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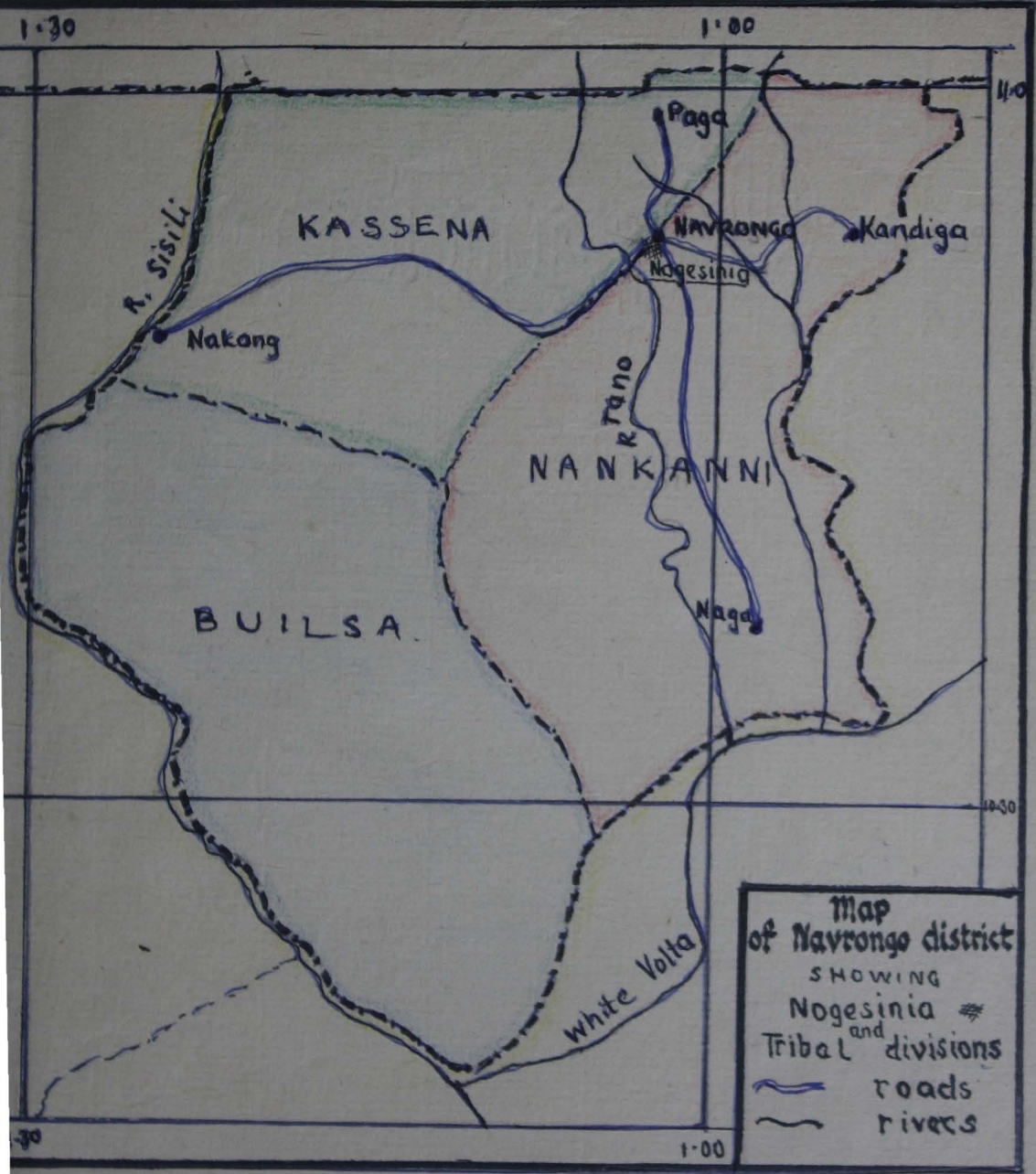
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The face of the land.

Situated in the far North close to the French Sudan, lies the Navrongo district. It is inhabited by the Kassena Nankanni peoples with a small element of alien traders such as the Hausas and the Yorubas.





A brief traditional history.

The history of these people, like the histories of most tribes of the Northern Territories, has not yet been recorded and what little is known about them, exists as remembered history - stories passed on from father to son.

Remembered history is vivid and flourishing among a primitive people but among civilised people, it tends to become extinct. It is however not too late to study the history of these people for there are still alive, a few of the old generation who can yet remember events of their days and also of the stories told them by their fathers and grandfathers. The following is therefore an effort to record briefly the traditional history of these, gathered from family stories:

Babatu is customarily known as the father and founder of Naurongo because it was he who first settled there. Comparatively, very little is known about Babatu and where he came from. But he is generally referred to as Kambog'gona literally meaning a lame Kamboga or an Ashanti man. Why Babatu ever came North is a mystery, but the possible explanation is that he was one of the Southern invaders who constantly raided the North for slaves. This man was then left behind because of a swollen leg, probably a guinea worm caught through drinking bad water. It was imagined that Kamboga was travelling through a jungle with his wife as a companion. In the course of time, his leg became so bad that he had to spend some days lying under a tree.

One day when he was thirsty, he sent his wife to go and bring him some water. The wife went in search of water, carrying her pot, but finding none and while returning, she came upon a crocodile. So the wife ran and told her husband of what she had seen.

Traditional history continued.

But the husband told her to go back and follow the crocodile for it ~~will~~ would take her to where there is water. She went back and following the crocodile, she found a pond. When the wife returned her husband told her that while she was away, a squirrel jumped down from a branch of the tree on to his bad leg and his swollen leg was cut open letting out a lot of pus. After a few days, he was able to walk and continued his journey ~~now~~ northwards, until he came to Zikku. At Zikku he built a house and lived among the Nankanni people. After many years his family increased and of this family, there were three brothers - Batu, Sone and Siktum.

Batu was the eldest of the three brothers and later became a good hunter. One day, he shot and wounded a bush cow which he followed for miles till he came upon a number of people farming. At the same time, rain was coming and he wondered where to take shelter. And when he saw that the farmers were still farming he asked himself, "Do they want to be beaten by the rain?" But when it began to rain, he saw the farmers run into holes so he followed them into one of the ~~the~~ holes. He was well received by the hole dwellers and having stayed with them for two days, departed on the third for Zikku. When he arrived at home, he found that his favourite dog had been killed and eaten by his brothers. He became very angry with them and quarreled with them. And when he found that his stay with them meant trouble, he went to live among the hole dwellers. Navro-Pungu, a section of Navrongo, are believed to be the descendants of the hole dwellers. Batu stayed here for some time and taught the people to build houses. After that he went a few miles westwards and came to a rich soft land.

When he walked on the soft ground, his feet resounded voro, voro, voro. Batu decided to settle here and named the place Navoro or Navrongo, a name derived from the sound of his footsteps on the soft ground. Soon he had many children and eventually a tribe was found which spoke the language of the Zikku people. Such is the traditional history of Navrongo.

Attitude towards having children:

The advantages for having children according to most parents are many and varied. The following opinions are recorded verbatim: If you have children, they will help you in your old age. If you have children, nobody will trouble you because your children will always come to your aid. If you have children, they will succeed you after your death, to perform the sacrifice of the house. If you have children you are respected by the rest of the community. Your name is remembered when you are dead because of your children. Your children will give you a good burial when you are dead. We amuse ourselves with our children and they keep good company. When you are dead, your children can keep the family from breaking away, by marrying your wives, except their own individual mothers. If you have children, they will help you to produce more food. If you have children they will call you father.

On the other hand, the disadvantages of having children are to be comparatively few as the following remarks indicate: One parent told me that his children often invited troubles for him from outside. He continued by saying that in their play with companions, they quarrelled. Some foolish parents helped their children to beat the others instead of separating them. This would eventually lead to big family quarrels if both parents are not reasonable. The ultimate end may be poor relations between neighbours because of children's quarrels. But he said that children are wiser than men and they make up after a short time. He related the following story to explain what he meant by saying that children are wiser than men: "My son had a quarrel with his friend while they were playing in front of the friend's house. The other boy's mother came out and supported his child to beat my son. My wife too hearing of this also came out in anger and the two mothers began to fight. But what should happen! The two children who quarrelled in the morning met again in the evening

and started to play. And when their parents saw them together at play, they became ashamed of themselves."

Another parent told me that he had two sons. These children grew up and did not want to work on his farm for him. He tried to make them work and as a result they ran away to Kumasi. He finally said to me, "Now I am an old man and my wife is dead. I am living in this house alone doing everything for myself. I have barely enough food to last me until the following sowing season. What is the use of having children?" he asked.

In Nogesinia a man is permitted to marry as many wives as he can provided he has enough food to feed them. An old man named Kaba, told me that the object of taking more than one wife is as much as an economic one as a social one. He explained himself thus, "Large families make up large households and it is a pride to say that you come from a large house. It adds to your dignity and social status. People who come from small houses are looked down upon." He concluded by saying, "When I marry several wives they bear many children. If a man should have twenty to thirty children, he is considered fortunate indeed."

Childlessness is a painful experience both for a man and his wife. A barren woman is never happy. But nevertheless, she is not despised by her husband. It is often said that they had married such wives unknowingly and once they have come to stay with them their husbands they cannot be divorced because they do not bring forth. They are however given less attention especially if the husband has other wives who are fruitful. The barren woman is kept in the house to help in the work of the household. When the other women pick a quarrel with her, they abuse

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her by calling her "kadega" meaning her womb has dried up and is without seed. Such remarks make her unhappy in the house. Here is a little story told me by one man which illustrates the great desire for children. He said, "I married two wives and for a very long time, we had no issue. We blamed one another because we did not know where the fault came from. At last I married my third wife and before long, she took seed and had a baby." It is a common thing for a man and his wife to do all in their power to have children. When a man marries a woman and for a very long time she does not conceive, both become worried. They usually become unhappy mates and quarrel over little things in the house. For instance, a man one day told his wife to prepare just the right quantity of food that they could eat at one meal; after he had observed that their food supply was being wasted by the wife. His wife did not welcome this suggestion at all as reasonable. She took it to be a criticism in her domestic economy, so she became very angry with the husband and in her anger, she ^{said} many unpleasant words to him: "I know that I am only in your house to waste your property. Apart from that I have no other virtue. You are right to judge me in that way and it is because I have no child." This led the two of them to talk to each other angrily. In reality, there was nothing wrong with the advice given by the husband. But the wife was offended just because she has no child.

In all matters the sorcerer (voro) is consulted. These sorcerers (vora) play important part in the life of the people. Practically nothing is done without

consulting them first. They also explain the reason for misfortunes. In short, the whole structure of society is in their hands. To find out the cause of delay, the husband goes to a sorcerer (voro). Sometimes the blame is put on either the mother, the grandmother or an ancestor who is angry because no sacrifice had been made to them and so they prevent her pregnancy. Sometimes too, the sorcerer (voro) says that it is due to the god of the house or some other spirit which is haunting her. In the end the sorcerer will tell the husband to go home and appease the god or the spirit by offering a goat or a fowl as a sacrifice.

If it is the god of the house that is angry, a cock is taken for sacrifice to cool the anger of the god. A water pot is set up containing some small pieces of roots freshly cut. The pot is then placed on a little mound built in honour of the ancestor, and the cock is killed on the usual stone placed on the mound. Some drops of the fowl's blood are poured on the water pot, and feathers are plucked and stuck on the blood. In doing this they usually say, "I give you this cock to beg you to forgive my wrongs so that next year by this time, my wife shall have a baby to sit on her legs." The wife meanwhile has made food. The liver, the heart and lungs of the fowl are roasted and placed them with a small part of the food on the water pot and they say again, "See, I give you food to eat. I beg you to keep evil from my wife and give her a child."

I knew a woman who married and for over

ten years, she had no child. At last her husband took her to consult the medicine man for there are men who profess to have medicine to bring about pregnancy. The most famous of these men lives at Tongo, a village near Zuarungu. Women from far and near go to him when they are barren. So the man and his wife set out, taking with them, two fowls and a sheep to perform the necessary custom. Having reached Tongo, they went to the medicine man who took them up the hills where the fetish is kept. Before offering the fowls and the sheep to the fetish, he asked the woman to say what she wanted in life. Kabu said that she only wanted a baby of her own. Then the medicine man next asked her, "Are you pure in heart? Have you no worries and troubles? Tell me if there is anything troubling you." Kabu sat quietly for sometime as if searching in her mind for her troubles. Then she recollected herself and began to narrate her worries one by one: "I once quarrelled with my mother when I was a young unmarried girl. Later, I begged for her forgiveness. She told me that she had forgiven me my wrongs but I am not sure whether she meant it or not? At another time I offended my father who cursed me. He said that if I did not take care, I would not be happy in life. But the old men of the house asked him to remove the curse which he did, before I was married to my husband." Having finished her story, the fetish man killed the fowls and the sheep as a sacrifice to the fetish. After that the charm was given to Kabu. It consisted of the mixture of roots and earth from the hills and she was told to use them

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in making food. When they returned home, it took effect and she soon had a baby. The baby was named Tongo after the fetish. In fact all children who are brought forth with the aid of this fetish are called Tongo to differentiate them from other children who are born naturally.

There is also a sacred river at Kayoro, a village twenty-six miles North-west of Naurongo. To this river many barren women go and beg it to give them children, and promise to reward the river by giving it a goat or a cow afterwards. Their wishes are usually granted and when they return home, they bear children.

Family limitation is thought both wicked and cruel.

Rather people wish for more and more children to be born to increase the family and the population at large. I was told that it is only when a woman brings forth tjitjiru (that is a child who is believed to be a devil) in which instance that child is killed. This child can be known for he always weeps or that he refuses to feed from his mother's breast or that he is born with teeth or that he climbs on roofs of huts and over difficult places.

The parents of such children go to the devil-killer once it is known that their child is a devil. The devil-killer returns with the parent to the house where the child is. There he receives a red cock and a goat. He gives in return the devil-killing medicine to the child and ties round his neck, a ram's horn filled with a powder of earth sheabutter and ashes. The child soon after dies, and the devil-killer is called back to bury the dead. He places the corpse in a large water pot and the father carries it into the bush and buries the pot and its contents in an ant hill.

It is not uncommon for men to marry women who are already pregnant. But if a child is delivered he or she is not looked upon as a true member of the household. An inferior place is always given ^{to} him or her during ceremonials or important house meetings. From the very beginning, therefore, illegitimate children are made to understand their position in the house. There are several ways of doing this. Firstly, they are not respected and are not consulted on an important family matters. Secondly, they are excluded from taking part in performing any ceremonial rites of the house to which they may belong.

There is a great contrast between an orphan and the rest of the children in a house. A stranger coming into the house will at once notice the difference. The orphan is always dirty whereas the other children are clean and cared for. The other children crop their heads but his is overgrown with hair which is unkempt. The other children are looking fat and happy but the orphan is thin and unhappy. To increase his misery, the orphan is also given most of the difficult tasks to do in the house. I was told that when education was first introduced into the Northern Territories, and the white man asked the people to bring their children to school, orphans were taken there; for the people thought that a school was a place where children were ill-treated and given hard manual labour to do as a punishment. So they would rather send the orphans than take their own sons there to go and endure all these hardships. They discovered only quite recently that after all, education is a blessing rather ^{than} a curse.

From my own observations, mothers feed their own children secretly in their rooms during the day. The orphan is only given the heavy meal which is taken at night.

I once visited the house of a young friend of mine aged ten. As we were talking in front of his father's house, another boy aged about twelve years old passed us by. My friend whispered in my ear and said, "O yi polo mo" meaning that boy is an adopted child. I asked my friend where that boy came from and who were his adopted parents. My friend told me that a man named Abuga and his wife have no children. One day the wife went to the market early in the morning and saw the child asleep in one of the market stalls. So she brought him home and now he is their adopted child. Many people are unwilling to look after or take care of children other than their own because they realised that adopted children grow up to be ungrateful to their adopted parents. Instead of staying with them to work for them, they bolt to the big towns to seek paid jobs and thereafter refuse to recognise the people who were once their benefactors.

Not long ago, an adopted child on reaching adulthood, ran away from his adopted parents to Kumasi. The young boy was well known to me. During my investigations, I went to his house and asked of him. His adopted father replied by saying, "Your friend has run away and left us. Again I asked the old man, "Why did he go away from you?" He answered: "O ve su o lage wono". He went to seek for wealth. It is doubtful whether he will come back to us or not," he added.

Pre-natal period:

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At first when a woman knows that she is pregnant, she is quite happy about it. Because she says that soon she will produce her kind. But when the pregnancy is about six months advanced some women change in their normal behaviour and become easily irritated. They cannot control their temper and the least thing makes them angry. They quarrel with their husbands as well as with the other members of the house without due cause. Some of them become worried because they are afraid whether they will deliver successfully or not when the time comes. All this makes them upset emotionally.

During pregnancy a woman must not eat cold food, fresh meat, groundnuts, drink milk or eat any food that is nutritious. It is believed that if she eats nutritious foods the child will grow too big and delivery will be difficult. Honey especially is considered a most unhealthy food for a pregnant woman to eat. The men say, "Honey sucks the foetus." So the pregnant woman must pick and choose the food that she eats. The following special diet is recommended for her: She eats food made from guinea corn; her soup is made with dry meat or fish; potash is always added to the soup to make the baby neither too fat nor too small and so make delivery easy. During pregnancy ^{she} is also not allowed to sleep on her back. She must always sleep on either her right or the left side. She must not turn over on the mat because that would cause the navel string of the child to coil around the neck of the infant. So that when she wishes to change from one side to the other during her sleep, she must get up.

Sexual intercourse is not forbidden for the first

six months. After this period a pregnant woman is considered to be filthy and smelly, hence she ceases to share the same bed with her husband. During pregnancy, a woman takes enough exercises such as pounding millet, fetching water from the water hole and making food. The old women constantly remind her not to sleep by day because it is not good for pregnant women. They say that if she sleeps during the day, she will become weak and lazy. I was told that hard work is bad for a pregnant woman to indulge in. Dancing and running are forbidden because they can let the mother miscarry.

During the pregnancy of his wife, a man must not do any work which is unclean. For instance, he must not help to bury the dead. The smell of the dead which may hang around him, would cause miscarriage of his wife.

When a woman is pregnant, the husband goes to consult a soothsayer about her safety and that of the unborn child. The husband will also find out what persons will be taboo to the wife. Once these persons are known, the pregnant woman is not allowed to see them under pain of miscarriage. These persons are generally her own mother and sister or some other familiar person from her father's house.

I was told that the following rules are observed by pregnant women to safeguard the health of the unborn infant: The mother should not eat sweets as these will give her stomach troubles. She must not eat fresh meat because the baby will become too fat. She must not go near a dead person nor must she attend funerals.

