

As for Akua, we are with her at the market. When she too comes, she says everyday that I should come to visit her. And it is good that I also came. Even, when she came the other day, she took pictures of us. And today, I say I am coming to see where she lives, that one day, I may come to visit her. If she alone comes to visit us all the time, it is not fine. So one day, you too pass through to come to sit by her that she may be happy.

That is why we came. So, if I came, I came to visit her. (I thank you. Nana, as you have come to visit us, we will not let you go like that without having a little conversation with us.

A little, because you will go to the market, we will ask you for more time later. You will have a little conversation with us as I have first told you. A bit of your life history; your own life history and the former one which has passed which you yourself know and also changes which have come into Ghana today. Say it in any way you choose. So by your grace, begin.

Akua, is your battery good? (Yes, it's fine)

A battery which is a trafficator, is it like that?

(Yes, it is there.) Is this a cassette? (Yes) (So

when you say it, I would write and if I write it, you see that it will take time. So when I put it on a cassette, when I finish — )

That the market, the market story. (Whether it is the market story, your own life story, women's former work and your life and how it was; anything. As you sell, do you travel to places to sell?) Then, as ~~at~~ the market, onions

and groundnuts are what we sell. So the groundnuts, when you sell, there may be some, like the four gallon kerosene tin (i.e. 4 gallon container), you can get a little. They bring a bag to us for about sixty thousand Cedis and you measure it in this thing, (i.e. 4 gallon container) but today the price has gone up again. So today, we buy it for sixty three thousand Cedis. And if you buy it and we measure it in four gallon container, it comes up to sixty six thousand Cedis and you also get a little to buy food to eat. And then also, you yourself knows; money matters have become a problem. When you go to the market, even at times, feeding, what you will eat, in the morning you buy this thing, tea or something like that. When you drink it, it will not make you full. You will buy 300.00 tea and you again buy some food at all for about this thing, before you eat. So then, as for living, if I say that I am going to talk about it, my story will be too long. I cannot say all but the grace of Christ in which we are that you tell him your problem, then it makes you bear it a bit. Now our things that we sell now at all, today, if you don't have money, you will not get it. Immediately the person brings it to you, he/she says, I am collecting my money. If you don't have money with which you will buy ~~for~~ bag of groundnuts or more, then you won't get it. And as for me, my friends, with whom I do business, because of how I treat them, when the goods come, when I sell, I would like that every time, I force that you will get your

money and when the goods are not finished at all, I cannot say that maybe, they are not finished; they are there and I am finishing selling them. Then, how I will manage to pay you, I do it so that any time you go, then you bring me some. So when the goods become scarce at all, I get some to sell. Now, one of my friends has gone ~~has gone~~; he/she will come tomorrow. Then, if he/she is able to buy the goods and nobody gets any at all, as for me alone, he/she gives one bag. At times, when he/she doesn't give me, he/she gets worried that he/she did not give me things.

When I sell the things, whether I got the amount or not, I must sell and give you the money for I have travelled in a car before and I know the problem in riding in a car. So when I sell, I am able to treat them nicely, therefore I get some to sell. And because of the many children, now my children that I have, they are, if you split the twins, they are five. And the twins, one has finished sixth form. He/she should <sup>have</sup> gone to University this year but did not do well in two subjects and he/she wants to take them again. Two years ago, he/she did national service for one year and this year, I am now looking for a job for him/her and Presby. school which they are establishing, he/she wrote an application to them and it is with them. Even today, he/she went for an interview. I am begging the Lord that he/she will be taken. And for the ~~junior~~ one, I sent him/her to school, but he/she did not go. He joined some of the boys so he did not go. I sent him to K.T.1

