

‘Go beka’: Legato le bohlokwa la lenyalo la setšo

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Nepokgolo ya nyakišišo ye ke go tsinkela lenyalo la setšo sa Bapedi go hlokometšwe kudu setšhaba sa ba Matlala ba tikologo ya Moutse. Go bile le dinyakišišo tšeo di dirilwego mabapi le lenyalo la setšo sa Bapedi. Le ge go le bjalo dinyakišišo tšeo di lebane le lenyalo la Bapedi ka kakaretšo leo le sa hlalošego magato a lenyalo ao ka Sepedi le ona a amogelegago mo lenyalong, bjalo ka legato la ‘Go beka’. Ge go lekolwa lenyalo la setšhaba se sa ba Matlala, go lemogwa gore sona se na le magato a lenyalo a go fapana le tšeo tše dingwe. Phapano ye kgolo ya lenyalo la setšo sa ba Matlala e theilwe godimo ga tshepedišo ya kgato ya go ikgetha ya go bitšwa legato la ‘Go beka’, leo ge le ka se phethagatšwe go thwego lenyalo la setšo ga se le felelele.

‘Be engaged to...’: An important stage of traditional marriage

The main aim of this article is to analyse the Bapedi traditional marriage system, with special reference to the final stage of marriage called *Go beka* of the Matlala tribe, who live within the Moutse area. Some research has already been conducted relevant to the traditional marriage system of the Bapedi. However, research to date focuses on the marriage system of the Bapedi in general, but does not explain in detail one of the stages of marriage that is acceptable and critical in Sepedi culture. This final stage of marriage, known as the *Go beka*, is one in which a young married woman is required to leave her parents’ family to join and to live with the family of the in-laws on a permanent basis. When critically analysing or assessing the marriage system of the Matlala tribe, it is evident that it has conventions in the marriage process that are different from some other ethnic groups. The main difference in the marriage system of the Matlala group is that it is based on the obligations pertaining to the final stage of marriage, called *Go beka*, which, unless this aspect is fulfilled, the marriage cannot be regarded as complete in terms of Bapedi traditional culture.

Matseno

Go bile le dinyakišišo tšeo di dirilwego ke Mönnig (1967), *Worldbook Encyclopaedia* (2000) le Lewis (1976) mabapi le lenyalo la setšo sa Bapedi. Le ge go le bjalo dinyakišišo tša bona di be di lebane le lenyalo la Bapedi fela, di sa hlaloše magato a lenyalo ao ka Sepedi le ona a amogelegago mo lenyalong, bjalo ka legato la ‘Go beka’. Bjale taba ye ya lenyalo e tlo lebelelwa go setšhaba sa Matlala sa tikologo ya Moutse ka Limpopo, e lego ye nngwe ya diprofense tša Afrika-Borwa.

Nyakišišo e tlo lebane thwi le setšhaba se sa Matlala sa go aroganywa ka metsana ya go fapana go ya ka baetapele ba yona. Gomme ge, ge go lekolwa lenyalo la setšhaba se sa ba Matlala, gape go lemogilwe gore, go fapana le ditšhaba tše dingwe tša ba Matlala, sona se na le magato a lenyalo a go fapana le tšeo tše dingwe go akaretšwa gape le ditšhaba tše dingwe tša Bapedi ka kakaretšo. Phapano ye kgolo ya lenyalo la setšo sa ba Matlala e theilwe godimo ga tshepedišo ya kgato ya go ikgetha ya go bitšwa legato la ‘Go beka’, leo ge le ka se phethagatšwe go thwego lenyalo la setšo ga se le felelele/phethagale.

Tshepedišo ya mohuta wo ya lenyalo la setšo, go fihlela ka paka ye, ga se e hlalošwe dingwalong tša Sepedi ka botlalo. Ke ka fao nyakišišo e kgonthišago gore diphatišišo

tša bogologolo (boMayer (1950)), taba ye e tlo hlaloša ka mo tlase) ga di bone legato la ‘Go beka’ e le kgato ye bohlokwa tshepedišong ya manyalo a setšo ditšhabeng tša Bapedi, yona taba ye e lego bothata bjo bo swanetšego go rarollwa ke nyakišišo ye. Ke ka fao ge, legato la ‘Go beka’ le tlogo hlalošwa ka botlalo le ka tsenelelo mo nyakišišong ya lenyalo la Bapedi ba Matlala ba Moutse.

Mokgwanyakišišo

Mokgwa wo o tlogo dirišwa nyakišišong ye o fapana le mokgwa wa nyakišišo wo o kilego wa dirišwa ke banyakišiši ba dingwalo. Go tlo šalwa morago mokgwa wa nyakišišo wo o hlalošitšwego ke Joubert (2004) nyakišišong ya gagwe ya bongaka ya go bitšwa ‘*The power of performance*’. Mosekaseki yo o hlaloša gore go na le mokgwa wo o dirišwago ge go nyakišišwa seo se sego sa ngwalwa. Mokgwa woo ke wa go nyakišiša ka tsela ya sengwalobomolomo (‘*oral literature*’) le ka tiragatšo (‘*performance*’). Ka mantšu a mangwe nyakišišong ye, ga se go dirišwe ka go nepiša thwi mokgwanyakišišo wa tlwaelo wa naratholotši, e lego wa go hlaloša le go hlatholla sebopego sa sengwalo o nnoši, eupša go tlo šomišwa le mokgwanyakišišo wo wa go tswaka sengwalobomolomo le tiragatšo.

Mo mokgweng wo, monyakišiši o ya bathong a boledišana goba a ba botšiša ka seo a tla bego a nyaka go se tseba le go ngwala ka sona. Go tšwela pele monyakišiši gape a ka bogela seo a se nyakišišago ge se diragatšwa. Taba ya go nyakišiša ka bomolomo ga se ye mpsha, e no ba e ile ya tlogelwa gomme gwa sekamelwa ka nyakišišong ya go ngwalwa. Nyakišišo ye ya sengwalobomolomo mo Afrika-Borwa e ile ya tlogelwa ka lebaka la mabaka a mabjalo ka a politiki, go tsenelana ga dišō le go hlakana ga merafe ye mengwe, kudu ya metsetoropong gammogo le merero ya sedumedi, thuto, leago, bjalojalo. Go ka akaretšwa ka go re nyakišišo ya bomolomo ke yona e utollago ditaba ka moka tšeo monyakišiši a di nyakago ka ge a tla be a lebane le mongditaba ka mahlong a bile a kgona le go mmotšiša dipotšišo moo a nyakago tlhalošo yeo e tseneletšego.

