Some societies do demarcate children’s lives with specific names for each stage and some stages have accompanying ceremonies. “[The Mandok viewed] each stage of a child’s development…as an accomplishment, and each accomplishment marked with a ceremony” (Pomponio 1992: 77). The process of development may be seen as a gradual process rather than a set of well defined stages. “As the child grew, the Mandok believed that the anunu gradually moved from “the surface of the skin” to the inside of the body, a common belief in other areas of Melanesia as well” (Pomponio 1992: 77). The child’s survival may be intricately intertwined with that of the mother and occasionally the father who must observe certain taboos. “A newborn’s inner “self” (anunu) was not yet firmly anchored inside its body…although it adhered to its mother, it also had a tendency to “follow its father,” and for this reason both new parents observed many food and behavioral taboos after the birth of a child” (Pomponio 1992: 77).

Specific names or words may be associates with these gradual processes. At three to four weeks a Mandok infant is called Gemgem and receives its first neck beads/body decoration. At around a year the child and its mother re–enter village life where the child hears words such as Sake and Ikat liva daba (they cut the woman’s hair). Pipi/Malo (grass skirt/bark cloth) [is received] at two to four years (Pomponio 1992: 79–80). “Young children of about four to six years (Pomponio 1992: 72) …So[n]o[n] (first betel nut chew)…[are] placed in child–sized canoes in the small harbor off Mandok’s main (north) beach” (Pomponio 1992: 72).

“[Amont the Tongan], once children are walking confidently and beginning to talk, they are referred to as tamaiki (children) rather than pēpē. Tamaiki is properly the dual and plural form of tamasi i, a “child or young person, [especially] boy or youth” However, in common usage tamasi i is used for boys and ta ahine for girls. Ungendered plural terms for children are kauleka (literally, short people or dwarfs) and fānau. Males aged from about fourteen to their early twenties (unless married) are called talavou, a term that can
be used for both sexes to mean good-looking. Girls of the same age are finemui. Although adolescents can be referred to by these terms, they are still often called tamaiki or tamaiki ako (school children)” (Lee)

• [Manus of sub–Saharan Africa] the adults emphasise sex differences from birth in their speech—a boy is a nat, a girl is a ndrakein, at an hour of age. Before birth only is the term nat used to denote child” (Mead 1930: 151).

• “[Igbo of Africa use] terms referring to children reflect [that] both their physical maturation and their social position relative to the (older) speaker. For example, nwa means an infant or child of any age, but a mother may use it when addressing her own adult son or daughter. The term for a nursing baby, ngerere, corresponds roughly to the first stage of childhood growth, but it is also used idiomatically, drawing on its literal meaning, “little” or “helpless.” A common Afikpo expression, “Are you helpless?” uses the same word, and the expression “ibugughu ngerere” (you are not a nursing baby) conveys the message “You can do it”’” While speakers do not always use these terms to refer to the specific divisions of childhood listed here, the terms nonetheless indicate which features are seen as important at Afikpo. A nursing baby who is not yet locomotive is nwa oihu (baby–new). When it starts sitting up it is ino odu (be–sit), perhaps three or four months old. At about seven or eight months it becomes igbe igbe (crawl–crawl), and a little later iguzo mpe (stand–up), as it begins to walk in wobbly fashion. When it gets its teeth it is ifuteleze (grow teeth). When it is about one year old it is ijije (able to walk) and a little later igba ɔso (fire–gun), when it runs and moves well, meaning that it is now capable of being assertive. These terms represent physical stages in the two–year nursing period, well recognized at Afikpo. They do not distinguish the sex of the infant, perhaps because all infants are handled pretty much alike by parents; their sex does not determine the care they receive. Nwa nwoke (child–male) and nwa nwanyi (child–female) may be used for (Ottenberg 1989: 19) nursing children, or older ones. Nwantakërε nwoke (small child—male) and nwantakërε nwanyi (small child—female) are often employed for children beyond the nursing stage up into adolescence, although nwantakërε, like nwa, is also a relative term suggesting the speaker's age seniority. There is no word for childhood. It is referred to indirectly, for example by “mgbe mburu nwantakërε,” meaning “At the time I was a child,” or in plural form, “mgbe mburu umuruma,” “When I was one of the children” (Ottenberg 1989: 20).

• “The nomenclature that [the Tukano of Uaupês. Sao Paulo] use to designate the child varies according to its development:

1st.—Until the day of the giving of the name, it is called ôë;

2nd.—Maní, it seems, is a term used in some places, equivalent to baby;

3rd.—During the first months, in view of the fact that the baby has a lighter and reddish skin, they call it Soãgôákã, that is, little red one (Fem. Soãgôákã, pl. Sôarâ:kã );
4th.—When its little body is already a little steadier, so that it can already remain seated on the lap, held in the arm, or leaned against the shoulder, they call it Duhigö (F. Duhigó, pl. Duhírá ) (which means “one who sits down”) or Döxpó–peógö (F. Döxpó–peógo , pl. Döxpo–peóra ), that is, “leansing on the shoulder”; 

5th.—It is called Bōagö or Būagö (F. Būagó or Bōagó, pl. Būárā or Bōārá ), when it is already creeping (from bōa, to creep); that is, “the one creeping”; 

6th.—When it already begins to steady itself on its legs, they call it Nṹkṹgõ (F. nṹkṹgõ, pl. Nṹkṹrā ), that is, “the one who is standing up” (from nṹkṹ, to be standing up); 

7th.—When it is already walking, they call it, for this very reason, Syagö or Sihyagö (F. Śyaǵá or Šihyaǵá, pl. Saːrá or Sihysárá ), that is, “the one walking” (from sihyá, to walk); 

8th.—Around two or three years old it is called Būxkōákâ or Bōxkōákâ (F. Būxkōoákâ or B ō xk ō oaktā, pl. Būxk o ō rākā or B ō xk ō ras kā ), that is, “grown a little” (from b ō xk ō á, to grow), or Būxkō–pō, pl. Būxk ō rā–p ō; (da Silva and Lillios 1962: 559) 

9th.—After the giving of the name it is Buxtuyágö or Buxtuyégö (F. Buxtuyágo, Buxtuyégo , pl. Buxtuyãra, Buxtuyera ); 

10th.—From six years of age more or less, until the initiation, it is Wi´māgō (F. Wi´māgō, pl. Wi´mārá); 

11th.—From the time of the puberty initiation, the boy is called Ma’m ō, and the maiden, Nōmyó (this should not be confused with nṹmyó, woman); 

12th.—In order to indicate that it is already beginning to fill out in body, they use the expressions Nṹrí–būxkō or Nṹní–bōxk ō for the young man, Nṹrí–būxköö for the maiden (pl. M. and F. nṹrí–būxk ō rā”) (Silva and Lillios 1962: 660). 