Birth: A woman is a mid wife. As soon as a mother

shows signs labour, the husband seeks the aid of two or more old women to attend her. The presence of men during normal delivery is not required except when it proves to be of a difficult nature. The husband meanwhile goes to a sorcerer to find out what should be done to prompt quick delivery. But when the mother finds it very difficult to deliver, the old women who are attending her, will ask her to confess. The confession is done by naming the men other than her husband who might have had intercourse with her secretly while she was pregnant. This is of course very rare but it does happen at times. After the confession if she still cannot deliver then men who are specialists in drawing out the child from the mother's womb are called in to do so.

Feeding: after delivery the mother is given warm pepper and flour to drink, and her body and the body of the infant are washed with warm water. For about one week the mother eats only food prepared out of guinea corn. The child is bathed twice a day and his body is anointed with sheabutter oil. The first and second day the infant sucks another woman's milk until it is known that the mother's milk is good. This is learnt by putting in it a small black ant, and if it dies the milk is not good. If the milk is bad, the woman herself makes a concoction from a tree (Gulisaa) and drinks it. The bark of the tree is beaten with a wooden mallet and stripped. The mother collects enough of the bark home and boils it in a large pot. The concoction is left to cool before she drinks it. The child is given much water every day in the first three or four days after the delivery, water in which guinea corn has been boiled. Later a kind of grass named *tjellatfega* is boiled and he drinks till the ceremony



The child is suckling the mother's breast.
It gives the mother pleasure to satisfy the
child's need for food.

called seem is performed. The child is then given a name by the head of the compound, the grandmother and the father. The names are given according to circumstances of native life or events occurring at the time of the birth. The most common names are Adax for ^a man and Kada for a woman.

The ceremony of seem takes place when the child is about two years old. The parents and the members of the house meet and the child is given to an ancestor to take care of him so that no harm will come to him.

When a child cries, the mother knows that he wants something. A certain woman left her baby alone in a room, while she was cooking. Suddenly, the child cried and continued to cry without stopping. The mother left her cooking and went to see what is troubling the baby. She took the baby and gave him milk to suck but he refused. Then the mother asked the infant, "BE nam mo dzegem?" And what is the matter? Later, the mother discovered that it ^{was} an ant which bit the child.

Sometimes babies refuse to suckle or eat food. The ^{mother} will try to get the child to suckle by putting her breast into the child's mouth. If the child does not suckle, the mother will call in her husband and will quickly suggest to him that the child is perhaps ill. The husband will take the child to feel his body and see whether it has a temperature. If the body of the child is warm, the husband goes to seek the advice of a native doctor who is usually an old experienced woman. The old woman returns with the father of the child to their house to examine him. On arrival to the house the old woman will ask the mother, "O zige ne na?" Has he free bowels?

If the mother says yes, the old woman will again ask, "O ben fim lamna na?" Are his faeces good? From such questions, the old woman is able to diagnose the particular illness of the child. Then the old woman will prescribe a drug for the child or she may recommend that the mother should change the child's drinking water by putting in new grass to replace the old. This method has sometimes proved effective and the child becomes well after a few days treatment. The old woman does not charge any consultation fees but she is given tobacco for her trouble.

A mother loves her child more than silver and gold. Her only anxiety is to see that her child is well fed and happy. If her child refuses to eat, the mother becomes depressed and unhappy.

From birth until two years old, the child is fed from the mother's breast. But at eighteen months old, he is gradually being put on light food such as porridge and soup and occasionally he may be given a little solid food to eat. A woman who has too little milk is not regarded as a good wife for a man to marry. A certain man at Nogesinia told me that his wife has too little milk. He said he tried to treat her but he did not succeed, and as a result, each time his wife brought forth the child died. I told the man to try and look for a better medicine to treat his wife but he told me that he did his best only he did not come across the right man with the right medicine. Finally, the man told me that he has decided to give ^{his} wife some medicine to drink and stop giving birth to children any more. Upon this I told him of a woman who had a similar trouble in our house but was treated and now she has two children alive. The man agreed with me but then said that his wife's case

was a special one. To make me believe him, he told me that he consulted several sorcerers about his wife's case and each of the sorcerers told him that his wife will always bring forth but the children will die. Furthermore, he told me that one of the sorcerers said it was his wife who asked God to make her like that when she was coming into the world.

When a mother brings forth, she stays with her husband in the same house. But she must not have intercourse with her husband until after two years because it is believed that if the wife is pregnant before the child is able to eat food, he will die. The child is weaned gradually after eighteen months. As soon as the child is two years old, the mother stops him from suckling her breast; because as I have mentioned earlier that is the time for her to mate with her husband again. If the child persists to feed from the mother's breasts after two years, the mother uses the bark a tree (pinu) to veneer her breasts and this makes the milk distasteful to the child. In this way mothers are able to stop their children from suckling after their second year of birth.

During my investigations I saw a child who was weaned at one year old. He was lean and sickly. He soiled his mother's body too frequently. Seeing this, I asked the mother what was wrong with the child. And she told me that he was having diarrhoea. I became curious and wanted to know why the child had diarrhoea. So I asked the mother again whether the child could eat food. The mother replied, "Yes, my child has been eating food for quite a long time now." Then I said, "But this is not the usual practice in Nogosinia."

Then she replied, "Can't you see that I am in the family way?" If the child is not weaned earlier he will die".

Early weaning is therefore not a common practice among the mothers at Nogesinia. For it is believed that if a child is weaned too early he will become a victim to several ailments such as diarrhoea, common colds and coughs and general debility. The worst of all is the thought that the child will grow up to be a weakling in the future.

One day, I went to visit my uncle at his house at Nogesinia. When I reached the house, I saw my uncle sitting under a tree, taking a rest after the day's work. He looked tired but when he saw me, he brightened up. I went to sit by him and we soon fell into a lively conversation. As we were talking, one of his sons came out of the house to join us. Then I asked my uncle, "Is it not yet time for my cousin to start schooling? By the way, how old is he this year?" My uncle could not tell my cousin's age off hand. He started to reckon the boy's age in the following manner, "He was born when I first made my new farm at Saboro. I farmed there for five years, then I abandoned that one and made another new farm at Pungu. The new farm at Pungu is now two years old, so your cousin is about seven years old now."

The child begins to have his lower incisors at six or nine months. It is an unpleasant period in the developmental life of the child. He becomes ill too frequently and does not suckle the mother's breast at times. He keeps his mouth shut and becomes listless and unhappy. But as soon as the teeth appear, he becomes well and happy once more.

It is during the period of teething that the child

~~that the child~~ practises the habit of biting the mother's breast. I once saw a mother suckling her child during this period when the child was teething. All of a sudden, the mother uttered a sharp cry of pain 'wai' and then pulled her breast out of the child's mouth. Then the mother began to talk to her child as follows, "I shall beat you the next time you bite at my breast again. And she raised her hand as if to beat the child but she did not do it. This attitude of the mother amused the child and he burst into laughter.

Thumb sucking is discouraged among young children. It is believed that thumbsucking reduces the size of the fingers and they become smaller in size. Furthermore, if a child sucks his thumb, he is said to be calling the early death of one of the parents. So parents prevent their children sucking their thumbs as soon as it is noticed.

Solid food: introduce new food and different tastes and the baby accepts kinkana, masa and soup and porridge (gute) quite happily. I know of one mother who suckles a child of two years and another who gives her nine months old baby a piece of yam to suck or eat. Mothers feed their children as follows:

At six months old the mother feeds the child by dipping her finger into soup and then gives the finger to the child to suck the soup. At nine months old, the mother ^{gives} the child a bit of her own food to the child to eat. At one year old, the quantity of the child's food is gradually increased. At two years old, the mother cuts small morsels dipped in soup for the child to eat. At this stage the child is taught to learn to eat by himself. By three years the child is expected to join in eating food with the mother without being fed by her.

I had the opportunity of observing five children eating at meal time in my friend's house. Their mother cooked rice and each child was given his or her share of the food separately. When I saw that the children were eating in that way, I asked to know why that was so. She explained by saying that her children quarrel when they eat in a group. But then she went on to say that normally boys eat with their fathers and girls too eat with their mothers. She told me the reason was because women have control over the girls and men have control over the boys. In this way bad habits of eating are corrected or checked by each parent concerned, and good habits are taught. When a boy is eating with his father, he must hold the rim of the calabash containing the food with his left hand, while he eats with the right hand. Girls are also expected to do likewise when they are eating with their mothers.

Each morning, children are given groundnuts for their breakfast. They do not chew the groundnuts there and then but ~~the~~ put them into small bags and drive the cattle out to the fields where they can now chew their groundnuts. It is not the custom to feed children at regular fixed times. It is rather assumed that if a child is hungry he himself will come to ask for his food. But there is an exception to this rule for when a child is sick, his parents become anxious about feeding him regularly. They will even force him to eat between his meals, for they say that a sick child must eat often and often in order to recover quickly. They will also try to force the child to eat although he may not feel like eating. But in normal circumstances this is 'not done'.

After every meal the mother will like to know if her child has eaten to his satisfaction or not. To ascertain this fact, she looks at the child's stomach to see if it is big enough. If not, the mother concludes that the child still needs more food to eat. She asks the child, "Nwu su na? A wolem gule?" (You are still hungry because your stomach is not big enough. There is some food still left. Will you have more of it?) As can be inferred from the preceding remarks, overfeeding of children is a common practice among the mothers. Mothers also have a peculiar way of comparing their children to the children of their next door neighbour. For instance a mother will say to her child, "Your friend Awia is fatter and stronger than you because he eats a lot of food. You are thin and weak because you do not eat like him." The child hearing this said of him, will force himself to eat beyond his normal capacity.

Milk and eggs are delicacies which are usually given to children. Other favourite dishes of children are masa, and kinkana cakes or buns and groundnuts. Sweets such as sugar or sugar cane are not considered good food for children. It is believed that sugar is the cause of (Kurigmana) that is sores in the anus of little children. The old women tell us that in their youth such a disease was almost unknown, because sugar was not in common use at that time.

Children dislike the taste of bitter food or drink such as medicines. I saw a mother who was trying to give her child a dose of quinine because the child was sick. The child shut his mouth and would not drink the medicine. When the mother tried to force him to drink it, the child cried and knocked down the spoon containing the medicine. Then the mother persuaded the child in the following way before she could get him to drink the dose of quinine;

"She poured some quinine into the spoon again and held the spoon in the air above the head of the child and recited the following words, " God, put some milk into this spoon so that my child might drink." When the quinine was offered to the child, he drank it all without showing any signs of distaste.

Children are rewarded in one way or the other when they help others in their work. At the end of the work, the usual thing is to say, (Din lele) "Thanks very much for helping me with the work". At other times, the child is given some food to eat. Children will tend to offer their services to the person who will give them food rather than go to the person who will thank them for their trouble.

Naughty or bad children are punished in several ways. For instance if a child is sent to the market to buy food ingredients and he refuses to go, the mother usually does not worry about it. She keeps cool but she knows when to take vengeance. She waits until the child comes to ask for his food. I saw an instance of this where the mother showed the food to the child and said, " Here is your food but I will not give it to you. Do you remember when I sent you to the market to buy me the food ingredients you refused to go?" The food is usually kept for some time but it is later given to the child to eat.

Food is regarded as a king by all parents, and as such it is valued or honoured. From the very beginning, children are taught to eat without talking. Parents say that talking during meals is a sign of disrespect to the food which is regarded as a king. In addition to this, children are taught to observe the following rules as part of their training in table manners: Wash hands before meals. Children should not spill food on the ground when

they are eating. After eating the child should clear away the dishes.

Elimination:

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As a rule, toilet training is not taught deliberately by the parents but when children can walk and talk quite easily, they are expected to go outside the house to attend nature's call. It is not uncommon therefore to see a child of three years old walking up to the mother and says, "A laga sa ato abenu." I want to go to nature's call. Whereupon the mother will lead him by the hand outdoors to defecate. At this stage if a child fails to go out of the house to defecate, he is blamed. The mother tells him, "You are now old enough to go outdoors to defecate." Like toilet training, the child does not undergo training in order to avoid soiling or wetting his bed at nights. Most parents say that such training must be left alone until the child is sensible enough to learn to go out by himself. From my observations, the only training given by parents in this respect is the idea of waking up children at the dead of night to accompany them out to urinate. This only happens of course when parents want to go out and urinate.

Parents are very particular about their children having free bowels daily. "N zige nɛna?" ("Have you been to the lavatory?") is a question used by mothers to find out whether a child has free bowels or not. When a child is constipated, the mother knows what to do to bring relief. She buys some (Kakaduro) ginger and it is ground with pepper on a flat stone. A little water is added to make it soft and then it is made into a small ball before it is inserted into the anus of the child. I was told that this method of treating constipation is quite new to the people of Nogesia. I asked several Nogesia women that who taught them the use of kakaduro as a medicine for constipation and all of them gave me the following account: We learnt the use of this useful medicine from the Hausa and the Yoruba

women (Zangwena kaana). As they are living among us, we see them using this medicine to cure their children. We thought it would be good for our children too, so some of us befriended them and through friendship, we got to learn know the use of kakaduro."

Diarrhoea is always associated with (Kurimana) sores in the child's anus. The mother's first concern is to try and heal the sores. So she goes to the bush to strip the bark of a tree called 'pinu' and it is brought home and boiled for about one hour. The water is poured into a calabash and left to cool a bit. Next the mother applies a bit of sheabutter to soften the child's anus. The mother then washes the sores around and inside the anus with the ~~cool~~ warm water. This treatment is repeated several times until the child becomes well again.

If a person breaks the wind during meals he is considered to have been satisfied. I remember as a child, I broke the wind when I was eating with my father. He looked at me and said, "Nni su se n zaŋ" meaning if you have eaten enough you had better get up and go away. But I told him that I was not quite satisfied yet.

On a certain morning in December of last year, my sister's child had hiccough. My sister did not know how to stop it. Just as my sister was wondering as to ~~what~~ ^{how} to stop the hiccough, my aunt entered the house. My sister said to her, "Ni abu on na dize ^{silega} silasia" meaning that the hiccough has been troubling her child. Our aunt immediately went and took some white ashes and made a mark on the child's forehead, and soon the hiccough stopped.

Belching is not considered a bad thing at all. The following story will illustrate the point: I visited my

friend one day at his house. He and I and his wife sat in his room conversing when he belched. Then his wife remarked, "Anɛ, n mo ba kore tɛavira dedɛ." You are not ashamed of yourself, Anɛ. And Anɛ replied, "A na sii to." Why should I be ashamed of myself? Who does not breathe? I breathe!"

Among children, belching is treated in a different way. I remember as a child, I used to go out in company of my companions to play. At one time during our play, one of us belched secretly. But the bad odour soon assailed our nostrils and we all began to ask, "Wo mo toge benu to?" Who belched? None of us would own up. Then one boy amongst us suggested that we should insult the parents of the boy who belched. So we started insulting the parents of the boy who belched but would not own up. For example, insults such as the following were used: His mother is a thief. His father has a big scrotum. They are beggars in their house and so on. As soon as we began to insult the parents, the boy shouted, "A yagi! ayagi! amo mo toge." Stop! stop! I belched."

Motor development: It is by either the mother, the mother or the child's own sister. Whenever mothers go away on short visits they carry their babies with them. But when the mother is busy with her household chores, she entrusts the child to her daughter who looks after him. It is a common sight to see girls ^{carrying} ~~carrying~~ babies about in the market place or when they are going out to play - with their mates. During their play, the infant is seated on the ground to crawl. The following are the different ways of carrying children about at Nagesinia: The housemaids carry them on the hip. The child is held in position with



Carrying the baby. (the old way.)



Carrying the baby.
(The new way.)

one or both hands to support him from falling. The mother or the grandmother carries the child in a different way. The infant is either carried on the shoulder or on the back with a cloth wound around him to prevent him from falling. The oldest method of carrying infants is the shoulder method, because I was told that in the olden days women wore little or no clothing and therefore could not carry children on the back. They found it easy to carry their children on the shoulder or on the hip because that did not involve the use of cloth for a support. Right down to the present day, children are still being ^{carried} shoulder high but the custom is dying out gradually with the coming of civilisation and the consequent use of cloth among the women folk.

At six months the child can sit with some support, for example, the mother arranges pillows or cloths on both sides of the child to keep him from rolling down. By nine months the baby has usually learnt to crawl. I saw a baby of nine months old who was quite active and restless. He crawled everywhere - especially in and out of his mother's room. I noticed the following three ways in which children crawl at Nagesiria: Some crawl on all fours and that is described by the mothers as the ^{monkey} ~~mother~~ walk. Some crawl by dragging their buttocks along the ground and yet others crawl on one knee with the help of the hands.

At this stage the child knows where his mother is and to follow her about in the room. My own child used to crawl up to me and ask me to take him up by making signs with his hands.

By one year old, most children can pull themselves up and try to stand. He will repeat this movement again and again. By fifteen months, the child can stand up



Taking care of the child
in the absence of the mother.

by holding on to a wall or a mortar. When the mother sees him trying to stand, she becomes happy and the child is encouraged. There is no regular training in this skill but from time to time, either the mother or the housemaid will hold the child's hands and pulls him slowly along saying, "Din veta din veta".

In every house at Nogesinia, each family has his own separate apartment divided from one another by low walls about three feet high. The child plays or crawls within the space enclosed by these walls.

In Nogesinia, dangerous articles such as sharp knives, bows and arrows or anything that may cause the child some harm, are removed and kept out of his reach. For instance, on entering into a mother's apartment, if one is observant enough, one would see knives stuck in the eaves of the ~~roofs~~^{roofs} so that the child does not play with them. Mothers have to provide for the safety of their children while they are away either to fetch water or on some other household duty. This is how it is done: Before a mother leaves the house for a short while, she will call her sister or the housemaid and tell her, "Ta adze akwera sa aba na." Sit and play with the child until I come back." The idea of getting somebody to look after the child in the absence of the mother is to guard against minor accidents which the child may commit. Some mothers like their children to experiment and discover situations that give them pleasure and those that give them pain. Here is a story to illustrate the experience of an unpleasant nature to a child: His mother was cooking and the child came to sit by her side. The flames of the fire began to dance and this caught the attention of the child who drew closer to the dancing flames. What should happen next?

He thought he could amuse himself by catching at the flames. His mother was observing him keenly but did not try to stop him from this dangerous play. Eventually, the child was burnt by the fire and then I heard the mother asking him, "Min tim mo diim? Din la" You have been burnt by the fire. Sorry! Next time you must not play with fire again."

Children who look after cattle, sometimes take the animals far into the bush to graze and water. The children are warned not to go into groves standing in the grazing grounds to which they always go, because people believe that they are the homes of evil spirits and fairies. I was told that long ago, a strong headed boy deliberately went into one of these groves to see what would happen to him. While in the grove nothing happened to him but when he came out of it, he became stupified and could not find his way home. A search party was sent into the bush to look for him but he was not found until the third day after he was lost.

Parents who live near the streets warn their children about street crossing. For example, a woman was coming to the market with her four year old child. When they got to the major road, the boy made an attempt to cross to the other side of the street but the mother held him back and said, "Vuu, zige!" Lorry, stop!

