

CHILD TRAINING

AT

APIREDE-AKWAPIM

x

Investigation made

by

Florence Koranteng

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x-x-x-x-x
x



Self feeding is an achievement which brings delight to a child of two years old.

II

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PREFACE:

This essay 'Child Training' in Apirede is the result of an investigation conducted by me towards the latter part of last year and the beginning of this year as part of 'Educational Psychology' at the Institute of Education at the University of Ghana.

The material embodied in this essay has been collected mainly through observation of children at play, treatment of children by mothers, and through interviews with old men and women, native midwives, herbalists, native doctors, mothers and fathers of twins, and teachers who have had several years of experience in the training and nursing of African children in this village. Some school children were also interviewed. The history of the place was provided by the chief of the town called Nana Okoampa.

I am indebted to all my informants who without any exception, gave me help, and their co-operation. My special thanks go to the chief native Doctor in the village Bafoo Kwadjo Manu, the experienced herbalist, Agya Donko, the native midwife, Bafoo's mother, the headmasters in the two departments of the school in the village, Mr. S.L.O. Koranteng in the primary school and Mr. E.C. Mpere in the middle and Nana Okoampa, who were at times busy with their private affairs and yet got time to give all that I needed. I also thank those children, men and women who offered themselves to be photographed for purposes of illustrating some of the points raised in this essay.

To all others who assisted and listened patiently to my inquiries, I offer my sincere thanks.

Historical Background:-

POSITION OF APIREDE

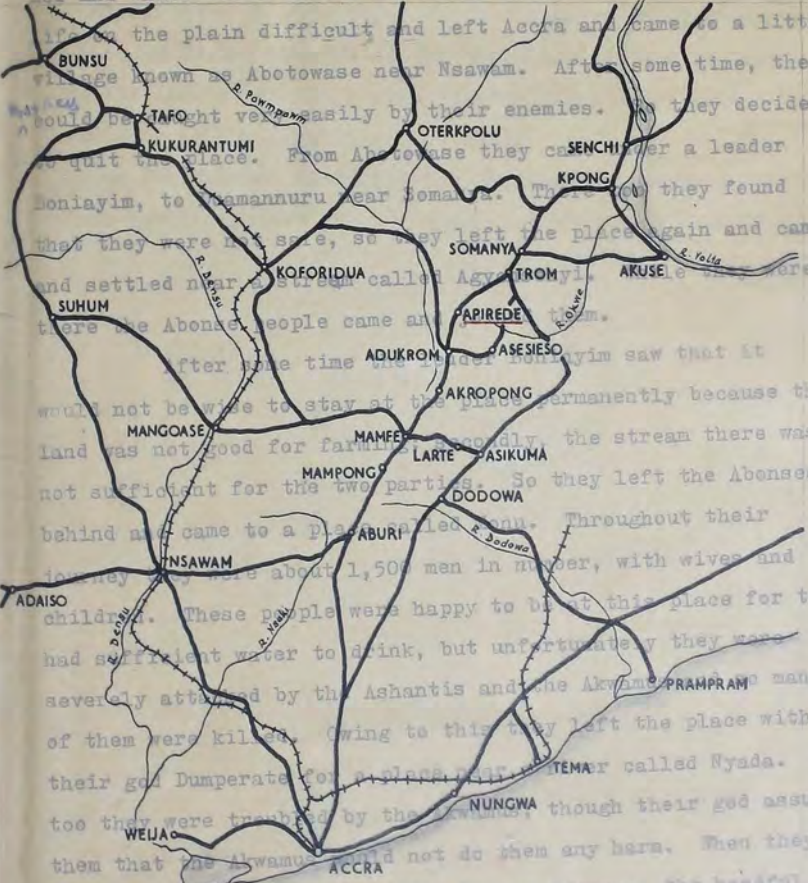
According to the chief of Apirede, the Original

inhabitants of this village migrated from Gonja, between the Red and White Volta in the north, to Accra. But they found

the plain difficult and left Accra and came to a little village known as Abotowase near Nsawam. After some time, they could bear very easily by their enemies. They decided to quit the place. From Abotowase they came under a leader Boniayim, to Mamannuru near Somanya. There they found that they were not safe, so they left the place again and came and settled near a stream called Agyayiri. There were there the Abonase people came and killed them.

After some time the leader Boniayim saw that it would not be wise to stay at the place permanently because the land was not good for farming. Accordingly, the stream there was not sufficient for the two parties. So they left the Abonases behind and came to a place called Nyada. Throughout their journey they had about 1,500 men in number, with wives and children. These people were happy to meet this place for they had sufficient water to drink, but unfortunately they were severely attacked by the Ashantis and the Akwamus. Many of them were killed. Owing to this they left the place with their god Dumperate for a place called Nyada. There too they were troubled by the Ashantis, though their god assured them that the Akwamus could not do them any harm. When they saw that they were being killed by the Akwamus, the handful who were left decided to quit.

By the time they became aware of themselves there were just twentyfive men with their guns left. From Nyada they came under a leader called Okwampa Isaky, and for some time they were slaves to the Ashantis. These people were formerly known as Frankronbode; but as their friends too came often to get shelter from them when they were in danger, they give them a nickname known as "Adokperede" meaning the keeper of things. Because of the mispronunciation of the name, 'Adokperede' has



ROAD

RAILWAY

RIVER

I

Introduction

Historical Background:-

According to the chief of Apirede, the Original inhabitants of this village migrated from Gonja, between the Red and White Volta in the north, to Accra. But they found life on the plain difficult and left Accra and came to a little village known as Abotowase near Nsawam. After some time, they ^{found} could be caught very easily by their enemies. So they decided to quit the place. From Abotowase they came under a leader Boniayim, to Duamannuru near Somanya. There too they found that they were not safe, so they left the place again and came and settled near a stream called Agyensekyi. While they were there the Abonse people came and joined them.

After some time the leader Boniayim saw that it would not be wise to stay at the place permanently because the land was not good for farming; secondly, the stream there was not sufficient for the two parties. So they left the Abonses behind and came to a place called Monu. Throughout their journey they were about 1,500 men in number, with wives and children. These people were happy to be at this place for they had sufficient water to drink, but unfortunately they were severely attacked by the Ashantis and the Akwamus and so many of them were killed. Owing to this they left the place with their god Dumperate for a place near a river called Nyada. There too they were troubled by the Akwamus; though their god assured them that the Akwamus would not do them any harm. When they saw that they were being killed by the Akwamus, the handful who were left decided to quit.

By the time they became aware of themselves there were just twentyfive men with their guns left. From Nyada they came under a leader called Okoampa Amakye, ^{their present place;} and for some time they were slaves to the Ashantis. These people were formerly known as Kronkronbode; but as their friends the Guans often sought for shelter from them when they were in danger, they gave them a nickname known as "Adekporede" meaning the keeper of things. Because of the mispronunciation of the name, 'Adekporede' has

Description of Apirede, a village in

Akuapim.

MIGRATION OF THE PEOPLE OF APIREDE

Apirede is one of the oldest villages in Akuapim.

It is about five miles from Akropong, the capital town, and about one mile from Adukrom. It is thirty-eight miles away from Accra and twenty two miles from Koforidua.

There are about one hundred and sixty houses in Apirede which are built very close together so that the lanes are narrow. As I have already said, Apirede is one of the oldest villages in the region. In olden days, it was the practice to build houses close together, so that when an alarm was raised in time of war or danger, it could be heard at all the different quarters of the village. These houses with the exception of about twelve are built of swish and roofed with corrugated iron sheets.

This village falls into seven quarters according to the different clans of the people, namely Ebetease, Anyakode, Awagyife, Anyare, Animde and Abonode. In addition to these seven quarters there are the christian quarters.

A lorry road runs from Apirede to Adukrom, where it branches to Koforidua, Akuse and the Trans-Volta region. This same lorry road goes through Akropong, divides itself into two at Mamfe, one branch running to Accra and the other to Suflum in the Akim District. There is no public telephone at Apirede, only the headmaster in the primary school has one for school use. There is no Post Office either and therefore letters are posted at Adukrom. There is no radio there. There is a small market just at the village.

As this village is on the Akuapim mountains, there are no rivers. The people of Apirede therefore get their drinking water from streams. The most hygienic among the wells and streams is Ananasi. The other wells and streams are Oboban, Bedaku, and Akrobskua.

..... POSITION OF TOWN NOT CERTAIN

→ ROUTE FOLLOWED

The place

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The place/

The place is fairly cool, the average yearly temperature varying between 70° and 80°. The population of Apirede is estimated at 1,897 made up entirely of Kyerepongs, who are the indigenes of the place and not a mixture of strangers.

The people of Apirede speak Kyerepong but all their traditional songs, war songs, funeral dirges and the drumming of proverbs on the talking drums are rendered in Twi. Even the very appellation with which Apirede is identified is in Twi. It is this, "Apirede Okonkommonne": when translated, it means "Apirede thou pure settlers".

The major occupation of the people of Apirede is farming and dispensing of native medicine. Those who take to food farming and native medicine are permanent residents of the village, where - as those who take to cocoa farming migrate to Akyem, Ashanti and other parts of the country to pursue their occupations and return home annually to take part in the celebration of the Ohum festivals. This results in the village being thinly populated for a greater part of the year and its being thickly populated at the time when the Ohum festival is celebrated. One interesting thing is that when these people migrate, the aged, the infirm and the young are left behind. Some of the young attend school but some are left behind purposely to be attendants to the aged and the infirm. There are five storekeepers (petty-traders) four carpenters, two tailors and one blacksmith in the village.

Strictly speaking these are not professional traders, carpenters and tailors; for they are farmers who pursue these trades as their hobbies. Here is an example. There is a certain man in the village who is a farmer, a blacksmith and a herbalist.

There are three Christian Churches in the village:- The Presbyterian Church, The Methodist Church and the Apostolic Church. Comparatively the Methodist Church has the greatest influence on the heathens the reason being that

the Methodist members have a closer relationship with them. The Christians at Apirede form a smaller part of the population in the village. The majority are heathens who worship seven gods of the village according to their clans.

These gods are Nyada, Atti Kwao, Okumi, Kyawo, Abogya, Nwagyishiti, and Bohe. Among these gods Atti kwao is the dominant one; it has a yard which has strong walls built with cement blocks having three apartments. The god is in the third apartment. This yard is situated just in front of the cheif's house.

There is a foot-ball field just in front of the primary school. On this field, the people, especially the young men, go to play foot-ball and learn cycling when schools have closed. Such is the nature of the society and environment into which a child is born at Apirede.

Short history of Nana Atti Kwao The Dominant God:

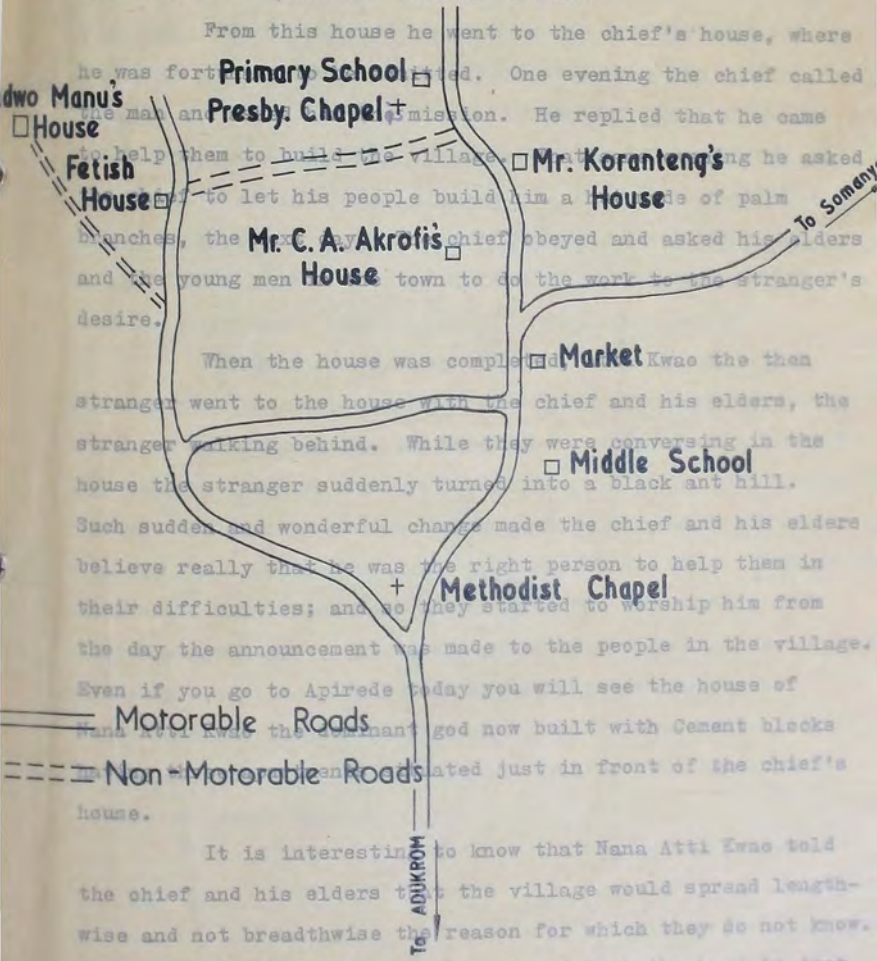
APIREDE TOWN

According to the chief of Apirede, Atti Kwao, the dominant god came to the village in the form of a man from an unknown place. He came to lodge a man called Awuku Agyire who unfortunately sent him out of his house. For Atti looked so queer and fearful to him.

From this house he went to the chief's house, where he was fortunate to be admitted. One evening the chief called the man and gave him permission. He replied that he came to help them to build the village. When he asked the chief to let his people build him a house of palm branches, the chief obeyed and asked his elders and the young men to do the work to the stranger's desire.

When the house was completed, Kwao the then stranger went to the house with the chief and his elders, the stranger walking behind. While they were conversing in the house the stranger suddenly turned into a black ant hill. Such sudden and wonderful changes made the chief and his elders believe really that he was the right person to help them in their difficulties; and so they started to worship him from the day the announcement was made to the people in the village. Even if you go to Apirede today you will see the house of Nana Atti Kwao the dominant god now built with Cement blocks just in front of the chief's house.

It is interesting to know that Nana Atti Kwao told the chief and his elders that the village would spread lengthwise and not breadthwise the reason for which they do not know. If you go to Apirede today you will see that the town is just like what he told them.



This god...../

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This god...../

This god is highly honoured and worshipped by the heathens and some of the christians in the village. I was told that when they call him whenever they are in trouble he always answers to their call.

I was told by an informant that one day an Agriculturist, a native of the village was walking in a forest where he met some high-waymen who were about to rob him and kill him. When this man saw that he was between life and death he uttered these words; "Nana Atti Kwao yie me twu adwotwafe mo ne obate"; literally meaning "Nana Atti Kwao, have mercy on me and deliver me from these highway men". Wonderfully enough, these highway men became sober and the Agriculturist rather became stronger and courageous and ran away. "This proved", he said, "that this god is a spirit who is every where visiting and guarding his poeple".

Again I was told by the chief that on the night before the "Awukudae" festival this god goes round in the form of a man surveying the town; so usually an announcement is made by drumming warning the people ^{as he is} not to be seen by anybody. One evening a woman known as Ason Akua went out at midnight and met the god just in front of his yard. When this woman got home she became unconscious for some time. When she recovered she revealed the news. Thereafter her people started dying and meeting so many mishaps in their lives. They reported their mishaps to the fetish priest who asked them to bring sheep and rum as compersation; and after this their suffering ceased.



The house of Rana Atti
Kwao the dominant god.



The side view
of the house showing
the priest in cloth.



The queen mother at the
darbar of Ohum festival.

Festivals and Ceremonies:- The main festivals are the Ohum and the chief's festival 'Odwira'. The first is generally a festival of thanks giving to the gods who are supposed to have blessed the farmers with a good harvest. It occurs after the last harvest, somewhere in October and lasts from Tuesday evening to Friday. From Tuesday evening of the Ohum festival till Wednesday there is generally lamentation in remembrance of the relatives who have departed this life. Fufu is not beaten on these days, for the people are supposed to be fasting. Any other food can however, be cooked and eaten. On Thursday morning fowls and other life stock are killed and used for preparing fufu which is freely shared among relatives and friends. In the afternoon native dances held by the young men and women, are the principal form of entertainment. Men and women on this occasion are seen in their best. Friday is also for merry-making.

The Chief's festival:- This festival is mainly for the purification of the stools and the chief and for pouring of libation for the ancestral spirits. It gives the villagers the chance to show their loyalty to the chief. Odwira Friday is the climax of the celebration. Early in the morning the chief and the stools are taken to "Akrobokua", a well which is soley for the chief and the stools by special people known as "Nkonnuaduefo". The chief and the stools are washed in the water.

After this a sheep is slaughtered and its blood is mixed with gun powder and used in besmearing the stools, and mark the forehead of the chief. In the afternoon the chief has a durbar where pomp and loyalty are displayed. On Sunday the chief and all his people attend church and give thanks to God, and that ends the festival.

Christian Celebrations: Christian celebrations such as Christmas, Easter Sunday, Confirmations and baptism are occasions shared by christians and pagans alike as days of joy or merriment; so also are puberty rites, new marriages, birth,

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naming and purification after illness, considered by all as social occasions.

On Fridays and Awukudae days the people of Apirede are not allowed to go and work on their farms, for these days are the sacred days to the gods of Apirede. This practice in particular should be observed only by the adherents of the heathen gods; yet some of the christians keep it and refuse to go and work on their farms on these days.

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CHILD TRAINING IN APIREDE-AKUAPIMCHAPTER IATTITUDE TOWARDS HAVING CHILDREN

Marriage in the village of Apirede is regarded as something sacred and a privilege which every man or woman hopes to obtain one day.

Every couple in Apirede, as in any other village in Akuapim, have a strong desire to produce children, as the production helps each of the couple to prove his man-hood or her woman-hood. The husband has pride in being called 'Agya' and the mother in being called 'Awo' by their children. The father has the greater pride as he can now maintain the names of his parents and relatives by naming his children after them; he is also sure of having supporters during his old age, and protection from his enemies; for it is the duty of the children to defend their fathers in all circumstances; they are also caretakers of his property during his old age.

The bearing of children brings with it tremendous social status. This is what an old man told me about having children.

When men are to meet at any public place a son is to carry his father's chair or his umbrella to the place, and to sit at his feet; but a childless father either has to carry it himself or to ask somebody's son to carry it for a tip. When a man is travelling on foot, his son has to carry his luggage along with him and attend him. When it is time for planting the father has less work as the sons help to clear the bush. Again when he dies it is the custom that his children provide a coffin and other things for the burial. The following is what another old man told me: "When I was thirty years old and having married for three years, I had no child, I found it very disgraceful and difficult to stay in the village, so I ran into the bush for three days lamenting."

A woman is particularly happy to have a child, as other women look down on barren women. She needs children, especially girls to help her in domestic work; they also care for the younger ones, and for the father in times of illness. A woman can adopt the children of her relatives and care for them as she may care for her own, but these children still know that she is not their mother and they can leave her at any time they like, and nothing can induce them to return. An old woman told me that she adopted her sister's daughter when she was one and a half years old; she helped in her education but when she finished middle form four, the girl told her that she could not stay with her anymore, she was going to her mother. Again she

told her that if she wanted somebody to serve her she should find her own daughter. After this the girl left her.

Children are such important products of marriage that no one in Apirede would think of the possession of them as being a liability.

Preferred Size: The people in this village have the general idea that God gives the children, so any number that will be given is acceptable. The smallest number they often have in the village is eleven and the highest is fifteen. This is the statement made by an old man: "I feel I am the happiest man in the village for at present I have thirty children; you would like to see me with my three wives and our thirty children around us in the evening, telling ananse stories. Again because of my children I scarcely work on the farm and, above all, I am highly respected in the village."

Childlessness: Childlessness is regarded in the village as a great misfortune; barren women moan because of the burial ceremony which is performed for a barren woman at her death. This is what a barren woman told me: "I would rather prefer not to be born than to be born, and die with cuts at the top of my vagina, carrying a finger of plantain with me to the grave." Again she said: "Every month of my married life is an anxious time spent in expectation of pregnancy and when it fails, I feel like taking poison, for I have consulted many fetish priests for treatment; I have joined the Apostolic Church and have been operated upon by European doctors but all in vain. I have been praying to God that I would be satisfied if I got just one child and lose it a few hours later; the mere fact that I have had one would comfort me."

A barren man is pitiable. However rich he may be he can never be truly happy, without a child; he is always made to feel that there is something lacking in his life. In public matters he has a little say. Even a barren man from the royal family is never expected to be a chief, as he has no son to inherit the stool, when he dies; as he will upset the order of the enstoolment, and perhaps cause family disputes.

Cause and overcoming of sterility: Production being the principal motive of African marriage, many means are adopted to prevent childlessness. The cause of barrenness in the case of woman is said to be (1) disease, (2) witchcraft, (3) too much practice of abortion when young, (4) womb not having normal size, (5) sexual intercourse before first menstruation.

One of the diseases that are known to be the cause of sterility is called 'Odao', an ailment which gives rise to painful menstruation. This is supposed to be due to tissue developing in the womb. This makes pregnancy impossible. Another one is known as 'Anidan'.

Overcoming of Sterility: A barren woman is known as Obonini or 'Sadwe' (Female/Male). This barren woman is taken to a fetish priest who finds out the cause by the help of his gods, and if it is due to illness she will be given treatment; if it is due to a witch who is supposed to have turned her womb upside down or put a pot into it or if it is due to the weakness of her husband's sperm he gives the right treatment. Unless this witch doctor corrects the position of the womb she will never have a baby; this is done by slaughtering a sheep and a fowl in the house of the fetish priest and the pouring of libation. The treatment for the diseases which cause sterility is different. The following is the prescription which one native doctor gave for treating them. Scrape the bark of silk-cotton tree root, find it, mix it with saliva, form it into balls; never use water, let them be half dry and insert two balls into the vagina in the evening. The balls should be there overnight; or grind the fresh leaves of a tree (known as 'Nsome' in their language) and add 'Alum' to it, form it into balls, put them into cotton wool and use them in the same manner as the first one. In this case the woman is not to drink water when the balls are being inserted; she is not to have any sexual intercourse for one week. Or collect the leaves of a tree known as 'Awudifo Akete', boil them and drink the stuff three times a day for a week or two, this is supposed to clear all the impurities in the womb, and the woman is sure to take seed after this treatment.

Another way of overcoming childlessness is the burying of a placenta by a barren woman; there is a belief that the barren woman may be under pregnancy in due course.

In men sterility is believed to be caused by weak sperms witchcraft, syphilis, 'kotewui' (impotence) 'dwobofo' or 'bgeso' literally meaning bad fate. This is how one of the native doctors treats light semen. Collect the following things: gun powder, tobacco, ginger, the bark of the cotton tree roots, "mmofra mmofra brode", 'Pofri' roots, 'awerewaba' and 'sesaa' (black pepper), grind them together, use Schnapps or the urine of a young boy in grinding, never use water, make them into balls, and dry; use two balls as suppositories, leave them there overnight. This is supposed to let the semen recover its normal virility and fruitfulness.

Another person's treatment is as follows: Collect the root of the following trees; 'dunsinkoro', 'abedam' (chlorophora) Odum' and 'oguabe'; grind them together and add seven lizard heads and seven each of the following insects: black ant, white ant, 'abetekaw' a kind of black ant, worms from the palmtree, 'sesaa', black pepper(fortynine); grind them and use gin instead of water for mixing. After this make groups of three small cuts right round the man's waist and rub in the mixture; this is supposed to cure childlessness.

It is also strongly believed that if a childless man is subjected to a humiliating custom called 'Dwobofo', he becomes capable of producing children afterwards.

Dwobofo Custom: When a man is found to be barren he is brought to the fetish priest by his relatives for the performance of the custom. This custom is usually performed in the evening and on any day that he will be brought down, provided he has got all the necessary things for the performance.

The following are the things required: one bottle of any perfume, preferably florida water, spices, roots of the wild grass and two new calabashes, and some herbs called 'Bere' and a piece of calico. This 'Bere' is rubbed, mixed with water in one of the calabashes. The man for whom the custom is to be performed is stripped naked and the piece of the calico is wound round his waist. He then carries the mixture in the calabash. The people with him are to clap their hands and sing some touching songs; after some time the patient begins to quake all over; he is possessed by his own spirit; and he weeps or laughs at this period; the fetish priest then pours wine on the ground and says "okra Kofi (or whatever the birthday of the person may be) you have been brought to this world by a

woman; what prevents you from bringing children to the world? What would you like from us as compensation before letting him have children", and the spirit will tell what he wants.

After this the calabash will be taken off his head and all the required things will be brought on the very day or the following day. Finally he is asked to take off the calico and pour out the perfume and the spices into the second calabash and wash himself with it in the presence of the Company which signifies the cleanliness and cure for sterility. My informant told me that two people have been cured with this method recently and one of them has got a baby boy.

Limiting the size of the family: Limitation of the size of the family is seldom practised in the town. A few married women sometimes are compelled by circumstances to attempt to put an end to child bearing; this is due to very difficult labour. In such a case the woman immediately upon being delivered of her child addresses her soul in these words:

"Okra Akua hu me mmobo na ma awo no nso ha ara" (My soul Akua have mercy upon me and put an end to my child bearing.

The following is what another woman told me: The relatives of both parties meet and come to a compromise that the pair should not have anymore children. After the meeting a sheep is slaughtered and libation is poured for their ancestors, having the belief that the birth will cease. Or the pair put an end to sexual intercourse for three years. After this period any amount of sexual intercourse will take no effect.

Because of civilization these methods are seldom used; rather they use contraceptive tablets or cause abortion, which is illegal of course.

Illegitimacy: Inheritance at Apirede is not the same as it is in Akan society. Here as in other Kyerepong towns, the son inherits his father. Therefore when illegitimate children are born, the practice is that the father brings him to his own house and looks after them in the same way as he looks after his legitimate children. They are both brought up together in the home and provided the house

wife is kind it is hard for an outsider to make out an-illegitimate child from the others. In most cases the illegitimate child's early life is spent with the mother until he is about five or six years old. But during this time his father provides him with the necessary clothing and sends for him in the evening for meals. When the child reaches the school going age the father usually removes him to his own home and looks after him there. Sometimes he gives him to his own sister to keep him in her house. This is particularly so in cases when the sister has no children of her own. During this time the real mother has the right to call to the man's house to ask about the health of her child. If she happens to live in another town she can also come and bring her child any present in the form of soap, foodstuffs, light clothing and even money. The latter is usually given privately so that the child can use when needed. The mother does not as a general rule stay the night in that town; she most return to her place of residence the same day. When the child comes of age it is the duty of the father to marry for him, as he will do for the legitimate sons.

