

C H I L D T R A I N I N G I N

G O V I E F E ,

T O G O L A N D U N D E R U N I T E D

K I N G D O M T R U S T E E S H I P

B Y

Y. T. D Z A N S I .

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Preface.

This essay is the outcome of investigations carried out in Goviefe in Togoland Under United Kingdom Trusteeship. It attempts to present to the reader a picture of the popular views on procreation and the traditional methods of child training in this community.

Though it cannot be claimed that the investigations have touched upon all the social and cultural background necessary — owing to the limited time within which they have been carried out — every attempt has been made to touch upon all the significant aspects of child training as it obtains today.

The reader's attention is called to the fact that the growing influence of western culture in its various spheres has steadily changed the people's outlook generally with the result that some of the old ways of child training break down with the lapse of years and give place to modern patterns.

All the photographs have been specially taken for this work and every effort has been put in to give the botanical, or the English names of the plants referred to in the text.

The author has pleasure in acknowledging indebtedness to the following people who have helped him in one way or another to make this work what it is.

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T. Y. Dzansi

Achimota.

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INTRODUCTION

The material of this essay was collected in Goviefe, in Togoland Under United Kingdom Trusteeship. The Division of Goviefe comprises three Villages: Todzi, Kwawu and Agodome, and has a population of approximately two thousand. Goviefe is bounded on the South by Kpeve which lies on the border between Togoland and the Gold Coast; on the North by Wodze, Agate and Have; on the East by Etodome and on the West by River Dayi. It is situated among the Ewe Mountains.

The traditional history of the Ewes of which Mike Goviefe forms a part, has it that after their migration from the Niger Valley they settled at a place called Notsie (now in French Togoland). Later, they left Notsie in waves, met with many difficulties on the way and at last found their way to the present homes on the Ewe mountains.

It will be recalled that in 1884 Germany declared Togoland a Protectorate. In 1920, after World War I, the British took over the reins of administration of this section of Togoland from the Germans who had administered the Territory for some 36 years. And so the people have been the subjects of two different administrators having different standards, different languages and quite different systems of administration. The reader could imagine the detrimental effects the change would naturally have on the progress of the people. Through wars Goviefe got in contact with the Ashantis and the Akwamus, the first place in Togoland where the Ashantis were fought during the notorious Ashanti Wars being Goviefe Kwawu. There are traces of Akan influence, noticeable in the adoption of some Akan words, pure or adapted,

in the pattern of chieftaincy and in their war songs.

The climate of the country is of a clearly defined seasonal nature, with rain during May to October and dry season during November to April. The mountain is forested and most of the valley consists of plains which stretch to River Dayi. There are a few streams. They are not permanent and there is scarcity of water during the dry season.

The people are essentially peasant farmers, agriculture being their chief source of livelihood, and almost all the people engaged in other petty occupations, such as trade, weaving and other craftwork are farmers as well. The main crops are cassava, cocoyam, yam, plantain and banana, maize, groundnuts and cotton. In the olden days there was trade in palm oil and kernel and rubber with Dodowa, and with Ada in salt. The people had to travel by foot. Many of the inhabitants own cocoa farms on the mountain and there has been a steady drift to Buem for cocoa farming. Shifting cultivation is practised.

The year's work starts sometime in January with the clearing and burning of the bush and planting and sowing begin towards the end of March or at the beginning of April. New yam is eaten at the end of August or at the beginning of September. This is the time for yam festivals. The actual harvest of yam takes place in December, January or February. There is an equitable assignment of tasks between a man and his wife and the children also have their part to play in the family division of labour. The heavy work of felling the bush and burning the cut bush is carried out by men but women also help in hoeing, planting or sowing, gathering firewood, foodstuffs and so on.

Between harvest time and the next planting season and between the dry season of October to

November the people are comparatively free from heavy work. This time synchronizes with the cocoa season and so money comes in through the sale of cocoa and other farm produce. It is the time when expensive funerals, the installation or destoolment of chiefs, meetings of lineages to acquaint the young men and women of the lineage with its ancestry and history, drumming and dancing, "weddings" and litigations take place.

The spirits of a man's ancestors are propitiated. There are, it is believed, spirits in the forest, caves, rivers etc. and shrines are made for them. The people's life is surrounded by superstition and suspicion, bound up with the unseen and is influenced by witchcraft, magic and juju, so that witch-doctors, diviners, fetish priests and priestesses as well as native herbalists hold the people's life in their hands, as it were. But though the religion is mainly animist the influence and activities of the Missions are vigorous and evident.

The people lack many amenities of life, and those for health, especially, are negligible. The nearest hospitals are at Ho (28 miles) and Hohoe (36 miles) but these cater for almost the whole of Southern Togoland and are always congested. Two years ago a small Dressing Station was opened at Havel which is some 6 miles away, but the services there are not up-to-date.

The mass literacy campaigns of the Mass Education Teams have had some promising effects on the outlook of the old folk and children who have not been to school.

II. Marriage.

Marriage with members of the same local community is preferred but marriage with cousins and within the narrowest family circle is not allowed.

But cross-cousin marriage, that is, marriage between a man and his father's sister's daughter (tazivi) or his mother's brother's daughter (nyruivi) is allowed as it, among other things, strengthens the kinship ties or keeps together isolated families and prevents dispersion of the family property. It also incurs less marriage expenses. Usage also allows a widow to marry her husband's brother or one of his close kinsmen, but this arrangement is not obligatory in any sense. Normally, marriage is virilocal but where housing problems arise a few marriages are patrilineal. Emphasis is placed on the economic and procreative functions of life.

Normally, a man is not allowed to marry until he has given some proof of his ability and preparedness to fulfil the duties of a husband, e.g. by having a food crop farm.

The choice of a wife is made by, or at least with the prior approval of one's father, though there are a few cases where some young couple defy the wishes of their parents and marry by mutual consent.

When a father selects a wife for his son he is moved by many considerations and he makes careful enquiries first into the health and personality of the girl's family antecedents. He finds out whether they are free from contagious diseases such as leprosy, epilepsy and consumption, and from witchcraft; he finds out whether they have a reputation for industry and procreation and whether they are respectful and not quarrelsome. Any past conflicts or ^{fatal} accidents between the relatives of the prospective couple may go against or disallow the marriage, but parents who are friends are ready to allow marriages between their children. In the girl herself, the father looks for definite attributes or merits such as industry, an established reputation for chastity, freedom from contagious diseases, respect for people and truthfulness.

There are two kinds of marriage, one by the traditional way and the other, Christian marriage. There is little difference between the two and there is mixing up of them.

Marriage procedure: After preliminary enquiries have been made the man's father sends a deputation comprising his brother (by the same father at any rate) and his sister. It is usual to choose one whose first born child is alive. They are directed to see the girl's father's brother, that is, the girl's social father, who according to custom, tells them "I have heard the matter and shall consider it". The girl is later called by her family and asked to give her opinion in the matter. The second deputation consisting of the same people are advised to see the girl's mother also who, if there is nothing against the proposed union, says "I have heard it and have no objection if only her father agrees". (That is why one's mother-in-law is called *lōxo*, meaning "she has agreed already"). Both parents of the girl's then call her and ask her to give her final word which she usually gives as "I have heard it and have no objection if my parents agree to it". The deputation at its third meeting with the people is given the final approval. The girl's parents then deputise two people to see the boy's father at dawn to tell him that they have agreed to give their daughter to his son so that she may live with him and "give him water to drink".

From this time onwards the girl's parents increase their supervision of her and warn her against sexual relations with other boys. The boy, also, can begin giving horticultural assistance to his mother-in-law, being at times helped by his friends.

The youngman's parents then send the following gifts called 'asani' to the girl:

12 fams

12 hands of plantain

100 cobs of dry corn.

other gifts can be made from time to time as found convenient. The following betrothal gifts are then made by the boy's parents:

- 2 bottles gin, known as Vəfoha, that is 'door-knocking drink', to be enjoyed by the girl's parents and their relatives.
- 4s.-led. cash, to be shared by the girl's parents.
- 2 yards 'godotse' (cloth used by women to cover the external genital organs) to be used by the girl herself.

A short time after that the srōtakiāha, that is, the 'proposal wine' is sent. This consists of a big potful for either of the girl's parents. This is soon followed by the "akpedaha" (thanks-giving wine) of the same quantity for the same people. Finally, a big pot of palm-wine is sent to both parents together. The villagers are summoned to witness the ceremony. Libation is poured and prayers are offered to Mawu, the Supreme Being, to bless the union, give the couple health, prosperity and children. The couple are given advice by the old men and women about married life. Thus the betrothal is ratified.

A day is chosen for the marriage. On that day there is eating and drinking and all sorts of merry-making in the houses of each of the couple. Later in the day several women relatives of the boy's who have children and whose first-born children are alive, are chosen and asked to go and bring the woman to her husband's house. This is preceded by another gift of palm-wine and a number of changes of cloth for the girl. Until recently the gift consisted of six or seven native-woven cloths.

If the spouses are Christians it is the Presbyters of the local Congregation who do the negotiations for the man. After the preliminary negotiations the boy gives two pots of palm-wine to his parents-in-law. Then he gives two pots of it to his father-in-law alone, followed by the same quantity to his mother-in-law. Then he gives a big potful to the Congregation. The following are the minimum thanksgiving

articles recommended by the Congregation:

One piece (12 yards) prints to be shared equally by the parents of the girl.

One "head" tobacco to be shared among all the close relatives
£1 cash (12/- goes to the girl's father and 8/- to her mother).

The minimum marriage articles recommended by the Congregation are:

1 Box (wooden or iron)

3 changes of cloth

3 headkerchiefs

2 yds. godotse

1 Mirror

Trinkets: Ear-rings, necklaces, bangles, etc.

Wedding ring

A pair of shoes (or sandals)

1 big pan, for carrying things

1 stool

Perfume and Ointment

Comb, both native and imported

1 reel thread, for plaiting the hair

£3 cash to be put into the box.

The girl's relatives are to provide her with pots, dishes and other petty cooking utensils. The money given to the bride (or put into the box) is generally spent in outfitting the bride.

A day is fixed for the 'wedding'. On that day the Congregation selects two active members, a man and a woman, whose first-born children are alive, to go and bring the bride to the bridegroom's house. Next day, the people are invited to eat and drink and make merry in the new home. Words of advice, encouragement and blessing are given to the newly-married couple. Some people arrange to have the wedding solemnized in the Church. Other couples, married by the traditional

way arrange to have it blessed later in the Church. As mentioned earlier, there is little difference between the traditional and the Christian ways of marriage these days.

Marriage is rooted in the family. True married life does not begin for people even though they are formally married or betrothed, — in other words, a marriage does not become definite—until a child is born or there are signs of pregnancy. Loose sexual relations which happen to lead to pregnancy or the birth of children are as a rule followed by marriage, that is, they tend to make marriage compulsory.

Divorce is quite common and may happen if a wife is repeatedly disobedient, rebellious; if she is lazy or barren or guilty of adultery, sorcery or witchcraft. If a woman happens to divorce her husband for sexual incapability or ill-treatment, or for any other cause or causes her relations or seducer are responsible for refunding the 'head price', but if a man himself divorces her wife he cannot claim any such refund, no matter whether the woman is guilty of an offence or not.

A man may have one or more wives but the Churches disallow polygamy. As explained earlier, the economic and procreative functions of life are the criterion for marriage.

There is no special naming ceremony for the newly-born baby apart from the outdowring ceremony described in full in the text, which takes place on the eighth day ^{after} a child's birth.

Children are called by different native names, the primary names corresponding to the days of the week on which they are born and these follow the Akan pattern thus:

Days of the week		children's Names	
English	Ewe	Male	Female
Monday	Dzoda	Kodzɔ	Adzɔa
Tuesday	Brada	Kɔmla	Abra
Wednesday	Kuda	Kɔku, Kwaku	Akua
Thursday	Yawoda	Yawo	Yawa
Friday	Fida	Kofi	Afia
Saturday	Mɛmlɛda	Kɔmi, Kwami	Ama
Sunday	Kwasida	Kɔsi, Kwasi	Akɔsia

II. The secondary names take various forms, the more important ones being:

(a) Names denoting order of birth. These are also adopted from the Akan and are used in conjunction with those mentioned above:

order of birth		Male	Female
First		Foli	Foliwa, Gogo.
Second		—	—
Third		Mɛnsa, Bansa	Mansa, Biansa
Fourth		Nani	Nani
Fifth		—	—
Sixth		Nsia (uncommon)	Nsiaa
Seventh		Aɔɔɔ	Aɔɔɔ
Eighth		Botsoe	Botsoe
Ninth		Akɔɔɔ, Akroma	Krowe
Tenth		Bedu	Bedu

(b) Then there are suffixes denoting —

(i) Size: — gā = big; vi = small, little, e.g. Kɔmlagā, Kɔkuri

(ii) Complexion: — dzē, dzā = red; yi, yibo = black, e.g.

Komledzā, Kōkuyi.

- (iii) Height: - kākō = tall; kpui = short, e.g. Komlakako, Kōkukpui.
- (iv) 'Born after': - fe, tse, e.g. Kōkufe, Kōkutse (fe = fem. and tse = masc.).
- (v) Expression of disgust to ward off evil spirits and death. e.g. Kpōxa (faeces); Ati = Tree, etc.

III. Miscellaneous name-patterns:

English equivalent	Male	Female
Grand Parent	Togbe	Mama
Grandchild	Togbeyari	Mamayari
Parent	Fofō, fo.	Dada, no.
Uncle	Togā, Tode, Nyui	—
Nephew	Togayari, Todeyari, Nyuyari	—
Aunt	—	Tasi, Nogā, Nde
Niece	—	Tasiyari, Nogayari, Ndeyari.
Elder brother	Fo	—
Elder sister	—	da, fo.
Husband	Srō, atsu	—
Wife	—	Srō, azi.
child	Vigutsuri	Vinyanuri
Parent-in-law	To	Lsxo.

Chapter I.

Attitude towards having children.

(i) General:

In Gviefé the possession of children is considered as the supreme purpose of married life. It surpasses all material wealth and all other forms of worldly greatness and eminence and one is considered blessed if one lives long enough to see one's grandchildren. In fact, procreation is given such a place in married life that to die in abject poverty and leave children is preferred to dying childless but rich; hence the popular sayings: "Wowola melwona na vi o", Kluvi gede menye vi gede wofoa adegbe o ("The money-lender does not give out children on loan"; "one does not boast of having many slaves, as though they were one's own children"). Children are a means of perpetuation and increase of a man's family, clan and lineage, and so if a man has no children it is considered that his life has been wasted and that he has not profited his family, clan or lineage in any way. Children are also valued for the services they render to their parents in the house, on the farm, in going on errands and in many other ways. Parents also look up to their grown-up children for economic support in rainy days or in their old age and illness. The mere possession of children is a source of pride, fame and social distinction: Parents pride themselves for having such and such distinguished men or women as their sons and daughters. The possession of twins is considered a double blessing and as a source of happiness for the parents because almost super-natural capabilities are assigned to twins: for instance, it is strongly believed that they can bring long life, prosperity and comfort to the household.

Immediately a child is born, the parents

automatically receive social recognition and commendation. Henceforth they are no longer called by their own names but as Kofito, Kofino (Kofi's father; Kofi's mother). Then again children are regarded as the source of the common interest, pride and devotion of wife and husband without which their economic, social and emotional co-operation and satisfactions which should characterize marriage would be meaningless.

My informants informed me that even though the preservation of children's health, their behaviour, feeding, clothing, education and the like may present difficulties and may mean a lot of self-sacrifice to the parents yet it is not really considered that it is disadvantageous in any way to have children: A sick or an unruly child is bound to give heaviness of heart to his parents, but even under such circumstances his possession would still be valued above all things. Such an attitude is evidenced by many proverbs in Ewe, such as "Vivɔ nyo me Kotsitsi (to possess a wayward child is better than to remain childless); "Atsianwele no bo to nyo me nyakpekpetsetse" (a bitter but edible fruit near a farm is better than a bigger, non-bitter but inedible fruit on a farm); "Dzoti maxɔzo nyo me kpekpekpe" (A log without fire on it is better than a mere stone-hearth to contain fire).

The family is not limited to any size and a big family is always preferred to a small one. It is considered a blessing as well as a social distinction if one has ten, twelve or more children. People boast themselves for being born by parents who had, or have many children, or for being members of a clan reputed for profuse procreation. One may command respect even if ~~he~~^{one} may be unable to conveniently provide for one's many children. In counting the number of children a mother has had mention is made of even any miscarriage that has taken

place.

Childlessness is looked upon with scorn and ridicule. By native standards there is something wrong with men and women who never marry or who marry but have no children. If after six months or so in married life a wife does not become pregnant, or there are no signs of pregnancy the relatives of either partner, especially their mothers and sisters, become worried and anxious and the inhabitants also begin to gossip. Prolonged barrenness within wedlock creates suspicion, disrespect and even quarrels between the couple. The woman becomes frustrated as the cause is almost always found first in the woman. Many such wives are tempted into adultery in an attempt to prove that they are not barren. A good many childless marriages end in divorce or separation, or in the man's marrying a second wife. Childlessness is regarded as having its root-cause in one or more of the following: pre-marital sexual abuse, including the contraction of venereal diseases, and abortion. The man may also be sexually incapable or an eunuch (etui). Witches, jujimen or evil spirits (gbetsi) might have tied the woman's womb or destroyed the embryo at the onset of pregnancy, or there may be certain abnormal growths in the vagina (nudanie).

There are several devices for overcoming sterility, especially in women. Native herbalists are consulted and they prepare special 'child-bearing medicines' (vidzimatsi) some of which are drunk regularly for a number of months during which the couple should refrain from sexual intercourse; others are syringed into the anus and soft balls of ground herbs and roots may be pushed into the vagina to get rid of the disease mentioned above, nudanie. Such treatments are said to have proved successful in many cases.

Some women attend hospitals and maternity centres or use patent medicines. Some childless wives purposely adopt children, and my informants claim that a baby's "god of birth" (dzogbe) has the power of making such a foster-mother procreate. Several cases were mentioned in support of this claim and the women themselves admitted it as a fact.

There is now growing at Etodome, some three miles East of Goviefe Todzi, a mystic christian sect which through prayer and the prescription of herbs revealed to the leader, has helped many formerly barren women to become mothers. All the cases mentioned by my informants were investigated and the women concerned admitted this, also, as a fact. One of them is my own niece.

The heathens who, as mentioned above, believe that childlessness is caused by witches, jujumen and the like, consult diviners or fetish priests or priestesses to find out the cause. The priest, after performing some mystic acts and repeating strange incantations tells the woman that her womb has been tied by witches or jujumen, or by certain departed spirits, and he offers to help her overcome their malice. He prepares special herbs which are put into a pot from which the woman has to take her bath. A string of juju is tied round her waist to ward off the evil spirits and open up the womb.

There is no native device for limiting the family for, as already explained, the aim is to have as many children as possible. It is considered a great civic offence if one is detected causing abortion; the mere attempt is considered as an act of social disgrace and deserves severe punishment. Sometimes, however, it happens that children are born in too quick succession with the result that, apart from the difficulties that will



Some members of the Etodome mystic Christian sect.

arise in the mother's looking after them, the mother often falls ill. (This kind of uncontrolled bringing forth of children is known as 'Kpeni-dzidzi', meaning, literally, 'the bringing forth of stone children'). Under such conditions, in order to avoid any further personal and social disgust that the practice brings about, and in order to preserve the mother's health, wives often refuse further intercourse for a length of time, of course to the annoyance of the husbands. At times, too, husbands in such circumstances practise coitus interruptus, but this is an exception rather than the rule.

Illegitimate children, *gbomevins* (that is 'children got from the town'), have a place in the family. In the olden days when a married woman had an issue outside marriage such an issue by custom belonged to the new husband. Some impotent men even virtually allowed their wives to bring children into the family by such means. Today such a custom is observed in isolated cases only, the innovation now being that a child belongs by blood to the man who conceived the child's mother. It is now not uncommon that a man who had a child by the old custom is likely to lose him, especially if the man is not on good terms with his wife, or if it happens that he is not as well off as the child's real father. What happens is that the child, when he grows up, is claimed by his real father in a diplomatic, indirect way — by alluring him secretly through the mother with gifts of money and other things. More often than not he succeeds in winning the child without involving himself in any expenses or legal actions being taken by the other man because "it is the child himself who has gone to him", that is, on his own accord.

Normally, illegitimate children remain with,

and are maintained by their fathers, and are treated on equal terms with the other children of the family. They are entitled to a share of their father's property and have the right to succeed him.

It is however true that many wives do discriminate against illegitimate children of their husbands, especially boys who are older than the legitimate children because they stand in the way of the latter children as far as inheritance and succession are concerned, inheritance being patrilineal.

Orphans are usually taken care of by their father's relatives, especially one of his brothers, or they may live with one of his paternal or maternal aunts, but it is the paternal uncle who is responsible for their maintenance and general well-being. If the widow is married by her late husband's brother he also assumes responsibility for bringing up the children. He holds in trust for the children their father's property which is handed over to them when they are old enough, or when they themselves have ^{demanded} the handing over.

Orphans are treated with unusual care and tenderness for fear that if they are not treated like that the spirits of their dead parents might get annoyed and 'call the children unto themselves'; or their neglect might spell danger to the foster-parents themselves. On account of the indulgent treatment he has had an orphan, more often than not, grows fretful, self-conceited and troublesome. However, some hard-hearted women treat orphans harshly, especially when they are learning trades under them. They are given the hardest and filthiest pieces of jobs to perform and they are not always fed properly. Such treatment, meted out to orphans, appears in most of the popular Ananse (Spider) stories, hence the saying that "an orphan does not show gladness when he has had enough breakfast", implying that he

might not have anything to eat again to his satisfaction for the rest of the day.

Adoption is managed in a similar way to that in which illegitimate children are managed. As explained earlier, some people do adopt children for purposes of reproduction. Adoption can also be practised by any person attracted by the child's behaviour, physical appearance, or through the person's relationship with the child's parents. Orphans may also be adopted. As in the case of orphans, foster-parents take great care of the adopted children and they are allowed to share freely with the other children the privileges, obligations and rights of the family as a whole. Like illegitimate children orphans have every right to the use of the family or clan land and other common property. Adopted children, also, are entitled to all such privileges. Both illegitimate and adopted children have the right to inheritance and succession and can hold posts of social responsibility. For example, the present chief of Goviefe Kowu, an illegitimate child, had nothing to stand in the way of his right to occupy the stool because his foster-father's clan happens to be the ruling house of the village.

(ii) Pre-natal period

Pregnant women, especially at the early stages of pregnancy, are supposed to have certain typical feelings. They are known to get annoyed easily and, fretting, try to make mountains out of mole-hills over trifles which under normal circumstances would go by un-noticed. They behave childishly. They are apt to feel out of sorts, especially in the morning and doze and sleep a great deal. They are immensely disgusted at the sight of refuse, faeces lying about, and blood. They also abhor strong, unpleasant smells such ^{as} those emitting from kerosene, onion

and fresh, uncooked meat and fish. They spit at frequent intervals and most of them vomit when they eat or when they are greeted by such strong odours. At this stage, therefore, pregnant women are in low spirits, generally. Girls, pregnant for the first time, especially when outside wedlock, feel shy because of the discoloration of their faces, their leanness and protruding bellies, and so they try to stay indoors or avoid being seen in public as much as they can. Such girls are haunted by thoughts of what labour pains lie in store for them and by the fearful knowledge that they are between life and death. Many of them become more religious at this time. With formerly barren women, I am told, the picture is quite different. The joy they have because of the conception makes them adopt a joyful, bold and determined attitude and makes them look eagerly forward to the day when they, too, would be called somebody's mother and thus gain social distinction. Many other women also, despite the depressing thoughts that haunt them, look forward with pride to the day when they will deliver their much valued, priceless "burden".

Many changes in mode of life are introduced during pregnancy in respect of diet, marital intercourse, work, and so on. Pregnant women have likes and dislikes in food, varying in many respects from one individual to another. A pregnant woman who used to have a great liking for fish may now prefer yam or rice to fish. Another who normally liked porridge may now like roasted yam instead. Others eat but little at the initial stages. Most pregnant women eat or like such foods as fruit, roasted plantain and liquid foods. To prevent spitting and vomiting they eat much hot pepper and "fe", a greyish-white clay sold in slender lumps by Yoruba women.

In addition to attendance at the one or two hospitals near-by many kinds of native medicines are used. Decoctions of roots, leaves and barks of trees and herbs are drunk freely or added to the soup. Such plants include *Damelia* (a slender forest tree), *nyakle* (*Anona senegalensis*) and *notsigbe kato* (a species of *Euphorbia hirta*). The preparation of a typical food for pregnant women is as follows:

Ingredients: *Notsigbe kato* (a species of *Euphorbia hirta*)
 49, (i.e. 7x7) palm nuts.
 Meat
 Plantains

Preparation: The nuts are boiled and pounded together with a quantity of *notsigbe kato*, water is added and the stuff strained into a pot and cooked. The meat and the usual condiments are added. When the soup is well-cooked the pot is taken off the hearth and placed on a pad, not on bare ground or floor. The plantains are cooked and pounded into life which is eaten with the soup. The soup usually lasts for three days. There is an interval after which the same or another kind of 'medicinal food' is prepared for use. The husband may eat the soup with his wife, nobody else may.

To stop or prevent vomiting, ginger, pepper and the bark of the red-flowered silk cotton tree, or of a tree known as *Damelia* (described above) are cooked and drunk at regular intervals. Tepid water is also recommended. Another preparation which serves the same purpose is porridge cooked in water in which the leaves of the native castor oil plant or of a shrub called 'hlese' (*Fluggea virosa*) have been cooked.

It is strongly believed that the kind of meat the pregnant woman eats will directly affect the physical form or behaviour of the child for good or evil, and so great care is taken in choosing her meat. Snails

and not good to be eaten for fear that the child may not have strong bones and may have a wet, slimy mouth. Rat meat is not eaten in order that the child might not develop nocturnal habits. Armadillo meat (Chuvu-luvuila) is not chosen for fear that the child may have a rough skin and may always try to curl up himself up. Porcupine meat (Katokula) may not be eaten, otherwise the child may have a stuffy nose and a 'broken head'. Crabs may not be eaten, otherwise the child may walk in a clumsy, zigzag manner. Tortoises may not be eaten so that the child may not be slow of foot and mind.

The meat of the 'grass cutter' is a delicacy. A species of black monkeys (fie also Kaya) have meat which is very good to eat because the child will have black, woolly hair, will be sturdy and can out-climb his play-mates. The meat of the hant (zi) is most sought, for it is believed it gives the child a slender, well-ringed neck as well as a slim body.

It is further believed that eating in the presence of a jujuman spells danger both for the woman and the child. The pregnant woman is therefore forbidden to eat in the market or other open, public places. Fruits, especially tomatoes and mangoes are believed to be some of the foods a jujuman should not see her eat. Apart from being 'bad for children', the baby's skin might take on the colour of, say, a tomato and have tiny swellings just like the seeds of a tomato.

