

We first came to meet our grand elders at the market. There were many elders in it. The first ones were Madam Awerentykyi; (yes) (yes) madam Mansa, (yes) madam Nkrumah, madam Agyeiwaa, madam Amma Nsiah, madam Akua Amoatema, Amma Nsi; so many people. So many, for madam Nyantekyiwaa and madam Donko and mother Adwoa Fordjour; madam Nkrumah; I mention their names to tell a story. All these people, excuse me to say they are dead (yes) so, that place was all muddy. (yes) Akua, where you came to meet us, it was muddy. And those elders were able to get rid of all the mud. And they made that place stalls. (yes) And at that time, there were big, big, big, big animals; like "Asianka" (unknown to me, can't be found in the Twi dictionary either) antelopes, wild hogs, pigs, cows, and buffalo. Today, all animals in the bush, including antelopes are all among. So they are from the Northern Ghana. They are from the North, North, North. (yes) Tumu. E, Wa (yes) Walewale. E, Takyiman, Tangruvu. (yes) All of them, all the animals are from the North and they are brought to this place. And excuse me to say, when they are brought, then they are smoked (yes). And they are brought to the market. And all these elders group them and we also go to buy some. (yes) So it was like that for people; at that time too, it was cheap. (Is that so?) Yes, it was cheap. It was cheap. It was very cheap. And these days in which we are now, even bullet, the packet, today, it is expensive. So it has

pushed the things up. The things have gone up, up, up. So everytime, they call us to the Regional Office; when they call us to any place, they can ask me that, and the things, why is it that the things in the world have become expensive?

I can say that it is from the bullet. (Is that so?) Yes, the bullet has made it expensive.

The price of the bullet has become expensive.

(Gun bullet) The gun bullet has made the

price expensive. And right now, it has

made all goods expensive. Ah! now it

has become expensive. It is not like the past.

So, as time goes on, then excuse me to say,

Nana Asante Hemmaa (the queen mother of Ashanti) Nana

Opoku Ware (Yes) And we say we would like that,

we want, recently, recently, recently, recently,

recently. Everybody's work; as you came

to see me. Yes; so when you go to the yam

section, (Yes) there is the queen for yams. When

you go to the mud fish section, the queen

for mud fish is there. (Yes) When you go to

the smoked bush meat section, the queen for the

smoked bush meat is there. When you go to the

plantain section, the queen for plantain is there.

Pepper, cosmetics, everything has its queen. (Yes)

So now, at our place, the queens, two are dead.

(Yes) Yes. Three are dead. The first to die was

Mother Afia. And, and Afia Fofie. She is from

Woneo. (Yes) Yes. Ashanti Woneo. She was the

first queen. She is dead. (She was a queen for

what thing?) She was the queen for smoked bush meat.

(A queen for smoked bush meat) Yes, she was.

(She was the first in about what year?) She was the first to be the queen in the year, during Dr Kwame Nkrumah's time. (During Kwame Nkrumah's time.) Yes. Was that when they started to appoint queens? So we went on march past at the stadium. (Yes) At that time, the old woman died. (Yes) As soon as she died, we installed another one also. (Yes). She too, she was called Akua Amoatemes. When she was installed, she was quite old. (Yes) And we planned to remove her. (Is that so?) Yes, we removed her. (Oh? Why?) Yes, because she was weak. She could not go anywhere. (For, she was old) Yes. And we installed another one too. Mother; Mother, who even? I have forgotten the other one. Abenaa Donko. They installed her too. As for Abenaa Donko, she reigned. She reigned and she became an old woman. Because she was old, when we called something, she could not attend. (aa) So we should look for a youth. And they appointed me. (Yes) And they installed me. So when they installed me, they took me to Asante Hemmaa (the Ashanti Queen mother) (Yes). And they took me to the king. And the king said, "You are elders over there. Be careful not to hear and hate her. You should love her as your child." And stay with her. And they installed me for about ten years ago. (Ei! As for that, it has been a long time.) Yes. So now, I am there. That when we are called to any

place, my sister is there. She too, she often goes to the forest. And if she is around, to anywhere that they will call us, I go with her. And we go to listen the particular news. Maybe this; maybe today too, we go on march past at the stadium. And that means that we go with the whole group. We are there like that. Therefore the work; now, it has let the work, it is there but the goods are expensive (Yes) We cannot do it. Even the food that we eat, sometimes we don't get it. (Yes) And that means that all things have become expensive and all of it is from the bullet. It is from the gun bullet which is used to kill the animals. (Yes) And that has let the price expensive. For we and our children and our elders, excuse me to say, are there. And we have all animals which are in the bush, we have some. All animals which are in the bush at Tumu, Wa, Tamale, and everywhere, they have been killed like that; buffalos; "Asianka", antelope, wild hogs, pigs; grass cutter; all animals; we go and bring them. And in the eighth month (ie August) we stop (Yes) and we stop catching or hunting for the animals (Yes) For Kwame Nkrumah made the law. He said that ~~at~~ during that time, the animals become pregnant. (Yes) So when the animal is pregnant at all, in Ashanti they shoot at it. (Is that so?) Yes, when they kill them like that, the baby will be there. So)

