

Speak for me to listen. (And is there anything again, Akua?) (No. That is it) All right, I have understood it. (You can do it gradually; while you are drinking, we will have conversation and you do it in turns) Mm. and you say one and you drink and it means that — (That is it.) Yes, it is true, that life in the past and that of Ghana today are quite opposite but what has come is what we say is good. In the ancient days, when we were sitting there, when you are an adolescent, in your prime of life, you are not yet fully grown, even our mothers at all, when you are not fully grown, you don't cut your finger and toe nails; it is said that you have not reached puberty age; when you trim your nails, you are in trouble. You reach puberty age before they are trimmed. Today, they don't reach puberty age. Suddenly, you find a child pregnant. When she is pregnant, she travels so you don't see it. Formerly too, when they perform the puberty rites for us, your father will give you to someone for marriage. This man is the one we like, marry him. He comes from this house. That house is good so if you are married into it, goodness will come and you go. Really true too; in the ancient times, rough people were not born at home. If you go into some homes, you would like to observe how the people in the house are like. Today too, when someone walks about, she goes to bring, excuse me to say, bad disease from a house

elsewhere to your house and you get it. When a child is there and you say that you will perform puberty rites for her, she will not even stay for you to perform it; but in the past, when the rites had been performed, they would seat you outside and drum the 'nonono' drums and then take you to a stream to bathe you. It is said that she has finished her puberty rites and when you, <sup>are</sup> going into marriage, you are seated at night.

Today too, it is not done, but formerly all these were good. Today too, because of what is happening, we say it is not good. Anyone who became pregnant without puberty rites being performed, they would perform anti-puberty rites for her. You would be removed from this thing; The chief who owns the land would come. When he comes you would be seated and chicken would be sacrificed; ~~Maybe~~ you and the man who committed the anti-puberty offence; at times, the man may run away. In our town, we did that to someone; the man ran away to Koforidua, far away, leaving the woman.

You will be placed outside and shave your head and kill a chicken and show the blood to you that, a child, if you say, you want a red thing, you will see it and they take you out and hoot at you three times. Immediately, you leave to a village (And you are deported) Yes, you don't come there again until the baby is born before you will return because you have done an evil thing and all the gods in the town are purified. Today too, all these are said to be no

good, so we have abandoned them. Today, whose child will you say ~~to her~~, "you didn't pass through puberty rites so we are performing anti-puberty rites for you". Yes, there is nobody who will mind you about that thing; and that has passed away. Our life in which we are; formerly, when a woman comes of age, somebody comes to request her to marry. As for today, my own grandchild at all, excuse me to say, she is pregnant with a Nothner. You have finished school, you have gone to do (to study) hair dressing, you are doing it; you have taken a Nothner a concubine and we said it. She says, no, I have stopped. Today she is pregnant with him. Is it not what you want that you will get? So, and this Ghanaian life too, we say it has become difficult, but we will take it like that. At first, when I married my husband, the policeman, we used to live at the Police Station here; Firidae was where we lived. At that time, when you were a police, your salary; he was not literate and they were wearing khaki; you came to meet those who today all wear (black); formerly, when you were a police and not literate, you wore khaki. (Like palace policemen's?) Yes; it was khaki and with this thing by the side like that and have 'poultice' on, but all were government police; the big police station here, I am tired for living here for my husband was a police man. Two shillings; he even didn't eat fufu. So with the two shillings, he would eat two times to pass by to work. At that time,

(Something like bandage)

I was a young woman and I walked to C.C.A's bungalow. When he goes there to work and you prepare food, you carry it; it is not like today, you can take a car. And at that time, where was a car? And we come with it from Naro, this thing, to the police station that you go with the food. He gives you two shillings, but the two shillings is enough for chop money. He will eat Ampesi, maybe kenkey which I will make stew; You go and buy Shrimps, which are sold at penny a heap. Cooking oil is sold at three pence and I come with it to make the stew and I also buy plantain. Pieces of the plantain cost penny what is a thing? I am the only one with only one child with him, and we come to cook it. It is enough for us. Sometimes, I even get penny as profit. The pennies too, I save them and after some time, it becomes an amount which can buy something. Today too, it is not like that. As I am, if I don't take about two thousand Cedis at all, it will not be enough. Now, a child of mine who is there cooks and gives me some to eat. When she is doing it, I add about thousand Cedis to it, saying when you finish, you give <sup>me</sup> a little; do you see? So life today, today too, it is true, there is much money. My sister and I, as we are saying, at that time, Gold Coast time, we were trading, also when we first came here, we were selling oranges. Because there were oranges in our town, we bought the trees with the oranges on them and my sister picked them. At that time, we lived at Zongo near the Roman building. (The Catholic church)

And my sister brought them. She lived here. At times I went to pick them. I hire the men and when they pick them, I put them in a car and we come to unload them. (It means you buy the farm and all the oranges)  $\Sigma$ , the farm doesn't belong to us. The oranges in it are for us (The oranges in it) Yes, Everyone and her oranges, like these trees. (The orange farm) Then, yes, and she/he sells it to you. You talk about the price, and then, when you finish talking about the price, a notice is put on it that, These oranges have been bought. Any child who picks some, will not be spared, and they don't pick them. And we pick them like that. When I worked with her to the end of the year which meant that there were no oranges again, we had a profit of  $\Sigma$ , you don't know what it is in today's currency; one hundred pounds, hundred pounds two, and that is how much even? (Two hundred pounds) Two hundred pounds and four shillings; we with it went, came to a store, we came to buy ABC (name of cloth) <sup>one</sup> hundred pounds and two shillings. We bought a piece. (12 yards) My sister and I went to share it. At that time too, a good ABC (cloth) (Mm. Cloth from Europe) Yes, and we put them on and then one hundred pounds was left and we saved it. At that time too, the people were said to be uncivilised and I accept that as true for, if you get anything very very small at all, you are happy about it. It is not like today; modern people like things; the past is not like that. You, if )

your clothes are about four or five, you know that you have some. In the past, someone too, did not have any at all. As for today, you have seen that everybody has clothes. As for today, the one, no matter how poor she is, she may have six or seven clothes. In the past too, there was someone who did not have even one at all; do you see? But, all this aside, we say that ours is good for us. But when this Ghana came, and you look at how it is going on, then Ghana is good. Now, this money, if a little child sells water at all, she gets money. Maybe thousand Cedis, two thousand Cedis. Ei! now, this water you went to sell; those who are carrying goods for money, those who are there with us; when someone is going home, he/she may have about two thousand Cedis and he/she goes to save it. The next day, she/he goes again; money is abundant. But in the past, even three pence, matters about it, was a problem. (Mmm?) Yes. So, this Ghana, if it is said, it is not good, we will take it like that. And today too — (You say people are there who have no cloth to put on) No. (What work were they doing that they could not get money like that?) Look, at our time, there may be someone, living just like that; she may not even know the market, and trading; if you go with her to sell things, where is she going with the things? At the village where she lives, only farming will she do. When you grow cocoyam and you harvest, nobody will buy, for everybody)