The child has real right to inherit his father, but it is a general practice in this village for the father to give presents such as a portion of their land or any other valuable property to the child while the father is alive. The child's maternal relatives have to thank the father with a sheep to make such a presentation a legal one. If this is not done the legitimate children claim the property back after the death of the father.

In some cases, the father delays this presentation until he is over taken by a sudden death. In such case the eldest legitimate child, when he inherits his father is asked to "Ahomo owerε mo ametε" (put the child in his bosom) which means he should try to look after the child as the father did.

Orphanage and Adoption: The duty of looking after an orphan generally devolves upon the members of the mother's family. If the father dies first the widow with her orphan in some cases expelled from the house of the deceased, and she to find a new home among her relatives; the successor usually pays little attention to the orphan except when he takes the widow as his wife. Should the mother die FIRST or at child birth the orphan is adopted by his aunt, grandmother

or an elderly sister. Custom permits the father to keep the child in custody until his adolescence; it often happens that the mother during her illness specifies that her child should be looked after by this or that relative after her death; or a libation is poured and the spirit of the deceased is called and she points out who is to look after the baby. Such wishes are faithfully carried out, because it is believed that any departure may cause the death of the child or bring some calamity upon the family. Instances were cited in which deceased mothers are supposed to have taken away their children because their wishes had not been respected.

To avoid further suspicion the caretaker tries her best to look after the child as if it were her own child, for fear the child may request to see her own mother and that may cause her death. Some customs are performed too to ensure the well-being of the orphan and the caretaker; they are bathed in a medicine called "sesa duru". The mixture is made up with some herbs known as Onunum, Opeabaa, Adedenkruma, samanduaben and corn cob, urine and water from broken vessel from cemetery all these are mixed together in a basin and used for the bath.

Though orphans are supposed to be properly cared for in the village, it does not take long to notice that their lives on the whole become miserable. They are always conscious of the absence of their real parents. They are sometimes lean and poorly clothed.

There is indeed a great truth in the Akan proverb that "Wona wu a, na wo abusua asa" (when your mother dies, your family is finished).

THE END.



The leaf of a bitter herb called 'Okpa'



The leaf of another herb called Onunum

Note: They are used together with other herbs for suppositories.

Pre-natal Period: As soon as the periodical menstrual flow of a woman ceases after sexual intercourse during the month, pregnancy is at once suspected; within the first two weeks she normally does not inform anybody except sometimes the husband or the man concerned for the flow may set in at any time. When fortnight has passed she becomes more certain. Even then she may not report it to her relatives for it is believed that if there is a witch in the family she may cause it to drop out. So her condition is generally kept secret between herself and the husband for about three months; unless the woman gets sick in the first and the second months which will let people cast suspicion. Generally speaking the old women and the native doctors in the village notice the early symptoms of pregnancy six weeks after menstrual flow.

This is what one of my informants told me: "I can suspect it by the paleness on her cheeks, round her nose and at the heels". Other signs of pregnancy are loss of appetite, general weakness, enlargement of breasts, blackness of the nipple and morning sickness. The latter one is outstanding in some cases in the third month. This is what a certain woman told me: "When I become pregnant, for the first four months I vomit everything that goes into my stomach even when I drink water. The only thing that I can chew is ginger or cola; I also feel very weak so I do not go out. I am always in the house with my chamber pot beside me. As a result of this I soon become pale and lean, which signs enable people to discover my condition."

Feelings and moods: A pregnant woman has a feeling of joy. This is what an informant told me: "I am always exceedingly happy when my pregnancy is about two months old I often stand in front of a full mirror in order to see the changes on my body. People will think that I am mad after the birth. I will dress gorgeously and walk from one end of the town to the other."

Some pregnant women derive such great pleasure from pregnancy that they walk in a way that people will discover their state and start calling them "akyekpabi" (an old woman). At times they uncover the stomach with great joy during their leisure hours in order to watch the gradual development of the abdomen.

On the other hand the pregnant woman has occasional fears. She wonders if she will go through the actual delivery without undue trouble or pain, if the child is moving well in the womb, if the baby will be born alive and if it will be a normal child ^{without} without any defects. This is what another woman who is under pregnancy told me: "Though I am very happy that I am in such a condition I

am always worried about child birth for I have been told that it is very painful; so I pray daily to my ancestral spirit to help me in my 'war', for at present I am at the frontier of the battle."

After three months of pregnancy the husband informs his parents and the parents of his wife of the condition and takes her to a native doctor or a special fetish priest who deals with pregnant women; he performs certain things to ensure the well-being of the child and the mother, as some young men having 'juju' in the village do not see pregnant women, and also against evil spirits. The fetish priest prepares a special talisman with raffia and the hair from the tail of squirrel, this is put round the waist. Then a mixture is prepared with a collection of some herbs, for her bath.

Each native doctor has a different way of preserving pregnancy, but the general procedure and the idea behind it are the same. This is what another fetish priest told me: "When a pregnant mother is brought to me for precaution, I just make some small cuts round her waist and put in some special black powder. After this I give her some special chain just in the form of a dog's to put round her neck and some rings at the ankle. These mean that she has been chained so ^{no} so evil spirit or witch will do her any harm."

The pregnant women are not protected only from the evil spirit and the witchcraft but also from diseases which may do harm to the baby. This is what a pregnant woman told me: "When my pregnancy was about five months old the native midwife mashed a kind of herbs known as 'edubrafo' mixed with water, ~~mixi~~ strained it, then put a stone in fire. When it was red in colour, it was put into the mixture and I was forced to drink it when it was a little warm. Within ten minutes the medicine started to purge me and at the same time I was vomiting"

This was supposed to wash off the disease known as 'asonam' in the body which may make the child die immediately after birth or even before it. Another woman told me that she was given the leaves of a kind of tree known as ^{owamolia} 'owamolia' for making soup and for taking regularly. This is supposed to purge her and to take away any impure water which may be in the womb.

Changes in diet: Another feeling that develop in a pregnant woman is the desire for unusual food, and the development for

a keen sense of smell. These feelings differ from one person to another.

A certain woman told me that when she becomes pregnant she has ~~no~~ ^{meat} ~~no~~ appetite however for any meal prepared with fresh, and even vomits because of its scent. The only thing that she likes is dry fish and plain soup with much pepper in it. Another woman told me that she rather likes the remains of food which have been left over by young children.

Some of them told me that that they could never sit still unless they had a piece of swish block in their mouths, and stand behind a public ~~site~~ latrine and inhale the scent before their breakfast.

A young girl in her first pregnancy told me that her favourite food was plantain fufu and palm nuts soup with pig's feet. She said, she felt feverish if she did not get this. Again she said that she could have it three times a day.

Apart from all their desires pregnant women are ~~strictly~~ strictly forbidden to take certain foods. A pregnant woman is not allowed to take groundnut and ripe plantain as they weaken the ~~child~~ child. She is not to eat pineapples as that is supposed to take off the skin of the child. Again she is not to chew sugarcane as that may cause miscarriage.

Note: If any miscarriage occurs at the early stages she is given the following medicines to stop it; Awennade, Satadua root and white clay. These are ground together and used in soup.

This is how another native midwife stops the miscarriage: The root of 'Nton' and twenty-seven palm nuts ^{are} used for making soup. This soup is taken once a week for three weeks.

Marital intercourse: I was informed by a native doctor that when a man sees or is informed that his wife is under pregnancy, he should by all means put an end to any sexual intercourse in the early weeks as that may cause miscarriage. After three months it can be done at any time whenever both of them feel like having it. An old woman told me that ~~sex~~ marital intercourse is believed to be vitally important for the well being of the unborn child. She said the husband's semen has something to do with the growth of the baby in the womb; because of this, intercourse continues even sometimes to the day of delivery, if therefore an unmarried girl gets pregnant she is allowed to visit the man if she wishes to do so.

Feeling towards sexual intercourse differs. This is what an old woman told me: "When I become pregnant I always become annoyed when I see my husband do I never sleep with him in one

/room

room during my last carrying period. I remember I had it just thrice ~~through~~ throughout the nine months.

Taboos: Many beliefs are held about six fingers for an example it is believed that if a pregnant mother ties up pepper ~~or~~ or garden eggs or tomatoes into a cloth below her abdomen her baby develops six fingers. So she is warned not to do it. She is warned not to put tomatoes into fire as that may let the baby suffer from a skin disease known as 'tomatoes'. She is warned not to put on any decent clothes and again not to plait the hair of anybody on Tuesdays and Fridays as that may invite evil spirit and cause her death.

Work: Pregnant women are strictly warned on the kind of work they are to do and also about what they are not to do, as these have some effect on the baby. I was told by an old lady in the village that a pregnant woman is not to carry a heavy load as that may cause chest trouble. She is not to pound fufu and turn it at the same time as that may upset the position of the baby in the womb. She is not to split firewood for that may cause miscarriage at the early stage or rather it will give the child headache.

On the other hand another old woman told me that any pregnant woman should not think of herself as sick but she should go about her normal work as that ensures the well-being of the child and also ensures normal labour and pains at birth. There are other things that pregnant women are not to do. I was informed that they are not to sit on a stone as that causes headache. She is not to eat in public, she should not over-mourn as that may let the baby adopt that melancholic manner through out its life. She is not to quarrel or fight with anybody for if she is struck at any part of the body it will affect the baby.

When the pregnancy is about six months old the native midwife or the fetish priest tests the position of the baby to see if there is still some impure water in the stomach. When she gets the proof she is to massage the abdomen daily for one week. This is done early in the morning with white clay and some herbs which are supposed to soften the abdomen and to take away all the impure water, and to correct the position of the baby.

BIRTH AND NAMING

Preparation for Confinement: After the seventh month of pregnancy the expectant mother prepares for her confinement. This is what one of my women told me about her preparation for the confinement: "When I realize that my confinement is approaching I start to make preparation; when ever I go to the farm I bring fire wood, I collect a good deal of pepper which I constantly spread in the sun to dry and keep it. I also collect some dry plantain fibre 'mposac' as a lot will be used during the labour. I do all this because I know during my confinement I shall depend mainly upon what I have stored and the little that my well-wishers and relatives may provide. In addition to this I try to complete whatever work remains on the farm. In the house I collect and wash a few tattered cloths to be used as the baby's blanket."

Women in the village regard labour pains as something which is bound up with child-birth and are therefore expected to bear them with fortitude and great composure. One woman said, "It is not the pain that I am afraid of; I know that that is unavoidable. What I rather pray to be spared is prolonged labour which draws many people into your house and gives your enemies a chance to rejoice. I therefore want my labour to come on always at night." I was told that young pregnant women are normally not given any idea at all about the painful muscular contraction that comes before the birth of the child, and so some of them have a great shock during their first experience of the pains. There was a young mother in the village who it is said, refused to make any effort to help the child out because she said she could not bear the pains. The following is her own story: "Though I had often heard that birth giving was painful I never for a moment thought it could be as painful as I felt that day. On the evening of the labour I began to feel pains in my waist and the muscles of my thighs, and I was told that it was the beginning of my labour, and that it would be soon over, but for a whole night, it was all pains and aches. At about twelve midday the following day the pain increased and I felt the flow of some fluid from my genitals. My midwife was at once sent for and soon I was made to kneel. Then I was asked to make some effort to help the baby down, but each straining hurt me so much that I would die. I felt as if I was being cut with a knife, but I was told not to press my abdomen and the thighs. I was again strictly warned not to touch any

part of my body except my hair; the reason being that if I rubbed any part of the body it would affect the corresponding part of the child's body. I cried and yelled and pulled my hair. My aunt told me to bear the pain courageously, but I could not. Then she began to scold me for not making enough effort, but I felt I could not, so they decided to take me to Government Midwife at Adukrom where the midwife gave me some medicine which helped me to be delivered of the child. What made me terribly afraid was that I thought I would die."

Place: Child-birth as a general rule, takes place in the home of the girl's mother and in an un-occupied room such as a bathroom or an ante room. Before the delivery takes place, a small spot in the room is covered with sand or spread with plantain fibre or rags. A pot of water stands by; the actual process of delivery was described in the following manner by an experienced native midwife: Birth-giving is purely an affair for women, and men are not normally expected to be present. Often the people present are the mother of the girl, her aunt, and the midwife. But if the labour is delayed and difficult other people may come to assist. The pregnant mother is made to kneel, sometimes supported by her aunt or mother from her armpits; and the midwife sitting on a stool in front of her ready to get hold of the baby as soon as it comes.

As the child turns the sack in which it lies bursts and a sort of fluid flows from the vagina which ensures the coming of the child. An old woman told me that sometimes the fluid passes through the mouth by vomiting, and at times through the vagina which is the normal place. As the child advances into the vagina the mother feels great pains but she is not allowed to rub any part of her body below the neck; she usually pulls her hair which makes it very untidy after the delivery.

As soon as the baby is born the midwife quickly cleans the face of the baby with a damp cloth to avoid any birthfluid getting into the eyes as that causes squint eyes. Next she attends to the nose and the ears and then cuts the navel cord and puts her aside and ties the remaining piece with a white thread to the thigh of the mother in case it will go back into the womb. If the child is alive and normal it cries when the parts mentioned above are cleaned. If, however, it does not cry cold water is splashed on its body, and this generally brings the desired result. If this fails a brass bowl is beaten on the head and the vibration often helps to bring him to life. Should this too fail, ginger or pepper is quickly ground on a stone and /sugared

smearred all over the body. This treatment will by all means bring it to life.

Having given such attention to the new-born babe, the midwife then turns to the mother who is still lying down expecting patiently the coming of the placenta. From the birth till the arrival of the placenta both the mother and the midwife are not to talk except the instructions that the latter gives to the former. "It is a critical period for the mother", said the informant, "and nothing should be done to distract her attention." She then continued, "If the after-birth delays unduly, some black powder or some herbs may be rubbed on the abdomen to make it come. If this fails the root of 'nketanketabi' and salt are given to the mother to chew, then the midwife asks her to lie flat on her back and she presses the upper part of the navel cord. This method helps it to come out very easily. Some of the native midwives can push their hands into the vagina, feel where the placenta has got stuck and shake it gently until it drops out.

The mother is now cleaned and a large cloth is used as a pad to absorb the blood, and she is to lie down or sit up with her legs close together to avoid air getting into the vagina as this may cause stomach trouble. Also she should not be walking about else she may faint for loss of blood. If she wants to drink water immediately after the delivery, she should not be allowed to do so, for if she does she may die; some few minutes after the birth she is given 'akasa' to which pepper has been added. Normally she is not allowed to have a bath for the rest of the day. What she must do is to lie down and rest.

Sometimes labour becomes difficult or prolonged. Should this happen, the fetish priest or the midwife in charge is to give medicine to quicken the delivery. This is what a native doctor told me: "If it comes to a critical point like this I always give the woman the root of a kind of herb called 'obran atuata' and salt to chew, or bathe her with a kind of leaves called 'Tootoo' rubbed in water. Either of these will quicken the birth." Another midwife said, "If the delay of the delivery is due to the dryness of the vagina, I just collect some leaves called 'Padoedeo', rub and mix it with water and splash it into the vagina. This will make the place slippery and quicken the birth.

Another fetish priest told me that quite often the delayance of delivery is believed to be caused by offences committed by the wife against the soul of her husband. For example, she has had some sexual intercourse with another man, and because of this the child refuses to be born not until the woman has made

confession and asked the husband for forgiveness. After this sheep is slaughtered and libation is poured for the spirit of the ancestors to help quick delivery.

I was told again by a midwife that labour is made difficult by the child bringing one leg or hand first. If such a thing happened, the specialist who is attending the mother should gently push the part coming out back into the womb.

When the child is born and the placenta has come out successfully the placenta is wrapped up in plantain fibre, the 'Mposae' or rags and buried; this is sometimes buried by a barren woman on the outskirts of the village. Upon her return she makes a little present of a penny or a three-pence to the little baby.

When the placenta has been taken away the child is given its first bath. The bath is carefully done by the midwife, for if this is not well done the baby may have an unpleasant scent through out its life.

The midwife seated on a low stool with her legs resting in a large basin, the woman puts the child on her legs, its head lying on her knees. With soap and cold water, the baby is bathed three times over. After this the baby's body is smeared, ^{with clean butter} to make the body smooth. Next to this, some lime juice or diluted rum is dropped into the mouth and directed into the throat. This is supposed to let the child throw out some phlegm from the throat, which is then supposed to clear the throat and to give the child a good voice. Formerly, this function was performed by a woman who had a good voice in the family so that the baby might have the same quality of tone. After this ceremony the child is dressed and presented it to its mother by placing it three times on her lap.

Later, the mother puts the child on the mat besides her. The whole process of birth-giving is supposed to have been completed; so she takes a cup or calabash pours some alcohol, washes her hand with it and pours some onto the ground to the spirit of the ancestors believing that they helped her in her duty. The midwife drinks some of the alcohol then congratulates the mother and goes to her house.

I was made to understand that in olden days if a child had six fingers on the hand or six toes on the foot the baby was left to die in a pan of water as the baby was supposed to bring ill luck into the family. Now-a-days the extra fingers or toes are cut and the child is made to live.

Owing to educated midwives and hospitals, difficult labour and unnecessary worries given to pregnant women are becoming less and at the same time process of delivery is being done on hygienic lines.

A newly born baby is at once named after the day on which it is born that being its soul name "ne kra din".

<u>ENGLISH</u>	<u>KYEREPONG</u>	<u>MALE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>
Monday	Dudu	Kwadwo	Adwoa
Tuesday	Soro	Kwabona	Abona
Wednesday	Ikporo	Kwaku	Akua
Thursday	Isu	Yaw	Yaa
Friday	Ibiriw	Kofi	Afua
Saturday	Woo	Kwame	Amma
Sunday	Yinkyi	Kwasi	Akosua.

The news of the birth quickly spreads through the village after the ceremony and soon friends and relatives and nearly every woman with whom the mother is on good terms comes continually into the house to congratulate the mother and the child. It is significant to note that the only inquiry they make is this: "Ade 'akye' ana 'amnye'" (is it a girl or a boy) and after they have known the sex they continue saying "Wo tri nkwa w'aba a tra ase". The women do not hide their preference. Though they like males they prefer females as they help the mothers in their domestic work.

The husband has little to do in the actual process of delivery and usually he does not remain in the house, his moral support is considered to be extremely important for the safe and speedy delivery of the child. Should it become necessary that the wife is to be taken to hospital he is responsible, maintenance and nursing of the child and the mother rest on his shoulders. Apart from this he is to provide clothing and other presents for the naming of the child.

What troubles the husband's mind greatly at this time is the possibility of death occurring during the labour as that is considered a great misfortune; because it reduces a many chance of getting a wife. Parents begin to think of such a man as an unlucky person and are therefore reluctant to give their daughters to him in marriage. The news of the birth of the child is therefore received by the husband with a sigh of relief.

Aban: The birth of twins has its own peculiar custom known as 'Aban'. After the first bath, the babies are smeared with white clay instead of oil. Special beads known as in twi as 'innyasano' and 'nenkyerema' are strung on raffia threads together, and put round the wrist of each of them. They are then put on one mat

and covered with calico. If they are of the same sex, they share one pillow, but if they are of different sexes they must have different pillows.

On the very day that they are born two fowls are killed for preparing food for the mother. She is also given two boiled eggs to eat and two yards of calico or any white material for carrying the babies. On the Friday following the ordinary naming ceremony, the twins are initiated into the sacred cult of twins known as 'Aben'. The following account of the initiation, the rites of the cult, and the various taboos connected with it, was given by a mother of two twins who is herself 'Tawia' (born after twins). On the Friday following the week-day on which the birth took place, the parents of these children are to find two white fowls, six to twelve eggs, some herbs known as 'abanhare' two horns of an elephant, three leaves of a kind of a tree known as 'Odwon'. All these except the eggs and the fowls are put into a brass bowl. The beads around the wrists of the twins are removed and the raffia threads used for stinging are collected and put into the brass bowl. Then the fowls are killed and their feathers are plucked and put into the bowl, and the blood sprinkled round the bowl taking care that the blood does not go into the basin.

After this the parent invites a twin mother from outside to come and take the children out of doors and bathe them one after the other with the mixture in the bowl and then smear the body of the children with white clay.

Throughout the process of the bath I was told the woman in charge has to utter the following words:

"Abani Kofi Afi wofri Odun so a fri bra, wofri Onyaa so a fri bra na nni we agya afum nni wona afum." (Abani Kofi Afi, if you are of the oak tree, come down if you are of the silk cotton tree, come, do not harm either the farm of your father or that of your mother).

After this the fowls and the eggs are cooked in addition to the yams, these are used for making mashed yam. The mashed yam is divided into two and oil is added to half of it. The coloured one is placed on the left hand side and the white on the right hand side of the children then the mother in charge sprinkles some of yam on the floor for the spirit of the ancestors. The mother of the twins is supposed to sit in front of the brass bowl and put some of the food on the lips of the children and then she eats the food. After this the beads known as 'Nnyasano'



An old woman
demonstrating
how to bath a
child.

and Nnonkyema are again threaded on raffia threads together with a gold nugget and put round their wrists then they are put back on their mats.

After this the things in the brass bowl are collected into a small pot which has been smeared with white clay and covered. The Abam shrine, thus constituted, is now kept under a bed, and worshipped every forty days, and during the Annual Abam festival. I was told by the midwife that the mother of twins is not to take fresh corn or yam, if the annual Abam festival has not been celebrated, else the children will be ill; Again, she said that when ever the mother prepares a new farm she is to give a small portion to these young ones. It is believed that if it is not done, the crops in the farm will not thrive.

Twins are considered to be sacred beings in the family and as such have a lot of taboos to be observed. They should never eat or touch rats, they are not ~~kept~~ to play with six-fingered people, the reason being that they are unclean.

Twins are supposed to worship the Abam deity all their lives. But owing to civilisation and Christianity the Christians seldom do it. If the twins are of opposite sexes two separate shrines are made for them as it is believed that their souls do not agree. Such twins are known as Tekyi and Amanne and are said to be enonies. The twins of the same sex are called 'Ntaten' (the identical twins). The four successive children after the twins are called, Tawia, Nyankamago, Otusakosen and Obobakorokorowa the latter one means a **foundstone**.

CONFINEMENT AND CHILD-NAMING

The newly-born child and his mother are confined for a period of one week. At this period the baby is not to be seen by anybody outside; if the baby is to be seen at all a special precaution is to be taken to ensure the well being of the baby. This is what a native doctor told me: "As soon as the baby is born and bathed a small cut is made on the cheeks and a black powder is put into it. Then another medicine made of some herbs mixed with water plus slices of pine apple and washing blue is prepared and kept in the baby's room throughout the week. The mother sprinkles that mixture on the baby daily, the belief being that no witch or any herbalist who does not hear the cry of babies before the seventh day of the week or has any medicine which causes the death of the baby can ^{not} harm the ~~baby~~ baby. Apart from this nobody is allowed to bring anything that contains blue into the room, the belief behind it is that the baby's colour may turn into blue and that may cause its death.

/During.....

During this period of the confinement the mother refrains from all sorts of strenuous labour. Her relatives and friends continue to call frequently to inquire after their health. They bring food to feed the mother and sometimes send their daughters to help in preparing meals, fetching water or firewood and attending to any household duties which the nursing mother cannot perform herself. Her diet is made as rich as the husband can afford and is generally altered to include two heavy meals of fufu each day.

The soup is mainly palmnut soup and some herbs known as anafranaku and tuwentini leaves. The belief is that when this is taken the mother gets more breasts milk for the baby. During the confinement the child is not taken out of doors. The child continues to get his bath three times a day in ~~the~~ room, but the first and the last one are usually for the dressing and the shaping of the head with hot water, and then the baby vigorously rubbed with wet cloth. After the bath the navel cord is dressed with ground bottle or sifted ash mixed with lime juice as this helps the cord to drop.

On the eighth day, after the bath the baby is dressed in beautiful clothes ready for the outdooring and naming ceremonies. Early in the morning the mother, relatives friends and well-wishers gather in the house of the bay's father anxiously waiting to learn by what name the child shall be called and to see for themselves the presents that the father will give to the child and its mother. At about seven o'clock the following presents are brought out by the sister of the father. The father's cloth to be used as a pillow for the baby, a new mat, a new towel, two bars of soap, one tin of kerosene two tins of powder, a bottle of pomade, a cup, a tea spoon and any number of dresses and chemises that the father can afford; a hurricane lamp if he can afford that as well as it will be necessary for the night. There are also, two or three different kinds of cloths six yards each, two or three different kinds of handkerchiefs or five pounds instead of the mentioned things (for the mother) a basketful of cocoyan one fowl or a stick of mudfish for the mother. The woman then announces the purpose of their gathering in an eloquent speech and proceeds to show one by one the various articles the father has presented to the child. Then she conclude "Nye ete nose de eto no de Korantona, ete de ayirobi a nome nye; Korantona abeafuo, esese bone a wade adaban twerino." The child is to be called Korantona after its grandmother with the above appellations. Then she hands over eight shillings and a bottle of whisky or wine which are for the naming of the child to the mother-in-law. After

this if the person after whom the baby is named is alive, she puts the baby on her lap if she is not alive the person after her does the same, and then she pours libation, puts some of the wine into her mouth, spits it on the top of the baby's and utter these words: "Korantema, do te so ne; tuni ete bo ne te a nko be wote. Onyane h̄yira wo ne ode kye ne okokye babree ne akokye Oboba Kokorowa".

Korantema, grow as old as I am let all my strength and powers be imbued in you. God bless you and keep you and multiply seed. After this ceremony the woman who brought the presents stands up and turns to the remaining things that are supposed to be for the mother and utter these words: "Mo de ete Owura asinasi de oyie make twu otan te." (These were the things with which Mr. X withdraws his wife from confinement) the articles are also displayed one after the other. When she had finished all these she is given a thunderous applause by the gathering. Verbal expressions of appreciation follow. The remaining wine is then offered after which all friends and well-wishers offer presents to the mother, baby and depart.

Two days later the grandmother after whom the baby is named brings her old cloth and special beads and a she-goat or sheep as a present to the child, this is supposed to be a stamp for the name.

The naming of a child in Aperede follows the general kyerepong pattern. The father names his children after his own parents, grandies, uncles and aunts as well as his special friends, fetish priests and herbalists who have helped him in some way. The names that are given to Kyerepong children have generally male female forms. For example Abana Korantema, whose naming has been described in this chapter would have been called Kwabena Koranteng, if she had been a boy. Usually, the female forms are distinguished from the masculine forms by suffixes, such as 'ba', 'wa' and 'aa'. If for example a father has three daughters whom he wants to name after male relatives called Okyere, Ofori, Amponsea he can do so by naming these daughters Okyereba, Oforiwa and Amponsea respectively.