No restriction is placed on marital intercourse during pregnancy. It is supposed that pregnant women, especially during the first few months of conception, develop a keen appetite for intercourse and it is up to the man to satisfy her wife during that period. It is believed that the semen not only helps in the process of growth of the baby but it also acts like grease

softening the vagina and so facilitating delivery. Intercourse is continued at the discretion of the husband till the end of the seventh, or even eighth, month.

For the reasons explained above if a boy, for instance, involves himself in pre-marital fornication which results in pregnancy he is normally not prevented from continuing intercourse with the girl and the girl's parents usually take up the matter seriously with the boy only after the child has been born. Intercourse during pregnancy is supposed to have some effects on the man too: He feels tired and out of sorts, with aching sensations running through his entire system, even though there is nothing really wrong with him. The expression used to describe his condition is that 'he has been seized by the conception' (fu lee).

It is believed that prolonged intercourse would tell heavily on the baby's health: the semen would make him have slimy discharges through his nose and eyes. Most baldness in babies at birth is said to be the outcome of too much semen during the last few weeks before birth. It is also the belief that prolonged intercourse would give the baby a soft and delicate head. Then lastly, it is a popular belief that intercourse during day-time will help produce a baby with a clear mind and sharp eye-sight.

During the early stages of pregnancy the woman normally goes about the usual routine domestic duties, fetching water, cooking, and so on. She may find cooking a bit unpleasant because of the scent of the onions, fish, and fresh meat. Hard work is not expected of her at this stage for fear that it might cause miscarriage. By the end of the third month, she resumes hard work, pounding rice, chopping firewood, working on the farm. She may not crack palm kernels because that might

harm the baby and give him a "broken" head. From this time onwards hard work, it is believed, will help develop a healthy baby, urge it to move in the womb at the appropriate time and loosen the 'strings' attached to it so that its birth might come off easily. Excessive heat and excessive cold and the carrying of heavy loads will tell heavily on the baby's health and should therefore be avoided as much as possible. After a time the woman will naturally find it difficult performing duties involving stooping down.

To insure the well-being of the unborn child there are taboos or prescriptions for the mother. To begin with, she must not eat in the market or any open place. She should not step across people when they sit or lie down. It is supposed that the sight, thought or hearing of frightening things, noises or stories will have ill effects on the unborn child. The pregnant woman should therefore avoid such things as much as possible. Similarly, any acts of violence or cruelty inflicted by her on any creature will act reciprocally on the child. I was told that a pregnant woman once caught a goat eating her yam and in anger beat it well, and the goat had a leg fractured. She ended by cutting off almost the whole of the left ear. The goat fled in gripping agony. When her baby was born one of its legs got swollen and it had only one full ear and it grew up deaf. The pregnant woman must not kill a snake for it is believed that a close relationship exists between a snake and a child.

As a safeguard against the malice of witches, charms and talismans are worn and special herbs and other materials are charred and ground; the black powder (ti) is rubbed into incisions made at all the joints of her body, on her forehead and on the chest and back. Some of it is wrapped up and placed

under her pillow and some, still, is mixed in perfumed ointments for embrocation. Round about the fifth month, especially if the baby is not moving or developing, special medicines are given to the women to drink and others are syringed into her anus. One medicine popularly used for syringing is the root of a tree known as 'Nyimo' (*Nandea esculentus*; formerly known as *Sarcocephalus esculentus*). The roots are dug up, washed and cut up into bits and the ~~bark~~ outer covering is pounded to give a thick undiluted liquid which is syringed into the anus at intervals of a few days. This cleans the womb and promotes the child's movement and development in the womb. With heathens *jiju* or other mystic treatment is resorted to. The following is a description of one kind of treatment given in the ^{fetish} priest's shrine:

Materials used:

Old, hollowed kernels found in a rat's hole.

The bone of a tortoise

The fur of the ground squirrel (*adofu*).

Feathers of the hour (clock) bird (*avese fu*).

'Bo', or the plaited bark of a shrub used in fencing.

Spinach, consisting of cassava leaves, etc.

Procedure: These articles are tied together by the "bo" cord. The joints of the woman are tied with "be" (roofing thatch or grass). The fetish priest calls the woman's name and when she responds he repeats some mystic incantations, one of which is: "Afeli, Aziza togo dome, ele gbo dzoni, gbo madu", meaning "let the house be steady! The Fairy's spinach across the river is attracting the goat, but it cannot get at, and eat it". The *jiju* is rubbed all over the woman's body. He calls her name again, recites something and loosens the 'be' from her joints and says: "I have now freed you; henceforth no *jijuman*, witch, etc. can harm you". Some grains

of ginger (adure) are chewed and spat on the juju which is then tied permanently round her waist. She is warned never to step over any man and not to come out when there is lightning and thunder. The spinach is cooked and eaten with porridge. The pots when taken off the hearth, are placed on pads of 'be'. That done, certain herbs are given to her which she should put into a pot from which she will have her bath, thrice daily for six days after which the contents of the pot are emptied at dawn at the cross roads.

No precautions need be taken by the father or other members of the family.

(iii) Birth:

When the woman feels the onset of labour she informs her mother and if her mother is not a mid-wife herself she in turn reports to the village mid-wife and asks her to come and examine the mother. The midwife manipulates the belly and if she finds out that all is not ready yet she gives her words of encouragement and tells her not to be too anxious about it. When the pains begin the woman is seated on a pad of 'baha', that is, the rotten stem of a plantain or banana washed and dried. In the absence of the 'baha' a pad of old cloths is used. The bedroom is usually used but if it is found to be inconvenient for any reason any other room which allows for privacy is used. The woman's mother or maternal aunt, and the man's mother or paternal aunt or his sister are allowed in the room. The husband and children are not allowed in. He usually remains within ear-shot, anxious and prayerful. One of the women present in the room may support the woman from her back. The woman opens her legs wide and is told to force out the baby while the midwife manipulates her waist in a skilful way. She thrusts her hands into the vagina and tries to direct the child's course and turns

the head to point downwards towards the birth canal. Meanwhile the woman groans with pain, cries, curses, relaxes, while the mid-wife and the other women keep on encouraging her and telling her in a tone full of sympathy and forcefulness not to relax but force it out hard. No anaesthetics are used but usually a sticky and slimy preparation of herbs is rubbed on the belly to hasten the delivery.

If the legs of the child appear first the midwife does all in her power to turn it properly but if all attempts fail it means danger is approaching. The woman is rushed to a hospital in case of unusually prolonged labour. In normal cases, if the woman is exhausted it is usual for the women to keep worrying her and not allowing her any time for rest. Sometimes the preliminary, false pains are mistaken for the real labour pains, with the result that the woman is worried unduly, and too early.

When the labour lasts for a much longer time than is usually the case, the people begin to suspect the malice of witches. Anti-witchcraft medicines and incense are burnt in the room and at the entrance. The woman herself may be suspected for having committed adultery within wedlock or for having allowed herself to be fouled and mishandled in the bush or on bare ground or floor, which latter act, known as 'gu', is considered a grave social offence for which, it is believed, the woman will be subject to automatic mystical punishment which may even result in a swollen body disease. This is fatal unless she makes a confession and a special custom is performed to appease the god of the earth, or land, whom she has defiled. It is also suspected that she and one of the women present might have enjoyed intercourse with one and the same man. This offence is known as 'adzim'. It is believed that if

a special treatment is not given the woman might bleed to death. This is one reason why care is taken as to who and who would be allowed to be present in the room. The woman is questioned and questioned and all sorts of methods conceivable are used to exact a confession from her. If she admits having involved herself in 'gri' or 'adzin' some palm-wine or, in its absence, corn-flour with water is used in pouring libation to the gods of the land begging them to forgive a wayward woman who will herself appease them in the usual way after the delivery. It is claimed that in 99 cases out of 100 no sooner does the prayer end than the child is born.

As soon as the baby is born the news is given to the husband and the others waiting anxiously outside. People rush in, eager to know whether the baby is a girl or a boy and to congratulate the mother. The women become overjoyed, praise the woman for her courage and the baby for its size, perhaps black hair and a slender neck, in words such as: "Dunò nuno sē gu luo, wīe do le ene, Mawu wo do. Vie lolo alea, kps efe da da", meaning: "Thanks be to your personal gods. Congratulations on your triumph. Thanks be to God. What a big child! Look at the black, woolly hair and slender neck".

A man, preferably the husband's brother, who has been waiting outside all the while, is asked to come and cut the umbilical cord. He uses a piece of sharp-edged palm-frond and severs it two or more inches from the navel. Customarily, the left hand is used in cutting it in the case of boys and the right in the case of girls. The midwife holds the baby up, pats it on the back to make it cry, puts her little finger into its nostrils to clear them of any coagulated blood. The baby, in cases of prolonged labour, becomes exhausted and almost unconscious when born, but by patting it and giving it

a hot or a cold rub down it soon regains consciousness. If his body looks pale the juice of lime is smeared all over its body and blood soon flushes into all the capillaries and all is well with its colour. The baby is now given to one of the women to be bathed. Hot water is used with soap and sponge and the body thoroughly embrocated with shea-nut oil. Meanwhile, the midwife helps the mother to force out the after-birth which is put into a pan and buried immediately near the bathing place. This is done by an old woman who has stopped bearing children.

As the actual date of the birth is not often anticipated, sometimes a woman may be over-taken unawares, unprepared, anywhere during her daily routine, by labour. Births have taken place in this way in odd places: on the farm, at the public latrine, on the way to the water-hole, and so on. Children born in such ^{circumstances} odd places are given names corresponding to those places where they were born. For example, we have Kpoxa (Latrine), Agble, Agbleke (The Farm), Gbce (Bush), Asimenu ('A market thing').

Let us return to the house. By now the midwife has bathed the mother, the room is swept and made tidy and the woman lies down to have a rest. Her new-born baby is laid on the bed beside her. After the baby has been bathed a custom known as 'vegbagba' ('breaking the throat') is performed for it as follows: Some palm-wine, salt, palm-oil and corn-flour are mixed on the ground and the child's mouth is touched with a little of the stuff. It is performed for all children and is a sign that it can eat without any harm.

The midwife takes the responsibility of bathing the child's mother, as well as the child, morning and evening for the first four days or so before shifting the responsibility on to one of the women, usually the woman's

mother. A special kind of porridge, vidzisinakplē, ('porridge for a new mother') is cooked for the woman. The soup is made sticky and acts like laxative.

Serious attention is paid to the healing of the wound the woman sustained in the vagina. Very hot water is used with a piece of old cloth to wash and clean the wound. The woman lies flat on her back on a rafter, draws her knees up and opens the legs wide apart. Hot and burning medicines are put into the birth-canal after the washing and cleaning of the wound. The following may be ground and put on the wound:

(a) Cotton leaves

Black (African) tree pepper (Kalē) [= *Piper guineense*]

Grains of ginger (adue).

One red pepper

(b) Libui (sweet-scented gum)

Dzeveti herb (*Ocimum canum*)

cloves (Pepe)

The roots of the 'Fe' tree (a tree common on the plains).

Special quick-healing medicines are also to be drunk. Decoctions of bitter herbs are given. In addition, certain medicines are taken in gin, Schnapps or brandy. Some ground gum-powder may be used. Some people use a mixture of one teaspoonful of permanganate of potash to half a bottle of gin. Some grains of 'yokal' (Potassium nitrate B.P.) may also be used. The mixture is taken in spoonfuls three times a day. The woman is forbidden to eat sweet things at this stage. Very often, to hasten the healing of the wound in the vagina, she may be made to sit in a big pan of hot medicated water. This may be done for a few minutes before the daily bath.

Precautions are taken to ensure the well-being

of the new-born child. The 'eighth day' ceremony is never omitted. The eighth day after the birth of a child is always a great day, a day of outdoorings. A goat or a sheep is slaughtered, plenty of food is prepared and the parents' relatives, friends, the midwife and other people are invited to take part in the feast. Eating, drinking and all sorts of merry-making take the greater part of the day. The husband presents two or more changes of cloth, handkerchiefs and some money to his wife. A native-woven cloth is bought and presented. It is called 'vikpado' (child-carrying cloth) and with it the child is tied on her mother's back. The baby's toilet outfit is also provided on that day by the husband. The baby is given a name and for the first time tied on the back of a sister of his with the new cloth provided for the purpose. The mother adorns herself and the family and their close relatives go round the village thanking the people for their good wishes and their gifts of firewood, foodstuffs, supply of water and other services. The people again congratulate her in almost the same words as those used on the day the child was born. Small gifts of money are made with which 'to buy soap for bathing the child'. The midwife is rewarded on this day for her services. Most boys are circumcised on the eighth day so that the wound may heal up quite simultaneously with the navel wound. Others are circumcised later. Some mothers, especially non-Christians, dip into the child's bath-water a piece of dry chameleon-tail. I was told this is a safeguard against evil spirits.

Until the umbilical cord has healed up completely and dropped off the husband may not go to work on the farm, for it is feared that if he did and his hol or cutlass happened to cut an earth-worm the child's navel wound might not heal up and that would mean death for the child.

Then there are a number of practices regarding the conditions under which children have been born. If a mother has lost two or more children by death, especially the youngest ones, it is believed that their death has been caused by evil spirits. Therefore if she is lucky enough to get another child names which she thinks would disgust the evil spirits and make them leave the child alone, are given to the child, irrespective of sex. The following are among the commonest of such names, which are known as 'Kugbakugba, Koro' (names of 'the dead and reincarnated'):

Kpoxa	which means	faeces
Kokolo	which means	a fowl
Gbo	which means	a goat
Kukua	which means	the dead.
'Kusi	which means	"Life is in the hands of death"
Kubaame	which means	"death is a cheat"
Kpe	which means	stone
Anyigba	which means	the ground
Ati	which means	a stick or a tree.
Adudo	which means	rubbish.

Sedigitated children are looked upon with disgust and fear and as a source of ill-luck. The sixth finger is sliced off at once by the parents so that the other people may not know of it, but it hardly disappears altogether and people try to avoid or eliminate such children from their social life as much as they can.

Elaborate ceremonies are performed for twins. When twins are born their parents may neither speak, drink nor eat till a person who is also a parent of twins comes, sprinkles water, from a container in which certain leaves have been dipped, into the room nine times. The parents' mouths are then touched with the water. This custom is known as 'tsitotomu' ('the

touching of the mouth with water'). Wine is given to the midwife 'to wash her hands with', otherwise the twins would not be healthy. She washes her hands from a dish containing two types of leaves: *afiatoga* (*bryophyllum*) and one other called 'madze'.

All the family, relations and friends are invited to witness the ceremony itself. The house in which the ceremony takes place, the utensils and all other materials and objects likely to be required have to be "bought" from the man performing the custom whom, for convenience, we may hereafter call 'A'. Now A must be a person who has had twins of the same type as those to be initiated, that is, if the twins belong to the same sex, he must have had twins of the same sex; if the twins are mixed, his should also be mixed. Anything short of this does not qualify one to perform such a ceremony.

'A' begins by pouring libation and praying to the gods as follows: 'Kusie, Kusie! Ve si wam nele la, Kusie, Kusie! Vedzilawo fe lame nase, eye verianwo ha fe lame nase; amewo nadzi ve ne mawo ne wo dae! Kusie, Kusie!' ("Kusie, Kusie! May the gods grant that by this ceremony the parents and the twins may have health; other people get twins so that I may perform the ceremony to them always"). He pours the libation again, tastes the wine himself and gives it to the parents also to taste. The parents are now free to use the house, the utensils, and so on. They are clothed in calico and their hair is shaved, leaving three tufts which are known as 'vedzida' (the twin parents' hair). Two new, unused pots are procured and food is put into them. The brims of the pot are tied with *kacile* (*Mormordica charantia*) and two girls carrying the pots set out to an open place at the outskirts of the village, followed first by A and then

a long procession of people. The pots are placed at the edge of the open space and A leads the parents 5 times round the place. After each round they stop to take a few mouthfuls of the food from the pots. After the fifth round message is sent to the drummers to start their work, that is, beating the 'veru' (twin drums). The people then move to the open space in the village proper (ablome) where the inhabitants hold their meetings. On reaching there 'A' again leads the parents 9 times round the place while the two pots are placed face-downwards, near the drummers. They are presented to the gathering and then allowed to take part in the dancing which is otherwise restricted to 'men who have shown bravery' by killing men or wild animals, such as leopards and boars. The drum is also known as 'Kalivu' or Adabatram (a drum for the brave). When everybody is exhausted, the pots are picked up once more and the parents led back to their house, the pots being left face-downwards at the back of the house. It is now time for eating and drinking. The palm-wine is served out to the people and everybody so served is required to pay a small amount of money as a help to the parents. The merry-making continues far into the night.

It is believed that if this ceremony is not performed for the parents, especially the mother, she may soon or late become lame, with chronic sores on the legs. The twins will also not be healthy. Both the parents and the twins are strictly forbidden to eat the flesh of abladze, a type of monkey formerly very common on the plains near-by.

Parents are grateful for having any children, whether boys or girls. Usually, however, a woman prefers a daughter for her first-born because when she grows up a little she will help her in the care of

her younger siblings, and she will render other domestic services. If a woman's first child is a girl people believe she is blessed because that, they say, is a sign of a peaceful home and life, generally. Such a girl is called Afeafa, meaning 'the home is peaceful'. Fathers on the other hand prefer sons for their first-born for purposes of inheritance and their assistance on the farm and in the house. The boy is called Foli.

When parents have a good number of children of the same sex they begin to wish they had one or two of the opposite sex as well. Children of mixed sexes are preferred by both parents, as a rule.

Chapter II.

Food and Feeding.

(i) Nursing

The baby is normally fed for the first time on the third day. It is breast-fed. During feeding the mother holds the baby on her lap, using one arm as a support for the head and for raising it slightly so that the teat can reach its mouth easily. She uses the second hand in holding the teat steadily. When the flow of the milk is felt to be getting low she changes the position of the baby so that the other teat is also sucked. As the baby gets older and older it can be fed in other positions: it can be fed on its bed, the mother lying on her side facing it, or it may be fed while the mother stands holding it with its legs astride her side. When he begins walking he may be fed standing, with the mother sitting down or stooping.

The baby is fed when he cries and not at fixed intervals. When she has been away from the house for a long time, leaving the child behind, the mother picks him up on her return and offers him the breast, whether he cries or not. He is also fed to prevent him from crying after he has, for instance, fallen down.

Babies sometimes refuse to eat. If this happens the mother looks for possible causes. First of all she suspects that it has some form of stomach disorder. If its body is hot fever may also be suspected. A little tepid water is syringed into its anus to make it defecate. For quicker and surer results a bit of toilet soap is 'washed' in the tepid water before the syringing. Some wind cure or gripe water is also given it to drink. Another cause might be inflammation in its mouth. The mother therefore inspects the mouth and if any inflamed spots are detected she cleans them with cotton dipped in alum solution. Instead of this solution the leaves of amla

(Alchornea Cordifolia) are cooked and the liquid used in cleaning the mouth. A very light permanganate of potash solution may also be used. The sourness or unwholesomeness of the mother's milk may also cause the baby to be reluctant to feed. If this is found to be the case she is given special treatment, which will be described at a later stage.

When the baby stops feeding abruptly efforts are made to get him to take more, especially when it is known that it is because of distraction of attention caused by, say, a loud noise. If, however, on stopping to feed, the baby himself begins to play with the breast, holding it with his lips, or touching it with his hands and fingers then it is taken as a sign that he has had enough. The mother may then pat him and play with him for a while, tickling and talking to him or tossing him up gently to make him happy.

The mother regards nursing as an enjoyable thing, especially its early stages. This is shown by her smiles, playfulness and preparedness to spend even sleepless nights without grudging.

If the mother has too little ^{milk} there must be something wrong with her. She is regarded as being unfortunate and immediate steps are taken to remedy the situation. She reports to her mother who prescribes some native treatment. The village herbalist may also be consulted. A very simple but effective remedy is for the mother to prepare palm-nut soup, the nuts being cooked and pounded together with a quantity of notsigbe (milk herb, that is Euphorbia hirta) and the tender leaves of a spreading forest tree known as 'Siã'. The soup can be eaten with porridge or fufu. Another effective cure is the milky water that settles on corn which is pounded and mixed with water. Fresh corn

eaten raw or added to the soup is also effective. Coconut milk and the soft juicy flesh of the coconut are also good cures. Plenty of kafa (a kind of semi-solid pap prepared from corn) also gives quick, good results if taken in liquid form.

Marital intercourse is not restricted as such during nursing: Its amount during this period varies from couple to couple and is determined by the discretion of the couple. It is generally understood that marital intercourse should be resumed as soon as the vagina-wound has healed up. I was told that some highly-sexed men resume it as early as the eighth day after the birth of the baby and continue till the wife begins to menstruate again, when the normal course is followed. In short, such men enjoy intercourse throughout practically the whole of the nursing period. Experience has however shown that excessive intercourse during this period tends to make the woman's milk sour and adulterated so that the baby does not like it much. It affects his health: his body becomes hot very often, indicating frequent attack of fever, and his motions become liquid and frothy. For this reason, many husbands control themselves during nursing. Some, especially the polygamists, leave the nursing mothers alone, at least till they menstruate again some six months later. The highly-sexed men contend that if intercourse is resumed very early the woman will soon develop a sort of immunity against milk adulteration so that the baby's health is not affected at all, or just very little. But the intercourse may result in the mother becoming pregnant again too, that is, during the nursing period. (Such quick-born children are known as 'keplvivo', meaning 'store-children'). Apart from the inconvenience and trouble the mother may experience in looking after such child, the parents themselves ~~are~~ expose themselves to punishment.

ridicule for their lack of self control. Therefore most couples are careful and sparing in matters of marital sexual intercourse during nursing.

(ii) Weaning:

Weaning is not effected at a fixed age. It may be introduced according to the child's reactions. If the baby cries after having been well fed on the breast the mother takes it to mean that he no longer finds the breast feeds sufficiently satisfying. The mother herself may have noticed that her supply of milk has run low and that the baby needs additional feeding. Very often weaning is begun in relation to the birth of the next child, especially when the woman gets conceived too soon again. Weaning is also begun in relation to the child's teething or biting. After he has got the whole set of his milk teeth the child tends to bite his mother's nipples when breast-feeding. This suggests to the mother that it is time she began weaning him.

Normally weaning is gradual. It is begun by giving the baby a little pap before his usual breast feed. The amount and frequency of the 'solid' food is gradually increased while breast feeding is decreased gradually. So that by the end of the third year he is completely weaned. But if another child is not born by that time he may still be permitted to play with the breasts for consolation from pain, fright, anger or fatigue.

The only time in which weaning is made deliberately sudden is when the mother becomes pregnant again too soon after the birth of a child, or when the mother falls seriously ill. The most callous methods are then used to keep the child off the breast within a very short time. If he cries solid food is forced down his throat. He may be allowed just one short feed on the breast at a time.

The frequency of this is decreased gradually till by the end of the second week of the abrupt change over he is refused any breast feed at all. This is a hard time for the child. He cries and cries, and the more he cries the more solid food is forced down his throat and the more he is scolded. He becomes helpless and dejected. At night he cries much and sleeps but little as he struggles in vain for the breast. Food is got ready in the preceding evening, against the night's feeding. As the child still persists ^{in getting} ~~to get~~ access to the breast, the mother may tie a cloth over it. It is at a time like this that mothers try to disgust their children with the breast. The mother tries to tell him that the breast is smelling and should not even be touched. In the case of an older child he is told that there is a frightful thing ~~(something)~~ in the milk, or that if he sucks it, his teeth will ~~get~~ become rotten. Threats of seizure by bogey-men, the men who circumcise, etc. are given. The mother may treat the breasts with bitter or smelling herbs or leaves. ~~The bitter leaves of the 'gbe' plant (Vernonia amygdalina) are most commonly used for this purpose.~~ Some children, however, soon get used to the taste and are prepared to suck on, despite the application. The child is compelled, there being no way out of the inconvenience caused him by the forced weaning, with the passing of time, to leave the breasts and stick to the solid food.

Children are given pacifiers to suck before weaning. This is done when they begin to suck their thumbs and pacifiers are not only given to prevent this bad habit developing in them but also to provide them with objects to bite to assist teething because people feel that the gum tends to give children uneasy sensation at this time. The simplest kinds of pacifiers are slender bones, rounded at both ends or sticks carved into such a form. People who can afford it buy pacifiers made of ivory. A piece of

string is fastened on the bottom of the pacifier and the other end of the string is fastened on to the ring of beads or thread on the child's wrist. This is done to make it handy to him at all times and as a safeguard against the possibility of his swallowing it down his throat.

If a baby sucks his finger it is taken to imply that he is not being properly fed and well looked after, so that he tries to get satisfaction that way. There is a deep-rooted belief that if a child is allowed to suck his thumb his parents, especially the mother, will fall ill and may even die. This is why mothers always try to stop the practice immediately it is detected.

It is supposed that weaning prepares the child for a mature, independent life.

(ii) Solid Food:

Solid food is introduced before weaning. Some mothers even introduce it within the first month of the child's life because the child is crying too much which shows that breast feeding alone will not satisfy him. Such premature weaning is getting ~~fewer~~^{rarer} and ~~fewer~~^{rarer} in number these days.

The first solid food offered is 'akatsa' (pap) prepared from corn. This used to be given from tiny calabashes, poured into the mother's cupped hand placed tightly under the child's lower lip, or from a tiny wooden spoon. Later, hatsi, that is porridge prepared from fried corn-meal, is given. This is in more solid form than pap and keeps longer without getting easily stale. With the corn are fried and ground bits of 'tyso' and 'yi', sweet-scented but quite hot-tasting seeds, which, it is claimed, have the power of preventing acidity in the child's stomach and of whetting his appetite and making the food more tasteful. The child has his own utensils and eating apparatus, consisting of a

cooking pot, a small dish with a close-fitting lid in which the 'hatsi' is kept immersed in water; a small tea-spoon used in mashing and serving out the porridge. Formerly, calabash-containers with close-fitting lids were used instead of dishes. They are still used in some homes today. Wooden spoons were also very common but imported spoons are fast replacing them. Instead of a mashing spoon a mother may use her hand in getting the 'hatsi' into semi-liquid form.

To feed the child the mother sits down, her legs stretched forwards and the knees bent a little so that the lap slopes gently downwards. The baby is laid on the lap on its back with its ^{head} towards the mother's belly, and tucked a bit to rest on, or just laid across the mother's left thigh. With the mother's cupped hand to its mouth, the semi-liquid food is poured into the hand little by little. The baby of course does not like the taste of the food to begin with, and so cries and struggles, blowing bubbles through the food and refusing to swallow it. The mother therefore holds its nose for a few seconds at a time and, in trying to inhale the air through its mouth it takes in the food bit by bit. This continues till the mother feels it has had enough. Its face and clothing which have become wet and soiled with bits of the food are cleaned. The mother holds it up, plays with it for a while and lets it supplement the food with a few minutes' breast feeding. The remainder of the porridge is put back into the dish or calabash, covered up and kept away.

When the child grows a bit older a little salt or sugar is added to the porridge to make it more tasteful. The mother uses her index finger to work down the porridge which is now more solid, into its mouth. A few drops of the water into which the porridge is kept are placed on his tongue from the tip of the mother's finger. This is

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How the baby is fed.— A mother
feeding her baby in the old traditional way.

followed by breast feeding and play.