has grown cocoyam too; (Nobody will buy anybody's) plantain, nobody will buy. My mother used to farm. Because she had many children, she made a farm; maybe, when she went to harvest cocoyam, we were living in my father's town, she would put the cocoyam on a flat tray and set it under a tree. It may remain there for three days. If a stranger passes by, then perhaps, but even at all, we were selling them for three pence, six pence. If a stranger passes by and perhaps one day, a stranger comes, and maybe she/he wants food to buy, then she/he comes to buy three pence, so in the past, if you lived there and worked in the farm, you would not go anywhere. Kumasi here, it is today that many people have got to know here; you would not come to Kumasi at all. What were you coming to do? For us, our town, Afidwase, was where we came for marketing. Then, maybe on Sunday, you harvest your cocoyam and you check and you don't have meat, then you bring it to Afidwase and a Northern called Ayaaba, for the Northerners, they know how to cook and she used it to run a chopbar. So you come to Zongo and you put it there; "Ayaaba, look at mine for me, Ayaaba. You have filled a thing full of cocoyam and it make worth nine pence, maybe six pence and two pence. I, myself, at all, ~~when~~ ~~adult~~, when I go to harvest it, the little of mine which I carry may worth three pence and you buy one penny sugar cane on your way back. We walk. The

penny sugar cane too is a long one. You will chew it as you walk along until you are back. So if there is someone living there and not doing something like that, then she has no work to do; so maybe, she is just there and if the year ends, her husband gives her one. (one cloth). Therefore she cannot have four or five to keep, except some individual people that can have some of the cloth I am talking about. Today too, it is common now. It is expensive. Anybody can buy some of this cloth. Anybody can buy some. So we will assume that this Ghana is good; mm. it is good but rather our little problem which is in it is that Ghanaians do not follow laws and also we are not honest; do you see? A thing may be there; this thing, "don't put it here" which is in the law which maybe the government has ever said it. It has been given to that, look; "it should not be placed here" He/she doesn't mind to go and take money from someone to let him/her put it there. The government too, lives at its town, (i.e. this may not be known to government officials) not knowing what is going on. This thing which is in Ghana, is what is destroying it. For if we can keep the laws, I believe that it is alright as to how we are living, mm, it is alright. Now, an old woman as I am, if I can get up and come to the market, the little that I will eat, I will get it. At first too, before you come to the market, you will eat; then food was abundant but even if there)

was some, the money with which to buy, even if it was bought with penny, you didn't have it. Today too, everyone; today, common cassava, is grouped and sold at ₵500.00; at penny too, you would not have money to buy; but today, ₵500.00, and we are buying it. Plantain too, ₵500.00, we are buying it. Honesty alone which is not in Ghana; if honesty had been in it, and we don't go where we should not go, where there is no way, we put it where it should be, Ghana would have been very good; then it had come, it would be good. And sometimes there is no honesty. If we will speak the truth, even me, sometimes, I even say that if I were the government, and then also, ~~if~~ I were an important personality, I would write to the government that; You have brought a law; In the past, if I had an uncle who did something, I knew he was doing it for me. Today too, Ghanaian law which came; says it is not done like that. Whether you have an uncle or a brother or not, he goes with his wife and they are suffering so we should inherit our father's property. You have changed it for us; we have agreed. Problems with father's property too; someone goes to <sup>to</sup> his work, he says, I have shared it; I have given it to my wife, she should take this; the family too, maybe, they should take this. Then we don't say one person should take it. Behold, the family will go and make arrangement to oppose what has been made that the property at all was not made by the man. Maybe he had not inherited anyone; the youngman,

himself has got up, in his prime of life and has married his wife and has gone to do his work and has given some to his wife and children and he says the family too should take the portion here, and that becomes a court case. They will drag it like that; the court case too, will be settled neither today nor tomorrow. It may be ten years and they have not finished settling the case on the property of one person who is dead. It may be that, the woman is like me, she has no money, the family members get <sup>up</sup> and they speak; the woman gets up and she speaks. They will drag on like that and, if you will not be told the truth that maybe, as for you, woman, go and let the family take the property, you will go and stay somewhere. Corruption which <sup>is</sup> in Ghana here, I am saying that it is destroying the country, they will drag it like that, they will not settle the case and you, the woman, continue to incur a debt and if you get tired you will stop, then you stop. I have seen someone's case which has been judged; they have gone into the case and have passed judgement over here and they have gone to Accra to make an appeal. And if the government has brought paternal inheritance, left to me alone and if I were an important person, what I would tell the government is that, if anyone gives away his property, no appeal should be made. (Mm. except perhaps the inheritor/inheritor<sup>ess</sup>) For that they should do it. Yes, they should do it, they should go and take a lawyer that what he gave to

me was too small; except when someone has been able to come forward to say, my uncle so and so died and this is his cocoa farm and it they gave it to ~~my~~ this my brother that he should inherit him so it was the family property that he used to make this thing which is there so we cannot give this to his wife and if we will give his wife some at all for her trouble, then we give her a bit; that I understand. Right now, a young woman who is our church member has been moving with her husband for a long time. At first, they were in the North where they had a store. This man has not inherited anyone. It has been the store they were making bit by bit and they came to Kumasi to continue. It is the store they have been doing; even at the market, the stores are about two. He sells roofing sheets and other things. The man got sick and the woman has cared for him. The man made his will. Because the man was sick, he did not let the woman trade. When the man is in the store, the woman cooks and brings the food to him and when he eats in the afternoon, —. The sickness the man had, did not make him eat many things. Now, the man died about six years ago. The man made his will; the house he built, a three storey building. He has given the boy's quarters of the three storey building, containing ~~six~~ rooms to his brother's senior child (his sister) yes. Then, the three storey too, the top is there, the middle is there and the ground floor. He was living at the top with

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~~with~~ his wife. He has given that to his wife and his children. And the middle one too, his former wife with whom he has children, he has given there to them, and the ground floor, he has given it to the family. He helped one of his brothers to make cocoa farm and as for him, (the dead man) his wife didn't go there so if the cocoa farm is there, the man should take it; the brothers should take it. He ~~raised~~ some cattle. He said the cows also were for his wife. Also, the store which he and his wife and children were running, the children and their mother should run it. But if by chance, the children have to go away ~~and~~ stop trading, then the store is for his wife. Litigation about it has been going on for many years, and now, there is nothing in the store. This woman too, a poor person, she doesn't have a penny. The litigation has dragged on and on; now, they have carried tales about him (the husband) that he has inherited someone's property, but nobody comes to challenge it. This man, he has not inherited anybody; he himself has done his things. A (important) man from the family says that he wants the top floor where the man and his wife lived, <sup>and</sup> which he has given to the wife, he will not agree to it. Litigation on it has gone on for more than six or seven years. And all these are not good. So once he (the dead man) has said it, it should not be necessary for a lawyer (to come into it); as it is, lawyers are making money from it. This one has taken (a lawyer), this one too has taken (a lawyer). They will not speak the truth.