BAGYINA OR OKOBA CUSTOM

This custom is performed on a child whose mother has experienced successive deaths of her children at birth or early in their infancy. It is believed that it is that same child who generally has reincarnated itself and come back to the same parents as punishment of their evil deeds or merely deceiving.

/The.....

The name "Bagyina" means surviving child; this child is said to be recognised by some birth marks which he bore during a previous birth. Therefore when such deaths occur, certain devices are adopted to make the next child live. The parents consult a fetish whose priest generally prescribes a certain course to drive away evil spirits that may be following them. The prescription usually includes bathing in a mixture of certain herbs, barks of trees, black powder and other things.

Then, when next a child is born, he is taken to the fetish priest who performs the custom. He sometimes orders that his hair should not be cut until he reaches the age of puberty. He is also not to be named after any relative or a friend of the father. Therefore such queer names such as "Asase Asa", literally means the earth is finished, 'Sumina' (dunhill) Wurikye, 'Pepe' (Hausa) 'Sanrama' (Zabrama) are given to the children.

This ceremony differs; each fetish priest has his own method of doing it yet the idea behind it is the same. The following is what a fetish priest told me; when the child was brought to him, he bathed the child with some herbs specially prepared in a swish pot, poured libation to the gods that they might look after the child. After this the child is carried in a bag prepared with palm leaves and dragged to a dunhill, there the priest cut the marks, three marks near the mouth on each side of the face with a special axe and put in some black powder and left the child there. When he returned to the group of people who were waiting on the way, he would utter the following words: "Ayirebi ako ka mmuonase ase ne kiremoe nnye twu no." A certain child is lying on the dunhill the one who likes it can take for it." Hearing these words the mother would run for the baby with joy. After this a fowl is killed and used for cooking food for all the children in the neighbourhood. After the ceremony, the mother is informed not to cut the baby's hair as already explained.

This is what another fetish priest told me: "When the child is brought to me, some cuts are made on the face and the mouth; the same cuts are made on the mother's laps where the baby sits when suckling and the blood of the mother both is used for mixing the black powder specially prepared for the purpose, and put into the baby's cuts: "The belief behind it is that they will never leave each other. After this some beads known as sankaduodu are threaded on a string, the hair of a squirrel is put in between the beads, and the whole thing is rubbed with black powder and shea butter and put round the child's neck." Again the hair is not to be cut till the puberty age; as the hair grows longer,

longer, pannies cowrie shells and the beads called sankaduodu are hung in it. He is made to wear some amulet round the neck or waist and sometimes iron anklets. It is strongly believed that when he is made such a figure of fun, he will not be wanted by any evil spirits nor will he excite the envy of witches.

The child is readily recognised by any person conversant with kyerepong customs and practices as okoban.

When the child reaches the age of puberty he is taken to the responsible fetish priest who takes off all the beads and other things and cut the hair after libation has been poured.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY TRAINING: FEEDING AND ELIMINATION

As soon as the baby is presented to his mother - that is after his first bath,-he is given water to drink. The mother dips her fingers into a cup of water and puts a few drops into his mouth. Nowadays many mothers use the tea spoon and even in the olden days the more thoughtful ones used clean leaf. When one woman was asked why such a thing was used, she explained, "The leaf is better than fingers because you may be working when the time comes, to give your child water, and if you use your fingers dirt may go into the water." From this time until the age of about three months, the child drinks from his own cup, and the greatest care is taken to have it ready, wherever the mother goes.

A small earthen pot or bucket is also provided for his bath, and usually the bone of a bush animal such as buck, hyena, or elephant obtained from the market is always kept in this vessel. It is believed that the child grows as strong as the animal whose bone is kept in his bathing pot. Failing to get this the mother substitutes a marble for this. Another method is adopted to increase the weight of the child, the bark of some kinds of tree known as otowa and the leaves of damabo, and kyerebenkuku, these are ground together and besmeared on the child, after bath.

Bath: Bathing is generally done by the old woman or an experienced woman who is expect in it till at least two months, with the young mother by her side observing it. After this the mother gradually learns it by putting it into practice.

The head of the baby is the part that receives greatest attention. The woman say a baby's head is soft and is subjected to deformation if it is not given proper care and treatment. Special treatment is therefore given to the head every morning when the baby is washed. The head is gently pressed in a piece of flannel or towel dipped into hot water. This hot water treatment is believed to harden the bones of the head and give the head a good shape. When I asked some of the women how this treatment helps in giving the desired shape I was told that the bones of the baby's head have some gaps between them at certain places and it is this hot water treatment which brings the bones together.

The navel is given warm water dressing. Usually the towel is dipped into water and is raised over the navel and the water dripping is made to fall on the navel. This treatment is repeated during the washing everyday till the sore heals. This same treatment is given to the penis or the vagina according to the sex.



An experienced
mother bathing
her child



In experienced
mother bathing
her child.



An achievement:-
A two year old boy
washing himself



A two year old boy
washing his face
after sleep.

A child is taught to bath himself when he is about two years old, and while he practices his mother or an elderly sister sometimes stands by him and direct him.

When the child wakes up in the morning he goes to urinate, washes his face and chew a stick or a chewing-stuff 'sawee' before he eats; mothers ~~often~~ punish the children if they refuse to do it.

Feeding: For the first day or two the child lives mainly on water sweetened sometimes with sugar because generally mother's breast does not function on the day or two the child is born. During this period the child is surely put on the breast constantly, so as to induce the flow of the milk, but if this is done frequently it causes the nipples to bister.

A safer method, said an old woman, is to besmear the breast with shea butter or take frequently soup prepared with palmnuts and some herbs known as "anfranaku" and twantini leaves or place three kernel nuts and three lumps of salt alternately on the shoulders of the mother and let the mother take these one by one with her moth and chew them. If the milk does not flow on the third day another mother whose child is about the age of the baby is requested to nurse the baby till the mother gets milk in her breast.

Babies sometimes refuse to eat, especially when they are ill. So if such a refusal is accompanied by constant crying the mother begins to suspect that there is something wrong with the child. She therefore examines his body and feels his stomach with her hand, if it is hot she gives him an enema with a weak solution of 'key soap'. If the mother has reason to believe that the loss of appetite is due to fever, she gives the child quinine or other patent medicine: Usually a dose of castor oil is also given, but if this fails, the parents take the child to a medicine man.

Nursing mothers in the village do not regard nursing as anything that disfigures their babies. They rather enjoy having a baby to look after, carrying them on their back to the market or when visiting friends. They take great pleasure in feeding their babies on their breast because most of them say that they experience of feeling of joy as the child lies on their laps nestled up against their bodies and draws the milk from their breast. 'This is the time' said an old lady, "when the young woman gets the real feeling of motherhood". The mother is further pleased to feel from the child's smiles and other infantile expressions that he also is deriving considerable /happiness.....

happiness from lying in the living arms of his mother and suckling the life giving fluid. It is a time for the two to know and develop a deep affection for each other for as one woman asked, "How can a baby know his mother if he does not drink her milk?"

During the first three months of nursing, marital intercourse is not permitted by custom. The mother stays usually in her mother's house and devotes all her attention to the baby.

In the village breast feeding is the general rule, the mother sits on a low stool, puts the child on her lap with the head resting on one of her arms. Then taking hold of the breast with the free hand, she first sucks it to clean the nipple and then puts it into the mouth of the child. As he sucks the mother often pats his buttocks, brushes his eye brows with her thumb or examines parts of his body. After a while ~~his~~ he is changed onto the other breast and he is allowed to suckle until he stops at his own accord. When he stops, it is taken as an indication that he has had enough and no efforts are made to make him take more.

Bottle-feeding was not known until the last few years, but even now it is used mainly to raise a child whose mother has had serious trouble with her breast. So little confidence is placed in it that even under most difficult situations a mother to nurse the child rather than put him on the bottle.

In the matter of feeding, the infant is almost always treated with indulgence in the village. Everytime he whimpers, he is lifted, jugged up and down, smiled at and given the breast. No attempt whatever is made to regulate the time for feeding. At times he is fed just to relieve the mother of the weight of the breast. This is what a certain mother said, "Whenever my baby cries, I know he is hungry and I give him milk. If he is not hungry, he plays at the breasts and stops worrying me. Also when the milk makes my breast heavy, I give to the child. It is there for him, why should I not give it to him?" she concluded.

During the first week the wound sustained in the vagina during the delivery is dressed with hot water by an old woman in the family or the native midwife and treated with ginger, black pepper and the seeds of a bush plant called 'twentia' in twi, which are ground together and mixed with little water. Sometimes stones are put into fire and when they become very hot are dropped into a pot of water and the mother is now asked to sit on the pot so that the steam may heat and heal the wound. This,

I was told is a very painful treatment and very few young mothers are able to bear the pain without crying; after this, liniment is sprinkled on the pad used on the vagina. The mother is also given some boiled herbs to drink, and this is believed to heal the wound in the stomach. Or ginger and some herbs to drink, and this is believed to heal the wound in the stomach. Or ginger and some herbs are ground mixed with water and used as suppositories by means of a syringe. After the first week, the mother is allowed to dress the wound herself when she is having her evening bath. It is said that if the nursing mother indulges in sexual intercourse within the first three months of delivery, the wound is likely to develop inflammation which may cause very serious illness.

However, many people believe that this time limit is not strictly observed by many married people and that intercourse is resumed sometimes after forty days; although the wife continues her stay in her mother's house for the usual three months.

When this period expires, the husband generally introduced the subject by asking that the child should be brought to sleep with him, then a day is fixed and the occasion is marked by some feasting in the man's house.

W e a n i n g : Generally a mother does not make any effort to wean a child until she become pregnant again. It is therefore very common to see a child well over sixteen months still suckling his mother's breasts. Some children take the initiative to wean themselves especially when they reach the age of about two or three years. Mothers when are not pregnant prefer this to forcing the process through at earlier age.

The time of weaning is therefore dictated by the occurrence of pregnancy and has no connection with the teething of the child. It is believed that when a woman is pregnant, the milk in her breast changes in quality and this change makes it unsuitable for the consumption of the old baby, again most mothers say that if the breast feeding is prolonged, it has some effect on the teeth; it is believed that it causes the ends of the teeth to break off or some dark green matter to collect on them and cause decay.

Weaning generally commences as soon as the mother realises that she has become pregnant again, because it is strongly believed that if the child continues suckling a pregnant woman's breast he gets a disease called 'Kwashiorkor', this disease

makes the child lean, and pale, his hair changes its colour to a reddish brown and some of it falls off. In very serious cases the child swells up about the face, eyes, hand and feet.

The common method of weaning a child is abruptness, I was told such abrupt weaning can affect the health of a baby very badly if the child is very young; so it should be done gradually. Another mother describes the weaning of her child in the following lines she says, "When I want to wean my child I stop him from suckling my breast all at once, instead I give him mashed yam or any food he likes; sometimes he refused to eat for a long time and cries a lot, but I resolve not to give in to him, because if I give him the milk he will always ask for it. I just carry him at my back and try to coax him and promise him some toys and other playthings so that he may stop crying. If he persists to suck I smear a bitter herb called 'awonwene' (*Vernonia amygdalina*) or quinine or 'nkokobedi awu' on the breast so as to give the milk a bitter taste."

One woman told me she has always weaned her babies by frightening them.

She puts a toy cat on her breast or she skips continually allowing the breast to slap her chest, and draws the baby's attention to the breast and she tells him that if ever he asked for the breast he would be caught by the ghost making the noise in the breast. She told me that is how she had weaned all her five children. She has born.

The most trying time is the night when the child usually cries incessantly for milk, another woman said, "I often wear my cover shirt when I am going in bed and get some cooked rice ready, whenever he cries I offer him the rice mixed with dose of 'Koko' aduru' (Pile Mixture) first and then the breast which has been rubbed with the same mixture. When this is repeated twice, he stops crying for breast in the night. Occasionally he may attempt to take the breast, then I frighten him with a policeman or a mad man or allow him to cry until he stops by himself." In some cases mothers drop the liquid of the leaves of "ahuaaa" (*Nicotianatabacum*) into the nose of the child; this is believed to have the effect of making the child take the scent of the mother's milk. Whatever method is used, all the mothers interviewed said it generally makes their children irritable and unhappy. These children who are not healthy may become ill.

Mothers fell worried about the effect of weaning of the children, "That is the main reason", said another woman, "why we delay it until the pregnancy makes the milk unsafe for the child."



A mother feeding
her younger child.



A five months old
child sucking her
thumb.

Some children when weaned take to suckling the end of their cloth or dummy, others take to the thumb suckling. But both are regarded as bad habits and every endeavour is made to break the child from them, especially the latter one. With reference to Agatha H. Bowley he confirms it by saying that suckling a dummy is not advocated on hygienic grounds though on psychological grounds it is permissible if the child is unduly disturbed.

Thumb Suckling: Is considered to have every bad effect on the child, but some of the mothers in the village do not know what exactly is the harm caused, some suggested that it makes the thumb become lean, others simply said it is not a good habit; an old woman told me that it is believed that either of the parents may die if the child does not put an end to this habit. However it is believed that it is not so bad to suck the middle and fore-fingers as to suck the thumb. The latter habit is regarded as a taboo and when ever the child puts his thumb into his mouth the mother sharply pulls it out; an old woman told me that to put an end to this, some deep cuts is always done on the thumb.

Thumb suckling provides the child with a comforter in place of his mother's breast, but it is regarded as a bad habit

Another way of putting an end to this habit is to remove the thumb gently from his mouth when he is asleep. Thumb suckling is not of great importance in the babyhood but it may be regarded as a signal of distress if it is persisted for long in childhood.

Liquid Food: When the baby is about three months old the mother gives it a drop of soup to taste, the soup is dropped into the mouth with the finger, the pepper in the soup makes the child cry a lot, the child is pacified with breast milk. The mother I interviewed told me that from the fourth month or so onwards breast milk does not satisfy the baby fully because it is then very light for its stomach. Liquid Food is therefore introduced.

In the olden days the food that was given is called 'Obelu'. It is palnuts soup mixed with ripe plantain which is cooked into pap; it is believed that the palnuts give free bowels. The modern food is 'akasa' (Porridge) with a little sugar to taste, it is believed too that too much sugar causes inflammation in the stomach. The baby is fed on the pap with a small spoon which is usually one of the things presented to him on the day he was named.

After the third month, this is gradually introduced besides the breast milk.

Teething: During the first year marked changes occur in the structure and function of the baby; of these the most striking one is the teething which begins about the sixth or the seventh month. An old woman told me that the changes differ: some children have their first teeth when they are about four or five months old, she continues, the teething is noticed by the high temperature which the child get and constant spitting and general weakness. The child screams and at times he refuses to take his food; she also gets free ~~bowels~~ bowels. When a baby cuts its first teeth, anybody who sees them announces that the child has cut its first teeth "abui" as they are called at this stage. The announcer has to give the child an egg. The egg is boiled and a little bit of it is pressed against the child's fore head. The rest of it is then cut into pieces and given to the children in the house. The egg pressed against the fore head ~~of~~ is meant for the child's soul.

It is after the baby's first milk teeth appeared that solid food is introduced. Mashed yam mixed with nkentemire, or agidi with plain soup is gradually introduced. This is served with the mother's hand or a spoon. When the mother is eating the baby is generally put on her lap and seeing his mother eating he often stretches his hand for some of the food. This is taken by all at meals as an indication that the child wants to eat solid food. So a piece of plantain or yam is quickly crushed in the palm of the mother and is given to the child who immediately directs it to his mouth. From this time onward solid food is put into his hand from time to time and gradually the child accustomed himself to solid food. Quite frequently too when the mother is beating fufu she gives the child some of the half pounded fufu to engage his attention.

The mother then adds solid food as part of the child's diet. The time for introducing this into his diet depends upon constitution of the child. If the first one makes him ill it is discontinued but it does not more and more is given. By the age of nine months most children in the village take fufu regularly as part of their diet. Meat is introduced later and is often prechewed before being given to the child.

When the child is fairly well accustomed to solid food, he is provided with a small dish or an enamel basin into which the mother puts some small pieces of fufu for the child to swallow; he eats alone and near his mother. This happens when he is about two years or eighteen months old; later he may eat with older children from one dish, though some mothers take the trouble to

serve each in separate dish "because" she explained "children quarrel too much at meals but they all eat in same dish, most mothers share the meat among them to ensure fair distribution and avoid unnecessary quarrels. The child eats when ever he is hungry and no attempt is made to regulate his meals." To do this will be impossible", said an old mother, because once a child is able to walk, he does not remain in one house, he may be found in an uncle's house or grandmother's house, and everywhere he goes he is offered food and is expected to eat there. If you forbid him to eat in those houses a quarrel will surely come from one and another. His grandmother may argue her house is his just as yours is and he cannot be forbidden to eat in hers. Under such circumstances it will be difficult to regulate the child's meals however each mother endeavours to limit the child a few houses; children are punished for eating in other houses.

Sometimes a child refuses to eat and there are various reasons for it. He may be so absorbed in play that he may not like to break it for his meals, if he is forced to stop the play he generally eats very little or may refuse to eat altogether, the food may also be distasteful to him and he may excuse himself by saying he is not hungry. If he is forced, he often sits down and fiddles with the food until he is told to go away. A child may also refuse to eat if he is ill. A mother as a rule tries to find why her child has refused to eat. If it is due to conflicting interests, wise mothers usually reserve the child's food until his interest in other things are gratified. If the food is just distasteful he is coaxed and promised with those he likes. In the case of illness the parents try to find what exactly is wrong with the child. They feel the head, the stomach, put number of questions to him, and form their own opinion. When they consider that he is feverish, they may give him quinine or some M & B mixed with water. But if they suspect constipation they may give him a dose of purgative, or a mixture of herbs such a 'Onunum' and ginger, if he is suffering from diarrhoea the mother may collect the same herb grind together with ginger make them into balls and apply to the rectum as suppositories. Every mother knows that the health of the child depends mainly upon good food and also how the child normally eats. The mothers are often heard saying, "My child does not eat and what shall I do?" (Mi bi a bogyi takyi, no me bo no me?) Every attempt is made to get the child to eat. He is coaxed and persuaded, promised with toys, eggs and toffee in order that he may eat. It is common to find a feeding a child as old as three years, because they feel the child may not eat bit

of food in his mouth, she will often be heard saying, "Aho, aho, aho," just to encourage the child to take more food. Even when the child is ill he is urged to take more than he wants to.

The following illustration was taken when I was making my investigation. A boy aged three years had a serious attack of convulsion for two days; I was told, he lay between life and death and was unable to eat. On the third day the boy showed a sign of great improvement. Fufu was quickly prepared for him. As he was too weak to feed himself the food was broken into small balls which were put onto a spoon and pushed into his mouth. When he had been made to swallow few balls all present showed a sign of relief.

Children in this village generally eat a great deal in the evenings. They eat from many of the houses of their relatives until their stomachs are filled to capacity. Parents do not appear to be much worried about their overfeeding, except that they at times pass a casual remark about the child's extended abdomen.

On the whole feeding in other parts of the day is quite different from what it is in the evening. Breakfast consists chiefly of boiled or roasted plantain or kenkey and the midday meal may be the same food because immediately after breakfast the parents leave the child between two and half and five years in the house and go to the farm and return home at about four o'clock in the afternoon. Parents generally do not make adequate provision for the child's meal while they are on the farm, and some of the children have to live on whatever remained of the morning meal, or beg from their friends from the neighbouring houses. Those who are better provided for may have a few fingers of plantain or some cocoyam, and more often girls of about six or seven years will be responsible for cooking for the younger ones. As they have little in the afternoons they are allowed to over eat in the evenings. Also children have little fish or meat for meals, parents excuse themselves with the Twi Proverb, "Wo se die he kon, na wonka se due ne nam". (They say you are sympathised for lack of food and not for lack of meat) Obviously, what the child eats does not matter so much as how much he eats.

Children vary considerably in the choice of food, but taken as a whole the favourite foods of children in the village are red plantain, rice, bread and mashed yam mixed with palm oil. When they are eating yam, cassava and ripe plantain they often collect the yam aside and eat that last.

Each mother know the individual likes of her children and often promises to reward each with his favourite food when she is sending him on an errand or asking him to perform some unpleasant



A two year old
child feeding
her self.

duty.

There are also some food which children would not like to eat; if they had their choice. These I was told are plantain and cassava. The following incident was reported to illustrate what children sometimes faced with food they do not like to eat do. Kofi aged about four years was served with plantain and yam and was asked to eat the plantain first. He sat at his meal watching mother with half eye and when seeing that she was not looking at him he broke a large piece of plantain took a cup and went to the drum as if he was going to collect water and beinding down deposited what was in mouth behind it; the plantain thus finished, Kofi sat down to eat the meal with joy.

The food that are considered good for children are mashed yam, riped plantain, fufu, amgesi with "nketomire" bean stew and rice with palm nut soup. Oranges and mangoes are generally considered to be bad for children because when they are in season children usually suffer from diarrhoea and dysentery. Biscuits are considered to be bad because it is thought that a lot of it causes constipation. At Christmas parents constantly warn the children against excessive eating of biscuits.

Table manners: By the age of one and a half or two years, most children are able to feed themselves and by two and a half to three years old children are supposed to feed themselves, however children respond very different in this training.

Some prefer to feed themselves from an early age, while others want to be fed even three years old. Some children begin to eat with their left hand so they are first taught to eat with their right hand, from the dish. The child is also taught to wash his hands before and after meals; for this is essential.

There is a Twi proverb running like this "Abofra hu ne nsa hohoro a one opanyin didi". (When a child knows how to wash his hands he eats with his elders). The child is taught not to talk or sing when eating; he is taught to take his food in small bits and to take time to chew well. If he eats hurriedly he is checked by his mother by saying "bre wo oba ase", literally meaning lower your speed. A child is also taught not to mess himself especially his lips and back of his fingers, and not to put his left hand on the floor when eating. These are generally introduced to the child as taboo s. He is told for an example that if he sings at meals the food may get through his head, and if he puts his left hand on the floor all the food he eats pass through the arm into the g ground. Again he should not eat food picked from the ground without washing it.

The child is also made to believe that if he eats in homes

apart from his own the mother of these homes will burn his palms with hot food, and he will be given nickname "afiaho" (a beggar of food). Lastly eating with the left hand is strictly forbidden. Whatever else a left handed child may be permitted to do with his left hand, his is never allowed to eat with it.

Elimination: A child's toilet training commences from the age of about a fortnight. At that time beads strung is bounded loosely round the waist and rags put through to form a napkin which collects the child's latrine and urine if these happen to come unexpectedly. If the child is lying on the lap of the mother and it begins to pass water the mother puts the child on her arms draws legs apart making at the same time a hissing sound "S, S, S, S" to imitate the sound of urination. Very often, when the child is taken up from his bed he is held in the same position or if he starts urinating when he^{is} at his mother's back he is quickly taken away and held in that position to continue.

Gradually the child learns to associate the sound and the position with the act of urination and learns to understand what he is expected to do when held at that position. Later when the child is lying on the mother's lap or being carried at her back and he feels like passing water he makes some physical movements. With males the urinary organ usually erects when the child wants to urinate and then the mother holds him in position to discharge.

Bowel Training: This starts later than bladder training at about the age of two or three months. Before that time mothers just spread some rags on the bed of the child to absorb his urine and motion; the rags are changed when they get wet. Nowadays some parents put mackintosh under the rags to prevent the urine soiling the mat. From the age of about two months some mothers train their children to use chamber pot. Whenever they see that the child is showing a sign of urinating they just put him on the pot. Also, as soon as the child is picked up early in the morning or just before he is given his bath, he is put on the pot. This continues until the child learns that the pot is meant for the moving of the bowels.

In some case the training is not given with a pot until the child grows to an age of about four months. In such a case when the mother sees that the child wants to go to latrine she seats the baby on her thighs leaving a hole between the two thighs and through the hole the faeces fall to the ground. When the child is able to sit and crawl the mother sits down, puts

her two feet together with only a space of about three inches between them and then seats the child on them so that the child's faeces fall between them.

When part of a child's latrine falls into the mother's food, the part soiled is only removed and the food is eaten. It is believed that if the food is not eaten the child takes it that he is not wanted by his parents so it may die.

Some mothers, however, start the bowel training very early. One of these women reported to me that all her three children stopped soiling their mats when they were a month old, and she describes how she achieves it. She said that a chamber pot was bought before the child was born, so when the child was two weeks old ^{she} started putting him on the pot thrice a day; ~~morning~~, afternoon and evening. When he ^{cried} I put him on the pot before I ^{she} fed him, because it might be that the child was just uneasy because it wanted to pass stool. At night too ~~he~~ ^{she} woke up about three times to put him on the pot. ~~she~~ ^{she} continued this for two or three weeks and the child got used to it. After this the child cried whenever it wanted to pass a stool or urine.

When the child is able to walk a corner in the compound is selected and always he is directed to use the place as his latrine. Before mothers throw away the latrine of the children they scrutinise the latrine carefully for signs of worms disease, look for the changes of colour and texture, and even smell. If anything is seen the mother is heard telling her husband or her mother that ~~Anna's~~ latrine is not good today, It contains blood and phlegm I think ~~she~~ ^{she} has some pains in the waist she must be given enema.

When I interviewed some women as to which sex takes toilet quicker than the other, I was told that it all depends upon the training given by the mother and not the sex. I was told if a woman ~~begins~~ ^{she} to teach her child to use the chamber pot for toilet purposes at an early stage, the child takes to it very quickly and in many cases when it wants to go to latrine it would wriggle or cry to show that it wants to.

The child's toilet training is not expected to be completed until the child is able to clean its self after latrine, and this happens when she or he is about four or five years old. The next stage in toilet training in this village is to get the child to use the public latrine. In the village the men have two public latrines as well as the women. At the age of about six years or sometimes five, boys begin to use the public pit latrines while the girls share their mothers' private ones. At first, the father may take the boy with him to the latrine in



A child emptying.
her bowels.
(old method.)



The child is emptying
her bowel on chamber.
pot. (new method.)

order that he may see that he is safe on the pit, it is not uncommon to see father and son on the latrine and engaged in a conversation while each defecates. So parents as a whole do not refrain from performing the eliminatory functions before their children.

There is not any special toilet language for the children and so they use adult's expressions which is known as 'krotia' or 'odupen' very freely. However when the child is learning to speak he generally forms his own expression for toilet. They may be 'toto' for urination and 'puupuu' or 'apea' for latrine.