The next step is to put little lumps of the porridge into its mouth, the mother coaxing it by saying "age gu" and it learns to eat them itself. The supplementary breast feeds are gradually decreased while the solid food is increased. Then other kinds of solid food are introduced. Some adult foods such as roasted plantain, yam or cocoyam are given. The roasted food, pre-chewed by the mother, is given to the child in mouthfuls. Nowadays, however, the pre-chewing by mothers ^{has} almost disappeared altogether and mashing of the food has taken its place. Some imported foods such as Quaker oats and corn flour are also used during weaning. Decoctions of roots, leaves and barks and patent medicines such as Gripe Water, quinine and Wind Cure are also given to relieve stomach-aches, feverish conditions, wind, and other bowel disorders. Some tinned milk is also used by literate parents. The more conservative elements use native quinine instead of the imported. This is got from the bitter seeds of a local shrub.

As a rule the baby is not fed at fixed times: he is fed under conditions already explained on page 24, namely, when he cries or when the mother wants to 'pacify him' after her long absence from the house and him, or in an attempt to soothe him when he is frightened, injured or disturbed in any other way. In normal circumstances the baby is fed 5 or 6 times during the day and as often as he cries or asks to be fed at night. He is fed at any convenient place in the house: in the kitchen, on the verandah, where he is bathed, out in the open air, in the sitting room and even in the bedroom. The bed-room feeding takes place in the evening - the last meal during the day - and of course at night. When the mother goes to

the farm, the market or any other place where she is likely to keep long she carries the baby's food along.

By the time he has put his teeth the child is used to taking solid food and almost any kind of food eaten by adults. But it is seen to that too much pepper is not used in his soup and that all the hard and sharp pieces of bones are taken from the meat and fish given him.

The child is at first fed alone. When he is quite used to eating adult food the mother feeds him by giving him morsels of rice, porridge, etc. from the same dish from which she herself eats. By the time he is two to two and a half years old he may begin to eat with the rest of the family. Girls usually eat with their mothers who put the food into their mouths, and boys with their fathers who do the same for them. When children grow older and can feed themselves, then they can eat with their brothers and sisters or any other children in the house. In the literate homes, though small children eat with their parents, their food is put into separate dishes or pans for them and they use their own cups for drinking.

It is supposed there is danger in children's refusing to eat or not eating enough. With babies who do not talk, this refusal is at once taken to mean that they are not well. As already explained their mouths are inspected to see whether their mouths are inflamed. They are also treated for fever and stomach-ache. With older children the mother also finds out whether their refusal to eat is because of anger or because they do not like the particular type of food given to them. If it is found to be due to anger the mother soothes and comforts them and they eat the food. If they do not like the particular type of food a substitute is given them. It is supposed that a child will grow lean, become ill and eventually die of under-nourishment if the situation is allowed to continue.

Over-eating gives the mother much concern and she tries hard to discourage and stop it. This she does by decreasing the amount of food given to the child who tends to over-eat or by taking the dish away from him when she feels he has had enough. The child of course resents to this by crying and trying to snatch the dish back but the mother persists and the child has to yield in the long run. She threatens him also saying Hausamen, ghosts, etc. will come to take him away if he continues eating. His brothers and sisters and playmates ridicule him.

Boys and girls ridicule a child who goes round from house to house readily accepting invitations to come and eat. Whenever his play-mates see him approach they point at his protruding belly and mockingly keep on saying: "Nudzola do gboza me, fi fi nadele lo!", meaning 'the voracious food-beggar is on his rounds, his belly will soon be filled.' He is chased round till he is compelled to leave the company.

Over-eating in children is induced in various ways. Close relatives and friends insist on inviting the children of their relatives and friends to meals. Whenever they see such a child playing about and food is ready they call him in. If he is not seen he is sent for or the food is sent to him. Co-wives also exchange food and so there is almost constant exchange of food so that children are liable to eat between meals. In the child's home, part of the evening meal is reserved and preserved so that early in the morning of the next day as soon as the fire has been made the food is warmed and eaten by the child before the actual family breakfast. Then also, children roast plantains, cocoyams and yam and have an early morning, preliminary meal. And so though parents are worried when their children over-eat the native practices regarding exchange of food and cooking in excess of the amount required tend to work against them in their attempt to prevent

or stop over-eating altogether.

Foods which are considered specially good for children are soft foods which digest readily. For this reason children's porridge and fufu are made softer than adults'. It is also considered that plenty of liquid food, especially soup, is good for them. Therefore they are given small slices of yam or cocoyam cooked in plenty of soup. Roasted plantain and the like are also given freely to children because they can be ready for eating a few minutes after they have been placed on the embers. The soft internal organs of animals, such as the liver and the heart, are also considered good for children, and so if a father kills a fowl, a goat, a sheep or a wild animal these parts are always given to the children. It is said that if an adult eats the heart of an animal he will grow to become a coward. Green beans and peas cooked in soup are also considered good for children. Mashed yam or cocoyam with oil is another good meal for them.

Foods considered bad for children include foods which are hard or sticky. Meat containing hard and sharp bones or consisting of tough muscle is not given to children. Stale food is also bad for them, and so mothers insist that food left over in the evening is first heated before being kept and warmed again in the morning before it is eaten by children. Such foods are now being done away with. Very hot food, with hot pepper, is also bad for children. Palm-wine and all other strong drinks are not given to children. Then there are family taboos in food which children have also to observe.

Foods considered palatable for children include yam, fufu, sweets of all kinds, sugar, honey, fruits, such as mangoes, banana, avocado pear, pawpaw, coconut; rice, gari, oils, milk, coffee, bread, biscuits, cakes, eggs, fresh corn, fried balls of cassava, fried bean balls and

fats. However, eggs and meat are considered as luxuries for children; eggs are given to children on rare occasions, for example, when used as a reward. Very little meat is also given, for it is believed that a child who eats plenty of it may grow to become a glutton or a thief; hence the saying that 'a small child does not eat big meat, it is big food that he eats'. Milk is also considered as a luxury. Though oils are liked by children it is considered that they are not good for them in cold weather because "they will make them feel cold".

Foods considered unpalatable for children include gari, mashed yam, vegetables, without oil; soup without meat, unripe plantain, cassava; pap, tea or coffee without plenty of sugar; foods mixed with medicine. Some children dislike soup containing creatures or the meat of animals they are afraid of, for instance crabs, lobsters, crocodiles, tortoises, armadillos and hornbills. They tell their mother they will not eat the soup because there is 'kibii' (a fearful creature) in it. Even if the 'fearful creature' is taken out of the soup nothing will induce them to eat it. Most children, too, prefer fufu to porridge or mashed yam.

Children are sometimes rewarded with foods they like for eating those they dislike. For example, a mother may have no food stuff in the house one morning except, say, some cornmeal with which she prepares porridge, which may be disliked by her child. The mother has to coax the child to eat it and promise to buy him some sweets or bread if he eats the porridge. Also, if a child is ill and some medicines or other preparations which are distasteful to him, such as codliver oil, marmite, are added to his meal, the mother may give him an egg or fruit or sweets after he has eaten the food. A father may promise to kill a fowl for his child after he has taken some bitter medicine.

and if the child takes it he ^{fulfils} ~~fulfills~~ the promise.

Some parents use food as a punishment for bad behaviour in children, for example, if a child refuses to pound fufu he may be forbidden to eat it. But generally most parents do not use food as a punishment these days. What they do is that in the above example, say, the child may not be given the fufu to eat but a few slices of the yam or cocoyam will be left in the pot for him to pound. He may either pound it, or eat the slices unpounded, or refuse to do either. There are superstitious beliefs surrounding food: it is believed that the earth-god gets annoyed if food is intentionally destroyed, especially in anger. If in anger a mother refuses to give food to her child it is considered bad. If food is thrown at a person and it hits him it is believed the person has been defiled (wodo qui), and this defilement could bring illness to the person. It is also considered an offence if a husband, say, refuses to eat his wife's food on account of anger. At times, food may be temporarily withheld from a child for his refusal to help in its preparation, or to perform a duty assigned to him or for any other misbehaviour. But even in such circumstances the mother again comforts him later and induces him to have his meal.

Children are rewarded with food for good behaviour. If, for example, a child is sent on an errand he may be given some food as a reward. Food may also be given in appreciation of a child's achievement. If a son is circumcised and the wound has healed up, a fowl is killed for him in appreciation of his bravery in facing the ordeal. A girl is also given eggs during her menstruation ceremony in appreciation of her having attained maturity.

By the third year of his life a child's diet is the same as an adult's, with the exception, as already

explained, that his food is made softer than an adult's and that his pepper is not as hot to begin with. By this time the child is supposed to feed himself. Adults may continue to feed him at times till he is about three and a half years old.

From the time a child begins to feed himself and eat with his parents native standards of table manners are taught him gradually. A child is ~~first~~ first taught to wash his hand well before and after a meal. The parent inspects his hand to make sure he has washed it well. Much attention is paid to the washing of hands and there is a proverb which says that 'it is the child who knows how to wash his hand that eats with his father.' Children are also taught at table that they should not talk while eating, especially while they are eating with adults. A child who breaks this rule often may be threatened that if he does so again he may not eat with his father again. If a child has a choke as a result ^{of} talking at a meal, this unfortunate experience is used to warn him against talking at meals. If there are not sufficient seats for all the children the boys are taught to oblige the girls first. A boy is taught to crouch but a girl should not, at meals. Girls are taught to sit down, bring their legs together, stretch them forwards, place the food on their right. If a girl has no seat she can use a big stone, a pan turned upside-down or a pad. Children are also taught that a child does not have meat in his mouth while eating ('devi medue Katoo o'). For this reason most parents give their children their share of the meat at the end of the meal. They are also taught not to lick their hands very often while eating. ~~He~~ They are taught to take morsels they can swallow at once. If these rules are broken they are warned that any recumence may disqualify them to eat with their parents. A child is also taught not to chew noisily; nor should he make

audible sounds to show that the pepper or the food is hot. "One who does this cannot eat with his Papa". A child may not pick the top of the food as a hen does. If he breaks this rule often he may have to eat alone next time. A child is also taught not to dip his hand into the plate when somebody else's hand is there.

It is considered bad table manners if a child breaks wind at table, especially if he is eating with his brothers, sisters and other children. An alarm is raised: 'Fū, so and so has broken wind'. His hand is held up, the dish put on his head and all the other children take a few morsels each before it is put down again for him to rejoin. Children are also taught to wash their plates well.

(iv) Elimination:

Actual toilet training is begun by the child's second ~~and third~~ years of age, when he begins to understand adult speech. The mother praises the child if he has carried out toilet functions well. He is scolded for wetting or soiling the bed or his clothes, especially after the age of four years. He may be punished for wetting, but never for soiling. Just as food is surrounded with superstitious beliefs so also are excreta. It is believed that if a child is punished, especially if beaten for soiling the bed or his clothes he is defiled. His body might swell up and this could be fatal. He is also not to dispose of his own excrement. Burning a child's faeces, it is believed, implies that his bowels are also burnt, and so he may die.

Adults express disgust over the child's dirtiness. Mothers bathe their children thoroughly at least twice a day, use ointment, powder, etc. on their body, comb their hair nicely and paint their bodies with sweet-scented gums. At this age, that is, when a child is over three years old, a child who plays on the ground and makes himself

dirty is scolded. On the whole, it is supposed that girls tend to be neater than boys.

Mothers who have no urine pots train their children by balancing their children on their opened feet and telling them to do 'k'ien' or 'tsitsi' (words descriptive of a strong smell). Most mothers have urine pots and begin training their children by putting them on urine pots. In time the child himself knows where the pot is placed and so goes to it on his own. In some homes, children are allowed to use certain corners of the house as their latrine, but this unsatisfactory method is not followed by many mothers. In some homes, too, small, cylindrical pit-latrines are made near the bathing place, or in a corner, for the children who are told to use them whenever they feel like easing themselves.

By the third year of their lives most babies have learnt to run outside the house to ease themselves during the day and ask to be led outside in the night. The village dung-hill serves as children's public latrine. Children are encouraged to go there and nobody seems to bother about the mess made of the place. A person can urinate anywhere he likes. This fact and the fact that the dung-hill is generally regarded as children's latrine are shown by the sort of prayers the old men offer to the gods when they pour libation during open ceremonies concerning the birth of children: "May the grandfathers and the gods help us to procreate profusely; may they grant that whenever a man urinates at a spot so used by a woman conception should result; children should be born in plenty so that the dung-hill might smell", (that is, of their faeces).

Toilet training is supposed to be completed by the end of the fourth year of a child's life.

Bladder training takes almost the same form

as bowel training: the child is put on the urine pot to start his bladder training. From the age of about three years the child is usually lifted several times during the sleep period, at night, to urinate into the pot; he may be led outside for the purpose.

From about the fifth year girls accompany their mother or sisters to the public latrine and boys go with their father or brothers. At this stage mothers do not demand promptness in children's toilet habits, though they do demand some degree of regularity. At this stage, too, children are taught to carry out eliminatory functions privately and not to speak about it in public.

Before a child is about four years old his mother examines and criticizes the quantity and quality of his faeces. The mother does this to find out whether the child has free bowels or not, whether there is indigestion, constipation, and so on. Scanty faeces ^{may} denote under-feeding or show that the child has not free bowels. If they are in hard lumps and irregular and far between, indigestion or constipation may be suspected. If the motions are frequent and liquid diarrhoea or intestinal sores might be the cause. It might also be due to the effects on the child of the parents' sexual intercourse — when this is detected during the nursing period. If the motions are yellowish in colour fever is suspected. If they become greenish in contact with the air a bowel-sore known as 'sable' might be the cause. Frothy motions may indicate the approach of teething. Worms are also looked for in the faeces.

On the whole, mothers feel it is easier to train girls in eliminatory functions than boys, but I was told that bed-wetting after the age of about 5 years is commoner in girls than in ~~girls~~ boys. Girls are

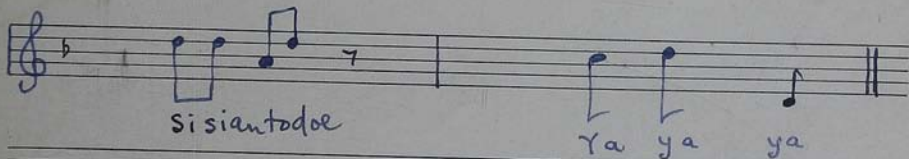
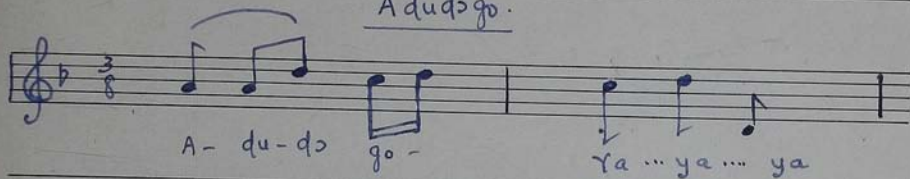
expected to observe more privacy in matters of elimination than boys.

If a child continues to wet her bed after her fourth year steps are taken to make her stop doing so. Her evening meal may be decreased in quantity; before she goes to bed she is asked to urinate. She may be threatened with stories of creatures who carry away children who wet their beds. She will be lifted up several times during the night to urinate. If after the fifth year or so the bed-wetting continues her play-mates are called into the house early in the morning to jeer and laugh at her. The wetted mat is either wrapped round her or put on her head while she is led round the village amid deafening hooting and songs of ridicule. Formerly, frogs were tied on to the waist of such girls, the mats were wrapped round them and they were led to a cesspool and pushed into it. The jeering throng of children then ran away from them to do their best to get out of the pool and free themselves from the frogs, the sight, croaking and jumping of which made them almost frozen with fear. Nowadays, such girls are just led round the village and hooted at. It is claimed that such public disgrace is always effective in curing the disease of bed-wetting.

The following is the popular song used by the children when the girl is being led round. The children clap their hands, tease the girl and drag and push her along as they sing the song at the top of their voices; with one of them leading:

Leader	:	Aduko-go
All	:	Yayaya!
Leader	:	Aduko-go
All	:	Yayaya
Leader	:	Sisiantodoe
All	:	Yayaya

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A d u d o g o .





Leader: Sisiantodoe,

All: Yayaya!

Leader: Adudogo

All: Yayaya!

Meaning:

Leader: Urine gourd (pot)

All: Yayaya (an onomatopoeic term)

Leader: The bladder,

All: Yayaya, etc.

Mothers worry very much about constipation and diarrhoea. To prevent constipation the child's food is made very soft and, nowadays, he is given fruit juice, such as orange or tomato juice. Patent medicines such as gripe water, are also given. To cure constipation decoctions of leaves, roots, etc. are given to the child to open up the bowels. He is also syringed. With older children, certain leaves or herbs are ground; some water and one or two peppers are added. The stuff is strained, the liquid warmed and then syringed into the anus. The leaves of the 'gbo' plant (*Vernonia amygdalina*) and 'Kikile' (*Mormordica charantia*) are commonly used for this purpose. Castor Oil, Brooklex (chocolate laxative) and Fruit laxative are the laxatives most commonly used to free the child from constipation.

To prevent diarrhoea mothers see to it that their children do not eat filth. Nowadays, some mothers give their babies boiled water to drink. Diarrhoea is treated by preparing the leaves of the Canna or 'gbo', as described above, and syringing the liquid into the anus. With slightly older children this treatment is usually supplemented by pushing into the anus little balls of ground onions and a

herb called 'mima' (*Ageratum Conyzoides*), which balls are dried a bit and smeared with mentholatum or shea-nut oil. Medicated water may also be given.

Illiterate adults do not generally refrain from performing eliminatory functions in front of children. This is specially true of urination which takes place almost carelessly - in nooks, street corners and so on. The most they may do is to turn their backs to the children when urinating. They are, however, more careful about defecation, but the same latrine is used by adults and children of about five years of age and more.

When a group of children are playing and one boy breaks wind all the others shout out the culprit's name and proclaim that he has broken wind. The other children chase him out of their company, calling him "the gunner with a gun that is never loaded with bullets". When a smell only is felt, the children ask almost simultaneously "who has broken wind"? If nobody owns up someone is suspected and challenged. If he admits he is treated as described above, but if he denies, the other children pretend to tie up his bowels, moving their hands as if they were actually tying them and saying 'do bla do bla, do bla'. Often this threat suffices to terrify the culprit into confession. The bowels are then 'untied'. If the boy refuses to own up all the other children hold the back of his hand by their finger-nails and, moving his hand up and down and pinching him hard they sing: 'Tuitui nye go, nye nye go? (who broke wind?). If he cries, he is the culprit, but if he does not another suspect is treated in the same way. This continues till a boy cries and is regarded as the culprit and chased away.

Parents warn their children ~~that~~ not to break wind in public as it is unmannerly to do so. The latrine is the only place where they are free to break wind in public.

If a child hiccups he is given the breast to suck or given a few drops of water to drink. If the hiccup continues a piece of roofing thatch is pulled out from the roof and put into his hair, the mother saying 'xedzi-xedzi eyi funwo gbo', meaning 'let hiccup go to pregnant women', that is, to unborn children. Every time the child hiccups the mother says 'ège le wo si' ('you have freed yourself from them', that is from the evil spirits supposed to be worrying him).

Belching is not generally considered as impolite by illiterates. If after a meal a child belches the mother is satisfied because it is taken to mean that he has had enough. Adults also belch freely.

Chapter III Motor Development

Clothes at times restrain the baby's movements.

Swaddling clothes which purposely prevent movement are used, in the first place in wrapping up the baby cosily in order to keep him warm. They are therefore increased in cold weather, or if the baby feels feverish, and decreased in hot weather. Except in a few literate homes, babies sleep on the same bed with their mothers. The bed usually consists of a kind of thick mat called 'atsatsa' overlaid with a blanket and old clothes. The baby's 'bed' is prepared on one side of it. The atsatsa is usually laid on the bare floor; the sides are open so that there is nothing to prevent the baby from falling off on to the floor if he rolls to the edge. So swaddling clothes are laid thicker at the sides so that they act as a check and keep the baby on the bed all the time. They are used, also, to make the bed soft and comfortable for his soft body which might hurt if the bed were hard. Another important reason why swaddling clothes are used is to let them hold the baby's urine and stools so that the blanket and the other bed-clothes underneath them, as well as the mat itself, are kept dry and unsoiled. For suner protection for the blankets the mat and the other clothing some literate mothers use waterproof material immediately beneath the swaddling clothes.

There are superstitious beliefs about swaddling clothes. It is believed for example that if they are dried and left outside after midday the baby's body will become stiff. It is also feared that if they are left outside a juju-men might cut a part of them to be used in making his juju.

Very little furniture, movable or stationary, is provided for the child. In most cases children have

no cots or beds of their own. The only movable furniture which is commonly provided are stools on which children sit at meals, during the bath and to warm themselves by the fire. It is only in the literate homes that small chairs, tables, boxes or beds are provided for children.

The baby is carried a lot. He is mostly carried at the back. For short periods he may be carried at the mother's side with his legs astride her body and his body clasped by the mother's arm. The mother may also carry him in her arms, for short periods and swing him to and fro while she sings a lullaby to induce him to sleep. The father too may carry him on his shoulders when travelling through thick bush, to and from the farm. But the baby spends most of his time at the back of his mother or grandmother, or aunt or sister, or house-maid, or any other female relative that happens to visit the house. This is how the child is carried at the back: The mother picks him up and swings him by the arm on to her back, with his legs parted and nesting at the sides of the mother's belly. To keep him steady before he is wrapped up, the mother stoops down a little and places his arm in her arm-pit and keeps it firm by pressing the upper part of her arm against it. She then takes the cloth (virkav) which is specially provided for carrying him, throws it lengthwise across the baby's back, passes the two top ends under her arms and ties them on her chest, across her breasts, by folding them and tucking them in each other in a special, skilful way. Then she holds the baby's legs and pushes him well up, with the cloth well-pressed under his buttocks. The two bottom ends are brought together and tied in a similar manner at the region of the mother's navel. The baby's feet may be left sticking out. If he is awake his hands are left hanging at the sides, but if he is asleep they

A.



How the baby is
carried, and who
carries him.

A = An adolescent
carrying her sister.

(See also picture
~~on~~^{on} facing page 108 #).

B.



B = A grandfather
carrying his
grandson.

C.



C = A mother
carrying her baby.

are tucked in under the cloth. When the mother goes out in hot weather she may use a thinner cloth to protect the child from the rays of the sun. Also, in cold weather, especially when the baby is wearing no cap or bonnet, a similar thing is done to keep him from the cold.

By the time girls are about seven years old they are taught to carry their brother or sister at the back. She learns the process gradually and soon becomes conversant with it. Girls find this a pleasurable thing to do. The baby is carried at the back inside or outside the house, to the market, to the river-side, farm or on visits. Children also enjoy being carried in this way.

The child is not allowed much free mobility in the early stages of his life, that is, before the sitting or crawling stage. If he is not lying down asleep, if he is not eating, bathing or receiving any other kind of attention he is sure to be at the back of somebody. At the sitting stage he is helped and encouraged to sit for short periods after which he is carried again. At the crawling stage, too, he is allowed some time to enjoy crawling, but as soon as the mother thinks he has done enough crawling she carries him again or asks that he be carried. It is only from the walking stage, that is from his 15th month or so, that he is allowed a longer time for free mobility.

Mothers are anxious to 'train' their children to sit and crawl early. It is considered a bad omen if a child begins teething before being able to sit alone, and so mothers start training him from such a time as to make his ability to sit alone precede his teething. The over-anxious mother may begin this training even before the baby is four months old. Most mothers begin from his fourth month. The baby is at first seated on his bed, supported all round by swaddling clothes

and pillows. The mother may hold him up for short periods. The child may also be put into a big basin and kept in position with swaddling clothes and pillows. These supports are decreased or removed gradually. By the 7th. month the average child is able to sit alone. He tries to move himself along the floor on ground in order to reach objects that attract his attention. The mother, or sister, encourages this by placing objects a few inches beyond his reach and inviting him by clapping her hands or waving and calling out to him to try and take them. This continues till by the 8th. month he probably begins to crawl, clumsily at first. Objects are still placed some distance away and the child asked to crawl to, and manipulate them. The mother, or sister, then stands a little way off, claps her hands or opens her arms in welcoming manner and addresses him saying 'ta va maks wo, atu, atu, atu', meaning "crawl to me so that I may carry you. Welcome, welcome, welcome). These practices soon improve his crawling and by the ninth or tenth month he may begin creeping. This soon develops into a crawling-creeping movement. Now, the child takes interest in chasing the other children, the hens, and the other domestic animals round the house.

Once he has mastered creeping the mother begins to 'train' him to stand by holding him up by his hand and saying 'agbagbale' ('keep your balance'), while she keeps her outstretched arms close to him in readiness to catch him when he is about to fall down. This continues and by the 9th. ^{month} ~~most~~ he may be able to stand, holding a support. Supports which are considered important to him include walls, doors, the legs of tables, chairs, beds, cupboards, water-drums, nearby shade trees, the posts supporting the kitchen roof, the mother herself and the other inmates of the house.

By the time the child is about a year old the mother has begun to get worried; she wonders whether he is not going to walk. She finds ways and means of making him walk as early as possible. She feels his leg bones to see whether there is something wrong with them. She may accuse the baby of laziness and cowardice. She suspects that the muscles at the back of his knees are weak and so in bathing the child she pays particular attention to those muscles and the legs, bending and stretching the knees and the ankles several times, ~~and~~ pressing them with a hot towel and embrocating them freely with shea-nut oil. If this treatment fails to yield the expected result, incisions are made on the muscles at the back of the knees and specially prepared medicine, charred and ground into powder (ti) is rubbed hard into the cuts to ginger the muscles up to activity. The child screams with pain. This treatment may be repeated several times.

As this treatment also fails to make the child walk the mother again suspects the possibility of bowel sores or a kind of phlegmy matter 'in his waist'. Special hot herbs are syringed into his rectum. This is repeated from time to time. The child feels much pain.

The next thing the mother does is to try and pull the child along on his feet, but this too cannot be of any help. The last attempt made is to get him a wooden tricycle to push along. By this time the child may have reached the stage in his development when he can walk. And so incidentally, after pushing the tricycle along for some time the child may begin to walk clumsily at first, the feet placed wide apart. Everybody becomes very glad and pleased when the baby begins to walk by the 15th month, or so. He is rewarded for walking early. He gets gifts of pennies and



A girl pushing a tricycle along — she is being
"trained to walk early".

half-pennies from his parents, his grandmothers, aunts, as well as from his parents' friends and acquaintances.

These coins, together with a few cowry-shells, are tied on strings and used as anklets for the child. When he walks the coins and the shells jingle and jingle and the sound pleases him so much so that he seems to feel like walking all the time. He is praised by everybody interested in him. Some mothers give the child eggs as a reward; others may give him chicken broth and food.

