








**Figure 9** (*CD-ROM*): Key of *Traditional Mafa Settlements*








Clan Sections

-  Goye (Gouzda, Mouzoua, Mazay)
-  Gozla (Mafmay, Mouzoua, Woulad, Gouzda)
-  Gura (Gouzda)
-  Hizhe (Mazay)
-  Kr-Zhigile (Mafmay)
-  Kule (Gouzda)
-  Magiva (Gouzda)
-  Merkanje (Mazay)
-  Ruwa (Mazay)
-  Vuzay (Gouzda, Mazay, Woulad)
-  Woyam-Zle (Woulad)
-  Wula-Sakon (Mtskar)
-  Zaruwa (Mtskar)
-  Zhele (Mazay, Woulad)
-  Zhwe (Gouzda, Mouzoua, Mtskar)
-  Ziver (Mafmay)
-  Zlagam (Mafmay, Mtskar)



## Topography, Traditional Boundaries and Modern Functions

-  Contour line
-  River system
-  Ward boundary
-  Village boundary
-  Christian
-  Christian church
-  Primary school

## Traditional Elders, Strangers and Blacksmiths

-  Lineage elder (tseva)
-  Stranger
-  Chief blacksmith (biy ngwazla)
-  Vuzay-Cembe blacksmith (ngwazla)
-  Zhwe blacksmith (ngwazla)
-  Zhele blacksmith (ngwalza)
-  Gura blacksmith (ngwazla)

## Common Grounds and Traditional Cemeteries

-  Common ground
-  Traditional cemetery

## Traditional Functionaries

- ✕ Mountain priest (biy dza)
- 🛡 Village chief (biy wudam)
- ⬡ Chief's staff (gad bay)
- Chief's representative (bay)
- ◇ Follower of the chief (biy gwala)
- Chief's jester (matsam)

## Sacred Sites

- ⬤ Major mountain shrine
- ⬤ Minor mountain shrine
- ⬤ Killer shrine (madzagay)
- ★ Rain or river shrine
- ★ Healing shrine
- ★ Ancient shrine

## Family heads of chiefly clans and their lineages

### The Gozla of Mouzoua

- ⬡ GOZLA-VINDIYE (Mouzoua)
- Godariy-Vindiye (Ged-Prad, Dzamba, Ndav-Gay)
- Haydak-Vindiye (Ged-Woyam & Ndav-Gay)
- Galiy-Vindiye (Dzamba Mouzoua)
- Danawa-Vindiye (Dzamba Mouzoua)

## The Vuzay of Gouzda-Krbay

- ◻ WASLIMBAY-DANAWA (Vuzay Gouzda)
- Jardiy-Danawa (Danawa, Madzov, Bedegwe-Wuyak)
- Tsekurme-Danawa (Danawa & Bedegwe Wuyak)
- ◻ DAKOZA-VAGORA (Vuzay-Kudon Gouzda)
- Vakenda-Vagora (Bedegwe Gouzda)
- Gwiyva-Vagora (Dabla Gouzda)
- ◻ TEWJWE-VAGSA (Vuzay Gouzda)
- Wezheke-Vagsa (Kezla Gouzda, Dabla, Mazay Hwad-Woyam)
- Deved-Wezheke (Diy-Gagad Gouzda)
- Giybay-Wezheke (Diy-Gagad Gouzda)
- Dzavay-Wezheke (Debon, Wasl, Dabla Gouzda)
- Matakön-Vagsa (Kudon Gouzda)
- Matakön (Deb-Dza & Varzlay Gouzda)
- Gwernye-Matakön (Deb-Dza & Bedegwe Gouzda)
- Haydak-Matakön (Deb-Dza, Dabla, Bedegwe, Mbokom)
- Haraha-Matakön (Varzlay Gouzda)
- Vagsa-Dzavay (Mendeze Gouzda)
- Dzavay (Mendeze Gouzda)
- Dzavay-Kavra (Mendeze Gouzda)