Ka lehlakoreng le lengwe, Ruth Finnegan (1970: 1) yena o fo re nyakišišo ya go ngwalwa e atile ebile e phatlaletše ka kudu, mola nyakišišo ya bomolomo yona e se ya tšweletšwa kudu bjalo ka ya go ngwalwa mo dinyakišišong. Ke ka fao a rego nyakišišo ya bomolomo e swanetše go ba le ditlabakelo tšeo di ka dirišwago ge go nyakišišwa gore tsebo goba kutollo e tle e bolokelwe le mabakeng ao a tlogo. Ka mantšu a mangwe go ka dirišwa puku go ngwala seo se nyakišišwago, setšeamantšu ge go bolelwa, gammogo le seswantšho go tlo fa bohlatse bja seo se bonwego ge go be go nyakišišwa; godimo ga moo go ka dirišwa gape le ditlabakelo tša go swana le DVD yeo e akaretšago setšeamantšu le diswantšho ka nako e tee.

Ka fao nyakišišo ye e tlo nepiša dintlha tšeo ka go boledišana le bagthatema ba ba nago le tsebo ya go teba mererong ya kgopolo ya 'Go beka' ka tsela ya bomolomo gammogo le ka fao bangwadi ba bangwe ba bogologolo ba šetšego ba ngwadile ka kgopolo ya lenyalo ka gona.

Go ka fo akaretšwa ka go re nyakišišo ya bomolomo, (le ge ka maatla e ka no lekana le ya dingwalo ka gobane Ryan le ba bangwe (1982: 16) ba re mongwadi ga a bohlokwa ge sengwalo se sekasekwa) ke yona e utollago ditaba ka moka tšeo monyakišiši a di nyakago ka ge a tla be a lebane le mmoledišwa, a bile ka lehlakoreng le lengwe, a kgona le go mmotšiša dipotšišo moo a nyakago tlhalošo yeo e tseneletšego, go ya ka fao go šetšego go ukamilwee ka gona ka godimo.

Ka yona tsela yeo ge, dipoledišano tša bomolomo, go akaretšwa le dingwalo tšeo di tlogo dirišwa go fatolla tlhalošo ya go teba ya mohuta wo wa karolo ya lenyalo nyakišišong ye, di tlo huetša kwešišotshwanelo ya kgopolo ya legato la 'Go beka' gagolo ge go šeditšwe tebelelo ya ditlhalošo tše di latelago.

Kgopolo ya legato la 'go beka'

Legato le la 'Go beka' e sa le pharela (go ya ka tlhalošo ya ka godimo ya matseno) tabeng ya lenyalo, go ya ka moo le sa tšweletšwego gabotse le ka tshwanelo ka gona ke bangwadi ba bantši bao ba ngwadilego ka lenyalo - ge ba šetše ba hlaloša kgopolo ya lenyalo ka go e amanywa le magato a lona. Gore kgopolo ya 'Go beka' e tle kwešišege gabonolo, go tla ra gore kgopolo ya lenyalo le yona e hlalošwe ka boripana. Ka go realo nyakišišong ye, kgopolo ya lenyalo e tlo tsinkelwa kudu ka go arola tlhalošokakaretšo ya lona ka dikarolo tše pedi, e lego (a) kgopolo ya 'Go beka' ka bangwadi ba bangwe, le

(b) tlhalošo ya 'Go beka' ka Bapedi gagolo ba Matlala ba tikologo ya Moutse ka ge lengwalonyakišišo le le lebane le selete seo ka mahlong.

Kgopolo ya legato la 'Go beka' ka bangwadi ba bangwe

Bangwadi bao ba lekilego go ngwala ka legato la 'Go beka', e lego Mayer (1950), Krige (1943), Myburgh (1966) le Mönnig (1967) ga se ba le hlaloša ka go tsenelela go ya ka moo go bego go letetšwe ka gona. Bona ge ba hlaloša kgopolo ye ba no e bea mabala a nkwe. Bjale go yo lekolwa ditshwayatshwayo tšeo tša bona ka go di akaretša.

Mayer (1950) o hlaloša gore ka morago ga go ntšha magadi, go ba le dikgomo tše pedi tšeo di šalelago gomme tša tlo išwa ga bongwetši ka morago ga lebaka leo le beilwego ke malapa a mabedi ao a angwago. Dikgomo tšeo di išwa ke bomorwarragolesogana gammogo le bagwera ba lona. Lesogana lona le bea letšatši leo dikgomo tšeo di išwago ka lona gomme lona le tlo ya go lata goba go tšea mosadi wa lona ka nama (ka bolona). O hlaloša go ya pele gore legato le ke la mafelelo la go nyala mosadi; a tlišwa bogadi. Ge a tšwela pele o re mokgonyana le bagapi ba dikgomo tšeo tše pedi ba lala ba iketlile ga bolekgarebe, go lewa nama ya kgomo yela ba e tlišitšego, gomme bošego bjo bo latelago go keteka meloko e se mekae ya bolekgarebe le lesogana fela ka thekgo le tlhahlo ya moruti le mosadi wa gagwe. Ka letšatši leo le latelago ngwetši e rwešwa leseka (leseka ke motato wo boleta wa go logwa ka bothakga wo o rwalwago ke basadi matsogong le maotong) leotong ya be ya fiwa leina la go ya bogadi, ya ba gona e sepelago le monna wa yona go ya bogadi. Mongwadi yo o bolela gore go rwešwa leseka mo ke seka sa go tlišetša gore lesogana le tloga le rereša ge le nyala lekgarebe leo le gore le le tšeela sa ruri go ya bogadi.

Mayer (1950) o ruma tlhalošo ya gagwe ka go re ge mosadi a se a ntšetšwa dikgomo tšeo tše pedi tša mafelelo ga se a fetša go nyalwa, ka gona a ka se ye bogadi. Bjale ge go lekodišišwa tlhalošo yeo ya Mayer (1950) go lemogwa gore ga e bolele selo ka go boela morago ga ngwetši, ge e se ge e bolela ka dikgomo tše pedi tšeo di išwago go lokolla lekgarebe go tlela sa ruri bogadi. Ka go realo yena o no tšweletša ntlha ye ya 'Go beka' ka gare ga monyanya, eupša ga se a hlakiša gabotse tatelano ya ditiragalo tša go lebana le kgato ye ya lenyalo.