Wetting and Enuresis: Children below two years are not scolded or punished for wetting their blankets. Those between two and three years are expected to be able to control their bladder fairly well at night and inform their parents if they want to urinate at night. A child above the age of three years is considered old enough to stop wetting his bedding though occasional papses are expected and also ignored. But if a child of five or six years continues to wet his bed, he is scolded and sometimes punished. His evening meals are reduced because mothers say that if the last meal is very heavy, it causes wetting. He is also not given liquid food in the evening as that is also supposed to cause wetting of bedding. The mothers also teaches him to empty his bladder last thing at night and to awaken himself during the night if it is necessary. Meanwhile his older brothers and sisters begin to call him nickname 'Tsoloo' (one who wets his bedding). As he grows older severer punishments are given. The father may slap him on the buttocks in the morning when it is found that he had wetted his mat at night. Or he may pour a calabash full of water on him as he lies asleep in his wet cloth and mat early in the morning. Sometimes he is wrapped up with his wet blanket or mat and brought into the yard to be laughed at and mocked at by the other children in the house. If he continues wetting by the age of six or seven he is declared enuretic; parents usually give him to the children, his play fellows to subject him to a special humiliation, customarily prescribed for enuresis. When his play fellows and the older children in the neighbourhood get the information that he is habitual bed wetter, they fix a day on which he is to be given treatment.

Early on that day morning they collect in his house and some of them are sent to collect the branches and the leaves of an irritating plant known as in their language as "esosee" (a species of urena). When the boy gets out of bed in the morning he is caught and stripped bare and covered with these leaves, his

wet mat is put on his head and he is then pushed this way and that way while these boys sing "Tsoloo be yi we kote ade akye oo" (The bed wetter come and remove your mat it is day time). He is led into a stream as more boys collect and join the chorus. When they get to the stream they push him into it three times and he is brought home again ~~xx~~ crying; or instead of taking him to the river they pour some buckets of water on him as they push him here and there on the compound.

When the boy does not ~~skawak~~ stop wetting his bedding after this treatment, the parents take it for granted that the boy has got some inflammation in the waist, so they start giving treatment.

This is how a mother of three children treated this inflammation; she said that she collected some herbs known as ~~onnnnn~~ ~~enunnn~~, ground them together with ginger and pepper form it into balls and used two or three balls suppositories. If this treatment does not help she often send the child to a clinic for injection.

Other forms of elimination performed by the child are breaking the wind, yawning, sneezing, belching and hicough. Breaking the wind is not regarded as any serious thing, and parents are usually amused by it, and smiling to the child, they may say "wofunkyi we open" (meaning you have opened your door) or "One yie we te oloo" (meaning you are throwing off your illness). But if the air is foul and occurs frequently, it is taken as a symptom of constipation; and parents may give the child treatment.

Yawning is considered to be a sign that the child is thirsty, and so when the child yawns he is given water. Sneezing is another eliminating function; that is not considered as anything serious and when it occurs in a child the mother just says "Nkwa" literally meaning 'Good Health'. If however a child sneezes continually he is thought to have had cold in the head. Then the leaves of some herbs such as milk bush leaves are collected squeezed between the palms until some green liquid comes out which is put into a teaspoon and dropped into the nostrils of the child. This treatment makes the child sneeze quite a lot and eliminate phlegm through the nose and mouth.

Hiccoughs give mothers some concern, and as soon as they occur prompt action is taken to stop them. The mother gives the child some water to drink and saying as she drops the water into the mouth "Taketeko so ntu ne onye" meaning (Hiccough take drops of water and go. Sometimes mothers put a small stick

such as the mid-rib of a palm leave or small piece of gag into the child's hair with the belief that, that will stop the condition. When an older child gets a hiccough he he sips water seventimes and also says "Hiccough take seven drops of water and go away". If other children are near, he calls one who has the same birth name as he, and if he answers to the call, the child points his right hand first to his own throat and then to the second child's throat several times and says "Tekoteke ko ne mene ase" (Hiccough go into his throat). It is believed by ^{he} children that by such action they will be able to transfer the hiccough to the ^{other} child.

Belching is not considered to be harmful to the child but rather an indication that he has taken enough food. When a child belches his mother says "Woammoe" and nothing else is done.

MOTOR DEVELOPMENT

Like children all over the world, the motor development of a child follows a definite pattern. A child's movement begins right from the mother's womb. A healthy child moves vigorously and the feeble ones slowly. As soon as the child is born he cries and moves his hands and legs. Most of the children open their eyes on the very day, others on the second or third day. The organs of the upper parts of the body develop before those of the lower part.

The child therefore learns to control his eyes, then to balance his head and manipulate his hands before he gains control over his trunk and legs.

During the first week of birth while the new born baby sleeps a lot, he startles suddenly when noise is made or a house fly settles on him, he moves his eyes, the arms and legs then the whole body is constantly in motion.

Carrying: A child of two weeks is considered old enough to be carried at the back; but he is so delicate that he is unable to bear up his head, and so he is carried only by adults who bind him up unto their back with cover cloth, leaving only his head. During this time the child has very little control over the head, and when he is made to sit on his mother's lap the head generally drops in one direction. When the child is ~~at~~ one month old he can lift his head now and then, move it from side to side, and kick his legs. At two months old the kicking becomes more vigorous, he can wave his arms about when lying on his back; at this stage he is protected by pillows at his sides as he may fall from the bed.

At the age of three months he is able to carry his head erect over his neck, and so when he is being carried, his neck and one of his arms are left uncovered, but the other arms is still tucked in until another month, when he is considered to be able to balance his head and trunk. The two hands are now released, but when-ever the child falls asleep



Mother carry the child
at her back while cooking.



The child is being
cared for by an elderly
sister.

at his mother's back, both hands are always covered with cloth.

From this age onwards he is carried a lot by his mother, grandmother, aunts, sisters and brothers as well as his mother's friends. His father occasionally helps in this duty, but he and the boys have a different way of carrying him. Holding his trunk, they put his head on their shoulders and allow the rest of the body to fall on their chest. Then they put one arm on his back to keep in position; for the most part of the day, the child is carried in one of these positions especially by the mother as she goes out to the market, to the stream side or the well hole, the farm, and when she visits her friends; she, in particular, takes a great pride in performing this duty. In the home too he is carried a great deal. At his first cry he is taken up from bed, breastfed and carried at his mother's back; Here he may be seen carried as his mother splits firewood, beats fufu or sweeps the compound. If there are older children they may relieve the mother by this time.

At birth, the child does not appear to recognise objects but stares blankly in space. A few weeks afterwards he appears to recognise moving objects, such as a light at night. One young mother told me that her son was able to recognise her when he was about four weeks old. He was also able to hear foot steps, and when he was crying alone in a room, he would often stop crying when he heard foot steps. At the age of two and a half or three months some of the children are able to grasp articles such as a small stick or hold the two hands together and pull them in the direction of their mouths. At three months some are also able to turn themselves from side to side on their beds.

It is a practice that at the age of three months a female child is made to sit on the ground for the first time. Male children are given this training a month later. The reason for this I was told is that boys are supposed to have a

longer back-bone than the girls and as a result take a longer time to gain muscular control. This is done by a person who walked within a shorter period after he has learnt to sit. The belief behind it is that the child will immitate him. The child learns to sit by being supported with pillows, old cloths or blankets. He is sat on a mat with pillows on all sides, or the cloths being pushed in between his legs. Quite frequently also an older child is made to sit behind the child to give him the necessary support. At this stage, the child lying alone in his bed engages himself in a lot of motor activity. When he lies awake in his bed, he kicks and extends his legs upwards and moves his arms up and down. He often grasps his foot and brings it to his mouth. This is explained by the mothers in the village to mean that he is asking his foot when he would walk.

Gradually the child learns to do away with the supports and by four or five months he is able to sit alone. He at first supports himself with his arms and sits stiffly on the ground. Later he is able to lift his hands and grasp objects near him. One of the children I observed at this stage was five and a half months old. He sat fully occupied with a bunch of keys purposely left there. For a while he completely disregarded the rest of the world. He took a firm grasp of the keys, banged them several times on the ground, held them up, examined them critically and then smiled and put them into his mouth. Soon he pulled them again and tried to transfer them into the other hand. Again he banged them made a noise for a while and put the keys into his mouth; Finally he dropped them out of reach leaned forward to collect them, and failing, started the cry to attract his mother's attention. The boy^{was} learning to control his trunk, and use his arms and eyes. He was mainly inactive, and if not being carried, he usually sits on the verandah and watched the activities of his mother. As his mother moved about on her duties, he stretched out his arms as an indication that he was tired and lonely, and if he did not receive attention he burst into a cry. Already he was making



Crawling is an
achievement which
brings a real delight
to a child of
six months old.

efforts to enter the next stage of his motor development which is crawling.

At Apirede the child learns to crawl at the age of five and a half, or six months. At this stage when he wakes up he does not always cry to be picked up. Instead, he tries to sit up himself and often he is found lying flat on his belly with his head and legs raised. He usually, struggles to sit up and when he fails he starts to cry. His parents become interested in this achievement, and say that he is anxious to crawl. Very often they will put an orange or a bright coloured object or a locally produced rattle a few feet away and direct his attention to it. He becomes excited when he sees the object and tries to reach it and in this way he is encouraged to crawl.

The functional organ activity together with exploration are the corner stones for future creative activity. At first he often tumbles over during his effort and some of the children move toward the object on their stomachs. Most of them, however move by drawing dragging their seat. By the age of six or seven months, the average child has mastered the act very well and has become an active explorer. He now crawls into all the corners of the room, pulls down table covers and uncovers his mother's enamel basins in order to examine the contents. He usually crawls to the chairs or stools, takes hold of them and pulls himself up, opens doors, draws down every thing within reach dash breakables and unbreakables, and sits down to examine; and bang them with joy. He climbs onto chairs and hides behind tables. Frequently, the clothes of a crawling child restrict his movements, and, to give him free mobility, the mother often ties up these clothes into a knot behind him. Sometimes, the parents like him to be restricted in this way, 'because' according to one of the mothers" the child at this stage is very difficult to manage and can never be trusted out of sight. He

will destroy your valuable possession if you leave him alone". In one of the houses of my informants was a boy called Kwadjo, aged six and a half months. He was very smart on his arms and legs and would trace his mother wherever she was in the house. When left on the verandah he would quickly climb down the steps and crawl to the kitchen. One afternoon, when his mother was doing her hair on the verandah he crept into the room directly to the table. He pulled himself to stand up and began to pull down the table cloth. -A sudden noise brought his mother to her feet and rushing into the room, she saw her beautiful chinaplate cracked into pieces, Kwadjo as would be expected in most of the homes had a few sharp smacks on his buttocks.

The next stage in the child's motor development is walking. It is a great joy to the mothers when she sees that her child is able to walk without any help or support. Normally walking occurs at any time between the ages of eight and fourteen months. Walking earlier than eight month is thought to cause bow leggedness. On the other hand there are some children who are later walkers. "A late walker is always a burden to his mother". Says an old woman, "There is nothing that is more burdensome than to have a late-walker. He is very heavy to carry at the back; he would not go to play with the other children to make you free; and more than this he soils his clothes very quickly, so that you have to do washing every now and then. But it is impossible to throw him away".

I was told that there are some herbs which help children to walk. The leaves of a plant called 'Oguan nkyene' (salt of the sheep) are ground into a soft paste, mixed with water and syringed into the anus. This is believed to create a strong irritation in the child's waist which has the power of forcing the child to walk.

An old mother told me this "My last born Kofi was helped to walk when he was eighteen months old by a special treatment". When I got up early in the morning I took off my



A child is being taught how to walk by an elderly bother.



A child is learning how to walk by using the wooden tricycle.

'Atami' (the red Pad) and used it for beating all the joints of his lower part. After this I rubbed the soles of the feet with a kind of herb called 'osepete'. I did this on three occasions. On the fourth day of the treatment I saw Kofi making some steps and that was the beginning of his walking"

At the beginning of the stage of walking some of the children 'walk' on hands and soles rather than move on hands and knees. Very often, he takes hold of his mother's clothing and pulls himself to standing position. Sometimes he walks a few yards by taking hold of room furniture. At nine months, the child is able to stand alone. The mother becomes very happy about this and she and the father, as well as the older children in the house give every attention to the child to encourage him to make the final effort to walking.

The child is taught to walk by giving him a strong walking stick, and helped by an older person to use it. The child holds the lower part of the stick whilst the elderly one holds the upper part to help balancing. When the child stands up by the stick the older person moves the stick forwards gradually and encourages the child to walk. Some mothers give to their children a wooden tricycle for daily practices. As he wheels this about in the yard, he is followed by an adult or an older child in case he falls or gets into difficulties with the wheels this practice goes on until the child is able to push it by himself. There is much belief in this wheel as an effective aid for teaching the child to walk. In addition to this aid, the child is generally trained to walk unaided. An adult or an older sister helps the child to stand up, then she moves a few yards, stretches out his hands to the child and asks him to move forward. The child then takes a few steps and then falls down.

I saw a girl, Adwowa, aged twelve months being trained to walk. Her father put her in a standing position and move further back. Then clapping his hands, he stretched them out to Adwowa and called her to walk to him. The girl stood shaking on

the limbs for a moment, carefully surveyed the distance between her and her father started toddling with arms raised. Her father also moved backward step by step encouraging her daughter with a repetition of "Ta-taa tu-tu. Adwowa bedi nnansa na wanantew". (Ta-taa tutu Adwowa will walk within three days) after a few steps Adwowa fell down and completed the distance by creeping. Her father lifted her up and congratulated her; by saying 'Ayekoo'.

There are a few children in the village who manage to get over this practice. They go to bed as babies who can just stand up, and when they wake up the next morning they are able to walk. A young woman told me that she did not teach her son to walk. One early morning when the boy was left asleep on his mat alone in the room while the mother was sweeping the yard; she heard a sudden cry; to her surprised she saw her son toddling on the verandah crying; the mother was overjoyed so she went and embraced the boy, held his hands and helped him to make a few steps. After this the boy was given some mashed yam and boiled eggs for his achievement.

The weeks that follow the child's successful efforts to walk are very exciting to him, for his motor drive forces him to exercise his new acquired powers. No spot in the house becomes private to him; he goes about climbing and exploring; also nothing looks too dangerous for him to touch. The child has no partial limit in the house for play-pens are not known in the village. What his mother does is to keep dangerous articles out of reach and to close some doors in the house. She also teaches him by simple expressions to avoid dangerous places. This training starts even when he is learning to crawl. He is first taught to be afraid of fire. There is a custom in the village that if a child is burnt the mother has to give a fowl to the father or the sisters in-law because she did not look after the child properly, so whenever a crawling child gets near to fire his mother takes a burning stick and shaking it in a threatening manner, saying to him, Agye tom', (Fire burn him).

One of the child's desires when he is able to crawl or walk is usually to go out-side the house, they at times ask the older children to take them outside, these older ones warned not to live the child to crawl or walk because of lorries.

At home older children are expected to sit still, and remain quiet while parents are conversing. It is considered bad manners when they join in conversation or make a noise to disturb. To avoid this temptation children are often sent away from the room while parents and visitors are talking.

Motor Play

Nearly all psychologists and educationists attach a great significance to play as Froebel pointed out; the play can be the help mate and a handmaiden of education and that a little child learns most naturally and most willingly through the medium of play. By means of play the child can try out and gradually perfect his growing intellectual abilities.

Young children are encouraged in motor play that do not involve too much running "for if they are allowed to run too much and chase each other as they always wanted to do" said my informant, they usually fall and hurt themselves." The child is also not permitted to play with knives and other sharp tools, though they want to do so.

A child of about two years old is allowed and encouraged to play with his doll or other play things as soon as he is able to grasp them for free play is hoped to help a child's social-emotional development. Lowenfeld proved this as he writes in Play in childhood page 324 "Play is an essential function of passage from immaturity to emotional maturity. He also writes "Play" is to a child, therefore work, thought, art and recreation and cannot be pressed into any single formula".

As the child can grasp things he is provided with small toy that ^{single} ~~pieces~~ ^{pieces}. A few pebbles are put into a cigarette tin and the edge is pressed flat. Some women buy European made toys. Whenever he begins to cry or when the mother wants



Children at play.



Children playing in
the sand.



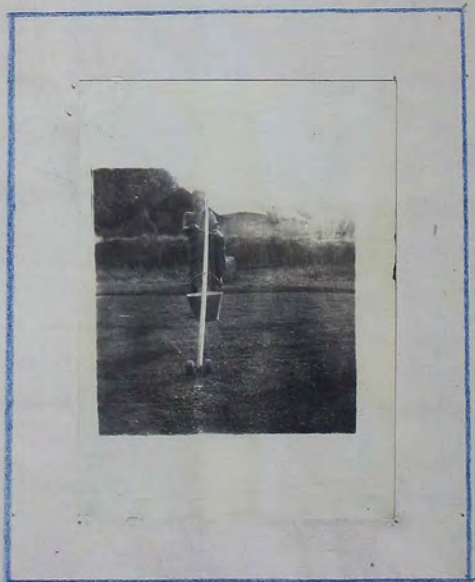
Children making their make
belief oven in the sand.

to leave him for some work this toy is fetched and handed over to him. Later when the child is two years old he is given wooden doll, usually made by local crafts men, or elastic doll, a finger of plantain a piece of stick or the shin bone of goat or sheep; and encouraged to play with it. He carries it at his back at times while he himself is being carried by his mother.

When one enters the houses and walks through the lanes in Apirede, one will see boys and girls playing together. More often they are naked or half clothed. The girls are sometimes seen playing at being mothers, washing or nursing or feeding their babies. They also play at cooking. It is interesting to note that no real fire is used for the cooking. Dry sticks are gathered together, sardine or cigarette tins are used as cooking utensils. The tins are filled with sand or bits of food and put on the supposed fire. They fan this fire with their mouth. After some time they say the food is cooked and so they sit round and pretend to eat. The food is not really eaten but the chin is touched with the food and then thrown away; Parents encouraged this make belief cooking activities called 'inkrobo', for they say the girls learn to cook through this activity.

Playing in the sand is another popular play in the village; the children enjoy themselves in making sand dishes. The sand is heaped into a round pyramid shape, the elbow is used for making a hole at the top, and water is then poured into the hole. The dry sand is carefully removed from the sides of the wet sand which because is wet sticks together in the shape of the dish used at the kitchen called 'Okpesi' used for mashing vegetables.

You will often see boy in the sand filling empty sardine and cigarette tins with it, pouring water into it, moulding it into many objects. Sand is one of the principal materials for his make-believe plays. It is used as passengers or goods for his toy lorries and as material for making bricks for building.



These boys are going
to the river side;
they enjoy using their
"Lorn".

Very often the boys take stationary objects to be lorries or trains. The objects commonly used are chairs and tables turned up side down. The boy and some of the boys being the passengers while some of the boys play at being drivers, drivers' mates, collectors and police men. Some of the children are heard using the English words driver wait which is turned to "Drafa way".

The children under-take activities like hunting. They hunt for butterflies which they trap with their cloths. When butterflies are caught their wings are cut short so that they cannot fly again. These butterflies are then perched on the arms and are said to be parrots. 'Akoo'

During the years of later childhood fantasy give way to reality. The child is no longer as much interested in make-belief as he used to be. Instead of using stationary objects as lorries, they boy likes to use something that moves. The boys make lorries from wheels cut from the roots of the silk cotton trees. The rims of old bicycle tyres are used as lorries. One popular kind consists of two wheels usually cut from the roots of the silk cotton tree and joined together with a small stick about one foot long. Into this axle, a longer and bigger stick, about four or five feet, is fixed, and the 'lorry' completed by putting another wheel at the end of the stick as the steering wheel. This kind of lorry is used for carrying water from the well, the bucket hanging from a nail fixed in the middle of the long pole.

SLEEP AND HEALTH

Sleep and Place: For the first month of the child's birth he sleeps a great deal during the day as well as the night. He wakes up at about 7 a.m. and is immediately fed. Between the feeding and his bath which occurs in most cases at about 8 a.m. he may sleep again. After his bath, he is fed again and very often falls asleep during the nursing. Generally babies are given enough sleeping hours for the most part of the day; whether left alone in his bed or carried at the back he is usually found sleeping peacefully. Such sleep is good for the baby's health and its also helpful to the mother. The mother can go about doing some of her house work without any disturbances.

A certain woman in the village who has three children told me that her children do not trouble her at all during their infancy. They sleep soundly for the greater part of the day as well as the night. She only has to feed them and bathe them, then off they go; she once left her second born when he was young early one morning after his feeding for fire wood, she returned at about half past eight and found him still asleep.

At this early age older children watch the young ones when they are asleep in their bed, while mother is busy working in the kitchen or some where else on the compound. This is done in case the child may wake up and cry. The watch girl will run and call her mother for attendance.

Babies often smile or weep in their sleep; I was told that there are some beliefs behind them. When a baby boy smiles in his sleep it means that he has dreamt that his mother is dead and if he weeps it means that the father is dead. The reverse applies to baby girls.

As the child grows the tendency for sleep wears off gradually. When he is put to bed at night he may lie awake and talk or sing to himself a little or cry and then drop off to sleep; because of awakenings, by noises or disturbance. From the time he is able to walk, he sleeps very little during the day. Some-times days pass off without his sleeping at all during the day. At this stage his mother stops taking keen interest in his sleep. He may sleep after he has been tired with his motor activities for the day or crying. If the child can stay awake the whole day, nobody is concerned about it.

As the child's sleep is not regular it may happen that he sleeps a few hours before night falls. When this happens he shows unwillingness to go to sleep when his parents ask him to. If

a child does not want to sleep his mother may carry her on her back and walk about in the room or on the compound until he falls asleep, or bathe him with cold water for it is believed that cold water will induce the baby to sleep. If he has not been weaned, the mother often puts him on the bed and allows him to suck the breast while the mother pats his buttocks gently. This naturally puts the baby to sleep and then she carefully draws the breast from the mouth. This method can also be used when the child is lying on the lap of his mother. With an older child the mother may force him to go to bed by promising him his favourite food or buy him some beautiful play thing. If this does not help, she will then use threats and punishment.

This is what I observed during my investigation. At about 9 p.m., a boy aged two and half years was asked to go to bed; instead he went on with his playing things. The mother waited for some time and then started to ~~fixing~~ frighten the child by the following "Kwadjo ka owia ne bo" meaning Kwadjo listen the ~~beast~~ ^{ghost} is coming. The boy quickly left all his playing things, ran quickly into his bed, and covered himself. Poor Kwadjo did not get out anymore.

In the village children sleep on mats with their mother usually in front of the father's bed. The youngest child sleeps nearest to the mother and the oldest farthest away. Children sleep with their parents until they are seven or ten years old; I was told that the disadvantages about it is that an anxiety is aroused in the child, if he sleeps in the same room as his parents when they are engaging in sexual relation. Again they say that in some vague, intuitive way the child seems aware of his parents activities, and he tends to feel frightened or angry, neglected or helpless.

However parents prefer sharing the room with them at this stage for children often get night mare. They can be haunted by evil spirits or may fall down from the bed.

Kwadjo referred to in the above paragraph has a sister aged twelve who sleeps with other children in an aunt's room and his brother aged twelve sleeps in the sitting room.

When parents were asked if they considered it good to sleep with their children at the age of five though on separate mats in the same room; they replied that they did not think it did them any harm, and again when they were asleep they did not mind what happened in the room during the night; secondly they had no extra rooms to be given to the children.

As a general rule children up to the age of nine and ten sleep in their parents bed room, the older ones may be in the sitting room or a separate room near the parents' or with their relatives and friends in other houses. Boys have a greater privilege to sleep outside their homes than girls who unless sleeping accommodation is very limited, have to sleep in their parents' houses until puberty or their marriage. The only time when this is relaxed is when some of their playmates are undergoing their puberty rites. On such occasions girls are permitted to sleep in the house of the girl concerned for one week.

Generally, no separate beds are provided for the children and whether sleeping in the parents' room or with friends, they have to satisfy themselves with a few mats. Exceptions are often made for enuretic children who are normally provided with separate mats, and ^{these} usually sleeps a few yards away from other children. Children with sores and ulcers are also separated from other children; they do not generally sleep outside their own houses, for the twi proverb says "Okufe nno afe" (a person with sore or an ulcer does not sleep with friends)

Health: How ill health is detected: As children are so much desired with the village community, naturally, their health is of the highest concern to the parents. Every effort is therefore made to find out the cause of children's ill health. Mothers at Apirede are very clever at detecting any signs of illness; they always watch and note the quality and quantity of the faeces and urine of the babies, the keenness of the babies' appetite, the body temperature of the babies, and also watch for signs of loss of colour and weight. When a mother sees that her child has become sullen she at once suspects ill health and immediately reports it to her husband. If they know some herbs which can cure the child some of them are boiled and given to the child to drink. I was told that the leaves called 'okyeene' by this people, when boiled and given to the children to drink cure a lot of their stomach troubles.

Causes of Ill health: Witchcraft is considered the greatest cause of illness in children and there is scarcely any person, Christian or Pagan who does not believe the diagnosis of the witch doctor. Thus if a child burnt or scalded, parents are made to believe that it was a witch that pushed him into the fire or liquid. If he cried at midnight because he was suffering from stomachache it was also believed that it was a witch or bad spirit. Jujunen are also strongly believed to possess the power of giving illness to the child. Every illness or disease and every accident that occurs in the child's life is supposed to be the evil practices

of sorcery. For this reason the baby is generally protected soon after the birth from the power of these evil people by making some cuts on the child's body and putting some black power into it or wear amulets, and during his life he is sent to medicine men and fujumen whenever he is ill.

Though there is a wide spread belief in witchcraft and fujumen, and the constant consultation of fetish and also wearing of amulets, every parent is aware that to ensure good health in themselves and their children, certain rules of health must be observed. They know, for example, that over feeding may cause stomachache, that too much eating of fruits may cause diarrhoea, that wetness may make the child catch chill. That neglect of teeth may lead to decay or tooth-ache.

Prevention: Though they do not mind about the child picking ~~food~~ from the ground to eat, certain rules of health are observed in all homes. The infant is bathed two or three times a day, they know also that dirt may cause scabies, flea, yaws and general ill health; and for this same reason the hair is cut short from time to time and so are his fingers and toe nails.

Cold and wetness are not good for the child's health and as a result children are not allowed to play in the rain though most of them take it to be a great fun. If they are drenched in the rain. This happens frequently during the rainy season, parents insist that the wet clothing should be taken off as soon as the child gets home.

When mangoes, oranges and guavas are in season children are warned against eating too much, because experience has taught the parents that children very often suffer from diarrhoea and dysentery as a result of that. The teeth of children are properly looked after; mothers often clean those of the younger ones daily by wiping them with a wet towel when washing the child or the mother chews a chewing stuff and cleans the teeth with it. And those above four are taught to chew stick every morning.

