My but they are all there. (O we thank God) and Beato also. She also, she gave birth to nine, now remaining five. It remains six. But, ee Abena Yaa Ataa's mother, she is the one that did not give birth to many. She gave birth to Ataa alone only (mm) One only. (And Ataa, her one other twin, where is he?) Her one other twin has expired. (Was the other twin a female?) He was a male. Now he has expired. And presently, at first, I probably believed that, our grandparents and our mothers were these (mm) therefore then, nothing was there that troubled me greatly (mm). Today too, my mother is left somewhere (expired) my grandparents are left somewhere (expired) My father too was Bobie Ansa D.C. (mm) He too is left somewhere (expired) (mm) Therefore presently, I do not have anybody who holds some (helps) for me. And the children, none holds any business that is good in doing. And I too also, from my childhood period, my mother, at first, my mother, was cooking rice and beans. (for sale) (I feel that, I am making you talk for nothing. We shall start) mm (O that is good. You've started a, a, you have set it) (Yes. Aaa, I was feeling that, may be, if she mentioned her name) (Oh it is nothing) (O.K.)
say it loud) (If you like, O.K. Then go on EE) Mr. EE. When it happened
that way, then it means, when my father
was left somewhere (died) and my
mother, all of them were not there (mho)
That time when my grandparent and
my mother and my father were alive,
then I had not brought forth to so
many (children) Also then my children
too had not given birth greatly (mho)
It means, my father is left somewhere
(expired) My mother is not there. My
all is not alive (mho) I was left alone
(aa) But presently, with it, I have
given birth to children, (numbering)
eleven, which presently remains seven,
who are there. Presently the men are
four. The women are also four. And
one is left somewhere (dead) Therefore
my grandchildren are the people who
are many. And too, I do not have a person,
of rank what so ever, who holds me who
would say that, may be, Amma Seewa,
may be something is worrying you and
may be take three weeks, or six weeks,
First I went to take a pass book from
U.A.C. Then I was selling cloth.
When I looked and it wasn't good, I
got it. When I sold it by retailing. My mother, her work
was rice and beans (so?) We cook
it then we smash the rice and beans,
then we take it to the market. When
my mother died, I couldn't do it again.
Therefore, it is these oranges only that I go to buy bit by bit. At first, then we were carrying silver (utensils) to Tafo (mho) then we go to buy (mho) When we go to buy, may be, nine (mho) may be six (mho) I cannot even, I buy it bit by bit like that. When my mother died, then my mother's children, we were four (mho) Three women, one man, I had nobody who looked after these people for me. I only looked after these persons. Today, all of them, the men, have brought forth (children) The men have brought forth. The women too have brought forth. But nobody, today nobody knows me. (mho) As presently now, I am selling oranges bit by bit, bit by bit, to look after the boy, to complete school. The girls too, this one goes to marry; this one goes to marry (mho) It is like that, where I am too. I too when brought forth, I too I used it to look after my children. (mho) And my children, all of them grew up. They have also married. Today presently, I do not have a servant (so?) I do not have anybody to say, may be & presently, you are poor. Take three (mho) Peso If it weren't for God, I have no money, which I could use to hire a room (mho) And I have no capital that may be, may be, my father, has offered me a capital like this, and may be I have
invested it in some business and I am building a house, one bedroom, maybe to be given to my children. I do not have some like that. Therefore presently, when I am there, then I become sad, as a matter of fact. Also, my children, the men, they do not have any work of merit to do. The girls too, this one is learning hairdressing, this one, she is making a bag, this one, she too and the husband are in the forest, they are farming only. Presently, now that she has come. As she came, Kajetia, my oranges there, that work, she is the one doing it. She goes to get other peoples' oranges. I do not have any capital, whatsoever which I use to look after my children. And today too, the work is not like at first. They things were cheap. And then too, when you sold the things too, they were buying them. And therefore presently, if you are selling the thing even, and you think deeply, and you see that presently, I do not have a helper. Presently, as I live, it left a little while, if God meets me on the road and maybe I am going. What am I going to leave for my children? Today too, when you weep, you weep in the eye. Today, your sister, with whom together, you
you come from one stomach (uterus) even, if you are dead, wouldn’t look after your children. Therefore if you yourself, you do not think of yourself, and you do not make the effort to get something to put down for your children, and you are dead, when you die, your child, becomes wretched. Therefore when you come to the market even, and the things are not being bought, your mind, all of it, makes you downhearted. Our elders too, we being in the market here, an elder, doesn’t think of you, to say that may be, these children, may be this, that this, and may be, you must treat them like this. No. A case whatever comes, then they come to call you. A case too, coming to reach you too, someone wouldn’t say it for you. (mks) It is only that, you yourself, your efforts. If you came to the market, whether you got money, whether you didn’t get money, then the way you would take that you and your children would eat, then you walk along it. These all, that probably, as for me, I say somehow, I am begging the government, that by his goodwill, if he would offer us some capital a bit, for me, to do business and for me to acquire some property a bit, and if it a house even, and they will use it to build for me even, somehow, when
the month ends then it means, I collect
the rent and somehow, I take it to
pay the government's money, and it means,
if somehow I die even, then my children
see that, & too, I have informed my
children that, the government has
offered me a loan, like this oo, and
I have used it for this oo, therefore,
when I die, each month, you must
pay this to the government. That is what
presently now, this my child too, I saw
her a long time ago, but, it is true that,
all of us, the queenmothers who are in
the market; all of them, she goes to
them. But the manner, she lives with
me is different entirely. And if when
she came, I was a young woman, may be,
even, probably, I would say, she might
take me along (mho) And when I go
even, I work to pay the debt she incurred
by taking me. But it is all God's case
(planning). And presently now, my grand-
child; one is there (she is at overseas)
(mho) She is here. Mm. EE. She went to
school here. (mho) Then her mother,
their mother, and..... her aunt came to
take her to Accra. Therefore she went
to college, some like, aa, as..... this
thing..... EEE, Accra college, this even,
what do we call it? (Lagon) No. The
other one, (University, or) mnhoo (Achimota)
Yes, Achimota. She went also, then
lates. I heard that, they were saying,
she was learning, e.g. typing. Then she was learning languages, different types (as she did language) who and she learnt and learnt and as it is, she came here. Therefore presently when she came, she wanted to probably, may be, to go. (She has finished the school?) Yes, she has completed the school. Therefore, probably, my master's child has come, then I desire that, possibly, one day, I too go to tell her, then may be, I go to take her, or she herself, she too, go there and I go to call her and she and her talk. Then, probably, she helps me, so that, somehow, the day of no return even, if I die, then somehow, I see that if nothing at all, may be, she too could buy one coffin, as it is, to bury me. Therefore, if I came, these are my last words. And Ataa, in particular, she herself knows that, her grandparent is the one. And she knows that her everything is the one. And Ataa too her mother gave birth to her; one only. None in addition. Therefore the child, God and peoples' face (as a matter of fact) or (Before God and man) her case causes me pain deeply. It means presently now, the child, as she sits there, she has no sister(s) (mm) Then I, my sons who are there too, they are not holding any work of merit. Therefore the child's case is painful. As we
are there too, we are not holding any
job of merit, therefore the child's care
is painful. Therefore, through her goodwill,
presently now, it is now that she's been,
moved to a young man with him, given
birth to these small ones. And if by His
Grace, we are living, and that somehow
the child, which every way she would
take her, for me; to make the child too,
on the day of no return (someday) she
might get a place to stand for me, to
look after her children. Then may be,
I would be gone. (Presently is she and
the husband staying together?) No.
Presently, she and I are staying. She
and I are staying. Presently I and
she; the two of us only are staying and
my son; one of them. (And I am asking
you something a bit. When you came
on or (When you were in your prime) and
you married, your husband, presently,
is he living or been left somewhere? (dead)
When I married, the husband I married,
his comes from Twaso. They call him
Efe Twaso, Royals they are. And I
and him did not divorce. But the
time I & I, married him and I brought
forth, instantly, then my child became
sick. When my child became sick, I
took it to somewhere to look to the
sickness. And there, you know men,
he went to take somebody and the
person (fellow) infected him with
Gonorrhoea and the man died. Therefore when I came then the man had been left somewhere (had expired) (so he died, the man died?) mmm. The man died at Tusso. (Then you had given birth to your children, all of them, completely?) No. He and I, he was the one with whom I gave birth, to my first born (one only) (Then you went back to marry again?) Then I went back to marry again, and the man, the young man I took too, he too, then his mother did not agree. Therefore my mother too made it (decided) that to be on the safe side, she didn't like talking, therefore I should cease going after him. Therefore, he too, I and him brought forth one. And the one coming third too, he too, they call him Tempest. He is the one I and he, brought forth six, and as it is, recently only, and as it is, I said, because of what he was doing to me, I wouldn't be able to marry him again, and I and he stopped. (divorced) Presently too, he in particular, I and he, have the children; five of them are these presently. The men are two (mm) The men are three, and a woman; one. It means the women were two and one died recently. The Ataa's mother (mm) (At first when he was young ....... you and he were working, he did not help you to acquire any property for the children?) who.
Then he was doing what work? Then
he was at the palace as warden. (He
was a warden.) Mm. He was a warden,
therefore later they sacked him. So
he couldn't acquire any property
whatsoever for the children in particular.
(And presently too he doesn't look
after them too?) No. And presently,
even, being that he stays in the forest,
he didn't do (acquire) any property
whatsoever. (Therefore presently,
grandmother, your children, presently,
some of them cannot work, so that at
the end of the month could help you
a bit?) Presently too, presently ee, the
women, mm, as it is, one of them is
operating a chop bar (mho) and one
too (she operates, operates, a chop bar?)
Yes. Mmbrom. (She operates a chop bar)
Yes. Eheee, she operates a chop bar,
yes, and one too, she also, she does
hairdressing. It is one of them, I am
saying that, she too she is at Kajetia
(mho) (Of so, then, when the month ends,
probably, they could help you, bit,
by bit. And the months ends, may be,
today, let us bring you something a
bit.) Mmm (So, grandmother when you
were a young woman, before you
married, you were doing what work?)
When I was a young woman, then my
mother was selling rice and beans
(the one they have cooked or uncooked?)
mho. The one they have cooked and smashed: mm. She and madam Niana and others. Therefore we were selling rice and beans in the market. Therefore my mother; when she was left somewhere (died) then I stopped. Therefore when I stopped and then went to sell, -- at first, I went to do retailing and used it to work until my mother was left somewhere (died). And it means that I had no holder (helper) whatsoever. (mm) My mother too, she brought forth children; four. The women were three and the man, one. Therefore I alone looked after my brother and sisters; they small, small, small, small. (Then you were doing what work? Had you then stopped the rice and beans selling. When you were retailing, what were you selling?) When I stopped the rice and beans selling, then I was doing retailing. (What thing?) Take like, silver utensils and plates and knives, and (and then you were taking it to the market) Ehee or Yes... It means that we carried it and retailed it in the market. (mmho) Ehee or Yes. So when I stopped then I came to sell oranges like this. (mm) (Why did you stop that one to sell, to sell oranges rather?) Since the white man's work, the profit is not so it greatly. (Ahha) Ahha, profit is not so it greatly well.
And presently too also, my mother, and my brothers and sisters and my fathers and all others have been left somewhere (dead) and left me (mm) so you see? And nobody is there to look after me.