he has stopped them. So they have stopped until the fourth month before they reopen. Have you seen that when you came here, there are plenty of meat at this place? (Yes, yes. plenty are there.) Yes, so at certain time, you won't get one like this to use for something at all. (Yes) So what Kwame Nkrumah said too, the government has followed it. (Yes). So when that time comes, they don't allow it. (Is that so?) Yes. They should not kill and bring it. Today too, if they don't get papers from the North to come too, they won't let you bring the meat. (So? What papers?) Yes, unless you get papers; permit. (Aa' is that so?) Yes. That you can bring ^{the} animals to this town when you go to buy. If you don't get it too, the game keepers too seize it. ("Wild game") Yes. Yes. And they seize it. And if you have your papers, then, they don't bother you. Then they will bring you. So all kinds of animals in the bush, some are there (Is that so?) Yes (Is that better?) Yes (Yes) For that is their case (Yes) That is their case. And what is important mainly, what we need is the ~~butter~~ (The bullet) Σ , and if the bullet becomes cheap, then the things will become cheap. And today too, that person too, the thing too, that person too, won't he/she make it cheap? (Yes. And what will he/she do to let it go down like that?) Are you saying that what will he/she do to let it go down like that? (Yes) If it will be, all is from the bullet that the bullet which they use to kill the meat. If they give to them at cheap price, then it will go down.

(And what will make the bullet go down?) The bullet? Then, then it is from you. (i.e. it depends on you, white people) It is from those who sell it (Yes) (Because, today, everything has become expensive) (And if you buy it and it is expensive, what will you do to sell it cheap?) If the thing, he/she sells to me maybe four thousand Cedis (Yes) and I go and he/she sells it to me two thousand Cedis, then when I come the thing will be cheap. For if I buy it for four thousand Cedis, I will not make it cheap. (Yes) (And grandma, I beg you, who at all do you believe that makes prices become expensive?) It is car. (Car?) Yes, ~~the~~ car too, excuse me to say, they buy the meat from the North, they put them in the car, (Yes) the car too is among. Ei! Even if the things are like this, he will charge you. (Yes) Yes. (When they charge you, won't you put it on the meat?) (You will put it on it) Therefore the car too is among. Car and bullet, have made the meat expensive. (Yes) - Yes. (So now, when we were talking, you said that all the animals are ~~there~~. Today, are the animals there in the bush like the past?) Yes, they are there. (Are they there?) Yes, for the government passed a law that when they are pregnant for four months, they should not be killed; they too, when they give birth, they increase. So today, all the animals, today, they are in the North. (Just like the past?) Yes, yes. For today, they move about. You cannot shoot them. (No) Yes. Now, more babies are they producing. (Yes) Yes. (And when did you

begin to sell meat?) them. (and was there more meat than now?) Yes, at that time, there was meat. Meat was there. (Yes) For they have been killing them like that; even people at all, excuse me to say, are getting finished. (Yes) For they kill a lot. Everyday they kill. Everyday, they kill meat. Today at all, they would have finished. So in the past there was more meat than today. (More than today) Yes. And if Kwame Nkrumah had not stopped them and they killed them like that, then, they would have finished. (Yes) He, (ie Kwame Nkrumah) he gave an order that when they are pregnant, they should not be killed. So in the eighth month, they should not kill the animals. (Yes) Unless it ends. As for today, they allow them to kill, because none is pregnant that it will give birth. (Yes) Yes. (And at that time, were you a young woman?) Yes, I was a young woman. When I was there, I was a young woman. I had one child. (Was she a young woman?) My child gave birth to, my child has given birth to eight children. (Is that so?) Yes, my child that I brought her into it, she has given birth to eight children. (Yes) (Even me, I had not given birth to a child before, but my child has given birth to a child. My grandchild has given birth to a child.) Yes. (E, then, you are quite old.) E, we know all about it. (aah) We know a lot at that place very much. (Ah, we know stories over there. (Yes) Yes. (And at first, when you were a young woman,) Yes, (were they buying meat exactly like today?) Yes.

(Was it expensive?) At first, when I was a young woman, ^{when} they were buying two, they bought it with the old currency, one pound, one shilling. The ancient money. Two. Two like this. We were buying it for one pound and one shilling (Two for how much?) (Two basket full?)

NO. All the baskets. The baskets are twelve (Ah, the baskets are twelve) Yes, we were buying it for one pound and one shilling (Yes). Maybe one pound. (Yes) As for today, as for today, the baskets, sixty. (Yes) Even the sixty.

(Sixty thousand Cedis) Yes. For today, the two is ten thousand. (Yes) And that means that, for today, the price has gone up. (It has gone up) And all of it is from the bullet that we talk about and the car, that doesn't make the things cheap. Yes (And at that time, what did you do to make you know how to sell meat?) At that time? (Yes) At that

time, what made me know how to sell meat was that my biological mother, (yes) it was her work (Her work) (Is that so?) Yes. (Is she living in this town?) Yes, she is there.

Now, she is at home. (Yes) She doesn't go to the market. She doesn't come to the market.