• “[Yagan of Cape Horn infants are called] amapīta, “a child that cannot yet speak” yekākin, “small child”” (Gusinde and Schütze 1937: 619) 

• “The Cubeo [northwest Amazon] use the following age–grade terms. The nursing infant from birth until it learns to crawl is called abohoidjó (male) or abohokó (female); a crawling infant is tcumi (male or female, although tcumiko is possible for the female): the walking child who (Goldman 1963: 165) still needs help is tcumihinkü (male) or tcumihinko (female); the youngster until puberty is hwainyó (male) or hwainkö (female)” (Goldman 1963: 166). 

• “Street kids [in Port–Au–Prince] do think in classificatory categories about the children with whom they share the pavement. The primary distinctions between groups of kids are age and sex ti timoun [little kids] are distinguished from gwo timoun [older kids] and tifi
[little girls] are distinguished from tigason [little boys]. There are also status distinctions that street children make between one another based on lifestyle. There are those children who are known to be sexually active and those who are not” (Kovats–Bernat 2006: 42).

• “[Among the Tongan] kete (little child still in the stomach) being used. Pépē, from the English word baby, is also used to refer to the fetus, sometimes as pēpēi loto. The Tongan term for baby, valevale, meaning “not yet able to think for itself” has been almost entirely replaced by pēpē, although I did hear valevale used occasionally by older women. To indicate sex, pēpē tangata (male baby) or pēpē fefine (female baby) can be used, or more commonly, tamasii (boy) or tahasine (girl). Pépē tends to be used until the child is walking (Lee 1996: 46). Ungendered plural terms for children are kauleka (literally, short people or dwarfs) and fānau. Males aged from about fourteen to their early twenties (unless married) are called talavou, a term that can be used for both sexes to mean good–looking. Girls of the same age are finemui” (Lee 1996: 70).

• “The Baining use mode of locomotion as a means of delineating physical age. A newborn baby is carried in an adult’s arms or in a cloth tied across the chest. In answer to the question “how old is he [or she]?” a child of this age is described as ta tal ka (ki) (they carry him [her]). After the age of five or six months, parents begin to carry their children on their shoulders. This form of transportation requires that the child have some sense of balance and support, and take some part in maintaining his or her posture, usually by grasping his or her parent’s hair (although parents frequently support the child with one hand if needed (Fajans 1997:86) sary.) Children of this age are described ka (ki) kalak (he[she] sits on the shoulders). An older child is identified by the phrase ka (ki) tit (he [she] goes) … refers to crawling … A toddler goes on his own legs. An older child who has become even more independent (e.g., boys and girls of the seven to nine range) is said to ka (ki) tit mas (he [she] goes fully), meaning that he or she goes for water, firewood, gathering, wandering in the bush” (Fajans 1997:87)

In the womb

Ideas about development begin before the child is born and secluded in the womb.

• “[Among the Javanese ] the fetus is said to be “meditating spiritual matters” (tapa, the withdrawal from the world of the mystic), fasting, and going without sleep within the cave of his mother’s womb for nine months in preparation for his emergence into the disturbing world” (Geertz 1961:104).

• “[In Tibet] the section of human embryology begins with a description of the three stages of human growth in the womb: the fish phase, the turtle phase, and the pig phase. (Maiden and Farwell 1997: 50).

• “Indian Hindu children….fusion between mother and infant is central and starts, according to the Vedas, during the prenatal period where the fetus is considered to be chetan—conscious of having a soul” (Keller 2007: 110).
• “Inuit have no special term to denote a fetus in utero and by custom do not speak about it until after its birth. The fetus is never regarded as “alive” until after it is born, so Inuit never think of it as a person” (Guemple 1979: 40).

Birth/Infancy

Infancy: terminology

Still intimately linked with its mother for survival and in mortal danger (and therefore usually in seclusion) once the child has entered the world specific terminology may be associated with the specific developmental stages of the child. The labels may not yet be gender specific.

“A Mehinacu [of Brazil] first enters seclusion together with his parents at the time of his birth. A palm wood partition is placed around their hammocks so that they cannot be seen by the other Indians in the house. The duration of and completeness of their isolation depend on whether the parents have had any other children. If they have, the father never enters seclusion and the mother remains formally isolated for only a few weeks until the postparturient bleeding has stopped. If the child is their first, however, the mother remains secluded for several months. Her husband accompanies her behind the partition and remains there for as long as a year. These lengthy periods of isolation are considered essential to the health of the parents and their new child. Both the father and the mother honor numerous food taboos and drink root broths designed to increase their vitality. Ideally, they never leave the house during the daylight hours if there is a chance that they will be seen by another villager. When the sun sets, however, the father may go on solitary fishing trips, taking care to return before dawn. After the parents’ is over and the partition is taken down, the child remains symbolically secluded. His mother seldom takes him outside for she fears he will become sick if he is seen by Mehinacu who have recently had sexual relations. Since she is never far from her child during these early months, she participates in his isolation and seldom goes to the field or ventures down to the river” (Gregor 1970: 242).

• “[The Somali] conception is that the newborn child for a certain time after birth is still portio viscerum part of the flesh and blood of the mother” (Cerulli 1959: 25).