Bad teeth are regarded to be a great disgrace and where they occur, people feel very reluctant to drink in their house. The hair and feet of the infants and toddlers are inspected from time to time and if lice or jigger are found they are quickly treated. Mothers often search diligently for lice and if they find that the hair is infested with them, it is more often shaved off and the head properly washed with antiseptic in hot soapy water, dried with a towel smeared with kernel oil mixed with ground compher.

TREATMENT OF CHILDREN'S COMMON DISEASES

Practically, every father and mother, knows some herbs used for treating some of the common diseases of children. So when the child falls ill, the parents or some of the relatives prepare some medicine that they think is effective for the disease and give to the child.

It is only when this medicine does not prove effective and the illness is serious that they go to fetish priest or herbalist and then last of all go to a clinic. If the medicine improves the condition of the child, he is made to continue the treatment, but if after two or three days he does not show any sign of improvement another treatment is prescribed. Normally external diseases such as sores, wounds, ringworms and abscesses are fairly well treated. But in the case of internal diseases, several treatments have to be tried one after the other, until the parents sometimes discover to their alarm that the disease has grown serious. Then^a herbalist or fetish priest is invited to assist, who sometimes suggests to the parents that the child has been bewitched by a member of either the mother's or the father's family. This is at once believed. He then prescribes a treatment which mainly involves sacrificing of eggs and fowls and the performance of certain rites. But in fact these fetish priests generally know the symptoms of the common diseases and so add simple treatment to their magical performances. Quite frequently they succeed in curing the child.

Now-a-days many parents especially the educated women, take the child to the children's clinic at Koforidua or to a private hospital at Mampong-Akuapin.

According to custom, the sick child is visited by his relatives and friends of the parents. The child is not allowed to sleep very much because as explained by an old woman if he sleeps a lot, "the disease will ~~be~~ sleep upon him." If the ailment is a sprain or sore, the patient is forced to exercise the affected limb for fear he may not be able to use it again when the disease is entirely cured. It is there common to see a child going about with a sprained limb.

PARENTS ATTITUDE TOWARDS ILLNESS

Parents also show concern if the sick child cannot eat very well and every attempt is made^{to} persuade him to eat. Very often he will be seen being fed by the mother no matter his age. Special diets for the sick child are not well known in the village and therefore he is fed with the usual food such as akasa, fufu and ampesi or otee and soup.



Specimen of Onunum.

Onunum is used for treating
'odee puu'.

The diseases that commonly attack the children of this village are fevers, diarrhoea, dysentery, "Odeepuu" (an inflammation of the stomach and the vagina), scabies, ringworm, boils and abscesses, sore, mumps, measles, kwashiorkor and convulsion. The following are brief descriptions of some of these diseases and the common method by which they are treated.

Fevers: This group is supposed to be one of the greatest causes of illhealth in children. One kind of fever that attacks very young children is known in twi as "Asabra", it attacks children between forty days and three months. When the child is attacked he refuses to suckle and grows irritable; his body becomes hot, his tongue coated, his breath heavy and smelly and his stool pale. This fever is treated in the following manner: The leaves of a herb known as "Akaka pepe" are squeezed between the palms and mixed with water in a bucket, seven lines are cut into twos and added to it. This mixture is put into the sun till warm; then the child is bathed with the mixture seven times each day until he is cured. The mother applying this treatment should not talk.

Other fevers such a malaria is treated by letting the patient inhale the steam from the leaves of the neem tree and lime tree boiled together in a pot and the water poured into a bucket. When the child is going to be given this treatment he sits on a stool and is covered all over with blankets to prevent the steam escaping. He remains in this position until he sweats profusely, then he is bathed with some of the mixture.

"Odeepuu": This is an inflammation in the vagina and the stomach. It is commonly noticed in girls. When the child is attacked by this illness, she often becomes pale, vomits very often and the back of the eyes often swells. The treatment for this disease is as follows: The child is made to sit on a chamber pot containing boiled water, and the whole body except the head is covered with cloth to prevent the steam from coming out. The steam goes through the vagina into the stomach, with the belief that it will help in curing the inflammation, which it does. After After this some few drops of a perfume known as Omel is poured on a teaspoon and is carefully ^{dropped into the vagina, which is well} passed through the uterus. This is done every evening. Then the leaves of cotton and onunum trees are collected boiled and is given to the child to drink three times a day.

The treatment is repeated until the child is cured.

Scabies: When a child has scabies he is bathed with warm water and soap until the rashes break. Then the leaves of a plant known as 'Okpa' in their language (*Vernonia amygdanica*) are crushed between the palms to produce a foamy substance which is smeared on the sores

or mix kernel oil and sulphur and smear the sores with it after the bath.

"Agyebirekutu"(Mumps): are considered to be so infectious that if a child merely sees another child affected by it, he is likely to get it too. When a child sees an infected person, he mocks at the sufferer by saying, "Agyebirekutu wosere w a obe ye wo woansere w a wode be ye wo." (Mumps - if you laugh at it, it attacks you, if you do not laugh at it, it attacks you.) The disease is treated in this way: A young banana sucker is collected and beaten into a soft fibre. A stone is then put into fire to get hot. The juicy soft fibre is then applied to the stone to be heated and used for cleaning the swollen portions. After that, red and white clay and charcoal are ground and mixed with water separately and used one after the other for making dots on the cheeks and jaws. After this treatment the face of the patient shows dots of black, red and white and the patient thus treated is laughed at as she goes about.

Measles: This is also common and is regarded as a highly infectious disease. Children frequently die if they are attacked by it. The patient is not allowed to take her bath during the infection. The baby is rubbed with rum or the recently invented gin called "Akpateshie". Sometimes corn dough or guava leaves ground into a soft paste and is used. The patient is also asked to take rum or "Akpateshie" in order to kill the disease in the stomach as it is said that the disease comes from the stomach.

"Nkonkon"(Whooping Cough) is another common disease. When it attacks the child, it normally runs its own course, as it is very difficult to be treated. The attack lasts for long periods such as three or four months.

The patient is given doses of kernel oil mixed with lime juice to take in order to cease the continuous and straining coughing. When he is coughing and reaches the stage when he appears about to suffocate and collapse from a long drawn crowing sound, the mother says repeatedly "Nkonkon gye akura we" (Whooping cough get a mouse and take).

There are two methods for treating the disease. The first one is that the mixture of kernel oil is given and then a mouse is killed and smoked for a day or two and used for making soup for the patient.

The Second is that the sap of "Odwana" or cork wood (Musengasmithii) is collected from the root and given to the patient to take.

"Soro" (Convulsion) is a disease among the children in the village and its cause is generally attributed to witches. It

attacks children from the earliest age to about the age of three years. The disease often sets in all of a sudden. A sudden stiffening of the child's body followed by an unconscious condition during which the eyes roll upwards, revealing just the corner. After some few minutes the hands are clenched, jaws become tight and the limbs are seen jerking.

A case occurred at the place where I was doing the investigation: a child of about two years was playing with an aunt in the yard when the aunt saw the child getting stiff, alarmed by the sight, the mother took the child up on to her chest and started shouting for help, soon a crowd of people collected round and the herbalist started his work. The child was layed on the lap of an old woman and his hands and feet were rubbed with some herbs, then some black powder was blown into her nose. Shortly after this the girl sneezed and started crying which is of course a sign of consciousness. After this he made some cuts on the cheeks and on her joints, and rubbed in some black powder. Then he ordered the mother to find the child something to eat.

"Okagya": This illness is easily found in children of about three to four months old. When a child gets this disease the tongue is found covered with some outstanding dots and the whole tongue coated white. It is said to be very painful when suckling. The following is the treatment for it: Red ants on fruit trees are collected together with the eggs and cells, these are pounded mixed with water and strained. This water is put into the baby's mouth drop by drop by the mother with her first and second fingers. This treatment is repeated till the sore is healed. The educated mothers sometimes use glycerine or send the child to a clinic.

Chapter VII

SEX KNOWLEDGE:Physical Contacts, Masturbation and sex-play.

At Apirede the young child is kissed on the cheeks and lips by his parents, especially the mother. This happens mostly during the nursing period, but after the third year he is seldom kissed, if at all. He himself is not taught to kiss for Kissing is not used in the village as a part of love technique. The infant child is however treated almost always with indulgence, he is tickled and caressed; he is rocked in the arms of adults and sat on their laps. People show a great deal of affection to him by smiling to him, waving at him and fondling him in many countless ways. An older child is handled and fondled especially when the parents return home after a period of absence. Usually as they are approaching home toddlers and even those above eight years of age run forward to meet these parents and to be embraced by them.

I saw a mother returning home after a few days' absence. On seeing her, her two daughters aged two and four years respectively ran out to meet her with out stretched arms, saying as they ran "Mamaoo poo"! As the elder one reached, the mother embraced her saying "Awaa waa tuu!" The younger one was also embraced in a similar manner and was lifted up and carried back into the house. When the mother sat down, the young child was put on her lap, fondled and caressed and asked about what had happened since her departure. The child then began to tell what she had eaten since her absence, which of her older brothers and sisters had quarrelled or been naughty, what her father had been doing since her departure.

According to the information received no variations of physical contacts are made in respect of sex. Boys and girls are handled by their parents in the same way until they reach the age of ten years. But often before this age, the father allows the mother to treat the daughter if she is ill messaging of some parts of the body necessary.

When a child is bathed, a speciall attention is given

to his genitals. Circumcision is not a customary practise and so when a male child is bathed, the mother usually pulls back the foreskin and cleans it. If this is not done, some luke warm wa-
water is dropped into it, because it is believed that if this is neglected, a sore may develop in it. In the case of a female child the sex-organ is cleaned with the wash towel or cloth. In her infancy, it is usually given special treatment. Sometimes she is laid on her mother's lap with her face down. Then tepid water is dropped into both the anus and the genitals. The mother however, ^{touch} the hot cloth on her skin first to make sure that it does not hurt the child. At other times a stone is put into fire and then some wet plantain fibre is heated on it and put gently on the vagina, just in the same way as one will treat sore. The mother tested the heat of the fibre on her skin first before she touches the child with it.

In the village, reference is not freely made to the genitals in adults conversation; they often call these parts "Wkpe" and 'Aburi', the former for the women's genitals and the latter for the men. However, young children when learning to speak usually coin their own term such as "Akole" for these organs. These names, in some cases are dropped as soon as they happen to know the correct names; others still keep to their childish name though they know the correct ones. The latter one is especially found in educated homes.

Young children often have the tendency of handling their genitals. When a girl of about six or seven months is sitting down, she is quite often seen putting her fingers them. The mother pulls off the hand as soon as she sees the mother sometimes finds the girl a pitch knickers or a piece of cloth which is strung in her beads to protect the vagina. Boys handle their organs in the same way, and as less clothing is worn by them, the habit persists much longer than girls who from their very infancy are taught to use the special piece of cloth to cover their genitals. Mothers pull down the hands of their

children as they generally do not allow their children to handle their genitals. An old woman told me that it is a bad habit because it shows that the boy will be a bad boy in future. So mothers therefore persistently try to make their children stop this habit.

It is recognised in the village that children indulge in sexual experimentation. Some old women stated that when children are left at home during the day, they sometimes collect in corners in small groups, cover their heads with cloth and the boys thrust their hands into the girls genitals, and this sometimes cause the organ to bleed. At other times, the boys indulge in pulling back the fore skin of these organs. When this is discovered the children are punished severely by their parents. They are usually beaten. Very often too roasted pepper is pushed into their rectum or rubbed into their genitals. Severe mothers do at times rub some of this pepper in the face of their offending mothers. Masturbation is taken as a very serious misbehaviour which will spoil the child if it is not treated with severity.

SEX PLAY: One of the commonest of children's activities in Apirede is sex-play. From their infancy up to the age of three or four years both boys and girls are very much interested in dolls which they feed and bathe in their make-believe plays. At this stage, empty tins, bones and plantain are all used as dolls. The most popular of these is the "twin plantain, i.e two fingers of plantain that sometimes grow into one. Beads are put round the neck of the babies, dresses are provided and names are given. Children usually fancy these dolls are living creatures and so they feed them and punish them when they are supposed to do wrong.

Older children five years and above are fond of imagining themselves are grown ups, and behaving as such. Girls at this stage are fond of putting on handkerchiefs and folding



A girl in traditional
attire.



A boy in traditional
attire.

some rags under their cover shoulders to represent breast, and using some of the younger ones as children. They usually command and treat these young children as mothers do their children.

It is also usual to find a boy and a girl playing husband and wife with their younger ones children. This family may build their own house, make a farm and grow crops in it and conduct marriages or weddings. Boys acting the part of a father and hunter and at times play at burrying a funeral. Boys sometimes form themselves into companies, drill themselves like soldiers and stage battles. Quite often they fold and roll up their cloths and wear them over one of their shoulders like sashes and march briskly under their leader singing 'Pee! Pee! yensure obiara' (Pee! Pee! we are afraid of nobody).

Parents watch them carefully and rejoice at their ingenuity displayed at such make-believe. They regard such play as a mark of children's ability at observation and taken as a period when, they, the parents are imitated and therefore to be careful about what they do or say before the children.

Clothing and self-exposure: Very little clothing is worn by children in this village, especially those between the age of two and six or seven years. Usually during the first two years some attention is given by the parents to the child's clothing which is normally one piece dress sewn like a man gown for a boy and slightly modified for a girl. He may have two changes of this, but scarcely more especially in the case of a boy. But from the age two years no dresses are usually provided except that the child attends school. The girls begin the national costume consisting of a kind of blouse and another piece which is tied round the waist and allowed to reach down to the ankles. It has already been mentioned that from infancy she begins to wear a small strip of red print which is passed between her legs to cover her genitals and tucked into her waist-beads in front and at the back. The boy is provided with just one piece of cloth, one to one-and-a-half yards in length, which is put on and tied at the back of the neck. This style of putting on the cloth is known as "Scholar".

On the average the father supplies each child with such a clothing every cocoa season or Ohum Festival. But under financial stress, he may post-pone the buying of this to the next season. Children have therefore to use their clothing very sparingly and so during the day time a great number of boys and girls between two and six years are seen in the streets and houses stark naked save for the cloth worn by the girls as 'pads'.



Though naked, they
are not allowed to
go about without the
"amoase".

Under such conditions, children are not taught to feel ashamed of nakedness until girls begin to develop breasts and boys pubic hairs. It is even not uncommon to see girls well over ten years in homes completely bare to the waist. There is no striking difference in the attitude of the general community towards nakedness in boys and girls. The only instance is that girls shall always wear their 'pads' and it is considered grossly immodest for a girl of any to ever look this. Lapses are quickly checked by any adult that may notice them.

Boys have no difficulty in learning to put on their cover cloth and divest themselves of it. Girls however needs assistance in dressing and undressing up to the age of about five or six years, owing to the nature of the upper part of their clothing. Older girls as a whole do without this assistance unless they are dressing for social functions such as native dances and foot ball matches. Although parents do not care much about their children being naked or half dressed in the houses, some of them especially educated parents insist on seeing that their children are well dressed when moving out of the compound to the town.

Parents attitude to undressing before their children varies very greatly in different homes and with different individuals. Some mothers feel free to undress before their daughters and the younger boys and sometimes can have bath before them.

Others would feel very much embarrassed to be seen naked by their children. Fathers generally undress before their children, for the evening bath is generally, taken in an open place in the yard, but most of them wrap their waists as they walk back to their rooms. By this means, the private parts are kept out of view. Fathers on the other hand; use the public latrine very freely with their sons.

On the whole, a parent may undress before the children of his own sex, but not normally before the opposite sex.

Sex Distinction: As very little clothing is worn by children in this village, a child gets an early awareness of the differences between the uninary organs of his playmate and begins to ask questions about them. One of my informants told me that one of her sons who is about three years asked her the reason why her sister urinated with her feet wide apart.

About the age of five years they become concious of their sex. In their make-believe plays the boys like to act as fathers and hunters while the girls delight in playing the role of mothers. At this age boys begin to reject dolls; they rather turn to lorries, balls and whistles. Owing to this parents give them toys to their desire to play with. ~~When~~ When playing they at times separate. However they at ~~the~~ the same time play together with girls in running, singing, cooking, building and in many other plays regardless of sex.

About the age of eight or nine years boys and girls begin spontaneously to draw apart in their plays and any boy who remains in the girls group very often is severly teased by his fellows and call him "Dimaa to". (The follower of women). By ten years upwards the boys choice of plays and other activities become distinct from those of the girls. Boys at this age like competition whether in work or play. During their play they always try to surpass one another in running, throwing and wrestling. They like chasing of butterflies and other insects setting traps for birds, throwing stones at birds and such other games like foot-ball, "Cdo", leap frog high jump and the hand spring.

In the case of the girls they are still interested in the carrying of babies and dolls. They are often seen bathing their dolls, sewing dresses for them or at times helping their young sisters to do these. They are very much interested in "ampe" "aso" and skipping. Girls also enjoy the following activities especially family play, dancing and dramatic activities. For this reason they are usually



A girl washing the
cooking utensils.

considered to be more imitative in their play and activities than boys. At home they share the mothers duties much more than they boys have ever done before, washing cooking utensils and plates etc. If a girl at this stage is fond of playing with boys her mother scolds her and tells her that if she continues like she will become a harlot in future. She is also often laughed at by her fellows;

Parents are supposed to prefer children of the either sex; but owing to the patrilineal system of inheritance and kinship, every father desires to have many boys in order to increase the size of his family. A father without boys is never satisfied with his lot. A man with five girls told me that he had wanted to buy some cocoa farm in addition to what he had, but he has thought it wise to put an end to it, as he saw no reason why he should buy such a thing to his daughters who would one day take this property to another man's house after his death. Fathers also prefer boys to give them help in their farm work; The care and protection that he sometimes receive when he is in need, the son is therefore useful to the father.

On the whole they not so much particular about the sex of the children as mothers, because according to the custom the father has much control on the children, as members of his family. Mothers prefer girls for another reasons, while a boy is not expected to help his mother to cook or do most of the domestic work, a girl spends most of her time in the house helping in the kitchen and other domestic activities. Mothers also take pride in seeing that their daughters have grown into women, can wear the style of clothing and with their mothers, and being admired by other people; A mother who had six male children and one female told me of what efforts she made and how much money she wasted before she had that girl as her seventh child. She said that before she had her daughter, she envied every mother with a daughter and often wished they could exchange. She worried her husband to take her to a jujuman to

help them. The first trial failed, but they tried again and again. At last, that daughter was born. The day of the birth was an important occasion. Her own mother was particularly glad that she had had a grand daughter when the girl was about three months every female in the family was always anxious to carry her. She was never allowed to sit on the ground for a longer period until she learned to crawl.

Young children have more contact with their mothers than they have with their fathers. The reason being that they are always at home with their mothers who give them much food to eat, help them in their little difficulties, look after their general welfare and comfort them.

But as the child grows older and begins to work, his association with his parents changes. A girl remains more closer to her mother till she married. She helps her mother in all domestic work and tells her mother some of her secrets; She is at this stage generally on better term with her mother than with her father. On the other hand a boy's work brings him more closer to his father, he accompanies him to farm to public meetings and on his journeys. He also learns from his father the various skills that will be useful to him in the future, as well as the qualities that are expected from a man in the village. Generally, boys at this stage tends to grow scornful of their mother and are apt to disobey them in many ways.

But as the child grows older and approaches puberty, the earlier attachment he has had with the parents of his own sex begins to change to an affection for his mother. The boy now finds his mother sympathetic and is freer to express his wishes to her than to his father. His request to his father at this stage is now made through his mother. Very often his choice of a wife is made known to his mother long before the father is informed. On the other hand the adolescent girl often considers her mother to be harsh, unsympathetic and too fond to discuss her in her conversations with friends and relatives. One adolescent girl told me that she once left her

mother to stay in her aunt's house because her mother was troubling her too much, every thing she did seemed to displease her mother, and she would speak about nothing but her, whilst her father would never do that. This example is some how a characteristic feature of home life in the village.

Relations between Children, Parents and Relatives

Sibling Relations: As I have already pointed out in the chapter dealing with birth, a pregnant woman usually goes to stay with her mother, when she is going to give birth to a new child. The child is therefore born into a home where there are already some children who may be his cousins, brothers and sisters. These children become the earliest companions of the new child, who naturally learns many things from them.

When a young child discovers a change in his mother's normal condition he generally becomes curious and begins to ask his mother questions; but the fact that a new baby is being expected is not made known to him. Usually other people tell him that the mother is ill. Amma, aged four years discovered that her mother's abdomen had grown big and protruding. One day when she was alone with her mother, she asked her mother the reason why her belly had become so big; and her mother replied that she was ill. She asked her why she did not want to go to hospital for treatment, and the mother told her that she would go one day when she had money.

After the birth of a new child, if an older child asks where the baby comes from he may be told that somebody brought it to her mother, or that it comes from the mother's stomach. If the child continues to ask such questions he may be ignored entirely. Usually the person with whom he is conversing changes the topic.

When the mother's time for delivery draws near the child is sometimes sent to another house to stay with an aunt or grandmother who may be living somewhere else. If there is nobody old enough in the house to look after him till everything is over. The child is not allowed to be present at birth. As birth is connected with sex, the child is not to know anything about it. It is also feared that the child might one day talk to his friends of what has happened.



A sign of good
relationship: Siblings
eating together.

Some children, particularly those younger than three years, become jealous of the new-born baby and show their jealousy in many ways. Some of them beat the baby and explain that it was insulting them. One mother reported to me that when she had her second child the first was only one and half years old. He became so jealous of the baby that he often withdrew the pillow from under the head of the baby. When the mother was attending the baby he would ask that it should be put down and he be picked up instead. Another woman told me her experience was just the opposite of the first. She said that when she had had enough rest and the new baby had been washed and given to her, the older child was then brought in to see the new sibling.

There was even an instance when a boy asked his mother to give him the chance of carrying a week old sister in his lap. The mother gave him a low seat and then put the new baby gently on his lap, but still holding the baby. The boy was satisfied and went out and told his elder sister that he too had carried his younger sister.

In Apirede mothers generally favour the youngest child of the family and he is the prominent figure in the home. All love and attention appear to be given mainly to him. Until pregnancy sets in again, he is allowed to suck his mother's breast and occupy the centre of the home life. He is sometimes given a pet name 'Okaakyire' e.i. (the last born.) Often he remains dependent on his mother for a long time.

As far as possible parents try to treat their children equally, but they admit that they cannot help having favourites. A father tends to love a child who takes after him more than the others; and so does the mother. One of my informants told me that the physical features of a child might win the admiration of the community and thus add to the affection which the parents would normally have for the child. A father holding his youngest but one child remarked to me and my friends during a conversation that the son was very dear

to him for he was the loveliest of all the seven children he had. Again a child who is physically weak may be compensated by his parents with extra love and attention. Parents in this village grade the importance of their children according to their ages. The eldest child is usually regarded with special affection and given the pet name "Opoosie" which means "the one who opened the womb". He has the privilege of enjoying all the love and attention which the parents are ever capable of. Parents are proud of him because he has saved them from the indignity of a childless marriage. The first born is the only child who knows what it is like to have such attention and love from his parents. On the other hand there may be some disadvantages attendants on this portion, for he is also the child through whom the parents gain experience as to how to handle a child. By the time the second one is born, the mother will have gained considerable experience in the matter.

The youngest child enjoys some special privileges too. He is the baby of the family and enjoys the protection of his parents, particularly his mother, against his older siblings. He takes life more easy, because there are older children to perform the more difficult duties in the house. When he grows up he usually has fewer responsibilities in his family. He, however experiences some disadvantages peculiar to his position in the family. The speed of his development is often very slow and therefore he remains dependent for a long time. The older siblings sometimes bully him in the absence of the parents. They also usually cheat him so that he has often to appeal to the parents redress.

I was told that whenever anything is shared by the children themselves the smallest portion goes to the youngest. Often he is seen running away to show what portion has been given him. Among the Kyerepongs the youngest is at a serious disadvantage with regard to the right inheritance because the oldest son always receives the first consideration.

During my investigations I met two children sharing some oranges they had collected together. One of them aged six and the other five. The older first gave four of the twelve oranges to the younger brother, who compared the sizes of the two groups of the oranges and refused to take his share. The older then added one to it. The boy though still doubting whether his brother had been fair, accepted his share and then started playing with his oranges which now numbered five. Suddenly he dipped his hand into his brother's oranges and took one more. This was followed by a scramble which soon developed into a fight. Their mother had to intervene and later succeeded in giving both of them satisfaction.

The children in a home whether they are brothers and sisters or cousins are expected to be on loving and friendly terms with one another. To avoid any ill feelings, they are taught not to use any insulting words among themselves. If a child forms the habit of using insulting words on his brother or sister he is rebuked by the parents. If he persists in insulting people, especially his elders, his victim may be asked to beat him to teach him a lesson. A child who makes it a habit of insulting people older than himself is given the nickname "Ayaw Mpanin" ie (one who insults his elders.) When a very young child uses insulting words on his elder brother or sister he is not taken seriously, because he is regarded as not knowing what he is doing. In spite of all this there is very often frequent quarrels among children in every home in the village. Parents regard this as normal, for 'as they say' even twins quarrel. These quarrels spring from four main causes.

(a) When a child uses insulting words on his brother or sister anger is aroused and a fight results. (b) When one child deprives another child of any of his possessions by taking it away by force. (c) When a child rudely obstructs his neighbour's play. (d) The commonest is when one child

inflicts bodily pain on his neighbour.

Through observation and investigation I noticed that in early infancy (2-6) frequent fights occurred promiscuously among children of both sexes, but from that time onwards they occurred more frequently among the children of the same sex.

Respect among children: A young child is expected to show great respect to his elder brothers and sisters and all others who are older than himself. As a mark of respect the child should not call his elder brothers and sisters name without the appropriate title. A child is expected to prefix the term "Me se" meaning "My father" to the name of his elder brother and 'Mini' meaning 'my mother' to that of his elder sister. The significance of these titles is that they enjoin the child to respect his brothers and sisters in the same way as he does to his father and mother.

A new convention that is steadily taking root is that the child is taught to address his elder sisters with "Sissy" - a shortened form of sister. The elder brothers are to be addressed "Broa" (a corrupted form of brother.

Relations between child and Parents: The responsibility for the early care of the child rests chiefly upon the mother. It is her duty to prepare and give him food, wash his body, and clothes, nurse him when ever he is ill and give him his early training in good behaviour. The child begins to receive his lessons from his relations right from the very first week of his birth. When the father comes to congratulate his wife on her successful delivery the child is given to him to carry in his lap. In handing over the child to his father the mother tells the child, "Look at your father go to him". Although the young baby does not understand what is said yet he is talked to in this way. This is repeated anytime any of the relatives come to see the child. The mother keeps on giving this lesson till the child learns to speak and can recognise his father and near relatives.