(Has she become an old woman?) Yes (Yes) (Me too, my mother does her work) Her mother too, does her work. She too, she is dead. (Yes) So at that time, so her mother, she took me there. (Did she take you there?) Yes, to take her place.

(Yes. You were a little child and you followed her at the market, isn't it?) No. I was going

to school. (Did you go to school?) Yes. I went to school. (You went to school for how many years?) I went to school up to Form One. (Eii, you went for a long time.) Yes. And I stopped. (And why did you stop?) Aa! for at that time in the world, when you finished school and excuse me to say, (Yes) you could not travel to Europe or America and you didn't get, excuse me to say, a good job to do, you would go into trading. (Is that so?) So I made it that, whatever it was, I would trade. So I would follow the old woman that she too might teach me the business. (So before you finished the school, you never went to the market?) Yes. When I stopped at form one, (Yes) at that time, when I was going to school, when the old woman was going, I followed her (Yes). On Saturdays that we don't go to school, then I come with her and I got an insight into the business. And I thought that there was no profit in going to school. (Yes) So I would stop and do business. (And is there no work in Ghana that when you finish school, you will have?) No. (Was it before Nkrumah's time?) For everyone has what he/she likes (Yes) Yes. For I wanted to follow the old woman. (She wants her handicraft truly) And I want my own, excuse me to say, I myself, do my handicraft (Yes) Yes. Today, as I am there, at this stage, maybe I should be retired as a pensioner (Yes) I am not paid. We don't get money to buy food

for children to eat. Now too, I am in it (Yes) I do my work. (I understand) Do you understand? (Yes, yes, yes.) (Have you seen that there may be someone who after finishing, after finishing (ie school) he says he wants to be a mechanic.) (Yes) (When he completes school, he says, "I want to be a mechanic.") (Yes) (When he finishes school, he says, "I am going to do this work. I like tailoring. I like this. Do you see?") (Yes) (For, it means that he wants handicraft) Yes.

(And your sisters, are they not with you?) All my sisters were there. (Yes) (They are not in your work) E, they were there. But today all of them have stopped. Some ~~do~~ go to Abidjan to sell cloth. They go to bring goods to Kumasi to sell. As for me, my mother; my mother's mother, they were selling some - (Yes) All my sisters were selling some. (Yes) All of them have stopped. I am the only one left. (Is that so?)

Yes. (And why have all of them stopped like that?) At that time, one of my sisters used to go to Abidjan to bring goods. So when she went, and found that it was good, she asked them to go with her. And I should go with them; I said, "No". For if all of us say that we are stopping, then we won't know the work our mother came to do. (True) So, I should know the work which our mother came to do. (Yes. That is good) Yes.

(And when you stopped school, did you marry in this town?) Yes. I married my senior husband. (Yes) I married my senior husband with whom I had my senior child and I divorced him and married

another one again. (Yes) As for the ~~other~~ one, I am with him today; the second one. As for him, I still marry him. (Yes, that Father) E, he is from Nkoranza. (Yes) Yes. Now, he is an old man.

(Yes) Now, we have stayed there like that.

When I say that I will go somewhere -----

So, now, we are there like that; and for him, he has got some to spend with me. (Yes) If I too,

I get some, I spend with him. (Yes) Yes. If you

say that you are going to divorce him to go and

marry someone else, it is not fine. (And when

you were a young woman, was there profit in the

business?) At that time? (Yes) At that time at all,

even if there was profit in it, when you went to

the market, you got six pence, six pence. Do you

see, six pence (it was money). Even if you got

three pence, it could feed you. (Yes) ~~Does she know~~

it? As for six pence, she knows it. Yes. (Yes)

You can use it, yes you can feed yourself

with it. (Yes) Yes. It will be enough for all people.)

It will be enough for all people; you buy plantain

half penny. When you buy it, they give you pepper.

They will give you garden egg. They will give you

everything. And they will give it to you as a dash.

(Yes) So it was good. As for today too, excuse me

to say. When you buy and excuse me to say, you

don't buy pepper separately and you don't buy garden

egg separately, they will not give you some. So, as

for today, it is hard. (Yes) (Formerly, the money was

much) Yes. When you take six pence, you will eat.

Many people will eat. (So when you were a young woman,

were you able to save some of the money?) Yes; when

you spend it, for when you get some like that,
 when you get six pence, (Yes) that you will go from
 three pence to six pence? (Yes) So if it is the
 six pence or penny, at all, I can spend it and
 leave half penny. (Leave half penny. I shall take it
 to the bank. That is it. Yes (Do you have bank
 account?) Yes, yes. Yes. (Is that so?) Yes. (Ei!
 You have money) Children of today. That they
 will have children. The children have spent it (Yes)
 They have come to spend the money. They have
 finished spending it. Yes. They have come to
 finish spending it. For today, they have come to
 finish spending it. (Yes) Sometime at all, excuse me
 to say, you may be sick. When I got sick,
 excuse me to say, I was operated upon. (Is that so?)
 So, even if there was money, I will spend it. I
 stayed at home for six months (Yes) (Is that so?)
 Yes. And I have children with me. I will pay light
 bill. I will pay water bill. I will pay toilet fee.
 Excuse me to say, I will also eat. Yes. (And
 was it like that formerly? Pardon? (Light
 too) Light? (Yes) Light too, will take a lot
 of money from me. (Yes) Yes. Yes. (It is the
 chop money at all that is difficult) Chop money
 too. (Chop money. You go and buy cassava thousand
 Cedis.) When I was coming now, I was coming with
 you, and the child should go to the market to
 buy things, they said four thousand. (Ei!) Yes
 And when you go to shop with four thousand Cedis,
 excuse me to say, one day, Akua, will you have
 money to save? (Yes) You won't have money to save
 (And for the past, at that time, when you first had children,