• “[Among the Gusii of Kenya] except for infancy, the labels are different for men and women, reflecting their drastically different statuses and social roles in a patrilineal society. The specific term for infant is not used frequently unless special emphasis is being put on the young age of the child; otherwise omwaana (pl. abaana), the general term of “child,” tends to be used for infants and older children alike. The single term for infants regardless of sex is consistent with the claim of Gusii mothers that they do not behave differently to boy and girl babies” (LeVine 1980: X eHRAF).

• “Warao [South American Orinoco Delta] fathers frequently cradle babies in their arms and sing to them, especially when the infant has become a hiota and is able “to see and to laugh and to cry real tears.” Sometime toward the end of this stage, the father may made a toy basketry rattle which he puts into the infant’s grasping hand” (Wilbert 1976: 316).
• “Torkotala Hindus [of India]...stages of infancy (saisab–bayas) and childhood (balokal–bayas), both marked by rapid physical growth” (Davis 1983: 88).

• “With the arrival of the next sibling, dënanola ([Mandinka] infancy) is over” (Whittemore 1989: 92).

• “Status Terminology associated with the life careers of males and females among Qiqiktamiut Inuit of Belcher Islands, Hudson Bay. Birth: natarak (infant) used only if child is allowed to live; Age 1 year to 18 months qitungak (kakalak) (baby) when a child can walk and make word–like sounds; Age 3 to 3 ½ tugusi (boy) or niviaksi (girl) Individual begins to act out sex–linked roles and when a child becomes betrothed” (Balikci 1970: 41).

• “Infancy (bala) comprises three stages according to Hindu ethnotheory: (a) Ksirada, when the child depends exclusively on milk for nourishment; (b) Ksirannada, when the child depends on both milk and cereals for nourishment; and (c) Annada, when the child depends solely on cereals for nourishment” (Keller 2007: 111).

• “Within eight days (for girls) or nine (for boys) the infant [in Roman Italy] was thought to have reached a new stage of its existence. One indication of this was its ability to open its eyes and focus them and perceive separate objects and persons. (Rawson 2003:110)

Not yet a person

Despite the amount of effort invested in its survival the infant is not considered a person. Its life may be immediately ended (infanticide, including while in the womb) or if it dies it will not be accorded the same statues as a full fledged person.

• “[Among the Javanese] to have an abortion (digrogokaké, literally, “to be made thinner”) is considered a sin, especially after the first three months; before that time the fetus is considered not yet human, to be “no more alive than blood” (Geertz 1961: 84).

• “Romans did not consider full mourning appropriate for children under 10 years: between 3 and 10 the mourning period was gradually increased. The young child therefore did not qualify for full recognition of its existence and individuality until the age of 10” (Rawson 2003: 104).

• “[In] the lower Rio Verde valley of coastal Oaxaca (King 2006: 170)...The lack of individuals less than seventeen years of age buried beneath house floors may mean that these children were not yet considered full members of particular families, houses, or perhaps even the community” (King 2006: 185).

• “[Among the Onitsha Ibo] any child who dies under the age of six and before its mother has borne another baby is regarded as a capriciously reincarnating infantile ghost. Such
beings were traditionally...put into an earthen pot, squeezed into the narrow shell, and sometimes the limbs are cut off to make the shoulders get in. This being done, they are carried and thrown out into the fields, a prey to the multitude of vultures that are soaring over the country” (Henderson 1972: 177).

- “Among the Bariba (Benin) infants born prematurely or in the breech position or with anomalies like neonatal teeth or initial maxillary teeth [natal teeth are associated with syndromes producing congenital abnormalities that may include such features as cleft lip, cleft palate, congenital heart malformation, and dwarfism] are declared witches (machube) and are killed, abandoned or given to a neighboring tribe as slaves. Witch babies can cause harm including making their mother sick” (Sargent 1988: 79–80).

Sill being made

From the literature a clear picture of a being not yet a complete person emerges.

- “Mother and infant are treated as a unit; for about six weeks after birth they remain secluded together inside their house. A major objective of this seclusion is to build the baby’s blood as it nurses at its mother’s breast (Conklin and Morgan 1996: 672). Until then, in the Rio Lage–Rio Ribeirao area, babies of both sexes are called arawet, which translates literally as “still being made.” In the Rio (Conklin and Morgan 1996: 672) Dois Irmaos area, newborns are waji, connoting immaturity, (Green, unripe fruit is oro–waji)” (Conklin and Morgan 1996: 673).

- “[Among the East Indian People of Alor] adults say, “He is only a child; he doesn't think yet.” A comparable comment is, “He hasn't a heart yet.” Heart is really the equivalent of “within him,” so that this is a way of saying that the child is still empty, a person without content” (DuBois et al 1944: 76).

- “A child who is nursing has no awareness of things. Milk, that’s all she knows. Otherwise, she has no sense. Even when she learns to sit, she still doesn’t think about anything because her intelligence hasn’t come to her yet. Where could she be taking her thoughts from? The only thought is nursing” (Shostak 1981: 113).

- “[The Hubeer of Southern Somalia, in] talking of a child [state] that [he] has not yet passed through the first ceremonies (e.g. the banaan bixin)...it can be said that “his bones are not yet hard” (Helander 1988: 150).

- “[The Umbundu/Ovimbundu of Angola see that] a baby is born pink and it is only when he turns dark at the sixth or eighth day that he shows the first indication of becoming a person (omunu). He shows further promise in that direction with his first show of sense, but all through childhood he is, in a (Childs 1949: 120) sense, only a potential person” (Childs 1949: 121).

- “Torkotala Hindus [of India think that in] infancy (saisab–bayas) and childhood (balokal–bayas), [children are] unknowing of moral expectations and thus not
responsible for living within them. It is during infancy and childhood that whimsical behavior, even errant behavior, is expected and tolerated of youngsters” (Davis 1983: 88).