Ge a leka go rarolla bothata bjoo, Krige (1943) yena o hlaloša gore ka morago ga lenyalo go feta dibeke tše tharo goba tše nne ngwetši e boela ga gaboyona ka pudi, go thwe e ya go tšholla bongwetši. Ka yona nako ye, monna a ka e latela ga gaboyona goba a ya Makgoweng go šoma ge e ba o a šoma. Ka morago ga nako yeo e kwanetšwego ke malapa a mabedi a, ngwetši e boela bogadi e filwe bjala bja go bulela mmagwe tsela ya go ka mo etela ge a rata. O hlaloša gape gore gona moo ge ngwetši e boela bogadi, ba bolesogana ba tla be ba rometše pudi gape ya go e dumelela goba go e lokolla gore e tlele sa ruri bogadi. Ge ngwetši e fihla bogadi e tla hlalwa ka diemadirile tša bogadi, ya rutwa tša bosadi ke mmatswale, ya ba gona e amogetšwe ke ba bogadi bja yona go ya go ile. Go lemogwa gore Krige (1943) le yena o no bea ditaba mabala' nkwe; ga a ale leleme phate gore ditaba tšeo tša kgopolo ya 'Go beka' di tle di kwešišege gabotse.

Myburgh (1966), ka thokong ye nngwe ge a leka go tliša

ditaba tšeo di tlogetšwego, o no hlaloša ka boripana ka legato le la 'Go beka'. Ge a leka go hlaramolla kgopolo yeo, o re 'Go beka' ke legato la mafelelo la go iša ngwetši bogadi. O re ka morago ga ge magadi e ntšhitšwe, tatagolesogana o ntšha kgomo ya go ikgetha yeo e išwago ga bolekgarebe, e lego yona ya 'Go beka' ngwetši go e lokolla gore e tlele sa ruri bogadi. Taba yeo a e bolelago ya go re 'Go beka' ke legato la mafelelo la lenyalo, e bohlokwa, eupša ga a hlaloše ditaba tšeo ka moka tša go phethagatša kgopolo yeo ya 'Go beka'.

Kgopolo ye ya 'Go beka' e hlalošwago ke Myburgh (1966) ka godimo, e tiišetšwa le go thekgwa ke Mönnig (1967) ka go re 'Go beka' ke legato la mafelelo la lenyalo; ke go re go išwa ngwetši bogadi sa ruri ka morago ga ge e boetše ga boyona nako ya go lekana ngwaga goba e belege ngwana wa pele. (Taba yeo ya Mönnig (1967) e tlo hlalošwa gape ka mo tlase). O re tatagolesogana o ntšha kgomo ya go ikgetha ya 'Go beka' a e romela tatagongwetši ya gagwe gore a e lokolle e tlele sa ruri bogadi. Kgomo ye ya go ikgetha ke ya go ruma lona legato la mafelelo la lenyalo, gape le go leboga tatagongwetši ka ge ba phethelane ntle le mathatanyana ao a rilego.

Ge go ya pele Mönnig (1967) a leka go rarolla bothata bjo bja boMyburgh (1966), o tšwela pele go hlatholla ka go gatelela gore go samiša tšhepišo ya go ntšha kgomo (goba setseka), ka nako ye nngwe, go bohlokwa ka gobane go ntšhwa ga kgomo ya 'Go beka' gotee le magadi ke motheo wa legato le bohlokwa la lenyalo; ke go re ge tatagolesogana a rata gore ngwetši ya gagwe e tlele sa ruri bogadi nakong ya monyanya le ge lekgarebe le nyalwa nageng ya kgojana le ya ga bolona, goba ge a se na le kgomo yeo ka nako yeo, ba bogwe ba ka holofetša gore go se go ye kae, legato la 'Go beka' le tlo latela. Taba yeo e kgonthiša gore ba bogadi ba amogele gore kgomo ya 'Go beka' ba tla romelwa ka morago ge ba bogwe ba hweditše setseka seo sa go re ngwetši e tlele ruri bogadi. O re le ge go le bjalo, ngwetši yeo e sa tlo boela morago go yo belegela ngwana wa pele ga gaboyona.

Ge e belege e išwa bogadi sa ruri gomme ge e fihla gona, e a itsebišwa gore ke yona mmagomang, e šupa ngwana yo e mmelelego. Mongwadi yo o hlaloša gore ge ngwetši e ka išwa bogadi pele e belega ngwana wa pele, go epelwa dikota tše pedi tša rewa maina, la mošemane le la mosetsana. Ge ngwana wa pele a belegwe, o tlo rewa leina leo le mo swanetšego go ao a mabedi gomme e yo itsebiša ka boyona go ba bogadi ge e fihla gona. O re ga go mokete wo o diragalago nakong ya ge ngwetši e itsebiša ka boyona.

Mönnig (1967) o ruma taba ye ya 'Go beka' ka go re ge ngwetši e išwa bogadi sa ruri, yo mongwe wa meloko o a kgethwa gomme a botša mokgonyana goba lesogana leo ka mokgwa wa setšo gore ba gabolekgarebe ga se ba lahla ngwana wa bona, eupša ba sa na le maatla a go mo šireletša go dirišweng bošaedi le go tše dingwe tše mpe. Ka mantšu a mangwe hlogo e sa le ya ba bolekgarebe le ge ba mo tšere e le ngwetši ya bona. Le ge tlhalošo yeo ya Mönnig (1967) e bonala o ka re e hlatholla ditaba ka botlalo, bothata ke go re ke ya go akaretša, ka gobane ga se ya go teba le go tsenelela mererong ya 'Go beka' ngwetši.

Ke ka tsela yeo go thwego, go ya ka ditlhalošo tša basekaseki bao ba ka godimo, go molalaleng gore kgopolo ye ya 'Go beka' e sa nyaka tlhathollo ye e tiilego, gagolo ge go lebeletšwe thulano le go se hlophologe gabotse ga

ditlhalošo tšeo tša kgopolo ya 'Go beka'. Bjale tlhathollo ye nngwe e yo tsongwa ka tlhalošo ya bomolomo go tšwa go ditsebi tša setšo mererong ya kgopolo ya 'Go beka' ge e tšweletšwa ka molomo wa Bapedi ba Matlala ka tikologong ya Moutse.