## The Vuzay of Gouzda-Krbay (continued...)

- ◻ TEWJWE-LAFAY (Vuzay Gouzda)
- Kucef-Lafay (Lafay Gouzda)
- Viymay-Lafay (Lafay Gouzda)
- ◻ HARAHA-LAGUWA (Vuzay Gouzda)
- Gadaye-Laguwa (Wula & Kezla Gouzda)
- Mendesle-Gadaye (Wula Var-Hudokw)
- Dzavay-Gadaye (Ged-Kezla Gouzda)
- Biydive-Gadaye (Ged-Kezla Gouzda)
- Matakon-Gadaye (Ged-Wula Gouzda)
- Vatsama-Gadaye (Ged-Wula Gouzda)
- Slamanday-Gadaye (Ged-Wula Gouzda)
- Vetsuwe-Laguwa (Madzov)
- Laguwa-Biyziwe (Mazov Vuzay Gouzda)
- Biyzive (Madzov Gouzda)
- Kalaza-Biyzive (Madzov Gouzda)
- Ngasla-Laguwa (Madzov Gouzda)
- ◻ HARAHA-GLEME (Vuzay Gouzda)
- Ngweleo-Gleme (Mbokom & Mbala Mbokom)
- Mejeme-Gleme (Zlodongoy, Dabla, Mbokom)
- Mejeme (Dabla)
- Kalaza-Mejeme (Mbokom, Bedegwe, Mbala)
- Magana-Mejeme (Zlodongoy Gouzda)
- Tagora-Mejeme (Dabla Gouzda)
- Vice-Gleme (Varzlay Gouzda)

## The Wula-Sakon of Mtskar

- ◻ WESLEM (Wula-Sakon)
- Gama-Weslem (Weslem Mtskar)
- Bava-Weslem (Weslem Mtskar)
- ◻ Marba-Weslem (Marba Mtskar)
- Haydak-Marba (Marba)
- Matakon-Marba (Marba)
- Bava-Marba (Marba)
- Haba-Marba (Marba)
- ◻ NDURA (Wula-Sakon)
- Tagora-Ndura (Ndura Mtskar)
- Keteke-Ndura (Ndura Mtskar)
- Ziyawa-Ndura (Ndura Mtskar)
- ◻ BLIWA (Wula-Sakon)
- Jeme-Bliwa (Woyam-Bedza & Wuyak Mtskar)
- ◻ JEKUWE (Wula-Sakon)
- ◻ Lewa-Jekuwe (Woyam-Bedza, Diy-Tsendad)
- Kaleved-Lewa (Diy-Tsendad)
- Matakon-Lewa (Woyam-Bedza)
- Velele-Lewa (Woyam-Bedza)
- Danawa-Lewa (Woyam-Bedza)
- ◻ Gojele-Jekuwe (Derngasla, Diy-Ged-Bay, Ged-Mejeke)
- Ndzakatay-Gojele (Derngasla)
- Guvabay-Gojele (Diy-Ged-Bay)
- Hondek-Gojele (Diy-Ged-Bay)
- Velas-Gojele (Derngasla)
- Warama-Gojele (Ged-Mejeke)
- Yagoha-Jekuwe (Woyam-Bedza Mtskar)

