 1875, Kaduna, Nigeria, National Archives Kaduna, Zarprof vol I, Outward Correspondence, p. 27.



wrote the documents within the environment before leaving Hausaland. Second, possibly at this time Hausa was not written in Roman alphabet but in Arabic (*ajami*). Whoever the copyist, the word “Ningi” was there نينغي, but the copyist in the process of transliteration — German or African — may have omitted the dot and it read *L* in “Lingi” and expressed لِنِغِي. Where “Ningi” is found, as in an Arabic letter of ca. 1875, the copyist asserted the dot and *L* became *N*.

In Hausa-lore, there is a tendency to give an additional name of title to a person based on position or occupation. *Sarki*, meaning “chief” in Hausa, is a common title followed by a more descriptive word, e.g. *Sarkin Ayyuka* literally meaning “the Chief of Public Works Agency”. From the example one can show when the word “Ningi” was first used among the Hausa *mallamai* in the mountain fortress of “Lungu”. Several oral versions hold that the nineteenth century frontier leaders of Ningi never called themselves *Sarki* or “Chief” but responded only to the Hausa word *malam*, meaning learned one:

1. Malam Hamza, ca. 1847–1849 (Founder of Chieftdom)
2. Malam Ahmadu, ca. 1850–1855
3. Malam Abubakar Dan Maje, ca. 1855–1870
4. Malam Haruna Karami, ca. 1870–1886
5. Malam Gajigi, ca. 1886–1889
6. Malam Usman Dan Yaya, ca. 1890–1902.

As a title of respect, *Sarkin Ningi* (the Chief of Ningi) came into usage for the first time during the initial six years of the reign of Malam Haruna Karami (ca. 1870–86); thus, about 1875 and ironically, the title was given to the leader of the original Buta inhabitants called *Mai Mada*. The practice continued down to 1915 under colonial rule, when the British installed Malam Abdul — “the Messenger” — (1915–1921) as ruler of Ningi, and Abdul, then, took the title *Sarkin Ningi* away from the *Mai Mada*’s line and gave it to himself. From that time onward *Mai Mada*’s title became *Sarkin*

Arewa, "the Chief of the North"¹⁷. This late use of *Sarkin Ningi* by the Hausa leaders is substantiated because colonial administrators in 1902 had difficulty in deciding what title should be given to these leaders whomever selected, chief or emir. The name "Ningi" did, indeed, make its appearance in the early 1870's during the reign of Haruna Karami¹⁸.

Since Haruna is now viewed by the Ningi people as their most outstanding leader, his reign signaled the beginning of a new territorial identification and the growth of citizenship around 1875. This process indicates when the Ningi society began, and one which paved the way for the integration of the Ningi Chiefdom into the broad political culture of independent Nigeria. For example, during the *pre-malam* era till ca. 1846, the mountaineers, Butawa, Warjawa, Kudawa, Pa'awa, Sirawa and others were segmented societies, and more often than not acted in complementary opposition to each other. This pattern of behavior did not end with Haruna's rise to power, but the people did begin to look at each other with an increasing spirit of solidarity, especially the Butawa, Kudawa, Hausawa, Pa'awa, Sirawa and others settled along the ecological mountain cluster of Ningi. This happened for a number of reasons. Oral history and related documentation show that the *mallamai* numbered about fourteen and probably no more than twenty upon their arrival from the Qu'ranic town of Tsakuwa in ca. 1846 because of a refusal to pay the levied Caliphate tax. As a minority, the *mallamai* needed, sought, and received the support of the majority in resistance to the Sokoto Caliphate. However, the non-Muslims support of the *mallamai* brought them into the decision making process, even to participation in the selection of Ningi leaders, and hence began the gradual integration of ethnically heterogeneous components into a Ningi society. And the ulama, led by Malam Sankace and others in the saga of the 1870's, enhanced further this process by not only the nominal conversion of a few indigenous leaders to Islam; but also by adjudication of legal matters toward a developing Alkali's court based on Sharia Law as cases arose; and continued informally by the Ningi leaders in "palace courts" with the presence of both ulama and non-Muslims authori-

¹⁷ Madakin Kudu (Bawa Bu), age 83, interviewed at Ningi Town, Nigeria, December 6, 1973.

¹⁸ T. Morgan, "Pagan Administration, Ningi Division, 1934", National Archives Kaduna, Nigeria, 132 (Item No. 10) 231 D (Agency Number).

ties¹⁹. Though we lack evidence on this, theoretically, the elements of citizenship, civil, political, and social, were not functionally separate in nineteenth century Ningi but followed a similar comparative trend through time in the initial stages and remained ideally amalgamated²⁰. Thus, the present concept of a Ningi society in the state-nation of Nigeria had its origin in the pre-colonial past; and more research of this kind would be useful to governmental specialists on problems of national integration.