It is much harder for a child to sit still than to move about. He runs, climbs, walks and learns rhythm and loves to follow his mother and imitate what she is doing. For instance, a child in Negesinia learns rhythm by joining in the local dances. Another child will imitate her mother sweeping with a broom and yet another child will wash the dishes because she sees the mother do it every day. Children who sit still and quiet are either

ill or sad because they are frustrated. For example, under normal circumstances, my brother's son aged four, is a lively child who cannot sit still for one moment. One afternoon I found him sitting still and quiet. I therefore asked him, "Be mo dzegem?" What is troubling you? He answered curtly, "Anu wa peni bi." My mother won't give me a penny to buy masa (cakes).

Mothers sometimes have fun with their babies. When they are not working, they often take the baby in their arms and tell him to dance. For example, I once heard a woman singing a popular dancing tune while her child danced to the music. The song is as follows:

Abu sa naa sa, sa yoo sa,
Christen sa naa sa, sa yoo sa.

Once I saw a group of girls playing near my house. They were busy cooking or preparing food with earth; but shortly after about a period of twenty minutes, they suddenly changed from cooking to dancing. This is how it happened; one of the girls got up and said to the rest, "Let us dance." A pa se di sa. "I am going to dance like Abe. This is how Abe dances." And she began dancing while the other girls watched her dance. As soon as she stopped dancing, another girl took her place and began to dance; and so they all danced in turn, each imitating a popular female dancer in the neighbourhood.

Sleep: noticed that if a mother wanted her child to go to sleep, she does one or two things to induce sleep. For example, she lays her bed and goes to sleep with the child. She then gives the child her breast to suckle and as the child is suckling, the mother will be patting gently on the child's back, lulling him to sleep. If this does not send

the baby to sleep the mother may use fear to get him to sleep. For example, she frightens the child by saying, "Tsege! N ni wiru on na kera? N na wu doo o ba o kwem o li." Here is the literary translation into English, "Listen! Have you heard the hyena crying? The mother imitates the cry of a hyena, 'uwi, uwi, uwi.' Now if don't go to sleep it will come and swallow you up." When the mother imitates the cry of the hyena and then tells the child that the hyena is coming to eat him up, he becomes very frightened. He holds on tightly to the mother, stops breathing for a while and one could hear his heart beating quickly. And soon the child goes to sleep.

From birth to the age of two years old, the child sleeps with the mother, in her room. After the age of two years, the mother and her child can now sleep with the father in his room, because it is the right time for the mother to share one bed with her husband. From four years onwards, the child ceases to sleep on the same mat with the parents. The parents consider him no longer a baby and that he could sleep alone. If he has brothers and sisters, he sleeps with them in the mother's room. On the other hand, if he has neither brother nor sister, he is given a separate mat on which he sleeps in the same room with the parents.

Fires are burnt and kept alive throughout throughout the night in sleeping rooms at Nogesinia. I was told that the fires kept the rooms warm and the smoke drove out the mosquitoes.

As I was coming home from the market one day, I saw a group of boys (between 7 to 10 years) repairing their bows and arrows. I went up to them and asked, "Awura ake be mo?" What are you doing? They answered,

"De laga se de vo de gu bate mo." We are getting ready to go and hunt for lizards. Before leaving them, I said, "A vu sa ba na!" Good bye! They also replied, "N vu se nbana!" Bye! bye!

Later, at about noon, they came to roast the lizards they had killed under a tree behind my house. As I watched them through the window, I saw that a fat thick-set boy gave instructions which were carried out by the other boys. For example, I overheard ^{him} telling the smallest boy in the group (whom they called their nyane that is smallest brother) to go and fetch fire from the nearby house. "Ve tum mini n dza ba." He told the other boys to fetch guinea corn stalks from the fields to make the fire. "Abam de lage na kasuru a dza ba." The fat thick-set boy was their leader and I saw that he went and sat under a tree waiting for his meal. When the lizards were roasted, the children took them to the leader and said, "Bate sem buga" the meat is done. The leader said, "Dzana aba sa poore apa abam." Bring them and let me share for you. In sharing, he gave bigger pieces of meat to the bigger boys and a little piece of meat to the smallest boy. I saw that he himself took the lion's share.

The smallest boy was ~~disast~~ dissatisfied with his share of the meat. For instance, he looked at the little piece of meat in his hands and then threw it away saying, "Aba laga. Kwena anam. Amo mo ye adzoro. Adi ba laga." (I don't like. Take your meat. Am I a fool? I don't like.) The other two boys told him, "N na ba laga sin viri. Mo tun be mo?" If you don't want it you can go away, after all, you did not contribute much to getting the meat. I saw the small boy going away



A wrot' wrestling contest.

angrily and saying, "Aware abam" I will teach you a lesson. The other boys shouted after him saying, "N mo wo ke te mo nware debam." What would you do to us? The small boy replied, "Amo mo ye ana o ke kulo anam ba ta." I know what to do but I won't tell you.

Wrestling is a game which children enjoy very much. For example two boys can measure their strength against each other by wrestling. Children also select their leaders according as to who is the strongest. Some children would also like the leader to be sympathetic as well as strong.

After having eaten their meal, the leader suggested that the two boys should wrestle to decide which of them is stronger than the other. I saw that a boy named Awe threw down Adua in the contest. When they got up, Awe patted thrice on Adua's chest and saying, "Awam. Adzane n mo ade." I am stronger than you. I threw you down during the wrestling." Adua became angry and said, "Aya wo zi lanyirane. Ana seri atu mo we n dzane nde." Nan ba se de dzan." Adua defended himself by saying that he was not ready when Awe threw him down. And invited Awe to wrestle with him again. Awe refused and said, "Alore adzam ade." (I will not wrestle with you for the second time. I have already beaten you.)

Then the leader challenged Awe to wrestle with him but Awe refused saying, "N mo damma n doe amo." (You are stronger than me.) The leader said, "A nam wo pam a tega." Come, hold my waist and wrestle with it. Awe declined saying, "Amo buge." (I am tired.)

Children at Nagesinia like companions who are sympathetic to them in their misfortunes. For example when a boy hits his toe against a stone, he expects all the

children around him ^{to} ~~by~~ saying, "N mage n naga mo. Din la naa." 'Oh, did you hurt yourself. Let us see your toe. We are sorry.'

The child will bear grudge against any of the boys who did not sympathise with him. For example Awia came to play with Apuri. Apuri asked Awia, "Amo dama na tu to n mo ke a de ala na? Amo ba kweri dan de dem." I will not play with you again. When I fell down the other day, you laughed at me."

A bully is never accepted as a leader of a group.

The children fear him and try to avoid his company. For example, a bully named Adum was seen coming to join a group of four boys at play. Tantera, one of the boys on seeing Adum coming towards them, decided to go away saying, "Amo ba dana na. Amo ma vera na."

'I am going away. I am not strong.' One of the boys asked him, "Be gmane mo mo zem ba laga kwera?" Why don't you like to play today? Tantera replied, "N mo wo ne Adum na bina na? O tjege de kwera yam." Can't you that Adum, the bully is coming. He will come to spoil our play.' And they all broke up and ran away before ^{he} could come up to where they were sitting.

Health: (a) precautions taken to safeguard health are as

That children should not go out into the rain to play when it is raining. For example when a mother sees her child playing in the rain, she will say to him, "Noy dua kam yega ne se waro wu dzam." Get out of the rain or you will catch cold. (b) That children should not make noise when it is raining. For example, once ^{a mother} hushed her child when he was shouting in the rain thus, "Tjege soo! Dua kam wu bagem." Stop making the noise or the rain will kill you. (c) That children should not eat raw

meat. For example, a mother saw her child eating the meat of a lizard which was not well roasted and she said to him, "N di nom gueri tem mo. N wiili." You are eating the raw meat eh, you will be sick.

There is always a reason for sickness at Nogesinia so before a sick child is cared for, the father consults a sorcerer to find out what is the matter. For example, when Atia consulted a soothsayer about his child's illness, he was told that his dead ^{ancestor} was the cause of it. The soothsayer explained that the dead ancestor was angry because she had been neglected. The soothsayer then told Atia to go home and pacify the dead ancestor by offering her water in which guinea corn has been boiled to quench her thirst. The man on returning home, told his wife all about what the soothsayer had told him. After they had performed the sacrifice to the dead ancestor, then they cared for the child in the following way: First of all the parents told the sick child to try and walk about and that too much sleep was not good for him. They also said to him, "N na wiila yan tige tigane, n yira wo soore dede." If you are sick and you are fond of lying down, the sickness will get a better hold on you. Next they saw that the sick child had the best food to eat in the house. For instance, the mid-day meal at Nogesinia is generally boiled beans but for the sick child, gule (porridge) and okro soup is prepared for he alone. If the sick child loses appetite for food, the mother cleans his mouth especially the tongue with parkia husks boiled in water. When the sick child is stubborn and would not eat food, the mother calls the father to come in to see that the child eats the food. The father comes in and in a forciful way

says to the child, "Di gule dem se di o zure!" Eat the food while it is warm or it will be cold. I noticed that the presence of the father compelled the child to eat the food.

The child is stroked by either the mother, the father or anyone of the inmates of the house. For example when the child is crying, his mother strokes him and says, "Tsege naa, tsege naa, tsege yoo." Hush baby, hush baby for your sister will soon come to take you out to play. The child is usually embraced and tickled after suckling. For example, before the mother gives the baby to the housemaid, she embraces and tickles him and says, "Moni sa ani, moni sa ani." Laugh and let me see.

Children rock themselves as a form ^{of} getting pleasure. For example, two boys hold a third boy by the hands and the legs and then swing him from side to side, singing the following rhythmic song, "Zuu lan saa ko yomma na, zuu lan saa ko yomma na." (meaning that rocking is an enjoyable thing.) The boy is rocked to and fro several times and then he is suddenly placed on the ground and they run away while he gets up to chase them. Whoever is caught takes the place of the boy rocked and the game starts afresh.

There are special children's words for genitals, for example, the clitoris is called kesia, the penis is called folo and the vagina is called mampolo.

Masturbation is recognised as being exceptional because children are debarred from playing with their genitals. For instance, a father once saw his son ~~examining~~ examining his penis in play. And his father said to him, "Ana dzore anam kowto tan ye we awarem sua." If I see you doing this again, I will cane you. After the first warning, if



after
Looking ^a cattle. It is the duty
of the boy riding the donkey to
bring the cattle together when
they are going astray.

the father sees his child playing with his genitals, he reminds him, "Awa kanem. N na laga dzege bu ba lbro awarem." Didn't I warn you before about this behaviour? If you want to be a bad boy, I will cane you.

Boys games are connected with their daily activities such as looking ~~after~~ after the animals while girls games are connected with dancing and singing.

Gilli, a game played by children (aged 9 to 12 years.)

Cattle, goats and sheep are looked after by boys whose duty it is to see that the animals do not wander into growing crops - a duty which is often much neglected. For the children gathering together give themselves up to play. They have a special game like hockey. It is played by making a special hard stick to hit a stone instead of a ball. In this game there is no aim such as scoring a goal, and any number of children can take part in the game. But the great idea is to keep the stone away from the others.

Battle games played by boys (aged 9 to 12 years.)

More serious games are battles, canes being used and the aim is to take away the lunch of those defeated. The lunch is either an ear of millet or some groundnuts. For example, challenges are given and the children take away the cattle to the bush where no one will see them. Then they divide up into two groups and the game starts by caning each other. The idea is to see those who will run away. Parents do not complain when their children return home with broken heads or skins. Rather they beat the child with a guinea corn stalk - a very mild form of caning or if angry, they forget

to give him supper which is the only heavy meal for everyone during the day.

Horse riding games played by boys (aged 3 to 5 years.)

The children ride on each other's backs and gallop about like horses. For example, it takes three children to play the game. Two of the children become the horse for the third child to ride. All the three ~~child~~^{children} have their turn, one after the other in riding. They play at this game until they are tired and then they go away.

Playing in the sand or dust by children aged (3-6 years.)

The children lie on the sand and roll about from side to side. They sometimes have a rolling race. The idea is to see who can roll the quickest. After rolling in the sand for a long time and had become tired, they sit up and begin to make marks or funny figures in the sand with their fingers. The children sometimes become so absorbed in their play, that they forget to go home for their lunch.

Marksmanship (boys aged 7-12 years.)

Children gather together with their bows and arrows and decide to hold a shooting contest. A piece of guinea corn stalk about six inches long is used for a target. The guinea corn stalk is placed at a distance of about ten yards from the children who take a very careful aim before shooting at it. The distance of the object is constantly increased after each round of shooting. Each child keeps record of his shooting, that is, he knows by the end of the game, how many times he was successful in shooting at the guinea corn stalk. The idea of the game is to know the best shot.

Linle played by girls (aged 9-12 years.)

The game is played during moonlit nights. A group of girls numbering between twenty to thirty come out of the

houses round about nine o'clock and they all meet ^{at} a central position usually behind or in front of the chief's compound. The game starts by forming a large circle and a girl with a powerful and sweet voice chants a song in which the rest of the girls join and at the same time clap their hands to accompany the song. Then the girls dance individually, one after the other.

At Nogesinia, apart from dancing to the music of drums on market days and during ceremonial occasions, girls have fewer games as compared with boys games.

Children aged (4 to 10 years.)

Boys and girls at Nogesinia generally quarrel as a result of teasing and insulting one another during their play. For example, I once saw two girls teasing a third girl while they were coming from the market. The two girls told the third girl, "N garo tem ba lamma." ~~The third girl replied,~~ "Your cloth is not beautiful. The third girl replied, "Anam lore a gare larro tem na." Have I asked for your beautiful cloths? Then the two girls told her, "N mo kalora kamto." You ugly girl. The third girl also insulted them back by saying, "Abam de ye kalore mo." You too are ~~also~~ ugly girls. At this juncture I saw that they put down the things they were carrying and began to fight.

A girl who likes to wrestle with boys is supposed to behave like a boy. For instance at Nogesinia only boys wrestle; girls usually fight with their hands.

A hardsboy told me the following story, "When we were children and looked after animals, there was among us a very strong girl. She was our champion wrestler. Whenever a boy annoyed her, she would say, "Nog se de dzan nna dana." Come and let's wrestle if you are

strong. Such extraordinary strong girls are advised by their mothers not to wrestle with boys. Their mothers say to them, "Ye tau dzana de bakere se nda bakera."

Don't wrestle with boys for you are not a boy.

At Nogesinia a boy behaves girlishly if he grinds millet into flour, takes part in preparing the family food and does other household chores. His companions mock at him when they see him doing any of these duties. For instance they say, "Ni bakanno kon na wora ko tuga." Look at the 'man - woman' grinding. Whenever his companions see him, they call him bakanno, a disgraceful name to give to a person at Nogesinia.

A certain man at Nogesinia talked to his son who was behaving girlishly thus, "N na tuga kaana tuntuga nba de kape." No girl will marry you if you are grown up because you are doing women's work.

Most boys at Nogesia do not like to do the work of women. For instance if a small boy is told to clean or wash the dishes after meals, he would reply, "Ade kane." Am I a woman to be doing women's work?

Boys (aged 4 to 10 years) like to fight and banter so well. For example two children were playing when one said to the other, "Kwe a tuga kam pane Apuga" Give me my bow, Big Stomach. The boy called Big Stomach became annoyed and also called the other, "Aguu" that is big head and "Ba ke legleg" that is long-necked boy. This exchange of hard words make children quarrel or fight.

All children aged two years at Nogesinia know their mothers more than their fathers. For examples fathers spend most part of the day working on their farms while the mothers stay at home with the children. But from five years onwards there is a division - girls keep to their

mothers while the boys attach themselves to their fathers. For instance, boys follow their fathers to the market place, or to the chief's house or to public gatherings in the village. The girls stay at home and help their mothers with the cooking, cleaning and fetching of water.

But there are times when a girl may love her father more than her mother and a boy may also love his mother more than his father. For example, once I asked a group of girls and boys the following question, "N laga nnu na nko?" Do you prefer your mother or father? I had a number of surprising answers: two boys preferred their mothers, two boys preferred their fathers and three girls preferred their mothers.

When I asked them why they preferred their mothers, I received the following answers, "De laga de nu o na soli gute o pa debam to gmane." We prefer our mother because she cooks the food.

Those who preferred their ~~mo~~ fathers gave the following reasons, One boy said, "A laga ako ona ye ako to gmane." I prefer my father because he is my father. Another boy said, "A laga ako ona pane sabu to gmane." I prefer my father because he gives me money. The third boy said, "A laga ako ona vare padi di to gmane." I prefer my father because he farms for us to eat.

At Nogesimia, parents prefer children of the opposite sex. For example a mother and her daughter go together and do their things in common. Her mother tells her the secrets of her room for instance where to find the food ingredients. The mother is also responsible for training the daughter in manners and good behaviour towards strangers (vera) who come to the house.

For instance, when a stranger comes to the house, the daughter must first of all give him a stool to sit on it. Then she must wash a calabash and give the visitor some water to drink. As she offers the water to the visitor, she must bend the knee as a sign of good culture.

When the girl is of age for marriage, all her suitors come to the mother with tobacco and guinea fowls to greet her. The mother informs the father of all the things that the suitors bring to woo the girl. At Nogesinia it is a common saying among women that to bring forth a girl is a blessing. "N na luge buko nsii."

A father prefers to have a male child. For example, if a man's wife delivers, all his friends and relatives ask to know whether the child is male or female. "O luge bahera na kane mo?" If it is a male child, the father says, "A kane luge sogo tu mo," meaning that his wife has delivered a 'house owner.' On the other hand if it is a girl, the father says, "A kane luge gaa nono mo," meaning that his wife delivered someone who will not stay in the house in future.

At Nogesinia a mother is generally pregnant again when her child is about two years old. At this stage the child is able to walk and talk easily and there is no need to take care of him when a new baby is born.

When a pregnant woman is about to deliver, all the children are sent out of the house. For example the child is told, "N nu lage se o lu nyane mo o pam." Your mother is going to deliver a small brother for you. Then a woman from the house tells the child, "De nng se n nu lu n nyane on o pam na." Let's go out while

your mother delivers your new brother.

As soon as the new baby is delivered the child is taken in to see his new brother or sister. From then onwards, he is allowed to play with his new brother and his mother encourages him to take interest in the baby. For example if the mother is cooking food, the new baby is laid on a mat and the big brother is told to sit by him and watch him. The mother says to him, "Tan dze n nia n nyane on sa a sole gule dim." "O na kera sen boy ne na." Sit and watch over your brother while I cook the food; call me if he is crying.