Tlhalošo ya legato la 'Go beka' ka Bapedi ba Matlala ba Moutse

Mmotong o hlaloša gore 'Go beka' ke ge lekgarebe le kgopelwa go tla ka ga bolesogana pele ga go ntšhetšwa magadi goba go nyalwa. O re ka nako ye nngwe gantši lekgarebe le kgopelwa ge batswadi ba lesogana ba ntšhitše bonnyane bja magadi ao. Thobejane o tlaeletša seo se bolelwago ke Mmotong ka go re 'Go beka' ke go išwa ga dipute (dikobo tša lenyalo) ga bolekgarebe. O re batswadi ba lesogana ba reka maseka, ditheto (thetho ke seaparo sa go dirwa ka mokgopa wa pudi goba kgomo, gomme sona se aparwa ke basadi ka mo pele go tloga mathekeng) le dintepa (ntepa ke seaparo sa go dirwa ka mokgopa sa go aparwa ka morago go tloga mathekeng) tša išwa ga bolekgarebe ya ba ge ba beka ngwetši. O re se se direlwa gore go tsebje ge lekgarebe leo le tlo nyalwa bokete, goba ga semangmang. Lekgarebe le apešwa diaparo tšeo gomme gwa bewa letšatši la go tlo ntšha magadi. Mosadi yo wa ga Thobejane o hlaloša gape gore mohlang wo wa 'go beka', go tla fela meloko ya kgauswi ya malapa a mabedi a ka ge e se lenyalo, ka ge e no ba ditseka tšeo di balwago bjalo ka dipute; ka gobane ka lenyalo go tla meloko ka moka le bagwera gammogo le setšhaba gomme ditseka tša gona ke dikgomo tša magadi goba yona tšhelete.

Mokgalabje Mmotong o tlaeletša go ya pele gore go ba le dipoledišano pele ga ge tatagolesogana a eya go bekela morwagwe mosadi. O re taba ye e dirwa pele ga lenyalo. Kgomo yeo e yago 'Go beka' lekgarebe leo e išwa e tlemilwe ka lebja/lerala goba ketane gore e se tšhabe mo tseleng ge e gapša. Kgomo yeo e gapša ke banna, gomme le modiši wa dikgomo o ba gona gore e se tšhabe ka ge dikgomo di šetše di mo tšwaetše. Kgomo yeo ge e se *lebelete* (*wild* ka Seafrikanere) (*lebelete* ke kgomo ye bogale goba ya go se ikettle le ge e tlemilwe) e ka gapša e nnoši eupša ge e le *lebelete* e gapša le tše dingwe gomme tšona di tla boetšwa morago ge e fihlile. Ge lefelong leo la go ya 'Go beka' ngwetši e le kgole, bagapi ba kgomo ba tla tšame ba robala metseng le gona metswalong ya bona go fihla moo motseng wa bolekgarebe. O hlaloša go ya pele gore ge ba se na metswalo ba tla kgopela marobalo ka mošate wa motse woo. Mmotong o hlaloša gore kgomo yeo ya 'Go beka' e swaiwa ka leswao la moswananoši gore le ge e na le tše dingwe kua ga bolekgarebe e tsebje gore ke yeo e bekilego lekgarebe leo ka moo lapeng leo.

Matlala yena o godiša kgopolo ya 'Go beka' ka go re ke ge tatagolesogana le yena a ntšha kgomo goba pudi ya go tlaeletša magadi a morwagwe ge a nyala. O hlaloša gore kgomo goba pudi ye ga e gapeletšwe go ntšhwa, go tšwa go tatagolesogana gore o a e ntšha goba aowa. Ka thokong ye nngwe Bogopa o akgola Matlala ka go re 'Go beka' go swana le go thiba sefero ka ge tatagolesogana a iša kgomo ya poo ga bolekgarebe, e lego seka sa go re yo a tlogo nyala ke lesogana. O re tatagolesogana o ntšha kgomo ye pele ga magadi go laetša le go fa bohlatse bja go re morwa wa

gagwe o tlo nyala ka moo lapeng leo. O re ke yona kgomo ya go di eta pele (ge go ntšhwa magadi). O re yona ga e balwe le magadi eupša e tlo begwa gape mohlang magadi a išwa.

Mokgalabje Bogopa o tšwela pele ka go hlaloša gore ge tiragalo ye e dirwa go fele go selaganya mmolelwana wo o rego mokgalabje mmekangwetši selemo masogana a šala a kgangwa ke dipelo. Mmolelo wo o hlalošwa ka mahlakore a mabedi, e lego (a) mokgalabje tatagolesogana o bekile ngwetši ya gagwe, a bekela morwa wa gagwe gore masogana a mangwe a se mo thake pele a mo tšeela lekgarebe ka ge a sa kokotletša magadi a go tlo nyala. Go thwe mokgalabje o dira bjalo ka go tseba goba go bona boroto le bobotse bja diatla tša lekgarebe leo, le gore o tšwa lapeng la mohuta woo a le ratago. Mokgalabje o hutša gore lekgarebe leo le tla hlokiša ngwana wa lona mathata mohlang ba le lapeng la bona. Ka lehlakoreng le lengwe (b) mokgalabje a ka beka goba gona go nyala lekgarebe gore le be mosadi wa gagwe ka ge mohlomongwe mosadi wa gagwe a ile boyo (a hlokofetše) gomme go se yo mongwe wa dithaka tša gagwe yo a ka mo nyalago. Ka go realo o tla be a thakile masogana pele gomme a bolawa ke dipelo ka ge mokgalabje a tšere mogwera wa bona a mo dira mosadi ba sa itebetše. Go thwe tiragalo ye e dira gore masogana a thome go itekola le go itokišeša go nyala ka bjako ka ge bakgalabje ba bangwe ba tla dira mmoetšana gomme ba (masogana) tla ba hloka bao ba ba nyalago.

Phahlamohlaka yena o hlatholla taba ye ya 'Go beka' ka go re ke ge ngwetši e boile bogadi e le ka gaboyona lebakanyana le le rilego gomme e boetšwa morago ka bjala. O re se se dirwa ge tatagolesogana a šetše a išitše kgomo goba pudi ya 'Go beka' ngwetši go tlela sa ruri bogadi. Mokgekolo yo Phahlamohlaka, o bea taba kgakala ka go hlaloša gape gore kgopolo ya 'Go beka' e lebane le legato la mafelelo la go iša ngwetši bogadi. O re ngwetši yona e felegetšwa ke basadi le monna o tee go mo goroša bogadi. Ba ya le monna o tee ka gobane ga e sa le lenyalo e no ba ba felegetša go fa kgoro bohlatse bja go re morwedi o išitšwe bogadi la mafelelo.