My brothers and sisters in particular and my children in particular, is the reason why. I looked at how I was doing the retailing and the profits I got and the money I got, then that I subtract a big portion (as shopmoney) to do the marketing. And then cook for myself, and my brothers and sisters and my children to eat, I wouldn't get money that the next day, I would be taking it to the store to take things. (mmho) meaning, meaning, meaning, therefore, then what was good only was I would stop that work. (mm) Therefore the oranges, at first, in the olden days, then the elders they went marketing, they went marketing, when they go to the old cemetery (Tafe?) Ehee, Tafe. And when they went, oranges in particulars, if you bought nine pence even, you would not be able to carry it (mm) when you returned, one for a penny, one for a penny. May be if you bought oranges six pence, when you returned your profit could be one shilling (mmho) then you take some to go and buy something to eat. You would cook food very sumptuous (tasty) and
with your brothers and sisters and your children. Then I got stuck in the oranges. (hm) Therefore I went to buy it at Kajetia and brought it to Adam and came to sell it like that, and used it to look after my brothers and sisters to make, my brothers, one of them even he's completed (college) school, and is a scholar, of credit (great). If you see him even, probably you would say my husband is he. (so ?) Yes. And my brothers and sisters too, they too, too.

I have looked after them.............

They too are grown up, they too have brought forth children, and making their children too bring forth to make them get grandchildren. And it means it is the oranges in particular that I have used to look after them; which formerly, then there was profit in it. Today too even, if you had a child who could sell it for you, what you would eat, in particular, would not fail you. But if you had no child, that is the thing that makes it disturbing a bit. And today too they don't buy things like at first. (hm) At first in particular, then the people were small, like what you are saying (hm) Today too, everybody gets up and lifts her pan, she says I am going to Kamsa' (who he he) to do business, I am going work
to Kuman to do business. Because of that, it has caused the buying to go down (reduce) somehow; if business is good too, then it took a pass Book even at U.A.C. (80) (Therefore at first, that you were selling; when you stopped your mother and, and... all of them, you stopped the rice and beans selling? And you came... to stop the retailing) who (You came to take the pass Book before you came to sell oranges?) who (When you sold oranges too, then you again... ----) whilst selling, whilst selling the oranges too, and my daughter went to marry, and so her husband; a white man; she and a Syrian brought forth. And it means that, her child, when she brought forth, the money he brought to her, and my daughter gave me some of it and I used it to take the Pass Book. And it means that, if I did business, then the pass Book too, profit, whatsoever, was not on it. (so) Mr. Pass Book cloth, cloth which is good like this too (mm). If you go to take it, a profit of two shillings (mho) is what is placed on it. Friction, friction, friction that they are doing; all of it, your profit; two shillings. Therefore when you take cloth about thirty, about a hundred, remember and see (take note) that, your profit; two shillings, two shillings a
hundred times. And if the month ends and if you do not get the money to go and pay that money too, the cloth money too, which you took too, your profit too, the white man, couldn't subtract — it for you. (Who) So you hear? (I have understood) Therefore unless you have money to guard your back (as a backbone) And somehow, those who have got — persons who too the money their uncles and their mothers being in the village weeding cocoa farms. When that happens, the fellow, she could go to the father there, or the mother there, that mother, my work that I did, the money I was collecting to go and pay, as my sales, is not there. Therefore I too the things even, I credited. They have not paid, so, may be, give me money, for me to go and pay, so that if they pay me, I could bring it to you. (You see?) So, may be, if her mother has some then she withdraws some for her. When she comes, the next day, then she goes to make sales. (Who) When she makes the sales and the next day, her hand gets her profit, then it means, she could go and pay. So you've seen it? I too I do not have some like that. And I looked quietly and I said the Past Book, if I say I could do with its work, then I am lying. Therefore then, Hawa Adamu, the one who was left
somewhere (died) (Ahah) Mmhoo, then my sister even was she. Then she was indeed my friend. Indeed who, if I and she were walking and the manner I and she did something even, everyone said my sister was she. Therefore, she even, then she was accusing me that, my aunt too, you like oranges, like oranges. I said no. Ef, a mother, if you want, if you are doing business, today you would see that, I went to buy this thing for one shilling. When I sold it, I have got around it, a profit of two shillings. I have withdrawn some to buy something to eat. The money I used to... buy it too, is there, so you see. This in particular, this thing; Pass Book at all, you've gone to take the cloth also. The cloth also they haven't bought it. If the month ends too, if you do not go to make sales (render accounts) they wouldn't give you things. And poor person and a have not's child, would she be able to do this work? I too my mother is not there. My father is not there. My grandparent, none stays in the forest to help me, for me to say that, you go to some fellow there even, to find a loan for me to take along to pay. And somehow, this too in particular a mother's work. This made me get stuck in the orange (business) And whilst in it
persistently, then I went to the market, and went to stay there. That is why, this Queenmother; a woman was then chopping (reigning) it. And they said, how the woman was like; she was weak. And they took me to officiate (rule) as Queenmother, and I am still in it since Kwame Nkrumah's period. Therefore the time - they made rule as Queenmother was before Kwame Nkrumah got freedom. (Who) Therefore when you calculate, it would be how many years that you ruled as (Queenmother)? This in particular, can I see it? Kwame Nkrumah gained freedom, then it was ruling as Queenmother. (mm) And it may be years; like what? Years; forty-five. (mm. You chopped (ruled) Queenmother about how many years before Kwame Nkrumah came?) Ah, when I chopped (ruled) the Queenmother in particular, as for that, it didn't take long. I chopped the Queenmother about - about a year (mm) before and they said Kwame Nkrumah, they had put him into prison. (Ahaa) Before Botsoio and others and Sbedema, and others, they tried then they said Kwame Nkrumah, they had freed him, and they have made him President. (Who) Before Nkrumah came then it means, the break-away faction (opposition) and the C.O.P.P., they were shooting guns tutum, tutum. Therefore that time they
when they were firing the guns even, then I impregnated with my child, one son (who) they call him Kofi Adu. He was the one I was impregnated with, that I brought forth and later then, they took me to chop (be) Queenmother. Therefore I chopped (was) Queenmother all the while and I was in it all the while and it was Kwame Nkrumah only that we served all the while. Then later, a Mampong inhabitant, Afifa came to overthrow him. Then they allowed this even, they call him what? (It was during that, Akuffo and others and) who. With Kwame Nkrumah, when he was overthrown and then Afifa and others (and) Kotoka. And Afifa made them kill Kotoka (Aare) and, who, from these they this (man) also came: Busia, Busia (who) therefore when Busia came and at long last too they said Busia too was not good. (mm) Ashanti's and I dislike - I dislike plenty like this (who, he) Today, it is our today (our lot) who, he, Pio. (And it is what, since; I am asking you this. E you, you, orange queens, at times, you too, you do not have a portion in the oranges they bring out, to help you a bit?) The oranges, we bring out, (Just like you see, just like the yam queens, when they bring them out, the Queenmothers, when they come, they bring them things (Yes.) They do not bring you some like that - so that you could use it to help yourself a bit)
Anka (no) What they give to me only is that, just like you’ve seen, just like they are cutting some in baskets (mm) You’ve seen just like the women sitting around in the baskets (mm) they are cutting? (That too is what?) When you came to the market, you did not see it? (Yes I have seen it) Eh ee (exactly) They are in baskets which they have heaped (collected) in to baskets. Eh ee (yes) that is what we cut then. At first even, if they take out five or, or six, one, one, five (and they bring it, you see) And they give it to you. And like me, if they give it to me it means that, my elders (mm) they have shared it (mho) And when we come up here too, they take out seven; one, one, seven (mm) and they select it for me and they say, they would divide it into three. (mho) So you see? The number we shall get, we divide into three and then they give me one. Then they give the elders too one. Then the orange people (sellers) themselves take one also into their coffers. So that, maybe be, a case comes, they would use it to chop (settle) That is what it is. (And presently too, as Akua too came here like this and went, when she came, then the living too, was not hard, as a matter of fact) (proper) mho. Presently it has become hard? (mm)