to study electrical work but he was not serious to attend so as for him, he is at home. It is now that I want to force ~~to~~ get some work for him. But I do not get a good person that will be able to teach him electrical work. All the time those with whom he is learning are not serious. As for him, when he gets the work, (he would like it), for he is very interested about it. And now, too, he can do a little of the electrical work but he hasn't become perfect in it. (Yes) Yes. He is able to do it. For if your electrical thing becomes faulty and you say he should repair for you, he will be able to do it but he has not become perfect. And those with whom he is studying, I haven't got any good person. So when he goes, he wants that every time, — If he starts work today he gets work every time. So if he comes and today there is no work, he becomes disturbed the next day. When you ask him to go, he doesn't want to go. And if there is work everyday, then he will go. And the Tawia, (i.e. the child born after twins), the third child, who is also Tawia, he too finished form five two years ago. He had wanted to go to the training College but he didn't go to buy some of the forms early so he made all efforts to go to Acera. They sent someone with it to ~~Acera~~ so we are not sure that it was received so last <sup>year</sup> there was no admission. And it was this year that he did it again but this year they say that it would be published. So for that part it has not become anything so I haven't seen how it will go. And it has remained the little)



one, the third son, Mensah. The third son too completed SSS this year so his results is not in. So when it comes, and as for him, I cannot tell, if he passes, I don't know where they will put him. Also, one girl too, she also is in SSS 2. So she too, she is now progressing. And then when I finish, then I don't have any problem. Now, the only problem on me is the twins, the two of them only. Because they say church at all, no. I have said several times. How I started the children with Christianity, they did it, sister, but when you <sup>do</sup> this thing very well, every time, at times I can do this thing very well; if you don't get someone to help you, that thing like that at times bothers the mind. Because the children, when they got four years, I and their father divorced. Therefore he too didn't help me when the twins were four years old up to today that the selling of onions and grand nut is what I have used to look after them up to this time. So, as for a woman too, if you bring up a man and he does not have Christ in him, their training is a problem. That is why the children have become disobedient to my Christian worship. If the one that I would like him to teach at that place, as for him, if he gets that place to go, I know that by all means in the school, maybe it can let him accept the Lord. If you go to meet Christians over there, can you misbehave? (Which Ramsyer Institute?)

This thing, they say it is at  $\Sigma$ , how do they call it? (Kiyiapatere?) Place which it is at this place. (Bolyen?)

The school is at Bolyen. That was what I was making this thing, so he is the one that I am pleading that today when they go for the interview, they may take him for me and then when he gets chance to go there, I know that by all means, otherwise for those who are left, one is in brigade, Akwasi Kwakye. As for him, you know him. O, the tall fellow. (Perhaps, I don't know that he is the one) He is in the brigade in this, Baptist. As for him, he is in the Baptist. He goes to church. Every evening, he goes to church. The two twins alone have become a problem on me. Then, there is none of this thing in it again (ie no problem.) (And you you say what happened that you alone are looking after the children?) The onions?

(Yes.) It is only that. There is no other work. My mother and my grandmother, who gave birth to us, her work that she did is only that. (Is that so? She sells onions) Yes. So in the stall there, when you come, where I stay, going a little from there, <sup>are</sup> children from one old woman. (You are all sisters) Only sisters, so (and all of you have taken that place) we are in a line over there like that. (All of it belongs to your grandmother) Yes. Those who are here are different. They are Abenaa and her people. They are also sisters.)

too and we too are family members. For, if you are not allowed to continue your studies to a higher level, then onions will you be selling. So grandparents and all grand-~~children~~ people (ie grandchildren) are here. So it is that, that they use to look after us and so that too do we use to look after our sisters over there. So, that very work, this onions business, not any other work. I used to go to Keta at the end of every year to bring onions. There is one type, they use string to tie it up. Yes, I used to go and bring some of it. But for this year I could not go because the price of the goods has become too expensive this year. (Is that so?) And transport fare too. So this year I was watching. And this year at all, if even I will be able to go as they have also raised the transport fares. That work is what I am doing. The price of the goods is expensive (If you go, you won't get profit.) Concerning the goods? (Yes.) Now, as for now, it is yet not time. The things begin to come about June/July. (Yes) Yes. When we go, we go with our own — When we go, we take car to Accra before we take Keta transport and go with it. When we are coming back, it is the same. And as for the goods, we buy and put them in a cargo transport and we too take a car to come. For, we are too many as we join the Ewes so we are about —, we exceed twenty at all. (Is that so? Do all of you take one transport?) And we go to buy. Therefore)