As mentioned earlier, before the crawling stage children are not given the chance of engaging in many motor activities, as most of their time is spent at their mothers' or somebody else's back. At about 6 or 7 months when the child tries to move himself, his activities are wholly confined to his bed or the bedroom floor. When he begins to crawl, at the age of about 8 months, the spatial limits for his motor activities are extended to include the verandah, the kitchen and the confines of the compound generally, where the mother or other attendants can keep a watchful eye on him. He is called or brought back if he tries to crawl any farther. Roughly the same space is allowed him during the creeping stage. When he begins to walk, he can go round the whole of the compound, but once he is lost sight of he is called back, or somebody is sent to bring him back. He may, however, go farther away and keep longer if he is taken out by his brother or sister, or when he is amidst playmates.

Children are warned away from dangers indoors in various ways, according to the nature of the danger. For example, if a child goes near a stove or a fire-place, the mother drags him back. Pointing to the stove or fire-place she warns him by saying 'dzo-dzo dzo negayi egbo o lo, aye me ne bi' (very, very hot, do not go

near it or you will be burnt'). The mother may place her hand on the hearth, take it away quickly, wringing her hand and squeezing her face as if in pain and saying 'Ai, do not come near to touch it or it will burn you too'. If the child still tries to touch the hearth, despite the mother's warnings, the mother may hold his hand against it so that he may feel the heat himself. His hand may also be placed near some hot embers. When he has felt pain he is warned again not to come near the fire-place again: so that it may not hurt him.

children are also warned away from dangers outside the house. They are warned not to play on the narrow crossings over ditches. When they are seen playing there they are called back or told that a frightful creature is coming to seize them and so they should run away from there. He is warned not to stand in the lorry road or cross it alone. If he does so, he is called back and threatened that a big lorry, a Hausaman or other frightful creatures will come to carry him away if he remains there. He may be beaten if he continues to disobey.

The mother is often afraid of the possibility of her child's getting lost if he wanders off. She shows alarm if the child wanders off, calls him at the top of her voice. If he does not return quickly his older brother may be sent after him. On his return to the house, he is warned and threatened that if he wanders off again, he will be beaten or punished with ginger-juice in his nostrils or that a 'sasabonsam' (a frightful imaginary creature) or a dead hyaena (agbotol kukku) will catch him and take him away.

Adults expect children to sit still while their mothers, for instance, are preparing their or the family meal. Often children move about the kitchen, playing with

the utensils, throwing dust into, or putting mud on them, scattering things right and left. Mothers do not like this and expect the children to behave better and sit still. At meals, also, children are expected to sit or stand still while they are being fed and not to go about their play between mouthfuls. When the mother is busy at any other domestic work, for example sewing, the child is expected to sit still and watch. On cold or rainy days a child is expected to remain indoors, perhaps sitting still by the fire. At other times, for example, when there is a visitor conversing with his parents a child is expected to sit still and listen. If he is not well, he is not allowed to go out but remains sitting or lying down still.

Many motor plays and activities are encouraged. Playful fighting, pushing, pulling and wrestling are allowed and encouraged, but parents are careful that they do not overstep the mark, as there is a saying that 'it is during a wrestling contest that one's intestines are forced out' (by accident). Such plays are allowed in the house, outside in the sand or on the green grass at the playing fields. Some children distinguish themselves in wrestling or fighting and are respected or feared by the smaller and weaker play-mates. During the research the writer happened to come across such a play, the heroes calling themselves Roy Ankrak and challenging the others. Running, chasing and hide and seek games are also popular and encouraged. Such games often take place during the evening, especially on moonlight nights. They are played by boys and girls together and the whole village echoes with their laughter and joyful cries. Such is the thrill that young adolescents often join them, usually acting as the leaders.

Climbing games and competitions are also popular with children. They climb up walls, trees, fences, everybody trying to outclimb his neighbour. Such climbing games are common when trees are in flower or when there are ripe, edible fruits on them. When a boy finds it difficult to climb down a tall tree he is ridiculed by his playmates who tease him by repeating: *Devi tukui de ati ga dzi, didi zu do* ('a small boy climbs a tall tree, but descent becomes a job for him').

Rope games, for example rope-jumping and rope pulling are also common and encouraged. Very often big boys, even adults, arrange the children in groups, choose names for the various teams and engage them at tug of war. They act as umpires and some join in the pulling itself. Then there are running hoop races, hopping games, driving 'lorries' made by the children themselves, pushing different kinds of 'machines' made by them from lids of tins nailed to long poles, and so on. Football is another popular game in which adolescents mingle with the small children to make the game more lively and more exciting. Shooting birds, lizards and other small creatures with catapults is also common. Then, children compete in stone-throwing, with some adults taking part. They also have little social plays with their mothers and sisters, for example in the kitchen, trying to help them take this and that. They also engage in many make-believe plays, keeping houses, hunting, building houses, making farms or harvesting crops.

Chapter IV.

Care of the Body. (i) Sleep.

Parents attach much importance to children's sleep. This is shown by the traditional way greetings are exchanged every morning between the women, when they meet on the way to and from the water-hole or the farm, and elsewhere in the village. A mother asks another, as part of the greeting, 'vino' doa?' ('did your child sleep' (well), that is, last night? The other responds: 'edo, novia doa' (Yes, he slept (well), did your child sleep (well) too?'). This clearly shows that children are always expected to have a good sleep. If a child is feverish, for instance, the mother tries to put him to sleep, believing that he will be all right after the sleep.

Normally, if a child does not want to sleep the mother tries to put him to sleep through various means, for example, inducements, threats, stories of frightening creatures. She promises to give him 'a nice thing' the next morning, or to bring him something nice from the market. Promises of shoes, eggs, dresses are also given to induce him to sleep. At other times, a mother may take the child to the bed and lie beside him. She caresses him and gives him the breasts to suckle to induce him to sleep. With small children lullabies are used. The mother may also carry him on her back, tuck his arms in and keep moving her body up and down, gently, and walking leisurely about the place.

Threats are also employed. The ^{usual} ~~usual~~ threats of bogey men, juju-men, dead hyaenas, Hausamen, executioners are used. The mother may pretend calling a Hausa man to 'come and carry away a child who does not want to go to bed'. She pretends the Hausa man has responded by using another tone of her voice. She may arrange with somebody, say, the father to give the response, to

growl, strike the fence and utter strange, fearful sounds. Or the mother may ask his father to call a dead hyaena to come and catch him. While the father calls out, or pretends to go out to call the monster, the child, sorely terrified, clings fast to his mother, sobbing. The mother tells him to close his eyes or cover them with his cloth and keep quiet so that the dead beast might not hear or see him and that he also might not see it. While the father still calls out, or pretends to leave the house, the mother pretends to plead on the child's behalf for mercy and asks her husband to stop as "Kofi has closed his eyes and has promised to go to bed immediately". The father pretends to insist on calling the dead beast. If the child worries the mother to take him to bed. The other children in the house may also help, as pre-arranged, by pretending to run to their bedroom for fear the dead hyaena might seize them too. Stories of bogey men are also told and advantage is taken of the fearful shrieks and cries of nocturnal birds and animals, such as owls, bats and monkeys to warn him away to bed. If a flash of light is seen the child is told it is a witch shining in the dark, going out to search for children who do not want to sleep and to suck their blood. He is told to run quickly to bed.

The small child sleeps in his parents' bedroom and, as already explained, on the same mat the mother uses. This gives him access to the breasts any time he wakes up at night. It is only in a few literate homes that children are provided with their own beds. But as soon as children have stopped suckling they are usually provided with their own mats, though they still sleep in their parents' bedroom. Pieces of old cloths form a child's swaddling clothes.

A boy who has been completely weaned may choose to sleep with his dad, especially if there is a new baby. Small girls like to sleep with their mothers.

If there is a new baby and the older one clings to his mother his bed is prepared at one side of the mother's bed so that the mother lies between the two children to avoid the risk of the older child sleeping on the younger or disturbing him in any other way.

At about the age of 5 years children may sleep with their brothers and sisters in one room. From their eighth year or so boys and girls sleep separately. The boys may sleep with their friends in their uncle's house, if there is not sufficient accommodation in their father's house. The girls may sleep with their grandmothers or aunts, but generally, girls are not allowed to sleep outside their parents' houses as boys are. From this age children like to have some privacy where they can converse freely and tell tales and riddles and gossip as long as they like. Any boy, for example, who at this age still sleeps with his sisters or housemaids is ridiculed by his playmates and called a 'spoilt (bad) boy'.

On the whole children do not go to bed regularly or early enough. In some cases they are not to blame for this undesirable state of affairs. Domestic, social and farming practices affect the regularity or otherwise of the family meal-times. Some of the farms are up on the hill-tops or sides and one has to go far into the plains to get a fertile area for one's farm. Then again, during the Harmattan water becomes scarce. Women have to rise up very early to go and fetch water and by the time they have gone twice it is already broad daylight. By the time a woman has finished with her domestic tasks and followed her husband to the farm the sun is already high up in the heavens. Before she returns home it is already dusk and so the evening meal is late. Before this time the children have begun dozing outside.

Then, on moonlight nights the children are

usually too much absorbed in their plays, story and riddle telling, singing, etc. to bother to sleep early or regularly. Also, during funerals, wake-keeping or other festivals children enjoy the adult activities and stay out far into the night. Even if a child would like to go to bed early there might be strangers in the room conversing and so he might be compelled to wait. Then at night, they may be raised several times to urinate. They are also up at dawn, especially during the dry season, to accompany their mothers to the river-side. And so though the people realize the importance of good, sufficient sleep for children, yet there are so many practices that affect the regularity and sufficiency of children's sleep.

(ii) Health:

Just as children's sleep is the concern of mothers so also is their health. Women show the importance of health of children in their daily greetings. Part of the greetings always refers to the children's health. One woman asks another 'are you alive, and is your child alive (healthy)?' The other replies 'yes, are you also healthy, is your child also healthy?'. In fact, the greetings are regarded as incomplete and etiquetteless if they fail to contain these expressions. The importance social standards place on the child's health and life further reveals itself in how some children are named, for example:

Agbevinie	meaning	'Life is sweet'
Agbemafle	meaning	'Life is not bought'
Agbesinyale	meaning	Life has the final word.
Agbemenyale	meaning	"What matters is found in life"
Agkenyega	meaning	Life rules all.

Several things are considered as the chief dangers to the health of young children. One of these is

cold which, it is believed, is the root-cause of many of the children's ailments and illnesses, such as feverish conditions, 'broken head', running nose, cold in the head, coughing and chest-complaints. And so mothers always endeavour to protect their children from cold. The child is bathed with hot water except on very hot days. During the very cold morning and evening during the Harmattan the baby's clothing is increased, at night he is wrapped or clothed snugly and in the early morning he is carried at the back, with a cover for the head, and his legs and arms well tucked in. At such times the morning bath is delayed till the cold has lost its severity; the evening bath takes place as early as possible. Some mothers bathe their children in the bedroom at such times, and others substitute a rub down with hot towels for the normal bath. Mentholatum or other suitably 'hot' ointment is rubbed into children's arm-pits, on their chest and temples and sometimes pushed into their anuses to make the body warm. For the older children open fires are set early in the morning and in the evening, by which they warm themselves and, while doing so they roast plantain, yam or cocoyam to eat.

Wetness is another important danger to the child's health. Therefore after his bath the child's body is dried immediately and he is clothed at once. When a child wets his pants it is taken off at once and dried or replaced. When it is raining, children are not allowed to be roaming about or playing in the gutters, but the older ones may be told to collect rain water from the roof of a neighbour's house if their parents' houses are not roofed with iron sheets. Children are also discouraged to bathe in cesspools and the like.

Dirt is considered as another danger. Mothers are beginning to understand that dirt and filth favour

such things as skin diseases and yaws, as well as diarrhoea and stomach-ache. To keep their children clean mothers give them at least two baths daily with hot water, soap and sponge. A dirty child is scolded and warned not to keep himself dirty otherwise no new dresses may be bought for him.

Scratching oneself is another danger, because through it the child might endanger his eyes, or nose, or mouth or other parts of the body. For this reason the child is thoroughly bathed and his body is rubbed with ointment and 'amake' (sweet-scented gums) to reduce skin irritation to a minimum. The child's finger-nails are dipped short from time to time.

Bites of insects, such as mosquitoes, sand-flies, gnats, tsetse flies and a very, very tiny kind of insect called 'vokpoe' are also considered dangerous to the child's health and some of the illiterate folk are now using mosquito-nets.

Over-eating, as already explained, is another source of danger to the child's health.

The mother gives devoted care to the sick child, tending him tenderly and giving him all sorts of medical attention. If he suffers from fever quinine is given after enema or a purgative. In the case of a small child raw cassava is ground, mixed with water and smeared all over his body. He is wrapped up snugly in bed, on the lap or at the back of somebody. Medicated liquids are given him to drink. His bath is decreased and instead of the normal bath hot water is used with a towel for a rub down. It is applied to his head and anus very carefully. In the case of a fairly old child special leaves or herbs are mashed in water, left in the sun for a while and bathed for him at frequent intervals. Some of the liquid is given him to drink. Light soup containing fresh meat and enough pepper and cloves as well as other hot-tasting seeds ~~and~~ is given to him.

to drink. He is then covered with thick clothing and put to bed. If the eyes appear yellowish the sap of raw cassava or the juice of certain leaves such as those of 'ekuko' (*Spondias mombin*) may be dropped on them. The mother stays at home in order to give ample attention to him.

If he is sick with 'sable', a bowel disease in which the motions become greenish in contact with the air the juice of the 'li' herb and of mimu (*Ageratum conyzoides*) is syringed into his anus and the leaves are ground and smeared all over his body, including his head and hair.

If a child is attacked by measles the mother stops bathing him temporarily and doses of palm-wine are given him at frequent intervals. Some of the wine is spat into his eyes and rubbed on his body. The roots of 'Njimo' (*Nandlea esculenta*) are also used in palm-wine before he drinks it. Nowadays, mothers give doses of aspirin, crushed in water.

In the case of coughs honey is given in addition to the juice of certain sweet-tasting leaves. Kernel oil and shea-nut oil are also taken. Whooping cough is known to be 'cure proof' and it is believed, from experience, that it cures itself in its own time and that when the patient begins to vomit blood it is a sign that self cure is approaching. And so, though medicines are given mothers await the day when the cough will stop on its own accord. Sweet ^{foods} things are withheld from the child during the period of illness.

Yaws, which used to be prevalent, has almost disappeared nowadays. It is still believed that yaws treated at the early stages, cannot be cured altogether and so treatment is delayed till it is four to six months old when the crusts are scrubbed till the sores become red with blood. A chemical (blue

stones) is ground and put on the soles. It gives the patient untold pain. Certain herbs (aradi) are also used. They also give him much pain. Medicated liquids are also given to the child to drink. Tablets of Stovarsol and 'May and Baker' ('M and B') are also used. Some enlightened parents take their children to the hospitals for injection.

Other diseases which engage the mother's devoted attention include 'Foto deke' (a disease in which a lump is felt on one side of the patient's stomach), 'broken head' and 'Kamkpai' (sore anus or rectum). The last term means "search me, (that is the anus) and see". Hot water is jetted into the rectum from a cigarette-tin at the bottom of which a little hole has been pierced. Some mentholatum is then smeared on a piece of cotton wool and pushed into the rectum. Balls of 'mima' (*Ageratum conyzoides*) and onions are also pushed into the rectum as already described on pages 42 and 43.

It will be seen from these descriptions that the sick child is well-cared for: His bath is thorough: the head is massaged with hot water and oil; soap and sponge is always used. The joints are given much attention; the limbs are bent up and down, sideways and backwards and given thorough "beating" with hot towel. The genitals are well bathed and hot water is jetted into the anus and the vagina. The mother does away with heavy work and devotes much time to looking after the child, comforting and inducing him tenderly to eat, lie down or ease himself and encouraging him that he will soon get well again. Any kind of food he feels like eating is given to him unless it is too sweet or the herbalist forbids him eat it. Any time he asks to be



How the baby is bathed.

carried, he is obliged immediately. In a word, the sick child is treated with love, sympathy, indulgence, and is given first attention in the life of the family as a whole.

(iii) Clothing and self exposure.

At the age of about 3 years the child is taught to feel ashamed to appear naked before adults, especially those of the opposite sex. Attitudes towards ^{nakedness} ~~sex~~ differ a bit according to the child's sex. It is a common practice that grandfathers play with their granddaughters, calling them their wives, while grandmothers call their grandsons their husbands. At the approach of a grandfather the girl, when she happens to be naked, is told to run and put on her loin cloth before her "husband" reaches the house, as it is bad for her "husband" to meet her naked. A naked boy is similarly taught not to appear naked before his "wife", that is his grandmother. Other relatives and friends in the village may call the children their wives or husbands and the mother teaches them not to appear naked before them because they will be divorced if they do. Children are also taught not to appear naked before their teachers, that is when they begin to attend school. A boy of say 5 years who likes to appear naked in public is threatened with circumcision, no matter whether he has already been circumcised.

Generally speaking, a girl's appearance naked in public is viewed with much more resentment than a boy's. Girls are expected to cover their genitals more decently than boys are. Lapses from modesty are treated differently for the different sexes. It is considered that a girl who continues to appear naked will grow eventually into a bad girl, morally.

The child gets help in dressing and undressing himself till he is about 4 years old. By this time the average boy is expected to be able to tie and untie the string of his pant, put on his shorts and button it properly, put on a shirt or a singlet or tie a cloth around his neck. Girls are also expected by that age to have known how to use their loin cloth and put on their frocks and jumpers properly. However, children may still be helped to tie their shoe laces, if they do put on shoes, and girls may be helped to put on their native dress and tie the cloth around the waist till the age of about six.

Parents undress before the child, especially if the child is under say 4 years of age. They do so at the bathing place, in the bedroom or at the latrine. Up to this age mothers and children may still have their bath together: a boy may have his bath with his father and a girl with her mother. Women undress before their children more than men. After their bath, when they are using their cosmetics, they may keep naked before the children. When, however, the children are about five years old parents become more careful about exposing their body before their children.

From the age of about 3 years changes from baby dresses to rompers or other clothes are introduced. Before this time boys' clothing is similar to girls' in almost all respects. Both boys and girls are dressed in short frocks, pants and bonnets, and beads are tied round their waists, knees and wrists. They also have silver or gold bangles, rings and necklaces for purposes of decoration. The only difference is that girls have their ear-lobes pierced for the purpose of wearing ear-rings. At the initial stages ear-rings are not worn because the girl might be handling them and might cause the ear-lobe to 'tear out'. In order that the hole may not disappear or close up, the midrib of a feather is cut and inserted into it. In the case of boys, the

beads, bangles and necklaces begin to disappear from their bodies from about the age of from 12 to 18 months, that is, roughly when they have started walking. From the age of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 years changes appear in children's clothing. Boys use 'avente' (pants) with or without singlets when they are in the house or out to play. Girls wear 'godotse' (loin cloths) with or without pants or rompers when they are indoors or outdoors. On special occasions, for example on Sundays when going to church a boy may tie a piece of cloth around his neck, over a pant, and a girl may use a frock reaching well to the knees, over her loin cloth or pant. Cheap ear-rings may now be worn by girls, in addition to the beads, necklaces and wrist-bangles.

Later, a boy may wear a pair of shorts, with braces attached, upon a pant, with or without a cloth over it. He may wear a shirt, a pullover or a coat on special occasions from about the age of $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4. At this age, girls also begin to appear in adult native attire. Literate parents and some of the well-to-do illiterate ones may buy shoes and hats for their children at this age. From the age of about 5 girls dress as women and boys as men except that boys do not usually put on trousers and ties till a much later age.

The differences or similarities in boys' and girls' dress and the ages at which they exist could be more clearly shown in a table thus:

Age	Girls' dress	Boys' dress
Up to about $2\frac{1}{2}$ years	Babies' dress, pant, bonnet, beads, necklaces and armlets, with pieces of feather mid-ribs in ear-holes.	As girls', with the exception of ear 'rings'. The beads, bangles, etc. usually disappear by the 12th. to 18th. month.



Native attire
of children

Age	Girls' dress	Boys' dress.
About 2½ - 4 years	Godotse (loin cloth), with or without romper indoors or outdoors. Ear-rings. (b) Frock, with or without shoes and hats. Alternatively, adult native attire	Pants (avente) with or without singlets; or shorts with braces attached. (b) cloth tied round neck over avente or shorts. or, shorts, shirts and coats, with or without shoes and hats, on special occasions.
About 4 - 5 years	Frocks, or native attire, with or without shoes. More costly beads and trinkets especially on special occasions.	Shorts, shirts and coats. or shorts with cloth tied round the neck for special occasions (b) shorts, with or without singlets outdoors.
From about 5 years onwards	Adult dress on special occasions, with or without shoes and hats. But loin cloth with frock or cloth outdoors	Adult attire, without trousers and ties to begin with.

Chapter V.

sex activities.

- 1) Physical contacts, masturbations, sex play.

In practice it is only babies and young children that are kissed, and by the time a child is able to walk well, that is, by the end of his second year, kissing is done away with altogether in most cases. Children are kissed by their parents, especially their mothers, their grand-mothers, aunts, sisters and close relatives. Kissing is not confined to the cheeks and lips but is extended to the child's hands, forehead, chin, belly, nose, arms, the chest and back — almost any part of the body. Mothers kiss their children when they are playing with them after their bath or feeding, when they have returned to the house after leaving the house for a while or at any other time they find convenient.

Stroking starts a little later than kissing and is usually discontinued after weaning. The child is stroked by his mother, especially when he is suckling. She strokes the head, the forehead, cheeks, eye-brows, etc. to give him a feeling of pleasure and contentment or to induce him to sleep. Stroking is also done by grandmothers. It is generally done by women and children.

The child is rocked by his grandmother, sister or whoever is taking charge of him to make him stop crying, especially if the mother is away. He is also rocked to induce him to sleep, or simply to give him pleasure.

The following are some of the songs sung, or words spoken to him when a child is being rocked and coaxed to stop crying.

- 1: Tata yee, nana yee
Yeyeye, Kabukabuka
Dendewa, E, Anwisi o!
Kaka nsa be yeagbo

Ahadzidzewo dui vo petepete;
 Ataa tse, abaa tse, eya kol suss too!
 Eyata nēgafa avi o, ne malé bze ne wio
 le Agadome, too!

Meaning:

Father, yee, mother, yee

Yeyeye, kabukabuka (meaningless words)

Dendewa, E, Anusi o.

By the time the mother returns

He (she) has been eaten ^{up} by 'ahadzidze' (type of small fish)

Only the thigh and the arm have been left (uneaten).

Therefore, do not cry,

So that I may catch the cricket for you

At Agadome (name of a farm).

2. Tuitui, gbovi,
 Tata mele afa me o,
 Nana mele afa me o,
 'Meka nafa avie na?
 Afa avie na tata
 Devi, devi, bo nu kpoo!

Meaning:

Go away, go away, small kid,

Father is not indoors

Mother is not indoors

To whom will you cry?

You will cry to Father.

Baby, baby, keep dead quiet!

The child can be tickled by his mother as well as any of the other people who usually take an interest in him. He is tickled on the cheek, on the breast, the navel, in the sides, the palms, the soles of the feet, under the

arms and in the groin, to make him happy, laugh and amused. Small babies are not tickled for long periods at a time and the ~~other~~^{older} children are not allowed to tickle them for a long time so that the babies may not laugh until they are out of breath. Children are also tickled so that anything they may be holding fast and unwilling to hand over to the owner or somebody wishing to use it, may fall down or be easily taken from them.

The child is embraced by his mother, grandmother, sisters and other interested people. Embracing may start at any time after the child is able to sit alone and may be intensified when he is learning to walk. It may continue till as late as the child's 4th, 5th, or even 6th. year of age. When his mother arrives from from the market, or a visit, for example, the child runs to meet her with open arms and keeps on welcoming her till he reaches her and she embraces him tenderly and carries him or leads him by the hand to her seat.

The baby is sat on lap for his feed, his bath, to sleep and so on. Children of up to 3 or 4 years of age can also be sat on lap by their parents or grandparents for fondling purposes. Grandmothers are very fond of sitting even quite old children on lap.

No variations of these contacts of children with adults are noticeable according to sex. Children seem to be treated alike. Children are not encouraged to kiss one another. In fact, they are not expected to kiss at all. It is considered unusual and immoral for children to kiss. But they may rock and tickle their little siblings and playmates if only the tickling is not done in excess. They may also embrace one another at play.

If children are bathed special attention is given to their genitals. In the case of boys who

and uncircumcised the foreskin is gently opened and tepid water is douched into it to clean it of any waste matter accumulating there and to prevent irritation or inflammation. All the region of the genitals is carefully scrubbed by sponge and soap. In the case of girls tepid water is douched into the vagina for the same purpose, as well as to heal any possible sore. The vagina is then well cleaned with towel and hot water. If there is a sore, or if one is suspected more special attention is given to it. Hot water is jetted into it from a small tin at whose bottom a small hole has been pierced. Some mentholatum is smeared on a piece of cotton and inserted into the vagina, or a ball of ground 'mima' herb and onions, smeared with oil, is pushed into it.

Hot water is also douched into the anus and heat is applied to it by a hot towel. Girls are taught to give attention to their genitals whenever they have their bath.

There are special children's words for genitals. These are shown in the table below:

The Male organ	The Female Organ
1. Tuxi (small gun).	1. Koko bu.
2. Kakayi	2. Kokovi (corrupted form of 'Kokovi').
3. Koklodze ('Fowl-intestine')	3. Afime ('the other place').
4. Kavi (small string)	4. Mama ('grand-mother').
5. Tata ('Father').	5. Adudotae ('small urine-hole')

Masturbation in children is recognized as being common. It is noticeable from the age of $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 years, approximately. It is supposed that on the whole boys masturbate more than girls. It is presumed that masturbation has bad effects on the child: a bad habit be developed and he will masturbate rather

unconsciously even in public when he gets older. Apart from any ailments to the genitals that may arise from frequent and careless masturbation it is also presumed that masturbation will make the child grow into a highly-sexed personality and it will lead to the development of pre-mature, or precocious, sex appetite and, therefore, immorality.

Various deterrents, such as threats, punishments, scoldings and warnings are employed in an attempt to put a stop to masturbation in children. When a child is seen in the act he is shouted upon to stop it and severely scolded and reprimanded. He is warned that if he is seen doing it again he will be punished severely. He is called a bad child (den ghegble). Tight-fitting pants are often provided for small boys and girls are expected to put on their 'godutse' tightly. A boy found masturbating may be threatened with circumcision — a second one if he is already circumcised. Girls are also threatened with 'circumcision' and with thrashing. Boys are usually punished with drops of ginger-juice into their nostrils, followed by beating. Girls are punished by having red pepper pushed into their vagina. They may also be punished, like boys, with ginger-juice drops in the nostrils and beating, especially if boys and girls are caught meddling with one another's genitals. Hand-tying is never employed.

Children play sex games with each other. Both sexes play in the sand, building houses and 'living in them' in couples. The couples call each other husband and wife. They make farms, cook porridge and feed. The husbands go hunting and the wives go to the market, fetch water and perform other domestic duties. At 'night' the couple lie down together. At

'daybreak' the 'husbands' go to tap palm-wine, or visit their traps, while the wives fetch water, set the fire, cook, bathe their child and lay him down to sleep. Children also have mock weddings and play the game of 'hide and seek', usually in couples.

Generally, these sex games are viewed with suspicion and, in extreme cases, may be regarded as signs of future sexual immorality. They are not therefore, as a rule, encouraged.