So, since she left this place and went, her back too, what cases again have once again become hard? Presently in
particular, somehow, the case, no one sees where the head and the neck is getting to? The only thing is that, somehow, E-E, they say in the olden days, you've seen that, our—our town here like that; our, our, we in particular, our hope only is cocoa. And this cocoa too (mho) comes, and they buy the farmers' cocoa, then it means that, all of us, we-do . . . . . . . comfort like this, everybody does it (something) then somehow, her things, then they buy some for her. You would see that this person is walking (wandering) here, this person is walking (wandering) here. E-today, today too, these children too, someone is there, she is a woman even, then she is doing her business. She does her business and then she is holding money a bit. Maybe she has her husband. Her husband is doing some work. This work, if he does it and somehow, the month ends and he gives her three pence, she could bring it to you that, may be, grandmother, or mother, take and you too use it to help your work, so that when you get it, you bring it to me. Today, you would see, this man too, the job he is in, they have sacked him (aha) He has no work. Therefore you who gave birth to this child, and you coming to the market, you are the one to go and buy. You—you would do it, then you give this man, you would go and seek food and tear (give) some to this
man to eat. Because this person, you and he are there, and if today, they have sacked him, then you would say that you are eating without him or you are divorcing him? And when that happens, the woman, when you come, the job you should not do even, you have to do, so that you too, you would get a penny, for you too to buy food to eat. You see? It has being like that from, at first to until (Presently, what has changed in the work in the market?) A change that is about trading? (mm) EE the trading in particular, EE, at first in particular, then (mmho) E, it was good. It means, then it was good, but today in particular, the trading, no one is there, who comes and sees it properly (mmho) It means presently no one gets up to come and buy a thing. At first too, when you are sitting there, you would see that someone even carrying a pan, she comes and says, count this thing for me. May be the person who bought it to her house to sell also, may be, when she bought it there, they did not buy it. (mmho) And since they didn't buy it tomorrow, would she come back? (mm) You see? She would not come back. If at the time she went, if they had bought it for her fast, and she had had money, what would happen that the next day, she would not come back? (She would come back) (mm) That is what
it is like. That is that is why we are saying that the market is spoilt. That is it. The market stands (depends) excuse me upon villagers. Villagers bring these things to us, then we in town these like this too come to buy. Someone is there even, she is at the village but she comes here to buy oranges to put into a car to go. So you see? And if she comes to buy these oranges to put into a car to go, and if they haven't bought it, by what means then is she going to come back again? May be the man in particular who would buy the thing for her, the man has no money. If these children, if they go, they take things around (town) and they come and they are saying it, the elders who are lying around the store and men who are lying around the store, it is a case that is painful. It means that, since the fellow came, maybe they haven't bought his thing half-penny. The thing too, his neck is heated (he craves for it). He too, he has no money to buy some to eat. Therefore these children, they say, they go to put them at city city hotel (mm) so that if someone brings his car to stand there, they collect some to stand by it. They would talk and talk and talk. And they would drive them away, but they would be going round it, and they would be driving them away (che, he, he). But if
you don't do that but you say you are seeking glory (self-righteous). Then you would bring your oranges back. (mm) So whoever calls you too, it is important that, you too, you clear your face, for that person, for him also to know that; O this child somehow, if he insults you even, O Papa, I beg you, Buy some for me because it is not I, if she says that finally, then he comes to take it. If he gives her grace and buys it for her, then she has money. (ee. so.) who. That is how it is like. mm. (So presently too also and you - when I came you were peeling oranges. Presently you yourself you are doing your work too, or it is Alaa's are you are helping her?) Ee, I myself, I do the business also. I do the work then I peel. And like theirs in particular, which, they have come to put there, as for that, I do not do same. It means that if, my children, my women it is, who orders the villagers; the men to bring it to them. And that means they cut (count) and give to them. Therefore, O, because of Alaa, if I buy some, then they too, the extra (additional) one they collected (taxed) me, they did not take anything from me. So you see? And it means that, somehow, If I too, I peel and Alaa carries some then I too I get a penny to buy something to chop. That is what it is like. (Therefore if Alaa goes,
She goes round (to sell) she is able to sell, one day, she is able to sell about, about how much?) If they buy things well, they maybe, when she goes, may be two thousand. (Then she does well) MM, may be two thousand and she brings it, and somehow, I take it to pay the orange owner's debt. And maybe, if I peel it like this and she goes, that too, may be she gets like a thousand cedis, and she brings and somehow we take some to the market (for shop money) and somehow we go home like that. Therefore if she is not there and I am sitting there, mm, I am sitting there for nothing. (So, if Alaa too is not there, to go and sell, then presently that you are Queenmother, nobody is able to say that, today in particular, today Alaa is not there. I am going to sell your oranges for you.) NO eee. Will they mind you? You even if Alaa is not there and if someone even who buys your oranges (Customer) comes, and I even do not know him, do not see him, they would call him and count oranges for him (mm) The fellow says, she came her oranges. She didn't come to look into the market. (mm) Eee, if you are saying it even, what they would do to you even at all, you yourself even, you would be ashamed. One day, a young woman, one; a stall, one;
two, three, four; and she had come to sit in the third one, and if someone starts from where I am here, then she would call the one that came. And I told her that, but why, wouldn't you go to sit in your stall? She said, why did I say that because she wasn't sitting in my stall. And I said yes, you are not sitting in my stall, but the place you are sitting is not yours. Why don't you sit in your stall, and someone's stall's frontage and when you come and someone is coming to buy something unless you call him? My lady. Come and see. It deserves (to be seen by) your eye, but it is not appropriate to be told to you.

And presently, if you looked, and if I held some money of value, may be, the business even, probably, I would stop.