In 1972, the Institute of Linguistics, Zaria, prepared a Provisional Checklist of Nigerian Languages jointly with Ibadan University²¹. Linguists made later revisions in this study in regard to even changes in the name of languages. For the approach in this paper, the first report stressed the separate nature of both Buta and "Ningi" languages. The second report added a new development: both Buta and "Ningi" were grouped under the sub-Benue-Congo of the Niger-Congo family of languages²². Even more significant, Buta and "Ningi" languages were no longer viewed as separate languages but as one language belonging to the Buta people and representing the northernmost extension of the Benue-Congo language family. The differences were in dialects only as spoken by the Buta people in Burra, in Dua, and in the old capital of Ningi²³. The linguistic evidence in the second report concurs with the oral tradition. From the foregoing analysis, it is safe to assume that a "language" or "tribe" called Ningi never existed among the mountaineers in the nineteenth century; instead Ningi is rather comparable to "*Kanawa*", e.g. a name describing a political and geographical conglomeration of people of varied ethnic origins²⁴.

But the "non-tribal" perspective that emerged in Ningi was not peculiar to it, for a similar historical development occurred with the

¹⁹ Patton, Thesis, chs. 3-5 and appendix Kano *mallamai* of Tsakuwa who came to Ningi, ca. 1846.

²⁰ T. H. Marshall, *Class Citizenship and Social Development* (Garden City, N.Y., 1964), pp. 71-72.

²¹ K. L. Hansford, Personal Communication, October 19, 1972 (Zaria).

²² Provisional Checklist of Nigerian Languages, Comps. Institution of Linguistics, P. O. Box 489, Zaria, Nigeria (May-October 1972); also Neil Campbell and James Hoskison, "Bauchi Area Survey Report", Institute of Linguistics, Zaria, 1972; and Field Note Bk. #2 (8 March 1973).

²³ Field Note Bk. #2 (8 March 1973).

²⁴ Malam Mai Taba BaNingi (Tape No. 13, Side B); Paul Newman, Personal Communication, July 8, 1975 (Kano).

imposition in Sokoto rule in Hausaland about 1808. When Uthman Dan Fodio launched the jihad movement in 1804, he did so to establish an ideal government based on the Sharia representing a new society of Muslims and under a Muslim administration; for centuries Hausaland had been only nominally Muslim. This misapplication of the Sharia left no other alternatives to zealous movements but to overthrow the old independent Hausa regimes. It is now well known that Shaikh Uthman borrowed from the classical Islamic models as documented by Arab theorists, especially al-Mawardi, and based on the Law worked out by the Abbasid (762 A.D. — 1258 A.D.) which, unlike its Umayyad predecessors, provided the respectful integration of its non-Arab subjects²⁵.

As it turned out in Sokoto, most of the rulers were Fulani. This happened because most of the jihad leaders were Fulani. But some non-Fulani participated also in the new scheme, such as the Hausa Malam Abd al-Salam, whose incarcerated followers and demand for freeing them influenced the timing of the Fulani in declaring jihad; further, Ya'qub ruled Bauchi Emirate and for a while, Jattau was *Sarkin Zazzau*. The Abd al-Salam later revolt appeared ethnically inspired; but now considered less so motivated by Caliphate scholars; and there was no other Hausa revolt of that magnitude in the nineteenth century²⁶.

Multiple dimensions of changing ideology were more significant for conflict in the rise of Sokoto and later developments than expressed ethnicity. Reformers based their appeals for support upon religious grounds rather than ethnic ones. Although few references were made to the "Hausa" or the "Sudanes" in the compiled list of jihad supporters, the absence of Hausa representation did not reflect bias on part of the Fulani but indicates only the need to be Muslim. Caliphate literature shows only a few references to national or ethnic origins²⁷.

That group feeling (*asabiyya*) existed in the Caliphate cannot be

²⁵ Murray Last, "Reform in West Africa: The Jihad Movement of the Nineteenth Century", in *History of West Africa*, Vol. 2, eds. J. F. A. Ajayi and Michael Crowder (London, 1972), pp. 23–24; H. A. R. Gibb, *Mohammedanism* (London, 1969), pp. 5, 7, 16; Murray Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate* (London, 1967), p. LXVII.

²⁶ R. A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria 1804–1906: The Sokoto Caliphate and Its Enemies* (London, 1971), pp. 103–109.