Gona moo Malefo le Maila ge ba akgola Phahlamohlaka mabapi le taba ye, ba re 'Go beka' ke legato leo go lona go ntšhwago kgomo ya mafelelo ya go bontšha gore ngwetši e ye le sa ruri bogadi. Ba hlaloša gore kgomo yeo e ntšhwa ke tatagolesogana mohlang go išwa magadi ga bolekgarebe. Ge kgomo ya 'Go beka' e se gona, ngwetši e ka lokollwa ka kgomo ya malome go ya bogadi, ka ge malome e le motho yo bohlokwa lenyalong la motlogolo wa gagwe; ke ka moo kgomo ya gagwe e nago le maleba a go emela ya 'Go beka'. Go thwe yeo ya 'Go beka' e swanetše e tlišwe mohlang e hweditšwe gore lenyalo la lekgarebe le felelele goba le phethwe. Ka go realo kgomo ya malome ke ya go jela molato mpeng ga se ya 'Go beka', e no ba ya go re ngwetši e dumelelwa go ya bogadi. Ka gona tatagolesogana o tla dula a tseba gore o sa šaletšwe ke molato wa 'Go beka' ngwetši ya gagwe.

Phokwana o tlatša seo se bolelwago ke Malefo le Maila ka go re gabotse 'Go beka' ke legato la mafelelo la tshepedišo ya lenyalo ka lebaka la go re ka letšatši la lenyalo tatagolesogana o ntšha kgomo goba pudi le ge e ka ba tšhelete pele ba ka tšea ngwetši ya bona. O re tšhelete ya 'Go beka' ga e na seroto go tšwa go tatagolesogana gore yena o bona nke a ka beka ka bokae. Kgomo goba pudi

yeo le ge e ka ba tšhelete, ke ya go lokolla ngwetši gore e tlele sa ruri bogadi. Mokgalabje Phokwana o gatelela gape taba ya go re ge kgomo ya 'Go beka' e se gona ka letšatši leo la go ntšha magadi e tla tlišwa mohlang ngwetši e boela bogadi; ke go re e tla be e mo lokollela sa ruri go ya bogadi.

Mogajana o ema Phokwana nokeng ka go re 'Go beka' ke legato la mafelelo la ge ngwetši e yela sa ruri bogadi. Ge a tšwetša taba ye pele, Mogajana o re go ntšhwa kgomo ya 'Go beka' ngwetši pele e tsena ka gae goba ka ngwakong wa monna wa yona letšatšing leo e boago ka lona ga gaboyona. Mosadi yo Mogajana o re ge ngwetši e tlišitšwe bogadi bao ba e tlišitšego ba e botša gore sa mosadi ke go fogohleletša seropeng e le ge ba efa tihohleletšo ya go re e dule bogadi le ge go ka se be bese ka lebaka la mathata. Ke go re e kgotlelele, e se tšhabele maikarabelo le go hlanogela dikano tša yona. Seema se se tlaeletšwa ke seo se hlalošitšwego ke Mokgalabje Nkwana peleng ge go hlalošwa go laiwa ga ngwetši, sa go re lebitla la mosadi ke bogadi. Ke go re mahlokong le bodiiding ngweši e se hlanoge ya boela morago ga gaboyona. Ka thokong ye nngwe ba tla e botša gore e se kgaotše go ya madibeng e le gona ge ba e lemoša gore e belege ka ge e tliile go godiša kgoro yeo lehono e tliilego go yona. Ka go realo e swanetše go belegela monna yoo bana. Ka nako ye nngwe ba e laela gore e tswale ba ate ka ge monapelo a sa tsebje; ba šupa gore ngwetši yeo e belege bana bao ba lebanego ka ge go sa tsebje ngwana yoo a tlogo hlompha le go fepa goba gona go theeletša batswadi ge a šetše a godile e le lekgarebe goba lesogana. Gona moo o tlo hwetša ba tlaeletša ka la go re leihlo le tee le bekiwe ke selabi, e le ge ba šupa gore bana e be ba bantši ka ge o tee a ka no welwa ke mathata. Ge e le lesogana lona le tla botšwa gore bobedi ga bo lwe bo ronana dinta, e le ga ge ba tla be ba leka go le lemoša gore ka ge ba le tlišeditše mosadi sa ruri ba swanetše go phela mmogo ba sa lwe eupša ba thekgana dilong ka moka tša bophelo bja bona.

Maila yena o no hlaloša gore kgopolo ya 'Go beka' ke legato leo go lona tatagolesogana a ntšhago kgomo ya go lokolla ngwetši gore e tle bogadi. O re kgomo ye e ka tla le magadi gotee goba ka morago ga lenyalo. Makubjana o thekga Maila ka go re ka letšatši la go ntšha magadi tatagolesogana le yena o ntšha kgomo goba pudi ya go re bjale ngwetši e tlele sa ruri bogadi, e se hlwe e boela ga gaboyona. O re ka dinako tše dingwe ngwetši e ka ya bogadi e se e bekwe gomme ya tla ya bušetšwa ga gaboyona lebaka leo e ka bago kgwedi goba go ya ka moo malapa ao a kwanago ka gona. Ka morago ga lebaka leo tatagolesogana o iša kgomo goba pudi, le ge e ka ba tšhelete (ga e na seroto) ga bolekgarebe gore ngwetši e tlele sa ruri bogadi. Go tšwela pele Makubjana o hlaloša gore setseka seo sa 'Go beka' se fiwa malome wa lekgarebe leo, kudu ka ge go thwe malome o kgatha tema ye bohlokwa lenyalong la motlogolo wa gagwe.

Ge a hlabela pele Makubjana o re ngwetši yeo e išwa bogadi ke basadi ba leloko gomme ge ba fiha ba e tlogelela polelo ya go swana le ya go re e tsebe gore ga go poopedi šakeng; ba e ra gore ka lapeng hlogo ke motho o tee gomme motho yoo ke monna yoo a swanetšwego ke thompho. Taba ye nngwe yeo ba e botšago ngwetši letšatšing leo ke go re e se tšewe ke kiti (mogofe) goba gona go theeletša melodi ya makaba. Dika tše ka bobedi bja tšona di hlaloša kgopolo e tee, e lego ya go re ngwetši e se theeletše dinonyana ya

wetšwa goba ya lahletšwa ke batho ba bangwe ka ge ba ka e senyetša lenyalo goba lona lapa. Ngwetši e swanetše go ithlopha, e lote le go hlompaha melao ya bogadi, ka kudu monna wa yona. O re ba fetša le ka leo le rego lebitla la mosadi ke bogadi. Mo go sa gatelelwa go kgotlelela bophelo bja bogadi le gore ngwetši e se bebele batswadi ba yona mathata a mangwe le a mangwe ao e kopanago le ona bogadi. E se boele gae ya re e a hlaka eupša e tšee ba bogadi bjalo ka batswadi ba yona. Bokaone ke ge e ka ba begela ka seo se sa e swarego gabotse mabapi le monna wa lapa.