(ii) Sex distinctions.

Before they are 3 or 4 years old boys and girls play together and behave alike in many other ways. From about the age of 4 boys and girls are supposed to behave differently in many ways. For example, at about 5 boys are expected to play separately and girls, too, separately. Games and other activities requiring much exertion and which may be risky are not considered suitable for girls. Those are for boys. Examples of these include football, climbing, running races, riding on bicycles. Marbles, though they do not come exactly under this category, is a boys' game. Games and other activities considered suitable for girls are generally those requiring gracefulness, flexibility and little exertion. These include Ample, hopping and clapping games and others which will be described in another chapter.

In make-believe plays too girls are expected to choose those of a feminine character, such as the performance of domestic duties — cooking, sweeping, bathing a child, fetching water, going to the market, selling farm produce and articles of clothing, toilet, and so on. Similarly, boys are expected to like those of a masculine character, such as hunting, farming,

tapping palm-nine, firing, fighting and wrestling.

Girls are expected to fight in a different manner from boys'. Girls are not supposed to use clenched fists but to use both hands with the fingers open. They may bite or scratch their opponents' body, or use stones, stick, sand, etc. in defending themselves. They may do fighting and wrestling together, and may run away when overpowered, for example in a fight with boys. They may use abusive language freely on their opponents. Boys on the other hand are supposed to use clenched fists and not to scratch or bite at their opponents. It is considered mean and cowardly for boys to run away from a fight, to use abusive speech instead of the fists, to cry during or immediately after a fight. Boys expose themselves to ridicule if they turn a fight into wrestling or if they fight with girls below their own age. But it is praiseworthy on their part if they can withstand the blows of more elderly girls.

In the choice of toys girls are supposed to prefer those which would appeal to women, for example girl-toys, cats, and other pets. Boys are also supposed to prefer those that would appeal to men, — boy-toys, lorries, kites, carts, trains, houses, bicycles, musical instruments. Very colourful ones may attract girls more than boys.

In the expression of emotions boys are supposed to be more reserved except, perhaps, in those of anger. Girls may gossip and laugh at other children a lot, but it is considered to be feminine for boys to back-bite and gossip like that. They are to be outspoken and voice out their sentiments. Girls may call each other by nick-names, pet-names, 'code' names or 'confidence' names. Boys may also do so among themselves, but such practices are not supposed to be usual between a boy and a girl.

A boy who behaves girlishly is called a 'woman-man' (ayannuwa maa), or an 'odd man among

women'. A girl who behaves boyishly and is fond of boys' company is nick-named a 'men-woman' (Dutsuwo mee), or 'an odd woman among men'. A girl who behaves like a boy and is fond of boys' company is jeered at both by her playmates and the boys. They call her a bad girl, that is, morally, and the boys try to chase her out of their company, at the same time singing, mockingly: 'Dutsuwo mee, kplē kplē, nyɛnuwo mee kplē kplē', meaning 'amidst men, always present, amidst women, always present'. A similar treatment is accorded a boy who behaves like a girl and is fond of girls' company. Adults also look down, suspiciously, upon such 'queer' children and infer that if their 'unnatural' behaviour is not checked and nipped in the bud they may grow into coquettes and gallants.

As pointed out earlier, after the age of about 5 years boys and girls are made to sleep separately, have their bath separately and eat in separate groups. Formerly, even in the Infant Schools, girls used to be seated separately. With the passing of time, however, this practice has been modified, but in some schools where individual tables are used girls are still seated separately, usually in the front rows and the boys in the back.

At church, the children are often seated as adults, that is the girls sit on one side of the room in front of the women while the boys sit on the other, in front of the men. Where all pupils sit together in a group the usual practice is to have the girls sitting in front and the boys behind.

In informal, social gatherings where women traditionally congregate together and the men also form their group, boys are naturally expected to join the men and girls, the women. This separation has become almost spontaneous with practice.

A



B



- A = A group of happy school children
B = A. Physical training group and their teacher.

Parents are generally supposed to prefer children of the same sex as theirs: Mothers are generally supposed to prefer their daughters whom they begin to adore from infancy. Fathers are also supposed to prefer their sons whom they draw on to themselves in all sorts of ways. They tend to prefer them for the help they give them on the farm and elsewhere. Mothers, also, tend to prefer their daughters for the domestic duties they perform for them and the help they give them in taking care of their younger brothers or sisters.

As a new baby the child, irrespective of sex, is of course almost exclusively the care of the mother. At about three years when the father begins to play with his son and carry him, the son becomes more attached to his father than to his mother. The mother, also, by taking more interest in her daughter, tends to draw her more to herself than she does to her son. And so to begin with, just after weaning, it is supposed that the child has more contact with the parent of the same sex, taking for granted that both parents behave towards the children in the same way, that is, that one is not, for example, markedly harsher or more repulsive than the other.

Most of my informants told me that at the age of 5 or 6 most children tend to prefer parents of the opposite sex, but some two or three years later some change over to prefer parents of the same sex, while others may continue indefinitely to have more liking for parents of the opposite sex.

Chapter VI.

The Child's Relations.

The child is never told when a new baby is expected. The child is however anxious to know where babies come from and may ask his mother to tell him. The replies given to such questions differ a bit. A mother may say it is from her belly, another may say it is from God or from Heaven, another still may ignore the question and try to divert the child's attention to some other thing. I was told that a small girl once wanted to know from her mother where her little baby sister came from. The mother, touching her belly, replied "hence". The girl not satisfied again asked by what "door" it came out from the belly. She was hushed and told she would know when she grew up. In answering a similar question from another girl a mother said sarcastically that the baby came out of her belly through her mouth. Another mother in answering such a question asked by a precocious boy of about three said that the baby came from God. The boy again asked to know who God is and was told He is the Creator of all things. The child would like to know where the Creator lived and the mother, pointing to the sky, said "in heaven". Still the boy was not satisfied and continued to ask how and when the baby reached the ground and why it did not strike the ground and die. The astounded mother appeared annoyed and retorted that he was too troublesome, that a child was not expected to ask or know such a thing and that he would know it when he grew old. The child had to hold his tongue though all the more curious. I was told another boy, when told he would know such a thing when he grew up said rather calmly "but, mother, when shall I grow up?". "Tomorrow" was the emphatic reply. Another informant, a young father, said that in his childhood he remembered asking

his mother whether men also brought forth babies. The answer came with a grim 'Yes.' He again asked "Mother, is it true?" "Yes." He then asked where, that is, through what place men could bring forth. "Through the anus" was the angry retort. He dared not ask any more questions.

It will be seen, therefore, that a hush-hush attitude is shown by parents concerning the child's curiosity about sex. He may be reproved, given a sarcastic answer, told a lie or, if the child persists, stigmatized as a bad child, and told a child does not talk about such things.

The child is not allowed to be present at the birth of younger children. He is always taken away by an adult, and the father, who waits outside within ear-shot, is too anxious and worried to look after the child at this time. The boy is sent away for it is feared that the sight of his mother's birth-canal would bring ill-luck, even death, to him, apart from its being improper for him to see it.

When another child is born it is its maternal grand-mother, that is, the woman's mother, who takes care of the older one. In her absence the child's paternal grand-mother ^{or} his aunt will take care of him. The child gets to learn though not without unpleasantness at first to become independent of the mother's care as much as he can manage it and to cling to his new care-taker.

The older child is supposed to show an attitude of joy, tenderness and fraternity towards the new baby. He is supposed to give it the advantage of the mother's breast, love, care, security and give it preferential treatment in all things because it is the younger. He is not supposed to expect the mother to leave the baby and carry him instead. In short, the older child is supposed to relinquish all his privileges and rights for the sake of the baby.

Expressions of jealousy on part of the older child

are permitted and not provoked. However, mothers jokingly tease such children by saying they are too jealous and that a man, or a woman, should not be so jealous. It is believed that if the jealous child is scolded, punished and especially beaten for any expressions of jealousy he may die: his "fate" might get annoyed and frustrated and 'call the child to himself'. Therefore when he expresses jealousy the mother coaxes him and assures him that she will attend or satisfy him too after finishing with his baby brother or sister. She may ask his elder sister or the house-maid to carry him or satisfy him in any other way according to his request.

Generally, parents endeavour to treat their children equally, but they are compelled by circumstances to have favourites. They admit having them. The baby itself is the darling of the family: it can do no wrong and he is adored and favoured. Besides the baby, parents show marked preference for the child who is most respectful, submissive, most serviceable and most obliging to them. There is a saying that "it is the child who respects his parents that eats from the father's hand." Another one goes "it is the child who agrees to let himself be born that is loved". Mothers also favour their last born (kaatsne) who may still be allowed to suckle, provided the milk does not fail, till he is 4 or 5, or even more years old. If ~~she~~^{it} is a girl different pieces cut out from the mother's new cloths are sewn into clothes for her (sasā). This is a sign of deep love for her. Also, a mother may favour and treat indulgently a child who has survived a serious, fatal illness, because 'he has returned from the grave', to use the native phrasing.

Children are typed according to whether they are the oldest or the youngest, or whether one is the first-born or the last-born (kaatsne). The oldest child has privilege and is regarded as head of the other children. Generally

speaking children are not typed according to months or years. Instead, the different stages of their infancy are distinguished according to the feeding-habits and the level of the physical skill reached. Parents can commonly tell roughly how old their children are by reference to particular events, for example harvest and sowing times. A baby in arms is called 'vidzie' ('a red baby'). The expression used about a child until it is weaned is 'ele nonom' ('it is suckling'). At about 2 years when little solid food has been introduced the child is said to be drinking a little pap (ele hatsi via de nom). The stage of the child's development can also be specified by stating whether it is crawling (ele tatam), whether it is walking (ele zozam), whether it is talking (ele nu fom), whether it is teething (ele neme wom), whether it can stand by itself (ele agbaghe dom). After weaning, the child is said to have left off the breast (ede no). When it is old enough to have a younger sibling it is spoken of as 'etsi woadzi vi de eyome'.

Parents discriminate, sentimentally, between their older and younger children, especially between the oldest and the youngest. As already mentioned, youngest children are the favourites of parents, and they lavish all their tenderness over them. Older children, who no longer have as much of their parents' care and affection are nevertheless left out of the picture: it is the oldest son who is entitled to inherit his father's property and who has his father's confidence about his farms and other property, his debts, his debtors and so on. It is he who is taught the names of his ancestors and the various things the children ought to know about the institutions and customs of the community. It is also supposed that normally it is the oldest child who should first marry, or be ~~first~~ married first before the others.

Though children of both sexes play, work and eat together children of the same sex are supposed

to be closer to each other. Twins however are known to be very close to each other regardless of their sex.

Quarrels between siblings take various forms, but they often centre round disagreements about food, possessions, play, work and privileges. Bullying and teasing are other causes. A child may feel he is doing much more work than his brother or sister and he raises an objection; a younger child may take possession of an older sibling's play-things which he wants back immediately. The mother may scold or punish a sibling and another may laugh at him or tease him. Quarrels are more frequent between children of the opposite sex. Boys may try to bully girls; girls may try to abuse boys; boys may not want girls to follow them to a place or join them in a play. And so quarrels arise.

When quarrels arise parents try to stop them at once. They inquire about the cause and reprove the aggressor. Though parents generally tend to have sympathy for and would readily back the younger child most of them try to deal with them fairly. The older child may be told to give the object the younger one would like to use at the moment to him because it will be given back to him after the younger child has finished playing with it. He is told that he is the elder and, as such, should not quarrel with his younger sibling. But if the younger sibling is in the wrong he is told that he as a younger child should not offend his elder sibling. If a younger child is beaten in a fight he brought about he is told that he has himself to blame for "trying to exchange a small hand with a bigger hand". But the mother soothes him by asking him to spit into her hand in order that she might beat his elder sibling for him. She beats the elder sibling lightly, or pretends to do so, and this alone may suffice to soothe him.

(ii) Relations to Parents.

It is the child's maternal grandmother, that is, the mother's mother who is chiefly responsible for the early care of the child. It is she who often bathes the child, tends him when sick, soothes him when angry or blue, sees to it that the child's swaddling clothes are washed, dried and taken in. It is she who often provides the child's 'toilet libne' (baha), which is prepared from the decaying stems of plantain or banana, who pays attention to his beads bangles, etc. and who controls his food and feeding.

The grandmother's responsibility for the early care of the child may last till the mother has regained normal health. This may last for as long as three or even six months in normal cases.

The child's early contacts with his father are mainly in connection with play. The father has the chief authority in matters of discipline and is the main agent of discipline. Usually mothers punish their daughters and fathers, their sons. Very often, however, it is the mother who decides, especially in the case of boys, that the child should be punished, while the father carries out the punishment in serious cases. Children are punished mainly for defying the authority of their parents, for failing to conform to moral or ritual custom, practice or manner, for causing economic loss or damage. Though it is only the father who, properly speaking, exercises authority over a child he, at the same time, exercises tolerance, kindness and affection.

In most matters parents inform each other about the child's bad behaviour, but at times one parent, especially the mother, may be the child's ally in concealing it from the other. During my investigations a case was reported to me where two quite elderly brothers, one married, used to steal their father's money, to the

Knowledge of their mother. Their father detected their plot later and there arose a series of quarrels between them, the wife taking sides with her children on the ground that they were stealing the money because he was not providing for them properly. Mothers tend to hide their daughters' misbehaviour from their husband, especially if the daughters are quite old. They treat some sex matters secretly. This hiding of matters by one parent from the other happens, mostly, when there is some misunderstanding or grudge between the couple.

Parents try to behave well towards each other before their children, but when they are in high temper or when the husband is drunk they may lose control and disagree openly about discipline, quarrel or even fight before their children. Rarely, one sees a couple fighting or a man thrashing his wife. Couples may quarrel about a late meal, the wife's neglect of the baby, the husband's drunkenness and so on.

Even though parents feel they owe it to their children to provide for them yet children are expected to be grateful to their parents. Once a school boy, for instance, has completed his Middle School course and will not pursue further learning the parents expect him to get into a job and so they stop giving him any financial support. They expect that as soon as he gets settled he should begin "to extend his arms to them" and help in looking after his younger siblings at school. This is one of the reasons why parents attach so much importance to procreation. The saying "de woduwa vi" (a child is eaten), that is, should be eaten or profited by, explains this point.

Parents have various ambitions for their children. They would like their children to go to school "to know books" in order that they, too, might not remain in ignorance as they themselves, that they might be able to read and write letters for them and safeguard their economic resources.

for example against the imposture of cocoa brokers. Others would like their children to be educated in the same way as do the children of their neighbours or rivals, and that they might become prominent public men or professionals.

Parents are also ambitious that their children should get married as quickly as possible so that they may be able to see their grand-children before they die. They would like their daughters to get good, well-off husbands and, those that have had Primary School education to become lady teachers or train as seamstresses.

Quarrels between parents and children take various forms. They may be open quarrels in which the father and the son exchange hot words, or they may take place in the house without much publicity. The father alone may be giving an order or scolding the child while the child squeezes his face, muttering something and refusing to carry out the father's order. A child may not like the way his father is treating his mother and may put up a protest which may not be tolerated by his father. I was told of a recent case in which an adolescent son took a knife and nearly stabbed his father who had been scolding him for misbehaviour.

Quarrels are precipitated in various ways, for example, as mentioned earlier, by the child defying his parents' authority, or his failure to conform to moral or ritual custom, practice or behaviour, or his laziness or by his causing economic loss or damage, or by the drunkenness of the father, or the child, or both. They may also be precipitated by the parent's discriminatory practices against a child or the father's inability to provide for the family.

Quarrels between parents and children are resolved in a number of ways. During the course of a quarrel with, say, a mother, the father may succeed

in hushing up the child there and then. If the child obeys and stops that may be the end of the quarrel, and the mother will readily forgive him after pointing out his faults to him.

Generally, after a quarrel between a parent and a child the child leaves the house and goes to his grand-mother or elder brother or uncle whom he knows can intercede for him. Usually he stays there for the night, relates the incident to the party, say the grand-mother, and asks her to intercede on his behalf. That evening, or early the next morning, the grandmother takes him to his parents and, after the parents have made their statement, renders apology to them, asking them to forgive him. The child is warned against a recurrence and is forgiven. In more serious cases when the quarrel happens to be an open one the child's social parents may take up the matter, go into it and offer to ask for his parents' forgiveness on his behalf. They may decide to get a little amount of palm-wine from him with which to pacify his parents. If crime has been attempted or caused the village chief will do his best to hear and squash the case if its nature allows it. The child, therefore, must ask forgiveness through a mediator.

A few parents can admit they are wrong but they, as most others, will contend that even in the circumstances their sons, for example, have no right to quarrel with them. Most other adults share the same opinion because "a drunk mouse does not point its hand at a cat's face". And so during most parent-child arbitrations arising out of a quarrel the saying "a chicken can never be proved right at the court of hawks" holds sway. If, however, the arbitrators have found that the father must admit that he is wrong they may dismiss the case and warn the child strongly and at the same time advise

the parent factfully.

Generally, parental authority lasts till a child is married or has got a job of work to do, but parents still exercise some authority over their sons in their treatment of their wives and children. Some parents, even if their children are earning their own living, still persist for some time in looking into their earnings to make sure they are frugal in spending.

(iii) Relation to Adults other than Parents.

Adults who play a prominent role in the child's early life are, as explained already, first and foremost grandparents, especially the child's maternal grandmother. Then come the child's mother's co-wives, his aunts, friends of the family, the child's older siblings and housemaids. The child's maternal grandmother may, as already explained, stay with the family for some time, after the birth of the child or during his illness. The other people, with the exception of the co-wives, siblings and housemaids, do not live with the family. They may come to the house several times every day, at least every morning and evening, to see and bid good morning to the child as well as play or chat with him for a while. They bring gifts of firewood, food and foodstuff, fetch water to the house and perform petty domestic services for the mother. They may give a hen, a kid or a lamb to be reared for the child and advise the mother as to the prevention and curing of infantile diseases. They are readily interchangeable with the mother, taking the child to their house and caring for him while the mother is away to the market, farm and so on.

It will be seen, therefore, that as the child grows older he is no longer so closely confined to the care of his own parents, he is lent about. Looking

after a baby is everybody's job. Even during the first months of his life he is never far from somebody's observation and care. These temporary substitutes for the child's mother, especially grandmothers, are known to be exceptionally more indulgent than the parents. It is a common saying that children reared by their grandmothers are always "spoilt", and strict fathers discountenance such indulgent treatment of their children.

The child is expected to behave politely to these substitutes of the mother and to trust, love and learn to depend on them and to respond to any relationship term with an active expression of warmth. The child is taken along to visit them from time to time and when they visit the parents he is not excluded but allowed to be present with them. He is ~~then~~ expected, when his parents take him to visit relatives or friends, to greet them civilly or respond to their greetings or questions very politely and audibly. He should thank them when they give him anything and bid them good-bye when they are about to return home. In short, he should show his best behaviour while in their midst. When he is quite old it would be most unmannerly and immodest for him to take part in or interrupt their conversation unless they asked him to. He should be able to use the correct term when addressing his seniors and take care he takes nothing without permission.



"Looking after a baby is everybody's job".—
A small girl holding her baby sister in her lap.

Chapter VII

Possessions

Speech

(i) Possessions.

The child is taught not to take things belonging to others, and to be careful of other people's things. If a child takes somebody's thing he is instructed that "that is Kofi's thing, be careful of it, put it down, give it to the owner", or "that is Adzoa's, don't take it away, take it to her". If the child refuses to give it back he may be scolded, slapped or given a knock on the head and the article is grabbed from him and thrown down or given to the owner.

When a child grabs things from somebody he is instructed to give them back to the owner immediately. If he does not want to give them back he may be coaxed to do so. The mother may promise to buy him similar things or better substitutes later. If he is not convinced the mother gets hold of him and tries to take the things from him by force to give to the owner. If he holds them fast he may be tickled or the mother may get annoyed and scold him. He is asked how he could take somebody's things by force like that and whether he is going to be a 'bad child', a covetous child or a thief. If he still resists he may be slapped till he lets go the articles or they are taken from him by force. If this happens outside the house he is ordered to go home after he has been told to put them back or to take his own things. If he picks up things belonging to a known person he is asked to put them back or take them to the owner if he happens to be near. Another way of getting the child round is to trick him by saying "how nice is this thing! Beautiful, let me see it too". When he hands them to the mother or whoever is there with him he will not be given them back. Another method still is to disgust the child and say the

things are very bad, dirty, smelling or rotten and so he should leave them at once. They might also belong to a Hausman, a sorcerer, an executioner. If he sees somebody holding a nice thing which he would like to get he is told a child does not covet or cry for somebody else's thing and so he should keep quiet and a similar thing will be bought for him later.

The child is restricted in various ways in relation to objects not to be touched because they are fragile or hot or sharp or poisonous. Fragile things such as drinking glasses, plates, dishes, pots are carefully kept away after use in a chest or drawer, on a shelf or on top of a high table or under the parent's bedstead. The older children in the house are instructed not to leave such things within the child's reach. His own plates or dishes are usually of enamel or are cheap, earthenware ones. His drinking cup may also be of enamel or he may use a calabash.

Sharp things, such as knives, cutlasses and axes are kept away, out of his reach and even if he cries for them they are not given to him. A wooden cutlass or a blunt old one may be given to him to play with. When the child is fond of handling such things he is warned away from them this way. The mother pretends that the knife has cut her finger, throws it away with a cry, pretends to hold the wounded finger and warns the child not to take it or it will hurt him too. If the child persists in playing with a knife and cuts himself one day, the mother soothes him, takes the knife, pretends to beat it, asks the child to spit on her hand so that she may beat the knife for him. Then she holds the child's finger and spitting on it as *fufumen* do says "Two, two, *de vi masenu fe dzo*, *he dadee xsa edokui le vi masenu si*", meaning "this is *fufu* for a disobedient child; a sharp knife gets itself from a disobedient child". He is again warned not to touch it.

If there are hot things lying about, such as a pressing iron, a fire, hot water, the child is not allowed to approach them and is called back if he goes near them with the injunctions "Dzo dzo dzo, si va, ava me wö" (Hot, hot, run back, it will burn you). His attention is then diverted to another thing. If soup is being cooked or somebody is using an iron the mother ensures that an eye is always kept on the child's movements and that the iron is always kept out of his reach. He is warned away from hot things and may be allowed, if "he does not listen" to experience the heat himself as in the case of sharp things and the warning is repeated after that.

Poisonous drugs, hot drinks and so on are always locked up in a cupboard or a drawer, or hidden under the bed to make them inaccessible to him. Guns are also not left lying about, but are hung high up or placed at the foot of the bedstead, out of the child's reach.

Letters, important papers and books are also hidden in a drawer, in or on top of a cupboard or on a shelf fixed, high up, in the wall, out of the child's reach. Letters may be threaded up on a piece of wire and hung high up in the wall.

The child has his own possessions which he collects. These are treasured. By the time he is two years old, he has started collecting various oddments — things he can carry conveniently. He collects and keeps pebbles, old and new tins, bottles, cans, match sticks and match boxes, flowers, books, pieces of paper, marbles, leaves, fruit, seeds, pencils, pieces of cloth, sticks, cups, dishes, old knives, buttons, bones, shells. He has, as his own possessions, a stool to sit on, a cloth, dresses, a mat, a ball, perhaps a pair of shoes, a spoon, a catapult, a comb and a brush.

Girls have beads, ear-rings and other trinkets.

These possessions are to be respected by the other children and the adults. If somebody takes one he does not hesitate to get it back. If his sister takes his stool for example, and sits on it at a meal, he approaches her impatiently and says "it is not yours, it is mine, give it to me". He gets it by all means. His cloth and other possessions may also not be tampered with. The other children are enjoined to respect his possessions. He is usually allowed to keep these possessions in a corner of the verandah or, perhaps, the bedroom. He may be given a rough container in which to keep them to prevent the room from being made unsightly. He is allowed plenty of freedom with his clothes. He may prefer to put on a shoe today; he may not want cloth tomorrow but a pair of shorts, a shirt and a coat. The mother does her best to oblige him. If he discards some of the possessions, or if some of them are being left scattered about they may be swept and thrown away.

Children are regarded as generally destructive as they are always seen touching and breaking things, damaging others, throwing some away, tearing papers and soiling things. They are taught not to destroy things. If a child takes a fragile object, say a plate, the mother utters a cry of fright, gets hold of it gently and tells the child "give it to me, it will break, let me give you another thing which will not break". The child then gives it away and accepts the substitute. The same steps are taken when the child takes a book, a letter or a pot. All the time, the article liable to be destroyed is taken from him and he is given another substitute. In this way, the child gradually gets to tell destructible objects from the others and learns not to destroy them. When a child is quite old

he may be punished any time he breaks an object or destroys it and it is supposed he could be taught in this way to be careful of, and not destroy things. Threats, scolding and beating may be employed if the method of inducement does not work or if the parents get annoyed.

Sometimes mothers make small incisions on children's fingers, with a sharp razor or knife, so that when the children touch things they feel pain and refrain from touching things. The incisions may be renewed from time to time. However, this practice has died out these days.

Children like to manipulate various kinds of objects at various ages. Already by the fourth month of a child's life he tries to manipulate anything that it happens to see near-by or is given to it, — a cloth, a small ball or tin. It keeps passing its hands up and down big objects. By the twelfth month he crawls for any household objects that attract his attention or ^{are} given to it — a dish, a bell, a stone, a spoon. He feels them in a delicate pincer-like manner to begin with, as its thumb cannot as yet grasp the objects well. By the time it is 18 months old, when he can use its thumbs to grasp things, he handles more household objects of all shapes, sizes and colours, — round, long, short, big, white, red, blue objects. He manipulates sand, toys, balls, the legs of chairs, tables and cooking utensils. He handles in an experimental way all sorts of materials; he fingers bread, tears paper, builds with sand and stones, draws with chalk or strikes objects on the ground or rolls them on the floor. By the third year he can use a pencil or charcoal in drawing lines on paper in an imitative way and may be able to put on his shoes or apron. By the fifth year he can manipulate any kind of objects, — household objects, large or small toys; he can lift heavy things such as stones and chairs; he likes

to play with toy lorries, taking the wheels, the steer, the body away and putting them together again.

(ii) Speech

Generally speaking all kinds of cries uttered by infants are heeded. They may be cries of hunger, pain, rage, loneliness or just the result of fretfulness. Adults seem to suppose that infants should not be allowed to cry at all and that their cry is to be avoided at any cost. This attitude is carried over into children's later life. Sometimes a mother may get annoyed with fretful children who are fond of crying and may refuse to carry them, for example, while she is pounding fufu, going to the river-side or elsewhere. They are left to cry. This of course annoys the husband and other adults who do not think very much of a woman who neglects her children like that; she is, to them, a lazy, careless mother and gossip centres around her or she is attacked openly. In fact most of the quarrels or disagreements between couples centre round such treatment of their children by their wives. The same feelings are aroused when a woman leaves her child at home when she goes to the farm or a far off place, the child crying pitifully in hunger, loneliness or fretfulness, and refusing to be cuddled or soothed by his attendants. Such a woman may receive thrashing from her husband on her arrival, if she does not know how to answer the questions shot at her in quick succession by the angry husband.