So, you being Queenmother, for instance, you see, if someone steps and steps on your face, like that, you cannot pull her ear (punish her) whichever way, or you cannot do her anything? Whoo. My master's child, the people, they are tale bearers. As me, I am sitting here for instance, (quiet) I don't see what to say even. Ee, if you go to do some, just now, the they go a-running to (seek favour by an elderly person) and comes to beg you. So you see? If you don't agree, and you take boy to the elders, they say, yes, as for this Queenmother...
if she gets up and the children do her something, and you go to say it, and she
also, what she would do to you too
takes that person to, at the time, that
person, uncle; at the time, that person too
is not good. But also, the elders for
instance too, who go and do it and come
and sleep (mm) and as too shall turn
round. And if I were to be some
persons holding money, may be, I would
have stopped. (so) mm. May be, I would
have ceased to be the Queenmother. If
presently, Alaa who is doing her best
and going forward a bit, is then able
to know the market, then I would
have stopped to stay at home. (so?)
And I should do what? (You want
Alaa to know?) the market thoroughly
(before) when so. (And from the people
you and he started at the beginning
66 to sell things, at first, which
of them has prospered, more than the
other one?) (Just like, A-Aunt. Who,
who, I am after people who started
with her, who, who, have been able to
be prosperous) (mm) (The people you
and they started orange-selling at
the beginning, who presently has been
able to go forward, a bit, or may be
her living is good a bit? Or has
been able to go forward a bit well.)
And the people I and they started
selling the oranges in particular,
as for that, presently, some even have been left somewhere (expired) (mm) who.
And some are there who have not been, left somewhere (dead) but who also,
she also, she's become an old lady at home (mm) she can't come to the market
and maybe, her children, may be come to the market to sell things. Then also, they too.
everyone is not these who has gone
up, whatsoever, that is extraordinary.
(Everyone hasn't purposely prospered?)(exactly)
No. No. Everyone hasn't purposely
(by chance) prospered whatsoever. And
those who at times, the oranges come to
be positioned on them, ? for them to sell,
as for that, some have put up build-
ings even (mm) (so) (those whom the
oranges come to be positioned on them)
Eheee (Yes) (some have put up building)
Yes. As for that some have put up
buildings. It means that, somehow, if
it comes and the oranges, the fellow
gave it to her, for instance, a thousand
cedis or two thousand cedis, (mm) she
too shall add a thousand cedis to it.
so five hundred cedis to it. And if she
counts (counts) the oranges, the oranges,
baskets, for instance, ten, and if cedis;
five hundred; cedis; five hundred
(she has made profit) what is it then
that she wouldn't get some to
acquire property? But as for those
of us who are peeling in particulars,
as for that, what you would eat, as for that your hand will get (mm) but as for what you would use to acquire some property that is extraordinary in particular, that in particular, mmm. That is what it is like. (So at the time at that time when she started selling, what was the very EE, prosper. What was the kind of that really made - was making money?) (That time when you started orange selling, then what business actually was there that gave money well. ... EE, that gave money) The oranges? (That time then, that you were coming to sell the oranges, it was a fact that business, a lot was there). And the business, which actually that at that time was on top (most popular) favourably, that you got money - people got money from it? EEan. As for that then, the people selling yams, and cloth and plantain sellers in particular, then they were getting money. The oranges even, those ones with prices not expensive too much in particular, they money was in it. If money were not in it, then I couldn't have looked after my brothers and sisters. My mother when she died, I couldn't look after them - my brothers and sisters. Because of children. I too I would bring forth and I too look after my children. (mm) So you see. That time,
in particular, then money was in it. (Who)

You see? That is only I did bit by bit
and I have put money down, my brother
if he is going to school then, when it
goes to school fees, then I pay. This
then I pay. My sister is there, if she
brings forth, then I go to pay the doctor.
Ee, if she becomes pregnant, I myself
look after her. MM. And it means that,
three days for instance, a bit that she
left and has not come for instance
(MM) And that is causing cases a lot.
(MMM) You see? That is what it is
like. (Aaa, I have understood) (And it
means that, if it weren't that you used
it to look after the family in particular,
you could have been able to acquire
some property) That is it! (Aaa) And
man's too eyes were not cleared like
today. (Aaa) So you see. At first in
particular, if you were there, if you
had a sister, your mother's child, and
if your mother is not there, it is necessary
that you look after her. (MM) So you see?
You can't say that I have left her
rejected. And if I knew that I was
looking after my sister's children, I
was looking after my sisters and brothers
to make them become prosperous and on
the day of no return they too if they
become prosperous, they could help me.
And and I didn't know that, that
my brothers and sisters, I was going to
look after them

for them to make me a hatred cup (Aoa)

which presently also too, if & I had not

brought forth, I would have become a

nobody (mm) my sister, one in particular,

her child, she got pregnant. She was

then going to school; my sister. When I

performed her ritual of menstruation and

she got pregnant instantly they, the man

with whom she got pregnant, did not

look after her. I myself then looked after

my sister for months; nine, to make her

bring forth. When she brought forth too,

like this immediately too also, I myself

gave the child a name. Her child too

also, when she brought her forth, she

went to school and who she completed,

when she was about to complete, then

someone took her and with her got

pregnant (mm!) Therefore that time was

the time that James had built this

market anew (Yes) Then the market

manager said, everyone, every Queen-

mother, should go to the market there

and take a place for her children. There-

fore I was there when my sister came

that, if the child has become pregnant

then she had made her in this debt in

vain, then if I didn't go to take out the

pregnancy away, it means, she and the

child, knife is what they would use to

confront themselves. (Who said that?)

My sister. (Aoa) (Aoa) You say own. I told

her. I said she had got pregnant. She
Said no no no no. I do not agree. Therefore, what they had to be done only was my sister then the market manager who died, for instance even, they called him what? Mr Asante (MM). And when he was in office presently, called me Serwaak! I said manager. He said come, I went and he said look today, your sister's case that she is saying, Kwame Nkrumah has brought a law (MM) that everyone who goes to school whatsoever if she is pregnant, they don't remove it, look after her to make her bring forth. If she brings forth, adopt the child for the mother to go to school. (MM) Therefore the child, look after her to make her bring forth. When she brings forth, adopt it. And if you say you are going to take it out and if something happens to the child then, the government shall deal with you according to the law says. So during that period I went to Asante New Town. When I went the child was crying, and I went to take her to the house. I said sit down, I looked after her for nine months. When she brought forth, she brought forth a boy. I named him after my grandfather, they called him Nana Ampratwum. Aunt! Ask me whether the child left my place and went, today Nana Ampratwum too, he's worked and married a woman (The one you looked after?) I am telling you. And the one
too, whom I looked after presently, probably, he's brought forth about eight or nine, as I too, as it is, someone looked after me? (Oh, everyone is not looking after your welfare.) I swear God (©) He and his children and the mother's side. You see? And that I did not know that time. Then I didn't know that, that was how it would be (else you could have used the money to acquire property.) Else, I could have used the money to acquire a property. Aunt. Else, it wouldn't have been like today (................) So, ee-ee

As for this, Aunt is where? Aunt should come. Aunt presently, today my case I am saying (stating) is that (mm) (Ahah) I beg my child very much, the way, whichever she would take for me, for the government to give me a loan a bit, and somehow, if I build a house, bedroom, two even, and the month dies ends what he would demand from me, I would pay. And I too, I could acquire a property, for someone to see that, I too, this thing too, I too I have worked and I too I am helping, and I am using it to pay the debt. And also, coming second also too (I am coming £, the government's loan that I am asking about a bit, that you yourself
you've done some conversation about to the authorities too before?) Mhoh. As for me, Kusame nkromah's time and ee, when he came, he said to the commission, that time then it was to too or who-who that they killed too (Kotaka) she (yes) You've seen that, they Regional Fantini, nice one, who was here also (Njoro) I do not remember properly) That time, nkromah said that, they should give us the Queenmather's for instance, some money (mho) and the gentleman made them give us a loan, but when it reached there (when the time was up) we went to pay. That is what it is like. (And from there, you haven't asked for a loan whatsoever at) mho (and I did not know that) And presently, if you go to ask for a loan, for instance, ee, they say, you haven't opened bank account. When you go to this scholar, for instance, he says about this, and to that, what business? Your deposit; what is there for them to give you money. (aa) Somehow if I too I had deposit, then must I have gone to find a loan? (No) (mho) And what is this? One case too also is that (mho) I wish that Arent, you help me. But, however too, when she goes infront of Akwasi Agyeman, let her say that, I had told her (mm) Then let-
talk about my land for me. (What someone has taken?) Mho, presently too, (and so for that, if you don't do it; what will be done, to make you see that, it is yours?) Mho. If she goes there, she goes in front of Kuras Agyemang, and goes to say that, A, Grandfather, EE, I beg you, the orange Queenmother has some land. When I came here at first, actually, it was there that they stayed. Then later when I came back, then she said a woman, he had given it to her in a heated, heated (rash, rash) manner. That was the place she said she would make an office. But recently that I came, I came, he said a woman was saying it was hers. They have taken it. And she has gone to the market manager, Market Manager did not mind her. And he said someone too, called Mr Appiah, he too they, if & tell him. And there and then I went there, I went there and they went to see.