They, themselves too, (the lawyers) when they meet, they chat. They know the right thing, but they will not do it. When he is going the next day (the lawyer), you have to pay money. If they adjourn for a week and they are going, their money for petrol may be two thousand Cedis; all these are troublesome which should not be entertained in Ghana here like that. The government has said that we should inherit father's property and if we have understood it, we should inherit father's property at once and there is nobody too, that when he is doing it, he will say that (he will give all to his wife). Yes; he gives some to you. And if you have got some and someone has got some, should there be litigation on this? The government should have stepped in to say that when anything has been done, there should be no litigation on it. And if you are a poor person, you will suffer like that and if you cannot, then you stop and go to stay home and then you become confused. There is no profit for the suffering you and your husband and children have suffered. That is not good. Women are cheated to suffer, do you see it? There are many things in Ghana which maybe, the government at all has said that you should do. Those who are put there too, are not honest. Only money do Ghanaians like and they are collecting and you, a poor person who is struggling, and if you struggle and you cannot, then you have to stop. Look! our stalls in which we are, it was

the government that built them long, long ago. When they were built, the garden eggs sellers were at the end where we came to pass. (yes, yes) Yes, that was the section for garden eggs sellers. And the onion sellers were from them to our place. Even at that time, <sup>when</sup> we came to this place, Nigerians even were selling the big type of onions; men, Nigerian men were staying in these stalls. When we came, if there was someone going away and you give her one pound ~~at all~~, for money was not a thing, even hundred pounds at all, she will transfer it to you and away she goes. The government did not say someone should build at the back and someone should build at this place for those of us in the middle to suffer. Now, the middle in which we are, we are sitting there for nothing. Very soon, we will get up. But, Ghanaians, because of money, somebody may go and give money for the front part. One day, a case about it came and Kwasi Agyeman even came to remove them before. Those who built them first, he pulled them down. But Ghanaians are stubborn because they have money. When you pull them down, the longest time will be about four or five months and they raise them up again and they go and give them a lot of money and they come back to build; do you see? This Ghanaian market, where they are selling stink-fish, someone also says the stall is for me and she is selling cloth there. All these things, as you, yourself walk through this market, you don't find where whiteman's goods are and you don't find

— (where other things are). As for the market, things are arranged in such a way that, those of us selling pepper, this thing, onions are here; then pepper would be there, garden eggs would be there; they are farm products; also if foodstuffs are there at all, it is fine. Right now, over there at our section, somebody is there who says, that place is for me. She will make a kiosk there selling things like cloth. There may be someone too selling pomade (cosmetics) yes, we apply them to our bodies. So this Kumasi market, now even at the plantain section, they have made this thing, over there where clothing materials and other things are sold; but, the market should not have been arranged like that. But as for this place things are not done plainly at once. Then, once you say it is yours and you go to see them, then immediately, they say, 'do it'. They can't say this place is not good. Then you who are selling garden eggs, say you will sell cloth, then you have to go and find a cloth seller; yes, for the one also selling garden eggs among the cloth sellers to come to your section and we would have arranged the market properly. If you are going, then you know that I am going to cloth section. If you are going, then you know that I am going to E, what? If you are going to buy matches or what, then you would have known; but all have been mixed up; here are onions, and pomade is also here and this thing, clothing materials; they are mixed up. Now, our stall, they have built here and there. We have to get out )

of our stall. Where we are, if you come at all, if you come there now, you will see. That place where we are at all, when you fall sick and go to the hospital, then they tell you "A! the place where you are, is not good." (There is no air) There is no air. When you are there, you sweat, and you feel hot. But, that should not have been the ~~case~~, but it is Ghana; when the person builds the shed, she will not even build it short to allow little air to pass up; she builds it to the roof. And you sit there dying. You too, <sup>because</sup> you have nowhere to go, you will stay there like that and if death takes you, then you go away; do you see? All these, if Ghanaians would see it and would correct them, it would be good. If we see to correct them, it would be good, but dare you; and they too, they see it plainly but they will not do it. They won't mind that a person will go before him and he will tell her/him that 'no', as for that place, it is not allowed to put this there, so this is what is sold there so if you are selling some of this, then go on and sell; no. They say whatever you want to do, do it, and they have made the market untidy and we are in it. And as for me, today I am already an old woman, so after a while and I am not dead and I cannot get up, then it means that I am at home. Yes, by the grace of God, when Kwame Nkrumah first came, do you know that Saaboa Tongo, behind the palace area going to Aboaboo was a terrible place. And he (Kwame Nkrumah)

planned some quarters (houses) which were built ~~then~~ there, ASAWASE. At that time, I had only one child. The child who is with my sister; today her children are also having children. And my sister let her husband, her husband's brother, was a policeman and he obtained one for me and I went to live in it. At that time, at ASAWASE, they were there, and nobody liked them; it was four shillings when you lived in it. When the month ended, we came to pay it at where the clinic is at today where today they have built an hospital. There was a red building over there; there in it — (Yes, at the clinic). Yes, it was there that we were paying it. £, £, the ASAWASE clinic, I mean. (Yes, I have seen it) It was there that we came to pay our house rent and we were living in it. At last the government said that we should buy it. We were not even charged a big amount. Because of ~~today's~~ thousands which is the fashion of today you cannot even know. It is less than ten thousand Cedis. £, the thousands had not come yet. We counted money as ten pounds, hundred pounds; it may be that it was hundred pounds and this thing, that the government ~~charged~~. The government said, "you should pay by instalment. We paid by instalment. Now it is mine; even now I have built it, and ours were like those at the army barrack. As for some others, theirs were three bedrooms. What we got, was by the roadside a bit, where the school for bad children is. Yes, as for me, I am near to that place. When you leave there, then you

are going to the Aboabo junction. (Yes, then you are just at this end here.) Yes; little by little Now, I have built four ~~more~~ bedrooms. It has become a small round house, and a poor person, my children and I, live in it. (Mmm you have done well.) There is no trouble. And if it has not been that and I had to rent a room, I would have gone. (mmm...!) Yes, I would have gone to my town. Now, when you go to stay in a room, for three days, they say if you don't pay this, if you don't bring one million Cedis, we will take it from you. If you also have one million, "would I live here; you would be going. And for this, I got that, so I know that, I too, I am among the people of Kumasi. Even if I sleep in water flowing through a gutter when it is raining, I am sleeping in a room. And my only son; I gave birth to, I think, seven; two died. Five are left, four females, one male. The man, now, he has made a store in front of the building. He has open one to it, a store and he has got one to sleep in and one daughter sleeps in one. And even my Mansa (third-born girl) who I was saying that she went to a secondary school and who said she was afraid of a doctor, she too, I gave her one and she has married. She lives with her husband at this place — and she has given it to this my last-born, Ataa who was with me at the market whose child was at my chest — (yes, the one who fries riped plantain). Yes, and now, she lives in that. Poor fellow, I live)

there with them. And if that was not the case, even me, in Ghana today, I could not have stayed here. The work which I am doing, will I be able to go and rent somebody's rooms and pay monthly and when it reaches there (ie after some time) he/she may say pay ~~so many~~ thousands; if you don't get that, my child is coming. As for that which Kwame Nkrumah came to do, many people got some but they did not like it. At that time, they were afraid. You could not pass by the railway line. Thieves would take your goods away from you, except you <sup>whop</sup> have nothing, would go and stay there. Today that the place has become good, people want it but it is too late. Even there is ~~somebody's~~ whose has been sold; he/she has abandoned it that it was troublesome. For the place which was the front part for thieves, at that time, a type of cloth came which was named 'Prostitute-will-go-to Asawase' (Yes, I have heard its name before). You have not seen it and perhaps you ~~did~~ not see the cloth. Designs in the shape of squares like the draught we play are in it, white and red squares. It is called 'Prostitute-will-go-to-Asawase'. And so some people left, for they didn't like that place and now, by the grace of God, the place has become fine and anybody can stay there. That is why I have got a place to live. If it had not been so too, this my sister too, she, excuse me to say, never had a child. (Is that so?) Yes, and when I had my senior child, she took her and has