If a baby is lying down for instance, and suddenly breaks forth into crying the mother does not wait to guess what kind of cry it is; she immediately leaves what she is doing and hurries to pick him up, or else asks that he be brought to her. For whatever reason a ^{small} child cries the first thing the mother may do is to satisfy or soothe him is to give him the breast to suckle. He is spoken to tenderly and asked to stop crying. If he fell down, expressions

of sympathy and given him: "did you fall down? And hurt yourself like this? What a pity, have my sympathy, spit into my hand so that I may ^{beat} the stone, or the ground, for you". If he feels sleepy and rubs his eyes, he is rocked and carried at the back, or face-downwards on the shoulder. However, through experience the mother learns to distinguish one kind of cry from another, even though this does not entitle her to disregard any kind. It is supposed that if a child is always left to cry for a long time out of mere disregard he might develop chest complaint or a cough; he might even collapse for lack of breath. Also, his 'birth spirit' (dzogbe) or the spirit of a dead relation may get annoyed for the way he is being neglected and 'call him to himself', that is, end his life.

Children are taught in various ways not to cry. If a child cries in order to have say a dangerous object given to him the parents will tell him he cannot have it because it will give him hurt. If he refuses to accept a substitute he is left to please himself. In this way he is taught that he cannot have his own way if he cries for something and that it is better he does not cry at all for anything. If he cries for food he is told a man does not cry when he is hungry; if she is a girl she is told a woman should cook her own food and not cry when she is hungry. Inducements, threats and punishments are also employed to teach the child not to cry. Hausamen or other frightening beings are called to come and carry him away if he would not stop crying. A child who cries very much may be given nick-names, such as 'avike' (literally a 'cry-song') or 'avigol' (a cry-pot). If he does not like these names he is told not to cry again. Promises are also given him: if he stops crying a toy, sweets, a nice shoe will be given to him as a reward.

Things which longest remain legitimate occasions for crying include a heavy fall, with or without injury

When a child falls down and hurts himself it is supposed that the natural thing for him to do is to express his pain through crying. In native phrasing he should "cry out the pain from his chest". The mother will try to soothe him to stop crying, but this is not done because she thinks the child must not cry. Intense hunger is another legitimate thing for crying. Here too, a mother will soothe a crying child and say that a man should not cry when he is hungry, he should endure pain. She does not say this because it is not considered a legitimate thing for the child to cry when he feels acute hunger. Crying for other kinds of pain for example, illness, sores, is also tolerated even though the usual soothing thing is done to the child. When a child is punished, especially when he is beaten, it is considered a legitimate occasion for him or her to cry. With quite older children the death of a sibling, a parent or a close relative may be a legitimate occasion for them to join the adults in weeping. In such cases, however, it is supposed that a boy should be able to control his passions much more than a girl.

The baby's earliest vocalisation is encouraged. A mother is beside herself with joy to hear her baby making his earliest vocalisations, such as "gugu, dada, mama". Any time the baby babbles the mother or the children present will try to repeat his sounds with a smile or with a clap to arrest his attention. Even if the baby is silent an adult will begin to urge him to 'speak' by repeating his old babbles. If the mother is feeding it she tells him "gugu" which is taken to mean "eat".

After feeding it the mother engages in a sort of

babbling game with the baby. The baby is thus encouraged to introduce new sounds and the mother may give short commands or statements which it is encouraged to imitate.

Baby-talk is regarded as amusing. Adults are amused in imitating baby-talk, for example, if the baby says 'age' instead of 'ade' (I shall eat). Some of the words or expressions used by a man during his babyhood may form a nick-name for him in his adulthood. The people who talk to the child include his parents, — especially his mother — his grandparents, his siblings and other children in the house, his aunts, friends of the family and other close relatives. The child is talked to when a service is required of him, after his bath and meal, when his grandmother or other interested adults visit the house or when a story is being told him. Unless the baby is asleep or unwell he has always somebody to play with, or talk to him.

The baby is talked to more in connection with petting than scolding. As explained above, he is greeted, imitated, told stories and riddles. During the parents' leisure they play with the child, asking and answering questions, telling him stories, and so on.

Children are taught to modulate their voices. They are taught to talk softly when they are in a room or amongst a group of adults, but to talk sufficiently loudly to be heard when the person to whom they are talking is far away from them. When they make a mistake in stress or intonation the mothers correct them gradually. However, they are not held to high standards of grammatical correctness to begin with. If a child says a sentence or uses a word wrongly it is said correctly for him in a casual way. Children are listened to by adults. Their parents encourage them to talk to them. On a mother's return from the market or farm she asks the child what he ate, where he went, who came to the house, and so on. The numerous reports children make to their parents are

listened to and treated with respect. Parents at their leisure enjoy questions, short stories and other petty talk from their children. Their self-made or imitated songs are also listened to with amusement. There is a saying that "a child who asks questions is never ignorant or a fool" (Cvi bianya-tase newsa lā o). It is only when, as already explained, adult visitors are conversing with their parents that children are as a rule expected to sit still and listen because "a child must not interrupt", "nor should he be a busybody".

Children are asked to be factually precise in what they say. If they give a wrong statement they are told that "a child does not deceive or tell a lie". They are lightly booed, called liars and told that "children do not exaggerate".

By the age of 5 or 6 adults expect children to be able to distinguish fact, fantasy, truth and lying. Much emphasis is put on truthfulness. A child may commit an offence: he may pilfer things or tell a lie. If he is caught he is told that a child always tells the truth and that if he confesses and admits his guilt he will go scot free. Children are told over and over that "a child always tells the truth so that his parents may back him in whatever he does or says. He should tell the truth even if he might be punished or even killed for telling the truth". If a child makes a statement which an adult feels is untrue the child is asked to call a witness. If he calls somebody who is absent or is so far away that he cannot be called at that time for questioning the child is booed and jeeringly told that "a liar's witness is always in Europe", that is, in a far off place.

Though parents expect their children to tell the truth at all times and under all circumstances they themselves do not always bother to tell the truth to their children. They may give their children promises most of which are never fulfilled or at best only partially fulfilled. The fact and the truth about sex are also not always told to children.

Couples may deceive each other and tell untruth before their children. They seem to forget that children learn to draw distinctions between fact and fiction, truthfulness and lying through close observation of the behaviour of their parents and other adults.

Chapter VIII

Schooling . Work .

(i) Schooling.

About the age of six children begin schooling, in accordance with the provision of the Accelerated Development Plan for Education.

Children begin schooling in their own villages. At Kowu the school does not provide a complete primary system and so the pupils who go on with their education have to walk about five miles daily to Todei where there is a complete Primary school. From there, they go to the nearby Middle Day or Boarding Schools. Those who attend ^{day} schools away from home either stay with their parents' relatives or friends or hire rooms and engage catenesses.

Nowadays, parents are eager to send their children to school for various reasons, as mentioned on pages ¹⁰³ ~~81~~ and ¹⁰⁴ ~~82~~. Parents may send their children to school because "doing so is what is in vogue at present. One dances according to the rhythm that obtains during one's time". Others would like to educate their children as their neighbours or rivals have done to theirs. Others still send their sons to school so that they may, after leaving school write and read letters for them and safeguard their economic interests from cocoa brokers and other impostors. The more enlightened ones send their sons to school so that they may "know book" and become "gentlemen" who would get good jobs which will help them stand on their own feet and support them in time of need.

It is the popular belief that to educate a son is much more worthwhile than to educate a girl. A girl's job, they believe, is to remain in the house and help her mother in taking care of her younger brothers and sisters and in giving other domestic services. They argue that after all a woman's place is in the kitchen where she is expected to cook. However educated a girl may be once she has married all her learning becomes useless. Also, it is a woman's job to

take care of the home and her children. Others put it bluntly that "if a girl knows book she will just be writing and answering love letters and know how to spoil quickly". She will just like to bluff, shirk manual work and enjoy "high life". By tradition, therefore, girls' education is regarded as being of much less value than boys'. Girls and women themselves are strong opponents of change and seem to accept the general conviction that girls' education is really inferior. Parents think that girls who do not go to school are less expensive to keep and more useful and economical than those who do not go to school. The former, they say, are more easily controlled and satisfied than the latter. They are also more likely to control themselves sexually and marry ^{earlier} ~~early~~ and bring forth ^{more} children than the latter. Adults are discouraged the way adolescent school girls often become pregnant during, or shortly after their schooling. Most parents therefore see no point in educating their daughters beyond the Primary school course - after which they can be made to learn a trade, say, sewing and baking. If a girl can read the Ewe Bible and sing at church from the Ewe hymn book, as well as write and read a letter in Ewe, it is considered by some adults that the girl has had enough education, - "she knows book". However, as explained already, a few parents have begun to send their daughters to the Middle Schools after which course they may do pupil teaching or learn a trade or get married.

The teachers are usually men. Till very recently, when women teachers were scarce, teachers in the Primary Schools used to be all men, mostly old catechists without any, or ^{with} very little qualification except perhaps their age and experience. Nowadays, one finds one or two young women teachers, without any, or with very little training, in the lowest classes. In the Upper Primary the teachers are mostly men and in the Mixed Middle Schools the teachers are nearly always all men. In the Girls' Middle Schools of course all the teachers are women.

but some of those schools used to be headed by men teachers.

In the community a teacher, provided he behaves himself, commands the respect of both parents and their children and adults, generally. Even the local chief and his elders look up to him for advice, however young he may be. To the pupils he is a great hero, a person of unlimited knowledge and wisdom. In the early stages of children's education the teacher's place, to them, is indisputable and their love-interests widen to include him. "He is my teacher" one may say with pride. "No, he is not yours, he is mine" contradicts another, with equal pride. The teacher, to them, is the wisest, the most handsome, the strongest and the best man; he can do no wrong. The pupils admire him; they worship him.

As the children grow older, however, they begin to distinguish teachers to be admired, loved, feared, despised, avoided. Until quite recently, when the teachers used the cane unsparingly as a means of maintaining discipline, training in morals and as an "incentive" to learning, the children used to fear teachers, especially those who used the cane without restraint. Now the cane is being spared a bit but still children fear teachers who are harsh and "strict". A teacher who insults children, especially adolescents, who does not behave himself well and who is always disgracing them in public is despised by the children. At the Middle School Stage pupils may despise the teacher who has doubtful scholarship. They say "That teacher is too proud, he does not know how to teach, he is not teaching us anything, he drinks too much, he is always abusing and disgracing people, he is not handsome". He is nick-named. Some of the teachers are still admired because of their scholarship, because they are loveable and approachable.

Children play tricks on teachers. They pretend to be sick and absent themselves from school, manual labour or Church. They imitate teachers' mannerisms.

School discipline is supposed to be severer than home discipline. This is evidenced in various ways. For example, some parents send troublesome boys to school so that the teacher may train and discipline them. Others, instead of punishing their own children in the home, choose to report them, or take them to the teacher and ask him to beat them, even in their presence. Some children who play truant often accuse the teacher of being "too severe and headstrong".

In some cases there is good relation between school discipline and home discipline. Some parents co-operate with the teachers in disciplining their children and their children are thus made to know that they cannot find protection at home for misbehaving at school, and vice versa. Such parents punish their children at home for poor performance at school, especially for laziness or failure in an examination.

In other cases the relation between school and home discipline is undesirable. There is no understanding or co-operation between the teacher and some parents. Such parents criticize any action of the teacher's. They discuss these in anger in public and before their children. They dispute school decisions, punishment and training. My informants cited many cases in support of parents' disputing school decisions, procedure or activities. In one case a regular truant was caught one day and punished to do some digging during school hours. The boy managed to steal home under pretence of getting a pick-axe and reported the matter to his father. The father, highly irate, soon arrived at the school and sought to know from the Headteacher, in presence of his class, why he punished his son who had failed to come to school on account of illness. No amount of explanation would convince him that his son was to blame. He said he was prepared to do the job of work instead of his son if the teacher insisted on punishing the boy who was quite right in the matter. It was a tug of war

to make him repair to his house.

In another case, during intimation time at Church a semi-educated parent got up and said all sorts of bad things about the teacher-catechist in charge of the School and the Church. The man himself was there. He criticized the teacher's actions destructively and in a defamatory manner, and counselled the Presbyters and the Chief to stop the teacher from engaging the pupils on manual labour. The teacher had to defend himself and refute the allegations levelled against him so openly.

Parents admire at home dutiful and conforming behaviour in school. However, some irresponsible townsfolk at times jeer at such behaviour, saying that the pupil behaves well in school in order to gain the teacher's favour. They call him names: a busybody, the teacher's favourite, "favour-hunter" and so on.

There are various types of relations among school-mates. There are friendships. Even at the very early stages of the Primary School many children establish strong friendships some of which may last for many months or even many years. Friendships at this stage are between children of the same sex. From about the age of eight years the child's interest and values change as he grows older and so he may lose interest in his former friend and make friends with another in whom he becomes more interested. Intense friendships do not develop in most cases till the adolescence stage when sex differences also begin to affect friendships. Some of these boy-girl friendships are strong and quite permanent and continue throughout the rest of the school course and even long after school. However, owing to the suspicion placed by the community as well as the teachers on boy-girl friendships most of them are secret.

There are various kinds of competitions which flourish during the elementary school years. Children

compete with others for individual, or personal honours, for example, a child competes to win prizes or praise, say in examinations or he competes to become a leader of his class or a group of his mates. Then there are competitions for a group award both in school plays and games and in out of school activities in which the children match their strength and skill for the honour and reward for their class or group. Football, team races, group wrestling, etc. are common in schools. There are competitions in neatness and tidiness of one's body, clothing and school materials. All these competitions continue into, and are very keen in, the Middle School. At the early stages competitors tend to be hostile but by the Middle School stage they tend to become friendly.

Gangs do not normally exist in the Lower Primary: they usually begin to appear from the later stages of the Upper Primary and are more common in the Middle School. There are gangs who work towards truancy from school, manual work, singing classes, divine classes and other activities of the school; gangs challenge the authority of the heads of the school, who shirk responsibility and detest any disciplinary measures taken against them. They may do a lot of bullying and saying or doing unkind things about the teachers, for example, writing notices or spreading rumours about teachers' suspicious relationships with the girls, the use of school materials and funds, etc. They may do similar things about boy-girl relationships known to them. They may do a lot of damage to school property and pilfer produce from the school garden or farm. Some of these gangs, clever as they are, are difficult to detect and disciplined or checked or changed, but there have been cases where wise teachers, by their tactful treatment of their pupils have succeeded in checking the formation and the activities of gangs in their schools.

(ii) Work

children begin to work in the real sense of the word about the age of six, that is, at approximately their school going age. They work mostly inside the home. Prior to this stage small children do no work strictly speaking, but go out for play and adventure. When food is ready they are called to come and eat, and when it is time for their bath they are called or gone after. When they begin to work they do pieces of job common to both boys and girls, such as sweeping the parents' room, the house, the kitchen the compound, fetching water from the water-hole or spring, going on errands, gathering bits of firewood, bringing back from the farm logs for the fire, food in small baskets or pans, and so on. Another very common task of both boys and girls is acting as nursemaid to a baby.

By the age of seven or eight children are introduced to sexual division of labour customary among the people. The boys begin to do work supposed to be appropriate to men, and girls that which is appropriate to women. Mothers begin to train their daughters to watch and care for the younger children washing their clothing and swaddling clothes, carrying them and playing with them. They have to fetch water for the household sweep the house and rooms, take off the ash from the native-hearth and smear it with earth and water in the traditional way, set the fire and put bath-water on the fire. They help their mothers in preparing the baby's food as well as food for the whole household. They wash the cooking utensils after the meal. They reduce expenses by the household duties they perform and add to the cash income of the household by selling things, such as farm produce, cooked food, sweets and petty articles in the markets, streets and shops and from house to house or in the neighbouring villages. They also help on the farm, pulling up the weed or weeding with small hoes made for them. They help during the harvest of cocoa,

yam, rice, cotton, ground-nut and other products. They are trained to carry heavy loads on the head.

From the age of about nine or ten a girl may begin to do most of the cooking unaided and begins to acquire some skill and competence in other specialized domestic routine of a house-wife. By the age of twelve the average girl begins to feel herself to belong to the women.

Similarly, boys are introduced to work appropriate to their sex. A boy begins to follow his elder brother or father to the farm, carrying a gourd of water and his own small cutlass and, often, his catapult. On reaching the farm, when his father is busy working the boy sets the fire and roasts some cocoyam or yam for their use. He then wanders along the outskirts of the farm, setting traps, hunting birds, squirrels, mice or lizards. When they are a little older boys are allowed to make small farms of their own and are at times asked to help in pulling up the weed or brushing the farm with their cutlasses.

In the house, boys tether the domestic animals and bring the fowls to their coops, in the evening. In the morning they let out the animals and the fowls. They set and clear their fathers' table, give them water for their bath. They are allowed to do little craftwork at their spare times. By the age of thirteen, boys also begin to feel to belong to the men.

There are rewards and punishments in connection with work. Children are praised and commended for work properly done, on time, and they are scolded for lazy work or for refusing to work. Tangible rewards are also given. If for example a boy takes good care of the domestic animals and birds he is often given a chick or a pullet, a lamb or a kid to rear for himself. If a boy works hard on the farm he may be given some "seed" yams to plant for himself or to be planted for him. If a child willingly

goes on errands and honestly and intelligently does what he is required to do he may be given sweets, a few pence or other gifts in kind in appreciation of his services.

In the same way if, for example, a girl does her selling job conscientiously well and satisfactorily she may be given part of the takings and with it she may buy some 'godolies', some beads, earrings or other articles of finery. A nice, small pot or pan may be bought for her if she does her farm work properly and fetches water regularly and uncomplainingly. She may also be given some yam to plant or be planted for her.

On the other hand, if a boy fails to do a particular job assigned to him, for example, if he refuses to help on the farm or go on an errand food may be withheld from him temporarily, or he may be scolded and even beaten. A lazy girl is treated in the same way.

Parents are anxious about their children's employment. Children are supposed to be trained in the occupation of their parents in the first instance. For example, a father who is a blacksmith, a cloth-weaver or a carpenter would like his son to learn his trade, in addition to such other occupation as farming. Similarly, a mother who is a potter trains her daughter in pot-making. And so there are families of specialist craftsmen, for example, families of pot-makers, weavers, smiths, carpenters, lumbermen and bricklayers in addition to farmers and traders. However, children's going to school and the aptitude of many to shirk manual work and search for clerical jobs abroad have affected the smooth working of this traditional system, even though it is not altogether out of practice.

Children are also expected to engage in work which will bring in money quickly and which involves

a short-term apprenticeship. Employment within or near the community is generally preferred to employment abroad and parents give manual labour, especially farming, the first place in child employment. This attitude has also been affected by changing conditions. But it is generally insisted upon that before a boy marries he should have been in employment, or should have at least owned a farm. The earlier a child becomes independent of his parents' support the more he is given social recognition and respect.

As explained above, changing conditions brought about by western culture have influenced parents' attitude to child employment and most of them have to yield to the force of the changes and, instead of training their children intensively in the traditional crafts, parents put their literate, or semi-literate daughters into such jobs as teaching, nursing and sewing. Boys like store-keeping and other clerical jobs. The children themselves, as already explained, now detest manual work and prefer work which they think will not involve much strain and dirt, and which will make them appear important before the public. Teaching, store-keeping, typing and driving are popular with boys, most of whom drift to the big towns. Some children are beginning to take an interest in cocoa farming for the quick and heavy income that results from it.

Various kinds of work are assigned to children in the house. Apart from those common to both sexes, as mentioned above, boys are usually given the job of laying and clearing their father's table, giving him water for his bath sweeping and dusting the parents' rooms and furniture, tethering and caring for the domestic animals and birds. Girls have the work of helping their mother with the preparation of the family meal, fetching water, setting the fire, helping in the

care of the baby, sweeping the house, selling the farm produce and other articles, helping with farming, washing clothes.

School children work before going to school in the morning, after school in the afternoon and sometimes during the break or interval. During the dry season when water becomes scarce most children are lifted up at about 5 or 5.30 in the morning to accompany their mothers to fetch water. On their return they sweep their father's room, have their bath and breakfast and go to school. On Saturdays they accompany their parents to the farm. So on the average school children work for some three or four hours a day during term time and some six or seven hours a day during the holidays. Children who do not go to school have to work harder and longer. They may work for seven or more hours a day.

It is to be pointed out here that while girls have to help their mothers from an early age, boys on the whole enjoy their freedom longer. They spend much of their time in little gangs in the bush hunting birds, lizards and flies and birds or enjoying other forms of activities.

care of the baby, sweeping the house, selling the farm produce and other articles, helping with farming, washing clothes.

School children work before going to school in the morning, after school in the afternoon and sometimes during the break or interval. During the dry season when water becomes scarce most children are lifted up at about 5 or 5³⁰ in the morning to accompany their mothers to fetch water. On their return they sweep their father's room, have their bath and breakfast and go to school. On Saturdays they accompany their parents to the farm. So on the average school children work for some three or four hours a day during term time and some six or seven hours a day during the holidays. Children who do not go to school have to work harder and longer. They may work for seven or more hours a day.

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Chapter IX

Games, Songs, Stories

Apart from school or organised games such as football, rounders, volley and baseball children play many games. Football is by far the commonest organised game played by both school boys and those boys who do not go to school. It is played by boys even at the pre-school age, any number forming a team. Small children who have no real balls use fruits such as oranges, limes, lemon and mangoes as substitutes. Volley ball is also popular and if no ball is available fruits may again be used. Small boys play it almost anywhere, usually over an emergency pitch.

With girls the most popular game is 'ample', a skipping and leg panting game accompanied by clapping.

Most of the other common games are played in the evening, especially on moonlight nights. Some of them are played separately by boys and girls and others by girls and boys together. They are mostly played in teams and in different formations and postures. Some are vigorous, others graceful; some require much dexterity and cunning and others, especially those played by children during and after puberty, usually have a tinge of sex in them. Almost all the games are played to the accompaniment of singing or jingles, and in many leaders figure prominently.

School children have the usual, organised sports and athletic activities as jumping and racing. Up to the age of about eight racing is popular with boys and girls. Boys at this stage like climbing, jumping narrow ditches, leaving exercises, jumping the waving rope, see-saw (Kpaxēe) tossing games with a rope fastened to the branch of a tree, running and racing with hoops to imitate riding on a bicycle or driving a lorry, and driving 'lorries' made by them. Most of these games and activities are stimulated by passing adult interest.

A.



B.



C.



School children:

- A = Girls playing "ampl".
 B = Boys playing football.
 C = Chn. on the way to school, one driving his "lorry".

From the age of eight to twelve boys play the same games, but with more vigour, agility and with a spirit of keen competition. Wrestling contests are also common.

Other games popular at this stage include top playing which is usually enjoyed round about Christmas time, and marbles. 'Kpodada' and 'tutui dada' (firing) are also enjoyed. (The last two games will be described elsewhere in this chapter).

Girls at this stage are still fond of "ample" and racing. The game of "Wole" (Twi Owave) or "Aditol" is also popular with them.

During early puberty Hide and Seek is very popular and is played on moonlight nights.

At the adolescent stage the games and sports activities decrease in number and tend to lose their popularity. However, marbles, 'Kpodada' and 'atidada', a game played like draughts in which short sticks are used instead of counters, are played. When some of the evening games are played, they are played by mixed groups. Adolescents take more interest in the traditional drumming and dancing.

As a rule there are no facilities for swimming and bicycle riding. During the rains, however, boys like "swimming" the dirty water which collects in deep holes, to the utter displeasure of their parents. When boys do hire bicycles to learn how to ^{ride} on them, adults do not often encourage them because they think it is a risky and a dangerous affair. Emphasis is not placed on individual sports but on team games. Adults are indifferent as to the value of athletic skill.

Sex differences determine the choice of games. Girls tend to choose games which do not require much strain and energy but they prefer those involving graceful

movements, clapping, hopping and jumping about or on the spot, and others which are played without much moving about. Boys on the other hand like games involving competition, strength and vigour, running, kicking, throwing, catching, and so on.

The following are a few of the common games:

1- Kpodada (A boys' game).

Apparatus: Kpo and a "hook". The kpo is made of palm leaves. The tender leaves of the oil palm are skilfully tied in the form of a native broom, with a conical head, a neck and a bushy tail. The "hook" is a number of the mid-ribs of palm leaves plaited and tied into a knot, with an adjustable opening through which the kpo can pass.

How played: The players arrange themselves into two teams of any desired size, some ten yards apart, facing each other. The game begins by the first player of a team throwing the kpo high into the air in the direction of his opponent who holds out his "hook" in the opening of which he hopes to catch the "kpo" right. If he succeeds in catching it — "snaring it" — and thus prevents the "kpo" from falling to the ground, he gains a point for his team. If he fails to snare it he throws it to the second player of the opposing team, and so the game moves to and fro till the number of complete rounds, previously agreed upon by both teams — usually 7 — is reached. The team with more points wins. The game is very thrilling and calls for dexterity, timing and alertness.

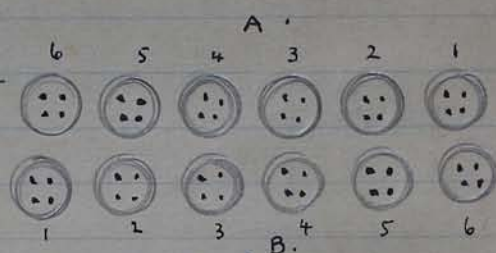
2- Tutuidada ("gun" firing). This is also a boys' game.

Apparatus: Tutui, the "gun", which is the internode of certain shrubs or young trees, for example "kpomi" from which the pith has been removed. One end of the narrow bore is closed tight with a dry canna-seed, the bullet.

A piece of fresh stick whose "head" has been beaten to look like the part of a chewing stick with which the teeth are scrubbed is inserted into the bore and, by working it forwards and backwards the canna seed is forced out with a noise. It travels quite a good distance.

With these "guns" two teams fight a battle. Some of the children retreat when hit by the 'bullets'. It is a very amusing game.

3. Aditol or Wale (Oware)



Two parallel rows of six shallow holes each are scooped out of the earth — or permanently carved on a board — as shown in the diagram. Four palm kernels or pebble counters are put into each hole.

Two players, A and B, sit facing each other on either side of the rows, each taking possession of one row. The players in turn pick up the pebbles from one hole and place them successively in the other holes, putting one in each hole, in anti-clockwise direction. They keep on changing the position of the pebbles until the number in each hole becomes four again. Each set of 4 pebbles is won and removed by the owner of the row. This continues till the holes are emptied of all the possible sets of 4 pebbles. The player with more pebbles wins.

This game has several variations and is played with much absorption and interest. It is played by boys and girls alike and is popular with adolescents and adults as well.

4. Kpeto Kpem dee, a girls' game played by girls up to the puberty stage. Any number of girls can play it.

The girls sit astride, crouch or kneel in a ring, each holding a fairly big stone. At a signal each

player passes her stone to the player on her right. This goes on continuously and rhythmically. Any player who fails to move off her stone quickly, or who is slow and so allows two or more stones to accumulate in her "home" falls out. Players keep on falling out till a winner is found or till they are all tired and give it up. A round of songs or jingles goes on in accompaniment, rhythmically.