I am asking, Aunt she, but why your place here, have they blocked it? And they say a case that has come is this, and I asked him whether he's come to tell you? And he said see, he's come home to tell you, and you even said that she should come there, but he was then ill that's why he hadn't been able to come. And he says he would to tell you about it. Mho. Therefore if she and he do deliberate like that for me, that she
too would hear what he would say, so let her help me. Sometimes I and she shall talk about it. And the thing too, the loan you are talking about (mm) & I know a bit that, before the government would give you a loan, it means may be EE, the first one, you have a property which you use to put in front (guarantee). To wit that, at first actually, it was different oo. (Stop) Today, presently now in particular (who) if the government would give you a loan (hm) except that, may be, you have may be, a house for instance, or may be, you have a property that can be used to put in front (guarantee). As for that, if you do not pay, then the government takes that thing you used to put in front (as guarantee) (hm). Or maybe a bank is there, you put your money there (hm) or if you want a loan a little even and they are giving it to you, that even too, it is not that they are giving you what could be able to build a house like that. I didn't know him. (hm) Ahaa, or even may be you have a land somewhere, and maybe you have not as yet built, but it has papers there then, you could bring it out that maybe I have a housing - land there. May be its papers are here. I haven't built it. May be could it help me or (hm) because if, one time, I was looking for some, persistently, I did not get. Because of that, I do not think that it is something that
would be possible. (Hmm?) mm. And presently the things have changed. (Stop!) things have changed, as a fact, therefore if you are looking for money from the government (it is hard). It is hard. (mm) Even those who are working even in the government, if you are looking for money every (it has become a case) (a problem). It is hard. (mm) May be if you had may be land like & boys quarters small one, may be I have a property for instance. Presently if I am looking for money, for instance like this, and you put it in front. Or I have a farm, then they go to see, ahaaa. But therefore, even that in particular. (I, my own) even that. Ee & I, my grandmother (mm) then had a house at Asum (mm) And the house, then I, my mother, my grandmother's son, my uncle was the one the house came to. Our grandmother gave us four. She gave us four (mm) And the four she gave us, too, then my uncle; one, when our grandmother died, her brother came to inherit it and when the brother died, then he used the building to make a mortgage. And presently, then at first, the elders and the building went into debt. And my mother paid the money and she took the house. When she took (claimed) it then her cousin too came that my mother should give the land to him. And he said it persistently and my mother gave a room one, to them that.

END OF 5A TRANSLATION
Presently too, the Estate where I am, in particular, my father, and it means, Kusame Nkrumah's time, they & I, followed Kusame Nkrumah, and went to stay in Accra, and when they were coming, then they had built it. (They had done what?) They who followed Kusame Nkrumah (Ahaa). Since they all left here (Ahaa) to stay in Accra (Nhmy). Therefore when it became like that it came (happened) that Nkrumah got its independence too and now they came, then he made it Nkrumah Estate (A-a, Kusame Nkrumah, Estate). That he built for them, therefore my father had some. Therefore when my father died, his brother they call J-B. Bobie Ansah and it means that later he inherited him. I, my father too, his brother, he was the one whose name was on it and we said that, let him go to make the children; all of them, get their names on it. Therefore we the children, and my brother too, our father's family gave the house to us that Estate houses in particular, that the one who would take it, if he dies, his children's property. Therefore I and my brothers have shared the house. Therefore presently now, I am staying in it, but there is land around it. (Therefore it is not something you alone had taken the house?). Aka-"No" (Aaa the way I know it, we cannot say
you alone, it is yours) who (it is you all, it is yours) Mm, we all, it is ours. Therefore three days (recently) for instance that I made it (decided) that, I was going to tell my brother the matter that, let him make the effort to share the land. And about it, everything is done, so that if somehow someone is there and he would get three pence for instance, and somehow he would use it to build a house, a bedroom, one even, that he and his children, and maybe, to be given to his child or his grandchild, for instance. (Mm) And my brother made it that he's heard it. But even, he hasn't done. (His too in particular, it makes me (I feel) that is not hard a bit, and this I am asking.) Oh, that also is that (EE, you listened to what she said?) (A little bit) O.K. This in particular, then she was saying that, may be EE, you could help her a bit, and to go to the authorities that may be, they would give her a loan (yes) for instance and then for her to make (build) a house a little bit. And I am saying presently in particular, government, at first, it is not like today (Yes) if your uncle goes that, he is going to look for a loan and you do not have a property whatsoever, which you would take along, they would not give it to you) who (Yes, presently that it is hard a bit, but when you set
a loan even, EE, the price is expensive. mhs.
A month each, you would say, you would take (you would pay interest) (you would pay) unless they add an additional (interest) to it. (There is someone there even that, he can take a loan) aa (someone can offer you a loan, someone is there, he can offer you a loan) (and he is able, and he says the money is too much) They would not pay. (mmho) That today, the people who are bad (sinners) (mm) They did not make us see the people who are good. (mm) You take it to do the work, if you go and it is three pence that you get, when you get a month, then you take the money there. FATHER, the money you gave to me, what I have got so it is this. (mmho) You too take three pence to buy something and eat. (mm) The money too is this. That is why elders, if there is something, the person can do it for you.
Today too in particular, it is not like that. (mm) Today someone, someone, goes to somebody to get a loan even, if the fellow gives it to him, he wouldn't bring (pay) it. (mm) Tomorrow then it comes to insults. (mm) Therefore mm. Therefore the authorities, all of them, have seen that, somehow, if that, I would go and buy and it has gone to become that, then tomorrow, my friend would come and insult me then, and as for that, if I do not give it to him even, then somehow
In the past, if you looked at any elder that your eyes reached his face. You can go to him that father give me a little money and I should take it to go and work. The elder will give you.
I am sitting my somewhere (I am caring less) so you have seen? (mm) Therefore that is what it is like. That is why it has made today, people too, the hardship has come too. What it comes from is that. (Today's people do not speak the truth) People do not speak the truth. (That is why the hardship has come too) mm. Because when you go to take the loan even (yes) he wouldn't take it there (to pay) (Enke-No) Therefore next time, someone else comes, and if he is looking for a loan, if some in there even, he would not give it to him. (No) (No) that is why people are suffering. (in hardship) Yes. The hardship that has come too, about what comes first too. (She wants to explain that, at first, her period, when they were children then) (yes) you did not have money and may be, an elder is there (mm) Elder. I beg you, I wish that, may be, I wish that, I do some work; like this. Therefore give me money a bit (mho) He would give you. (Yes) I have heard. You too when you sell and you get profit, you take the money to him, you give him some profit a bit (Yes) Today, someone too is there, he goes to find, if he gives to him, he wouldn't take the money there. Profit wouldn't go. Therefore a day; another, someone comes, he says I wouldn't give. Some is not there. (mho) That is why the hardship
has come (Yes - Right) Because everyone is not getting help from anywhere) (Yes - right). As for that, one day, we shall go to the bank, I shall ask them, what then can we do? (mm) If something is there that they can do for you (And secondly, if she wishes that, that portion of land too, I am saying someone has taken it too, (Yes) Mho, if probably she could, we beg you (Yes) let's go to Nana Kwas Agyemang, K.M.A. (Yes) & the Secretary's place. Nana Kwas Agyemang (chairman) (chairman) Chairman) mho (O, he in particular, I fear him. (She fears him) I wouldn't go to him) (Yes she fears him) Because when you go to him, it is embarrassing (eei) (O, he is embarrassing very much (AA?) (He is very troublesome) (Yes) (You see?) May be the case you are taking there, you are going to say it even too, it is not bad) (But how he would do (behave) (If we say, let's do, & we are going to ask someone that, he is at the bank. He is working at the bank, and we shall go. We shall greet him (mho) Kwasi Agyemang in particular, then I think that (mho) you go to trouble him, which is not good) When you go even, he in turn, (he in turn shall trouble you). He in turn shall spoil the case (Aaah) May be even then, he goes to spoil the case even you see? Therefore the thing, may be, he said, you yourself
come for instance. Nana you said I should come. I have come. That in particular, that is different. But to purposely send someone to him, as he is going too often, he would again think some thought, new, for instance even. So you see. Therefore you in particular he, if he's given you assurance that come) So today, I was going there today, but when I went and met (saw) that the woman had built the thing (mm). Therefore it didn't make me to get a heart (mm) whatsoever in my heart. As I, the thing, I haven't stopped going after it even (AAA). Because the world too (She wanted to go to see Nana Akwas, for Nana asked her to come) (what?) So, Nana Kwasi; Nana Kwasi asked the queenmother to come, asked her to come to see him, about him, about that portion of the land. (Oh I see but she didn't go) (No) (The woman had put up the building, there, a kiosk) (Aha) So she doesn't know how to approach Nana Kwasi; she wants to leave it like that (ch) And before she reported to KOMA (mm) they told her the woman had already prepared the papers in her name so they can't help her (Aha) again. Therefore it is better that you yourself, as Nana Akwas has said, that you yourself, you go to him, you see? As for him, his case settling is hard (mm).
or in your hometown) Ahaa too. (That's what she was saying). She is pleading with you, you can help.- (I will look and see whether I find something) (She says she will look whether she can get something. (Mm) Presently too, she is here months; nine. She will look. She will look. (Mm) Try and see. You hear. (Therefore presently now also, ee, your children have become elderly, you see?) (Mm) Presently they have children too, therefore presently you have become old as it is, they do not bring you something bit by bit, that if it is not good ever, you could have used it to buy food to eat - ?) Mm, o, previously my children were looking after me, but it is these three days (recently) that business is spoilt. (Mm) mm, Today, the bar, it is not going well. (Chop bar?) mm. And the hair dressing too, people, everyone has learnt hair dressing. As for that, everyone, who does some, except that they know you well. (Mm) And that, it means that presently, it doesn't go on very much. (Mm) Therefore if somehow I come to the market then, somehow, God, if I am not ill and I come to the market then, that the little that I will eat in particular (Mm) mm. (It will be alright, O God is King) It will be alright. (It will be alright in fact) (bit by bit) O (Mm) We are on it too.
We have a place to go? (no) La-la-la.
Yes. We do not have a place to go. (chee)
The father himself by His Grace. mm.
(I feel that, I feel that you are tired.
Q yes, you are tired or? hahaha)(I
feel her mouth (narration) is finished
mm. (So at first when you were a
child) mm (when you were a child) mm
(before you and your mother came to sell
the beans, you did go to school a bit?)
Yes, they took me to school a bit. Then I
was going to Wesley, Wesley school
(Wesley girls) Yes, at the old cemetery.
(Tafo there?) Anka-No. This very place.
Kajetia. (Aa, where today Methodist)
They have used it for something? Yes.
The Methodist school. AA, the one today
they've made it, this thing, a park (yes
the park) Mho, it was there that I was
going to school. And my father too was
at Mmombo. And... (And what
happened to make you stop?) Hmm. Then
I was afraid of the stick. (then you
were afraid of the stick) (ha-he-he-
ha-ha-ha) (That is why you stopped)
So my brother and my father too were
Registrars (Ahaa) Ahaa. Asoneteheb's
place (Ahaa) Therefore I and my brothers,
all of them, then we were going to school.
Therefore If I am there, and I don't see
something and the teacher cares me,
then when I go home instantly, my
father says, Ama Seresah. You are
going to school? I say yes. When I go then I go to sit somewhere. Then the
school children, at first, you know that
if you don't go to school, then they come
to catch you (Yes, ha-ha-ha-ha)(He,he)
Then they come to catch you at home.
(mm) Then they take you to school.
Therefore when my father comes from work
then my brothers tell him, 'Free father,
Amma Serwal did not go to school or,
her teacher (mho-ho-ho) teacher has made
them to come and catch her. He says
so? Then today, Amma Serwal, catch
her. (He, he, he)(ha, ha, ha) Then they put
me on a table, and they thrash me with
sticks severely! When I finish immediately
then I run away. Then I come to my mother
at Adam. That was what I was
doing all along and my mother said,
father to be on the safe side. My mother too
she had me as the only girl (mm) And
she said no father, if that is what
it is like, then make her stop and when
she grows, and if whatever business
she wants, we help her to go and do it.
And I stopped. (AA) And when my mother
was going to the market, I would be
following her. Like that aa, and I
held it, and held it and held it and
my mother died and left me, and I
too have been able to strengthen myself
to do some work. (Mho-ho)(the school,
you reached where, you got to what stage?
0, I did not get far whatsoever. I got the standard four or (Then you got far. Then you should have been able to write your name. Are you able to write?) Mho
-No, (I standard four. You've seen that at first, standard four, you should have been able to write your name a bit.)
So what (Mho-ho-he-he-he) I didn't put it into my brain therefore (So? then you didn't like it) Mho (Yes) My mother says, therefore my brothers were harassing me that, I, the stick made me stop going to school. Then I was afraid of the stick. And I said yes, if I was afraid of the stick, do I get trouble. And to allow my friend to go to school, for me to go to school for the teacher to lash me with a stick, Mho (Mho-ho-he) Therefore these you and they started to go to school? Mm (Presently, some of them, their position is what?) 0 today, some of them have become old ladies actually.
Some even, I even, I am better than they are. (Mhee-he-he) (Mhe-ha-ha)
(Yes, right. Some were not able to do any white collar jobs what so ever, some were not.) AAA (to do local jobs?)
Since it was not I and they then lived together, so. (Aaa, you departed therefore you didn't see their whereabouts?) Mm mho, some were Fante's some were Gas and Ashantis. Mm therefore when like that day, I was at U.A.C. (mm)
then sometimes, I saw some of them. Then may be their mothers had books at U.A.C. (mm) someone is there, that may be does some work, then later, at the end, you would see that he is standing E.E. somewhere. You would meet him and he's become miserable (mm, they too couldn't get to the end?) And you and this, some got to the end, some also did no finish. The men too, also, some got to the end actually. Some have become scholars, but they have all become old men (mh) (therefore that time you, when you left school, then you came to follow your mother, you see? That is why) Yes, since I stopped the school, then I came to my mother. Therefore when I came to my mother, I did not go to my father again. Therefore if my mother was working, then it means I followed her. (mhm, it makes you happy) mh-(mhm-he-he) (therefore your mother she grew very old before she died?) My mother did not grow old properly. (She did not get to like you (your age) I brought forth my children; two of them, instantly then my mother was left somewhere (died) (Aaa) My mother in particular, died early (mm) My mother died early altogether. (And your father too also?) My father rather, as for that he grew old. My father in particular, had children, all of them
reverse. And me and my father's wife lived in Mormon and later when I left school then I came to my mother.
I have those who are before him – and then. O the other day; just only and my father died. My father died, Asante King, Prempeh, when he died (aa) then my father was living (so?) Yes, therefore when he died it wasn't long whatsoever; then about months, five, and my father too was left somewhere (died) (so?)