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stayed with her up to now and she has born  
 ten children who are her grandchildren living  
 with her over there. (that her grandchildren; for  
 that, she is lucky) Yes; look, my sister, my sister; stop.  
 How she treats these children! Now, those who are  
 there with her, they don't know even me. (We  
 have been there; even Nyamekye has been there)  
 Yes (And it seems to me that two or three have  
 had children) (Do you remember?) Yes. And she  
 is there with them. And as for her, she made an  
 effort. Her husband took her to stay <sup>at</sup> Tafo before  
 and she fought with her husband and somebody  
 kindly gave her a little land there and she accepted  
 it. And at that time, because she used to go to the  
 forest in addition, she could not build but built  
 six bedrooms in which she <sup>too</sup> is living. Recently  
 our grandchild who came from overseas even  
 said that he/she was going to pull it down and  
 rebuild, but she said no to it. Now, if you  
 pull it down, am I to go to my town? Therefore,  
 as for you, have patience. If even you have  
 money, get some of the land, and as for this,  
 I have acquired it for you already. When I die  
 and you will level the land and build it as you  
 like, and right now you are going to pull it down  
 to rebuild. He/she has built his/her own. He/she  
 built eight bedrooms. It has remained the back side  
 which has not been built. Where is she going to stay?  
 And my grandchild said that he/she has heard and  
 so the big gutter which was there, - you saw it when  
 you went. (Yes) Now he/she should repair it. Her  
 grandchild has repaired it with stones and other things.

to block the gutter (He/she has repaired it) Yes; and he/she built a wall around ~~the~~ little which he/she has built and they are living in it. And as for my sister, my mother had ten children and I am the ninth-born. So this my sister took me. And it means that, since she <sup>(the mother)</sup> had ten children, she (the sister) was old. When she was going to join her husband, she used to go with me, in my childhood all the time. And she too, she aborted once; ~~the~~ was quite small; five months, a male; she didn't have a child again. But, caring for children, how she treats - my child, the senior one, whom I begot ~~for~~, I was saying with ~~my~~ husband the police man; the man who died when we divorced. When I had not divorced him even, she had walked I travelled. We were sent to Wenchi. My sister had taken her. She was with her all the time so she did not know me until she grew up. She went to school. Her father was transferred to Accra; he didn't come to see her and I too, divorced him. She (the sister) herself cared for her at school, at Nnana Day School. She looked after her all the time; In her last year to finish school, she became pregnant. The father of her children is in overseas. When she became pregnant, she gave birth to a son. My sister said, then I will take your child for you to go. (to school). And my child too was not interested about the school. She said that as for her she would not go; she was staying like that. And the very man said that he was going to marry her, and they had the woman who came from overseas recently. Then, it was the

man who was not good that she divorced him. He didn't care for the children. It was my sister who again sent the children to school. This boy finished school and then went to Asokore Mampong Academy. That too he completed. Then later, his father went to Europe or America. When he came and saw the children, he was very happy about them and obtained passport for them and went with them, and now it is said that boy is continuing to go to school over there. And the girl too, didn't go. As for her, when she reached about form four she had an affair with someone and became pregnant and had a baby. As for that child, he/she ~~even~~ <sup>event</sup> did not survive. And she is the one who is not clever. She ~~was~~ always at the bottom of the class. When you say it, she says, 'if I am last, I am last.' (i.e. if I am last, it doesn't concern you). When the whole year ends and they do it, (i.e. test) when her result comes, 'Josephina, you are last.' She says, 'if I am last, I am last.' Today, she has become jealous. When she came recently, she says, 'Ei! if I had gone to the school; she says, "Over there, when you go and you are not educated, you will not get any good work to do. And it means my sister and her grandchildren, they (grandchildren) are giving birth to many children and they ~~are~~ with her (the sister) and I also live somewhere. I, I and my two, three children, one male and two females only live at Asawase, and they also live there. My sister, how she used to be like, I cannot say, except God will say it. She has cared for me )'

and my children very, very much. If it was not her, I would not have been here at all. I live in a village, what will I be coming into this town to look for? It was not like today when anyone gets <sup>up</sup> and comes to look for —. At that time, as for Kumasi, we ~~will~~, we ~~will~~, ei! far away Kumasi! You would say it was overseas i.e. a place so far away. Yes, ~~if~~ you live in a village and you go to Kumasi, it is said that you are going to lead bad life. Yes, they will not let you come (So before you married, you never went to Kumasi?) Yes, when I first married, my father gave me to his nephew and he performed the puberty rites for me and it was said that I was even a child. He said, ei! as for this, my nephew Kwadigia, here is his wife, here is his wife, so he performed puberty rites for me. I did not have a child with him and also I didn't want him (love him) and I divorced him. And as for my sister, she was selling oranges so she lived here. When I divorced him, she let me buy the oranges to bring them, and I also came to stay here and got a policeman and married him. (So at first, you did not come here?) No. Our mother became very old and she died. Our father too is dead and poor me, except my sister (i.e. she depends on the sister) If it wasn't her, I would have been at the village, for she has ~~to build~~ <sup>us</sup> a house, a complete one, and when all ~~of us~~, we stay in it. For, as for her, because she didn't have a child, the Lord gave her —, she worked; the onion

business which she entered, if she had not quit to go into farming, and if it was not the house in which she lived to let her go to the forest, she would have been in need. So as for Ghana, it is good, but we don't allow the tooth to work. If the tooth works, Ghana would be very good. When everyone works a little, he/she gets money. In <sup>the</sup> past, when I came to meet my father and mother, we had chickens in the village. A chicken, three eggs cost three pence. You would not be allowed to pick some. When Tuesday comes, — my father's town is about one mile from ours and my father's was behind ours on Karamuru road. It is called Akotshuu. He too, we were at Dadase. When ~~Tuesday~~ it was Tuesday and we were coming to the market, we collected the eggs and at that time, father would not even give money. When the hen has laid eggs, you then go and pick them and they are fastened three for three pence, three for three pence. Maybe you may get nine pence ~~or~~ a shilling. One hundred herrings may cost nine pence. Sometimes it may even be eight pence, and you count fifty and you take it to your village. (And at the village, does somebody have money?) Yes. (Does someone work to get money?) Mm. as for now, as for now, there are some people who work to earn money. At first, there was no work. For now, there may even be someone, if she doesn't sell things, she can make cassava farm, plant them and they mature and people go and buy them. There may be someone who can mark out)

a portion. Someone says, I am going to buy a cassava farm and she goes to mark out a portion for her, for about 20,000.00, 30,000.00 and she/he can share them like that for about three or four people and he/she leave some to eat, do you see? At first too, who would buy cassava? So, as for today, there is someone living there to do that.

There are some men living to burn charcoal and they put them in bags and people buy them. Even in our town, now, now, now, we buy firewood. Some people can go for them in bundles and come and put them there. Now also, because there is a school, a college has been set up there. So people, teachers are there and they buy things. Some have also made big kiosks; these things, fridges, are all there.

So when they eat, today too, nobody likes water which is not cool. When they eat, they buy some to drink and there is everything. As for today, if someone lives there, he/she can do work to get money to buy something for himself/herself. At first, because there was no work, even if you have something, nobody would come and buy some for you. Everyone has some. If you have cocoyam, everybody has some. Who is going to buy?