When the child is learning to talk, more lessons are added to this. He is taught to call his father "Papa or Agya" and his mother Mama or Awo. Whenever any of the child's relatives come to the house, the mother introduces the person to the child with the words 'This is your aunt, shake hands with her; sometimes he has to be coaxed to do so. At the same time as this introduction is being made the child is taught to address properly his relatives and all elderly persons who come to the house. For example he is taught to address all his uncles with the word 'Wofa' meaning uncle; all older men are addressed 'Mese' (My father) before the real name is mentioned; for example 'Mese Kofi'; If the person is called Kofi. The child is also taught to address all women 'Mini' before mentioning their real names as in the case of the men. The child is corrected at once if he addresses any person wrongly.

The child may sometimes be sent to live with some of his relatives especially when they have no children of their own. If he gets on well with them, he may remain with them for a long time, receiving most of his training from them. If however he does not, he is taken back. But generally he stays with them, for his grand parents are often more kind and tolerant than his own parents, and give him many presents. In the growth and development of the child parents do not leave the care and upbringing entirely to the relatives who have adopted the child. While he is still living with these relatives the parents pay frequent visits to him and occasionally give him presents in the form of food, clothes, or money.

Relation with father: As the father is very often working in the farm while the mother stays at home looking after the children the latter is in much more regular contact with the children than is the father. It is when he returns from the farm that he takes part in the carrying of the child. The child really gets to know his father at an age ranging between

ten and fifteen months. Earlier, the father plays with the child and at times lets him rest in his bosom till he falls asleep before transferring him to his mat. The child gradually learns to recognise him as his father, from the keen interest he shows in himself and his close association with the mother and the other children. Quite often, too, the father carries the young child in his bosom into the street or looks after him when the mother is busy in the house.

When the child has learnt to speak and walk most fathers delight in taking his hand to walk with him in the street or to visit relatives in the neighbourhood. After a short time the child becomes so much attached to his father that he so much attached to his father that he very often cries if not allowed to go everywhere with him.

The child's attachment to his father at the age of about two years can be very strong. I was told that at this age a child would not give his father any rest. He so frequently asks to be taken to his father that whenever the father wishes to go out and does not want to go with the child he generally goes out by the back door. Whenever the father's meal is being taken to him the child insists that he should be taken to his father to eat with him. If this request is not complied with the child will at times refuse to eat with the other children in the house. The child's early contact with his father in Apirede is, therefore, mainly in connection with play rather ^{than} with discipline.

The responsibility of disciplining the young child mainly rests upon the mother who is always in the house with him to correct his mistakes, praise his good behaviour and give immediate punishment for disobedience. Little children generally, are punished by being slapped on the buttocks, but the older ones are usually scolded or beaten with cane on the buttocks. During the adolescent stage, the father, as a rule, is the main agent of discipline. The father's punishment is usually so severe that many children in Apirede fear their fathers more than their mothers. Even his presence in the house restrains both the

younger and the older ones being naughty.

Generally, a mother reports serious offences of the children to the father who prescribes the appropriate punishment; but if the mother finds that the father is too harsh, she usually uses her own discretion and finds some means of checking her children. In the case of an offending girl, she may talk to her or ask an uncle to do so. It is, I believed in this village that the mother's duty to bring up the girl, and the father's to bring up the boy. Therefore it is on very rare occasions that the father is seen punishing his daughter of twelve or more. All the offences she commits are reported to the mother who gives the punishment. On the other hand the woman rarely punishes a boy of fourteen or more. She reports his offences to his father who punishes him. One thing of interest I noticed during my investigation was that when a woman was reporting a boy to her husband she said "your son". The man, too, in reporting the girl to his wife always said 'Your daughter'.

It is not normally expected of one parent to assist a child to conceal any acts of misbehaviour from the other. There are however, instances when the parents disagree openly about how to discipline the child.

Some fathers say that mothers are generally too harsh on their older children and punish them for almost every mistake they make. When they protest against this tendency quarrels and even fights, more often than not ensue. When such quarrels or fights occur the young children are usually very much troubled and some cry. Normally, children are taught to be grateful to their parents for the little gifts that are made to them. I saw a mother give a doll to her daughter of two and a half years of age, after her arrival from Accra. When she handed the doll over to the child she told her to say 'ase papa' meaning 'thank you' in child language. The child did so with a smile and ran away to show her new doll to her elder sister. I was informed that children are often taught to say 'thank you' whenever anything is given to them and when they forget to do so they are reminded.

On the other hand when a child refuses to say so, some parents withhold the presents till the child says 'thank you'. Others do not mind whether the child says thank you or not.

Children scarcely quarrel with their parents until they reach the age of adolescence. At that stage they sometimes disagree with the types of friends their children make or object to their staying outside in the streets till late in the night. Sometimes too the adolescents object to their parents making some personal remarks about their growth and development or to discussing their behaviour with their own friends.

A girl told me that she once quarrelled with her mother for making some unnecessary remarks about her association with a certain boy. She did not like those remarks but as it was her mother who made them, she did not say anything until one day when she annoyed ^{her} as she was going out in the evening with a girl friend. On that day her mother refused to allow her to go out saying that the girl should stay in the house and look after the young one, rather than go to that boy. The girl became angry on hearing her mother saying this in the presence of her friend. She retired to bed without saying anything. The next morning she became sulky and refused to do her share of the domestic duties. When it was time to go to the farm she refused to do so, and also refused to eat with the other children. Instead, she bought some rice and cooked it for herself. A mother may show her disapproval of her child's behaviour by ignoring her.

Usually such quarrels are not formally settled, but when the anger is spent the parents start to speak to their children and their children do the same. If the quarrel is of a serious nature it may be referred to an older relative who goes into the matter. If the girl is found wrong she is seriously spoken to and reminded about the respect and obedience that she owes to her parents. The relatives may give some examples to show the evil result of a child's insolence and disobedience to parents and finally quote some twi proverb

to finish it. e.g. "Abofra se waso ante ade a woko Anteade". (Meaning, if a child does not take his parents advice he is sent to prison). On the other hand if the parent is found wrong, her fault is pointed out to her and she is advised to act in a more tactful manner in future. There is a general tendency however to put the blame on the child, especially when quarrel is between a son and his father; for they say that it is not good that a boy be begged for forgiveness by his father.

In the village, the child is under full parental control until he is married. Even then, matters dealing with divorce, adultery, new marriages and other customary rites are referred to the parents or to an elderly relative; and it is expected that their opinions and advice should be respected.

Relation to Adults other than Parents

From the day of the birth of the baby other people other than parents begin to take part in the care and training of the child. The native midwife, usually the grandmother or any reliable and experienced woman in the family takes care of his bath. During confinement the parents relatives and friends often visit them and advise the mother about the proper care of the baby. When the child is six months old, relatives and friends begin to share the responsibility of carrying the child. At times these people can take him to their homes for long periods during the day. They usually bath the child, dress him and feed him before bringing him back to the mother. These people are free to have a say in the child's training and can direct, insult or flog him when they find the child misbehaving. They can also send him on errands. The child may even be sent by the parents to stay with one of the relatives, such as an aunt or a grand mother during his childhood. Through out his life, these relatives, watch the child's interests and are ready to interfere whenever there is a conflict between a child and his parents. Unless he is wrong the generally support him in cases of ill treatment and neglect.

The child's relatives are usually very kind to him, especially the grand parents, who rather than the parents are frequently guilty of spoiling the child. During the adolescent period, the relatives play a very important part in the child's life. If there is something particularly important that a mother desires to tell her adolescent child, she may pass it through one of the relatives. For this reason the child is taught, from the earliest stage to be polite and respectful to his relatives and to serve them whenever he is required to do so.

When these relatives visit parents they never forget to inquire about the health of the children. When the children are present the relatives exchange formal greetings with them and shake hands with them. When his parents take him to visit relatives or friends the child is strongly advised neither to take part in the conversation, nor interrupt it with his own questions. It is considered a bad habit and bad home-training; If the child tries to answer questions arising out of discussions among adults, who normally would never ask him for his opinion on any subject.

A child's idea of ownership

A young child has very little sense of ownership and so often cries for things that do not belong to him. These things may be food that he sees another person eating or a toy that attracts his attention. If he is not able to speak he usually stretches his hand towards the article whimpers; but if he can walk he often grabs the article and tries to take it by force. As mothers generally understand this nature of the child one mother usually asks her own child to share the article with the other child, if it is something that can be shared. Otherwise she generally persuades her child to let the other child play with the article for some time. After a short while, the second mother takes gently the article from her child and returns it to the rightful owner. If her child begins to cry she finds him substitute and tries to make him believe that the other article is not good and that what he has now is much better. Quite often this satisfies the child, but at times he may reject the substitute and throws it away. If he is old enough to understand speech, his mother may remind him about his new toy or something else that may have been presented to him recently. He may be told that the article he wants now is bad, ugly and smelly. She may even pretend to throw it away, promising at the sametime to offer him something better, sweeter or more attractive. In such ways, the child is taught to give up things that do not belong to him. In the same home, if there are other children the mother constantly teaches the child, this is Kofi's that is Amma's and this is yours.

With regard to food the child is taught to share his food with his brothers and sisters. If he refuses he is insulted and teased with the word 'Ade' or "Agyikuro" "ho" both of these words mean a greedy child who does not want to share his food with anybody. The child is taught to eat his food from the same dish as his brothers and sisters. It is common to see children all sitting round one dish eating fufu or ampesi.

By the time the child is three or four years old, he is expected to be able to appreciate ownership. From this time onwards whenever he takes things that do not belong to him and carries them home he is made to return them, because parents have fear that if he is not checked this may develop into the stealing habit so if he continues to pick things while he is old enough not to do that, he is insulted and sometimes punished. An older child is not expected to take things belonging to his parents without asking permission, and whenever he does so, he is referred to the Twi proverb which says 'Eye m'agya de merefa; Eye mena de merefa; Ede awi na eba'; (It belongs to my mother I am taking it: this leads to stealing.)

If a child picks up a knife or any thing that is dangerous to play with, the article is taken from him at once. Often the mother points out the danger to him by means of gestures. She may for example take a fire brand and show the burning end to the child and say "To mo" (burn him;) she may also show how a knife cuts, and tell the child in a simple language that if he plays with a knife he will cut his fingers. If a child happens to be stubborn after all this he is left to his own devices until the experience teaches him sense.

Dangerous articles are generally taken out of the way and the mother does everything to prevent the child from burning himself, because it is the custom in the village that the mother is liable to give a fowl to her sisters-in-law by way of a fine. If she allows the child to get burnt. When the child tries to get burnt. When the child tries to handle any hot or sharp things the mother tries to dissuade him from doing so by saying that the thing smells badly. She holds her nose and says 'koo, koo, koo' (This is the child's language for bad smelling thing.) The mother then takes away the articles from him and gives him a different object as a substitute.

Children's Possessions: In the village, a child has very few possessions. His possessions are mainly clothes, balls, toy guns and dolls. Besides the child makes his own collection of empty tins, sticks and cuttings from a seamstress's work shop. The child is very fond of his possessions and normally carries them with him where ever he goes. At meal and at bed times he likes to have his possessions with him and very often is found sleeping, with his toys and collections beside him.

Children in the village are generally regarded as destructive agents. The younger ones between seven and twelve months old are reported to be fond of opening match boxes and throwing out their contents, off spilling medicine, pulling down table cloths and breaking things. If they are left in the kitchen they may pour out all the oil in a bottle and cause other damage thinking it is all a huge joke. Soap, pomade and water often receive the same treatment. Children are often punished for such mischiefs. When a mother was asked why she beat her young child for destroying a thing she replied that if she did not do that, the child would not learn to be wise.

When a younger child destroys any of the play things of an older brother, the elder brother is advised not to beat him, but to repair it if he can. If the toy is damaged beyond repair the parents promise to provide him with a new one. Meanwhile the young child is instructed never to destroy things in that way again. Very often he is insulted and told he is a destructive child; 'Akpotokpaho' being the word used. If it is the elder brother who has destroyed one of the play things of a younger child, he is rebuked in similar terms. By these methods the child is again taught not to take things belonging to other people, to have respect for them and not to destroy them. At the age of about four years the child plays with sticks, stones and sand, strings empty tins and pieces of iron sheet. At this stage stones and sand are the main articles used in play.

Older children usually construct 'lorries' and use them for several purposes; and also take delight in breaking them into pieces again.

Girls, on the other hand, like keeping dolls, cooking food, playing at wedding, and playing with little animals. They also like to see the inside of their dolls, and usually destroy the dolls in their curiosity.

CHAPTER X

SPEECH

Children Cries: Immediately the child is born he is expected to cry to indicate that he is alive and normal. If he does not cry for some moments after birth, efforts are made to make him cry. As I have already explained in the chapter under birth, water of different temperature is poured over him, or ground ginger is smeared all over his body. If he is alive he invariably utters his first characteristic cry "Dee" Thereafter he is supposed to express how he is feeling, whether he is unhappy or happy, by crying or by keeping quiet.

Within a few hours of the child's birth the mother tries to associate the child's cry with hunger and other needs, and gives him attention accordingly. She knows when he is hungry, uncomfortable, ill, afraid, angry or when he needs company. At first the child appears to make the same kind of cry for all conditions mentioned. Through experience mothers are able to differentiate the varieties of cries. Many of my informants say the facial expression and the pitch of the voice are valuable clues.

It is explained to me that when a baby utters a sudden sharp cry, then intense bodily or fear is indicated. Similarly if his cry is furious and loud, his lips are spread and the cry is accompanied by violent kicks and movement of the hands then the child is angry.

The child stops crying if he is picked up. When he is hungry, the cry is not so loud and usually the child will be seen sucking his lips or fingers. Mothers are sometimes misled by their assumptions in which case they have to find out what is really wrong with their children by some sort of trial and error. A mother may first offer the child water to see if he is feeling thirsty. If the child continues to cry she puts her breast into his mouth. If he is ill he usually sucks for a little while and resumes his crying, refusing to suck the breast. If he continues to cry the mother puts him down on his back and tries to rock him to sleep. If he still continues to cry and happens to be about eighteen months old he is threatened with punishment or with a story connected with ghost; or if the child has once had a bitter experience like vaccination or an injection this experience is recalled and he is threatened with the repetition of that experience if he does not stop crying.

It is a popular belief at Apivode that a child who cries very often does neither enjoy robust health nor ever grow fat.

Hy...

So mothers carefully observe the cry of their children, as well as their gestures and other expressions, try to interpret them and act as they think fit. If a mother thinks that her child is crying because he is hungry, she feeds him, if she thinks that he must be thirsty she gives him water; she also corrects his posture, when she sees he is not lying proper or changes his bed clothes if they are wet. Sometimes the mother thinks that child is ~~tried~~ tired of lying down so she picks him up, kisses him on the cheeks, or lips and very often sings to him one or two simple songs which children in the village are often entertained with. One of these songs runs as follows. "Gyac oo Gyac, gyac a mana to, to na wo dii, ye nin de oo yenni oo ma mama", "stop, stop, so that I may give you mashed yam which we all love to eat".

Some times when parents decide that it is illness that makes the child cry they give him the treatment they think necessary. In this village almost everybody is a herbalist of sort. It is only when the child does not respond to the traditional treatment that parents seek help from doctors or dispensers.

Though a child is not expected to cry very often, yet there are certain occasions which remain legitimate for crying, even for adults. The justification for crying is always determined by age, as well as by sex. The more a child grows up the less he is expected to cry. If therefore a grown up child cries when for instance, he is hungry he is always laughed at and he is asked if he is still a child. A grown up boy is not expected to show his feelings by weeping. He must suppress them as much as possible. He may cry when he is suffering from excessive pain; or when he has lost a relative or friend. Even then he is not expected to over do it. If he does so he is asked "Ode Akyea" (Are you a girl).

It is legitimate for a girl or a woman to show her sorrows by crying or weeping. If a girls or a woman fails to cry when a relative dies, she is laughed at and looked upon with scorn. When therefore a person dies or there is a ~~family~~ heavy loss of property in a family, it is the girls or women who cry. When a grand-parent dies the children of ~~the~~ deceased are called together on the eighth day to perform a special rite called "Nana due due" ("Sympathies grandparent). At about five o'clock on the eve of that day all the grandchildren come to the house of the deceased. They line up in two rows; the boys fire guns and the girls begin to lament. The procession leaves the house and goes up and down the street. Meanwhile the girls keep on weeping and lamenting. It is considered a disgrace if a girl does not cry while taking part in the ceremony; It is also a disgrace if she is unable to produce tears. To prevent the occurrence of such a disgraceful act one of the boys carries a

a stick with which he strikes those he suspects are not crying or those who are crying and yet fail to produce tears.

Learning to Speak: The child's earliest vocalisation is very much encouraged. By the time he is four months' old he could fairly well recognise his mother and other people who care for him, so he has begun to respond to their handling by uttering some sounds such as 'eh' and 'ah'. At this stage he generally plays with any person with whom he is familiar, for he likes to have people near him to talk to him or sing to him. Because of this, mothers sometimes spend some time with their children swinging them from side to side or throwing them into the air and catching them again singing a tune. One of the commonest songs that they use is as follows: "Sesre noo yaaye, sesre noo yaa ye wonfa Kofi nkoto afiase e; Kofi ennyi me ne gyi etc, Kofi ennyi me ne gyi etc". From the age of six months the child likes to vocalise to himself as he lies comfortably in his bed. He often claps his hands, sucks his thumbs, coos, and laughs to himself.

The eight months old child 'talks' much when he is lying or sitting by gurgling and making a variety of sounds. At this stage his vocalisation contains more distinct sounds of meaningless words like "da", "ma", "ga". Parents take a great interest in this kind of babbling; the mother encourages it by imitating these meaningless words in her efforts to teach him how to speak. When his father or any male relative is coming near him she points to him and says "papa", "Kye papa" (Daddy, daddy, look at daddy). The child tries to respond by imitating his mother's words and produces some sounds like "ba" and "da". This training goes on for a long time, step by step, till the child is able to make some meaningful sounds. At the age of ten or eleven months the child is generally able to say Papa and Mama distinctly. From this time he imitates a number of speech sounds made by older people.

Adwowa aged eleven months was playing alone in the yard one afternoon when she heard some hawkers selling dough nuts and uttering these words "Too^ggee ^okyew" (Hot dough nuts). On hearing this she started imitating the sound by saying "Gyingyee chee" and placing a small stone on her head. At the age of one year the child is able to respond to simple commands such as 'he ne me' (give it to me). 'Kyinae' (Sit down) and 'twu emene me' (bring it to me). When somebody is leaving the house he can wave his hands and say distinctly 'bye bye ee', and when he is given something he may be able to express his thanks in his own way. Akua aged one and a half years, often expresses her thanks by saying "ase papa" meaning thank you very much. She can also point to various parts of her body when she is asked to do so. Some precocious

children are able to say simple sentences at this age. Kwadwo aged eighteen months can say 'Me nu ntwu' (I will drink water), and 'Menu tii' (I will take tea).

Parents are very keenly interested in the way the child develops speech and at times his imperfection pronunciation creates some amusement in the house. At this stage the child is very shy of strangers. Whenever the child while playing and uttering words becomes aware that a stranger is somewhere near he becomes silent.

Children are taught to modulate their voices when speaking. Even when they are crying they are not allowed to open their mouths wide; for mothers believe that, that is a sign of stupidity.

The mother, therefore, checks the child when he cries with his mouth side open by saying "Look at how he has opened his mouth like a fool". It is also considered bad taste for a child to speak at the top of his voice, and the child who does do is usually told that his voice-box will break. Again the child is taught not to speak too much without stopping. When he becomes too talkative his mother warns him by saying "Wo ne bri a nne wo brobi te ntu" (When you speak, swallow some saliva). In such ways the child is taught to modulate his voice and avoid speaking too much. Parents sometimes correct their children when they make grammatical mistakes in their speech. Very often, however, they regard these misconstructions as a kind of amusement. Adults like to speak and listen to children because they find it entertaining. Usually only the parents and close relatives have this opportunity as the children feel shy in the presence of unfamiliar people.

Children's Fantasies: Many a parent in the village is not aware that when the child personates a character when playing with other children he throws himself heart and soul into the party. In fact the child thinks that the events portrayed are usually happening. There was for instance the case of Kwame, a boy of about five years old whose father had left the family and gone to Kwahu. One day he came home from town panting to his mother and told her that his father had come with some friends to his grandfather's house and he had been asked to come and call his mother. The mother on her hearing this asked her son to tell her if he is just deceiving her; but Kwame insisted that what he was saying was true. The mother therefore got up and started to go to the place. While she was on her way to grandfather's house the boy, ran after her laughing and said "Teoris me de tee we" (Mama I am deceiving you) and ran away fearing that he would be punished. "I was very much surprised at Kwame", said the mother, "and from that time I realised that children are big liars."

Adults expect children to know the difference between fact and fancy by the age of five or six years. Until then parents supposed that many of the stories and reports given by the child are untrue, and should not be believed. For this same reason, children in the village are not pressed to tell the truth. When a mischief such as breaking of a plate has been caused, adults generally assume that the child responsible will never tell the truth. Even if they have every reason to believe that the child is telling the truth they will just say "children are liars" and allow the matter to drop there.

Games and Songs:- Children's games at Apirede are mainly informal activities under taken by groups. Usually the oldest of them takes it upon himself to instruct the younger ones in the rules of the game. The rules for each game are normally fairly well observed. Apart from foot-ball which is played by boys and adults on a field lying in front of the primary school in the village, there are no organised games or sports or any athletic activities.

Foot ball is very popular and matches are occasionally played against teams from other villages. Cycling and high jump are fairly popular among boys and adults. The bicycles are generally owned by some shopkeeper in the town and are hired to the children at three pence per quarter of an hour. In the afternoons especially on Fridays and Sundays which are the days of rest, boys and adolescents are to be seen riding through the streets and the open places. But parents are generally opposed to this activity for they consider it a waste of time which could be profitably spent in assisting the mothers in pounding fufu or in doing any other domestic work.

They also complain that cycling wastes money and quite frequently leads some of the children into stealing money of their parents. Teachers generally support this complaint and add that accidents that are caused by cycling are frequent, and affect children's attendance at school. Because of this, school children are sometimes forbidden to indulge in this past time. The best time to see the village children happily occupied in playing games is the period between 9 a.m. and 12 noon. The reason is that the parents generally go to their farms in the morning and leave at home their young ones especially those between the ages of two and a half and six years. The older children in this group are allowed to stay behind to look after the younger ones. Shortly after the parents have left, the children begin to collect in groups of different sizes and play games in the open spaces behind the houses.

The older children who accompany their parents to the farms find the late afternoons the most convenient time to play foot-ball or traditional games. This applies mainly to boys, for girls have to help their mothers to prepare the evening meal and are, therefore, not free when they return from the farms. Older girls, as a result of this play most of their games and during moonlit nights.

On Fridays and Sundays boys of all ages play for the most part of the days and generally their services are not, like the girls, needed in the house very much.

Sex differences prescribe the choice of games that the children play in the village. There are some game played by boys alone and some by girls alone, and others by boys and girls together. In the case of children younger than seven or eight years these differences do not exist.

Boys games are mainly of a competitive nature and usually require physical strength and mental skill. They include games such as summer saulting, wrestling, hide and seek, ludo and marble playing.

Other games which have no English equivalents are 'Ntosa' 'Odo' 'Dame' and 'Oware'. Girls generally prefer games that involve singing, dancing and clapping of hands. Their principal games are 'Ampe' 'Aso ba' Mpeewa mpeewa and Tompratompri. A great many of the children's games are played by either boys or girls together. Examples of such games are 'Amuamuan' 'Pempenan' 'Ohye ba' Skipping 'Odonko' 'Swing' and osiky.

Here are descriptions of some of the most popular games in the three categories.

Boys Games:- "Odo". This is a game that can be played by any even number of boys. The players collect a number of palmleaves, remove their midribs and tie one end of the remaining with a piece of string. The players divide themselves into two teams and line up with an interval of about ten yards between the teams. The players in one team face those in the other.



Boys playing the game
of 'Ntosa'.



The same game
being played by these
jolly boys with a
different posture.

Each player is armed with a piece of string with a string with a knot at one end. A player from one side of the team starts the game by throwing the bundle of palmleaves high into the air, in the direction of the opponents, each of whom tries to lasso it before it falls to the ground. The player who succeeds in doing so wins a point for his team. Then a player from the other team also throws the bundle to the other team and the members of the team in their turn try to catch it with their loops. When the players in one team score five points their leader has to shout 'Aboaa'. If they score another point immediately after this stage, they win the game. The winners then chase their opponents and whip them with their strings until they touch a pre arranged wall.

Ntosa: It is a game which can be played from the age of six up to adolescence. It can be played by any even number of people. The players divide themselves into two teams. Each team forms a line and faces the other. Each player goes down on his right knee leaving the left knee jutting out. After an agreement has been reached as to which side starts the game, the players on the extreme right of the chosen team begins the game. He takes on the player on the extreme left of the opposing team. The game consists in both players slapping their knees with their open palms and then suddenly shooting out a hand. If the attacking player shoots out his right hand and his opponent shoots out his left hand simultaneously so that both hands face each other he has defeated his opponent. If on the other hand the opponent shoots out his right hand so that it does not meet the other's hand, then he has vanquished the attacker. What ever happens the winner tackles the player next to his conquered opponent, and if he is successful there too continues down the line to the end. Then the player next to him take over and goes through the same process. This goes on until each player of the team shall have vanquished every player in the opposing team: that makes them the winners of match.

Girls Games: (1) Asoba is a very popular game played by any member of young and older girls. The players form a circle, and one of them stands in the middle of the circle and begins to sing her favourite song. The players clap their hands and join her in



Girls playing the game
of Aso!



Girls playing
the game of 'Ampe'.

singing. The girl in the circle dances and throws herself onto any of the players, who takes hold of her and pushes her back to the centre of the circle. This goes on for some time and then the song is changed by another girl who takes her turn in the centre of the circle. When every girl has had her turn, the process starts all over. There are several songs for this game and some of them will be seen in the appendix.

Peewa: (2) Is a singing game played by girls between nine and fifteen years or more. Any number of girls can take part in it. The players stand in a circle and start the game by sing and clapping their hands. Each claps the palms of the two next to her by stretching her arms side ways and then claps her own hands in front of her. This is done twice over and followed by an extra clap in front while the players do this, they sing and bend and stretch up the bodies. The words of the song will be seen in the appendix.