when we go to buy and the goods are too much, we can load about say, three vehicles. (Is that so?) Yes. Then I, I can buy maybe twenty or fifteen. And also, some one is able to buy maybe thirty bag. Some buy forty and we take them into the vehicle and come with it. That is what we do. It hasn't reached the time. It comes about June/July to August and we do it up to August and we do it up to December and then, it stops. And then the Bawku type also comes. So the Bawku type also continues to come, it seems to me up to August and it also stops; (The Bawku type?) and this also comes. That is how it is. (So when the Bawku type comes, you go to Bawku to bring some.) At first, I used to go; about three years ago, I went to Bawku to bring some. And when you go to bring it, the Bawku type, as it is, when you go to bring it, the price will depend on the situation over here. When you go there to take it, you know that by the time you reach here, the price will be very low. When you sell, you incur a debt. Sometimes too, when you are lucky, when you will come there may be none at all over here and the price will be fine for you and you get something to buy food to eat. That is the case. So for the Bawku type, if you often go, you may lose the money you have. (Is that so?) That is it. (Does it come to meet with another one?) The Bawku type? (Does it come to meet the Keta type?) Yes; at first, when the Bawku type is over, the Ewe type is out of season, then the



Bawku type comes; and the French type, the big ones, and that too, when the Bawku type is out of season, then the French type comes. In the same way, when the French type is going out of season, then the Abidjan type. (Yes) Yes; as for the Abidjan type, that also comes at Christmas time. (And do they eat it as salad?) Yes. When the Abidjan type comes and it goes out of season, then the cluster type also comes. Now as it is, nobody leaves out the farming. For the Ewe type at all, the Keta type, when they are doing it, the chief finds time to announce and they plant it. And when they plant, when the time comes for them to do it, the chief again announce for them to harvest. So that means that it has a fixed time. For this year, they didn't do it like that, because of the fertilizer they use to plant them. Every time, they plant. Now, in this year, the Bawku and the French type of onions were not out of season at all. They were there all the time but they were expensive. And the onions, when the price became expensive at all, we were buying it for about sixty (60,000) When the price became expensive at all, it was sixty (60,000). I say, that at all means that we have never heard anything like that before. This year, it went up to 120. (120,000) (Why?) The big ones, this thing, the big ones went up to 120. (120,000) (In a bag?) A bag; that is on a bag. And the Bawku type went up to 80,000. Even now, we buy it at 72. (72,000) For it is even now that it is in season. It should be plenty in season now )

for us to buy it for about 40 (40,000) or 30 (30,000). Now, we cannot tell. So now, it cannot come. Now, it is 72 (72,000). Even now, the cheapest is the 72 (72,000) (And formerly when you began to sell things, were they selling things like that?) No. That all Bawku, that Bawku things, (When you were selling things, at that time, how you sold things and today, what difference is in it?) That, things, selling of the things now, formerly, it was good because formerly the price of the things was not expensive. So in a day, if you were able to sell goods, they could buy for me to get something. Do you see? But today for example, the goods have become expensive, you don't get some. Today, if you don't hold big amount, you won't get some, so today it has become a bit difficult. For, formerly, it was good. Today, how the goods have become expensive, it has made even those who are coming to buy to somewhere, cannot come. But at first, even your friend, when she comes to buy goods, after a week or two, she comes again. Today when she comes to buy and goes away, it takes a month or more before she comes back. So she too, today also, the goods we sell, it has become selling to friends. The strangers are not many. So if your friend buys and for a month she has not come back, when you go to the market, you stay there like that. Also when the goods are scarce and she goes, they get finished immediately and she runs back to take some and if you also sell, they get