you had money and you spent all looking after the children?) Yes. (She is saying that when you first began and you didn't yet have children, did you have money?) When I had no children, my mother was looking after me. (Yes) My mother was looking after me. Yes, she was caring for me. (And what about when you began to do your own work too?) When I began to do my work, now, I look after my mother. (Her mother cannot look after her) (Yes) Now, I use my money to look after my mother. I buy food for her to eat. (So at that time when you started to work, you could work to earn a little to save?) Yes. I earned a little to save. (What about today too?) As for today, I have none there. For today, if I get about two thousand Cedis, it is not enough for chop money. (Yes) Do you see? It is not enough. My brother is in Europe or America. Occasionally, he sends a little to the old lady and I use it to prepare some food. The day that I will go and don't get money, then I use some. (Yes) I too, I use it to shop. (Yes) For now, the chop money is big. Also, I shall attend funeral too. Yes. So, the money, if I say today there is some, I will be lying. (Yes) Yes. Today, when I came, now, today, I didn't work. As I didn't work and I am going back, tomorrow too, I shall spend money. And, where is the money? As for now, the money is not there. (And have all your children grown up?) (She is saying that,

have all your children grown up?) They have grown up. The senior one has given birth to eight children (Yes. So your lastborn has he finished school?) Yes, the lastborn has finished school. He is learning some work. I have given birth to two females and two males. I gave birth to four. (He is learning some work. He hasn't got money yet,) Yes. (Which he will give to you to buy something) Now, I give him food to eat. (Yes) (You say you went to take your mother's place. And you too, you have four children. Two women.) Two women. (So you too, you have got someone who follows you to take your place?) Ah, as for me, my children don't like it. (They don't like it.) For now, I don't know what they are doing. They say the women don't like it. So as for the women, they never came into it. (So now, when you become an old lady, who will do your work for you?) Now, when I become old, then I stop. Then, the children will look after me. And that means the children have cared for me. (This work at all, is no work) Yes, as for today. (As for today, everyone; the children, they don't come) Yes. (So right now, at first you said that they brought it from there to this place) The North. (The North to this place.) Even today, they bring it. (Do they bring it even today?) Just these days. (The Northerners, do they bring it?) Yes, they bring it. (That is why in the stalls, I see Northerners in the stalls.) Yes. You have seen many men; (Yes) They bring it. When you come, I will show you some of them (Yes.) That was

what we often did in the past. (In the past?)

Yes. (It is like now. Do you give money to someone to go and bring it to you?) Yes; then she goes to bring it. And she goes to bring it.

(Yes) Somebody can give some like that. (Yes).

You can give someone like that and she goes to bring it from there. Someone too may be there, when she goes for it (ie the money) to go, she doesn't bring the things to you; and she takes the money. (Yes)

(Was your mother too doing the same? She was giving money to someone) At first, it was not like that. At first, they were not doing that. The people themselves brought them and you sold them. For today

too, somebody may come and say, I don't have money. (If you don't give him money, he won't give you some.) There may be someone who will say that he has no money. Give me money to go and bring you some. (Yes) And you too you want

money to spend; you will also give him money. When he goes, you won't see him again. (No)

There may be someone who is a good person too; when he goes everyday, he brings it. (Yes)

You will also get a penny to buy something to eat.

(Yes) (And you say that when you were young, you were with your mother?) Yes. (But you, as for you, you have your money, and did your mother have hers or you had all together, as one?) Yes. For

that, she was doing hers. (Yes) I was doing mine too. (But when your mother was selling meat at all, you were not selling meat.) I was not selling some

meat. (You were not selling some) (Is that so?) Yes (No) because I followed her to school. (Yes) (You were going)

to school) I was going to school and on Saturdays, (Yes) (you come to take food home) And when I was at the market like that, then I too, I collected the remains and put it there (Yes) And I realised that it was profitable. (Yes. And you yourself sold yours) Yes. So when I went to the school and reached from one, I found that and I said that I would not go. (Ah, there was a lot of money at the market.) (So she will not go) And I said that I would not go (Yes), I would like to stop to go and sell things. (When she comes, she will get six pence.) Yes. (Three pence.) So before you got married you yourself at all were doing your work.) Yes. So when I married the man, he was not the one who found the work for me. I was doing my work. (Yes) Yes. (When you married, did he give you money to do the work?) No (the man) No. For ours, it is that (Yes) formerly, there was fear in the world. (Yes) People were afraid of things. (Yes). Today too, people fear nothing. (Yes) So when the person brings them to our elders that I said, (Yes) then we go and buy. (Yes) They will give to us on credit. When we go to buy like that, they don't take money from us. (Is that so? Don't they need money?) No. They say that when we finish selling. (That she finished selling) Then she pays for it. So even today, it is there like that. (Is that so? So when they come from the North, then they say that they have to finish selling before?) Yes. (All right, I understand. Don't they do that now?) Now, they are doing it.)