²⁷ Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate*, p. LXXVII.

denied. It had become an institutionalized belief in the Islamic world, for earlier in the Muqqaddimah, Ibn Khaldun stressed that group feeling was indispensable for continuity in Islamic administration. The jihad scholars read the Muqqaddimah, and realized the importance of group feeling in the maintenance of the Islamic reform character of the Caliphate²⁸. For they inherited a complex system with dissent from not only Hausa *mallamai*, such as Abd al-Salam of Arewa, or Hamza and others of Ningi, but from among the rank-and-file and blood of Sokoto, who functioned directly in the government. Hence, ideology overrode group feeling. In 1807, Abdullahi b. Fodio — the younger brother of the Shaikh Uthman — became so disappointed with the progress of jihad and the Muslim community in general until he left Sokoto in hopes of reaching Mecca for Islamic purification. Kano officials detained him, where he wrote a treatise on government, and after reconciliation, he returned to Gwandu. The Caliphate, further, had to deal with the threats to internal security led by Fulani in the form of Mahdist movements; the 1873 case of Hayat b. Sa'id is well known in this regard, who was also a descendant of the Shaikh's family. Caliph Umar b. Ali declared Hayat an outlaw, and warned that he was to be treated as any other infidel. In the 1890's, Malam Jibril Gaini led a movement similar to Hayat's and wrought havoc upon the eastern marshes of Gombe²⁹.

Since so few non-Fulani led revolts against the Caliphate, ethnicity cannot be used alone as a measuring rod for discontent in nineteenth century Hausaland. Although more research is needed in this direction, it seems for the moment that the degree upon which ethnic categories, Fulani, Hausa, and others, can be emphasized in the nineteenth century would depend upon the following variables: first, the relationship of the Hausa people to the Hausa governments of the pre-jihad centers; some supported the jihad in these centers and some did not; second, support either way was dependent upon previous connection with the Hausa government; if they were satisfied with the old Hausa government, they did not support the jihad; if not satisfied, they joined the jihad actively or took a noncommittal stand.

Through attempts at the proper application of the Sharia, for there were always backsliders, and diffusion of Islamic institutions after 1808, the spirit of citizenship (Hausa, *dan kasa*, "son of the

²⁸ Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqqaddimah*, Trans., Franz Rosenthal (Princeton, 1969), pp. 71, 101, 106, 127; Patton, Thesis, p. 114.

²⁹ Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy*, pp. 103–109.

land" or *dan gari*, "son of the town", Arabic, *wataniyya*) spread throughout the heterogeneous Caliphate. As observed already, an analogous process model³⁰ also took place in Ningi, Sokoto's nineteenth century nemesis³¹ — laying a common bond, though unintended at the time, for national integration and solidarity while adding to the dynamics of Nigeria in the twentieth century.

Summary

Despite the opinion of numerous outside writers, the name Ningi in northern Nigeria is without a "tribal" significance. The "non-tribal" perspective first came from an indigenous author. Neither a Ningi "tribe" nor "language" ever existed. The people of Ningi consist of two linguistic groupings: the Butawa and Kudawa (Chamawa and Basawa) belong to the Benue-Congo linguistic family and represent its northernmost extension in the Jos Plateau massif; the Hausawa, Pa'awa, and Sirawa belong to the Chadic linguistic family. Recent linguistic analysis holds that what was previously considered a Ningi language was merely a dialect of Butanci. Hence, the name Ningi is derived from the Hausa word *lungu*, meaning "to hide" and initially the Ningi people used this name to describe the hideous mountain walled fortress (*ganuwa Allah*, "the wall that Allah made") which came to be the capital of the nineteenth century Ningi Chiefdom. Within the environment there were gradual linguistic shifts from *L* ("Lungu" to "Lingi") to *N*, which are not infrequent in Hausa, culminating in Ningi. During the 1870's, Ningi became a household word in the Sokoto Caliphate as the Ningi warriors raided the plains on the eastern frontier of Hausaland. Finally, the Ningi nomenclature also denotes not only when this society began but also the beginning of territorial identification and emerging pre-colonial citizenship. This "non-tribal" perspective also found expression in the Sokoto Caliphate, where group feelings (*asabiyya*) also yielded to citizenship (*dan kasa* or *dan gari*, *wataniyya*) in a heterogeneous empire. Oral tradition and Arabic documentation collected by the author support the linguistic methodology and other premises upon which this essay is based.

³⁰ Jan Vansina, "The Use of Process-Models in African History", in *The Historian in Tropical Africa*, eds. Jan Vansina, Raymond Mauny, L. V. Thompson, (London, 1964), pp. 375-389.

³¹ Patton, Thesis.