As for today, even in our town, there is no food, only cassava is plentiful over there. Then, when Tuesday comes as it is today, it is a market day over there, so then — (Which place?) My town, Dadease (Dadease). From Afidwase, you go to Yoko and then Dadease. On Kumawu road like that. (On Kumawu road?) Yes (All right.) So, today, being a market day like that, cassava comes out; they have

brought them to the market and people are buying. Afidwase Zongo people come to buy cola and buy some of the cassava. Those of us who live there too, there may be someone who even comes from that town, but, <sup>because</sup> he/she has no land to farm, he/she has been able, — those of us who came to live here (Kumasi) for example, I, if I have been there, I will buy cassava; you won't have a farm to make so you have to buy cassava to come and eat it; and as for even plantain, you won't have some at the market ~~except~~ except Afidwase that when Sunday comes, they bring it from Afidwase villages, Nkwankwennua and others. Then, in the past, you would go with 400.00 Cedis to take cassava. As for today, there are people living in our town. Ei! As for today, the place has become large; there are hair dressers; they do such and such thing; there are those who have learnt hair-dressing; there are big kiosks in which things are sold, so people can — (trade) all right; now too there are lights there. All the night people sit under the lights cooking rice and frying meat. Mm any place becomes a town a bit for us. And as for the first, O' (And at first, were you happy at the village?) Was I... happy? (Yes, when you lived there?) Yes, when we first lived there, we didn't know anywhere so I was happy. When I was a child and I became a young girl, I was happy, I was happy also for nothing. We didn't know what was going on. When you get up, you are a young girl of the time who hasn't left the young men yet, we made farms and when cocoa season comes, at

night when you are asleep, they are taking the cocoa and the young men are laughing at you. You get up at night and you go quietly to take some; and you are up. When Christmas time comes, he (the father) buns <sup>one</sup> biscuit for you because you have done well for him. He also is thanking you with it. That is all. When you get the biscuit, you become very happy; do you see? He will not give you anything but there in the village, we didn't know anywhere, so we were happy and we lived there. (True)

When we set up, we go to our farm. The fire wood I am talking about, when Christmas is coming, you even, you don't know that money for a chicken, you don't have it. Even chicken we don't buy it. My father, his wives are two, he has chickens. Even at Christmas time, when he kills one, he divides it into two given half to this one. He will not allow two chickens to be killed to eat. He goes to give half to one wife before he gives my mother's share; the one chicken, but I am happy. When Christmas is drawing close, you will go for firewood several times. We all build bon fires. And when Christmas comes — and even you, at last, what you will even get, will not be this much, but — do you see? So we had not yet seen the world so we were happy. As for us, when that time comes, your mother, if you are not yet grown, will buy cloth and Christmas things for you. We too, our children when they grow up a bit and realise that they can, then they go in to weed as labourers, they weed in cocoa farms, and when

Christmas comes, maybe you will buy cloth to put on with the money. So when we were young girls, we come together and when we are four, we go to take a farm, somebody's farm and weed it. The farm may be from here to the road from which we came and the cost for weeding is five shillings. Those of you who will weed, then weed it. And you may go here and work for two shillings. Perhaps as it goes on, even if you get ten shillings at all, it is money; it can buy cloth (Mm. true) And you buy with it and put it on and there you stay. When you get two cloths, as a young girl, you are happy. (And how did you marry your husband at the village; did you have two cloths?) Ei! When I married my husband at the village I had about four cloths even. For my mother, as she was there, she lived in the village. My mother worked hard. My mother was hard working. She could — my mother, in the past, even bought a car for her son. (Ei!) (Is that so?) Yes. (Then she did well) At that time, cars were not common like today. A certain car, what is its name? That car, there was a bell hanging on it. When it was going, it would ring guan! guan! guan! Her senior child was called Yaw Wuse. My mother bought a car for him. (Is that so? Ei! Did all come from the farm work?) Yes. (Ei!) She used to make this thing, at that time, soap. It is said that at that time, these had not come. She made 'Amontye' (soap made from cocoa pods). My mother knew how to make 'Amontye' and made them into balls. At that time, they were pennies and three pence.

As we are saying, this car, today it may cost about —, it was thousand Ledis, he bought it; it was a small car and a certain man came to drive it; and he was driving. So my mother was hard working; as for me, even when I was a child, I was the ninth born child so my mother pampered me. As for cloth; when I reached puberty age, I had about four. I bought Yaldonko (name of cloth) and I bought cloth which was named Watapa, & what cloth? about four cloths, I bought before I reached puberty age. But my husband that I was saying my father gave me to him, he had engaged me. He too at my puberty age brought me two and other things. Eggs, sponge bowl and a chair (stool) At that time, it was said, that he was preparing you for life. Your husband's chair is included. When you are going to join your husband, then you go with it. Then she buys towel and other things in addition; chickens and they are brought before you and they are brought by your husband. And you stay in your house where you live; there in the ancient time. If it is a house for a god, you don't stay there and they let you go and stay in some house which they have begged for you. You will eat for six days, and young girls, young girls who are your friends, all come to care for you. So the chickens, perhaps your husband gave you two, your father will give you some, your mother will give you some and eggs. O, there may be someone there, she will bring you something, though she has nothing at all; "take or accept three"

eggs. While you are sitting outside, you will get many eggs. And they will care for you like that for six days. It will be your own food that they will eat some and they care for you. At each day, they will kill a chicken to prepare food. In the morning, they will prepare 'eto' (marshed yam, plantain or cocoyam but usually yam) with palm oil and they put eggs on it and give some to you who have reached puberty age. As for you, you sit in a room. All your hair has been cut with a razor or blade from your head and apply shear butter oil over your body for six days and as for you, <sup>you</sup> stay in doors. And they make —. When they give you some of the marshed yam (eto), then they will kill a chicken to prepare fufu in the afternoon and they give some to you and they too, they give some to the children and some for themselves and they eat and play and they go for water, and they come there and some go away.

### 35B.

And there may be someone whose mother is a farmer. When her mother goes to the farm and comes back, behold, she selects two bunches of plantains and calls her child saying, "Take it to your home, where the puberty rites is taking place and excuse me to say, that you should cook and eat it."

In the ancient time too, the fathers' share would be brought. So in the afternoon, they would again prepare 'epesie' (a dish of boiled yam, plantain, cocoyam; plus stew)

palm oil was abundant, so they would pour some on the stew and give some to you. You would remain there like that for six days and then they would say you have come out from the puberty rites and you would dress in cloth. You know that we, the Ashantis know *dansinkran* (Style of dressing, for women; four yards of cloth down, with another two yards up without blouse and special hair style without headkerchief) until the Fantes and others came for us to know how to dress. So when you reach puberty age, you put on your mother's white cloth, the woven type and you wear one down and you ~~wear~~ the white one up, and your hair which has been shaved six days ago, begins to grow nicely and the ends trimmed nicely and perhaps you may come out on Tuesday. So they fix six days for the puberty rites; it may be they begin on Thursday, Friday, Saturday, Sunday, Monday and you come out on Tuesday. Tuesday too, is the market day in our town and then — (you dress nicely for going out) Your husband will bring you foot wear, (shoes or sandals) *Kyawkyaw*, that which these people make. (Type. sandals). Yes. At that time, *Ahenemona* (type of sandals) but Kwahu people were making them at that time, but they were not nice as the beautiful type we see today. It might be the Kwahu people used a type of skin to make them. (Some of the sheep's skin?) That which is used to make sandals. Yes, your husband put some on things to bring them to you. So, when you come out of the puberty rites, then you wear them and you put on the cloth and those who gave you things, (gifts) (And your husband —) you go to that,

them. You thank them like that. When you finish thanking the market people, a day will be fixed about two weeks after coming out from the puberty rites, then you will go to your husband to thank him. (Yes). And they dress you with a cloth like what when someone dies and he/she is a foreigner, they cover him/her with red cloth. But as for this, they use good cloth, maybe kente, and they dress her like that and they make heap with cloths at your buttocks in the past. And your breast, in the past too, when you were going to thank people, your breasts were exposed. It is said, perhaps, if you were pregnant they would know. And they would apply some cream prepared from the seeds of a tree called tweapea and mixed with liquid from cola nuts over some parts of your body nicely. The one who knows how to apply it comes to do it for you nicely. You are going to thank your husband, and you find people to follow you; it is said she is going to thank her husband and they walk. It is not far, like my town which is about one mile, we don't go in a car. And even the car; at that time, a car! It comes once from Dadease and the fare was nine pence. It doesn't go again. Yes, so once it comes to Kumasi, in the evening, when it goes back, it goes to rest. It is not like today, that there are about ten. We used to walk to go. There may be someone, when he/she was going, he/she carried a drum called 'donno'. When someone who was important was going, they would play the drum. When they finished giving thanks, they would play