Right now, they are doing it. It is a rule. It has come to stay. (Yes) Yes. So as for money, you don't need it) O, no. Now, I don't need money. (All right, I have heard) (And when you do that work, you are there like that, is it enough to look after all your children, or your husband helps you? Your husband has to help you.) Yes. It is that we use to look after the children at school. (She means that when we come to the market, the money that we get, is it able to look after the children?) Dai, E, as for that, it is not enough. For, every woman, if you have a husband, he will give you chop money. (Yes) Yes. So when the man gives me the money, do you see, then I use that to buy food and eat it with the children. And if I too, when I get some, then I give it to the children. (Yes) Yes. So I share with him. He takes some and I also take one. So I take some (ie I contribute some money) I take some from the children's for my chop money. (Yes) Yes. That is it. (All right, I understand. So you have paid, your husband has paid the school fees?) My husband? (Yes) Yes, as for the school fees, he should pay for the children. (Yes) Yes. (Then, he is a good person.) Yes Yes. He looks after the children. (There may be a man too, who doesn't pay.) (Yes, There may be someone who doesn't pay) Yes. Someone may be there who doesn't pay. For today, I shall cook for you to eat. Even if you give the money, it is not enough, but I will give.)

you some to eat. If I will give you some to eat, and you don't pay, I won't get all like that. So you have to choose some of it. (Yes) Even at all, those who are abroad; Ihanarians who are in Europe or America, someone may be there whose husband may take the school fees and the wife also will take the food. (Yes) Is it not what they do? (It is that) Or in Europe or America, is it not like that?

(She is asking you) (Yes, she is asking me: My country?) (Yes. Someone may ^{be} there with his wife; maybe the man will take the children's school fees and the woman too, will take chop money. (No; we don't often do that) Yes. (If you marry someone we often do that; at our place, only one money) (Yes. You put your money together) All of them keep their money together. As for them, they are like Jehova Witness. (When they marry, then they keep their money together.) And they start to use it for the upkeep of the children (Yes) When this one gets profit and that one gets profit, then they keep them together and use it to care for their children. As for Bekanti, they don't do it like that (Please, mother, ~~formerly~~, you said, ^{that} the work was better ⁱⁿ the past than today) Yes. (So, those who were doing the work in the past, were ^{they} able to do it and get property like houses or something of that nature from it?)

Then, not everybody got some. Only one person. (Is that so?) (Who?) Madam Agyeiwah. She was

able to build a house in her town. (Yes). And as for madam Amoatemala together child, Baakosa. And the queen who died; the second one. (Yes)

Akua Amoatemala, she also used it to build a house at Suame. (Yes) And, after this, just now that I am saying that things have become expensive, that some are making property. (Have some built any?) Some have built some. (And you yourself, has God helped you to build some?)

For I, myself, I could not do it. But my brother has come to build some at Sepe. (All right) (Yes)

Yes, about six years ago. (Yes) And we live in it.

(Yes) For it was the work that made it possible for us to let him travel. (Yes) (Yes) (For you used the work to help him.) Yes. I and my mother. (Yes)

And he too has come to build some. (All right)

But the elders who built houses, what did they do to have more profit than the other one?

At first, (yes) if you were ^{a thing} buying for penny, today you cannot buy a thing for penny. (Yes). So as you are growing, when you get a penny, then you spend half penny and you save half penny. (Yes)

And you put them together and you use it to build a house. Today too, when you get a penny, all will finish. (It is ^{not} enough) So it is. (So you cannot save any.) Yes. So if you will get it, then

you must have profit little by little from the work and you save it before you can make some property. (Yes) (And in the past, it wasn't everyone that could build a house. One person or two people.)

That is it, that is it, that is it, that is it. (And to get property for yourself like that, what do they)

do that it will happen like that? That their work will go on more than somebody?) (For those who were able to make property, how did the work go on? Have you seen someone who could do the work better than another one? Maybe their work went on and they were able to make property or, how were they able to make property?) How they were able to make property is that at that time, they were big (i.e. their business) but excuse me to say, they were buying it at one shilling and three pence. (Yes) Two shillings and six pence. Two shillings and six pence at all was expensive. So that meant that, that person, when she/he goes and she/he gets, when she goes, and goes to the market and she gets one pound at all, (ten pounds at all) ten pounds, it was money. (It was money) Yes. If you get three pence more to it the next day, it was money. That was why they were able to do it. (Yes) Have you understood it? (I have) The goods were also coming in large quantities. Occasionally, it would come in large quantities. Even in one day, you would get about two pounds. (Yes) And when you get two pounds a day, and you spend one pound, you will be left with one pound. (What is left is much) That is it. (It is too much) Yes. (The woman who stays at Luame, she built a house with three pounds. It remained a balance of six pence which she deposited at the bank.) (Today, if you go to the bank to deposit six pence at all, they will say why are you coming to deposit this?) (Even that at all, when you go to stand there with it,)