finished quickly and that means that the profit comes quickly. And if she goes and has not come back, then you stay there like that. What ever you get, you spend all again. If you are not careful, you may spend the money for the goods and it becomes a debt. So today, it is <sup>more</sup> difficult than the past. As for today it is very difficult because today unlike the past, the goods were not expensive; for the 40 and the 30 at all, when you spend, you take care. Because they bought them quickly, it did not make you spend the money much. Today too, if you are not careful, the goods too, when you sell, these groundnuts, if you buy it for 65 ₦, 3000.00, when you finish selling it, if it comes to 66 at all, it means that your profit is 3000.00. You will use some to buy papers, you will use some to buy wrappers. So by the time you will finish at all, if you are not careful at all, the 3000.00 may be a debt to you. Also if someone is buying a cup full, you will give a dash. If someone is buying an American gallon, you will give a dash and if they are buying four gallons, you will again give a dash. So at times, when you will finish at all, even the 3000.00 which is the profit, you won't recognise it at all. But for the past, they could be bought quickly so even one bag at all, you could sell about three bags or four. So when you get a little of this, a little of that,

when some is lost at all, whatever happens, you will see that this is what you have got. Today too, it is not like that. By the time you finish selling, it becomes a debt. It is a long time that I started trading. I didn't sell to incur a debt except this year. It seems to me that I was able to sell goods this year; then when I finished and I totalled what I sold, I had incurred a debt over 60,000 Cedis. (Is that so?) Yes. I had run into debt. So this year has been more difficult than all the years. (Is that so?) The price of the goods is expensive. Therefore it has made life difficult a bit. (And in the past, when your mother was there or your grandmother was there, did you sometimes incur a debt like that?) In the past? (Yes) When we were going to buy the goods? (Yes) And at first, we were going to buy the goods; it was only last year that I didn't go. (Yes) Yes. Only last year that I didn't go; then, like this thing, cluster of onions, if you have 400,000 at all, <sup>and</sup> you could go, you could buy a lot of goods. Then you could buy goods, then 400. I for example, I was going and my money was 200 Cedis. Even, the two hundred, when I go, I reserve some of the money. So when I come and sell and if this year, they ~~don't~~ pay all the money to me, then I add what I have got and what I will get and go with that too. Do you see? And today, how the price of the goods, the cluster of onions has gone up; a bale of one cluster, we were buying it for 60, 50; even the last price that came at all was 40.00. Today too, if you don't have



about 500,000 at all, even if you go with that, you cannot buy ten single items (At Bawku?)  
Yes. You cannot buy ten single items. For today, it is very expensive. You cannot buy. So when I need to go, it was good but when it became expensive, for now, I, it is not a thing (i.e. easy) that we can go at all. Even now, the Bawku type which is in season now, if you say that you are going to buy some, if you want it in large quantity that when you sell, you will make money, you must have about a million plus, because over there, the transport fare is high. So if you go and you are unable to buy about fifty bags or something like that and you come, it will not reach the amount you will spend and for today, if you have a lot of money and you go to buy some today, today we don't buy on credit. At first, when the person brings it, they take it to the Mahians at the wholesale, maybe for a week, sometimes even for a month, your money may not have been collected for you. As for today, as soon as the lorry arrives, before someone comes to buy, if that person has no money, she will not get it. And then, as soon as you sell, they count your money for you. So, now if you have money with which to work, and you go and it doesn't get rotten, ~~then you go to~~ <sup>have</sup> ~~come~~ and sell it for 72 but if the person pours it out and it is rotten, maybe she can pay about 50 or 40 and you incur a debt. And if it is not rotten, then when you sell, you will do this thing, then)

immediately you sold it, every week, you can go and bring some. And those, who have money and go on the road, for that when you are able to go and come, it is good. If you go there and you don't get the goods, they need to go to this place very much.

(Did your mother too go on the road like that?)