Example: The theme is "The old woman of ---- is a miser".

The leader in turn mentions the names, one at a time, of the villages and towns known to her, far and near, and the others respond "she is a miser", thus:

Leader: Kome-bruwe,

All: Domevevets!

Leader: Agdone-bruwe,

All: Domevevets!

Leader: Todzi-bruwe,

All: Domevevets!, etc.

5. Yeeyee. (A girls' game).

Any number of girls stand in a ring, facing inward, holding hands. At a signal, all the hands, still held, are swung slightly upward. Each player then lets go her grasp, strikes the palms of the players on either side with her palm, lets go her grasp again, claps her hands, holds hands again and, having swung the hands upwards again, strikes the palms of her partners. Then the palms are turned facing the opposite direction for another clapping. This marks the end of one "movement". As a variation, instead of the last clapping of hands each player, in turn, bends down a bit and places her elbows in the palms of her partners. The movement is repeated continuously to the rhythm:

1.2.3.4 — 5, 1.2.3.4 — 5, 1.2.3.4 — 5, etc. A round of songs is started by the leader and all sing it in chorus, in accompaniment, e.g.

Leader: "Yeeyee, yeeyee, wonedee ame dudze de asine o
Ame dudze yee, ne va fle te ve, woto agbelife".

All: Repeat above.

Meaning:

"Yeeyee, yeeyee, one does not send a stupid child to the market;

The stupid child was asked to go and buy home a yam
But he/she, instead, bought cassava"

6. 'The menye' ("I am a bachelor", or "a spinster!")

Boys and girls form separate lines a few yards apart, facing each other. One small girl is chosen as "a wife". She places a pad of cloth on her head.

The game begins by the wife's being carried at the back of another girl who walks towards the boys' line. The "wife" looks round, chooses a 'husband' whose head she hits lightly with the pad. The boy takes the pad from his "wife" and, dancing with her to the girls' line, he chooses another wife whose head he hits lightly with the pad. The husband dances back to his line with his new wife who, on reaching the boys' line, chooses another husband with whom she dances back to her line for another wife. The game goes on and on in this way till it is changed. A round of jingles or songs goes on in accompaniment, for example:

(a) The menye, dzowole ganye (I am a bachelor, full of ash)
Klɔɔfoe, ke ba dem (Klɔɔfoe, — a girl — come (and) marry me)
Agɔɔfoe, ke ba dem (Agɔɔfoe — another girl — come (and) marry me)

(b) Wode wo yɔɔ, wonedem o, wode wo yɔɔ wonedem o,
Hɛhlɛ, hɛhlɛ, kpɔdzɔkpɔdzɛ,
Mide wo yɔɔ loo!

Abe Kɔkɔ, abe, abe woayi wae!

Meaning: They have married all except me (Rep.)
All the ugly, all the deformed,

(Do) Marry them all, marry them all.

Alee Koko, alee woayi wol (Two words meaning: "the ripe (red) palm-nut, the red woayi wol", the last two words being meaningless. The last ~~last~~ line is in praise of the attractive complexion of the would-be wives).

These games are highly enjoyed by the children. They keep on changing the games one after the other and as many as ten or twelve different games may be played one clear moonlight night.

(ii) Songs and stories

Children always try to imitate songs heard from adults — hymns, dancing and mourning songs, as well as songs sung in connection with Ananse and other animal stories. The children themselves sing short little songs in connection with their games and plays. They make their own little songs of praise or ridicule, songs about themselves and their play-mates, little tunes about animals, birds, rain, the rainbow, lorries and other interesting things seen. Then there are their own little songs about the result of a game or a fight or about the misbehaviour of a child.

In most of the songs one child or a group of the children leads and all sing the chorus or repeat the same phrase. Parts of the song may be spoken in the traditional way, rhythmically, and groups of children may come in at different points. As mentioned above, they make little songs teasing those beaten in a game or a fight or rejoicing in their triumph, or boycotting a child for his or her misbehaviour or misdeeds.

Here are some of the commonest songs or poems:

I. Songs teasing a child who has been boycotted.

1. Leader: Seme Koku, de wodee lo,
De wodee lo!
Babababa wuu na wo loo!
Babababa wuu na wo loo!

All : Repeat the whole song.

Meaning: The unwanted Kaku, he is boycotted,
He is boycotted!
Shame on you, shame on you! (hosting).

2. This is almost spoken like choral speech:

Leader: Wodee le hame loo!

All : Kaminaka!

Leader: Wodee le hame loo!

All : Kaminaka!

Leader: Dadaa le avi dzi,

All : Kaminaka!

Leader: Fofoa le avi dzi,

All : Kaminaka!

Leader: Wodee le hame loo!

All : Kaminaka!

Meaning:

Leader : (Look) He/she is boycotted!

All : Kaminaka (meaningless)

Leader : (Look) He/she is boycotted!

All : Kaminaka!

Leader : The mother is weeping,

All : Kaminaka!

Leader : The father is sweeping;

All : Kaminaka!

Leader : (Look) He/she is boycotted!

All : Kaminaka!

II. A popular poem about the human fingers.

The fingers are touched one by one, in order, beginning with the little finger, correspondingly to what is being recited, thus:

Eyi ke: Degege

Eyi ke: Dze le wu wo ma?

Eyi ke: Wo le waze me.

Hōwīwo dze alia de dzi

Handwritten musical score for "Hōwīwo dze alia de dzi" in 2/4 time, featuring two staves with lyrics in Ewe. The melody is written in treble clef with a key signature of two flats (Bb, Eb). The lyrics are: Hōwīwole 1tia de dzi 1tia ba dza-na ka nyigba Hōwīwo 1ia 1tia de dzi 1tia ba dza-na ka nyigba.

now one says: Would you cook it for us to
This one (the thumb) says: I shall tell my mo
when she is back.

The thumb ^(you) He tale-tattler

Woawo nens afe mīde la gbo.

Handwritten musical score for "Woawo nens afe mīde la gbo." in 6/8 time, featuring four staves with lyrics in Ewe. The melody is written in treble clef with a key signature of two flats (Bb, Eb). The lyrics are: Woawo ne nsa-fe mī de la gbo Woawo ne nsa-fe mī de la gbo Woawo ne nsa-fe mī de la gbo Woawo ne nsa-fe mī de la gbo Ye ye ye ye Woawo ne nsa-fe mī de la gbo.

Eyi be : Dae midua

Eyi be : Danye gbo, natal ne ke
Adegbefetsu, apasato!

Meaning:

This one cries (says): Dede

This one says: Are you hungry?

This one says: There is corn-meal in the corn-meal pot.

This one says: Would you cook it for us to eat?

This one (the thumb) says: I shall tell my mother when she is back.

All the other fingers cry: The thumb^(you), the tale-tattler!

III. A song about a team's success in a game or a sports competition

Leader : Hōvino dze atia de dzi,
Atia be adza naka anyigba.

All : Hōvino dze atia de dzi,
Atia be adza naka anyigba.

Meaning:

Leader: The young of the eagle perch on a tree-top,

The tree's top (branches) will (bend and) touch the ground

All : Repeat above.

2. Leader: Woawo neno afe mide lagbo
Woawo neno afe mide lagbo
Klaki-klomawo neno afe mide lagbo
Woawo neno afe mide lagbo.

All: Woawo neno afe mide lagbo
Woawo neno afe mide lagbo
Woawo neno afe mide lagbo
Woawo neno afe mide lagbo
Yeeyee yee, yeeyee yee!
Woawo neno afe, mide lagbo.

Meaning:

Let them remain home
 Till we go and come back.
 The disease - Kneel!
 Let them remain home
 Till we go and come back.

3. Leader : Mianwɛ nye Kɔvianwo
 All : Ē.
 Leader : Mianwɛ nye Kɔvianwo
 All : Ē.
 Leader : Mianwɛ du ati na Kpɔ
 Ē.
 Kpɔ dze aha yɔ mi
 Ē.
 Anyigba neseɛ lo!
 Yoo!

Meaning:

- Leader : We are the children of the ant-hill
 All : Yes. (we are).
 Leader : We have eaten up the tree for the hyaena
 All : Yes. (we have).
 Leader : The hyaena has called us to a palm-wine feast
 All : Yes. (we have been called).
 Leader : Let the earth hear!
 All : Yes (let it hear)!

(iii) Stories

The stories considered appropriate for children include Ananse (Spider) and animal stories (gliwo) and African folk tales. Children are also told 'guessing games', riddles, puzzles, legends and myths and proverbs. Most of the Spider and the Animal stories uphold cunning and craftiness as a virtue; many are delightful and have a good moral value which is pointed out at the end.

whilst in others it is left to the children to discover for themselves, and to admire or despise any of the other characters. The children no doubt have excellent memories and receptive minds for the stories and their delight in them is great. Children also like to tell the stories among themselves. They are usually told in the evening when they gather round their parents or other adults or when they are in their own groups. Most of the Anansi and Animal stories (gliwo) have little songs sung at appropriate parts of the stories.

Examples:

1. Riddles: (Adzowo).

- (a) "Two great chiefs die and the carcass of both is buried in the same coffin" (Salt and pepper).
- (b) "The leaf of the yam is worth more than the yam tuber itself." (The feather of a parrot).
- (c) "One arrow shot at a target becomes ten" (groundnut).
- (d) "There is a certain pit into which all the inhabitants of a town throw all their rubbish, but it is never full." (the stomach).
- (e) "The jealous woman has made an iron fence around herself." (the tongue and teeth).

2. A puzzle (Alobalo).

Teller: Hear the puzzle!

Audience: Let the puzzle come!

Teller: One day an eagle swooped down upon the beautiful daughter of a chief and carried her off to an island. The chief looked for brave men who could bring back her daughter alive. A thief, a hunter and a repairer offered their services willingly. The thief said he could steal the girl from the talons of the eagle. The hunter said that if he did that and should the eagle see them and attack them in an attempt to recapture the girl he would shoot him dead immediately. The repairer said that should the dead eagle fall into their boat and break it he would patch

it all up at once.

As soon as they had started off, the thief saw and stole the girl. As they neared the middle of the river the eagle came to snatch the girl back. The hunter shot it dead and it fell in a crash into the boat which got shattered into a hundred fragments. The repairer immediately patched up the boat so that they got home safely with the girl.

Which of the three men did the most and thus won a prize from the chief?

3. Proverbs: (Lododowo).

(a) *Devi gbā abɔbogo megbāa klogo o*, meaning "a child may break a snail-shell, but not a tortoiseshell", — a warning to the child that his ability is limited.

(b) *Devi si nya asikaklo lae dua nukple fofoa*, meaning "it is the child who knows how to wash his hands that eats with his father", implying that it is the child who knows how to obey that is entitled to his father's love and security.

(c) *Devi manyanu kpo dzikla be de wovu*, meaning "the ignorant child sees a net and thinks it is torn", implying that a child's knowledge is limited.

4. An animal story: The wicked Leopard. (Gli).

Teller: Hear the story (gli):

Audience: Let the story come!

Teller: One day a leopard fell into a deep pit and could not come out of it. He stayed there for three days. On the fourth day he happened to see a monkey jumping from branch to branch in a tree and begged him to pull him out of the hole. The monkey pitied his situation and climbed down. He went near the pit. He let the leopard hold his tail fast while he himself clung fast to the branch of a near-by tree. Using all his strength he managed to pull out the leopard.

No sooner had the leopard got out than he sprang upon the monkey in an attempt to eat him.

The monkey asked him why he should reward him in such a way for the kindness he had shown him. The monkey replied that he was so hungry — having eaten nothing for the last four days — that he could not spare his life. While the dispute was going on a tortoise happened to come upon them and asked what was the matter. The monkey narrated everything to the tortoise who did not hesitate to accuse the leopard of ingratitude. He asked the leopard to let go his grasp of the monkey and thank him instead. As he opened his hand to thank the monkey the tortoise gave a signal to the monkey to escape. And so the monkey immediately ran away and climbed up a very tall tree near-by so that the leopard could not reach him again, and had to go home, frightfully hungry.

Children are not supposed to read books on sex or on magic or super-natural powers. Fortunately most children do not have access to such books. The only two books of this kind which some ex-Middle School children told me they had read secretly were "Napoleon's Book of Fate" and "Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses", but they told me the English was beyond their comprehension. Love stories are disapproved but an adolescent told me he used to take delight in one of the Books of the Bible "The Song of Songs" "because it contains love stories".

After World War II, however, a few bad books, illustrated, on sexual intercourse, were brought by some young men who had seen service in India and the Middle East. These books are read secretly and are highly enjoyed. The bad pictures alone give them such sexual stimulation!

Most of the adults who had been to German schools recall the German Primers as some of their favourite childhood books. Also, they liked the Ewe Readers that contained little stories of animals, wars, insects, rivers

and so on, and were illustrated. Story books, especially those dealing with adventure, love affairs and about children in other lands were also liked. Similarly other adults liked the old English Primers which were in use right from Class One, containing such sentences as "I am up, I go up, Am I to go so? No, go so". The Royal Prince Readers which were used from Standard One were also liked because of "the good English in which they were written as well as the interesting stories in them".

Adults do not, as a rule, read aloud to the children. It is only in the lower primary that some parents coach their children in reading. At about the age of eleven or twelve the children are supposed to be ready to read adult literature. The adult literature first given to the children include poems, accounts of life in the olden days, books on the lives of men of importance in the past, the history of the Ewe tribe, — their origin, migrations, settlements, wars, trade, occupations, customs, and fiction, adventure stories and the Bible.

Chapter X.

Adolescence.

There is no emotional or social break to mark a transition from childhood to adulthood: The emergence from pre-puberty to puberty is a matter of continuity rather than discontinuity, a process of gradual advance along lines laid down in early childhood, with a gradual change in mode of life. The children begin to take a more active part in the economic pursuits, tribal occupations and adult life in general of the people.

Children are treated differently according to sex and more attention is paid to the girls. The girl who hitherto has acquired a degree of freedom and independence in the family gradually learns by practice to take on adult life and responsibility, to carry on independently such ceremonial, economic and social duties that belong to full womanhood. As explained above, puberty does not mean the beginning of a new life: it is rather the final elimination of the freedom elements from the old life. The girl now learns to cook well and to manage the house and the younger children properly by herself, the mother delegating such responsibilities to her gradually. Day by day the girl takes in more and more of adult life of the community.

Similarly, the adolescent boy has to become more and more proficient in the skills he began to acquire in childhood and learns to become more conversant with the culture of his people. He has to try to know the customs and the institutions of the people, especially those connected with chieftaincy, funeral rites and the propitiation of the ancestors, to know how to pour libations, and so on.

With girls the transition is estimated primarily by the appearance of the breasts and by menstruation. A

girl's physiological maturity is marked by a ceremony called "gbotowowo" (menstruation rites). This custom has died down and is almost extinct in its entirety, though one or two parents of the extreme conservative type still perform at least part of it in a rather 'polished' way. The ceremony was like this. A girl's first menstruation was eagerly anticipated and when it occurred it was whispered round the womenfolk of the village, and within a short time all her contemporaries and the older women of the village and, sometimes, the neighbouring villages poured into the girl's house, ready to see the ceremony begun.

They led the girl to a near-by stream. There, an old woman of the girl's tribe who had had a similar rite performed for her in her youth opened the ceremony with certain mysterious incantations and 'washing' of the girl's body with certain herbs and water. Two boiled eggs were then given to her to eat. Two fresh, uncooked eggs were 'spoken to' mystically and wrapped in a quantity of new unused sponge and placed on the ground, on the bank of the stream. The eggs were supposed to be eaten by the girl's 'dzo gbenuwo' ('birth-spirits') and the sponge was supposed to be used by them in cleansing the girl's soul. This marked the end of the first phase of the ceremony. The girl was led back home amidst merry-making and singing. The following is one of the most popular songs sung on the occasion:

Mayeye mayeye, mayeye, mayeye

Kokroko tsi gboto,

Meji madakpze da.

Tsa tsele dzoa gbo,

Nsa tsele dzoa gbo

Koklo gbagbê tse woneda ne o

Ademekpiedzê woda ne

Mayeye mayeye!

Meaning:

Mayeye mayeye, mayeye mayeye!
 Kokoko's younger sister has menstruated,
 I went to pay her a visit.
 Her father was also by the fire,
 Her mother was also by the fire.
 Not even a fowl was cooked for her,
 Red porridge with spinach was cooked for her,
 Mayeye mayeye!

Girls and women waited on the girl in her house for eight days, singing, eating and rejoicing. Boys and lads also visited the house and perfumes were sprinkled on them. In the evenings open fires were lit in the house, around which the merry-making went on and tales were told to the children. The children roasted yam, cocoyam or plantain and ate with joy. The girl herself was kept indoors for much of the time, attended by her closest friends. On the eighth day the girl was given a thorough bath and clothed in rich appanel, with gold trinkets and the choicest beads, aggrey beads, and was led round from house to house amidst singing and expressions of joy and admiration. The neighbouring villages were also visited. Gifts of money were made to her. From that day the girl was publicly regarded as having attained adult status and marriageable age. It was considered a shame if such a ceremony was not performed for any girl, especially before her marriage.

As explained above, this formerly important custom has lost most, if not all, of its early meaning and importance. Nowadays the whole ceremony is not gone through. The 'bathing' part (tsilele) and the clothing followed by a procession through the village have more emphasis. The ceremony, these days, need not be performed during the girl's first menstruation. It could be postponed till the parents have got enough money to have it performed. Usually, it is performed before the girl's marriage,

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Adolescence Rites

A.



Three adolescent girls as they
appeared after their "bathing" ceremony.

B.



The 3 adolescents in a group
of the people taking them round.

but it could even be performed after the girl has born a child.

With the more zealous Christian children the transition is now often signalized by confirmation at the Church after which the other traditional performance may take place. Otherwise, boys undergo no special ceremony to signalize the change over to adolescence.

After the initiation the mother keeps a careful eye on the girl and gives her private admonition against sexual relationships with young men, bad play, careless companionship; her going out in the evening is watched and restricted. It is supposed that it is girls who spoil quickly, hence the strict parental control on them.

Adolescent boys, however, are also given private admonition by their parents. A father tries to draw his son to him and tells him most of the family secrets, his debts and debtors, his property and the history of the lineage. He allows him to use his belongings, for example, his native cloths and gun. He advises him to lead a good life so that he may get a good wife and uphold the name of the family. But adolescent boys tend to have more freedom of action because as "boys do not spoil quickly" no great pressure is generally brought to bear on them.

The transition is also marked by an increase in dresses. The adolescent girl may put on adult apparel, that is, two cloths and a headkerchief. She can plait her hair and put on slippers, shoes or sandals. She is pre-occupied with clothes and cosmetics. She takes great care of her hair, her teeth, her nails and her skin in order to keep more attractive.

Usually, no direct information or fact is given

to a girl about menstruation before her first experience. However, most girls nowadays know much about it largely from their own observation and from conversation with friends who are much older than they themselves. They observe their mothers and elder sisters and see how once every month they wash and change their 'godotse' several times a day, have frequent baths, use perfume or myrrh profusely and, in certain cases, refrain from cooking for their fathers during the period. (With illiterates, women do not generally cook for men during their 'periods'. They are forbidden to enter the chief's or the elders' houses or the fetish priest's. Formerly, such women used to have their bath at the outskirts of the village, hence the term 'gbotozitsi' (confinement to the outskirts) applied to menstruation).

When a girl approaching puberty sees all these things she is apt to become curious and to ask her friend what it is all about. A girl may also hear old women discussing irregular or abnormal 'periods'. Again, an adolescent girl who has obtained information about menstruation from her friend may confide this to her ignorant friend. Then again, the menstruation rites described above make it easy for a girl to know of menstruation before she experiences it herself. In rare cases, however, a girl may be quite ignorant of it before she has the frightful experience herself.

Girls are told that all women should normally menstruate once a month and that menstruation is an indication that a girl is mature to procreate. They are therefore warned against pre-marital sexual relations, otherwise they may get conceived if they do. They are taught how to take care of their bodies and clothes when the periods are on, as well as the prohibitions attached to menstruation, traditionally. They are also told not to speak about it in public, especially when men

are present. They are also taught how to reckon roughly the time of the monthly periods so that they may be ready before the onset each month. Then, they are told to report to their mothers any abnormality of the periods for the necessary adjustment or treatment. They are gradually taught the following terms in connection with menstruation:

Mets asi anyi	meaning	"I have touched the ground with my hand"
Meye also	meaning	"I have broken my hand"
Metsi gboto	meaning	"I am confined to the outskirts (of the village)"
Melē gke	meaning	"I have caught grass"
Mekpo dzinu	meaning	"I have seen the moon"
Nyemeli nyuie o	meaning	"I am not in good condition"
Megblē	meaning	"I am bad"

A boy's first experience of sex usually comes through the nocturnal emissions. The boy usually gains his first knowledge of sex from an older boy or a bad-mannered adult who may impart it in a way which is likely to stimulate the child's sex appetite too early. It is not usually first given by a person who can adopt a calm, rational attitude himself about sex. A boy ignorant about the signs of sexual maturity may get upset by the first nocturnal emissions in which case he can approach a friend who may be older than he himself for explanation.

Boys are usually left under the wrong impression that in the absence of frequent exercising of the genital organs they may become ill or even sexually incapable from disuse. The average adolescent takes this view of sex.

Parents place much emphasis on chastity, especially in connection with girls as, to repeat the supposition, "it is girls who get spoilt".

Formerly when the menstruation rites were in vogue, even more emphasis was placed on virginity and, as mentioned in the introduction to this essay, one of the qualities looked for in a prospective bride is chastity. In those days, on the "wedding" day, a girl's virginity was tested or determined by a pigeon's egg or a white calico.

It is considered a disgrace to a girl and her family if she has a premarital conception. She is nicknamed a "sakabo" or lāyiga ('a second-hand'; 'a piece of iron frame for curing fish'), and she may lose her chances of getting a good husband, readily. A father who has to bear the essential funeral responsibility for his son if the son commits fornication or adultery, thoroughly warns him to take care of himself and severely reprimands him if he misbehaves himself, and warns him against a recurrence. However, it is unfortunate that at present boys and girls tend to deteriorate morally, to the utter regret of their parents. At any rate public opinion still favours strict sexual morals and disapproves of pre-cocious sex-indulgence and all forms of sexual licence.

The common adolescent sex activities include boy-girl friendships with their concomitant behaviour. At first there are friendships in which the first devotion is a secret one to older people of the opposite sex. Later, friendships between boys and girls of approximately the same age are common. These friendships are often repressed for fear that parents may disapprove of them for social, ethical and religious reasons. The friends usually have 'go-between' ^{verbal} who arrange secret meetings for them and convey messages, letters and gifts from one to the other. Some of these are known by parents but most parents disapprove of them for fear that they may lead to sexual intercourse which will have bad results.

However, some women sanction such friendships and wish the friends would marry each other.

Masturbation and pre-marital sexual intercourse are also common. Most parents know of such intercourse and try to check it. But playfulness and easy, casual familiarity between relatives of the opposite sex, such as cousins, are not meddling with.

Romantic love for a remote object is common. Adolescents have phantasies and day-dreams centring round pictures of beautiful ladies and handsome men, heroes and heroines, creatures which are entirely of the imagination, and events. Pictures of the Queen, the Princess, Churchill, Kwame Nkrumah and Roy Ankrah are loved. Children are often seen having mock fights or processions in which Nkrumah and Roy Ankrah feature prominently. Some boys still cherish the name of Hitler and Captain Lilley, a former District Commissioner for British Togoland. Love for imaginary creatures or creatures to which limitless wisdom and capabilities are ascribed in stories, for example the Spider, Sasabonsam and Aderkpui are also expressed. Events such as the Coronation, Empire Day and Christmas are on the lips of the children. They also spend much time pleasantly day-dreaming about impossible events and would-be miracles.

Confidences about early love are given by adolescents to their tight friends of the same sex, whose advice children often take against their parents'. Intimate secrets may also be given to one's brother or sister.

Adolescents are not supposed to go through a phase of "storm and stress". The years of adolescence are not considered as years in which the children undergo hardships and untold discomforts.

Adolescents tend to become irreligious (especially the boys), to adopt radical ideas and to rebel against authority. Most adolescent boys tend to give up their former ideas regarding sin and moral life and take delight in such "practices of youth" as smoking, drinking, dancing, gambling, playing games on Sundays, etc. When they see adults who used to urge them, for example to attend church regularly, showing laxity themselves, or when they see that many a church-goer is as bad as a non-church goer, or that the latter could behave as well as the former most of them fail to see why they should not give up those old ideas of sin and morals. Most of them become reluctant, especially the boys, to attend church, to have themselves confirmed, to attend Lord's Supper, to pay Church tax which they say "ultimately goes into the pocket of the Pastors", and to do congregational labour. They seem to hesitate to regard all these as essentials of Christian life. In short, adolescents, especially the boys, become irreligious, generally. They question freely the probability of the doctrine of Creation, the truth in the Flood, the Immaculate Conception, the Fall, the presence of Heaven, the Resurrection day, and so on.

Adolescents, generally, acquire the habit of evaluating ideas and actions in terms of their worth, and not merely according to conventions. They question the ideals and ideas, the attitudes and actions they observe around them. They develop responsible thinking and the capacity for critical judgment and persistent demand for a rational justification for actions taken by adults.

They tend to rebel against home, school and political authorities. The adolescent boy finds fault with his own family and is critical of his younger

brothers' or sisters' untidy dresses or noisiness; his mother's dirty hands and his carelessly dressed father. He detects flaws in his father's reasoning and challenges him outright. He may, as explained above, take his friend's advice against his parents', and may be reluctant in carrying his parents' order.

At School he finds fault with the Prefect's actions, with the teachers', especially the head teacher's discipline, organisation and orders and back-bites or shows passive, sometimes open criticism of them. He may become unruly.

The adolescent criticizes the government for all social and economic inequality, suffering of the masses and unemployment and low wages. He is beside himself with regret to see how his country has been neglected in almost every aspect, how it is lacking in the amenities enjoyed in other parts of the country. He is critical of, and irate at all the social wrongs being meted out to his people. This is clearly shown by the stand they take against the integration of Togoland into the Gold Coast.

They criticize the actions and behaviour of their own village chief and elders.

Adolescence is generally regarded as a happy, care-free time, especially for boys. It is a time, however, when parents are worried by their children "who try to show their knowledge and capabilities" over them and to exert their will power and personality. They may disobey their parents and refuse to co-operate with them towards the smooth running of the household.

Adolescence is known as *liŋliŋpi*, meaning the time for "coming out of the bud" and "coming to be of age". If an adolescent for instance refuses to carry out his mother's instructions, the mother often says:

"Ā, xe i'is de, de mexa wōa?", meaning "Well, no wonder that you have reached maturity, I shouldn't blame you". An adolescent boy is called 'dekatpui' and a girl, 'dehigbui'.

A young man or woman is supposed to be an adult when he or she has passed the adolescence stage, roughly about the age of twenty-two to twenty-five, especially when he or she gets married immediately after that stage. However, when a man or a woman remains single after that stage, though he or she may be regarded as an adult yet he or she will command less public recognition and respect than a contemporary who is married. This again shows the importance attached to marriage and procreation.