Expressions of jealousy are provoked for example Tigura and Kwora aged 3 and 5 years respectively, were the children of one family. Their mother paid more attention to Tigura. One day, their mother shared a piece of yam for them but gave a bigger piece to Tigura. Kwora seeing his mother give the \neq bigger piece of yam to Tigura, grew angry and threw away his share of the yam. Late in the evening when his father came from the farm, he went to him and reported the mother's unfairness. But instead of the father listening to his son's case and dealing with it in the right way, he rather beat the boy for complaining. At Nogesinia, the smallest child is often favoured, for example, the parents speak of him as being a child, "O ye bu mo." When food is shared among the children, he receives the largest part. He is also given eggs to coax him. For example when he is crying the father says to him, "Tsege se a pam tjentfara." If you stop crying I will give you an egg.

The advantages and the disadvantages of older and younger children are as follows:

The advantages of the older child are:

1. He looks after the cattle and has the advantage of drinking the cow's milk. He sells the milk at times and keeps the money for himself. He has the access of eating fruits (kwila) in the bush. He enjoys the company of other herd boys. He learns to count by counting the cattle when he brings them home in the evening. He enjoys a ride on the back of the cows.

He has his disadvantages as well for example, He is not well cared for. He is made to do all the hardest work of the house in the way of running errands and carrying of messages. He is beaten for the least mistake he makes. And he is sometimes not given food for neglecting his duty.

The advantages of the younger child are as follows:

He is petted and all his needs are supplied, readily. For instance he is often given an egg or two as pacifiers. He is carried about by either the mother or the sister. He is given presents usually pennies when visitors come to the house. His disadvantages are that he is too young to participate in the games and activities of the older children. He envies his older brother for taking the cattle to the bush and for drinking the cow's milk.

Siblings generally quarrel about food. For example, when the mother is cooking the daughter stays in the kitchen to help her. The son is not allowed to go near the kitchen his mother is making the food. This annoys him because he believes that his privileged sister will have an access to the food before him. So whenever food is being prepared in the kitchen, the boy tries to find out what is happening there. But if he is seen by the mother, she sends him out by saying, "Nog pone se nda besankana. M dzi bakanno." Go outside

and play with your companions. (yuudona) What do you want round about the kitchen? Are you a girl?

The boy goes out reluctantly and speaks to himself, "Adi ba noj. Adi o zu adzem." I will also not go out. I will also go and sit in the kitchen.

As a result, the boy tends to hate his sister because she enjoys the mother's love. Whatever she does, the brother takes it as a serious offence. For example, if by mistake the sister happens to touch something belonging to her brother ^{he} takes the opportunity to worry her with the following questions, "BE ymane mo n doe awogo kor? Why did you touch my 'thing'? Sister replies, "A o ne mo, din la." I did not see it before I touched it. I'm sorry. The boy retorts, "N mo o ne, n mo yia yam wo nkalogo mo na." You said that you did not see it, are your eyes at the back of your head? The girl also replies, "Awa awa ne yo!" I told you that I did not do it intentionally! The boy replies, "Of course, you ought to have seen it. "Ko ya may se n mo ni lanyirane." The dispute continues until the boy's anger boils over and he beats the poor girl.

The boy generally takes his complaints to the father. For example, when his mother sent him away from the kitchen, he went to his father with the following complaint, "Ako, n wo ne Nga na zeli amo? Father, don't you see Nga (the mother's name) driving me away from the kitchen? The father usually replies, "N mo lage be mo ra? N ye bisenkana na?" What did you want there? Are you a girl?

When a boy is fond of quarrelling with his sister his mother tells him, "N na dzege n nako on n yara konto, o na zu o ba pam gule", meaning that if he

goes on troubling the sister, she won't give him food when she is married.

The mother takes care of the child from infancy to the age of two years. After the period of two years if the child is a male, he attaches himself to the father. For instance, when the father is going to visit friends at their houses, the child goes with him. The father has the chief authority about disciplining the child. At Nogesinia, mothers scarcely beat the child. They say, "Ko dzege ymana de ka mage bia de dziga." It is pitiful to beat children with their own hands. She will always refer the child's misdeeds to the father who will either warn the child or beat him with 'kasugu' guinea corn stalk.

As the father spends most of his time on the farm, he is not at home to see what the children do. So the mother ^{is} entrusted with the duty of noting their bad behaviour and to give a report to the father when he comes back from the farm in the evening. For example, when a child refuses to carry out a duty in the house, it is recognised as a bad behaviour, and the mother will complain about it to the father in the evening. When this is done, the father calls the child and asks him, "Ba tog n mo se n vi, ko ye tsega na?" Is it true that you did not take out the goats to peg them in the fields? The boy denies and says, "Ko ye vua mo o voge o pane." It is lies that she has told for me. The father does not usually take whatever reasons the child has to offer but beats him.

Parents do not mind the presence of their children ^{when} they are quarrelling. Once I saw a man beat his wife

with a stick while his son aged three years stood by and wept.

At times when a man and wife are about to quarrel, the brother of the wife's husband or one of the inmates of the house, will advise ^{the} man to go out of the house for some time before he comes back.

Some children are not grateful to their parents for example, when a young man wants to marry, the father gives him a cow to sell and use the money in courting the girl. The young man generally uses the money in doing something else and yet his father will give him another to sell if he asks for it. For example, Fella was given a cow by his father to sell and court his lover. Instead of Fella using the money for courting the girl, he rather used the money in drinking (sana) native beer.

Parents are always concerned about their children's good behaviour especially the grown ups. For instance a father will be ashamed to hear that his son has stolen someone's property or that his son has fallen in love with another man's wife. On the other hand, parents are proud to hear that their child excelled at the local dancing or that their children faced the lion bravely when it entered the village. And a father will rejoice to hear that it was his son who killed that troublesome lion.

A child will quarrel with his parents if they fail to give him what he wants. For example, if a child wants a new loin cloth and his father is unable to buy it for him, the child becomes disappointed and may become angry with his father, on account of that alone. The child may run away to Kumasi in order to punish his father for this behaviour. On the other hand, if a child breaks a pot or a calabash in the house, he will run to the father's best friend who will bring him back in the evening and beg the father not to ~~to~~ beat the child for what he has done.

Parents admit of their wrong actions towards their children by saying to them, "Yage se a tfoje." (Forgive me for I have wronged you.) The child too will ask his parents to forgive him if he has wronged them. He does this through one of his father's close friends, who comes to see the father and tells him, "Bia mama ye bide mo. Yage se o dzua ba ke." (All children are the same. Forgive him this offence. I am sure that he will not do a thing like that again.) Upon this saying, the father's anger is appeased and he forgives the child. But his father will tell him in the mediator's presence, "N yu yomma, ko ya na de abadog on gmane, a ya warem sua," meaning that if it were not for my friend's intervention, I would have known what to do with you.

Parental authority lasts as long as one's parents continue to live. For example, when one's parents are alive, one has to consult them before doing anything. If an adult wants to marry, he must have the permission of his parents first. If they disapprove of the marriage, then that is the end of it. For example, our parents tell us that they know the world better than us because of their age and experience. (De bam mo ye de dope abam.) Parents talk to their children about their conduct and

and movements in the village. For example, if a young man is fond of visiting people's houses without good reason, his father will warn him as follows, "Tan ye, yi pa ani we nbera nona kana na." (Don't let me hear that you are going after people's wives. I have noticed that nowadays you take interest in going to Adua's house.)

If a young man does something without consulting his father, he is queried. For example, his father will ask him when they are alone, "N mo na ke wogo konto n mo tage de amo na?" (You think that you can now do what you like without consulting me. Beware that if you get a trouble, you alone will bear the consequences.)

The grandparents play a prominent part in the early life of the child. For example, his grandparents are so fond of him that they spoil him by too much petting. When the child is naughty and he is scolded or beaten, the grandparents complain bitterly. They take the child to sit on their laps in order to comfort him. The child knowing that the grandparents are his saviour, whenever he does anything wrong, he runs to them for protection. The child also takes all his grievances to either of the grandparents. For instance, if the mother or the father beats him, he goes to complain to the grandparents. He goes to sit by the grandparent with an angry face without saying a word. The grandparent seeing the unusual attitude, tries to learn the cause of it by asking the child, "BE mo dzegem?" (What is the matter with you?) It often takes a long time for the child to say what is troubling him. He does this deliberately to let the ~~par~~ grandparent feel the seriousness of the situation. Upon persistent questioning, the child will at last say with tears in his eyes, "Ku de annu mo mage ne na." (It was my mother who beat me.) Hereupon the grandparent speaks to him nicely saying, "Tsege se a mage o de. Ti lileru

ke adziga ne se o mago." (You keep quiet for I will also beat her for you. Spit on my hand for me to beat her.) I noticed that the child usually smiles when these words are said to him and he stops crying.

Friends of the family do not play a prominent part in the child's life although they frequent the house in the evenings to chat with the family. At Nogesinia, friendly visits must be made regularly, if possible every day to maintain the usual intimacy. For example, if I fail to go to my friend's house for about two days in succession, he will begin to wonder what the matter is. He will even entertain doubts as to whether he had offended me or not. And he will try to come to me to find out what is the matter. Having come to me, he will ^{say} ask, "A tu sa dane n paga mo ko na dane de awo ne mo to." (I came to visit you and to greet you because I did not see you for the past two days.)

Friends are generally kind and loving towards the children of their friends. For example, when a friend visits another friend at his house, the visitor must go round and greet the women and then play with the children. The idea of playing with a friend's child is an indication of love for the child. The child must appear quiet and shy before strangers to show that he is a good child. If the child behaves in that manner, people say that he is a good child: "O ye bu lao dede." On the other hand, if the child is self-assertive, people ^{talk} say of him, "Bu on yi dana, o ba dure tjavira." (He is strong-headed. He does not fear people.)

When the parents are discussing matters with a friend, in the house, the child is not expected to be there. If he happens to come near them, the father sends him out saying, "Nog



Building in the sand is one of the interesting activities of children aged 4-7 years. The boy with the wheel is the errand boy.

Kweri. N ne n ya doo goba na." (Go out and play. Have you seen your companions here?) At times too, if the conversation is unimportant, the child is allowed to sit and listen provided he does not make noise to disturb them. His only duty is to sit and listen doing no talking at all.

When parents take their child to visit a friend, the child should also seek companionship with the children of the house. From the outset, the child is warned at home that he should behave himself while at the friend's house. This is always the case because if the child fails to behave well, the inmates of the house will make remarks about his behaviour afterwards. For example, after the child and his father have gone away, the inmates of the house will say, "N badoy on bu on yi dana na. O biri o ba kore nono." (Your friend's child is a naughty boy. He does not fear people.) Fathers do not like such remarks to be made about their children, for they say that the bad remarks reflect on themselves. It shows that the child has no good training at home. It must be noted that although the child is not given any specific character training yet he is expected to show his best in the company of elders and strangers.

At Nagesinia, a child is not taught to take things belonging to others. Even if he picks a penny lying about, he should take it home to show the parents. For example, one day while I was sitting with a friend at his house, his child ran up to us with a halfpenny in his hands. He showed it to the parents and said, "Nii ana puge finu ana ma ve yaga to." (See, I picked this halfpenny on the way to the market.) The father usually tries to find the owner of the lost money in order to give it back to him. The child is allowed to use it only if the owner



A boy with his bag
slung on the shoulder.
It contains his food.

cannot be found.

All fragile, hot or sharp objects are removed and kept where the child cannot get at them easily. For example, pots, calabashes, matches, pepper, are kept away from the child. Matches is not left lying about but it is hidden in pots. Pepper is stored in pots and fire is always put out as soon as the cooking is done. Pots and calabashes are put on shelves made of earth.

As soon as the child can walk and talk easily, that is at the age of three years, he is given a bag (tanpogo) in which he keeps his groundnuts or flour. He is also given a j-shaped stick (gole) to drive the animals to ~~drive the~~ in the fields when they stray into the fields of guinea corn. Apart from these, he is given a small bow and plain arrows to practise shooting on his own. All these possessions are kept by the child.

Most children form destructive habits. For example, herdsboys will deliberately allow the animals to stray into a nearby farm to graze on the growing crops such as millet, guinea corn or maize. Again, herdsboys will knowingly enter into a man's potato farm and take away as many potatoes as they can carry. I once saw a child lift up a small earthen pot and dropped it to the ground and broke it to pieces. A child is always beaten for breaking things. For example, the child who broke the earthen pot referred to above, was soundly whipped by the mother. Children are generally not taught to destroy things although the desire to destroy is always strong in them. As stated earlier, if a child ~~to~~ destroys an article, he is beaten and as he is being beaten, the mother says to him, "Ta we n dzua ba ke." Say that you will never destroy anything again and the child repeats it after the mother as he cries,

Adzua bahe! Adzua bahe!

The cries of hunger, pain and rage of the child are heeded by his parents. For example, Webu a child aged two years, had a violent cough. At night he coughed a lot and could not sleep soundly. When he coughed persistently, he cried and cried. His mother and father also could not sleep for they sat up to comfort him. His mother had some ^{water} by her side and she gave the water to him saying, "Nyo na bam se wukuo kon tu." (Drink the water to soften the persistent cough.) The mother also would speak the following words of encouragement to the child: "Tsege na, ye tan kera se ko zure na." (Baby, don't cry for the pain will soon go away.) His mother would also sit him up on her laps and fondle with him.

Babu (aged $2\frac{1}{2}$ years) burnt his finger while he was playing with the flame from a native lamp. When he began to cry, the mother ran and picked him up. She held the child's burnt finger and spoke to him, "Mini tem mo zue n nua kam? A fuli se ka zure na. Yi tan kera na. Ka zure na." (Is it the fire that burnt your finger? Let me blow it with cool breath from my mouth to cool it.) And she blew the finger with the cool breath from her mouth. Then she asked the child, "Ka zure?" (Is the pain cooled?)

Kadua went to fetch water from a water hole and left her child in the care of the housemaid. Because she met several women at the water hole, she could not get water immediately. And her child whom she left at home began to cry for he was hungry. The housemaid took the child to the grandmother who tried to comfort him by giving him her dry breast to suckle. But when the child found that the breast was dry, he cried all the more. Then the grandmother said to the

housemaid, "Kadi, na ni Kadua mo bina na? (Kadi, go out and see whether Kadua is coming.) The housemaid soon returned and said, "O ta wu yega yega mo." (She is coming but she is still far away.) Then the grandmother spoke to the child saying, "Nan tfege se n nu mo bina." (Now stop crying for your mother is on the way coming.) When Kadua arrived, the grandmother rebuked her and said, "N mo ye we n ye bu nu yan ndane konto wo be. Ni bu on na kere ta." (You know that you are a mother. But why did you keep so long at the water hole?) The grandmother added, "N dzua dzua ye dane konto. Kila se n dza bu on se o nmage na." (Never, never do that again. Be quick and give him milk to suck.) The mother quickly put down her water pot and took the child to give him milk. As the child was suckling, his mother wiped his tears and said to him, "Batiga, kana mo dzegem? Nmage yite se n kana kam zure na." (Batiga, are you hungry? Suckle to kill the pangs of hunger, my child.)

One day my sister came with her child to visit us. Her child had a bun (masa) in her hand. My younger brother wanted to have it. He stretched his hand to get the bun from my sister's child who refused to part with it. When this happened my younger brother broke into a wild cry. Then my mother said to my younger brother, "Tfege sa a yage masa a pam. Kakora bu on dzege wulogo. Adzua nan ye ba di sogo se de bia kera." (stop crying and I will buy some masa for you. Kakora's child is a wicked child. I will see that Kakora and her child don't come to our house. They come to make you cry.)

The baby's earliest vocalisation is encouraged. For example, Webu, a child (aged 1 year) was found meddling with the mother's flour. His mother seeing the harm, said

said to him, "Webu, ye dza amon tem dzage." (Webu, don't spoil my flour.) The child surprisingly imitated the mother's speech: "A-da-to!" This amused everybody who heard these words although they were imperfectly said by him. Everyone present began to imitate the child's words: "A-da-to, a-da-to" to encourage him. Baby talk is regarded as amusing. For example, a child (aged 10 months) was heard making noises such as hi hi, da da. Attracted by the noises, the mother went to him and asked, "N bri n nmana be mo?" (Whatever are you saying?) Another woman who stood near by said, "N bu on wa nmane ye o ta ba via." (Your child will soon be talking even though he is not walking.)

The mother is the first person to speak to the baby because to all intents and purposes, the baby is left in the care of his mother. For example, if the mother wants to attract the attention of the baby, she says, "Ni yoba, ni yoba." (Look here! Look here!) And claps her hands at the same time. When the mother wants the baby to suckle, she says, "Dmoge yile, dmoge yile." (Such milk, such milk.) And when she wants the baby to stop suckling, she says to him, "Yage konto, yage konto." (It is all right, it is all right.)

The baby is talked to in connection with petting him than with anything else. For example, when the child is crying, and the mother wants him to stop crying, she says, "Tsege na, tsege na, ye kere na." (Keep quiet, stop crying, don't cry.) When the child is crying because of pains and his mother wants to cajole him, she says, "Yage se ko o zure na. Yi tan kera na." (Stop crying, the pain will soon go away. Don't cry.)

Children are not taught to modulate their voices but when they are disturbing by making loud noise, the parents

usually the father, shouts on them and says, "Yitaa kena soo. Ta nmana fifi." (stop the noise! You are disturbing.) As a rule, mothers do not pay attention to children's grammatical errors but they occasionally correct children's glaring mistakes in their speech. For example, Ada (aged 2 years) came to his mother with the following report about his elder brother: "Awu na na, aba laga na na." The double repetition of "na na" is superfluous. The mother interrupted by saying, "Ta we 'awu na! (Say "awu na") Another child (aged 2 years) came home from the dam and said to his father, "Ane na----- Ane na-----" (I have seen --- I have seen ---) and went on repeating the phrase which did not carry any meaning. His father asked him, "N ne be mo? Ta n ne kolo." (What have you seen? Tell me what you have seen.)

Adults listen to children's conversation but they pretend not to listen to them. For example, I happened to be among a group of some adults who sat under a big Kapok tree, during the heat of the day. We were talking about the village affairs. Not far from us sat four children who were absorbed in their play. I overheard the biggest boy telling the smallest child, "N na ve soo ye n nu na sole gule se n fo pani." (If you go home to eat, remember to bring my share of it.) The child replied, "Se n mo dama na mage ni to. M mo see na?" (You once beat me. Have you forgotten?) The biggest boy told him, "Aka ba magem na." (I will not beat you again.) The child became happy and said, "Anan na dzege a gule a ke a pam na." (All right, if I am given some food, I will bring some of it to you.) One of the adults hearing the conversation of the children, called our attention to it by saying, "Tjege na bia bam na nmana. Bia mo dzege mono?" (You listen to what the children are

saying! (Children are always funny in their talks.) When the children realised that we were interested in their conversations, they got up and ran away from us, laughing.

Among adults, children are expected to listen more and talk less. For example, a man came to talk to my father. While they were talking, my brother was making a lot of noise. Then my mother said to him, "Tsege soo sa ni ba na ymana kolo." (Stop the noise and let me listen to what they are saying.)