## The Zhele of Mazay and Woulad

- ◡ ZHELE-JEWELE (Mazay)
- Gsata-Jeweile (Ged-Dza & Deb-Dza Mazay)
- Kalaza-Jeweile (Kandaye & Ndav-Gay Mazay)
- Haydak-Jeweile (Zhele Mazay)
- Haydak (Kandaye, Kurngazl, Deb-Dza)
- Mongoce-Haydak (Deb-Dza, Guvdad, Kurngazl)
- Luhda-Haydak (Guvdad)
- Mejewe-Haydak (Deb-Dza Mazay)
- ◡ ZHELE-ZANGWIY (Mazay)
- Zangwiye-Zangwiye (Ndav-Gay & Tingweting)
- Gadaye-Zangwiye (Ndav-Gay, Tingweting, Deb-Dza)
- ◡ ZHELE-MENDE (Woulad)
- Ketiwe-Mende (Dzamba Woulad & Mbala Ketiwe)
- Jeweday-Ketiwe (Dzamba Woulad & Mbala Ketiwe)
- Gwezeow-Ketiwe (Dzamba Woulad)
- Velas-Ketiwe (Mbala-Ketiwe & Dzamba Woulad)
- Zagwiye-Mende (Panbao Woulad & Mada-Mande)
- ◡ ZHELE-MAZAWAL (Woulad)
- Vasla-Mazawal (Panbao, Mbala Panbao, Dramb)
- Jekene-Mazawal (Dzamba Woulad & Dramb)
- ◡ ZHELE-VICE (Woulad)
- Teode-Vice (Bembere Woulad & Mbala Bembere)
- Hataha-Vice (Bembere Woulad & Mbala Bembere)
- ◡ ZHELE-WANDALA (Woulad Bembere)
- Wandala Zhele (Bembere & Mbala Bembere)

## The Zlagam of Mafmay

- ⬡ ZLAGAM-ZAGAY (Mafmay)
- Manay-Zagay (Zagay)
- Tewawa-Zagay (Zagay)
- Mecewe-Zagay (Zagay)
- ⬡ ZLAGAM-ZERNDAY (Mafmay)
- Takenda-Zernday (Zernday)
- Vatsama-Zernday (Zernday)
- Makola-Zernday (Zernday & Wasl)
- ⬡ ZLAGAM-MBODOM (Mafmay)
- Ganday-Mbodom (Wasl Gouzda)
- Ndihem-Mbodom (Ngaruwa Mafmay)
- Kalay-Mbodom (Ngaruwa Mafmay)
- Ndelem-Mbodom (Ngaruwa Mafmay)

## Family heads of non-chiefly clans and their lineages

### The Goye of Mouzoua, Mazay and Gouzda

- GOYE-NGOKWA (Mouzoua & Mazay)
- Ngweleo-Ngokwa (Goye Mouzoua & Mazay)
- Gonondo-Ngokwa (Goye Mouzoua & Mazay)
- GOYE-GALAZA (Gouzda)
- Gaslagasl-Galaza (Goye Gouzda)
- Gudukoye-Galaza (Goye & Goye-Wuyak)
- Ndelme-Galaza (Goye & Goye-Wuyak)



## The Gozla of Mafmay, Woulad and Gouzda

- GOZLA-KOTONG (Mafmay)
- Vice-Kotong (Badzawa Mafmay & Tsekore)
- Giydime-Kotong (Tsekore)
- Bava-Kotong (Badzawa, Mafmay & Gouzda)
- Sakon-Kotong (Tsekore & Badzawa Mafmay)
- GOZLA-JEME (Woulad)
- Jeme (Dawta Woulad)
- Zakaha-Jeme (Dawta & Dawta Mbala)
- Ngasla-Jeme (Dawta & Dawta-Woyam)
- GOZLA-SLEMTAKON (Gouzda)
- Ndifde-Slemtakon (Gozla Gouzda)
- Ngaruwa-Slemtakon (Gozla Gouzda)

## The Gura of Gouzda

- GURA-KOTEVA (Gouzda)
- Bhomda-Koteva (Gura)
- Ngaruwa-Koteva (Gura)
- Fibay-Koteva (Gura)

## The Hizhe of Mazay

- HIZHE-MALAKWA (Mazay)
- Nduvay-Malakwa (Hizhe Mazay)
- Dalma-Malakwa (Hizhe & Ged-Dza)
- Bengueme-Malakwa (Ged-Dza Hizhe)
- Wala-Malakwa (Hizhe Mazay)