Makubjana o tšwela pele ka go hlaloša gore bafelegetši ba bongwetši ba fela ba botša lesogana gore mokgonyana phalla tša bogwe di a ya, le gore mokgonyana ga a fetše go nyala. Dipolelo tše di hlaloša gore le ge ba mo neetše morwedi wa bona, mokgonyana o swanetše gore a fele a thuša ba bogweng bja gagwe ge ba le mathateng goba go na le seo se nyakago thušo ya gagwe. Ge a tšwela pele o re ge ngwetši e boetšwa bogadi go thwe e ya go tšholla bongwetši. Go tšholla bongwetši ke ge mmatswale wa yona a mo ruta maitswaro le mešongwana ya bogadi le gore lapeng leo go phelwa bjang. Ke ka fao a tlogo kwa le go amogela seo a se boditšwego sa go re ge e hwetša ba bogadi ba tsoga bošego, e tsoge; ge ba loya, e loye, bjalobjalo.

Mokgalabje Makubjana o re ge mmatswale a feditše go mo ruta ke gona a ka mmegago dipitšeng tša basadi ba kgoro gomme ge e bonwe bokgoni moo (dipitšeng), ke gona e ka hlohleletšwago go nyaka lebalana goba lefelo leo e ka ikagelago lapa le monna wa yona ge yena (monna) e se wa mafelelo lapeng leo. O re tiragalo ye ya go tšwa lapeng la mmatswale e direga gantši ge monnagolesogana a nyaka go nyala mosadi, eupša ge go se bjalo ga ba gapeletšego go tšwa ka lapeng la mmatswale. Ka yona nako yeo e dulago le mmatswale wa yona e tlogo be e lemoga le yona polelwana ya go re mosadi ke tšhwene o lewa mabogo, ka gore e tla be ka mehla e apea, e swiela, e eya kgonyeng, nokeng le go dira mešongwana ye mengwe bjalo ka go hlatswa le go bopa mebotwana ya lapa.

Ka thokong ye nngwe Maila o tšweletša taba ya go re ge tatagolesogana a se a kgona 'Go beka' semetseng; ke go re a šitilwe 'Go beka' ka letšatši la magadi, o swanetše go tliša kgomo goba pudi ka morago ga nako yeo ba kago e kwanela. O hlaloša gore ka tshwanelo kgomo ya 'Go beka' ga se ya swanela go ba setudi, (setudi ke kgomo yeo e sa tšwego maswi) gape e se ke ya ba kgomo ya sekolo (kgomo ya go hloka dinaka). Mokgekolo yo o hlaloša gore e be le dinaka ka gobane ge e le sekolo e laetša bogole mola gape kgomo e tlangwa ka dinaka ge e gangwa. Ka fao ge kgomo e se setudi e tla ba fa maswi le gona go tla kgonega go e kgoka ka dinaka ge e gangwa.

Bogopa o thekga polelo ya Maila ka go re kgomo yeo ya 'Go beka' ngwetši e se ke ya ba moradu, (moradu ke kgomo yeo e feditšego go tswala gape e tšofetšego), eupša e be ya lerojana yeo e šetšego e kile ya itiwa ke poo (e nametswe ke poo). Se ke sešupu sa go re e tla tswala ya katološa lešaka le go fepa ba bolekgarebe ka maswi. Mo ke moo kgamele yela e tšwago ga bolesogana e tlogo šoma ge go gangwa dikgomo tšela tša magadi le yona ye ya 'Go beka'. Mokgalabje Bogopa o hlaloša go ya pele gore kgomo yeo e ka tlišwa pele ga lenyalo goba morago ga lenyalo ge ngwetši e tlo boela ga gabolesogana. Kgomo yeo e sepetšwa go

swana le tša magadi gomme e gapša go tlišwa bogadi ke rangwane le malome fela. Ge kgomo e se gona, go išwa pudi; le yona e be ya tshadi go etša kgomo yela, le yona e se be sekolo eupša ya go ba le manaka gore e tle e swarwe ka ona ge e gangwa. O hlaloša gore ge kgomo le pudi di se gona, go ka tlišwa tšhelete yeo e ka lekanago kgomo goba go dumelelwa ye nngwe le ye nngwe yeo e ka tlišwago.

Ge a tšwela pele Mokgalabje Makubjana o re le ge ngwetši e ka bekwa ya ya bogadi sa ruri, ngwana wa mathomo e swanetše go mmelegela gae ga boyona go ya ka setšo sa Bapedi ba Matlala tikologong ya Moutse. O re ngwetši e boela ga gaboyona ge matšatši a go belega a batametše gomme ge e belege e fetša kgwedi pele e boela bogadi bja yona le mphepi (mofepi) wa go yo fepa ngwana. Ge a tšwela pele o re ba gabolekgarebe ga ba lebale go botša ba gabolesogana gore hlogo ya ngwetši ya bona e sa le ya batswadi ba yona. Se se šupa gore ba sa na le seabe go ngwana wa bona (go ya ka fao go boletšwego ka godimo); ke ka fao ge a hlokošetše ba tsebišago ba gabolekgarebe pele.

Makubjana o tšwetša pele ditaba tše ka go re ge ngwetši e se ya bekwa, ga se e fetše go nyalwa; ke go re lenyalo ga se la felela goba ga se la phethagala. O re gape ge ngwetši e se e bekwe mohlang go ntšhwa magadi, e swanetše go bekwa ka nako yeo e tlogo le ge go ka feta nako ye telele ka ge e se e fete legatong la mafelelo la lenyalo, e lego legato le bohlokwa la 'Go beka'. Godimo ga moo o gatelela gore ge mosadi a se a ke a bekwa mohlang a nyalwa le ge a ka hlwa a godile gakakang o sa hlaelelwa go bekwa ka gore mogogadi wa gagwe ga se a mo lokolla gore a tlele sa ruri bogadi. Bogopa o tlaleletša Makubjana ka go re ke ka moo go felago go dirwa menyanya ya batšofadi ka ge ba bangwe ba se ba fetša go nyalwa ka go se bekwe. O re ba bangwe ba direlwa medirwana ye ba šetše ba ile go ya boyo (ba hlokošetše) e le gona go phetha setšo sa Bapedi (ba Matlala ba Moutse).