Children are not asked to be factually precise in what they say, for example, I knew some three boys at Nogesinia who rode on a certain man's donkey to the bush without his permission and then left it there. The owner of the donkey later discovered the trick and reported the children to their parents. The children's fathers denied the fact that what the owner of the donkey came to complain about was true. But there and then, the children admitted that they rode on the donkey to the bush. Their fathers were put to shame. Later, when the owner of the donkey went away, these boys were beaten for telling the truth.

At Nogesinia, there are times when children are expected to conceal the truth, especially if by telling the truth, a member of the family will be landed into trouble. Here is a story to illustrate the habit of telling lies among children. Ayira's father, Tjigaguwo, lives at Nogesinia. He smokes a long pipe and so he bought matches often. He did not want his son to strike the matches so he kept it in a bag which was always hung up on a rafter of his room. One day, Tjigaguwo entered his room to find that there was a faint smell of matches having been struck. He called his son and the following conversation ensued between them:

Tjigaguwo: N mo tage amantsisi dem na? (Did you strike the matches, Ayira?)

Ayira: Amo wu tage mantfisi. (No, I did not strike any matches.)

Tjigaguwo: N na wu tage tfiga a wɔm. (If you don't tell me the truth I will tie you in ropes.)

Ayira: (stood shaking with fear and could not say a word.)

Tjigaguwo: Ta tfiga! (Tell me the truth, now!)

Ayira: Amomo taga. (I struck the matches.)

Tjigaguwo: Se mantfisi bu on be? (Where is the match stick that you struck?)

Ayira: A dule de a yage. (I threw it away.)

Tjigaguwo: Nɔɔ lage de de. (Go and find it.)

Ayira: (Went out and soon returned with it.)

Tjigaguwo: N ke ta mo n ye de? (How did you get at it?)

Ayira: A dine mo a li de lua kam wone. (I climbed up and got it out of the bag.)

Tjigaguwo: Bubu dem ana boem, n mo wo tage tfiga wo be? (But why didn't you tell me the truth at first?)

Ayira: (stood again unable to give a reason.)

At this point, his father beat him and Ayira ran out of the room.

Children are sometimes required to say the truth even at the expense of taking a beating. For example, a father once threatened his son in the following way in order to get the son to tell him the truth: "Ta tfiga. N na fɔgi vɔa a gum." (Tell me the truth or I will kill you with my own hands.) And without waiting for the child to reply, the father told him, "Vɔ fɔra kanto, awarem de." (You big liar, I will show you sense.)

At Nogesinia, children go to school at the age of seven, and remain at the Primary School till they are twelve years old. At the end of the Primary course, there is a selection test

and the successful candidates proceed to the Middle school at the age of thirteen years. The unsuccessful ones go to the Trade Training Centre at Tamale. Until comparatively recent times, most parents did not see the utility of sending their children to school. And even now, most parents are unwilling to send their daughters to school. For most parents say, "Bisenkene man se ba ta o sogo ne ba wole ba nina." (Girls are useful in the home to help their mothers with the work in the home.) In the case of the boys for example, a Nogesinia man was asked to send his son to school and he replied, "A laga se abu on man sogo ne o po a vara. Ma abu mama." (I would rather prefer my son to stay at home and look after the animals. He is my only child.) Another parent complained about the rigorous routine of the schools and said, "A ba pa abu vo skull o yare." (I will not send my son to school to suffer.)

All these wrong ideas about the so-called school difficulties and vague ideas about the work of the schools, are changing rapidly. The change was brought about through Parent-Teacher Associations. From time to time, parents have been invited to the school to have discussions with the school staff about educational matters and also to see their children at work. During these discussions, the staff take the opportunity to explain the need for education for a community and what it means to neglect a child's education. Nowadays, however, most parents have been convinced that the schools exist for the good of their children instead of places of punishment and cruelty to children.

As far as possible, there is no difference in the training of boys and girls at school, at Nogesinia. For example, both boys and girls participate in the activities of the school and do the same subjects of the curriculum alike.

The school child at Nogesinia regards his teacher as a

wonderful person who knows everything under the sun. For example, a school child once asked his teacher, "N mo ve felle lugo na. Ni n mo na ye wogo mana felle lugo wone." (Please teacher, have you been to England?) When the teacher answered in the negative the child again said, "But how do you ^{know} all that you have been telling us about England?" When the teacher told the child that he read all about England from books, the child nodded his head. Because of this high regard for the teacher's knowledge, children tend to respect and revere him at the same time. For example, a teacher once came to see me during the vacation holidays. His pupil who was staying in the same house with me, on seeing his teacher, ran and hid himself. A woman who was standing nearby, noticed this and spoke aloud, "N sage n titi wo be?" (Why are you trying to hide yourself from your teacher?) But the boy never came out of his hiding place to say why he chose to hide himself until the teacher left the house. Then he was heard to have said, "Amo kware o mo." (I am afraid of him.)

At school, children have favourites among the individual members of the staff. In the light of my experience as a teacher, most children tend to like those members of staff who are kind and sympathetic in their dealings with them. Some children also like teachers who are lazy and do not set them a lot of written exercises. On the whole all ~~children~~ children do not like teachers who try to get them to do things in a rigid order. For example a teacher who insists that all work must be finished before children go home to eat after the morning session, is highly disliked by children. Children also despise teachers who are unfair in their ways. For example a certain young teacher developed poor relations ^{with} some of the children in his class.

When the cause of this poor relations was probed, it was revealed that the young teacher was partial in the way he awarded marks in an examination paper.

School children play tricks on teachers whom they do not like. For example, the young teacher referred to above, came to classes one morning to find that a child had written on his blackboard - a practice the teacher did not approve from the very beginning. Later it was discovered that the writing was done by a pupil whom the teacher did not like in the class. On the other hand, children admire teachers who are kind and loving. For example, a child went home and discussed two of his school teachers to his mother as follows:

The child: Anu, amo bri aba laga class III teacher on." (Mother, I don't like the teacher of class III.)

The mother: "N ba o wo be mo?" (Why don't you like him?)

The child: "Onto bage bia dede." (He beats children.)

The same child said of the class I teacher, "A soe class I teacher on mo. Onto na ba maga bia to ymane." (I like the teacher of class I more than the teacher of class III, because he does not beat us.)

There is a vast difference between school discipline and home discipline. For example, the school discipline ^{is} too rigid. It demands that the children should be punctual, clean, have respect for property, be cheerful and honest, have good manners as well as be sensible and industrious. To enforce all these qualities, the school makes rules and the teachers see that the rules are obeyed by adopting several measures. For example, the use of fear, threats and punishments are some of the drastic measures employed to achieve obedience. And as we all know, children loath to be ruled through fear or threats as indicated.

At home however, parents have no definite programme of keeping discipline. In other words parents have no principle, for example, a child's misbehaviour is one day overlooked and at another time severely dealt with. This state of having no principle at home, conflicts with school discipline where things are done according to plan. School discipline is certainly more severe because of its cut and ~~dry~~ ^{dried} methods. For example, in the classroom, the children are asked to sit still and fold their arms. Constantly the teacher reminds them to sit up and stop talking and listen to him.

The question of blaming a child for doing poor work at school is not yet common. Parents are only concerned about seeing their children off to school in the morning and welcoming them back after school in the afternoon. The reason for this attitude on the part of parents may be because most of them are illiterates and unable to judge school standards so as to understand the shortcomings of their children's work.

Each school child wants to play with another but they are selfish. For example, in a game of football, they all chase the ball and like to try out their strength and prowess against one another. They quarrel and then make up every moment. They need an adult to organise them.

School children compete with their mates in various school activities as they love to boast of what they can do. For example, a boy loves to get more sums right than his neighbour. Again, they delight in bodily skills. For example, children want to know who can jump the highest and who can stand on his head. Competitions among school children sometimes develop into bad relations. For example, I knew a boy who was first in

his class for two consecutive times. On the third occasion, his position was taken by another boy. The boy who had been first on the two occasions was not happy with the boy who now took his place. As a result, the two boys behaved to each other, like a cat and a dog.

At school, there are usually secret societies. The members of these societies are generally composed of rascals who organise themselves into gangs and cause much trouble to pupils as well as teachers. I noticed that at school, the gangsters delight in troubling either clever boys or the favourites of the teachers.

In the middle years of school (10-12 years) boys tend to choose friends of the same sex, similarly with girls, though at times, combined groups of friends are not uncommon. A child has usually one or two close friends. I noticed that common interests are the basis of friendship among children. For example, a boy who plays truant at school gets another truant boy as his friend. Similarly, a good footballer befriends a footballer and a bad boy befriends a bad boy as the case may be. Friends do not as a rule admit other children into their secrets. For example, friends have a secret language for communication among themselves. For instance, close friends call themselves "dog" a word which means "comrade".

Games, songs, stories:

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Common games (Local and European.)

	Sex	Common games	Sports and Athletic activities
rs	Boys	Throwing and catching tennis balls Playing tennis balls. See-saw games (swing.) Singing games Traditional dancing Galegale bia i.e. ring games.	Chase your partner. Hopping e.g. Rabbit hop. Running.
ears	Boys	Football, Ludo. Native games e.g. Kuriyakuriya. Vali; Horses and jockeys. Rounders, Dancing, Wrestling. Hide and seek.	Short relays. Cartwheels. Somersault. skipping and Running.
	Boys	Local hockey (gale) Shooting practice e.g. Adagila Football, Rounders, Net ball. Dancing, Wrestling. Tug-of-war e.g. Kavilavagu.	Running e.g. sprinting. High jump, Long jump. Throwing the cricket ball Relay race.
ars	Girls	Grinding and food making play. Dancing. Throwing and catching small stones. Milamilasaa - a counting game.	Running after one another Potato race. Rabbit hop.
ecous	Girls	Dancing and singing and clapping. Sings - 'rattle'.	Grinding flour in the sand Running after one another. skipping. Potato race.
s +	Girls	Dancing e.g. Linle, Net ball. Sings - 'rattle'	Grinding flour. Thread and needle race. Bucket and water race.

At school, emphasis is placed on team rather than individual games. For example, when children play together, they develop some good qualities, such as co-operation. Instead of one child playing for himself, he learns that he belongs to a group which is working together to achieve a goal. Here individual and selfish aims are got rid of because that does not help the team spirit. Through team games children learn to accept leadership. For example the team must have a leader to plan and to give orders to the benefit of the team as a whole. The last but not the least, children learn to obey their leader if they are determined to succeed.

Considerable value is placed on athletic skill at school. For example, the teachers want their pupils to be physically fit and strong. Apart from ^{that} athletic skill is one of the attractions to the school. For example, on Empire Day, each school holds a Sports Day. Parents as well as other members of the community come to see the school children performing their sports. At Hagesinia, I noticed that parents took a very keen interest in Schools' sports because they see their children taking part in the sports to the delight of the parents. This in fact is the outward results of the work that the school is doing which the parents can see and understand. And a good performance adds creditably to the good name of the school by the community.

At the end of the sports when children receive their prizes, imagine their happiness! On such occasions, they become very happy and appear to be in a new world where perpetual bliss prevails.

Boys and girls do not play the same games. For example boys are active, stronger and adventurous. Similarly, their games are vigorous and demand strength and determination to carry them out. On the one hand, girls are generally weaker as compared with boys. They are also slow

and self-conscious to take part in boys games. Their games consist of dancing and singing by themselves.

The following are some examples of special children's songs which include songs of praise, war songs as well as love and counting songs:

1. Navro pe na,
Ka yan duro, ka yan duro,
Nakona pe yo, ka yan duro
Kalo, nle, nts.

2. Womu o dzere womu o dzere Alogweru na,
Dia yee, womu o dzere tfira bola ne.
Womu o dzere womu o dzere Kambona na,
Dia yee, womu o dzere tfira bola ne.

3. Awuri yage awuri yage yo!
Awuri yage bakun gmane
Awuri yage awuri yage yo,
Awuri yage bakun gmane,
Bana gu nona batfoge tiga
Awuri yage bakum gmane.

There is no choice of stories told to children. For example children's stories include folk tales about witches and wizards, animal stories, hunting stories as well as fairy tales.

The following are some examples of local folk lore:

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------|
| (a) Fairy tales. | Tjitjiru sensole |
| (b) Wiru de Nasia | The hyena and the hare |
| (c) Kane de o bu. | A woman and her son, |
| (d) Tonu de Nasia | The hunter and the hare. |

Some examples of English stories:

- (a) Hope O' my thumb.
- (b) Jack and the beanstalk.
- (c) Stories from the Arabian Nights.
- (d) Aladdin and the Lamp.
- (e) Seven at once blow.

Most adults recall the following books and stories which they enjoyed during their school days:

- (a) King Solomon's Mines
- (b) Arabian Nights.
- (c) The Royal Prince Readers.
- (d) The Atlantis Readers.
- (e) Tom Brown's School Days.
- (f) Uncle Tom's Cabin.
- (g) The King Arthur's Round Table.
- (i) The story of Hercules.
- (j) The story of Atlas.
- (k) Balduar the Beautiful.

Work:

Work:

sex	Period	Activities.
Girls	Imitative and imaginative. Mostly copying adult's activities.	Beating floors. Cooking, sweeping, water carrying, washing.
Boys		Hoeing, blacksmithing, Hunting,
Boys and girls		Building and plastering walls. Weaving with reeds. Herding of animals.
		Looking after babies when mother is busy.
Boys	Responsible work. Still children help mother and father but are entrusted with the work at times.	Building, farming and gardening, keeping poultry and hunting and fishing.
Girls		Cooking and grinding, harvesting and sowing, water carrying, looking after babies, selling and buying
Boys and girls		Weaving with grass. Fishing and gathering of fruits.



These girls are preparing food as a play activity.



These girls have just returned from the water hole.



These girls are going to fetch water.

Most of the work done by boys and girls is carried out both in and outside the home. For example hunting for lizards and grasshoppers, herding animals, hoeing, harvesting and sowing and selling and buying are done outside the home. But activities such as cooking, grinding of flour, house building and plastering of walls are done in the home.

Girls are connected with the domestic work such as cooking and grinding and water carrying. They also help with the work on the farm; they help to sow and harvest the crops and scare away birds from eating maturing crops. Boys on the other hand, do manual work of all kinds. For example farming and gardening, and house building are done by boys.

Rewards in connection with work are given by praising good performance. For example, a girl was entrusted with the preparation of the family food while her mother was busy brewing her (sana) native beer. During the eating, the mother discovered that the girl had made the food well. Then the mother said to her, "N zim ke lanyirane. Gule dem lamma." (You have done well today, the food tastes nice.)

Punishments on the other hand, are administered by blaming and sometimes beating for poor or careless work done or for negligence of duty. For example, when herdboys allow their cattle, goats and sheep to wander in growing crops, the farmer chases after them and when caught, they are whipped with guinea corn sticks. Here is another example. A weaver started a boy's work (a handbag) for him and asked him to continue with the weaving. Soon the weaver came to examine the work of the boy and found that the boy had spoilt the handbag. The weaver said to him, "Ni n na dzane tampogo kon n tfoje. M mo bri n ba lore kolo kolo." (See, you have spoilt the hand bag that I started for you to continue to weave. You have never done anything well, in your

life.)

At Nogesinia, parents do not approve of their children working for money. They especially resent their children becoming domestic servants of clerks. For instance, parents believe that to serve as a domestic servant is an inferior thing to do. Parents also hold the opinion that when their children serve Europeans or Southerners, the children are no longer theirs. They say, "Bu on zu gao. O ye fela dzinga nono mo lanka." (The boy has 'gone to the bush' because he is now in the hands of the white man. 'Going to bush' means that the boy has learnt the ways of the white man and so he is now a different person from them.) Most parents would rather have their children to stay at home and work for them than to go abroad and seek paid jobs. Nowadays however, times are changing for the desire for money has driven most young men to go to the big centres such as Kumasi and Mining areas for work, in spite of the unwillingness of their parents.

As soon as the harvesting season is over, that is after the months of December, January and February, there is very little work to be done on the farms. During this period of no work, most young men beguile the time by seeking employment with the District Council to get some money to buy their needs; others take to raising poultry and yet others go to Kumasi and other large towns to work for money. As a rule, children under fifteen years are not allowed to leave home for distant places to seek employment. It is generally believed that to have more food is better than to have a lot of hard cash lying in old pots and covered with the dust of the years. So instead of boys working for money, parents would rather prefer them to help grow more food.

Adolescence:

At Nogesinia girls as rule, do not menstruate before the age of fifteen to sixteen years. They learn all about menstruation from their mothers by seeing them menstruate. For example, I was told that a young girl (aged about fourteen years) once saw her mother menstruating. She told her mother, "Ni dzana na toge & n naga." (Look, blood is flowing from your thighs.) The mother replied, "Ane ~~ta~~ tega mo. Kaane mama ne tega tjana tjana." (I am washing. Every grown up woman washes once every month. If you are old enough you will also have it.)

At Nogesinia, love and sex affairs feature prominently in the daily conversations of grown ups. For instance when women are conversing, the topic of their conversation is usually about their lovers. For example, one woman will ask the other, "N bolu on dane o tu o nyo sana na. A ye be mo dge dzege o?" (Your lover has kept long without coming to drink your (beer) sana. What can the matter be?)

When men meet each other, especially if they are close friends, they talk about their lovers too. For example, one man will say to the other, "N ye we a di ve a bolu on sogo?" (Do you know that I visited my lover last night? She prepared some fine food with meat for me.) The other man usually asks, "N di wu pane na?" (Didn't you sleep at her house?) The usual answer is, "A gore" which literally means I slept there of course.

Both men and women are fond of composing love songs which they sing in praise of their beloved ones. Children also learn to sing these songs from very early age. So although sex knowledge is not taught directly to children, yet they learn all about sex matters from the songs and through the daily talks about men and women which children hear

being discussed by their parents and in the market place.

No emphasis is placed on chastity by parents. From an early age (3 years) children play with ^{one} another as man and wife. They pretend to be married and sleep together in a room and behave exactly like married couple. Of course when adults see them behaving in that way, they are whipped. Again, children grow up and sleep together in the same room until they reach marriageable age. It is however questionable whether this is an inducement to immoral practices or not. Boys and girls are known to have secret meeting places where they retire to satisfy their lust. When parents see them in this act they usually beat the girls and when angry, pepper is ground by the mother and put into the girl's vagina as a punishment.

Adolescent sex activities are connected with dancing and chatting at nights. During moon light nights about five or more boys will go to the house of one of their girl friend. They usually say, "Di laga se di vo di belu sago di lare." (We want to go to our lover's house to keep her company.) Having come to the girl's house, the girl's mother will ask the girl to give the boys a mat to sit on. After greeting the girl's mother, the boys are left to talk to their girl friend, sometimes till mid-night before they go home at other times all the boys sleep at their girl friend's house. During such visits at night, the boys and their girl friend beguile the time in singing songs in praise of lovers and when happy they dance in turn to the music of their voices.