MM. (So your father it is only the Estate house he did. He did not build any house in Kumasi here?) Mho-mho. He went to build a house in his town (then he was doing what work here?)

At the time past, at first, he was a registrar at Asantehene's place. (Yes) Therefore later too, some litigation came between him and the Asantehene (King) And it became pull and let me pull (a struggle) Therefore my father went to stay in Accra. Therefore when they withdrew the case, so he didn't come and was in Accra all along. And when Kwame Nkrumah came (mm) And it means he took my father that he knew history (mm) And let him come and teach Kwame Nkrumah. And that means that old man (he saw him) he saw him (mm) Mho. EE. (He lives at K.O.) He lives at K.O. wheare (his child Konama, his child Konama whose eyes are so hard) (trouble some) MM you've seen that, it is, EE, Apagyahene (chief) who was left somewhere (died)
Madam Niane, then her daughter was the one Re was marrying. (Mm) Then she was marrying the Apagyahene (chief). Therefore it was her mother that they said, may be, she was a northerner, so her children too were beautiful actually. (Mm) Therefore one married the Apagyahene- chief, and one too also Kumase's rich men, some married her. She they say her house is within here. (Mmm) Three days now (recently) she died even about two years ago. 

Mm. The woman was the one, we then, that she in particular even, she was cooking rice. She in particular, the beans only was what she cooked and sold. (Mm) And then my mother too then they were in the market there, selling rice and beans. That time then Papa Osei, Papa Sei, Asante the man, who was a sanitary inspector (Town Council). You don't know him? (Papa Sei?) Papa Sei, someone. The man they called him Papa Sei. Presently he is alive. In fact, he is not dead. m.m.