they won't mind you.) Today, this thing, the bank book (i.e. the savings account book), today, when you go to open an account at all, it is more than ten thousand. (Yes. Today, you start with fifteen thousand) Today? (The banks of today. Like Commercial Bank, Barclays etc.) Yes. (When you get fifteen thousand, you can open savings account) Yes. (You can't open it with twenty and thirty again) Three pence at all, then you go there to say I have come. Yes and you put it there. Bank. My mother would say, "Take it to the bank". Three pence. And I go with it to save. (But the things were cheap for everyone. And not everybody could make property.) No. And wisdom too, there was no wisdom too like that. (Yes) There was no wisdom at that time, there was no wisdom in the world. There were not many people in the world. ~~There were not many people in the world.~~ (Is that so?) Yes. When the things were many like that, there was no wisdom. (Is that so?) If there was wisdom, I would say that I could have bought about ten estate houses at all. (Is that so?) There was no wisdom. (Yes. I have understood it) If wisdom came, it was just recently. Recently, when Kwame Nkrumah came and civilisation came. Civilisation came. As for him, he came to open the eyes of people, excuse me to say that. He brought civilisation into the world. At that time, real wisdom was not in the world that I would do something. Do you understand? The things were cheap. There was no wisdom. (Yes) Otherwise,

everybody would have got his/her house. Nobody would rent anybody's. But the wisdom, none was there. Some individuals were wise. Those who built houses, individuals were wise. All ancient buildings were built by individuals who were wise. (Yes) It was not like today. (Yes) Otherwise, a child at all would have built a house. Otherwise, this child of mine, this child of mine at all would have built a house. So it is today that civilisation has come. (It is today that civilisation has come) (For now, the children are even building houses.) Yes. (Is it not by the grace of these children; by the grace of Europe or America) If you go to Estate and you go to E, Akensan, Atonsu and Estate and Pankoro road, small children like this my child, are building houses. (Yes) (The small children) Because at that time, there was no wisdom in the world. (It is today that civilisation has come. As for today, there is much civilisation. People are civilised. Now at all, you, excuse me to say, as you are here, you have travelled to come; now, when you are paid over there and you go to the bank to withdraw some at all, you will spend and leave some. (Yes) Do you understand? (You will not spend all.) You will say that there is sickness. Poverty ^{too} in the world, so you will spend some and save some. (Yes) And you won't say that today, you have got all of it, you are spending it today. (No) So today, there is much wisdom. (But there is no money) Money too,)

is not there. Do you see? (Only wisdom). Now, the little pepper that you bought from the market, for how much did you buy the pepper? (mm, five hundred) (The pepper, five hundred) Look! The five hundred, in the ancient time, it was a big amount. (E, you could even buy a plot of land with it or buy a house (yes) or start a house with it at all. (yes) Very elderly people would have the five hundred Cedis. Now, it goes to buy pepper. (But when you were young woman like that, what helped you very much in your work?) Now? (In the past) Mm. That what came into my mind for me to do that work? (What helped you? Your work that you do, what has been able to help you very much to make it strong?) How it has become strong is that now, I get what I eat, I have been able to look after my children at school. Some have gone to Europe or America. Do you see? (yes) Then also, I myself too, I have bought two of these also; and have sewn to put them on (yes); I eat. (yes) I should sit down (ie to rest) (But what is there that you can do. That you have been able to do the work very well?) Like what? (How is living?) (That is, what has helped you to let you do the work very well?) That is, we were there as something like nursing mothers' work (Nursing mother's work) Yes. It is nursing mother's work. For when you go and excuse me to say, you don't get some of this food at all, you will get meat to go and prepare food to eat. (yes) Yes. (Yes, I understand.)

And now, how is the work now, that a nursing mother does that work, she can?) Yes, as for now, it has become daily, excuse me to say prayer thing. (Yes) The bible even says that Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Give us our daily food. (Yes) So now, it is like doing it to get something to buy food to eat. (Yes) As for now, you cannot get. It is not good but you will get what the children will eat. (Yes) Yes.

(And all the people with whom you started to work at the same time, who is there that her work has progressed more than someone? And what has made someone's work progress more than the other one? (Yes) Yes, that is that; what has made it happen like that is that, there may be someone, excuse me to say, my child, for example, you can give her money to go to the Northern Ghana, (Yes) to go and bring goods. When she brings them to me like that, then the work will go on. (Yes) (She has given some to this person. She has given some to this aunt.) Yes. (She has given some to me. You have three.) Yes. Somebody too maybe there who has none like that) Yes; maybe, I go to buy from this my sister (Yes) When you go and buy from her like that, she also wants profit. I also go for profit. And when it becomes double like that, you don't get money. (Yes) Yes. So, if you get someone, like this my child, to let her go to the Northern Ghana to go and bring it to you, you will get three places to buy food to eat very well. (Yes) Yes. (All right, I understand) Do you understand? (Yes) (And people; do you have money to go and give it)