My mother? (Yes) Or a sister of mine. Or my mothers were going. (Yes. Your grandmother ever went?) Yes. My mothers did go. And when we became adults, then they stayed at home, and now we do go. That is the case. For the trading, my grandmother began it, and she gave it to my mother and my mother too gave it to me. So when I too go and I also get tired and if I also have a child, then she too takes over. So it is.

(And the day your grandmother went on the road — ) My grandmother? (Yes, the day when you were there, did she go on the road?)

My grandmother, my grandmother — (Let her finish asking you. When she asks you a question, let her finish asking you. Ahua, say it. Let her say it. When she finishes, then you may understand and give an answer.) Sister! (She is asking you a question; let her finish asking you.) O, I thought she has finished she says; you are asking me a question. (Yes, I say the day your grandmother went on the road, ) My grandmother is dead. (When your grandmother was there, did she go on the road?) (She says, no.) (As for going on the road, it was my mother who started.)

(Yes) Yes. And it used to be the Ewes who were going and sent them to us to buy. And when the goods became expensive, and when they too brought the goods and sold them, they were not making profit and they also decided to go on the road too. And my mothers forced and went to Leta and brought some. So they went to bring some and the Ashantis planned and got about six people (Yes) Yes, and they too go to bring some. So when my mother goes for some time, then the one who comes after my mother also goes. And there is one there who is also my mother, — my mother's mother, their sister's child (Yes) Yes. And they too, when they go, and then those who sell onions, some of the onions, they and all of them joined and went. And at the Ewe land, they have laws. As for there, they have made laws. If you don't do some of the work and you go on the road, they will not agree to it. So, my mothers who went, they accepted them and went with them to their chief. And they gave some drinks before they permitted them to go. This, now, if it happens that my mother is going, I, if I am going, they will not agree. For, if my mother goes, I will not go; unless my mother doesn't go, then I will go. That is what they have arranged. So if you force to go, what they will do, when you go, they will tell you that they will not agree to let you go. And if you say that you will not agree and you go, all the Ewes will kneel down before you and clap three times and hoot at you! Then they will tell you to go.)

(Is that so?) Listen, when you go, and your money is this, you won't get that. (They like juju) Yes. You will lose heavily. The onion business at all, when you see that there are onions here, you will pass over there. What we say that they took us to the chief, the markets were two; The Accra market and the Kumasi market. So the Ewes were going to Kumasi and when my mothers were starting to go, they were going to the Ewe market, the Accra type of onions. And they were saying that the Accra type, when my mothers go, they get the things cheap and the price of theirs is expensive so my mother should join them and go with them and my mother said they will not agree. They took them to their chief and when they went, they (ie the mother) sat down as we are sitting here and the chief too was up. (Yes) So when you tell the servant the news, he goes up to inform the chief. (Ei!) So whether the chief is black or red, they didn't meet him face to face. So they come back to tell you that this and this is what the chief says. So they charged us heavily before they accepted us. They counted the people up to fourteen and we were fourteen. So when it goes beyond fourteen, then it is an offence. And we went on the road but when we went and the goods came in excess, then they were not buying. And they arranged the goods for us that they will not agree to let you buy more than twenty (ie the number of bags one can buy should)



not exceed twenty). So if you buy more than twenty, they will take away the excess from it. So except maybe, when you go and you want to buy more than twenty, and I buy maybe fifteen, then you add five of yours to mine to make twenty and when they count everyone's in the lorry and they find it to be twenty, then they allow the lorry to go. Otherwise, if yours exceeds twenty, they will put your things down. That is how they do it. (They like money very much)