the drums (nnono) like that and would bring you back. After the thanksgiving, you would fix a day to buy things including meat. Then would you be going into marriage (ie to join your husband). The day that you will be going, if it is today that you will be going, you will go in the evening. They prepare you fully; they find food, meat and things for you and about two of your neighbours who are your friends go with you in the evening and spend the night. At the daybreak, they prepare palm soup with bush meat, dried snails and what not and use them to make the soup and find a big bowl and put in the fufu, about twelve balls and bring the soup. They put some of the soup in a thing (another bowl) and add to it (the bowl with the fufu) and they put little soup on the fufu and put some of the meat on it. The dried snails, they may cut out some like this, they may not even wash it and it will be in the soup like that. When it is cooked, they remove it and put it on the fufu and take it to the husband in his house. He too, gives them to other people. They would say, yee! such and such a person's wife has joined him today in marriage. She has come to prepare 'Kunfanku', (Big Meats) that is how it is called. (That is how it was done) (The husband's food?) The husband's food, we say big meats (Kunfanku) and he gives some as gift. There may be someone who after preparing fufu will make stew. At that time, stew was not popular and we did not know how to prepare it, so we look for

one civilised person and invite her to come and prepare it for you. It may be that she has travelled a bit. My senior sister all the time married educated people so she for example, will be able to kill a chicken to make ~~—~~ (good stew). She may be invited and she would come and make nice stew and yams would be cooked in addition and taking to the husband's house. And he too, would take some and distribute them to his people and all that he knows. And in the evening, when the bowl is being returned, money would be put into it; do you see? This was in the olden days. It may be that money at that time might even be two pounds ten. At that time, it was also a big amount. Two pounds ten would be in the bowl for the husband's food she came to prepare and it is brought back. After that cooking, you yourself (the wife) would be cooking your food gradually and when you and your husband get up, you go to the farm; you have no work to do. I myself, when I did that for some time, I said that I would not marry and I stopped marrying and I came to follow my sister (And why did you stop? He brought many things to you and you didn't like him. And the marriage itself I — (didn't like it)) There in the town, as for God, do you see, when a child is born, you don't know where God says he/she will reach. So at that time, I lived in the village and I was happy over there but when I married, later, my father who put me into

marriage had died and I stayed there with the man for some time. My aunts were also there. Mrs. No, I got up suddenly and I came. I said, I will not marry. They said, Why? I will not marry; I too, I married him like that for about a year but I didn't get pregnant and I said I won't marry and I came. And my senior sister too, as I was saying, as for her, she was buying oranges to this place, so when I stopped marriage, my sister also said that I should buy oranges to this place (Kumasi). So as for God, wherever he will say you should go, you will reach there. If my father were there, he would not let me divorce (Is that so?) Yes. It was his nephew that I married; he would never have allowed me to divorce, and the father too is dead, and I divorced. And God said that that was not the place for me to live. (And you say you and your senior sister were selling oranges) Yes. (And why did you stop selling oranges and went to sell onions?) Do you see, when we sold the oranges, the oranges can be out of season; it is not like today. Christmas time too, you sell. Today, oranges are harvested about nine times and when all is gone, sometimes we sell reduced items. Sometimes we can go and buy beans or something else, and sell them at the market at less than the normal price until the orange season comes again. And then also, when the orange season passes away, we go to buy maize. I go on foot to )

to Adwaa. When we get up in the morning to go, we go to harvest fresh corn and we come to boil and we hawk shouting what we are selling. We can do that for a short time until our work comes round again. When people come into the world, there are many jobs and maybe the Lord taught you. I myself and my sister did that and later I stopped. And only in the onion stall that my sister and I came that we stayed for a long time and we haven't gone ~~away~~ yet. Yes, And a friend of hers, from Kwahu, she sells onions, madam Apuofie (Apuo Fokie). And the house in which we lived, the landlord's wife too, a person from Nsuta, she too sold onions and she told my sister that she should come and sell onions, for it was good. And she came to see her friend from Kwahu; at that time too Kwahu people only were bringing more onions, the Ashanti type. And I was saying that the stalls were there. and the Nigerians, one may say, stay here, the Nigerian who owns it is not there. and she gave the stall to us. And as for me too, as we are saying, I was married to the policeman and I was not selling some. Yes. At that time, I lived at the police station. (Is that so?)

Sometimes, we are transferred and we go here; maybe, we are transferred and we go here, therefore I was not selling some, you see? And she was selling it herself until that, (and my husband too), I married him. And my husband

too, he was after many women, so when you go somewhere with him, he will ask you to go to your town after a little while (He says you should go to your town?) Yes. When he sees a woman. I went to stay with him at Boxofyeduru, the same thing happened. He married there and had a child with the woman. Therefore when he sees that you are doing something, he will say, 'go away'; he is taking back his room. When we were living at Freeber here and he says, "Go to your town," and I say it was in this town here that you married me, my sister, he will say, "Then, you will go to your sister, for I am taking back my room." (Ei) And he will tell you that and I come to stay with my sister and perhaps I join her in the work she is doing and I may get money to buy about two cloths. At that time whether you get thirteen shillings or seven shillings at all, you use it to buy some. And when you are there like that, then he comes back to apologise. I would say, I bought cloth for so much; pay for it. That is how I treated him. He will not buy anything for me. But when he wants to take you away, then he pays for it and I go with him. Then when I observed the living conditions, it was not good and I divorced; do you see? And my sister went on selling the onions, and she said, when I entered the onion business, I find it good, therefore come. I, myself, I have even sold plantain before. And I have gone to sell earrings where they are sitting and I was with them for long time so I was hawking with them at Obuasi. Where didn't I take part?

(Is that so?) Yes. (And it wasn't you — )  
When I was a young woman. But I did it for  
a long time and then my sister said that I should  
come and join her to sell onions and the onions,  
at that time, there were rules; the Kwahu type  
was there so it was good; do you see? And  
those of us who were selling have been forced  
and so the Kwahu people who were bringing it,  
could be ordered to bring it in two weeks time  
so that the market didn't become flooded with  
onions. I sold the onions for a long time, then,  
I divorced my husband. I have divorced to  
remain with the onions, poor person, at times, we  
get a little. It is in the onion business that my  
sister stayed and with it built her house.  
Now we are tired. We have become old  
women; we are not going anywhere again and  
there we live. Otherwise, since we came into  
this town, we have done much work. Maize  
hauling, I go to the market to carry maize  
from Adwase to Zongo market. At that time,  
by the time you arrive at the Zongo market,  
you have become like the white downy fibrous  
covering the seed of the cotton plant. (ie you have  
become very tired.) You have a bundle of  
firewood on it, with which you are coming to  
cook the maize. When you finish boiling it, you  
carry it. At first, we the Gold Coast people,  
we have done mad jobs before. Yes. The maize  
too, you sell it for penny, two pence, penny, half-  
penny. When you buy one shilling worth of corn,  
people will shout, ee!!! As for maize, the profit)