• “By children, Nayaka—and perhaps also other hunter–gatherers—do not mean very young babies. Young babies, they say, do not have names, because they cannot respond to them. Burial procedures are much simpler for babies than for other people” (Bird–David 2005: 97).

• “Typical Bonerate children are defined as being bodoh (stupid)—that is, they have no wisdom or knowledge of social norms and values. By implication they are not responsible for their misdeeds and behavior, and you cannot demand much from them” (Broch 1990:15).

At some point however, infants are acknowledged by others and they receive a name (not having had one to this point), a first haircut, clothing, protective charms, or a feast or all of these and are introduced to society (and loosens, to some degree, its ties with the mother).

The haircut and a new set of clothes

• “[Among the Bolivian Aymara] the ceremony accompanying the first haircut…the padrinos [godparents] are supposed to present their godchild with a new set of clothes…a feast at their own home…They also provide coca, alcohol, [and] money”(Buechler 1971: 96).

• “[In a Bosnian Muslim village] the umbilical cord [is cut] several days after the birth of a child and by giving the child its first haircut. (Lockwood 1983: 17)...Before a male child is two years old, he receives his first haircut” (Lockwood 1983: 18).

• “[Among the !Kung] the ceremony of a baby’s first haircut [occurs] when the !gu!na, the person for whom the baby is named, should give him a fine present” (Marshall 1961: 244; Marshall 1976).

• “[Among the Apache] ear piercing and putting on the child’s first moccasins, [were indicative of] of…the first steps along the path of life. The first haircutting ceremony occurred in the springtime, and ceremonial activities occurred when a child was presented with his or her first solid foods” (Markstrom 2008: 69; Talamantz 1991).

• “Eight days after birth the [Igbo] child’s head was completely shaved. A baby boy’s hair was buried in the roots of a kola–nut tree, and that of a girl under a palm tree” (Amadiume 1987: 36)

Coming out of seclusion into the community and receiving a name
“[Among the] Nyasaland in Central Africa (Read 1960: 17)...the falling of the cord was the signal that the baby was read to ‘come out of the hut’ and be presented to the village” (Read 1960: 53).

“In this liminal period [Seclusion], the sense that newborns are still in the process of coming into social being is conveyed by naming practices. Wari’ babies traditionally do not receive a personal name until they are about six weeks old. An infant receives a personal name—and the mother’s name changes to that of her baby—at about the time when they begin to emerge from seclusion and interact with the wider community. (Conklin and Morgan 1996: 673)

“The Barue [Southern Rhodesia] do not give the first name before the child is six months old. They are particularly strict in this respect. For the first half year they call the male baby marumbra, the female ntsiye. After this the father gives the names to the boys and the mother to the girls” (Wieschhoff 1937: 498).

“[Among the Masai] The first name is given either on the fourth day after birth, when the child is taken outside to be shown the sun, or at a feast held on the 10th day...the child is named in the presence of the father and mother (Huntingford 1953: 116) and three old men. (Huntingford 1953: 117)

“[Among the Mehinacu of Brazil] when the child is about a year and a half old, one of his grandfathers gives him a haircut and a new name. Following this ritual the child may be seen publicly, and the restrictions on his mother’s activities are lifted” (Gregor 1970: 242).

“[Among the Navajo] the next step on the path to (Schwarz 1997: 146) Navajo personhood is triggered by the child’s first words. The Diyin Dine’é directed that children may have their hair cut when they demonstrate initial control over their thoughts and voices by speaking a language of the Nihookáá Dine’é” (Schwarz 1997: 147).

“[Among the Hubeer of Southern Somalia] the remains of the umbilical cord and the placenta are buried close to the hearth and this is referred to as “hiding” it (Helander 1988: 149) (qarseen). Similarly, a mother may use the the first soft hair from a child’s head to create a special secretive bond with the child. This is done through a ceremony called jeex where the hair is cut and “hidden”. Many other post–natal practices may be said to have the form of a gradual shedding of the symbols for maternal ties” (Helander 1988: 150).

**Toddler: Encouraging independence/changes in status**

“The Parakanã Indians live in the north of Brazil (Gosso 2010: 81)...divide individuals into age stages, and there are socialization patterns characteristic of each stage. From 0 to 3 years old, children are called konomia pipi, which means ‘little child.’ Most children are nursed until they are at least three years old. Up to this age, they stay close to their mothers or older siblings and, when the mother goes out to gather food, she usually
carries her child up to age two. The end of this stage usually coincides with the birth of a sibling; that is when a change of status happens” (Gosso 2010: 82).

**Weaning**

- “The Javanese see weaning as a significant transition in the child’s life is shown in the fact that they call a child in his second stage the *sapihan*, the ‘Weaned One’” (Geertz 1961: 106).

- “Nisa’s [a !Kung woman] earliest memories were of nursing, which she had loved. But when her mother became pregnant with her younger brother, Kumsa, Nisa was weaned. This caused her tremendous unhappiness. When she wanted her mother’s breasts, she found them covered with a bitter paste. She cried and screamed until it was washed off. But her mother said the milk in her breasts belonged to the baby growing inside her. If Nisa continued to nurse, she would get sick and might even die. Her father yelled at her, too. Nisa threw tantrums and was punished for her constant attempts to nurse; she was very unhappy” (Shostak 1981: 31).

**Playing on the “Mother Ground”** (Lancy 1996)

- “With the arrival of the next sibling, *dénanola* (infancy) is over. Now, play begins and membership in a social group of peers is taken to be critical to *nyinandirangho*, the forgetting of the breast to which the toddler has had free access for nearly two years or more. A [Mandinka] mother [says] “Now she must turn to play” (Whittemore 1989: 92).

- “From 4 to 6 years old, children [of the Parakanã Indians north of Brazil]…are named *konomia ete*, which means ‘those who are children.’ They now play in groups without adult supervision. They spend a lot of their time in the village and its vicinity, not only playing but also helping adults in their tasks, taking care of younger children, or searching for fruit to eat” (Gosso 2010: 82).