Yes. For money? (Yes) Yes, as for money, and I am saying now, as to how far the things have gone, one year; as for this year, ~~to the~~ know. I don't know how it will be. As prices of goods became expensive last year, it could not come down. It ~~came down to~~ forty. Even at forty, it came just for a week, only a week and it went up again (Is that so?) And it went like that up to eighty and the goods got finished. And as for now. And as for now, when it comes, I don't know how far it will go this year. And the Bawku type too, which we go to buy, there are no regulations about it. For that, they have made no laws on it so you can go for it. (Is that so?) Yes. For that no one prevents you. Now, if you have money and you go today and come back today and you say even today you will go again, no one can tell you to return. (True) Yes. For that you can go like that until you yourself decide; then when you sell and the goods are becoming a debt for you and you will stop, then you stop, yes. If you don't incur a debt too and then you will

sell and sell until the Bawku type will finish. The French type too, if you have money, as for the French one, they exchange the Ghanaian money; yes. And for that one, you must have a passport. As for there, if you can make this thing (i.e. passport) and you go, it is very very cheap over there. (Is that so?) Yes. For they say that when you go, - (Where is it, is it in Bondoukou?) Visa, you will make three visas over there, (Is that so?) and you have to get some also here before you go. So the visa that they get over there, makes the price of the goods expensive when they arrive. If you can go without the visa, then when you go, the things are very good. And we, we don't have this thing, passport and this thing, <sup>(visa)</sup> so we cannot go. (As for you, you didn't go?) As for there, we cannot go except these people, those who are from Mali (Ah, Mali) Yes, the Malians, they are able to go. They can go but as for us, we cannot go. Then when they go, then they bring it to us and we too buy it and sell it here. And as for the Bawku type, you can go. Then when you go, Beere people go, Takoradi people go. If you are the first to go, the one who is first, they give her goods first; yes (Tone) before you who are last. So when you go, they take your sack and put it there. So when they finish with the first person, then you too, they give you yours. Then when you go and the goods are there in large quantity and the first person gets some today, you too, you get some today, they put them,

in a lorry for all of you and you bring them. For it is there in large quantity. (So do Takoradi people first go to Onloga before Kumasi people go?) That the lorry over there, you can, if you have a lorry with which you will go, then there is a way for you. (Is that so?)

Yes. Then when you go, you can do it (i.e. you can buy it) But if you don't have a lorry, when you go, there is a lorry, cargo truck is there and this thing, how is it called? The burgher car, (Yes)

Yes, the Benz; there are some of that too. Then, if the things that you bought are not too many, they can put them in it and bring them for you. If the things are many and those of you going to buy are many that went, then they put them in a cargo truck and you too take another lorry to come. So maybe when you arrive today, after three days the goods too may come. (Is that what you often do?)

Yes. (Why did you go on the road like that?) Where? (About how many years?)

How many? (You began the work, you began the onion business, did you go on the road?) Like Kumasi? (Yes, when you began that you went on the road, about how many years is it? That is what I am asking you.)

As on the road, when I went, when I began to go and even when I finished fourteen, it is about twelve years ago.

(Yes) It is about twelve years ago that I started to go. About the Barku type; as for the Fwe type, we go yearly (Yes) We go for the Barku type yearly. I went for only one year. (Only one year?)

Yes. I didn't know there and I said that I was going.)

even that at all, when I came back, that even gets  
 me lose my money. (Yes, so you didn't go again.) (You  
 didn't know there.) Yes. For the Ewe type, sister,  
 when you go, when you go to bring it, you yourself  
 have to go and bargain for it and buy it. Then  
 when you bargain for it and you buy, when you  
 come, you sell it for what you like. Because you  
 go to buy it maybe for twenty thousand (20,000)  
 and you check your transport fare and it comes to 25,000  
 and you come and you say that, I am selling it for  
 perhaps 26,000.00 or 27,000.00, it is your own  
 thing. Then, you yourself know. And if you are  
 selling it for this thing, 25,500.00, it is your own  
 thing. And as for the Bawku type, that perhaps  
 today, here they sell it for 72,000, maybe when  
 you went to Bawku, and when you were going,  
 when you were leaving here, it was 72,000.00.  
 So when you go and you get it for about  
 60,000.00 something, 65,000. and perhaps you  
 check the transport fare alone and perhaps  
 up to this place it comes to 70,000. and you  
 say you are coming to sell it for 72,000. and  
 perhaps you may get 2,000. It may be 70,000  
 when you come to arrive at this place. When  
 you come, and it is 70,000 over here, they  
 won't say when you went to buy plus the  
 transport fare to this place is 70,000.00 so they  
 are buying it for 70,000 for you. They won't  
 buy it for that, 2, at 72,000. The 70,000 is  
 what they will pay. When you come and it is  
 65,000, it is 65,000 that they will pay. At  
 times, the buyers, Accra people, Takoradi people