is hundred per cent. When it is two shillings, your profit is one shilling; it is fine. If you are able to buy two shillings, you will get two shillings in addition. But at that time, if you had two shillings, it was money. When I reached puberty age at the village and came here, I came into this town with one pound and one shilling. At that time, my sister's husband was a driver, living at Ashanti New Town, where today, the Salvation Army's building is, towards Mmosea. (Salvation Army) Yes. Besides their building, there was a house; the man was from Kumasi, he was called Akwesi Aniakye, his house was where my sister lived so I used to come to visit her. She was married to the husband, the driver. And I got money like that. When I reached puberty age, I got hundred pounds and wheat, two shillings. At that time, when I was coming, the transport fare had gone up, it was one shilling to this place. And the cloth I was serious to buy was 'Fie Mmosea' (name of cloth, meaning house gravel) And then when I came, my sister said, 'Mm! child, h'e! bring it, bring it, is what we call cloth (ie it is better to have many inexpensive cloths than to have only few expensive cloths). When I finish, my husband is going on the road. I will go with you to a store. I got three cloths. I bought a cloth which is called Abetia-kube. (ie the palm tree opposes the coconut tree) It is heavy. (Yes, I have seen it; I saw that cloth) Yes, half piece ie six yards was five shillings and six pence. We went to buy some

material called 'maderesse' with stripes in it like this thing — It cost six shillings. And we went to buy<sup>a</sup> certain cloth which is called Adwansa-biars-ya-adwansa (ie any work is work). That is the name of the cloth so there are things in it. Some look like scales used to weigh gold in it. That also cost four shillings and six pence. We sewed them and took off a yard from each. At that time when they sewed the blouse, they gave me a yard. It is not like today's blouse which a yard at all will not be enough, two yards at all will not be enough. And right there, I had three cloths. And at that time, she said that Efi Mmosea was expensive. You will buy this for twelve shillings and you go and buy this, and the money is finished. As for this, half-piece is five shillings, this is four shillings and six pence, this — shillings which means that I got three cloths; it remained four shillings with me. I went to buy two yards of cloth in our town for two shillings and added it to that I had and made a multi-coloured cloth from it and had four cloths. Stop, mm. (Mm) Thank you, Akua (O, I have heard) My lady, than you. (No thanks) After drinking, you have to give thanks (Yes) It is an Ashanti culture (Yes) That is one. So in the past, we got tired. We worked roughly, unprofitable work, If you don't stretch yourself, you will not get the two shillings we are talking about; so you)

struggle like that. As we are saying this and as I am saying that my husband was a policeman, he was not literate so his monthly salary was three pounds and this three pounds, if he gives two shillings a day, by the end of the month, all will be gone. How does he get money? And it means that as for the policemen, they have been cheating drivers from the ancient time. He used to collect little amount from them. My senior child was born at the village and when he was coming to present me with things, three pounds was what he gave. It meant that — (laughter) (But —) Mr. but with these three pounds, I got something. I bought a pan in which we bathe babies for one and half shillings i.e. one shilling and sixpence, yet it was big. My dress, I bought from Akua Nsia; when I came here, he bought me a dress. A certain woman called Madam Owuo, she is dead, long ago; she came from Afidwase; I took it to her and she sewed it. A dress cost one shilling and sixpence, yet a good quality. Even today, dresses are expensive yet you don't know how good they are like, and madam Wuo sewed it for me. And I bought some material called madresse and I put it on to go and thank my husband at the police station, you see? Today too, you are given hundred thousand, (true) yet —. Today, when a ~~some~~ person dresses, like these young girls, the little thing they wear round their necks is a lot of money. I thank you, I am going; the day is far gone. Maybe — (laughter)

(All right, you say at the village, life was hard. But when you went into the onion stall and today, which is better?) She says what was I doing? - (You said that village life was different and that and today's, has there been a change? When you came into the onion stall and today, what change have come and which is more difficult?) The change that has come is that, today, these onions, those of us who came to stay here, we traveled by train with bags of onions, even these people were bringing them. The ~~cost~~ was one pound and two shillings. A big kerosine tin (4 gallon tin) which has been enlarged like the one they use to sell groundnuts, the ~~cost~~ was four shillings. And the Northerners, as for the onions, the Ashanti didn't like much. So the day it would come, the whole bag may be six pounds and you buy it. Today the change that has come is that, now, ~~even~~ the Ashanti onions at all, a bucket, today it is not the four gallon kerosine tin (crawl) problem. Today plastic bucket is what we trade with, and it cost twenty five thousand; the Ashanti onions, do you see? The bunch is for the Ewes. And when they are brought the saka (ie a number of onions tied together as a bunch) will be bought for —. I have bought a bunch for five shillings before; the whole bunch was sold for three pence and penny. Today, when a bunch comes, it may be sold for fifty thousand, one bunch. So today, a few that are there recently are being sold at thousand.)

five hundred Cedis a bunch. Now things are going up. But when we at all bought it for five shillings, we could sell it at a loss, for at that time, someone might not come. When you buy, after a week that they may go to trade and come back, yours may still be there; and maybe three pence and penny or six pence that you have to sell it to get your money back, then you reduce it. Today too, a bunch costs five hundred Cedis, thousand Cedis or two thousand Cedis. The onions, the Northern type, when it's first coming, ~~it~~ costs lightly thousand but when you sell it, you make profit. For the small bucket which they say is four thousand, ~~four thousand is a lot~~. It is today that they have reduced it a bit and it is now coming. They are selling it for forty five thousand. But when you sell it, you make it (ie you don't lose) so we will accept that though it is expensive but for today it is good. (At that time and today, which is more difficult to get what you will eat?) Some of the difficulties is what I ~~was~~ saying about going to buy maize. For if you don't struggle to go and buy it, and this maize, perhaps when you come to sell it, you may get two shillings or one shilling from it, which when you go to the market with it, it can buy you something to come and cook and eat it. The onions too which I was saying, the price was cheap, that too, when you buy it, that day, this sister of mine for example, when we were first coming in (ie to sell onions) when

Somebody brought it, we could not buy a bag. We were then coming into it. The big kerosine can (grawa), when you fill it, at that time too, they press it when they are filling it. When it is full, it costs four shillings and she takes it behind the market. At that time, the inside of the market was not like this and ~~she got~~ and arranged them on a sack for ten pounds, Cedis. At that time even it was not hundred Cedis; how do we say it? five pounds, like that and people bought them. When she sold it, she got profit; what she bought for four shillings she got six pence profit; in the older days, she shouted 'ei!' it is good. She came to buy again. That day she was able to sell two and she got one shilling. She said, mm! this work is good, so I will come into it. And she has been in it all along. Then, when somebody comes, she gives her a bag saying, as for you, you are smart, you can sell so sell it. Then she gives it to her and she sells it. And her husband including me lived at Zongo; our uncle had a house there; And we lived there, her husband's two children including me and she herself. Her husband gives her one shilling and six pence and it was enough for chop money. At that time four o'clock meat, when it was this time, (four o'clock, meat not yet sold was reduced) the meat was sold at two pennies. When you buy two, it gives you good soup. So when we struggled like that and got it, we were

happy and didn't know what was coming. We struggled like that up to today. Today too, when it became expensive, we are ~~are~~ able to take it all the same. When it became expensive I also sell it at a ~~little~~ high price a bit that I too may get profit (And can you do your marketing with the profit?)

Yes, even if it is not enough, for me, an old woman, it will be enough for me however. For since I have bought a bag, it will not finish today only. I will sit by it for sometime. (True) Yes. And I too, as I am an elderly person, maybe I have a little amount of money with me and I am using it to buy something to eat. By the time it will finish I may get about two thousand or three, then I will say, ei?

this is the profit on the onions and I save a thousand. Also, as we are selling it, then we are saving by ourselves (i.e. we make daily savings) Maybe we give five hundred Cedis to one person from what we have saved.