**Change in dress**

- “When the [Kwoma] child has relinquished…the…habits of infancy, his mother gives him a little bag which she has netted for him and his father the betel–chewing accoutrements to go with it. They tell him that he has become a little man. He now turns to the play group and spends his time playing games with other children, roaming in the forest” (Whiting 1941:38).

- “[Classic Greece and Italy]One such toddler wears a sort chiton, but most are also distinguished by their nudity, which seems to indicate that (Cohen 2007: 45) they are not yet subject to the social norms of modest dress expected of older children” (Lawton 2007: 46)

**Physical training**
• “For the Nsa women, clearly the developmental domain that is to be accelerated is motor development (Keller 2007:119) The Nso also practice for motor milestones when they place infants in vessels or let them practice walking. (Keller 2007:120) Body stimulation is another highly valued parenting system in Gujarati villages. …strong legs so that the infant learns to walk quickly (Keller 2007:122). It is good for him to walk early than crawl. (Keller 2007:123) A standing baby also makes less work for the mother” (Keller 2007:124).

Transition into childhood

Another transition takes place at around the age of five to seven although it may occur later or earlier. One of the strongest indications of this transition is adult’s perception of the child. The child “gets sense” (Lancy and Grove 2009)

Getting sense

• “[Among the Bemba] compliance with the traditional wisdom enshrined in the formal songs and dances of the elders is a sure sign that one “understands” [or] Kuumfwa (literally “to hear”)” (Maxwell 1983:59)

• “The Punan Bah [forager/horticulturalists] see little point in any systematic teaching of small children, due to the belief that only from the age of about five when their souls stay put, will children have the ability to reason” [Nicolaisen 1988: 205].

• “An Ayoreo child is not considered a complete human being [until attaining]… aiuketaotiguei, which means ‘understanding’ or ‘personality’” [Bugos and McCarthy 1984: 510].

• “The child before he is five or six is said to be durung djawa, which literally means “not yet Javanese….It implies a person who is not yet civilized, not yet able to control emotions in an adult manner, not yet able to speak with the proper respectful circumlocutions appropriate to different occasions. He is also said to be durung ngerti, “does not yet understand,” and therefore it is thought that there is no point in forcing him to be what he not nor punishing him for incomprehensible faults” (Geertz 1961:105).

• “[on Tonga] there is no consensus about when children are no longer vale…meaning “child who is still foolish,” …is applied to children of three or four. Ages ranging from four to eleven were suggested to me to be the time when “proper” learning begins, and the end of primary school was frequently cited as a turning point in children’s progress in becoming poto. It is sometimes said of older adolescents “kakato hono atamai” (their mind or reason is whole)” (Lee 1996: 72).

• “When the [Sisala–Ghanaian farmers] child reaches the age of six years [he should display]…’sense’ or ‘knowing things’ (wijima)…he is expected to know the difference between right and wrong and to begin assuming minor responsibilities” [Grindal 1972: 28].
• “The [Javanese–rice farming] child before he is five or six is…said to be durung ngerti, ‘does not yet understand,’ and therefore…there is no point in…punishing him for incomprehensible faults” [Geertz 1961: 105].

• “[In early Mexico], by age seven, colonial law allowed that children had uso de reason (judgement) and could marry (Gonzalbo Aizpuru 1998:81), although the Church only recognized a capacity to marry at twelve years for girls and fourteen for boys. Until they reached ten years of age, children could not legally be punished for any crimes they committed” (Lipsett–Rivera 2002:60).

• “[Children on a Micronesian Atoll are said to have] “social intelligence” (repiy) (Lutz 1988: 94)...As children first approach the age of six, they are first considered socially intelligent...capable of learning some adult economic tasks” (Lutz 1988: 108).

• “[in sub–Saharan Africa among the Gusii any] attempt to engage their mother in reciprocal play [who] tends to ignore these efforts...For a mother to engage a small child, let alone an infant, “in conversation” would...seem eccentric behavior...since...a child is not a valid human being until he reaches the age of “sense” ... six or seven years old” (LeVine and LeVine 1981: XX).

• “[The Bengali] childhood…apprenticeship begins with a boy’s “second birth” at the time of receiving the sacred thread at age 12 or 13. Until that time, the child does not possess the reason or intellect (i.e., gunas)” (Bhattacharyya 1981/1992: 218).

The “chore curriculum” (Lancy 2008)

• “[Bonerate] Childhood, the second phase, starts at an approximate age of five years. In this stage the world becomes wider, for children are free to roam about. At this phase youngsters also get their first assigned chores, such as carrying water and taking care of younger children. This is also the period when play activities dominate much of the child’s time. At the same time tentative, informal instruction begins to be offered by adult villagers” (Broch 1990:28).

• Older [children of the Parakanã Indians north of Brazil]…take care of younger ones when adults are not around. Even 5–year–old children can be seen carrying younger siblings or newborn cousins. It is common to see 6–year–old children carrying other 3–year–old children on their backs and jumping into the river, playfully diving and swimming, away from the eyes of adults. (Gosso 2010: 82). From 7 to 10 years old, [Parakanã] children [north of Brazil] are called otyaro ere, which means ‘the one who is growing up.’ The girls at this age begin to do some domestic work, while the boys start to join their fathers in hunting and (Gosso 2010: 82) fishing” (Gosso 2010: 83).

• “In a study of Nepalese and Javanese children 6 to 8 years old, about four hours a day were spent working. This figure rose to almost five hours for children 9 to 11, and it continued to rise up to adulthood (Nag et al., 1978). In traditional cultures, children
typically begin to work full-time at 10 to 12 and take on a full adult workload at 14 to 16 (Neill, 1983). By age 12, Tiwi (Northern Australia) and Cree (Ontario) children are already self-supporting in the subsistence sense. Some tasks are not begun until the early teen years, such as cooking, hunting fairly dangerous animals, and heavy gardening chores. Among the Bakgalagadi of the Kalahari Desert, 12-year-old girls can run a household, not just put in a full day’s work.” (Lancaster 1984: 86)

- “[A Zande boy of the Sudan], at nine or ten,…will help in the crops, collect firewood, and generally change from a child into a boy. He will no longer be sleeping with his parents, but in a little hut built apart, either by himself or with his brothers if he has any, but never with his sisters, for to do so would be considered very shameful, as in Zande eyes to sleep in a house with a woman is tantamount to lying with her” (Larkin 1926–27: 11a).