Go ya pele, Bogopa le Makubjana ba gatelela gore go ya ka Bapedi ba Matlala tikologong ya Moutse, 'Go beka' ke legato le bohlokwa go feta magato ka moka a lenyalo ka gore ge le se la phethwa, lenyalo ga la felelela - e ba pharelabanneng bophelong. Ba tšwela pele ka go re gantši go ba le tumelo ya go re badimo ba gabolekgarebe ga ba le robalele le ba gabolesogana ga ba amogele ngwetši yeo ka diatla tše pedi. Ba re ke ka lebaka leo 'Go beka' go swanetšego go dirwa gotee le magadi goba ka morago ga nako ye kopana ge lenyalo le fetile. Bakgalabje bao, Bogopa le Makubjana, ba hlaloša gore ge tatagolesogana a ka hlokafelela pele ga ge a ka ntšha kgomo goba setseka sa 'Go beka' ngwetši ya gagwe, rangwane wa lesogana ke yena di mo itiago makopo gomme phareleng yeo go kgopelwa rakgadi wa lesogana go thušana le yena. Go thwe pele ga ge ba ka iša setseka seo, ba ya go begela tatagolesogana kua dirapeng gore le yena a robalele ngwetši ya gagwe.

Ge ba tšwela pele ka thumo ya bona mabapi le 'Go beka', Bogopa le Makubjana ba re ge ngwetši e ka hlokafelela pele ga ge e ntšhetšwa setseka sa go e beka, tatagolesogana o gapeletšega go phetha seo ('Go beka') gore ngwetši ya gagwe e robale ka khutšo, le bana bao e ba belegego ba se be le madimabe ka ge mmagobona a tla be a bekiwe. Ba re katlego le mahlogonolo a bophelo bja monyadi le monyadiwa gammogo le bana ba bona, tšohle di letše go legato le la 'Go

beka' go ya ka setšo sa Bapedi (ba Matlala tikologong ya selete sa Moutse). Bakgalabje ba ba re ge go ka direga gore monyadi le monyadiwa ba hlalane, kgomo ya 'Go beka' goba sona setseka sa mohuta woo ke seyamošate ga se boe le ge magadi a ka nyakwa ka moka ke ba gabolesogana. Go thwe setseka se sa 'Go beka' ga se boe ka lebaka la go re ke sona se kgomaganyago badimo ba malapa a a mabedi: a gabolesogana le a gabolekgarebe go fetela baneng le ditlogolong tša bona.

Bogopa le Makhubjana ba thumeletša taba ye ya 'Go beka' ka go re ge lesogana leo le nyetšego le ka hlokofala pele lekgarebe la lona le bekwa, ba gabolekgarebe ba tsoša lepheko la go re lekgarebe leo le ka se tsene ntlong (go dulela mohu) ka ge ba se ba fetša go phethelana. Ka go realo ba gabolesogana leo ba tlamega go lokiša taba yeo ('Go beka') pele ga poloko gore lekgarebe le kgone go tsena ntlong go fihla ka letšatši la poloko. Lebaka le lengwe gape ke gore le kgone go roulela (go ilela) lesogana leo la lona le gore moratho wa lesogana goba rangwane wa bana ba lona (lekgarebe) a kgone go tlo godiša lapa leo la mogolwagwe. Go bjalo le ge go ka hlokofala lekgarebe leo pele ga ge le bekwa. Batswadi ba gabolona ba tsoša lepheko la go re le ka se bolokelwe bogadi ka ge ba se ba ntšha setseka sa 'Go beka'. Go thwe ge go hlokofetše ngwana wa bona bao ba babedi (lekgarebe le lesogana), go ya ka setšo sa Bapedi ba Matlala tikologong ya Moutse, ga go lepheko leo le ka tsošwago ka lebaka la go re ngwana ke wa monna le gona o reetšwe sefane sa gabomonna go tloga mathomomg. Ge go ka hlokofala ngwana yoo lesogana le hweditšego lekgarebe leo le na le yena, taba ya lepheko ga e gona ka ge a (ngwana) rekollotšwe sefaneng sa gabo pele goba ka letšatši la lenyalo.

Go thwe mmolelwana wa go re lebitla la mosadi ke bogadi, o theilwe godimo ga 'Go beka' ka gore le ge ba gabolesogana ba ka nyala ka dikgomo tše makgolokgolo goba diketekete tša diranta eupša ba se šupe e tee ya tšona gore ke ya 'Go beka' ga se ba fetša ka gona lekgarebe le ka se ye le bogadi sa ruri. Le ge lekgarebe le ka kgopelwa la dula bogadi mengwagangwaga ba gabolekgarebe bona ba dula ba beile mokganya phatleng e le ge ba letetše ba gabolesogana go goroša setseka sa 'Go beka'. Gape le ge ba gabolesogana ba ka itebatša goba ba lebala setseka seo sa 'Go beka', bomalome le borangwane ba lekgarebe ba dula taba yeo e le pharelabanneng bophelong bja bona go fihlela e phethagatšwa. Ge setseka seo sa 'Go beka' se tšwele goba se phethagaditšwe metswalle e bontšhana la mohlagare ge ba begelana ditaba dife kapa dife gomme ga go na lepheko le ka le tee leo le ka tsošwago ke lehlakore le lengwe. Ge go dirilwe bjalo (setseka se tšwele) ke gona mmolelwana wa lebitla la mosadi o bago le maatla le gona o phethagalago. Ba gabolekgarebe le ba gabolesogana ba phela ba se na letswalo le molato ge setseka se sa 'Go beka' se gorošitšwe, gomme pharelabanneng e feta le muši wa dikwekwele gwa šala šebešebe phedišanong ya metswalle ya gabolekgarebe le ya gabolesogana.

Bogopa le Makubjana ba ruma ka go gatelela kudu gore legato le la 'Go beka' le kgatha tema ye kgolo go setšo sa Bapedi ba Matlala tikologong ya Moutse. Ba re dikgoro di a gola metswalle ya phela lethabong, badimo ba ba robalela ka ge legato le bohlokwa la 'Go beka' le phethilwe. Go thwe legato le la 'Go beka' ke lona le begelago badimo ba

gabolesogana le ba gabolekgarebe gore ngwana' mokete o gorogile lapeng la bokete gomme ditshwanelo ka moka di phethilwe. Ba fetša ka go re le ge go le bjalo phure ga e hlokege dikgobeng, ba šupa gore ba bangwe ba gona setšhabeng sa Bapedi ba Matlala bao ba ithibago ditsebe ge go bolelwa ka legato le la 'Go beka' gomme dikgoro tša bona ke mojano ka lebaka la go se phethagatše setšo sa bona. Ba ra gore go na le dikgoro goba malapa ao a hlokomologilego legato le la 'Go beka' ba no fetša ka go ntšha magadi fela ya ba ge ba nyalelana molato wa tšwa ka kgoro.