He was the one, who was then in the market, and was looking after the market. (Before the Mr. Gyein in the Town Council man came?) Then Gyein was there, Papa Sei was there, then Gyein was there. (Gyein is my uncle) Mm. He and this Ga. This Ga man who was there, and went to Accra.
(And I do not know him) Aaa, Papa Sei and Mr Gyereng, and then, in this Ga, they were the people, that the stalls, they were looking after own. (Aahaa, I am asking you something; me. That time they stalls were in the market a lot) Mm, you see then they were living there but people did not know why did you not get some or then you had no money. (O, then I was small (young). You were small, you see?) Mm, as the stalls, the stalls in the market, it was later too even that they built some in addition. (Aaa) You’ve seen it? At first then, it was from the Royals line there (Sss - yes) then it was that place so. (Ahaa) then the market was at. And from there coming like this too, to the Apatere sellers place. That was then the Government’s own (property) (Mha). And he’s done it like that, from there like that too, up to passing up to Saa Subire’s mouth (banks) there. (Yes) Where the head-clot sellers are. (Yes - Yes) Mha. Then they were eating from there like that. Up to Subire’s place, in particular, today, eighteen sellers, in particular, even (yes) He was later that James was coming to build the eighteen, (yes) Mha. So the Government’s stalls really were, herring and retailing areas, and the hair-dyes and others. (Then you-
mother could have taken some. Or she did not take some?) My mother took some (And it is where?) My mother took some for, then my mother was ill, and I too, was a child, that I was my mother. I took her to a trip (travelled) some woman who was elderly, then came to take the stall and sat in it. She too when that happened she came to change my name — my mother’s name at K’im. A. (No — so your mother was ill and she whilst you were going to look after her, in her illness, and she, you gave it to her to sit in it too) mm (And then she went to change her name too) mm. Then we were paying shillings; two and six pence. (Ahah.) And then she went to change the name. The woman they call her Madame. (Ahah.) And you came, you couldn’t do anything about it?) We went to say it, and say it and say it. She didn’t agree, making James even build these stalls; the eighteen’s one, & he said that, he would give me some. Then he said your stall, should I get it for you or should I give you a new one? And then I said, father, get it for me. He gave it to me them, the woman went to summon James (to court) even, for James to say that I should go for it, & & & and as it was it made him pull it down. (Ah, if you had
gone for it, it would have helped you greatly.) MM. (MM. You've seen that today if you have a stall in the market (Yes) and you are not sitting in it even and you give it out on rent (Yes) each month too (MM) she gives something (MM) if she does not give you money at all, she is able to do some marketing for you) MM. Therefore when I am for instance even, and today (MM) somehow, but also, you cannot put your name on two stalls, therefore somehow, presently now, my children, for instance, EE, when I die then the fellow is going to someone that, EE, give me a stall. (So, a stall, one only is what you have) MM. (And the first time that you, you brought forth then they hadn't built it, then then, they had built that place and finished it?) who, and the one here in particular. (And you did not use your children, too you did not get some to use for your children) Yes, as for that, I used my children too and (If you had used your children's name to get some for them then?) Yes, we took some for them MM. (You took how many?) As for that, in particular, when we took it even, my elders even said, my children have got too much, therefore they again took away about seven. (As) MM (So it is left with how many?) Therefore my children, it remained about six (that their
their names are put on it?) Yes. (As for that it is good) Yes, everybody owns one, one. (And it means, they are not sitting in them, they have given them out on rental basis?) Yes, they; some are sitting in it, some too have given them out to someone to sit in them. (So, that even might help small-small) Mm, mm. (And if the government wants to help an traders, about that work too also, what they can he do to help them. You've seen that, those who do a lot of work for instance, how can it be, & something, & the market's work to go on. The the government has sent a lot of things; trying to make trading go better. (mm) What they could do that with actually, help?) (And she is saying, it means that, the govern- ment has made it that, he wants to may be do something, and then to help your work too. Presently on what every that, may be, he could talk to you so that he could do some work in it for you?) Mmm, that the government, & that oversees bank managers. (mho) that he and his wife together came to this town here. (They came to Kumasi here?) Mm (Mm) His wife came to Kumasi here. (Is she white?) Yes. While making us incur debt, Accra. (mho) Making us welcome her well, making the woman become happy so much. That time then this, Opuni Mensah, the soldier man. (mho)
He was then the chairman (who) then he was staying here. Therefore what we did for the woman and she said yes, they had seen that Ghanaian women, we like to work, therefore she too would help us to make them come to construct our market properly, and to give us money. Therefore they brought the money too indeed. (the time they brought the money then was how many years?) Mm. It would be, it was when they brought the money too that they transferred Opuni Mensah. They were coming to use it to construct the market. (mm) and they transferred him from here. As they transferred Opuni Mensah from here whether they would construct the market whether they wouldn’t construct the market, so, that is where we are sitting like this. (Therefore the money went to whose hands?) As for me I do not know that! (Aaa meaning that, so when they came, they told you that they would help you.) Mmm (They did bring money) mm, I heard it. (And when it happened like that, Opuni Mensah too, they released him. (He went on transfer?) Mm (They sacked him?) He went to Accra, mm. (Aaa) Mm, (So then, you didn’t see whether the money too, it came to Opuni Mensah’s hands or it came into whose hands?) Mmm, mm (Then it means, the way back to the money is lost?) Mm, father (somehow) (If it hadn’t been so
then by this time, she would have helped
you a bit too.) Yes, you've seen, she made
it that she would make them come to
construct the market properly for us. And
presently, they've seen that Shantian women,
we like to work. Like she came, for instance,
she came to see us, we bought things;
headloads, what nots, you see. As
Ashanti's in particular, we like things
(We like giving gifts) mm. And it means,
she too said that, we had done something
to her appreciation. Therefore she too
also, she would do something for us.
Now, we heard that, they said the
money had come. When the money
came, it wasn't two weeks, or two
months, they said they had sacked
Openi Mersah (So when it happened
like that, you the queenmothers, you could
not meet, to go and ask that, may be,
we've heard that, the money has been
brought &). Eee, but is it yours?
(You didn't go to ask about it, anything?)
We didn't go to ask. That, and then, the
Yam queenmother, she is our head.
She too, but she's gone to ask. Therefore
what should we go and ask? (So the
queenmothers, together, the yam's queen-
mother is your head?) Yes (Aaa)
As for that each one is her own queen-
mother, but she was the one elected.
She is, she keeps our front and is
our elder (head) mm. (Aa) (And presently,
that you are there, for instance, and the
Yams' queen mother is your head, for
instance, your carer, that you are
saying that, the land's head, for
instance, that thing, that is ....... As
you also sometimes, you have a day,
you gather to hold meetings, the queen-
mother?) mm, as the husband died
for instance, we haven't held any
meeting. My lady, & myself, if I go to say
it and it is not successful, then I stop
meaning that, Kumasi here too, if you
are not holding money, you wouldn't
be able to state your case, to make your
case sweet, never. Therefore father,
(somehow) by God's goodwill, the one,
one I have got for my children, then I
stay my lot, mm. (Presently, you yourself
you've got years, how many?) I?
Presently, I have got years about
seventy mm. (Eee, then)(then you are
beautiful) mm. (You are beautiful indeed)
mm (So when you were in your prime,
you had how many years, before you
brought forth your first child?) I had
about eighteen years. (Then you brought
forth early) mm (You purposely married?)
Yes. (aaa) My husband that I said
was left somewhere (died) Then it
meant that, I was getting pregnant,
and it meant, I brought forth, then I
had twenty years. (Aha) So when you
gave birth to all your children, then
you had how many years? (By the way, when you gave birth to the last one, to finish, finally, then you had how many years?) Then I had got about twenty-five, I had got about forty years. (Forty years, then you stopped bringing forth children?) Mm. (Aaa) I am saying, I wouldn't many even again. (Aa) (Mho-ho-ho) (You you've tried rather) Mm. What you have done even is much.) Mm. (You've done well.) (And something is there that you would like to state again or?) As for this, what point do we have to raise again? (except that) except that you ask me. (They say presently you, you do not hire a room?) Mha-No. (You do not hire a room?) No, I do not hire a room. (That even is good) Mm. I do not hire a room. Light bills and water bills (Is what you would respond to?) Is what I pay, and also land-rate too. (And your children too, your children, the men too, somebody has not been able to try and build?) Mho. But what work in particular is held by them, which? (Aaa) (The work is not what would be able to build?) Mho. (Yoo-right. Then we've finished) Mm. (And the time, you were going to school, you were small (young) so much, and you were going to school,
then, work, that time, then what work actually was there, of much value?
(when I was small (young?) (Yes, then, what work of value was there?)
As in Ashanti? (mm) mm. As it is, the work then here only, is what we are
saying (talking about) for instance too. Plantain was there; cassava was there;
yam was there; tomatoes sellers were there. Pepper and going and coming
(assorted things) all together was there, just like it is there o, and it is
there, everyone also sells, to get comfort, to get something from it. But today,
it means that, the people for instance, as you are saying that, the people have
become many, for instance, is what has made the trading hard a bit.
(mm) But, at first, these things all together, they were there, but then the
people too had no comfort. (But, that, the time you had money, you said
you had gone to do orange business, it was, like; it didn't need money
too much) (It means that, that time, that you were selling oranges, then we were
not taking much money to start?)
Mho, Mho. (Ahaa) (And if money was
to be there, if you had, if someone
gave you money a bit, what work
would you have?) (That time, that
time, like the thing, if you had been
able to get much money, apart from
the oranges, what would you have sold
in addition? That time even, you
wouldn't go to find a loan, to engage
in business (who) it means that, any
small money even like six pence, or three
pence even, shilling even, if you take it
to buy oranges, you would get some.
(who) So you've seen? You would get
something on it to buy food to eat, and
got some too to put down (save) if
you put down (save) in a penny, a penny
even, monthly too, you would get
money. If you go to buy something
for yourself, or you use some to buy
fish. So you've seen? Therefore if you
are there and someone gives you
money then; you cannot be able to go
for a loan that is heavy greatly,
whatsoever meaning that, the oranges,
how much? The, the bag too, sometimes
even, twenty shillings and six pence,
one shilling and six pence. When you
went to count, when you went to Togo, if
you went to count the oranges like this,
when we go, the oranges, for instance,
the very big ones, that today sell for
two for fifty, for instance, six for
a penny. Therefore when you buy one
shilling, or nine pence, you cannot.
(You cannot carry) mm. Therefore unless
may be, you come to buy about six
pence, to be able to carry. (And if you
had money that, may be, you were
going to buy something new, it is not
oranges that you would work with)
As for the work in particular, what God
would put you in, then it is yours.
(Else) it means you are going to buy,
you are going to find a loan.(mm) And
you take the loan to do some work, and
if you see that the work which you
are doing, it wouldn't bring some of
the money then, it not necessary that
you go and find a loan to do it. Unless
you look for something that, when you
sell, the loan you went for, your hand
would get it, to make you get profit.
(mm) What she was saying, she wanted
to say that, that time too, you've seen,
money, small amount however could
do some work; a lot.) mm (And the
oranges, then didn't need money greatly)
OKIE. (And the profit was good. But, If
there had been something else there,
when you sold, could give you profit,
a lot, more than the oranges. So you've
seen ?) Ano - yes (Therefore, you did
not want to do that thing also)
Anha-No. (As may be, like yams, it
is good, as may be, fish). As for that
(it is good) As I can cook Ga kenkey.
(Maa) So you've seen. I can go to buy
maize to put into water to make kenkey
when I cook, in the evening, then I eat them. Ga kenkey for instance, there is
profit in it. Ripe(pot) plantain that
has been baked, there is profit in it. So you see? As for the fried one, the profit is not in it greatly. (Mm) But I did these work all together, and then I brought forth, and with kenkey in particular, it is good business really. (Gaa?) (Kenkey that is cooked?) Kenkey that is cooked. (Ga Kenkey) The Ga Kenkey. (It is work that is actually good?) Mmm. It is work that is actually very, very, good. There is money in it. Therefore when I brought forth and my children grew up a bit, and then I looked at the fire side work, then I said, if I did the fire side work if you do not look well (not careful) then tomorrow too (And someone gets injured). That is why you could not do the kenkey. Then the children, father somehow may be, then someone falls into the fire. Have you seen it? And you've put water on the fire, trying to make (cook) corn dough. May be you are not there. By the time you come then he is gone to stand by the fire, even, to be pushing the firewood inside, then tomorrow... That was what made me stop. (Mm) Therefore when I stopped, then now, I was baking ripe (red) plantain. I baked the ripe (red) plantain consistently then now, the children too, they could reach (get to) the ripe (red) plantain. (Mm) I said O No, I shall stop. That
means, if I do not stop, if you do not look well (careful) may be, I am not there, then my child for instance is going, some ripe (red) plantain is lying on it, and he is going to turn it, tomorrow for instance, then this fire, turns onto him, and that made me stop. (Mm) And then I went to take a passbook too. As I looked at that too, how it was like, and then I said, no, father, (to be on the safe side) I do not have an Akosua and not having Ama. This book for instance, if I let my head bend onto it, consistently, it would not be good for me. And then, getting to the bottom (finally) they say see, her child even has given her money that, let her use it to take a passbook. She has chopped it. That time too also, they were taking this passbook, how much? (edie) pounds, hundred (mm) Pounds, about a hundred, for instance, if you chop (misuse) it, it is more than having chopped (misused) Ashanti nation's money. (Mho-ho.) (That time then it was money that was heavy), Then it was money that was heavy. (Yes) And then my mother even went to Asafo to buy a house for seven shillings. (the town here, Asafo) The town here, Asafo. (Mm) My uncle said she should stop, because if she does not look well (careful) her children might
die. (Ao) And my stopped the buying of
the house. And that time then my mother
was alive, and if I were a grown up,
would it have happened like that?
(If your mother had bought this
house, it could have helped you
actually) Mr. Therefore the work I saw
that Christ had put into my hand
only in the oranges. (As for that, the
children, none shall get injured.) As
for that if the knife lies there and you
cut your hand with it, then we go to
bandage it (He-he-he) That is what
it is like. And then I looked to it always.
Therefore my children, the women all of
them together, they and I continue to
sell the oranges always, and it went
on that always. Then this one, then
marries, then this one, then marries, then
this one then marries. And then, it meant
that, it has come to Allah too (Mr.)
Therefore then - you have seen it? My
grand-daughter in particular, I beg
you persistently, I wish that, she gives
me time (appointment) (She does something
about it?) And my grand-daughter's
case, she in particular, she knows book
(learned) very well (M Roo) Sometimes if
she herself sees her, she will be happy.
And if she comes and I and she (She
is a girl or a boy?) My grandchild (Your
grandchild?) (A girl or a boy?) My
grandchild really, (A girl?) Mr a girl.
she is the one who has studied languages?)
mm. (And she again types?) Mm. (Mmm) (Presently)
She is at where? She is in Kumasi here. She is (She does what work?)
She is in some work. The place they do this (Cloth?) Mho where they make (Letter writer?) Mho, where they make (they make the chairs?) They make & sheee (the foam?) The foam, sheee, that is the place she is. Mho (She is a salesgirl or?) Yes. (Or she is also at the store)
(What does she do?) Her work is what there? Or probably she types o, account o, as what o, she types? (Hmmm she types) (Her salary is not good you see?)
I do not know anyway, and she herself too anyway, she wishes that her thing for instance, the school she went to, it is not that work (Ahaa) that she is doing. It means if, as it is if it is not today. And if the work has been, if, at the bank or commission there for instance, and if (If someone did languages like this, then she could have got work at Broadcasting) Sheee. But also, (And sometimes, e) (As for that each evening, if I am in the house, I do not often go to town therefore) -so?
You've seen it? (Yes) (And she also too e. Sometimes you see that & in papers, in graphic like that too, sometimes if they are looking for people. If they are looking for some work to do, sometimes
make her regular, look through it. Some is there, some, they say come for interview, come for interview. Sometimes she must look, you've seen it?) Aaa, I do not know it anyway, since not I and they are living. I, I am at Estate. They too are at Adum. (She and who are staying?) she and her mother (She and her mother?) Mm. My children and my grandchildren, she is the person who has been able to learn far. (Who) And Nana Sei for instance. Mm. (And Ataa's mother too also did she go to school a bit?) Ataa too?