### The Kr-Zhigile of Mafmay

- ☐ KR-ZHIGILE-JIMEGED (Mafmay)
- ☒ Felew-Jimeged (Kr-Zhigile)
- ☒ Kakam-Jimeged (Kr-Zhigile)

### The Kule (Vrdeke) of Gouzda

- ☐ VRDEKE-KULE (Gouzda)
- ☒ Ndukombay-Kule (Kule Gouzda)

### The Magiva of Gouzda

- ☐ MAGIVA (Gouzda)
- ☒ Ndasla-Magiva (Magiva Gouzda & Var-Hukokw)
- ☒ Manay-Magiva (Magiva Gouzda)
- ☒ Kotsem-Magiva (Magiva Gouzda)

### The Merkanje of Mazay

- ☐ MERKANJE-GODALIY (Mazay)
- ☒ Slanawa-Godaliy (Merkanje & Ged-Woyam)
- ☒ Baslagiy-Godaliy (Merkanje & Ged-Woyam)

### The Ruwa of Mazay

- ☐ RUWA (Mazay)
- ☒ Danguwa-Ruwa (Ruwa Mazay)

### The Vuzay of Mazay and Woulad

- ☐ FTELE-MBENDE (Vuzay Mazay)
- ☒ Warday-Mbende (Deb-Kokwar Mazay)
- ☒ Bava-Mbende (Deb-Kokwar & Hwad-Woyam Mazay)
- ☐ VUZAY-ZLAMA (Woulad)
- ☒ Zlama-Vuzay (Vuzay Woulad & Vuzay Mbala)

### The Woyam-Zle of Woulad

- WOYAM-SLE TRAST (Woulad)
- Kucef-Trast (Cetoek)
- Bidive-Trast (Cetoek)
- Matakön-Trast (Cetoek)

### The Zaruwa of Mtskar

- ZARUWA-TEONDE (Mtskar)
- Wetende-Teonde (Diy-Tsendad)
- Weneme-Teonde (Zaruwa)
- Wucived-Teonde (Diy-Tsendad & Zaruwa)

### The Zhwe of Gouzda, Mtskar and Mouzoua

- ZHWE-GODALIY (Gouzda & Mtskar)
- Godaliy-Mbeutele (Zhwe Gouzda)
- Bava-Godaliy (Zhwe Gouzda & Mtskar)
- Bava (Dak-Zlama & Zhwe Gouzda)
- Ziyahad-Bava (Zhwe Mtskar)
- Javiy-Bava (Zhwe Mtskar)
- Nduvday-Godaliy (Zhwe Gouzda)
- ZHWE-MATAKON (Mouzoua)
- Matakön-Menda (Zhwe Ndav-Gay Mouzoua)
- ZHWE-FKALA (Mouzoua)
- Mavje-Fkala (Wuyak Mouzoua)
- Gaye-Fkala (Ged-Woyam Mouzoua)

### The Ziver of Mafmay

- ZIVER-BAGA (Mafmay)
- Diy-Mafa-Baga (Ziver)
- Hanawa-Baga (Ziver)

### The Zlagam of Mtskar

- ZLAGAM-NZIYAMA (Mtskar)
- Mavina-Nziyama (Zlagam Mtskar)
- Kolem-Nziyama (Zlagam Mtskar)

### **Family heads of associated non-chiefly clans and their lineages**

#### The Goye of Zhele Mazay

- Goye-Moskota (Deb-Dza Mazay)

#### The Malguce of Zhele Woulad

- MALGUCE (Woulad Dzamba)

#### The Sadao of Zhele Mazay

- SADA0 (Mazay Deb-Dza)

#### The Teme of Woyam-Zle Woulad

- TEME (Woulad Cetoek)

#### The Zhele of Wula-Sakon Mtskar

- Zhele (Woyam-Bedza Mtskar)