to someone like that? From where do you get money?) We have none. We have none. And those who do the work, (Who?) The Northerners (Northerners) When you saw them; They, themselves, bring their own things. (Is that so?) Yes. There may be someone who has a gun. (Yes) He goes to bush with it. He himself will kill it and smoke it. And he, himself will bring it. As for that, it is his own money. Yes. As for now, you have understood the story very well. (Yes. It seems to me that I have understood it) You have understood it. Hmmm. That you understand it very well, is said to emphasize a case. You too, you write. You use it to work (Yes) Yes. So you have to understand it when we say it (Yes) Yes. What is beyond your mind too, you can ask; we also, we will answer. Yes. (And she is asking) Yes, she has asked into it very much. As for now, Abenaa, you have done well. (Akua) Akua? (Akua Konadu) Yes, Akua has done well. The other day, when she came, she mentioned her full name. (Yes) I even thought that she doesn't understand Asante (ie Twi). She herself, she speaks; she speaks her Asante. (Yes) Yes. And rather here, God willing, as she has come to know this place, if on a Sunday, I see something, where she is, if I, I see something like this, I will be able to come and sit down with you, may be in the afternoon to have conversation (To have conversation) (Yes) If there are ancient stories that I know at all, I will tell you all. About living, I have told you all of it. (She would be happy very much.) (Yes) (Would

you like that?) (Yes) (Yes) (Or at a time when she is free and she finds something new) And if I am at the market, (she will be able to come to have conversation with you. And you tell her everything.) Yes and I too, (that too, it will be interesting very much.) (Yes, it will make me happy) Yes and, some time to come at all, if I need something at all, because of God, you will be able to help me. (Yes) Do you understand? (Yes, I understand. So whatever I will get to know, I will go, and I will go; that I am at my place; if I have come with money and I see something, one Sunday, you will see that I may come. (Yes) For ordinary day like that, people have no time. (Yes) So as for Sunday, Sunday at all; when I go to church at all, when I come, I have time. (All right) (Yes) (When we finish service) Yes. In the afternoon at all. (Silence) three; you come and we sit down for a long time; that, Akua, I have seen this, I have seen this, I have seen this, I have seen this, I have seen this, I have seen this. Maybe plantain like this. This, formerly, we were doing it like this; this, we were doing it like this. I will tell you all. Whatever I will see. When I come, I shall tell you. (All right, that will make me very happy) Yes, but in future, (Yes) God willing, and you also go over there, (Clark) you too, you may remember. You may remember me that truly, bush meat queen and her sister and her child (Yes) she has come and have conversation with me and talked about many things. (Yes) Do remember that, you hear? (All right. I have heard)

(That is why we put it on cassette.) Yes (So when we take it, then we say here is such and such a person) Yes (Please, your name, what did you say, your are called?) I say I am called Aata Amma (And, and) Aata Amma (Amma) Queen of smoked bush meat (Yes) (So when we record it on cassette, then we say Nana Aata Amma) Yes. (Queen of Smoked bush meat is speaking) Yes. (And it means that here is your story) Here is your story. We thank you very much. (Yes) (The sister who will wait for you all the time) Yes, she has said it; I will write all. So, God willing, I will include all the elders; I will let all the elders names be written. (Yes) And will be brought to her. (all right) And you will know the elders who are in it. ~~Those who are dead and~~ those who are alive. (Those who have put up houses) Those who have built houses; those whom God has helped them, and those who are in it that are suffering all the time too. (Yes) I will write all of them and come. When I come on Sunday, I will write the names of all the people. The people who were actually in it (Yes) Elders, elders, elders, elders; all who are in it. (Yes) Yes, and I will write their names and bring it to you. In future, you too will remember us with it. (Yes) Yes. (All right) Many of our old elders are there. Excuse me to say that some are dead. (Yes) Some are there. Now, old women are left behind. I and few elders are left. It has remained Nana Pamma, (Yes) madam Mamma (her mother) And it has remained.)

Amma Agyapomaa (My grand mother) Her
 grandmother. And it has left Amamiampong. Yes.
 And it has left Nana Adutsumwa (Yes) And it
 has left Nana Akua Oronsua, Akua Oronsua, she
 too is dead. (Yes) Yes, and it has left Akua Fokuo,
 (Yes) and Akua Atta, (Yes) Akua Aboroma (Yes)
 Yes. All these rest are there. All of them are
 there. Abenah Kwaa and the rest. (Yes) Amma
 Serwa and the rest. All of them are there. So
 all of them that are alive, the elders too, I
 will give their names to you that you may
 know the elders in the business. (Yes) For ours,
 fresh ones are there; the fresh ones, we smoke
 them to make smoked bush meat with them.
 (Yes) Do you see? So the fresh one, that person
 can have it. (Is that so?) Yes. For it is the
 fresh ones that are smoked. The fresh ones are
 smoked to make the smoked bush meat. Then, as
 we are there, excuse me to say, the Atwemoron
 people, there are fresh ones, very fresh ones
 which they also buy; the actual fresh ones
 and they smoke them, (yes) and use them as
 smoked bush meat. So the first is smoked bush
 meat (Now, you have understood it?) (Yes) (The
 fresh meat) (Yes) (Yes. That is what becomes that
 dried meat, (the meat, yes) So it is the fresh
 one that is smoked (yes) and it becomes smoked
 bush meat. (Yes) So it means that the smoked
 bush meat is the first (yes) Yes. For the thing,
 when it is fresh and you smoke it, it becomes
 dry (Yes) Yes. (Is this how, it is smoked in the
 bush?) Yes, in the North (In the bush) (In the