If about a ~~week~~ get ten thousand, then we pay it to one person and you get some to pay for your stall rent. If that is not so too, the two of ours which are there, five thousand, two hundred Cedis is what we pay in a month.

Therefore, because of God, anything that will come, the Lord supports it, so we too, when we do it like that, we get money for the stall and for ourselves. Now, my sister has become an old woman, she doesn't sell some, but she comes to

sit by us like that. Then, she picks what is not good from what I have bought. What I will get, I give some to her and she too takes to go and buy food to eat. That is it. (All right, my sister, I thank you very much) (We thank you very much) Akua! (Yes.) So as for the world, whatever happens you can't say that it is not good; it is good some how. We all live in it; when we can see something too, then a change has come. Today, look at the young girls, different kinds of cloths, expensive, yet they are able to buy and they buy shoes. When one person is going and you look at her dressing, it may ~~cost~~ hundred thousand cedis at all and yet, there she goes. Mm. So it is good. We will stay here and take it like that (We thank you very much) (O, we thank you very much. You are very tired. I beg you) (You were saying now that formerly, there was only your stall. Now they have built some in front of you here; they have built some behind you. So you who are in the middle, do people come to buy things for you?) No, but the buying of things by some people depends on who knows you. In the past, my senior sister went to farm in the forest and I got to know about four or five people over there. Then, if she is coming, she passes by some, but says, 'I am going to buy some of madam Herumah'. There may be someone who is coming to buy on credit. When she goes to finish selling, then, she brings it to me. (So she)

has become your customer everyday) Yes (So, otherwise, those who pass by (will not buy from you) No, that someone is passing for you to call her to come and buy some, nobody passes here; for this thing, they say, it is cheap there (At Kejetia?) Yes, behind the gate. Behind the rail line, they call there Ala Bar. So if you have somebody who sells onions, she will not come to you. But if she is your old friend, when she comes, she will pass through to come and buy together with groundnuts; it may be two or three weeks, they come to pass and buy another. Now, that is what we are staying here with. For the one who is actually passing through, if I don't know her, come and see that - they will not pass here. When someone goes and they reach there, they say ei! as for here, darkness like this; if the things are there, they don't see it (Darkness) It is dark there. If the government will help us to make them a bit short at all for air to pass over it to stop the darkness over there, - and when they were first coming, Alusa Nsiah spoke about it to K.M.C people; they owe the land. Then the outcome was that, and then you have, the other person too had her/his thing and she/he is making it, will you be able to say that you will not allow her/him to make it? And they went on to build and after some time, Akwasi Agyeaman went and pulled them down; he came to pull them down.)

Then we were there nicely. When anyone was passing by, she passed behind here; and you know that in the past, we did know that that was the place for onions - Do you see? If someone was far away, she sees it; if she was walking in front here, she sees it and they come there. Today too, it is not like that. For today, if you tell someone that I am sending you to the place where onions are sold, she doesn't know. She will go <sup>to</sup> Ala-bar. If she doesn't go to Ala-bar, she will go to Bode; unless you show them well that the stall in which they sell tomatoes and there are the onion sellers are, before that person will enter through there. Even me, sitting here, now as I am going, when I reach there and I enter, I don't find the way, and all things which are there, turn black. So someone, - for the one you know, when you say, go and show her the place known as 'Awiam' (the place expose to the sun), as for her, even at all, she may not have money, so she cannot go to this place, and then when she comes, then you fill some for her. Through that they take our money away. She goes and comes to pay, she goes and comes to pay; finally, she will not come to pay. (So formerly, when they had not built stores at the place above you, were they coming to buy on credit?) Mr. (formerly when they had not built stalls in front of you and behind you, were they coming to buy on credit?)

No. Even, those we are talking about, I didn't know them. Then when someone came, "These onions, how much?" This much. If she was buying a kerosine can, at that time, the plastic bucket was not there. Then she says, "Fill it. the kerosine can, and you talk about the price and you pour it out for her, and she pays you. "I am buying what has been grouped." "How much?" Ten Cedis, 2 hundred pounds, like this and she buys. And also, when the market became like that, if you don't get a person to be your customer and trade with her, in our stall over there, nobody will buy your thing; except that that person too, knows that she has no money; do you see?

When she goes to the Malians (Akayabos ie people from Mali) at this place (Abe-bea) they will not give her, (i.e. sell to her on credit) for they do not know her; then when she comes, and as for you, as you know her, you will give some to her (i.e on credit) and she goes with it. So for those of us, when you buy some, a bag will last for a week before it finishes. The Malians who are over there, it is said that they sell two or three bags each day. For the Kumasi people who go round to buy onions to sell, maybe one lives at Abeabo, Ahenkan or wherever, they will not come here. They say that the Malians' is cheaper. (Then, your trading doesn't go fast) No. (So the past and today, which is the trading better?) O, then the past trading was good, and all depends, at that time, the money was small. Today too, if they help you and

they buy even one plastic bucket, the amount is much. (And in the stall, it seemd to me that it is hot over there) It is hot over there (So when the onions are there, do they not spoil?) They can spoil. They can spoil. When some are left there and you buy, you will have to pick out the bad ones. So when they are left in a basket for some time and they are not bought, when someone is buying some, you have to pick out the rotting ones and throw them away, and sell the good ones for her. So for the picking, we can pick at any time that you are selling; you pick the rotten ones and throw them away. Poverty too, Ghana, as I was saying, I say, it is not as Gold Coast, and nobody is good; for he, the whiteman that is the government that came to build the stall, didn't make it that they were coming to attach things to it <sup>to</sup> make it as such. As for him, he knows it as ~~a~~ big stall. So when we came into it at all, at times, when it rained and cloth sellers were suffering, and they were gossiping that they were coming to take this, we too fight hard that we will not let them come to take it. And if we had known that even, we would have gone to stay behind the gate too, but we did not know. It is twelve o'clock. (Yes) And we didn't know that, and it came to be like this. So, you know, we have already gone to stay there. You too, excuse me to say, you cannot go to ~~remove~~ someone's food from her/his mouth to eat it. When you say )

it, and the laws were to work, we would show them that, perhaps, this is the law, we don't do it like this, we don't do it like this. And you the very one ~~occupying~~ that place, you cannot say that you will not allow somebody to build behind your stall, and it does not belong to her/him. Now, have you seen that where Anna is staying? somebody has come to build it. Even that, the person who is building is a young woman; ~~your~~ grandmother was the one we were staying there with. ~~Your~~ grandmother died long ago. Even you, you don't come into this market. Your mother, your mother was the one who grew up there. If you are coming to build, come and see the one with whom you share a boundary for us to know, and you build yours, for, you know, all people have built. When she came, all Anna's goods which were there, when we came back on Monday, she had removed all and her (Anna) beans and groundnuts had been mixed up and she had built a huge stall. ~~Then~~ We went to see the sanitary officers last Sunday so Anna didn't go to church at all. And they have come to pull it; she has come to break the blocks which she built and has removed them to that place. It has remained the boards which stand there and she says a carpenter, and she says even that she will let the carpenter come and cut the boards to that place so that Anna too may have a place to put her things. The back which is for all of us, she has taken all. The gossiping I was

saying, the stall, if they collect money for it, I don't know. Also, they say, build it on this day, Sunday and finish it completely and there it stands; you have nothing to say about it, and that she said — Abua! I will go!  
(All right, I thank you.)