Apart from the night visit which boys pay to their girl friend's house, the adolescent boy and girl are fond of meeting each other in the market place on market days to chat and flirt. For example a boy and his girl

friend will meet each other at a private corner and talk and flirt to their hearts desire. During this time the boy friend will insist that the girl friend should make a promise to marry him. The girl friend often says that she will marry him but she does not often keep to her words. In the evening when the market is over, the boy takes his girl friend half way to her house where the main theme of their conversation is the fact that the boy and girl are making wild promises to get married as soon as possible. When they are parting for the night, the boy gives some kola nuts to his girl friend as a sign of love. At this stage, love between a boy and girl is known and sanctioned by the parents concerned. It is a pride for an adolescent girl to have more than one lover. A beautiful girl has about a dozen friends or lovers. A girl who has fewer friends is generally called an ugly girl.

Romantic love is practised for love sake. For example, at Nogesia, boys from the same section as the girls and whom they call their sisters, are allowed to make love with one another. But they cannot get married because it is believed that they are all one in the sense that they trace their ancestor to a common man.

Girls confide in their mothers about their love affairs. For example, when boys and girls fall in love with one another in the market place, the girls come home to tell their mothers about it. When this is done, the mothers tell their daughters, "Ta de n bolu on se o ba sogo." (Bring your friend to the house for me to see him.) All presents given to the girl by her friends are ~~at~~ shown to the mother on her return home in the evening.

Before the period of excision, girls (14 years.) ~~yo~~ generally make friends with young men or boys. But after the excision

period, both young and grown up men are at liberty to woo the girl and marry her.

Some adolescents are difficult to manage by their parents. For instance, during this period, boys especially are care free. Some of them like to walk from house to house to drink sana (the native beer) and to flirt with the girls who are selling the sana, instead of staying at home and helping with the work of the house. When this persists there are frequent clashes between father and son. For example, Atjana was an adolescent boy who was well known to me. He did not like to do any work to help his father but only delighted in merry-making - drinking and flirting with the young girls. As a result, he bought sana (the native beer) from the sellers on credit and had no money to pay his debts. His father hearing of the reckless life he was leading tried to check him but Atjana was incorrigible. He refused to listen to good advice for his mind was full of bad ugly thoughts. At last, finding that his behaviour leaves much to be desired in the accepted ways of the community in which he belonged, Atjana thought he could go to Kumasi and stay there until such time that all his shameful acts or deeds would have been forgotten. So he quietly left for Kumasi where he stayed for three years and returned home only quite recently. Now Atjana is a quiet sober man and several of his companions and friends who once called him a good-for-nothing person are giving him his due respect in the light of the remarkable change which had taken place in him, since his return from 'abroad'.

A girl becomes an adult when she is about 14 years of age, that is soon after the excision ceremony. In the case of boys, adulthood is reached when a boy has grown hairs



An adolescent boy. Note
his dress worn generally
on market days.

on his genitals, roughly about the age of 17 years or more.

During the prepuberty stage, boys and girls are not yet conscious of themselves. For example, they are careless about their bodily cleanliness and dress, for they wear little or no clothing. The boy for instance wears (a loin cloth) dzogu and the girl puts on her (skirt) mankuru. Thirty years ago when I was a child of about 3 years old, I noticed that women and girls wore only a bunch of leaves neatly plaited. The leaves were worn at the back and front to conceal the woman's private parts. In other words, leaves served as cloth for the opposite sex. During puberty, a girl could not put on leaves at the front as the older women do. This was a sure indication that such a girl had not come of age.

With the onset of puberty, the boy and the girl begin ^{to} see some changes taking shape in their bodies. For example, the girl begins to have breasts and the boy begins to have hairs growing around his genitals. From now onwards, the boy and the girl begin to be aware of their existence. For example the girl begins to shy of her growing breasts and tends to hide them in public by using her hands to cover them. She does this by folding her hands across her chest in order to hide the breasts. I have noticed nowadays that among the well-to-do families at Nogesinia, the girl at this stage begins to wear her cloth above the level of the breasts in order to cover them up. Similarly the boy too is not content to wear only the loin cloth as of late. He now wears a smock in addition, especially on market days where he begins to make friends with girls of his own age.

Puberty comes round about the age of 14 years with boys. Girls reach this stage a year or two earlier than boys.

Puberty is a period of finery and show off among the boys and girls. For example, on market days, the boys and the girls spend a lot of time in bathing, cleaning their teeth with sticks and charcoal, and smearing of sheabutter on their skins. Then they go to the market usually in the afternoon to meet their friends. Every girl has one or more friends of whom the parents are aware. In the market the boys walk round in the company of their girl friends generally hand in hand. At the close of the market at about 6.30 p.m. the boys accompany their girl friends to their houses and sometimes spend the night with them, sleeping in the same room. Some parents permit intercourse but others do not permit it because they consider it an honour if their daughter proves to be a virgin at the time of excision. The excision ceremony takes place at the age 14 years. It is a public ceremony and the occasion for much dancing to which anyone may attend. Two or more girls who are known to have been matured are taken to the Kangoga (the excisioner.) The parents of the girls take presents or fees such as a basketful of sheanuts, a calabash-ful of millet and a fowl to the excisioner. Before the excisioner does his work, it is the custom to find out whether the girl concerned has had intercourse with men or not before that time. The excisioner inserts his thumb into the vagina of the girl and if the penetration is more than half an inch, the girl is not a virgin. When the girl proves to be 'spoilt' the excisioner informs the parents of the girl and then demands for extra fees before he does the work. After having cut the clitoris, the girl is taken home and nursed until she is quite fit to do work. During the nursing period, an old woman is engaged to

to clean or dress the sore twice daily by washing it with warm water. The excised girl is fed on good food such as boiled beans, sweet potatoes, furafura potatoes and porridge. They give her all the best food to fatten her so that when she is discharged, she will appear fresh and plump in the eyes of those who will woo her for marriage.

After the excision ceremony is over, people say of such a girl, "Bisenkana kam gom na o ve Kulnaba". Literally it means that the girl has come of age for marriage. Both her old and some new friends now begin to woo her for marriage. The following are methods of obtaining a wife at Nogesinia: Firstly to obtain a wife, all the young men as well as the old men who are courting the girl to marry, pay frequent visits to the girl's house with small presents such as tobacco, salt, kola nuts and guinea fowls to the mother of the girl. Money of course is not accepted as part of the presents. Apart from the mother to whom these presents are given, the brothers and sisters of the girl and the other women in the same house are tipped by each suitor so that they could help to win the girl's heart for them. For example, the other women apart from the girl's mother are given a lot of drink (the native beer) and the children are always given gifts of pennies. It must be noted that there is not a fixed day set aside for a wedding day at Nogesinia. Marriage is done by capture. For example, the girl is captured in the market, usually on market days and carried off by men or women of the man's compound and that ends the case. There is this kind of marriage where a married woman visits her father's compound and brings back a younger sister to help in the house work. The woman's husband looks upon the

younger sister as a new wife no matter her age.

When a woman is married and has children, her father demands for the bride price of four cows. If the husband fails to pay these, both the woman and her children are taken away from her husband, the woman is given to a new husband and her children become members of the father's family.

The child's favourite story.

Name: Kogorepud (aged 10 years.)

The story was told at night at home.

Once upon a time, a ram and a cock built a ^{golden} house and lived in it. All the chiefs wanted to break the house down and take away the gold.

The ram used to go to the bush to eat some salt while the cock stayed at home to guard the house.

One day the ram left as usual to the bush to eat the salt. While he was away in the bush, the chief of a village came to break down the house. The cock could sing so he began to sing the following song to call the ram home:

Kokrigelikwi pe bigoo pe bigoo!

Ba ye yo, ba ye yo,

Gulu kwaga wura gungue kwaga wura

Dij, zag de vo, babia tu ka be.

When the ram heard the song, he hurried home and killed the chief butting him with his horns. Several chiefs tried to break down the golden house and take away the gold but they all failed because the ram killed them in the same way. Then the chief of the Moshi people came from a far away country. He brought with him some salt. When the ram saw the salt he went to eat and the Moshi chief killed the cock and took away the gold. That is all my story. I have cut the head and the neck of it.

The story about a bad girl and a bad boy.

Name of child: ANE (aged 10 years.)

The story was told at night at home.

A chameleon and a hare once lived together. They used to go to the chief's house to court a woman and her sister at the same time. The chief built a tall room and hid the girl inside it. Then the chief cut a large beam and told the hare and the chameleon that whoever brought home the beam, would be given the girl to marry. The chameleon was a medicine man and the hare knew that he could order the beam to come home to the chief with his magic. So the hare went and waited for the chameleon where the beam lay. Soon the chameleon arrived and found the hare already there. The chameleon spat on the beam and it flew in the air and then fell in front of the chief's house. The hare was a good runner so he ran after the beam and when he reached the chief's house, he told the chief that he brought the beam. The chameleon came later to say that he ordered the beam to come by his magic, but he was sent away from the chief's house with slaps on the face. The woman and her sister were given to the hare to be his wives.

Then the hare was asked to fix the beam in the ground, but he could not lift it because it was too heavy. The chameleon came and did it easily and proved that he really made the beam to fly home to the chief's house. He was able to fix the beam by spitting on it. When this was done, the hare was put to shame and the girls were taken from him and given to the chameleon. Again the hare went and hid on the way and took the girls from the chameleon, by force. The chameleon became angry

and prevented the rain from falling for three years. Everybody in the land became hungry and sad so the chief got back the girls for the chameleon and then he allowed the rain to come.

Soon the woman was pregnant and delivered a boy and her sister too brought forth a girl at the same time. When the children grew up, they did not want to be called the children of the chameleon. So they threw a big stone on the chameleon and killed him. Then they caught a snake and made it bite their mothers and they too died. So the chief ordered that no one should give the children any food to eat. But his own wife hid and fed the children. After eating the food they went and reported the wife to the chief for giving them food to eat. On hearing this, the chief killed his wife.

In the night the boy and girl went to the farm house and took out all the eyes of the animals belonging to the chief. They climbed a tree under which the chief was sitting and told him what they had done. In his anger the chief ordered the tree to be cut down. But before the tree fell down, a big bird came and took the children and dropped them on a tree and killed them too. A tortoise came along and brought them back to life again but they ate the tortoise for his trouble. From there they went to an old woman's house where they poured hot oil on her whole body and she became sore all over. The old woman caught them and put them in a sack to be burnt alive but they came out and put the old woman's daughter in the sack. The old woman without knowing

the trick, burnt her own daughter to death. And when this was discovered afterwards, the old woman killed herself. That is all my story.

The following factual report was given and recorded verbatim:

A bad boy.

Name of the boy who gave the report: Alira (aged 7 years.)

I know a bad boy called Aboewe. He once beat me on the way to the market.

2. Name of the boy who gave the report: Anubu (aged 10 years.)

A big bad boy called Nyanguayire beat his mother and then ran away to Kumasi.

3. Name of the boy who gave the report: Kobutera (aged 8 years.)

A bad boy once tried to drown me in a pond. He pushed my head under the water and I could not breathe. I cried and a man who was farming near the pond ran and saved me.

4. Name of the boy who gave the report: Lirase (aged 10 years.)

I knew a bad boy whose mother was a native beer brewer. One day she brewed the beer and sold it all. She kept the money under the beer pot. Her son who was a bad boy came along quietly and took as much of the money as his hands could hold. He came to us and gave all of us 5/- each. We were three in number.

5. Name of the boy who gave the report: Bagona (aged 8 years.)

A bad boy breaks the ears of growing millet and spoils them for pleasure.

6. Name of the boy who gave the report: Akatsla (aged 7 years.)

A bad boy once went into a groundnut farm and stole some groundnuts. The farmer caught him and whipped him. He did not cry.

A bad girl.

Name of the boy who gave the report: Adda (aged 9 years.)

My sister is a bad girl. She is called Koyiamo. When my mother tells her to work in the ~~the~~ house she refuses. She likes roaming about in the market talking to her boy friends. She is a big girl.

2. Name of the boy who gave the report: Adzatu (aged 11 years.)

There is a bad girl in our house. She is called Kosiamo. When her mother tells her to go and fetch water she will go and delay there playing. Sometimes she will come back with an empty pot to say that there is no water. Her mother used to beat her.

3. Name of the boy who gave the report: Kora (aged 12 years.)

I know a bad girl aged 5 years. Her mother has a baby and this girl looks after the baby. When she takes out the baby she used to pinch the baby and so makes him cry. One day her mother saw her pinching the baby so she was beaten.

4. Name of the boy who gave the report: Anuga (aged 9 years.)

I know a bad girl. Her mother makes masa (cakes) for her to sell. She used to spend some of the money. And when questioned about the money she would say, "Ko dze." (The money is lost.)

When she goes out in the morning to sell things, she will return home late in the night.

The following is a factual report given and recorded verbatim:

A good boy.

Name of the boy who gave the report: Asoro (aged 8 years.)

I know a good boy. He is in the same school with me. In the classroom he does not trouble me as the other children do. He is always quiet. Our teacher said that we should all be like him.

2. Name of the boy who gave the report: SEWE (aged 10 years.)

Abuga is a good boy. He lives near my house. I used to see him driving in his father's chickens in the evenings. In the morning he goes to fetch white ants for the fowls. Most boys in Nogesinia will not do that. That is why he is a good boy.

3. Name of the boy who gave the report: Tandze (aged 7 years.)

I saw a boy one day in the market. He was eating masa (cakes) and he gave me a bit of it. From that day we became friends. He used to come and play with me. Whenever he had some food he would give me some to eat.

4. Name of the boy who gave the report: Akamona (aged 9 years.)

I know a boy whose name is Kodiamo. He lives in a big house near the chief's house. When anybody sends him to do something he does it willingly. He is the favourite of everybody in the house because he is obedient.

A good girl.

Name of the boy who gave the report: Kadera (aged 10 years.)

Ayire is a good girl. Whenever her mother brews sana (native beer) and I go there she used to give me a calabash-ful to drink. When she meets me on the road she would say, "Din le." Literally it means to greet or to hail someone.

Name of the boy who gave the report: Avci (aged 8 years.)

I know a girl aged about 12 years. She is growing breasts. Every morning she takes a pot to go and fetch water for her mother. She helps her mother to pound maize. She cooks for her mother. She is hardworking. She is not like the other girls who go about the market doing nothing. Her mother too likes her. Her mother bought ivory armlet for her.

Name of the boy who gave the report: Aduayire (aged 12 years.)

Kabu is a little girl about 7 years old. She is a respectable girl. She greets people whenever she meets them.

Name of the boy who gave the report: Damwamu (aged 9 years.)

This girl is in our house. She is called Anube. She is a reliable girl. Her mother brews beer (sana) and she is often entrusted with the selling of the beer. She is able to sell the beer by herself and the money is never short. Because of that her mother likes her very much. Her mother gives her anything that she wants.

What the child would wish for if granted one wish.

I interviewed the following children and each gave the following wish:

Taafaga (aged 8 years) wished to have a lorry of his own.

Abuduloi (aged 7 years) wished to have a bicycle.

Aditorem (aged 8 years) wished to possess a car.

Kupuulugo (aged 10 years) wished to have a house.

Anuga (aged 6 years.) wished to have plenty of food to eat.

Kodz a (aged 9 years.) wished to own many cattle.

Sogotfoge (aged 11 years.) wished for much money.

Kayaga (aged 10 years.) wished to know everything in the world.

Aweotage (aged 9 years.) wished to become a chief and rule over all the people.

Aditfogen a (aged 8 years.) wished to become a man as quickly as possible and marry a wife.

Averu (aged 7 years.) wished to live for ever.

Self-description.

Name of the boy who described himself: Banadam (aged 8 years.)

I am black. My head is small. I am a small boy. My ears are large. My teeth are not white. My eyes are small. My legs are straight. My arms are long. I can touch my ~~toe~~ the middle of my head with my hands. My stomach is not large.

Name of the boy who described himself: Aduna (aged 9 years.)

I am short. I am a red boy. My head is large. There are scars on my legs. There is some phlegm always in my nose. My neck is short. My fingers are short. My stomach is small but my chest is big.

Name of the girl who described herself: Kane (aged 10 years.)

I am not a big girl. I am not tall. My body is black. I am wearing a blue frock. I can sing.

Name of the girl who described herself: Kabu (aged 7 years.)

I am a little girl. My hands are not big. My stomach is big when I eat food. There are sores on my head. I like running about.

Life story.

Koma (aged 9 years.) When I was a little child I did not do any work. When I became big I looked after my father's cows. for one year before I came to school. I came to school at the age of 7 years.

Gwini (aged 9 years.)

When I had not come to school, I used to fall sick often. I looked after my father's cattle for three years before I came to school. When I had not come to school, I made a sweet potato farm behind my mother's room. I used to wrestle with my friends. The defeated is slapped. When I was looking after my father's cattle I was made to ~~to~~ kill people's fowls. Our leader used to order me to do so. When I refused to obey him, he beat me. We used to steal groundnuts from the farms.

Sogotua (aged 8 years.)

I am a black boy. I am tall. I looked after my father's animals before I came to school. My brother used to beat me, when I failed to look after the animals. My father has a horse. I used to cut grass for the horse. I am now a school boy.

Imaginative play:

Webu (aged 5 years.) was given a doll to play with. Webu looked at the doll closely and then asked, "O ye bakera na bisenkana?" (Is it a boy or a girl.) The interviewer said, "O ye bisenkana mo." (It is a girl.) The interviewer then asked Webu to examine it closely for himself. After a careful examination, Webu agreed that it is a girl. He said, "O ziga kam nyi de bisenkana." (Its appearance is more like a girl than a boy.)

Webu began to play with the doll: He set it on the ground and said to it, "Sa sa a ni." (Dance and let me see.)

When the doll did not make any movement Webu asked the interviewer, "Fela bu on ware o sa na?" Can't the European child (meaning the doll) dance? The interviewer replied, "M wai n ke se o sai" (You can make it dance.)

Webu said, "A nan ke se o sa se de ni na." (All right, I will make it dance for us to see.) And he began to make the doll dance by moving it up and down. After some few minutes, Webu said to me, "A yage se o si se o bugi na." (I will let it rest for it is now tired.)

Akopia and Gola (aged 6 and 7 years respectively.)

They were given a cigarette and ovaltine tins to play with.

Akopia told Gola, "Pani ke wono de yage." (Let's play at shopping.) So they started to arrange the tins. They also

collected small stones and gravel and put them in heaps. They called each heap either yam or millet. Gola started bawling

his wares, "Wo mo laga pia se o yage?" (Who will buy boiled yams? Who wants yams to buy?) Akopia answered,

"Amo mo laga se a yage. Kana dzege ne. Ya san na?" (I want some rice to buy. I am hungry. Are they cooked?)

Akopia asked, "Pi dedoa yage bagera mo?" (How much does a piece of boiled yam cost?) Gola said, "Bi bi." (A piece of boiled yam costs 1d, 1d.)

Akopia took a small stone and to Gola, "Dzon bi se n pane pi." (Get a penny and give me a piece of yam.)