Games for Boys and Girls: (5 - 10 years)

1. Intoakyire: Any number of children can take part in this game. The players squat in a circle. One of them, holding a folded handkerchief or cloth runs outside the circle, behind the other, leading them in singing. The following "Ntoakyire ee Ntoakyire, Yen Obiba! yen! Obeyera! Obewu! yen!" Ntoakyire, the name of the game means "Putting something at the back of". The words of the song means "somebody's child is going to get lost, he is going to die." Yen" is just the response given by the other players.

As they are thus engaged in singing, the player outside the circle quietly drops the folded handkerchief or cloth behind one of those squatting and continues to run round. If that player discovers the cloth he or she takes it and continues the game by running round and dropping it behind another player. The first player takes the place of the one he has displaced. If on the other hand, the latter does not discover it before the former reaches him again, he is beaten by all the others and



A group of children
playing the game of
"Pemperan."

must run to touch a particular wall before they stop.

2. "Hyehye ba": Any number of children can play this game. Two leaders are chosen and the rest sit in a line, on the ground with their cloths arranged loosely on their laps. One of the leaders takes a pebble and as he passes his hands through the folds of the players' cloths he hides it in one of them, saying "Obioo tronoo", and the players respond "Ofosua". After that, the other leader comes forward and says; who ever has my pebble should laugh" and they all laugh Hahaa! yee ye". He then looks round their faces and touches the foreheads of the players one by one with his hand. He then names one of the players and says; "Give me my pebble". If the suspect has indeed got the pebble he gives it to this leader who proceeds to hide it in the same way the first leader did. If however, the second leader names the wrong player, the first leader call out the name of the player who has the pebble. The player then is said to have been "born" by his mother, so he gets up and stands behind the first leader. If on the other hand the leader correctly points him out as having the pebble he is said to have 'born' by that leader. The game goes on until all the children have been 'born' in this way.

After that the leader with the greater number of children takes all the players to one side and gives each name such as corn, pepper, tomato. He then brings them back and covers the head of the other leader with a piece of cloth. Then he calls his 'children' one by one by those names he has just given them. Each in turn gives the other leader a crack on the head and goes to join the line that is being formed. The leader's head is then uncovered. He is asked to give correctly the new names of each of those who had given him a crack on the head. He is some times unable to give even one name correctly. If that happens all the players collect round him push him this way and that way while they sing a tune with the following words, "Obonin anwo ba obonin twaa" (Barren, without a child barren indeed).

Children songs: These are mainly songs used in games especially by the girls during their evening games. The songs are of two kinds; namely those used for insulting opponents and those used for praising lovers. Young children have also simple songs which sue for their make-believe plays.

Here are some examples of children's songs:

Twi (1) Hwe neti neti neti hwe neti
na eye mefe se bribi.

English: Look at his head so beautiful.

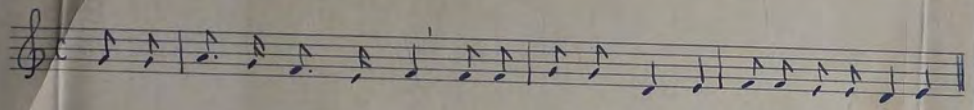
Twi (2) Odo ee fa wonsa beto me kon mu
odo ee .

English: Love, come and put your arm
around my neck.

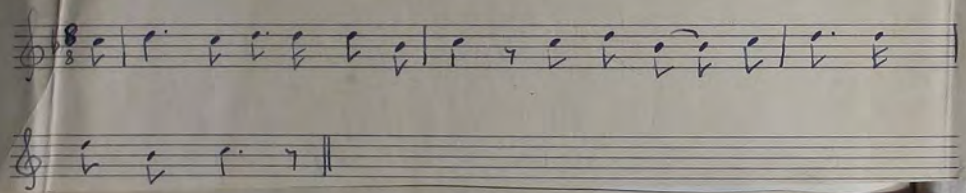
(3) Me mamme do me, menso medo no,
Me papa do me, menso medo no,
Kofi se obedi, obedi deeben, Kofi
obedi obedi brodo.

English: My mother loves me, I also love
her; my father loves me I also love
him Kofi says he will eat, he will eat what?
Kofi says he will eat he will eat bread.

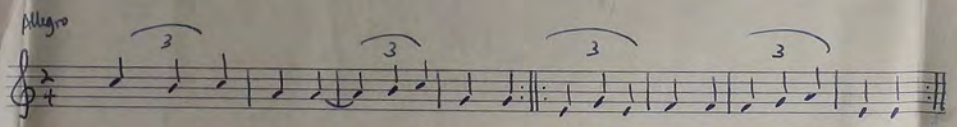
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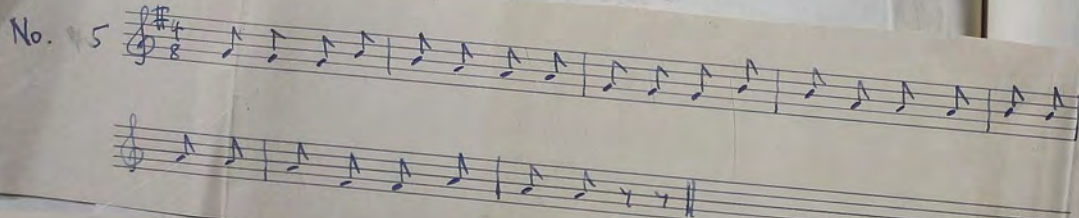


children get use to them and at times sing them when playing.

Here are a few examples of them:

- (1) Twi Oyi se Ngee ngee
Oyi se Den n'aba
Oyi se Gyama okom naba
Oyi se Momma yenkwia agya aduan
no bi mma noe
Oyi se Agya ba a meka.

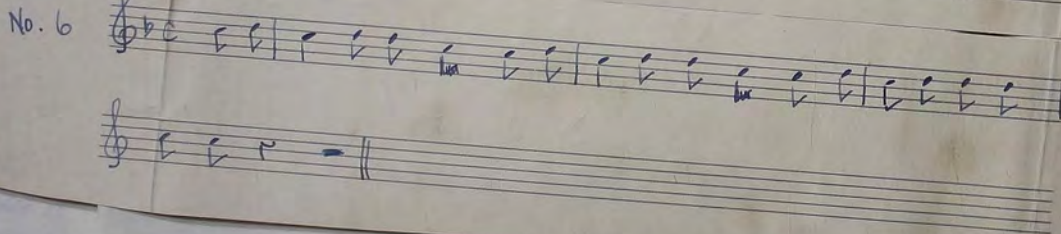
English: This one cries, 'Nger'
This one asks what is wrong
This one replies, he is feeling hungry
This one says, let's go and
steal some of father's food for him
This one says, I will tell father
when he comes.



Kyerepong

- (2) Twakoto ntimi ntimi :l:
Me ni akyeako ntakua besa:

English: Short pants, short pants
That woman will lose her hair.



- (3) Twi: Sosro noo, hoo aye :ll:
Womfa Kofi nkoto duase
Kofi enyi me megyi ete:l:

English: Rock him, Oh yes,
Oh rock him, Put Kofi down at the
foot of the tree. I shall not eat
if Kofi touches me.

Quite often also songs used in folk tales are sung by the children of the village during their free time.

Children's Stories: Stories which are generally told to the children are those folk tales in which Ananse, the Wise spider is generally the principal figure. Usually, during the evenings when the children do not go out to play in the streets they collect by the fire side and tell stories. The parents may also join and tell exciting stories. But usually, the younger children and the girls do not enjoy stories in which fearful incidents and wars take place. Children are often heard imploring their parents, before they begin the stories, thus "Father if you are going to tell us a story, we do not like those about murder and death."

These stories, the children say make them terribly afraid, so that they do not feel at ease when they sleep in darkness during the night; and at times they have fearful dreams about the characters of the stories.

Children do not read any books apart from their school text books and as the majority of the parents are illiterate, they do not read to their children. Even the literates do not always do so.

Work: Parents in Apirede regard children as extra hands to make house work or farm work lighter. Parents, therefore, teach their children to help as early as possible. As early^{as} the age of two years, the child is asked to fetch articles from various places in the house for the mother. The articles may be a knife, a pomade, a cup a fan or a stool. As he grows older he is sent to fetch heavier and more delicate articles, such as buckets, bottles of oil, mirror or water from the drinking pot.

From the age of three years he is sent on various errands even outside the house. He may be sent to call his father into the house or take some food to his grandmother. Sometimes, as a mark of appreciation, these people give him little presents such as pennies, or pieces of meat or fish. By five, the child becomes very much occupied in running errands and his play is often interrupted. The only time he is not sent to a place or does any work is when he is sitting at meals; because it is said that if the meals of a child are interrupted with errands, he generally grows lean as he does not enjoy the food as he ought to. At first the child performs these duties with joy, but as he finds his play is much interrupted by them he begins to dislike errands. As a result of this, he often leaves the house grudgingly and loiters on the way to play. However, parents do not generally regard his unwillingness.

From the age of six or seven years, the child usually has some regular duties to perform in the house. He may have to throw away household refuse, sweep the kitchen, and smear the hearth with clay, fetch water from the wells, sweep rooms and help in preparing fufu. These duties multiply gradually as the child grows older; and their nature depends upon the sex of the child.

Early Training of Girls: Girls are generally trained to work earlier than boys because their mothers need their services in the house much more than those of the boys. Girls begin to help with the sweeping, fetching of water, pounding of fufu,



A young girl practicing how to wash handkerchiefs.



An elderly girl bathing her younger brother.

cleaning of cooking utensils at an early age, say four years. By the time a girl is seven years old she is almost fully occupied in domestic duties for the whole day. From the age of about eight years her daily programme of activities takes a definite pattern. She generally gets up at about six o'clock in the morning, sweeps the compound and the kitchen, clears the ashes from the fire-place, removes the household refuse to the dnghill, daubs red clay on the fire place and makes a fire. These duties occupy her time up to about seven o'clock when she joins her friends to fetch water from the well. This is generally a delightful peice of work, because it gives her opportunity to meet her friends and talk about things of common interest. When she has made two or three trips to the well, she is asked to stop and prepare breakfast for the younger ones before it is time to go to the farm. She generally prepares "Ampesi" after which she leaves with her mother to the farm. On the farm, she helps her mother in all kinds of work she has to do. Towards the middle of the day, if her father is on the farm she may help to prepare the mid-day meal for him. Two hours latter, she and her mother stop work and collect some food stuffs to carry home for household use or for sale. If it is harvest time, she may carry a head load of either cocoyams or plantain. Sometimes her load is usually a bundle of fire wood, under which she struggles home dripping with perspirations. After a short rest, she helps in preparing the evening meal after which she has to wash the used utensils. She can then take her bath and go out to play.

In all these activities, the girl is apprenticed, as it were, to her mother from her early childhood to the time of marriage, and taught her lessons of cleaning, cooking and looking after babies. On the farm she learns the use of tools for digging, hoeing sowing and harvesting, the habit of farm crops and various ways of tending them.



A boy feeding
his father's sheep.



These boys are
mending their
mother's fence.

Every mother is anxious that her daughter should be industrious; because she knows that the success of her daughter's marriage life will mainly depend upon the adequacy of her early training. No lapses are there for tolerated by the mother, and stern measures are taken against laziness. A case was cited of a girl of fourteen years who often exempted herself from house work. The mother planned to teach her a lesson. One day she was asked to tidy up the kitchen and wash up the cooking utensils, but the girl refused to do the work. So the mother too refused to give her food for two days. She did not allow her to do anything in the house; till other relatives heard of the matter and came to intercede on the girl's behalf. The mother's action received high commendation because mothers in the village do not entertain laziness in girls as it does reflect unfavourably on the reputation of the mothers. A hard working girl is therefore the favourite of her mother who does not deny the girl any privileges.

Boys: Boys on the whole have less work to do in the home and, therefore, have more time to play about in the streets and open places. Apart from running errands, their chief duties are to help pounding fufu, look after the younger ones when the mother is busy, set dinner tables for their fathers, herd the animals home, and mend fences. When a boy is below fifteen years of age he has normally to fetch water two or three times each day. But this does not worry him at all for he may construct a special 'lorry' with which he will cart the water from the well. As the other household work, such as washing of cooking utensils, laying the fire, scrubbing of fufu mortar is normally considered the work of girls, boys are exempted from them. Even if there are no girls, in the house in most cases the mother has to do these herself, for it is believed that if a boy does such duties he grows to be feminine. More serious still is the belief that such a boy may become impotent in future.



A boy playing with
his bicycle while he
has been sent on
an errand.

The boy usually gets up at half past six or seven o'clock and is often scolded by his mother for having slept too much. He often takes his catapult and fills his pockets with pebbles when he is going to the farm. As other members of the party walk along, he usually moves slowly behind hunting birds or collecting materials for his "new loory". Owing to this he generally arrives late at the farm and is rightly scolded again by the mother. The boy's main duty on the farm is to assist his father in whatever work there is to be done. During the dry season it is usually to help clear the bush for a new farm; in rainy season he helps to weed the farm. Occasionally, he follows his father into the surrounding forest to set traps for animals, or to hunt the animals with guns. When returning from the farm after a day's work, he often carries a basket of food-stuffs or a log of fair size. On the way home he may continue bird-hunting. His parents generally do not worry him about this, because they know he has to train himself as a hunter.

When he arrives home, he is usually ordered to go to the stream for his bath and return in a good time to help his sister to pound fufu. He is expected to bring a bucket of water home. If he refuses to bring the water, he may be reported to his father. Very often therefore, he goes with his "lorry", blowing his horn and shouting to young children to get out of the way. Because of this 'lorry' he generally returns home in time and helps to pound the fufu, but occasionally he is late, and the stern mothers may have to leave his share of the food to be pounded by himself. If he returns early and helps in the work, he generally goes to his uncle's house to sit with the other boys round one common dish for their meals. The plates are washed in rotation after each meal. When the cleaning of the dishes and the father's dinner-table is over, the boy is free for the rest of the day.

The boy follows a routine which does not change very much during the week except that sometimes he prefers to practise foot-balling soon after his return from the farm or to have his

bath after his evening meal. Generally if he is left to himself he often puts off bathing to next morning in order that he may save more time for play.

Like the girls, boys are punished or praised in connection with work. Mothers show great appreciation for the services that the boys, especially adolescents, do in the home. I heard a mother remark, as she watched her son mending her fence, that if it was not because of her son the goats in the village would have destroyed all the vegetables in her garden. However, boys are punished more frequently than girls with regard to work. They are more prone to dodge farm work, especially when the father is absent. It is therefore common to see some of them being dragged and beaten by the parents on their way to the farm.

Schooling and Apprenticeship: There are two factors which ought to be mentioned as they modify greatly the work that the ordinary child does in the village. They are school education and trade apprenticeship.

The work that a school-going child does is quite different from that of a child who does not go to school. For example, boys and girls who go to school get up early in the morning and perform almost similar tasks at home and at school. All school children fetch water every morning, some to the school yard to sweep or tidy up before school begins each day. They sweep class rooms and dust furniture. At school very little distinction is made between the duties of the sexes except that more difficult work tends to be assigned to boys. They all fetch water and work on the school farm. On Saturdays each of them does his or her own washing and ironing.

Monday to Friday: They only help their parents to work on the farm on Saturdays.

Some of the children who do not attend school are also apprenticed to local crafts men to learn such crafts as carpentry, tailoring and dress making.



An apprentice washing
her mistress's things.



An apprentice at a black
smith's work shop.

These children, while serving periods of apprenticeship ranging from two to three years stay with their masters or mistresses and serve in their homes.

They usually spend one or two days in the week to helping their masters or mistresses on their farms.



The Primary School block.



The Middle School boys at P.T.



The Middle school band. The girls are good at the drums.

CHAPTER XIII

SCHOOL

Before the arrival of the Basel Missionaries in 1875, there was no formal schooling in this area. The home was the chief educational institution and imitation, the chief method.

At the early age of five, boys begin to imitate their fathers, and girls start to play at mothers. This informal education is practised in all activities at home and in public.

At home boys are responsible for the domestic animals, but girls help mothers in the kitchen. Whilst boys help in hunting and clearing of sites for farming, girls assist mothers in planting of seeds and so on.

It was the Basel Mission which established the Apirede Basel Mission school in the year 1875. In those days schooling was taboo. Parents denounced christianity and the school which came in its wake. As a result the enrolment of the newly-founded school was very low. It is interesting to know that the number on roll of this new school in 1875 was eight. However it gradually flourished. Later, about the year or two a branch of the Methodist Church as well as a Methodist School was founded.

This affected the enrolment of the Basel Mission School. The educational authorities thought it would be more economical to unite the two schools; and in the year 1936 the union was made. Therefore, in Apirede today there is the United Primary School which runs from classes one to six and the United Middle School of four forms.

The primary School is situated on the top of hill at the farthest end of the town. It consists of two blocks of three class-rooms each with an office and a store room. It is roofed with corrugated iron sheets and the walls are neatly white-washed. The floors are cemented and the rooms ceilinged. There are six certificated teachers on the staff. Of these four are males and two females. The present enrolment is two

hundred and seventeen made up of ninety one girls and one hundred and twenty six boys. As stated in the introduction, most of these villagers are farmers and as cocoa the chief cash crop, does not thrive in Akuapim, they migrated to the rich cocoa growing areas in Akim and Ashanti. However, these imigrants have a firm confidence in the efficient running of the schools in their home-town. When their children attain school-going age therefore they send them back home. In some cases the grand parents are given charge of them, but in other cases they stay with other people, like teachers and leaders of the church. In certain cases, however, the children live by themselves in groups of four, five and six respectively. It is interesting to know that those pupils who live by themselves are given about one pound a term as their pocket money. They usually go to the near-by villages to buy food on Saturdays. As this pocket money is not sufficient most of them are not able to afford the staple food-fufu. One of my informants told me that a boy in class IV fell ill and was sent to the hospital. Through a series questions by a nurse, it was found out that the boy had not tasted meat or fish or anything of nutritive value for two months.

A few prominent people like C.A. Akrofi of the Akropong Training College and Miss Janet Asare at Achimota School have inspired the parents so much that, they now attach much importance to learning. They provide communal labour to erect school buildings latrines and urinals for the schools. They equip the children with necessary materials and more often than not assist the teachers when they are in difficulties. Such assistance to teachers vary from the supply of food+stuffs to books. The majority of the teachers are men. In recent years the number of women teachers has been increasing. It is believed that the women teachers are more sympathetic than the men. The primary School is staffed with men and women. Where the co-educational system is not practised in the middle school only female teachers teach in the Girls' Middle School, and made

hear about it. I was fortunate to meet a mother who was reporting her son to the Headteacher of the primary school. To my surprise the Headteacher told the woman that her boy was the most dutiful, serviceable, respectful and obedient boy in the school. The Headteacher advised her on how to get the boy to behave well at home.

When the pupils complete their primary and Middle School education they go to secondary schools. Where they achieve success in their work, they usually look down on the village and prefer to go about in the large towns. Even the prominent or more highly educated among them find it very difficult to spend even a day or two in the village during the year.

School-mates are friendly to one another. Between the ages of six and thirteen years they develop intimate relationship among themselves. But from about the ages of fifteen in the case of girls and about seventeen for the boys, they develop love for the opposite sex in their own schools. Clever or beautiful adolescents get plenty of friends in their class.

The game played in the primary school by the boys is football. The girls play some native games such as 'qhama', Ampe, 'tompratomptra and skipping. In addition to these there are four sets of Ludo which is played by both boys and girls. The only competition in which these children take part is the annual inter-school sports competition. In the Middle School the boys play football and volley while the girls play Net ball, volley and some native games. In school competitions, different sections compete with one another. Those children who may not be clever at their lessons but do well in sports are liked by their mates. They thus acquire for themselves what prestige they have lost in class. Competitions are organised regularly. Some of the games mentioned above, are keenly contested. The school is divided into four sections purposes of competition. Apart from the annual inter-school sports, nearly every month there is some competition in foot-ball, volley and net ball. The winning sections are awarded marks or points. Although these competitions are keenly contested actual hostilities are not expected to result.

Friendship exists among the children and generally continues through out life. Real friendship in school begins from about the age of fifteen. Just about this same age too we have boys forming themselves into 'gangs' to engage in mischievous activities, both in the school and at home. They attack their opponents, go about plucking fruits and pilfering garden crops.

Girls ~~are~~ usually do not form such gangs but they sometimes go about gossiping aimlessly or even openly laughing hoarsely and hooting at others, mostly the opposite sex.



Ananse de

Nyansa kosi dua mu

Wosoo me 1943 Maali mfe 14

Wofre me Daniel K Ofori

Name: Daniel Ofori.

Age: 14 years $\frac{5}{5}$

class: Primary
Free drawing: Mr spider is going to hide the wisdom in the gourd in the tree.

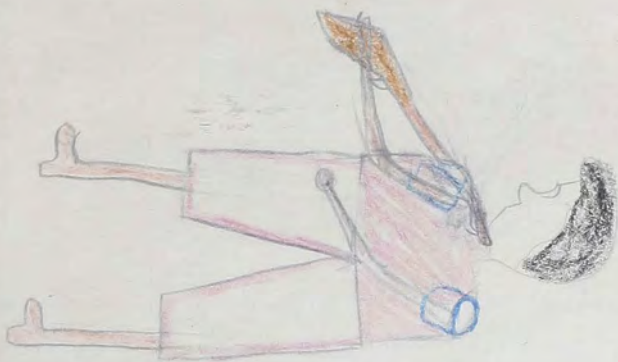
10:3:57

Kwaku Aboagye

Age: 8

Class P.3

Father is going out a
hunting with his two dogs



Name: Kwaku Aboagye.

Age: 8

Class: Primary 3

Father is going out a hunting with
his two dogs.

10/3/57

Lawrence Adu Mante



Kwaku Donko is fighting with
Obini who has broken his
slate



Adu Mante Lawrence
Age: 9 years Class 4.

Name: Adu Mante Lawrence .

Age: 9 years .

Class: primary 4.

Kwaku Donko is fighting with Obini who
has broken his slate.

14:3:57

Name: Jkyere Samuel
Class: 2
Age: 7 years



A woman.



A man

They have collected some oranges
from the orange tree.

Name: Jkyere Samuel.

Age: 7 years.

Class 2.

A man and A woman.

They have collected some oranges
from the orange tree.

13:3:57

Agyiri Rokson

8 years

Class: Primary 2
Age: 8 years



The snake I fear most is
going to bite the man.

Name: Agyiri Rokson.

Age: 8 years

Class: Primary 2.

The snake I fear most is going to
bite the man.

By: Benson - Olokpa class: 5. I am 10 years old



! G-yaka na me suro no.

Name: Benson Olokpa.

Age: 10 years.

Class: Primary 5.

The lion I fear most.

KWASIVI

9 years class 2

Kwasivi.

9 years



The most pleasant thing
my photograph is being
taking.

Name: Kwasi Vi.

Age: 9 years.

Class Primary 2.

The most pleasant thing.

My photograph is being taking.

Class 3
Age: 9 years

Ofori Alex Kennedy

The most unpleasant thing



I am being
beating by my
father.

Name: Ofori Alex.

Age: 9 year.

Class: Primary 3

The most unpleasant thing:

I am being beating by my father.

A Dream



I dreamed that my mother is dead and the corpse is being carried to the cemetery.

Name: Pabi Ben.

Age: 8 years : Class: Primary 2.

I dreamed that my mother is dead and the corpse is being carried to the cemetery.

13:3:57

KWASI VI

9 years

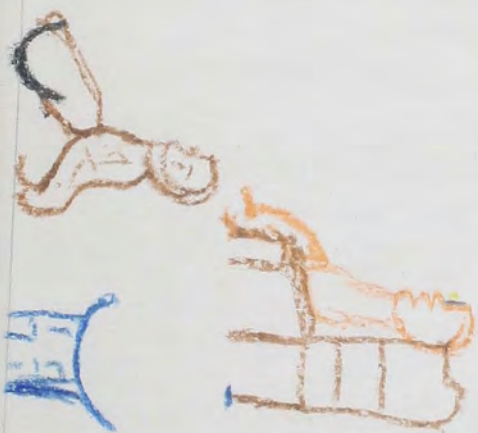
Kwasi Vi

Age: 9 years Class: P.2

A boy setting dinner table
for his father



Inside the house



Name: Kwasi Vi.

Age: 9 years Class: Primary 2.

Inside the house:

A boy setting dinner table for his father.

Adu Mante Yaw

Adu Mante Jaw. Age: 9 Class



Mother is instructing his son to go for the stool over there

Name: Adu Mante

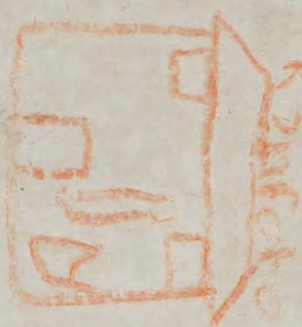
Age: 9 years

Class: Primary 4

Mother is instructing his son to go for a stool over there

Agyeiwa Comfort
Class 2

Age - 8



Agyeiwa Class
2

inside my mothers house:
mirror and a chair

Name: Agyeiwa Comfort

Age: 8 years

Class: Primary 2

Inside my mother's room

A mirror and a chair.

CHAPTER XIV

ADOLESCENT AND PUBERTY RITES

Pre-Puberty: The period of adolescence begins when a child is about twelve years old and ends at about fifteen or sixteen years.

The child passes through a period of rapid physical growth which marks the last stage of his development, to adulthood. At this stage he develops certain characteristics which clearly distinguish him from the opposite sex. He generally becomes sensitive to criticisms and easily gets excited; he is sometimes moody, sometimes disobedient to orders ~~and~~ and indifferent to advice; generally, he is difficult to manage. It is known that girls reach this stage earlier than boys. The vernacular term for boys at this stage is "aberantewaa".

When a girl reaches the age of eleven years, physical signs begin to appear, which show that she is entering the age of puberty. Her breasts begin to develop slowly at first but within a year or two the development is complete. She takes a great deal of interest in this development. She looks at her breasts in the mirror and often besmears them with shea butter, in order to hasten their growth. From this time she grows taller and heavier than before: hair begins to grow under her arms and around her private parts, her hips grow broader and her skin becomes smoother. She now becomes very conscious of her features and sex. She scarcely exposes herself. She generally prefers to wear her cover-shirt. Her interest in her female friends begin to fade although she normally keeps one or two as her intimates. She is more interested in herself; she loves to be alone watching all the time how her body is developing. By the time she is fourteen or fifteen she sees her-self a different girl with a smooth face and skin, shapely breasts and a plump body.

At this stage she finds herself being praised and admired especially by boys of her age. Girls examine secretly each others private parts in order to find out whose are better developed. As such practices are not sanctioned by parents, children who are caught indulging in them are punished. It is because it is known that adolescents indulge in such sex practices that some parents object strongly to boys and girls, at this stage, sleeping together in one room. In the evenings when the moon is up girls like to play hide and seek, and many other games with boys of their age.