**Behavior**

- “[Among the Javanese] politeness leaning is highly emphasized by the prijaji (people of aristocratic value orientation), and a prijaji child of five or six already has an extensive repertoire of graceful phrases and actions” (Geertz 1961:100).

- “The [Aztec] pilpil is a child of five or six years of age. The “good boy” is “teachable, tractable—one who can be directed. The good–hearted boy (is) obedient, intelligent, respectful, fearful; one who bows in reverence. He bows in reverence, obeys, respects others, is indoctrinated” (Berdan 1976:244).

- [Ganda farmer] “…children over two years of age…sit politely, with their feet tucked under them out of sight, listening to the talk of their elders and speaking only when spoken to. If any young child becomes rambunctious and draws attention to himself, he is told to sit properly [and] be silent” (Ainsworth 1967: 12).

- Bahians [of Brazil] called a boy a criança (child) only up to the age of three. From the age of eight or nine, boys had the demeanor of men and resented being called crianças. By the age of eleven or twelve, families put long pants on their boys, whereas in the south of Brazil, they wore short pants until they were thirteen or fourteen” (Borges 1994: XX eHRAF).

**Clothing**

- “At around the age of six, there begins a distinct sexual segregation of roles, and, in the case of male [Berber] children, the close physical contact with the mother begins to end. Accession to this age–status is marked by the child being given a pair of under–drawers (serwal) to wear under his jellaba, and a small skullcap for his head” (Hatt: 1974: 139).

- “[Among the Ulithi of Misconesia a boy] donned clothing and therefore ha[d] attained the age of five or six. Boys wear a long grass like garment made of hibiscus bast that is shredded and made to hang down over the genitals and the buttocks. Girls abandon their
nakedness by putting on a bulky “grass” skirt made of shredded coconuts leaflets. Children fidget a lot when first the put on clothing and must be trained through scoldings, warnings, and rewards to keep from discarding them” (Lessa 1966: 98).

- “[Among the central Thai] the difference in treatment between the sexes is stressed from a very early age in the different ways of clothing. Many parents will dress a baby girl with a string around the waist from which a cover hangs over the lower abdomen, whilst small boys may (Terwiel 1975: 55) walk about naked. A girl is made to wear short pants about the age of four and they must cover all the lower part of the body from about the age of nine. Boys may wear short trousers from about the age of six” (Terwiel 1975: 56).

- “[Among the Tarahumara], until the age of six[,] the treatment of a boy and a girl is very similar. One exception is that the boy is permitted to run about nude in warm weather, but the girl always wears a skirt and blouse” (Jacob 1951: 140).

- “When a little boy receives trousers (at the age of about four or five) there begins a steady teasing to teach him modesty of dress, and girls receive this treatment even earlier. I observed no genital manipulation by children over five or so; and no sexual play between children” (Geertz 1961: 102).

Living, sleeping, and learning in separate, gendered spheres

- “Rmquéal village north of the Namtha River in northern Laos (Tayanin 1991: 11) unmarried men sleep in the common–house, and boys gradually move down to sleep there, perhaps as early as at the age of 5 or 6 years. From that age on, a boy spends many hours every day in the common–house” (Tayanin 1991: 14).

- “[Among the Ngoni of Malawi] it was not considered proper for children to sleep in the same hut as their parents after the age of four or five, when they might become aware that intercourse was taking place. From this age, when the Ngoni said, “they will begin to see things and ask questions”, they went to sleep either with a widowed grandmother or senior helper” (Rogoff et al 1975: 354)

- “[Among the Guajiro of Venezuela] at the age of about five, the activities of life begin to separate boys and girls. Girls stay close to their mothers and other adult female relatives, while the boys start going out to the pastures with the men. … At about age ten, boys and girls are often sent to live with other relatives” (Watson–Franke 1976:194).

- “[In early Mexico] boys also went to the temple at five years of age, to learn about religious doctrine and to begin to serve gods. Girls began to be initiated into the work of the Aztec household. Boys had more freedom to roam about (Lipsett–Rivera 2002:56), At age twelve, boys went to the telpocalli, or House of Youth, where their instructors taught them civic responsibilities and how to soldier. Girls went to a separate school where they were taught womanly arts such as weaving and how to do the complex featherwork so valued in ancient Mexico” (Lipsett–Rivera 2002:57).
• “[In a Socilian village] when [children] are five or six years old, the distinction of sex which was first evidenced in their different costumes begins to affect their conduct more noticeably. By the age of eight of nine the division between the boys’ world and the girls’ is complete” (Chapman 1971:31).

• “Like many other activities in the Hasidic community, schooling is segregated according to sex. Therefore, it is somewhat confusing, when visiting the Nursery School, to see little boys with yarmulkas covering close-cropped heads and long curling peyes, playing with what appear to be long-tressed little girls. Actually, the visual inconsistency is misleading. For according to Hasidic custom, a male child does not get his first haircut until his third birthday” (Kamen 1985: 36).

**Participation in war**

• “Turning to the semantic evidence [from Anglo–Saxon England], far from drawing distinctions between ‘child’ and ‘warrior’, the difficulty lies in disentangling these concepts. Although *cild* was frequently used to mean ‘child’, it also had the connotation of ‘young warrior’, a confusion of terms that can hardly be coincidental. … Here, there can be no equivocation about he meaning of *cniht* – he is a boy, specifically stated as not being fully grown to adulthood even by Anglo–Saxon terms, yet the writer has no doubt that his audience will accept his presence in the thick of battle, fighting by the side of the war leader. Wulfmaer may be a boy, but he is no novice. He is a seasoned warrior” (Crawford 1999:160).