Thumo

Mo nyakišišong ye, tlhalošo ya 'Go beka' e arotšwe ka dikarolo tše pedi, e lego (a) tlhalošo ka bangwadi ba bangwe le (b) tlhalošo ka badudi ba Moutse. Ka lehlakoreng la go hlalošwa ga legato la 'Go beka' ka bangwadi ba bangwe go hweditšwe gore ga se ba bantši bao ba le hlalošitšego ka botlalo le ka go teba ka go tsenelela; ke go re ba akareditše ditaba le go tlogela tše dingwe, mola badudi ba tikologo ya Moutse, bao go boledišanwego le bona, ba lekile go hlaloša ka go hlarolla ditaba tša 'Go beka' ka moka ka botlalo le ka medu gammogo le ka tsenelelo.

Ditaba tšeo di gateletšwego ke badudi ba Moutse malebana le 'Go beka' di akaretša gore ke legato le bohlokwa la mafelelo la lenyalo. Ba bolela gore morero wo mogolo wa 'Go beka' o lebane le go goroša ngwetši sa ruri bogadi. Tshepedišo ya morero woo e phethwa ka kgomo. Godimo ga moo go tšweleditšwe le taba ya go re ka 'Go beka' go sa na le ditseka tše dingwe tšeo di ka ntšhwago ge go bekwa go se na kgomo. Ditseka tšeo ke pudi goba tšhelete yeo e se nago seroto. Ba hlalošitše gape gore setseka seo sa 'Go beka' se ka ntšhwa le magadi gotee goba ditseka tša tlišwa ka morago ga lenyalo.

Seo se lemogilwego fa ke gore ka legato le la 'Go beka' go gatelelwa mafelelo a tshepedišo ya lenyalo, le gore ge motho (mosadi) a se a ka a bekwa go thwe ga se a fetša go nyalwa. Ke ka fao batho (basadi) ba bekwago le ge ba šetše ba godile, goba ba bangwe ba bekwa ba ithobaletše boroko bjo bogolo ka ge e le gona go hlompha legato le bohlokwa le lenyalong. Godimo ga moo ba hlalošitše gore rangwane le rakgadi wa lesogana ba rwala maikarabelo a 'Go beka' ge tatagolesogana a ka hlokofala pele a se a beka ngwetši ya gagwe.

Go rumilwe ka go re legato le, ge le ka se dirwe semetseng, le sa tlo sepetšwa ka lenaneo bjalo ka magadi ka gore go ba le bao ba swanetšego go sepetša le go iša kgomo yeo ya 'Go beka' bogadi. Seo se fapanego fela ke gore 'Go beka' ga go direlwe moletlo goba gwa laletšwa setšhaba morerong wa mohuta woo. Legato le ga le sepetšwe ka mošito wa go swana le wa lenyalo. Go no kgopelwa rangwane le malome wa lesogana go phethagatša setšo sa Bapedi ba Moutse go ya ka 'Go beka' ngwetši gore e tlele sa ruri bogadi.

English summary

The main aim of this study is to analyse the Bapedi traditional marriage system, with special reference to the final stage of marriage called *Go beka* of the Matlala tribe residing in the Moutse area. Although some research

has already been conducted relevant to the traditional marriage system of the Bapedi, research to date focuses on the marriage system of the Bapedi in general, but does not explain in detail one of the stages of marriage that is acceptable and critical in the Sepedi culture. This final stage of marriage known as the *Go beka* is one in which a bride is required to leave her parents' family permanently to reside with the in-laws. When critically analysing the marriage customs of the Matlala tribe, one finds that it has conventions in the marriage process that are different from those of some other ethnic groups. The main difference in the marriage system of the Matlala group is that it is based on the obligations pertaining to the final stage of marriage, called *Go beka*, which, unless carried out, renders the marriage incomplete in terms of Bapedi traditional culture.

The method used in this study is different from a pure, literary-based research method, and is an adaptation suggested by Joubert (2004), in which what has not yet been written down is examined. The methodology is thus based on orality and performance. In other words, in this study, the common research method of narratology that explains, interprets and describes the structure of literature has not been used. This research method is similar to the case study method and focuses on points of discussion with stakeholders who have a sound knowledge and understanding of matters connected with the idea of the final stage of requiring young married women to relocate to the abode of the in-laws (*Go beka*). A record of oral discussions among those elders who understand the customary practice of this particular marriage system forms the basis of this research project.

This final stage of marriage called *Go beka* requires full understanding of this marriage system and does not appear to have been recorded by writers who have written about the marriage system in the past. Therefore, this current research project that has been facilitated by *Bapedi ba Matlala* interprets and describes the idea of *Go beka* more fully. Earlier researchers on the Matlala (Bapedi) have mainly emphasised that this stage of *Go beka* plays a key role in the culture of the *Bapedi ba Matlala* in Moutse. They note that families grow bigger, the relatives are happier, and the ancestors are believed to be at peace and are satisfied because the final stage of marriage (*Go beka*) has been performed. Legend has it that this stage of *Go beka* is one in which the ancestors of a young man and those of a young woman were reported to have informed them that the child of so-and-so had arrived in the house of someone in the family and all the necessary stages had been carried out.

The informers, however, conclude by saying that it is possible that some Matlala people go astray by not following customary law and, therefore, are likely to be punished by experiencing incessant conflict within their families. The *Go beka* principle also accentuates the requirement that the

daughter-in-law must always be submissive and obedient to the customary laws of the in-laws, especially those of her husband. That is why it is said that *lebitla la ngwetši ke bogadi*, meaning 'the grave of the woman is the place of her in-laws'. The argument maintains that if the stage of *Go beka* is not performed immediately, it will still be performed, for instance, in the giving out of lobola (cattle), because messengers of the husband's family will be sent to collect the payment of this final stage of the marriage. The only distinction in this second phase of *Go beka* is that the process does not require a ceremony or an invitation to a feast. This stage is not performed in the same way as is the case in the wedding. Only the younger brother or uncle of the groom may perform this cultural activity of the Bapedi in the Moutse area so that the daughter-in-law may finally move to the homestead of the in-laws permanently.

Methopo

Methopo ya taodišwana ye, e arotšwe ka dikarolo tše pedi, e lego (a) badudi ba Moutse bao ba etetšwego le (b) dipuku tša teori tšeo di tsopotšwego.

Badudi ba Moutse bao ba etetšwego

1. Bogopa SG (15-05-1933)
2. Maila S (18-07-1929)
3. Makubjana RJ (29-09-1946)
4. Malefo MD (16-08-1942)
5. Matlala M (23-10-1936)
6. Mogajana S (12-11-1940)
7. Mmotong JJ (14-09-1937)
8. Nkwana S (22-10-1948)
9. Phokwana M (17-07-1936)
10. Thobejane RM (03-06-1945)
11. Phahlamohlaka M (10-10-1919)

Dipuku tša teori tšeo di tsopotšwego

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