In the case of boys the pre-puberty period is not very noticeable. It starts ^{at} about the age of eleven. At this stage the boy begins to notice tender hair under his arms and around

his private parts and later on the other part of his body; such as his legs, arms and chest. Apart from this physical growth is rather gradual. Towards the end of the pre-puberty period, he notices that real hair is taking the place of the tender ones; that his legs and arms are growing disproportionately long; his chest broadens and he usually notices some of the tender hair growing on it. His voice breaks and becomes deep; the Adam's apple begins to show. In addition his sex organs begin to develop rapidly; he feels the testicles growing and he becomes sex conscious. Talks about the sex organs lead to the practice of frequent masturbation. His interest in the opposite sex organs grows with the development of his sex organs and he likes his sisters, takes a great delight in their company. He is also interested in bodily cleanliness, and likes to appear smart and gay. He likes new attractive clothing, and often has a room of his own.

Puberty Rites for Girls: In many African societies adolescence is generally considered the most important stage after birth since it is the beginning of womanhood or manhood. Because of this, some rites are performed and the occasion is made a very important social one.

Apirode people used to have full puberty celebration for girls who are illiterate or pagan. The main features of the puberty celebration are purification, ^{and} transformation.

The rite is performed as soon as a girl experiences her first menstrual flow. Women under menstruation are expected to live outside the house and are not allowed to handle a number of household articles. Usually they are expected to cook their own food. This custom is now observed especially in the homes of elders and the medicine men. The adolescent girl is expected to undergo purification rites owing to her new state.

The rites are very simple and consist in the body of the girl being sponged down either in a house or at river-side. The transformation rite is closely connected with the purification rite. It consists of toileting, dressing of the hair, oiling of the skin and adornment of the body. This rite is combined with a feast at which proclamation of the coming of age of the girl is made. Accordingly the dressing of the girl is done in such a way as to emphasise her physical beauty and maturity of body.

The celebration of puberty rites consists of many activities such as dancing, feasting, and general merry-making and lasts for six days.

After this general back-ground, I shall give a sketch of puberty rites as celebrated in this village.

Preparation: During the period of adolescence, the parents look forward to the day the girl will have her first menstruation. This marks a very important event in her life.

The average girl menstruates when she is fifteen years old. Long before the first menstrual flow takes place some parents get a sheep or a goat ready for the celebration of the puberty rites of their daughter. The girl herself begins to gather firewood for the occasion. She leaves her hair to grow bushy, so that she may plait it afterwards. Girls who are about to menstruate, make it a habit not to eat early in the morning, because it is considered to be an unlucky sign if a girl's first menstruation comes after she has had something to eat during the day.

About a fortnight or so before the time, of the menstrual flow, the girl begins to complain of attacks of cold, headache and stomachache, as well as pains in the waist. The skin of the breasts becomes light coloured and shiny whilst the nipples darken in colour. When the parents notice these signs they know that the time for the menstruation is near and begin to watch the girl's movements.

When the girl discovers that she has had her first menstrual flow, she hides herself as she feels shy to let people know of this. This habit of hiding has become a sort of custom which is practised by every girl in this situation, except the Christians. When the parents and intimates of the girls see that she is nowhere to be found, a search party of girls and boys is sent to find her. With the exception of Christians a girl or a woman who has menstruated is not allowed to enter the house. She stays outside the house till the sixth day. This is done because she is considered unclean within these six days. She is permitted to enter the house after she has bathed herself on the sixth day. Because of this, when the girl is brought back she is given a seat outside the house. She is attended by other girls who try to comfort her as she weeps. The girl's mother goes round and reports the incident to her relatives and friends in the neighbourhood. On hearing this, many girls and women rush to the girl's house (or village) to congratulate her. The girl's nails are cut short and cleaned. After this, she is taken to the stream by some oldwomen and some friends for the ceremonial bath.

Before they go to the stream it is the custom to get the following things ready: (a) a collection of things such as cloths, beads, pennies and all sorts of odds and ends are put into a large brazen bowl and covered with a costly cloth and a sort of

not embroidered with beads. The brass bowl is well polished and quite dazzling to look at, (b) Some sacred herbs and water are also put in a small bowl. After these preparations all go to the stream, singing and clapping their hands through the streets.

This line of merry-makers is led by the woman who is carrying the small bowl containing the sacred herbs and water. She sprinkles this water around as they go along to propitiate the gods and to protect the girl and the family from any evil. She is followed by the "Odede" being carried by an other woman and covered with an umbrella.

Then comes the unfortunate girl veiled with kente cloth. She is followed by the women and friends who are taking her to the stream, where she is going to have her bath with a new sponge, a new towel and a new cake of soap to signify a new chapter in her life. She bathes three times with soap. The first bath is done by the old women who are supposed to be her instructors. While the bathing is going on, the rest of the women standing by continue to clap their hands and sing some of the traditional songs, e.g. "Obobo moriwaa hena aye bra O, Akua aye bra O" or "Ma ye nko nsun nko yi wo ho e, ababaa twe tro."

The girl is then stripped naked in the presence of the women and children who have accompanied her to the stream and is bathed by one woman, most usually her aunt or near relative. This woman dips the sponge in the water and washes the girl from the head to her feet, three times, ~~while~~ while the other women find out if there is some hair on her private parts. After that the girl is allowed to complete the bath herself.

After the bath she is brought home. She puts on a beautiful cloth and headkerchief.

Mouth Touching: By the time they arrive home, the women left behind have finished cooking her food which includes boiled yam, mashed yam, plenty of boiled eggs and fufu with chicken soup. The girl has not eaten any thing since the morning, but she cannot eat until another custom has been performed.

This custom is the major ceremony, and all the earlier performances are merely preliminaries. It is known as the Mouth Cleansing ceremony. "Woka nano". The girl sits on a low stool and the woman who conducts this ceremony touches her lips with some roasted mashed plantain and some mashed yam and boiled eggs, one after the other. As each touches her lips, the girl spits it out and the woman offers a special prayer for the welfare of the girl. For example, she prays that her life should not be as hard as the plantain, but should rather be as smooth as mashed yam and as soft as the boiled eggs and that she should have thirty children.

By this time her house has been filled with many people who have been attracted by the singing and the smell of the cooked food. A dish of mashed yam or fufu is placed in an open space in the yard for the children to eat. After this the girl is given something to eat. Her food is mainly "mpotempote". When this Mouth Cleansing ceremony has been performed, the puberty rite is virtually completed. What remains now is eating, drinking and singing.

The food is now shared among those who have helped in various ways, some of it is sent to relatives and friends who are not present. The best part of the food, especially the fufu and chicken soup is reserved for the girl and her intimate friends. After the feast presents from the girl's father are displayed. These presents consist of two head of cocoyam and plantain, a sheep or a goat, some fishes and a chicken. The girl stays outside her house for six days and her friends cook for her, fetch water for her and serve her in all possible ways. In the evenings, all the women assemble from the first day of the menstruation till fifth day, singing songs and dancing. This dance usually starts at about six o'clock and ends at about twelve o'clock in the night.

Very early in the morning of the sixth day, while the girls had gone to fetch water a fowl is secretly killed and its head and legs are neatly wrapped in a piece of rag and bound with string to form a small parcel about the size of an apple. This is given to the girl whose puberty rite is being performed and she hides it in her cloth. As the girls are passing she hits one of the girls who is suspected to be the next to menstruate in the waist with it. When she has hit her she shouts, 'I have hit her', 'Me ade no'. Then all the women and the other girls shout in chorus "She has hit her" (*Ade de no*). The chicken that has been killed is cut into small bits, stewed and distributed among all the women and girls who helped in the ceremony of puberty rite.

On the same day, the sixth, the girl takes her bath and some cuts are made at the back of her waist and on one cheek and black powder prepared from herbs is put into the cuts to indicate that the puberty rite has been performed. After this her friends depart to their homes. All the people who gather to take part in the puberty rite or are fed at the expense of the parents. The parents spend about £20 to £40. Because of the impact of Western Civilization and the expenses involved puberty rites have been practically discontinued. If it is done at all, it is done within the house and no public announcement is made. On the eighth day of the ceremony the girl dresses gorgeously and goes from house to house thank the people who have helped to bring the celebration to a successful end.



These girls are of
age. they have
gone through the
puberty rite.

After the puberty rite has been performed the girl is considered as an adult. She has the right to plait her hair and to dress like a grown-up woman.

The puberty rites and practices described in this chapter used to be observed only by the illiterates. Among the Christians the boys and girls of about fifteen or sixteen are confirmed together in the Church. They all dress in white and after the service march through the town, and go from house to house thanking people. They give refreshments in the form of biscuits and sweets to people who have brought them gifts. In the evening the parents hold feasts in the honour of their children's confirmation. During the first week, the children are exempted from domestic duties. The girls are considered matured enough to marry after confirmation, but the boy's confirmation is not regarded as a sign of maturity. Two or three years after confirmation the girls can plait their hair.

The puberty rite as described is not done now a days. The egg is still given when the girl has her first menstruation. Drumming, singing and dancing which used to accompany the occasion have ceased; instead the girl's mother goes round early in the morning from house to house to give the announcement; and that ends it.

Those who want to give presents can do so of their own accord.

There is no celebration to signify a boy's entry into manhood after he has gone through the period of adolescence. When the boy is about eighteen it is usual for the father to give him a piece of land to farm for himself. When the boy sees that he is financially capable of looking after a wife, he tells his father who asks for the hand of a girl for him to marry.

Advice on Conception and Marriage: During the pre-puberty period parents are very strict on the girl's movement for fear of pregnancy, as it is considered a sin to have a baby before one's first menstruation. In the olden days the punishment for having a baby before first menstruation was severe; but although the attitude of the public towards such pregnancy has changed, it is still regarded as a very bad thing and so every effort is made to prevent its occurrence. The mother constantly advises the girl to be very cautious about her connection with boys until the puberty rite has been performed; or if she is a Christian until she has been confirmed.

A girl enjoys greater freedom of movement after the performance of this rite though until her marriage she is always aware that her parents still keep an eye on her. She can now love and marry, but the parents do not want her to marry in certain families for various reasons, and so they are not interested in the kind of male friends she makes. There are no puberty rites for boys as already stated. During the adolescent period they enjoy greater freedom than the girls, though the parents are equally anxious that boys too should not marry in certain homes. I was fortunate enough to meet one of my informers, strictly warning his son when I visited the house at about seven o'clock in the evening. "Kwabena", he said, "I have seen you and Madam Adwo's daughter on several occasions and have met both of you at certain places; if you have made up your mind to get married try to get a better partner and not this girl for I have seen that she is not the sort of girl who is likely to have a child in future."

Girls are generally not given any talks about menstruation by their parents and so they collect facts about it from their parents and also by observing the performance of the puberty rites. But now that such rites are not publicly observed it does not happen that a girl does have definite idea about menstruation until she actually experiences it.

A girl who became very much alarmed the first time she had her menstruation told me, "I know that women do have menstruation from time to time, but I did not exactly know what it was. I was therefore very much alarmed when I had it because I thought it was due to sexual intercourse with a male, so I kept it secret. But I was afraid I should die for flow continued till the evening. I felt very uncomfortable so I reported the matter to my friend who told me what it was and undertook to report it to my mother. I was given two boiled eggs to eat that evening". Boys are similarly not told anything about sex by their parents and what ever knowledge they acquire about it is given by friends and play-ground informants.

ADOLESCENT SEX ACTIVITIES

During the adolescence, boys and girls become very much interested in sex, and show this interest in many ways. At this stage girls often gather themselves in the evening playing a game known as "Ba" at which they praise the qualities of their lovers and dances in rotation. They dance to the rhythm of hand clapping and love songs. Sometimes some of them are said to practise homo-sexuality when they go to bed in pairs and triples. In the

case of girls attending boarding schools almost every girl has a special girl friend whom she loves ^{as} much as she would love a male friend. Such friends are usually given special terms in the various boarding schools. Some of these terms are 'kron', 'pew', and 'supi'. A girl can be so shy of her 'kron' that she will not enter the bathroom or latrine if she learns the friend is there. Such friendship develops to such an extent that during their course they exchange cloth and put it on during the week end, or the elder of the two buys cloth to the younger one if she can afford it. Boys on their part sometimes indulge very much in masturbation. They also sometimes find means of winning a particular girl.

Both sexes, however, have several sex activities together, the commonest one is petting. In the night when they meet in the street and play together they play in group or twos or in fours. They are often seen walking hand in hand, walking up and down in the moonlight. Sometimes they sit in dark places, on verandahs and street corners caressing and fondling each other; frequently the girl will be seen resting her head on the lap of her boy friend. A popular game played in the night by boys and girls together during the moonlit night is "Ode fa wonsa be to me kon mu" (Love, put your arm around my neck). Boys and girls line up separately facing each other. There is a distance of about ten yards between the two lines. The players start the game by clapping hands rhythmically and singing a tune with the following words: "Ode ee fa we nsa be to me kon mu; Hwehwe mu beyi we mpene Ode ee" (Love, come and put your arms around my neck, Look round and select you love). As they sing, one of the players dances to the opposite line, and puts his arms around one of the girls and dances to the centre. The first player retires and the girl also dances to the boys line and puts her arm around one of them and dances with him to the centre, this is done repeatedly till every one has his or her turn. Another activity for the evening is hide and seek which is played by the two sexes together and during which they take the advantage to indulge in sexual experimentation.

Boy - Girl Romances: Boy- and girl romances are common at this stage. A boy and a girl may be so much attached to each other that they can scarcely stay a few hours without seeing themselves. During the day the boy often passes by the house of the girl and signals to her by means of whistling or singing a particular tune. Whatever the girl is doing, when she hears the signal she manages to go out to have a word or two with him, before she goes home to continue her work. Parents may know about the friendship and some warn the children, but the young

adolescents continue in secret.

Among the school children, love letters are passed from friend to friends, even at classes and sometimes they fall into the hands of the teachers. Several drawings of bare fingers are seen on latrine and urinal walls; filthy words and the names of the sex organs are sometimes found written behind houses, pillars and fences. As a general rule, these sex conscious activities are practised secretly; whenever they are discovered by parents or teachers they are severely punished.

Young adolescents usually have in addition to their friends of the opposite sex one or two friends of their own sex in whom they confide their secrets. Every detail of each one's love affairs is known among this small group. It does happen that two friends of the same sex befriend two friends of the opposite sex so that their secrets are shared freely among themselves. When one of these offends his friend a complaint is made to any one of them and the matter is settled between the two by the other couple. The two boys in each group usually refer to each other as "Adamfo a nene no be nkesua tafro".

There is generally constant friction between parents and young adolescents. During my investigation it was very often reported by both parents and children that quarrels between mothers and young adolescents were common occurrence. The children complain that mothers are often too harsh and inconsiderate. It appears that in their anxiety to train their daughter in the work, mothers generally over work their daughters.

I was told by one woman that when she was a girl her mother made her work too much. On the farm she had to weed a large area before she collected fire weed, and when she came home she had to do the greater part of the cooking, even at times she had to go to the well to collect water if there was none in the water pot, before she started cooking. When she made a mistake her mother will talk and talk and report it to anybody who might come into the house. As a result she often thought that her mother actually hated her; sometimes she wondered whether she was her mother's own daughter.

Secondly most of the mothers hurt the feeling of their children by remarking too much about their growth during that stage.

Generally they nurse these grievances until they get a chance to speak openly to their mother and point out in their anger what they thought of all that nonsense. This often leads to quarrels. Some of the adolescents complain that their parents

interfere too much with their private affairs and dictate to them as if they were still children. Such conflicts are very common, and some adolescents adopt an attitude of indifference to their parents. Their common saying is "Iron-boy/girl^{kye} se mete" (Iron boy/girl I don't mind).

Adolescent period is generally regarded as a happy time for young men and women. They fill their time with plenty of pleasurable activities such as foot~~e~~ball, singing and dancing. The old men in the village also cherish fond memories of their adolescent periods which they often refer to as 'Bere a yesi se' (The time when we were young), and tell stories of their joys and merry making and of their display of physical strength and bravery in war.

CONCLUSION

Child training is hard and complicated work and the main burden of this work lies on the parents. As are the parents so are the children likely to be, and unless home influence is great and of good model very little can be achieved from the honest work of teachers in schools or from the advice that the children get from elders in the Churches. From birth to adulthood it is the behaviour of the parents that the child watches; he sees them listens to them and imitates them in speech; and from them the child acquires the culture and the first hand information about the village. Because of this parents should use their authority and parental influence in the proper training of their children. They must listen to their stories, songs and dances and check them when they need checking.

Again child's training is a continuous experience of life and work. As the boy accompanies his father to the village meetings and on his journeys, he learns the traditions and the customs and the standard behaviour in the village. In the bush too he does not learn only the use of tools and the traditional methods of hunting, trapping and cultivation, but more important he also learns the names and the uses of the various trees and creepers of forest, as well as the names and the habits of the forest animals. He also acquires a knowledge of the surrounding country with its rivers, hills, mountains and valleys.

The work on the farm is largely dependent upon weather conditions. For this reason he learns before he becomes an adult the need for planning his farm and work according to the seasons of the year.

The girl's attachment to her mother at home and on the farm gives her opportunity to learn the preparation of the staple meals, the keeping of the house and the care of the baby. Beside she is taught how to plant and tend the various food crops. Quite often her work of collecting fire wood takes her into the forest where she gets a knowledge of nature including the plants and animals in the forest.

Mothers occupy the most important position in the early training of the children; mothers are those first imitated by children and they are those who guide or misguide them as far as their future is concerned. Good mothers unconsciously model their children's behaviour and habits. They teach them what to eat and when to eat, what to say and when to say it, where to go and when to go; what to do and what not to do.

Fathers should not be mere authorities in the house, drinking heavily after day's work, and exhibiting their authority by threats and beating their wives and children for slight offences. Rather they must show a fatherly spirit and make themselves a symbol of courage industry and leadership. Good mother and fathers are therefore needed in this country, if it is to show any progress.

For this reason the ideal environment for educating the child is a home where parents live together in harmony and create a stimulating atmosphere for the child offering him a chance to take part in the day to day work of the family and share in its experiences and gradually leading the child so to speak from a state of dependance upon his parents to full independence. This they should do than send the child to his grand-parents or near relatives as is done in Apirade. For a child so sent turn out to be loose in character and at times does not fit into the family when he is sent back.

The school is provided to protect the child during his infancy from some of the physical mental and moral dangers which are likely to befall the child as he has no powers of selection. I say this because when the child imitates the teacher in the school, he is indifferent to whether he is copying good or bad habits. The work of the school then is to choose materials for the child and to find methods which should help him to get the best out of the school.

Teachers have much else to do in the training of the child. Before they can do this they have to study the child, know his feeling and behaviour. By personal observation they learn to compare and judge their inner feeling to others, and by reading books about human growth, and development other psychology books. Above all there must be mutual understanding between teachers and parents, and everything that they do must be centred round the child.

Finally I conclude with the hope that as Western education spreads and Christianity exerts its influence on the lives of the villagers to polish their culture, the belief in witchcraft and jujumen, superstition and ignorance will be dispelled, better understanding of the child's physical growth and emotional life will be obtained and better methods will be adopted to train the child in Apirade.

APPENDICES

1. Children's favourite stories
2. Stories about a good/bad girl or a boy.
3. What the child would wish for if he were granted one wish
4. Self-description
5. Life story.

The stories and factual reports reproduced here are the verbatim speeches of each child interviewed and translated into English.

1. CHILDREN'S FAVOURITE STORIES

Anna Oforiwa - Age 9 Class 4.

Once upon a time there lived a certain woman who had seven children. Six of these children died and the youngest of them was left alone. One day this woman went to her farm and found a very beautiful girl standing under a tree in the farm. She thought this girl was one of her dead children so she brought her home. She placed this girl on a stool; suddenly the girl started to grow fatter and fatter; so the youngest child started singing 'Mother, mother, you have brought trouble upon yourself you have brought trouble upon yourself. After this the child fought with this fat girl and killed her

Okyere Kwame - Aged 6 years

The sunbird flew onto a sugar-cane plant and the leaf cut his leg. Then he flew onto the pepper plant and some of the pepper went into the wound. So the sunbird sang and said, Make aka no krum, "wee, wee"! (Pepper has gone into my sore, wee, wee(a meaningless phrase)).

2. A STORY ABOUT A BAD BOY

Rosemond Odaamma: Aged 6½ years.

Once upon a time there lived a woman who had one son. This son had a flute. One day they went to farm and the boy went and sat on a stone and started playing the flute. When they were returning home the boy forgot to take the flute. On the way home the boy remembered that he had left his flute behind; so he told his mother that he would go for it. His mother told him not to go for it was getting dark. The boy did not obey his mother's advice and went to the farm. The boy met some dwarfs in the farm playing with his flute when the dwarfs saw the boy they beat him and killed him.

2 (b) A GOOD GIRL

Long, Long ago there lived an old woman who had two daughters. This woman became ill and helpless, so these her daughters had to do everything for her. The older child refused to help her mother on her sick-bed, but the younger one did all she could to help her mother. When she was about to die the mother called her helpful daughter and gave her all her precious beads and a bag of gold. She called the other one and told her that she was very sorry she had nothing to give her; she must go out into the world and work for living.

3. CHILDREN'S WISHES

Rosemond Odaarnea: Aged 6½

Interviewer: Rose what would you wish to have if you were allowed to ask for it.

Rosemond: I would ask for corned beef and rice.

Yea Akyeron: Aged 12 years: I would ask for money to buy my school books and dresses.

Asah Emmanuel: Aged 12 years: I would ask for a football to make me happy.

Odi Adwowa: Aged 10 years: I would ask for a dress.
for I need more dresses

Kwaku Mante: Aged 10 years: I would ask for a flute.

Kwakyewas Mercy Aged 12 years: I would ask for a car.

Interviewer: Why would you ask for car at this age?

Kwakyewa: I want a car because that will help me to visit my parents in the village at the week-ends.

4. CHILDREN'S SELF-DESCRIPTION

1. Gladys Ofoibea: Aged 12 years:

My name is Gladys Ofoibea.

Interviewer: How old are you?

Subject: I am twelve years old.

Interviewer: I should like you to describe yourself

Subject: I am tall and slender, I have a long neck, I have a round head with a little hair on it, I have small ears, fat nose, big eyes, white set of teeth, long chin and I am black in colour. I am in Primary class 6. My school uniform is blue in colour. I have long toes.

2. Comfort Odi: Aged 11 years.

Interviewer: My friend, what is your name?

Subject: My name is comfort Odi.

Interviewer: How old are you?

Subject: I am eleven years old.

Interviewer: Would you try to describe yourself to me?

Subject: I am short and slender. I have a small voice, flat nose, short chin, pointed head with little hair on it, and my lips are thick and my school uniform is blue in colour.

5. CHILD'S LIFE STORY

1. Kotaku Christiana: Aged 13 years.

Interviewer: Christiana, can you tell me about your life: Where you were born, where you have lived and what things have happened to you?

Subject: Yes, I can tell you all. I was born in Apirede. I am an orphan. I don't know my father, because he was dead before I was born. When I was three years old my mother died; so I was given to my elder sister who left me alone in our house and ran away.

Interviewer: Where did your sister go?

Subject: I do not know, because of this my uncle gave me to his girl friend who took me to Kumasi. When I was seven years old my grandmother came for me and sent me to school. I am now staying with my grandmother. She is my guardian. I am now in class six.

2. Yeboa Danquah aged fourteen:

Interviewer: Yeboa would you be able to give me your life history?

Subject: Yes, I would be able to do so: I was born in Apirede. I stayed with my mother during my infancy.

Interviewer: Where was your father at that time?

Subject: He was in his village. My mother and myself stayed at Kumasi for about five years. I was very sickly at that time, because of my illness we left Kumasi and came to my father at Ntronan.

Interviewer: When did you start school?

Subject: Because I was sickly during my infancy I started school when I was ten years old. When I was twelve years old I was sent to my brother at Takeradi; but he refused to keep me because he himself wanted to have further training. So I was sent back to my elder sister at Keferidua. There I continued my education. I became sick again so I was sent to my aunt at Apirade. I am now in class six and I am still with my aunt.

3. Kofi Aboagye aged 13 years:

Interviewer: Kofi Aboagye, can you tell me about your life; where you were born, where you have lived and; the things that have happened to you?

Subject: Yes, I can tell you all. I was born in Apirade.

Interviewer: All right go on and tell me what you can remember. Have you lived here all your life?

Subject: No, when I was a small child, my mother took me to my brother at Akropong. We stayed there for a long time. I started school there. When I was in class three my mother became ill and we returned here. My mother was taken to the Keferidua hospital but she did not get any better, so they brought her back here, and she died.

Interviewer: Whom are you staying with now?

Subject: I am staying with my mother's elder sister.

Interviewer: But where is your father?

Subject: My father is at Akropong. He said that he would come and take me. When my mother died my father took me and my younger brother to Akropong, but my father's wife beat us too much. She sometimes did not give us food to eat. So my aunt came and took us away.

Interviewer: What did your father's wife do to you?

Subject: She made us work very hard. Sometimes she sent us to the farm for feedstuff. We were afraid but if we did not go she would scold us.

Interviewer: What did your father do?

Subject: He did not do anything. When he spoke about what she was doing, she quarrelled with him, so he stopped.

IMAGINATIVE PLAY

Yaa Adubea, aged 4½ years.

Adwowa Korantema, 3 years.

Interviewer, places, a number of things such as dolls, a toy lorry, empty tins, plantain, stones, sticks and a vessel of water in the yard of a house. Subjects are told to play any games with the articles.

Subjects: Yaa Adubea takes a sardine tin and begins to fill it with sand and is imitated by Adwowa Korantema.

Interviewer: What are you doing?

Subjects: We are going to sell "koko" says Adubea, "We are going to sell koko", says Korantema. Adubea puts the tin of sand on her head and walks about followed by her younger friend. They shout as they go "Here is koko! who will buy? three pence, three pence". Adubea puts the tin down takes three stones and arranges them. She puts the tin on it. Korantema does the same, but she takes only two stones and her tin falls as she puts it on the stones. The contents are spilt and she collects them again. Adubea, "Oh Korantema, you have poured down your 'koko' you will not have any money. No one would like to eat koko that has been spilt. Korantema does not say anything, but collects her sand. She later stops and goes away.

Interviewer: But why do you put your koko on these stones?

Adubea: This is the fire place. Here is a market. We are putting the koko on the fire so that it does not become cold. She takes a small stone and a dish, puts some sand into it and says "Penny" explaining that somebody is buying some of the food. Later she counts a number of pebbles and says she has sold a shilling and a penny.

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