Many adults look back on their adolescence days with pride — the days time when they "enjoyed life" and tried to live an independent life. They wish they were made adolescents again!

Conclusion.

All the information gathered during the course of the investigations has been faithfully recorded, without comment or prejudice.

In conclusion, I should like to refer to what I have said in the prefatory note to the essay that the growing influence of western culture has done much to improve the standard of child care in the community. One of the most obvious results is the fact that infantile mortality which is due, perhaps, mainly to poor child care is steadily on the decrease. Similarly, communicable diseases, especially yaws, are disappearing fast.

The people are, however, still faced with two problems. The first is that of the strong belief in superstition, the influence of ancestral spirits, witchcraft, magic, juju, fetish and the like. Not until the people's lives have ceased to be pervaded by these beliefs that a complete change over could be anticipated.

The second problem is that of malnutrition with its concomitant deficiency diseases. The diet of the average person is largely carbohydrate in its content, the meat content being almost negligible except on "big days" when much meat may be eaten. The problem is mainly economic and educational and very little can be done to raise the quality of the people's diet when the average man remains both ignorant and poor. The average husband may allow up to 4/- a week for fish or meat for his fairly large family and one or two

house boys or girls.

During the Easter holidays an Officer of the Government's "Grow More Food" Campaign came to Kwawu, my native Village, where the bulk of this study was made, to give a talk to the Villagers on the need for their production of more food of the right, or balanced type for feeding, especially, their children. After his talk I had the opportunity of adding one or two important points he had not touched upon, and of reminding them that the most vital factors in nutrition — proteins and vitamins — are available in Goriebe, if only most of them knew their importance and try to afford them!

Appendix I.Children's Stories and Factual Reports.1. Children's favourite stories.

Teller : Govina Koku

class : V

Age : 11

" One day the king of the animals, the lion, called all his subjects together and told them he would reward the one whose child was the most beautiful. Many animals — the horse, the antelope, the hyaena, the goat, etc. — brought their children for the show. The monkey also brought his, but he was mocked by the others who asked him whether he thought a child with a "deep face" like his could ever win a prize for beauty.

The animals presented their children one by one. It came to the monkey's turn. Surprisingly enough his child was selected as the most beautiful. (The lion had overheard the animals laughing at the monkey). The monkey, who was beside himself with joy, turned to the other animals who had been jeering at him and asked them (in Twi): woahu? ("have you seen?") And so from that day any time that the lion has summoned his subjects to a meeting the monkey's voice is first heard: "woahu?"

Teller : Awume Donkor Kwasi

class : I

Age : 7

" Once there were the Camel, the Cock, the Dog and the Cat. The camel belonged to a Hausaman who became fed up with the camel and threatened to kill him. The camel overheard his master's threat and fled. He came upon a dog who told him he was also

running away because his master had wanted to kill him as he was no longer of any service to him. They travelled together and came upon a cat and then a dog, each of whom had a similar story to tell.

When night fell the cock slept in a near-by tree whilst his companions kept making noise. They saw a fire far off and when they got to it they saw some children who were about to partake of a dainty dish they had prepared. The animals mounted one on the other and then gave a terrifying cry. The frightened children ran away and the crafty animals went in and ate up the food.

The cock slept on the roof of the house, the dog at the entrance to the room and the cat in the ash in the hearth. The children returned stealthily. One of them saw the cat's eye shining in the darkness and mistook it for a spark of fire. He tried to light a brand from it. The cat scratched his hand with his claws, the dog barked and bit him and all the children ran away.

Appendix II.Children's Stories about good and bad children.

(a) 1. A story about a bad girl. Told by a boy aged 11 years.

"There was once a bad girl who used to abuse people. One day she abused a boy, saying that his mouth was like a pig's mouth. Her own mouth immediately became like a pig's mouth". (When asked whether the story was true, he smiled and said "No").

2. A story about a bad boy. Told by Siegfried Data of P3, aged 10 years.

"Addo Yao is a bad boy. He tries to wound people with a cutlass. He throws stones at people and threatens people with his knife. He abuses people. If he beats somebody's child and the child's mother comes to ask why, he abuses her too. He abused the teacher one day when the teacher beat him. He beats small children (dexi sue wo)."

3. A story about a bad girl - Told by a girl.

"Cecilia Akosue is a bad girl. She abuses her parents. She does not obey people (mebue ame o). She steals things. She is not serviceable (metsoa do o)."

(b) 1. A story about a good boy, told by a boy aged 11 years.

"One day a school boy was beaten with a stick by another boy. The boy cried and reported the boy to the teacher. And the teacher gave him a stick to beat the boy who had beaten him but he refused."

2. A story about a good boy, told by a boy aged

10:

"Once there was a good boy called Kofi. He liked going on errands. (Eɛ̃a dɔgbɛdɛdɛ). One day when he was going on an errand he found money on the way".

3. A story about a good girl, told by a girl.

"Akɔsɛakuma is a good girl. She does not abuse people. She fetches water from the stream every day. She pounds rice and she sweeps the house. She is always laughing".

Appendix III.
Children's Wishes.

Name of Pupil: Akuanwa Sam.

class : III

Age : 10

"If I were granted one wish I would wish for money so that I could buy food and a lorry, and I could build a storey house. I should also attend a high school!"

Name: Osei Nelson

class : II

Age : 8

"If I were granted one wish I would wish for wisdom so that I could attend a high school and become learned. I should become a teacher and help others 'to know book'. I should also build a big house and buy a lorry and nice dresses!"

Name: Dzagbenu David

Class : IV

Age : 10

"I should wish for wisdom. If you have wisdom you can do anything you like. Even if you have no money you will know what to do to get money!"

Appendix IV
Self descriptions by children.

Name : Dake Simon

Class : III.

Age : 12

"I am not very tall. I am 4ft. 2 in. tall. I am twelve years old. I am always clean and neat. I am good at wrestling and fighting. I can run very fast. I respect people. Even if somebody older than I annoys me I fight him."

Name : Kaku Stephen

Class : VI

Age : 11+

"I am 4 feet 3 inches tall. I am eleven years old. I am black. My hair is dark. I am neatly dressed. I like playing football. I am neat. I cut my finger nails and chew a stick, but I do not do so every day. I cannot run well. I am more like my father, in appearance, than my mother. I can speak Ewe, Avatime and little English. I am serviceable in the house. I like singing treble."

Name : Mensah Gladys

Class : I

Age : 8

"My name is Gladys Mansah. I am a girl. I am beautiful. I am in class I. My brother is Kofi. He is not obedient. I love Mother. I have shoes. I can run. Father is old. I like the school. I can sing well. That is all."

Appendix V.Children's Life Stories.

Name : Dzansi Stephen

class : P6.

Age : 12

"I was born at Amedzofe in 1943. When I was a small boy Mizpah and my aunt Grace used to play with me. They gave me milk and pap (akatsa).

My father took me from my mother to Kpedze and I started schooling there. When I finished in Class Three my father was transferred to Amedzofe and I attended class Four there. I was the second in the final Examination. We were 43 in the class. I attended class Five at Keta. My favourite school subject is reading.

I passed class I but I was not promoted to class II because they said I was not old. I did not like this at all.

I liked the school feasts at the end of the year. I liked Children's Day celebrations also. I liked the sea and the lagoon at Keta. When I was in class Three Kofi Cephas and I fought and I beat him."

Name : Dake Wilson

class : I

Age : 7

"I was born at Wodze. I did not like to go to school but was coaxed by my mother to go. I shall become a driver when I am old. My name is Kofi."



A fight, with people looking on.

Name : Tsone Arnold

class : 3

Age : 11



A dream.

Name: Kpaka Oscar

Class: 3

Age: 10

Kapu

Kapu

Francisca
Atitiegga

Kokole azidom

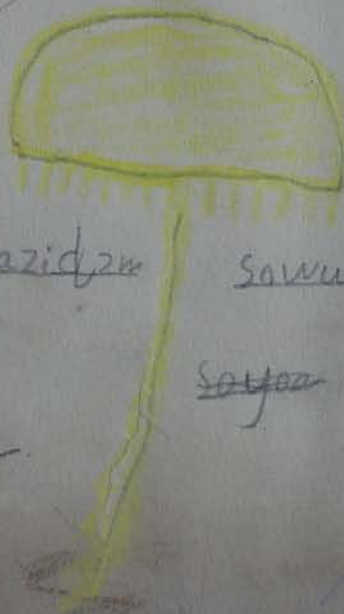
Sawua

Soyoa

dzifoxx

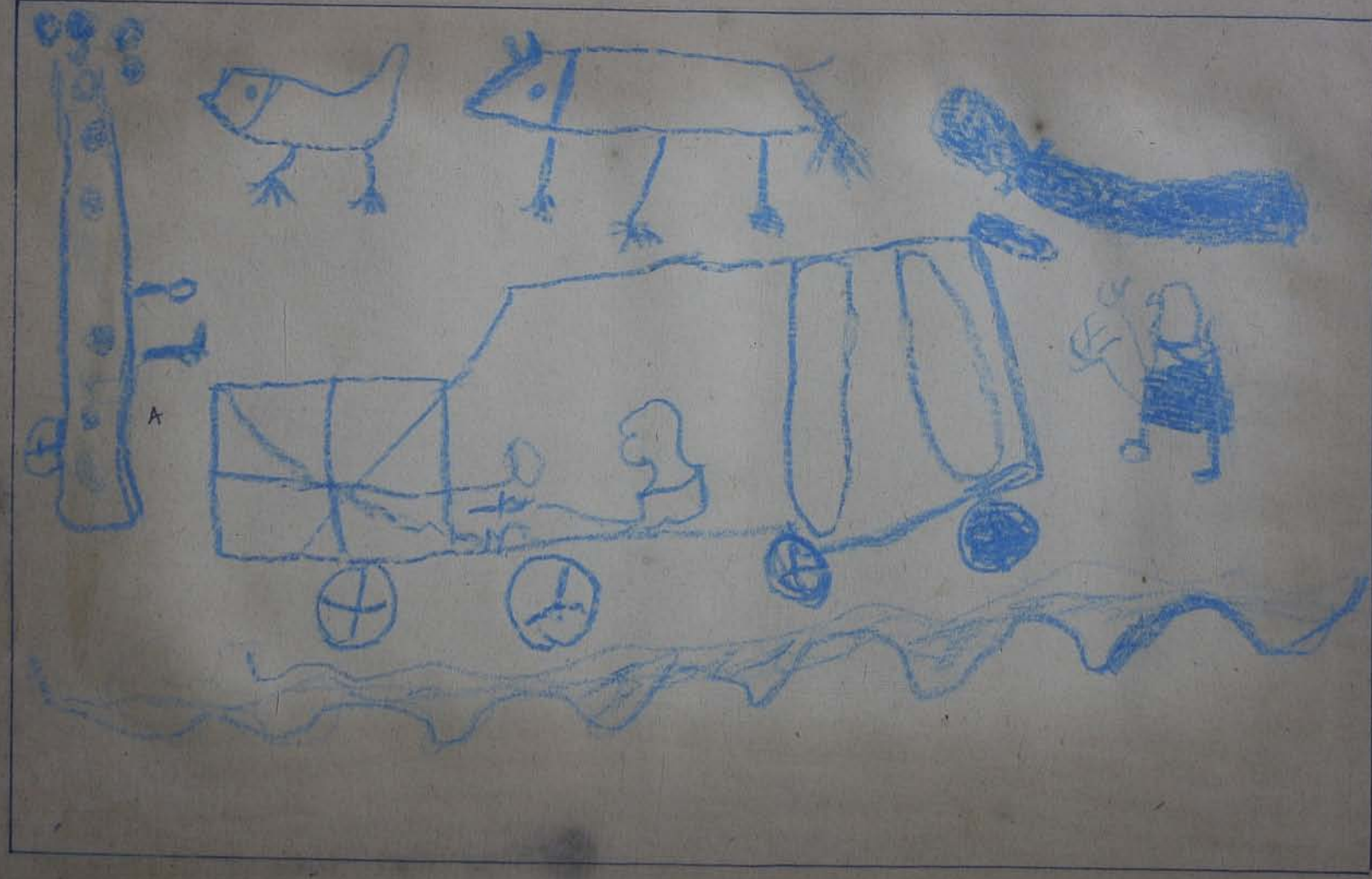


dzo



Arnele Kokogbena

Free drawing
Francisca (A girl)
29.



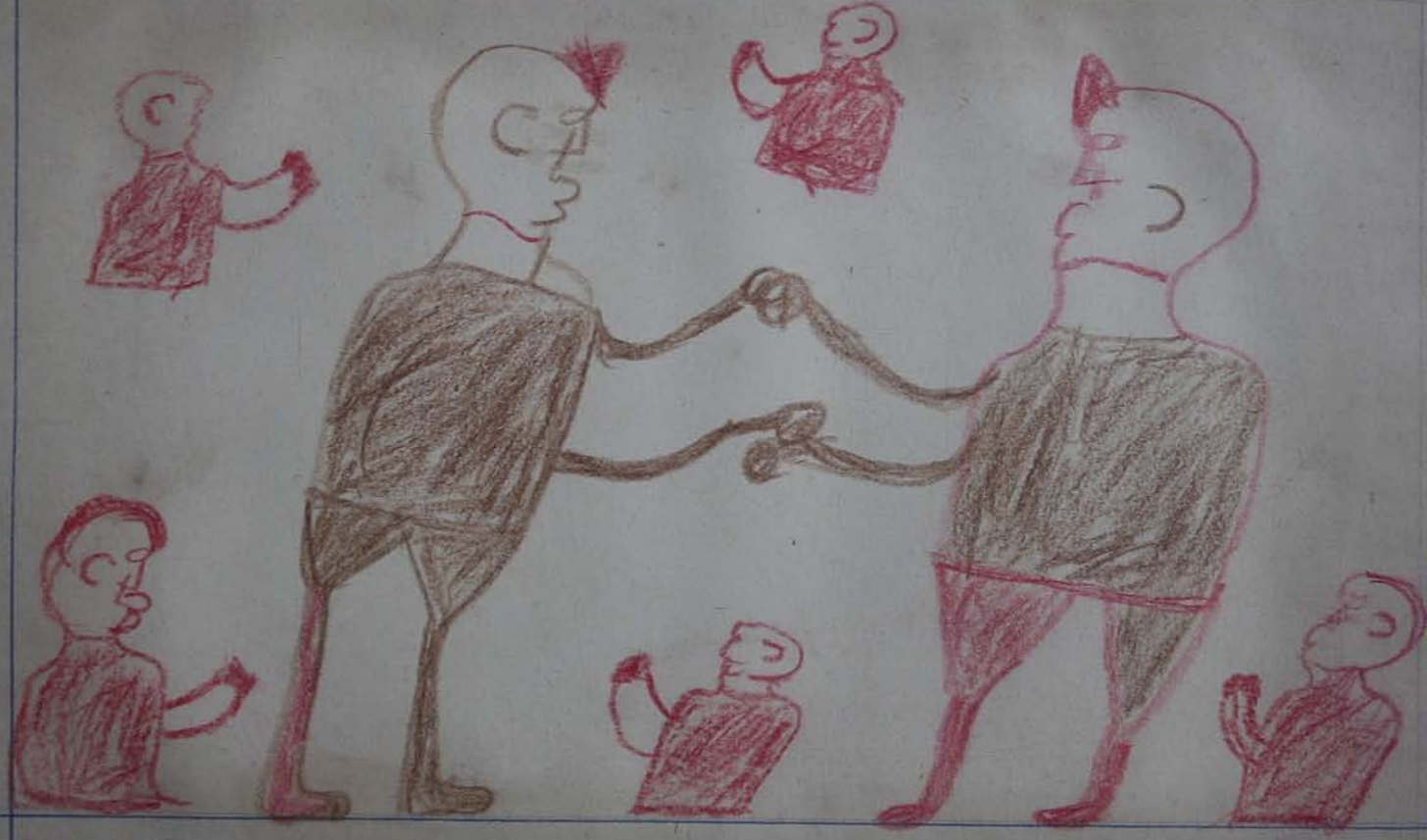
The unpleasant thing

A lorry about to run over an animal 'A'.

Name: Mutasen

Class: 2

Age: 8.

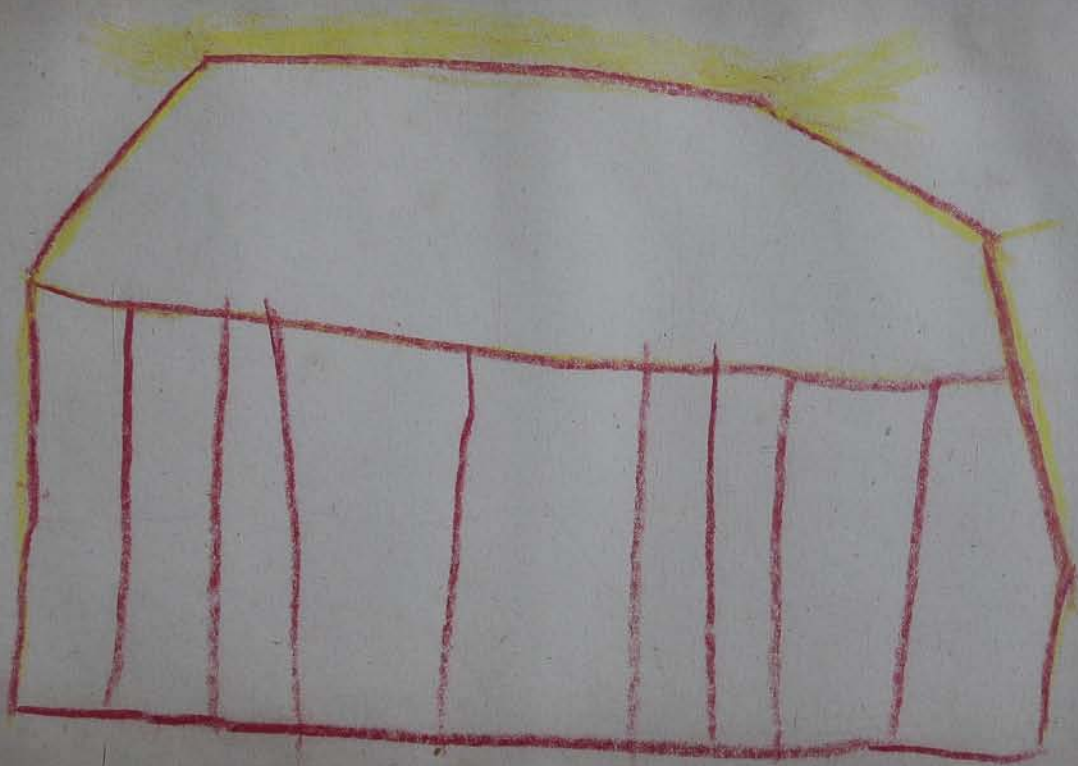


A fight, with people looking on.

Name: Adzedzeli Zakaria

Class : 2

Age : 10.



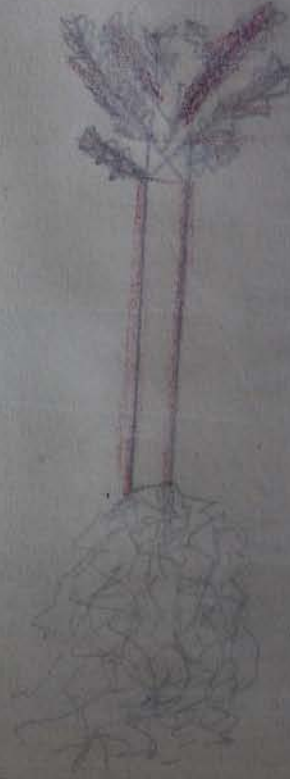
Free drawing on a blank page -- A house.

Name: Agetseuu

(A girl)

Class : 1

Age : 7



Free drawing on a blank page



"The inside of my house".

A = trees. B = my house. C = a dove on the house top
 D = a bucket E = A hen and her eggs F = a flag.

Name: Nkani Grace.

class : 2

Age : 9



A dream.

A = A hen.
flowers.

B = a child.

C = a goat.

D. A cup of

E = a table.

F = a hen feeding

G = the hen's egg.

Name : Atitso Mary

class : 3

Age : 10.



"The inside of my house!!"

A = a table B = A clock C = A boy doll.
 D = a tree E = A food F = a child

Name : Adzikurni Jokebet (A girl)

class : 2

Age : 9



"The unpleasantest thing I can think of."

A = A bird without eyes - B = heels with arms and hands
C = A fairy (adzerkpuile).

Name : Akalikpo Grace
class : 3
Age : 10



A



D



E



C



B

Free drawing ("My house").

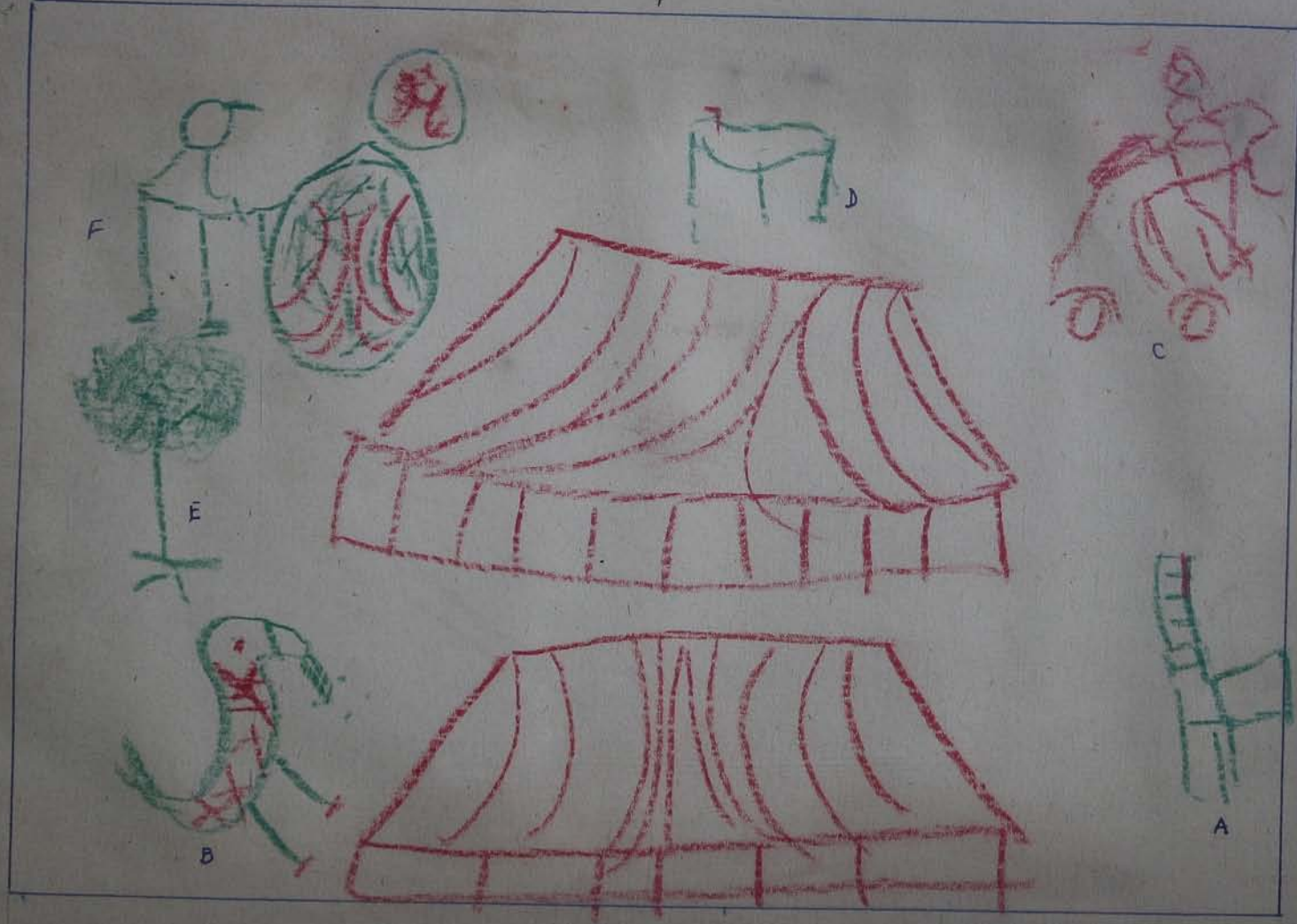
A = a man. B = a woman. C = a goat. D = a pot.

E = a child

Name: Kwami Grace

Class: 3

Age: 10.



"The inside of my house".

A = A chair. B = A fowl. C = A motor car.

D = cloth drying on three posts. E = A tree. F = a man.

Name: Date Siegfried

class: 3

Age: 11



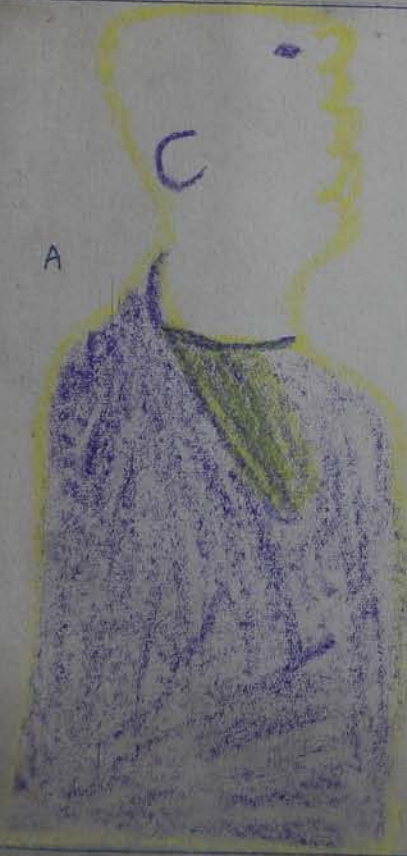
"Something I am afraid of!"

A = Snake ; B = Dwarfs (Adekpuewo).

Name: Akoto Cecilia

Class : 2

Age : 8



A man and a woman

(A = a man; B = woman, with ear-ring and headscarf)

Name : Kofi Paul

class : 2

Age : 10



Free drawing in a given rectangle

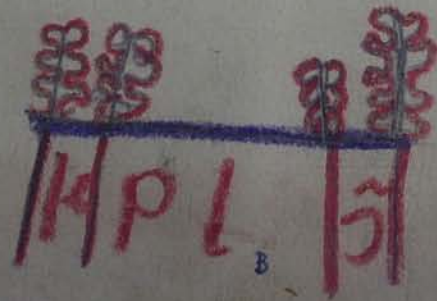
The sunflower.

Name: Adzudzshë Beatrice

Class: 3

Age: 10.

nye torinka?

KPL²nyeafeme^c

The inside of my house.

A = "my touring car". B = my table. C = my house.

Name: Kwasi Ophar

Class: 2

Age: 11



Avovlo (*Alchornea Cordifolia*)



Yra



Notsigbe (*Euphorbia hirta* spp.)

Nyimo (*Nauclea esculentus* — formerly *Sarcoccephalus esculentus*)



Akuko (*Spondias monbin*)



Kakle (*Mormordica charantia*)



Dzeveti (*Ocimum Canum*)



Nyakle (*Anona sp.*)



Li

Hiese (*Fluggea virosa*)



Mima (*Ageratum conyzoides*)



Miti