and Sonanya people, all of them can go and stay there; do you see? So when you go, there, ~~and they~~ say that this is what they will accept for a bag, you cannot ask for a reduction. That is how they are selling it. So when you come and the price has gone down at this place, then you lose. And if somebody pours out some and the lorry keeps long on the road, at times, the lorry can break down for about a week. By the time it arrives, all the onions will be rotten. Some can get rotten in such a way that you cannot get even one good one in it. (Ei!) Some can actually get rotten, maybe three bags, four bags and then you go and buy and your money for about three bags, four bags is wasted; so the less rotten ones, they will buy it at the price of the rotten type at say 20,000 and perhaps you have gone to buy it for about 60,000 and she pays 20,000, then all your money has become what? It is lost. So as for the Bawku type, maybe the Moshi people and the Dagarti people who are there can do the work for if you yourself say that you are going to bring it, you will lose heavily. If you are not careful, the money that you have, all can be lost. And for the Keta type, it is not like that. As for the Keta type, when you yourself go and come back, what you like is what you charge. If the person says and you don't agree to it, you can put your thing at the onion section of the market and sell it. (And before.)

you went on the road like that, where were you selling the onions; from the time of your mother?) Then when we went and came back, we unloaded the things at Bode. So when I unload them, then I bring them to the place I sell my groundnuts. So when I bring them, then those who are there, everyone buys some. So when they buy some, then I leave some, because not all of us who are there go on the road. So when I come, my sister, my sisters who are there, they can buy some. Someone too from ~~somewhere~~ also can come to buy some and if some are left, some also from the village can come and buy some. Then when I go to bring it, the village people come. Someone can come to buy some to Giungari, some can take it to Besekum. Some can take it to Tapa and other towns like that. For when you yourself go and return like that, you cannot sell it. If you sell it much, then they buy; people come to buy some for you and you count and if you too add, you added a little, little to it, if 1000 is what you will put on, then you do it. If 500 is what you will add to it, for if you can buy 20 bags and if you sell it for 1000, if you add 1000 to it, you get 20,000; do you see? And we too, we go every week. Every week, we go and then we will go like that because when the trading comes on and we begin that we are going, we would like to leave behind, — today, when we come and the market is not good, and we would like to go, we have to write a letter and send it with a person to go and give it)

to the chief farmer over there for him also to announce to all the farmers that the Kumasi people will not come to trade so you should not tie up goods and they don't tie up things. If we don't do that and we ourselves decide not to go, the chief will send a messenger there, (Is that so?) to come and ask us why didn't we go so he needs us. For that, when we go, he will put us into debt. (Is that so?) Yes. He will put us into debt. So when we come, whether trading is good or not, for you, we have to go. Then, if you go and single, single four at all that you will even buy, you have to buy and come until we enter December and the marketing will end and then when you are not going, the chief himself knows that the marketing or the trading has ended; then there is no trouble about it. (And before you had not come to sell onions, what were you doing? What work were you doing?) When I began to sell, I had given birth to my children; I had given birth to Mensah (i.e. the third male child) So I was about twenty years, it remains a little (before —) As for the onions, for us, as we were born into it, we did the work all the time. And as for my mother, when they began to do the work, for her, she did not stay in for long and she stopped, and she gave it to me; for when they went to bring it, we were selling it for them all the time. So as for the onion business, it is that we have been doing it, so we started it from our childhood days when we were small and we have been selling it like that. (So when you were young,)