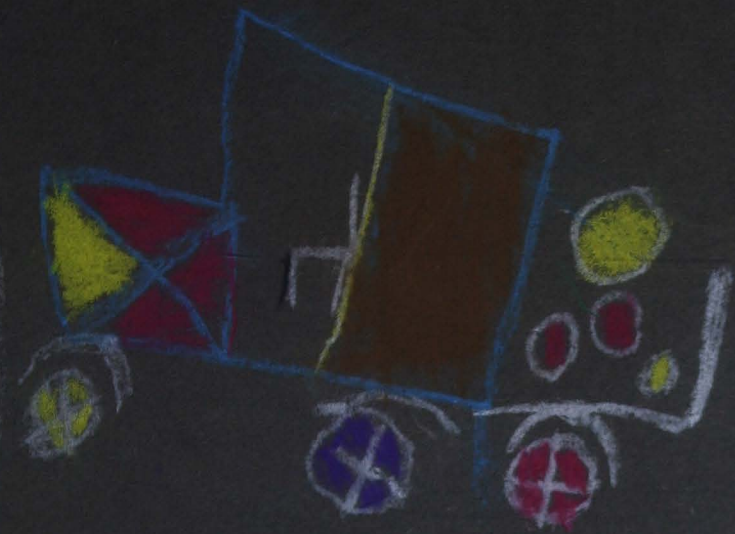
A piece of yam was given him in exchange for the penny and he pretended to eat. Whilst he was eating he said from time to time, "Ko yomma na." (It is sweet. It is very nice. I am enjoying eating it.)

Kabu (aged 7 years.)

She was given a doll to play with. Kabu said, "A soi a bu on yira, se a zu o garu se de vu yaga." (I will bathe my baby. Then I will dress him in his new clothes before we go to the market.) So she went and brought some pieces of different coloured cloth which she collected from the tailor's shop in the market. Then she put the doll in a basin of water and began to wash its body. When she finished bathing it she said, "A tiri abu on nuga lanka." I will now lubricate the body of my baby with oil. And she did so. Having done it, she dressed up the baby and said, "A vo abu on akwaga ne se a vu yaga." (Now I am going to carry my baby on my back to the market.) She went out with the baby on her back and returned in about two minutes time.

Then she said, "Yage se a pa abu on na se o nyo. Nanyon' dzege o." Let me untie my baby and give him some water to drink. He is thirsty. The sun is too hot. # She poured water on the doll.

Then she said, " Abu laga se o do mo." (My baby is feeling to go to sleep. Let me put him to bed.) She called her sister, " Asoy!" Ba dzog bu on sa a tug o sara se o dua." Come and get the baby while I make his bed for him to sleep. The sister came and said, " O dua mo na." (Has he fallen asleep. Bring him quietly or he will wake up.)



Drawing: Free drawing (A lorry and trailer.)
 Drawn at School. Name of pupil: Kose (aged 6 years.)
 The interviewer asked the child to draw anything that he likes. The child brought his finished work to me and said, " I have finished." The interviewer asked, "What is that?" The child said, "That's my father's lorry. My father is a driver." The interviewer said, "What is the lorry carrying?" The child replied, "My father went to Bolga market. He is bringing some kola nuts."



A chief going to his court.

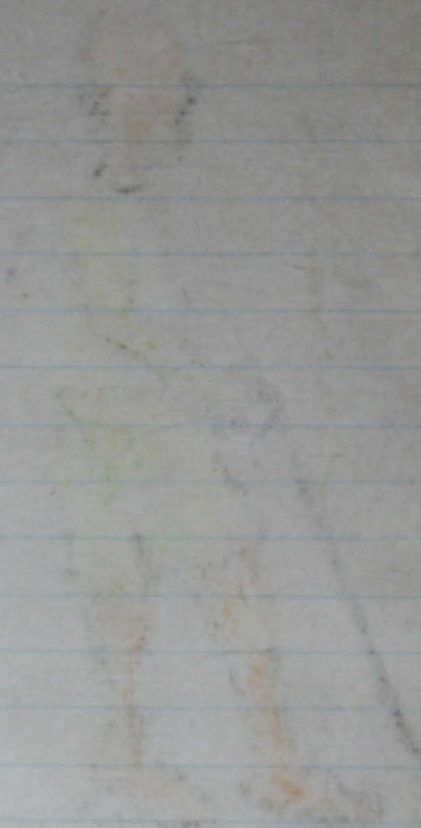
Drawing: A chief going to his court.

Drawn at school. Name of pupil - Mahama (aged 9y) yrs.

The interviewer asked Mahama to draw anything that he liked (free drawing.)

Mahama set to draw and afterwards brought his finished drawing to me. I asked him to tell me the story about his picture and he began as follows:

"My father is a chief. He is going to sit under that big tree and hear cases. When the sun is hot he sits under the tree." The interviewer asked him, "Who is that man walking in front of the chief?" The boy answered, "He is the chief's elder." The interviewer asked for the name of ^{the} thing held over the chief's head and the boy said that it is called "Paworo" (umbrella.)





Drawing: A man and a woman.

Drawn at home. Name of pupil Yusufu (aged 10 years.)

The interviewer said, "I want you to draw a man and a woman."

As the boy was drawing, the interviewer asked, "What are you doing?" The boy answered, "I am drawing a man and a woman going to the market." The interviewer asked, "What are they

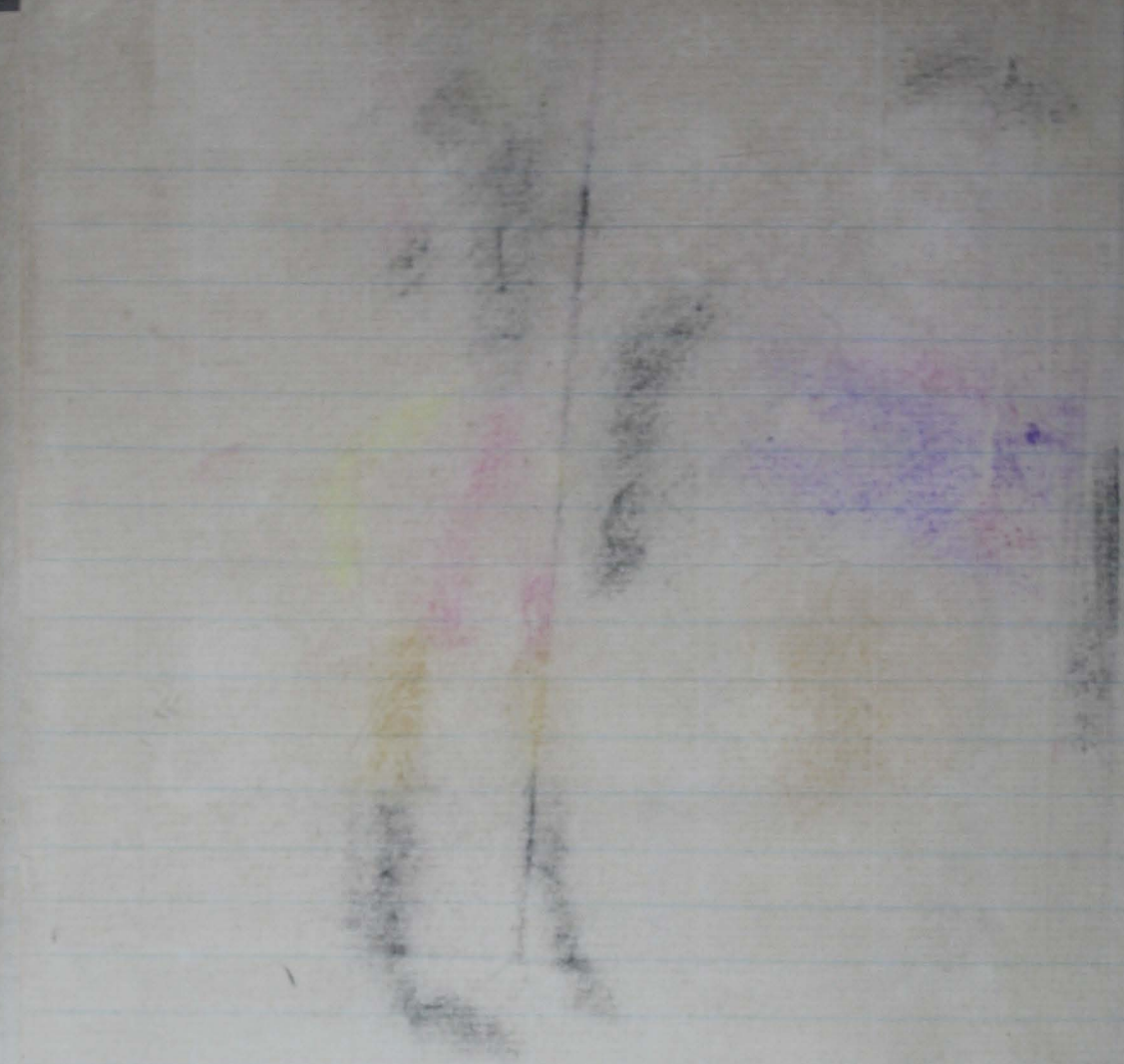
going to do there?" The boy replied, "They want to go and drink sana (native beer)." The interviewer asked, "What

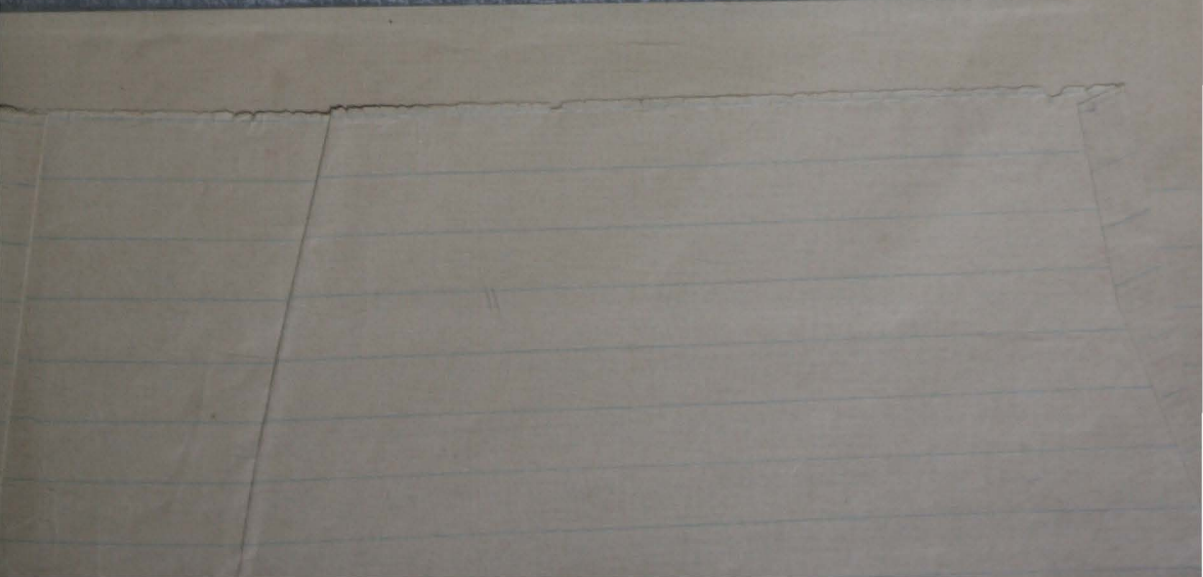
is the man holding?" He replied, "The man is holding a stick to defend himself. Because people often quarrel and fight on market days." The interviewer said, "Is the man an old

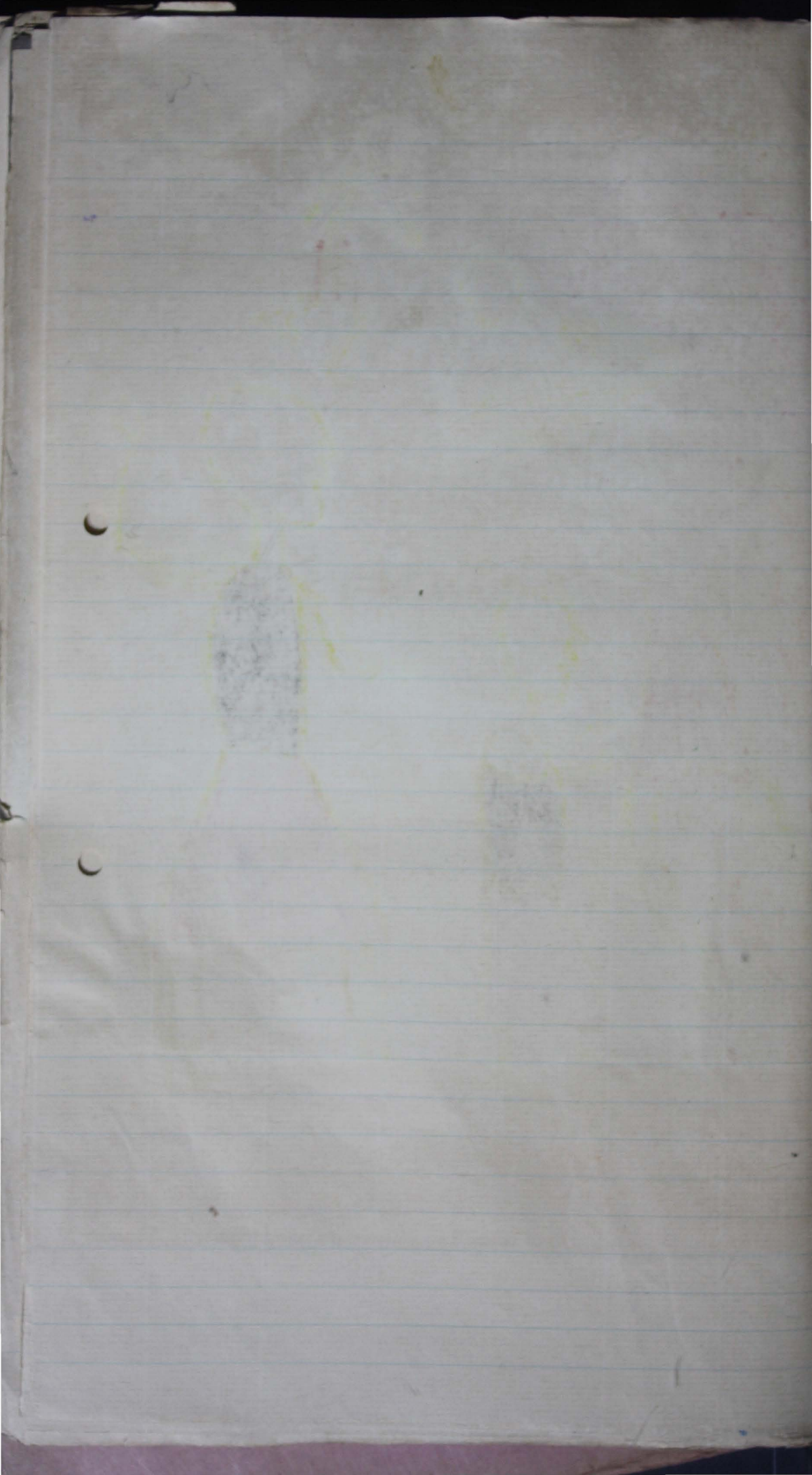
man?" The boy replied, "No, only he has a hunch back." The interviewer again asked, "Who is that woman?" The boy said,

"It is the man's wife. On market days the two of them go together. They drink from one calabash at the same time."

The interviewer asked, "Why?" The boy said, "Because they love each other."







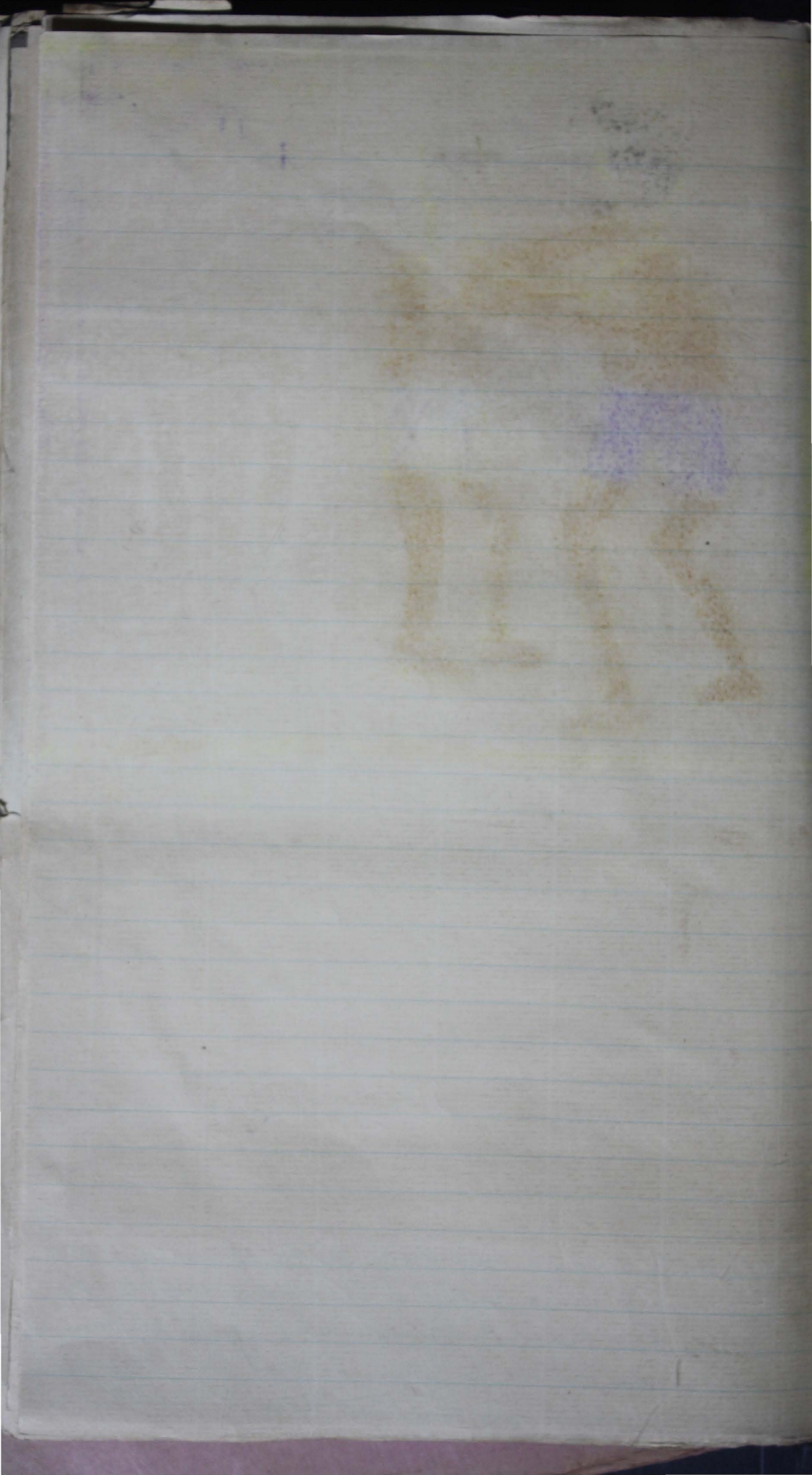


Drawn at home.