Northern Ghana) In the bush. Yes. (And where was it formerly smoked?) All of them, all of them were smoked over there. And here too, when they bring it and it is fresh, we have some people at the Asapo Market. (Yes) They have oven there like that and they will smoke it. (Yes.) They will charge you two hundred Cedis for each one. (Yes) Yes. (All right, then I thank you very much) All right (If there is something more that you want to tell me now) As for now, all is what I have discussed with you and if God helps and we are alive, all my time, when you need me at all, when you come here and you say I need you, ^{just} come. On Sunday, come (Yes). As for Sunday I have much time. When we come, we come, we shall sit down. I mean that we will have conversation. (When you come to the market to say it (Yes) on Sunday, then I come.) On Sunday. Maybe, Queen; perhaps, come and let us have a little discussion. And I need you; and on Sunday come. On Sunday, I have time. (All right, I understand) Do you understand? (Yes, I understand; when I come to it) When you come to say it, then I come. (I say all right; but the coming one, I will travel. I will go to Berehuni. When I return, I will do it.) Yes. O, when you say it, you give me time. (The coming Sunday, will you go to Berehuni?) (Yes, Aunt Mensah and I. We will go to Berehuni) (And do you know that I, too, I will go to Dormaa Ahenkuro on Saturday?) (Is that so? Then on Friday, shall

we take you to Berekan on Friday that you can go to Dormah Ahenkuro? (My mother and I. The Artist and I and -) (No.) (Then, when we finish this one, I would like to ask you a question. By your grace. Now that you are doing the work, now what is your main work?) Me, now? (Yes). Hmm. My work is that; yes my main work is that excuse me to say, I have some people that I look after them. Also, they too, by their grace, they also have gone with me to Otunfoz Open Ware to swear an oath (yes) that whether ~~at noon~~ time or in the evening (He himself, looks after us) I will look after them. I will never let them down (yes) Also, they decided that they needed me so I should come and rule them. So what is there is when Akwasidae (ie the Sunday festival goes) comes, all the elders who are there, excuse me to say, they prepare food for the ancestors. (yes) Yes. So when the time comes I also and my mother and my sisters and my children, when we too get little meat, we take it to the palace and excuse me to say, we use it to prepare food for the ancestors to say prayers to them. (yes) That the market business may flourish. Yes, and as for me, excuse me to say that I have no money. (yes) They don't pay me. And what we do is that, if this my sister, (gets a fight) a fight, a fight. If someone fights with another person, then I settle the case. (yes) Then peace is restored. (A queen) Also, if my sister will get

something, she says, the queen gets tired. And maybe, she meant she may select about two, though she is selling, but she makes it fine for me. And I also get some to buy food to eat. (Yes) That is my work. They don't like it. They keep houses tidy. If someone fights with another one, I see to settle it. If my sister fights with somebody and I am around, I tell her to stop. You are an adult so stop. And I also tell the other one to stop. And that one too, stops. It doesn't go to the palace. It has never gone there (You see to settle your children's cases and everyone's case becomes fine; even if someone owes and she doesn't pay at all,) Yes and we see to settle it and that person says that it is true, Nana, I shall pay it. (Yes) And such day, I shall get this amount. Such day, I will pay it. Then I collect it for that person. (That is the case) Excuse me to say, it doesn't become a case for the police (Yes) (True) For we don't go to the palace roughly. (Yes) If we will go to the palace, then something has happened in town and the Queen has called perhaps me or ~~my~~ about four of my elders that you may come and listen to it. And maybe when we go, then the Queen tells us the kind of problem and we come back (Yes) And that means that everyone has heard it. If there is some problem that is coming, then everyone becomes aware of it. (Yes) That is mine. (I thank you) (Yes) (I thank you very much) (As for her,)

her work is that) (Then, she has done very well.) When my children fight, I make peace. Stop and don't worry about it (ie stop, let it stay behind). And then they let it go. Yes, they don't fight. (And if the queens were not there, the fighters would have gone to the police station.) Yes but, when it goes to the palace too, the Asante Hemmaa (ie the Ashanti Queen) will not like that (yes) So excuse me to say, pepper and garden eggs queens are there; queen for cassava is there, plantain queen is there, yam queen is there, mud fish queen is there, salted fish queen is there, cosmetics queen is there, sandals & shoes queen is there. A queen for anything is there. So when a problem comes like that, if it is so serious that we have to send it to the queen of yam. (yes) (yes) (That she is the elder of all of you.) For the Queen says that any difficult case should be sent there.

END OF 24A.