**Circumcision, but…not necessarily a transition into adulthood especially for boys**

• “[Among the Gusii of Kenya] the period from weaning to initiation is a longer one for boys, who are initiated between 10 and 12 years of age, than for girls, who undergo it at 8 or 9. Girls are said to “grow up more quickly” and are therefore ready to be initiated into adulthood at an earlier age. Until initiation, a girl is referred to as *egesagane* and a boy as *omoisia*, usually translated by English–speaking Gusii as “uncircumcised girl” and “uncircumcised boy”” (LeVine and Lloyd 1966: 138).

• “[In a Bosnian Muslim Village a boy may] still be very young, [when] he is circumcised…males ranging from babies only a few months old to boys eight years of age were circumcised by a specialist, who is called to the village every few years when there are enough children to make his trip worthwhile” (Lockwood 1983: 18).

• “[Bonerate] girls are usually “circumcised some years earlier than boys, that is, at from six to twelve years or an approximate average of eight years. … Arranging the ceremonies is expensive. This is another factor that affects the parents’ decision about when their daughters should be circumcised. Food has to be provided. The rituals last for two days, during which all villagers are fed three times. Special costumes are rented, and a ritual leader is hired.” (Broch 1990:130) “[Bonerate] Circumcision was arranged for three or four boys at the same time. Their age would range from six to fifteen years” (Broch 1990:110).
• “Circumcision is only a [Javanese] boy’s first step toward maturity, the period of irresponsibility continuing usually until after his twenty” (Geertz 1961:120).

Puberty, adolescence, and the transition into adulthood

Change in expectation based on physical changes and characteristics

• “[In Tarahumara society] the passage from childhood to adulthood is not accompanied by any ceremonial observance. By physical development and size a judgment is made. The period between twelve and fifteen is the average for such a transition in a boy. Girls of ten or eleven, however, may be considered ‘already a woman.’ It is recognized that girls mature more rapidly than boys. Parents are counseled by the native officials not to hasten this transition. (Jacob 1951: 145) Parents must be careful not to give children tasks still beyond their strength. A belief exists that parents of children who seem too smell or thin for their years have been guilty of overworking the children. Older children are assigned the more difficult tasks” (Jacob 1951: 146).

• “In contrast to the European model of irrationality, evidence indicates that the pre–Hispanic Andean child was distinguished by physiological rather than mental capabilities (Dean 2002:38). To the Andean, “age’ was not so much the sum of years as an evaluation of physical attributes, that “age was not counted in years as an evaluation of physical attributes, abilities, and dexterity” (Dean 2002:44).

• “A [Javanese] girl enters adolescence with her first menstruation, a boy with his circumcision ceremony” (Geertz 1961:120).

• “The period of youth on Vanatinai begins at about age fourteen, or when the signs of puberty or its imminent approach are visible to onlookers. For a girl that is when her breast buds are noticeable “the size o betel nuts,” and for a boy when his voice begins to change and as be begins his adolescent growth spurt. The term for young males is zeva, and for young females it is gamaina, which translates literally as “child female” (Lepowsky 1988: 128).

• “[Among the Guajiro of Venezuela] play, or any behavior associated with idleness, is discouraged. When the girl reaches puberty her life changes drastically. She is isolated from society and kept in seclusion for about two to five years depending on the socioeconomic position of her family” (Watson–Franke 1976:194.) The next step is very important and involves cutting the girl’s hair. Customarily someone other than the girl’s caretaker will cut her hair. The woman who does this gives the girl advice on how to behave herself in the future: “At this moment I will cut your hair. You will lose all the hair, the hair of your childhood. So this does not exist anymore. New hair will grow, the hair of a woman. This hair of yours will be cut now because all the world touched it when you were a child. You are not a little girl anymore. Don’t laugh like little girls do; your life will change now. Now you must take responsibility.” If the girl cries she will be
severely criticized for her childish attitude and reminded of her new status as an adult woman who must exercise self–control” (Watson–Franke 1976:197).

• “[Among the Gebusi of Papua New Guinea], oifor elm refers to a developmental phase attributed to females who are approximately between the ages of twelve and fifteen years, in which the transition from childhood to womanhood has begun but is not yet complete. Oifor elem (emerging young women) are set off from oifor deb (true or real young women) by visual assessment of breast size. Females whose breasts are “small but growing” are referred to as emerging women. True young womanhood is attained only when a “gull and large breast” has developed. Most women are referred to as true young women by the age of sixteen and are said to remain in this age category until they have nursed two children, by which time breast shape is said to have changed again” (Cantrell 1998: 95).

**Seclusion**

• “[Children among the Mehinacu of Brazil, from 11 to 15 years old…are named otyaro, which means ‘the one who is grown up.’ At this age some girls are married, and the boys go hunting by themselves (Gosso 2010: 83). The next period of seclusion for male children comes after their ears are ceremonially pierced, at about nine or ten years of age. After the ritual the boys are secluded behind palm wood partition” (Gregor 1970: 242).

• “[Among the Makiritare ] the Ahishto Hiyacado and is begun with the first signs of the girl’s initial menstruation when she is taken into her house where a separate enclosure is constructed for her. The next day, with the whole village alerted, she dons old clothes and joins the nest of the women inside a conuco beside the village. It is here that the women simulate all the tasks the girl will be responsible for during her lifetime inside the garden. As she watches the other women work, some elders gather around her and, while rubbing her body with mada herbs, start singing songs to encourage her to be a hard worker” (Guss 1982: 264).

• “Tlingit girl’s seclusion… could last for 2 years…could be spent in a dark hold under a platform of a house” (Markstrom 2008: 145).

• “Maricopa girls were secluded at puberty in circular huts” (Markstrom 2008: 131).

**Initiation and ceremony**

• At San Juan Pueblo, girls and boys of age 10 and older experienced a finishing rite in which the two sexes were separated and whipped by the head kachina god” (Markstrom 2008: 131).