Name of pupil: Averi (aged 12 yrs.)

A Fight

pupil said the drawing is about family quarrels. A man is beating wife. The wife is a weak woman so her children came to help in fighting their father. The interviewer asked why the children help the mother and not the father. The pupil said that the children loved their mother more than their father. He added that the father is a harsh man.



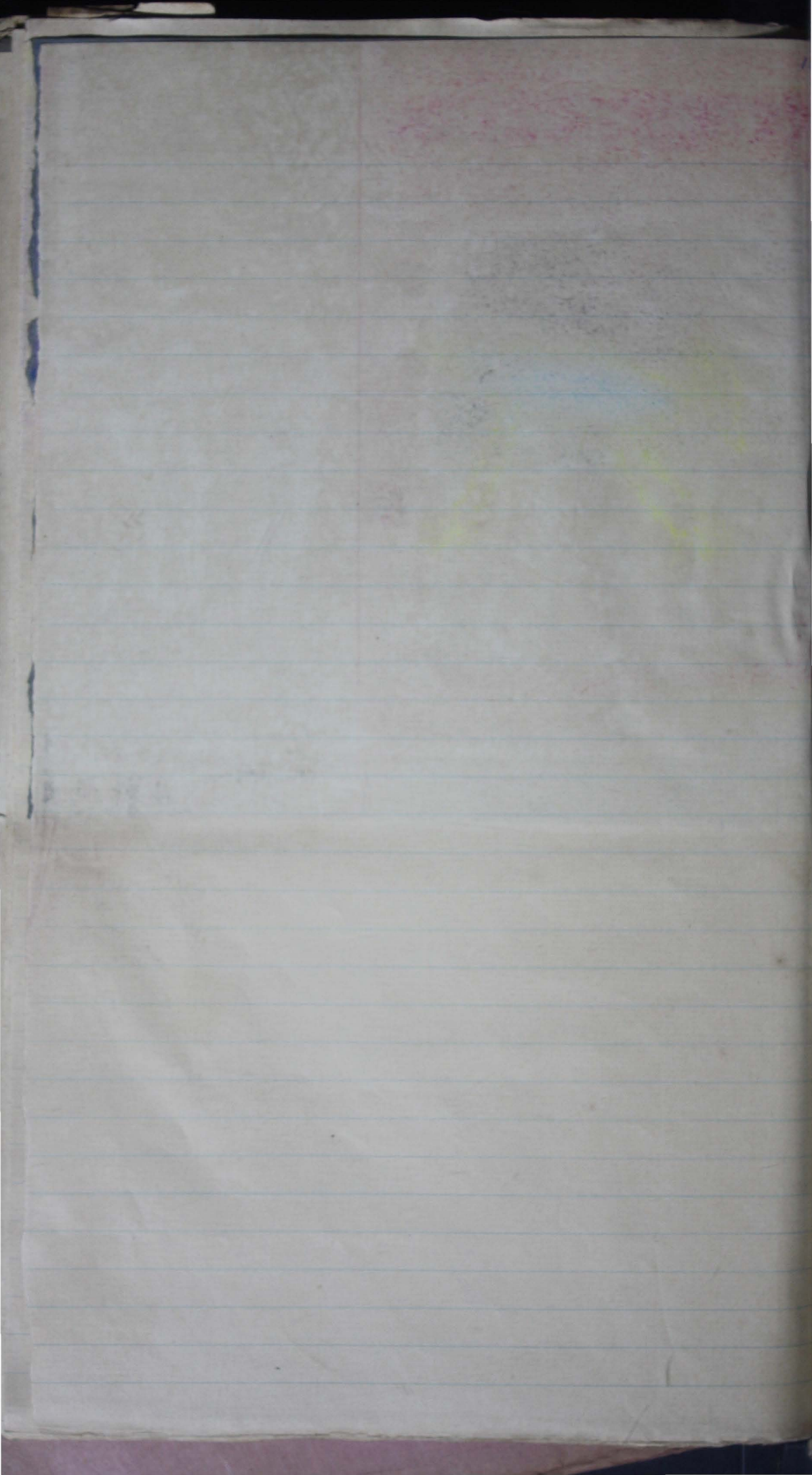


A fight

Drawing: A fight (wrestling.)

Drawn at School. Name of pupil - Ataoba (aged 11 years.)

The interviewer asked the pupil if he had witnessed a fight before. The boy replied that people get drunk on market days and fight. The interviewer next asked the boy to draw a fight which he had seen. When the drawing was finished, the interviewer asked the boy to tell him a story about the picture he had drawn. The boy began, "This is a picture showing two drunken men wrestling on a market day. They both drank a lot of *sansa* (the native beer.) The boy continued, "The man with the black beard is a troublesome man. He is always quarreling with people if he is drunk. He is called Ayebu."





Lara To

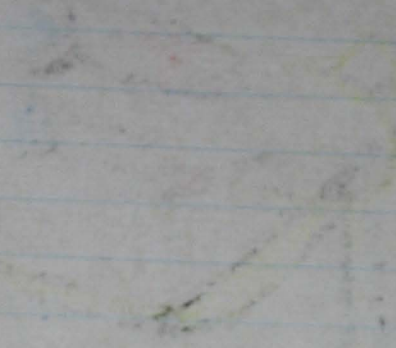
Drawing - The Pleasantest thing. (A woman feeding fowls.)

Drawn at School. Name of pupil: Farafara Tampu (aged 9 years)

The interviewer asked the pupil to draw something pleasant.

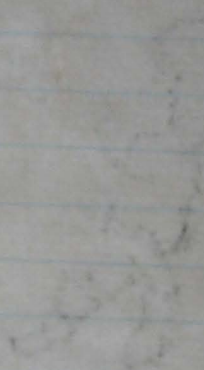
The pupil commenced drawing and soon brought his finished drawing to show it to me. I asked him, "What is the story about your picture?" The pupil said, "The woman in the picture is my mother. She is feeding her fowls."

I asked the pupil, "Why do ^{you} say feeding of fowls is a pleasant thing?" He replied, "Because if my mother wants money she will sell one of the fowls. And when I am going to school, she will give me some of the money to buy food."

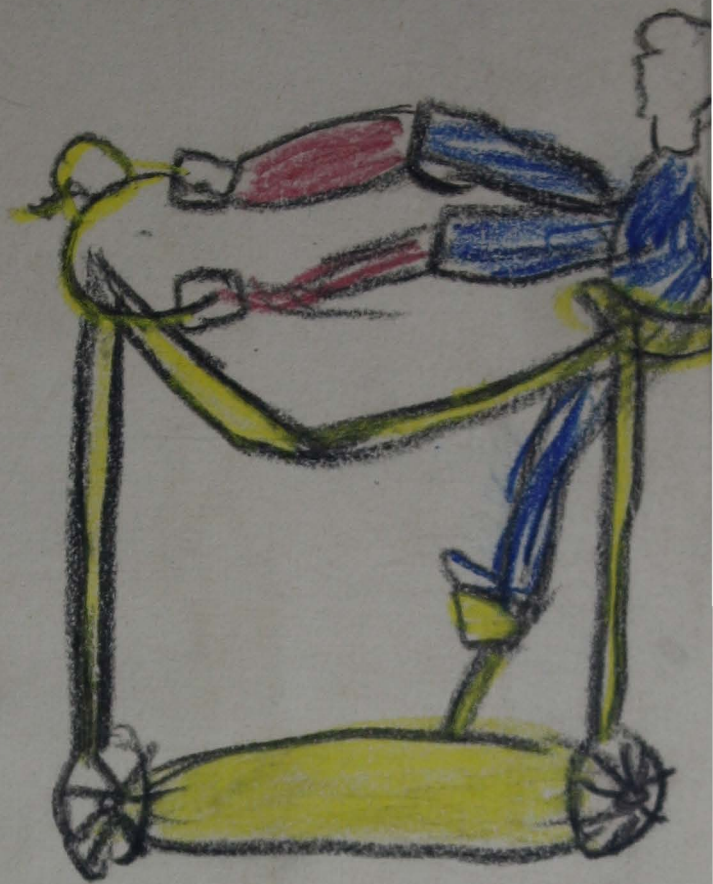


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Handwritten notes in blue and red ink, including the number '1' and some illegible characters.



The Pleasantest thing.

Drawing: The Pleasantest thing.
Drawn at home during the holidays. Name of pupil: (Idrisu aged 9 years).
The interviewer asked the child to draw something which is most pleasant to him. The child began to draw a man riding a bicycle with a small boy standing in front of the man. The interviewer asked, "Why do you say a bicycle the pleasantest thing?" The child replied, "Because cycle riding is most enjoyable. Most people in Nogosinia have bicycles. They used to carry their children on the bicycles." The interviewer, "What is the small boy doing?" The ~~boy~~ child answered, "The small boy wants the man to pick him on his bicycle. The small ^{boy} will cry if the man does not give him a lift."



WOMEN DRAWING WATER

Drawing: The Pleasantest thing.

Drawn at home during the holidays. Name of pupil: (Idrisu aged 9 years.)

The interviewer asked the child to draw something which is most pleasant to him. The child began to draw a man riding a bicycle with a small boy standing in front of the man. The interviewer asked, "Why do you say a bicycle the pleasantest thing?" The child replied, "Because bicycle riding is most enjoyable. Most people in Nagesinia use bicycles. They used to carry their children on the bicycles." The interviewer, "What is the small boy doing?" The ~~boy~~ child answered, "The small boy wants the man to pick him on his bicycle. The small ^{boy} will cry if the man does not give him a lift."




Drawing: The unpleasantest thing: (Spirits of the bush.)

Drawn at School. Name of pupil - Awudandi (aged 10 years.)

The interviewer asked the pupil to do free drawing.

The pupil soon finished and brought his drawing to show me. Then I asked him, "What have you drawn?" He answered, "I drew a picture of the spirits of the bush. They are most unpleasant beings." I next asked him, "What are they doing?" He said, "They are having a meeting. They always meet to decide what to do. For example if they want to do someone harm, they meet to decide the nature of the harm. I then asked him, "What harm do the spirits cause to people?" The boy said, "They throw stones at people. See, they are throwing stones at the boy who is riding the bicycle."



unpleasantest
thing: Hippo

Drawing: The unpleasantest thing. (A hippo.)

Drawn at School. Name of pupil - Agoriba (aged 9 years.)

The interviewer asked the pupil to draw something unpleasant which he had seen or heard of. The pupil told the interviewer that a hippo was killed in the river near his house and the animal was huge and ugly looking. He also told the interviewer that his mother told him that hippos eat little children.

Then the interviewer asked the pupil to draw the hippo as he had seen it when it was killed.



The unpleasantest thing : A hare.

Drawn at School. Name of pupil: Sebem (aged 9 years.)

The interviewer asked the boy if he could think of anything unpleasant he had seen or heard of and if he could draw it. The boy told the interviewer that the hare was a bad or an unpleasant little animal. The interviewer asked, "What has the hare done?" The boy replied, "The hare is fond of deceiving people. Our teacher told us a story in which the hare deceived the Elephant and the Hippo to pull tug-of-war." He said finally, "Nwisia dzege soa dede (The hare is a cunning and crafty animal.)"



Drawing: What the child is afraid of.

Drawn at home. Name of pupil. Azuwé (aged 9 years.)

The interviewer asked Azuwé to draw what a child is afraid of. Azuwé said, "I know what a child is afraid of at Nogosinia. I can draw it." He was given materials and he started to draw. When he finished, the interviewer asked, "Do children at Nogosinia fear to go near a lorry?" Azuwé answered, "When it is standing still 'No' but when it is running 'Yes'. The interviewer said, "What is that child doing on the road?" Azuwé answered, "He saw the lorry coming towards him. He is afraid and is crying." The interviewer asked, "Why does the child fear a lorry when it is running?" Azuwé replied, "Because lorries kill people. Last year, a lorry killed a certain girl who was trying to cross the road when a lorry was coming."



Drawing: What the child fears. (A crocodile.)

Drawn by a pupil at home: Felle (aged 12 years.)

The interviewer asked Felle to draw what he is afraid of.

He set to draw and before long, produced a finished drawing of a crocodile.

The interviewer asked, "Is that what you are afraid of?"

He answered, "I fear it too much. I was told that a crocodile once snatched a man from a canoe and took him into the river. Nobody heard of the man again."



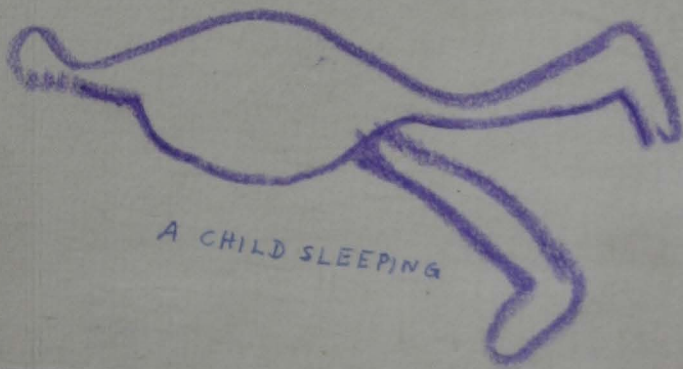
Drawing: What the child fears. (Jackals)

Drawn at home. Name of pupil: Nono (aged 10 years.)

The interviewer asked Nono to draw what he fears.

Nono said, "I know what I fear. I can draw what I am afraid of." The interviewer next said, "Will draw what you fear for me to see?" Nono was given the materials and soon set to work. After sometime had past, he brought the picture to me and said, "These are what I fear."

The interviewer asked, "What are they?" Nono replied, "They are bush animals. They look like dogs. We call them 'Konyankuri' in Kassem. They roam in groups in the bush." The interviewer asked, "Have you ever seen one of them?" Nono replied, "No." But he said, "My father is a hunter. He told me about them." The interviewer said to him, "What did your father tell you about them?" Nono said, "My father told me that they are bad. They are always thirsty for blood. He said that when they see a man in the bush, they will try to eat him alive. He also said that when blood touches one of themselves, the rest will eat him up." The interviewer asked, "Is that the reason why you are afraid of them?" Nono said, "Yes, because if they see me alone in the bush they will eat me up too."



Drawing: (A dream.) Drawn at home. Name of pupil KUZU (aged 9 yr)

The interviewer asked the child, "Have you ever dreamt a dream?"

Child: "Yes, I dreamt a dream about ghosts when I was sleeping."

Interviewer: "Can you draw your dream?"

The child was given materials and then he drew his dream as in the above.

Interviewer: "Who is sleeping?" The child said, "I am sleeping."

Interviewer: "Who are standing near the sleeper?" The child said, "They are the ghosts."

The interviewer, "Why are ghosts standing over you?" The child said: "In my sleep, I dreamt that I saw the ghosts standing over me. I was crying loudly in my dream although my brother who was lying near me could not hear my voice. Then I woke up but I did not see the ghosts, and I became very much frightened."

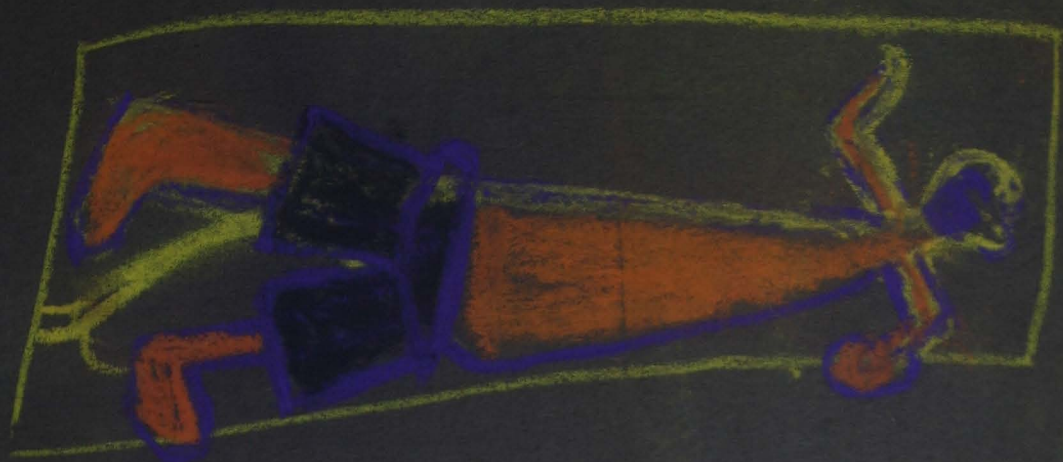


Awepoga
10 years.

Drawing: A dream (A wild cat)

Drawn at School. Name of pupil: Awepoga (aged 10 years.)

The interviewer asked Awepoga if he ever had a dream. Awepoga said that he dreamt and saw a wild big cat. The interviewer told the boy to represent his dream in drawing. The boy started drawing and when finished he brought his picture to me. I asked him if the cat was the only thing he saw in his dream and he said that in his dream, the cat came to eat him up. Then I asked him, "What did you do when the cat tried to eat you up?" He replied, "I cried, and cried at the top of my voice, calling for my father to come to my aid. But I was..."



Drawing: A dream. (Dancing)

Drawn at School: Name of pupil: Nakwa (aged 10 years.)

The interviewer asked the pupil, "Have you ever had a dream?" The pupil at once said he once dreamt a dream. In his dream he saw a man dancing. Then the interviewer asked the pupil if he could draw his dream.

When the pupil was drawing, the interviewer asked, "What are you doing?" The said, "I am drawing my dream."

When the drawing was finished the interviewer again asked the following questions: (a) Who is lying on the mat? The pupil answered, "I am." (b) What is that man standing doing? The pupil replied, "He is dancing." (c) On what occasion was the man dancing? The pupil said, "It is on a market day. People are happy on market days."



Drawing: A child's room.

Drawn at School. Name of pupil - John. (aged 8 years.)

The interviewer asked John where he slept at night. He replied that he slept in his mother's room. Then the interviewer said, "Where do you keep your things?" John answered, "I keep my few things in the room in which I sleep." Next the interviewer said to John, "Can you draw your room and show the things in it?" John said he could and started to draw the inside of his room. When he finished his picture he said "The i" and said "The i"



Drawing: Inside a child's room.

Drawn at home. Name of pupil: Kotogiba (aged 11 years.)

The interviewer asked, "What is this?"

The pupil answered, "It is the inside of a child's room."

The interviewer said, "Can you name the things found in the room?"

The pupil said "yes" and began to name them as follows:

(a) bottles (empty) (b) spoons (wooden and metal.) (c) eye-glasses.

(d) a mat. (e) stones (f) old empty tins. (g) pieces of iron.

(h) a hat (i) paper (j) a blade.

The interviewer asked, "What does a child do with blades?"

The pupil answered, "A child uses blade in cutting his finger and