Ataa, she went to school a bit, but she could not go to finish at all. She did not reach anywhere. (And she brought forth?) Mm. We've sat down from the morning, until this time here. (Mm) She doesn't see what to say.

And so that person who came to say that story to her was lying. (As for that they together have some to say) Mm. I am in bed. It is your mouth that has killed you. And then, he is getting down. Ee, the Chief Nana Akwasi. We are bailing you and we give the war cry. I thank you, I thank you. And I did not know that. Ee! Aa, the day he said he was coming to the market for instance, I and my children, we collected fees to hire tootie (brass band) (Ee-he-he-he-He) (Soruku-happiness) (he-he-he) And we brought it and put
it into the market. (And then teete, gyin-gyin-gyin) And then we heard that Nana Akwari did not come, eee (ou). He's made us incur debt for nothing. I said, as for that, if that is what it is like, then, we would beat (the band) from here up to plantain section, then another (to). If I had known even, else we could have brought it to city council. (Else you should have brought it) And we danced and danced and danced and then the market women: 'Orange queen, you've done well, orange queen you've done well. And then the town council people went to inform him. Eee, Nana, if you had gone to the market, the orange queen mother and her children, stop! (Great) He said, so? He said he did not know the orange queen mother's work she was doing in the market today? (Nho-ho-ho) Eee! (But he didn't come) He's made it become a debt for nothing. Thirty thousand (Ae) Look, mmn. As for that, food——