• “Yuma girls who were to lie in a shallow pit heated with stones” (Markstrom 2008: 131).

• “Girls of the Southwest were required to perform tests of physical endurance and industry. The Yavapais practiced a variety of arduous rituals in connection with girls’
coming—of—age experiences. For 4 days, girls had to rise in the morning prior to others and bring in water and firewood and engage in other tasks” (Markstrom 2008: 131).

- “The Havasupai girl was required to run to the east at sunrise and the west at sunset” (Markstrom 2008: 132).

- “Roundtree (1989) provided a more extensive description of the huskanaw ceremony relative to Powhatan boys, who were trained from early in life to be stoic warriors who could withstand multiple hardships. Boys were initiated from 10 to 15 years of age” (Markstrom 2008: 161; Roundtree 1989).

- “[Among the Ulithi of Micronesia] the boy’s kufar is much the less elaborate and important. It comes about when he begins to show secondary sex characteristics and is marked by three elements: a change to adult clothing, the performance of magic, and the giving of a feast. All this occurs on the same day. The boy changes from the long grass—like hibiscus “skirt” to the banana fiber breechclout of men. This is followed by a rite performed by one of the parents, or any relative of friend knowing the (Lessa 1966: 101) formula. … The kufar for girls is much more prolonged and important than that for boys, having two aspects, one of which signifies the physiological coming of age and the other the sociological attainment of adulthood. …As soon as the girl notices the first flow of blood she knows she must immediately repair to the women’s house” (Lessa 1966: 102).

- “Atsugewi boys underwent a puberty celebration when their voices changed. They endured a variety of challenging activities, including whipping and gargling with sand. Yana boys also were whipped with bow strings and would have their ears pierced and possibly their septums perforated. Foothill Yokut boys were strengthened though nightly swims in the winter. At age 12, Cahto boys were put in a dance house for the winter and were warned about dangers and instructed to be good” (Markstrom 2008: 168).

- “The ceremony call capac raymi (great festival)...within the same complex ritual was the rite of the tocochicoy (perforation of the ears), which culminated in the placement of enormous earrings—at which moment the boys became true incas pakayoc (men with earrings) or “big ears,” as the Spaniards called them. Aside from marking their entry into adult life, the ceremonies tested young boys’ resistance to suffering, the awakening in them of the warrior spirit…fasting and sexual abstinence…The youths were bound to a very tough routine of great physical activity on a very poor diet, during which they had to climb the slopes of Cuzco to gather hay…On that and two more nights the boys slept in the cold of the mountain slopes, imploring the huacas to give them the courage and help they would need in the next few days (Shein 1992: 76). The boys carried out a ritual dance in the square, during which spectators flogged them on their arms and legs. …Aside from the tension, these tests obviously included pain and hunger, and had to be accepted by the boys with composure and humility. …He who lost his spirit or showed pain disgraced his family and the huacas….Then took place the most difficult of all the tasks: a race down the mountain, at top speed, in which the youths could lose their lives or become permanently crippled (which often happened)….The first boy to reach the bottom and drink the chicha proffered by the girls was honored with great pomp….Thus
they went up the mountain as boys and came down as adult men, members of the noble caste of Inca warriors” (Shein 1992: 77).

Change in expectations for behavior

- “Basil [4th century] suggests [that when children in Ancient Greece and Italy reached], the age of about sixteen or seventeen…that [they] “possess[d] the fullness of reason” or “the age of full intelligence”” (Alberici 2007: 198).
- “[In a Sicilian village] the adolescent is held to full account of his conduct. No longer are lapses excused, in moments of parental indulgence, because he is too young to understand. For boys are some allowances may still be made for the natural high spirits of their age, but for girls the restrictions on conduct are very rigid” (Chapman 1971:34).

Increasingly gendered spheres of living

- “[In Anglo–Saxon England], spinning, weaving and sewing were the activities that defined the gender. The neutral Old English man was given masculine gender by the addition of a weapon to weampan, while the female compound was created by the addition of weaving: wifman” (Crawford 1999: 167).
- “[Among the Aztecs]…”virgins of the sun,” taking vows of eternal chastity to become priestesses of the sun. From a tender age they were kept in “convents” where they were entrusted with the care of mamaconas (priestesses) who taught them their religious duties. They also wove for the Inca and his nobles, and their most important duty was to tend to the sacred fire at festivals” (Shein 1992: 75).

Becoming an adult

Warriors and workers

- “[Aztec] priests took fifteen–year–olds to the mountains and made them carry heavy loads of firewood to build their strength, a crucial factor in battle. The boys learned the art of war through constant practice with arms, accompanying armies to the battlefield in order to observe their maneuvers” (Shein 1992: 67).
- “The data presented attest to the important role of drug use in the development and heightening of Masai aggression, bravery, and endurance (Lehmann 1982: 344). Once, the moran became married, he either gave up the habit of taking stimulants of drugs…” (Lehmann 1982: 345).
- “According to Santillán, ages sixteen to twenty [in the Colonial Andean] were collectively called cocapalla (coca harvester); he tells us that the youth of this category were expected to reap the state–owned coca crop” (Dean 2002:43).
• “Adolescents described by the Baining as “big,” although already productive workers, are not yet responsible for their own family or household. They are called upon to contribute to collective work parties, where a big job is done in one day” (Fajans 1997:93).

Having the means to support a family

• “A man [in a Tzeltal village] is not considered a full–fledged community member until he marries and has a child (the word for man and father have the same root: tat).” (Hunt 1962: 96)

• [A Javanese adolescent] cannot marry until he can support a wife, he continues to live at home even though he is working” (Geertz 1961:120).

Birth of first child

• “[In Anglo–Saxon England], at around twenty years of age, often on the acquisition of an inheritance through the death of older male relatives, a young man would finally join the group of married property owners” (Crawford 1999: 162).

• “[Javanese] girls—who from childhood have been given serious responsibilities around the home—have a very short adolescence and, by the age of fifteen may already have a child” (Geertz 1961:120)

Bibliography