you were selling onions?) All the time when I was very young. At that time, that was what I was doing it, so when I was about six years, that I could do this thing (ie I could sell things) when my grandmother was going (ie to the market), she went with me. (Yes) (To the market?) What did you say? (To the market or on the road?) To the market. (Were you not going to school?) And as for going on the road, I was saying that I started about twelve years ago. (Twelve?) You were going on the road? Yes (Were you going with your mother?) As for my mother, I was going with her; I was saying that when my mother went, I didn't go. (Yes) Yes. So it was my mother who used to go; so when I was about to go that she went with me, for she went to show me. These too, when you go, you don't understand the language. and they too, it is not all of them that understand Twi. So you have to get someone who understands the language and understands the Twi. Then when you go, then he/she leads you; so the quantity of goods that you will buy, he/she then buys for you. So when he/she finishes then you give him/her something small. (Yes) Yes, and he/she eats it. If that is not the case and you don't get someone, we use our hands; do you see? When you do this; this is ten thousand. So when you do this, this, two, it is twenty thousand; so if there is some more, then you do this, three. Yes. For them, this which is their ten thousand is ten thousand pounds. So, if



you do it like that, two like that, if it is this also, if twenty also, you do it one like this, then he/she has seen that it is ten thousand pounds. (Yes) Yes. If you do it like that, he/she says his/hers, if he/she makes his/hers, then you also make yours until the money, the price will reach as you want it; then you buy. For, if the price is getting to what you want, then you hint a sister with whom you went to tell her that this is the price for which you are buying it. If she says it is good, then you take it. If she says that the price also is expensive, then you beg the owner of the goods for a small reduction and you also do it. So when I was first going, I went with my mother once and she showed me her friends and those who bring goods to her too, I saw them. So from that time, she did not go again. So any time I go, then her friends, when they see me, they bring goods to me and I go to find someone who understands the language and he/she talks with her and when they finish, then I pay her. You do that until that —; and when you go too, you cannot sit down like this. The goods are in the market so when you go for it, and they have given us the Ashantis a place that we put our things (Is that so?) Yes. So when you go to buy one, you bring it there. You do that until you finish buying all your things. When you finish, we have a big sack over there and you put them in and tie the end before you put,

it on a <sup>cart</sup> and send it to a driver. When you finish then you too, you board a car to come. That is ~~how~~ we do it. (And now, do they do the same? Now, do they do like that?) Yes, all now. But now, as I was saying, the work has stopped (Yes) Yes; it is from July going that we shall go again. If you go now, they have not planted it. (Yes) Yes; they haven't planted it yet a little while, when it rains. And there too, it can rain here in Ashanti ~~Ashanti~~ for a long time and no rain over there. Where they are, there is water in the land (Yes) Yes, so they have made a well. This thing is there (ie the well) so he/she plants onions and waters it like that. (Yes) Yes. And the water there too, it is salty (Yes) Yes. So when they water it like that, the onions are not strong (True) Yes, unless rain water falls on them. If rain water falls on them, then the onions become strong and come in large quantity (True) Yes. When they water with their water, they don't come much. When you go, the things are few, ~~also~~ they are not big also and they are small. (And I am asking that you went to the market at the age of six. Didn't you go to school?) No. (You too, your mother didn't take you to school?) As for school, she sent me. I completed form 4. And when I finished form 4, I was interested in sewing very much (Is that so?) Yes. When I went to school, I was interested in sewing very much so what I said was that my mother

should send me to a sewing school. (Yes) So when I finished school, as I was like, as a child who walks about aimlessly, I didn't like it. (Yes) Yes. So when I finished school, I forced my mother to let me go and I went. I also, my father, he is not from here. (Is that so?)

31B So when I came and arrived at this place, my children's father, he too was a soldier and it seems that he has been transferred to this place and he used to play with a boy from our place and he came there. He also saw me going with my friends. And the boy who came to me, as for the boy, his house is close to ours. And he too and my uncle met somewhere. They went to have some drinks. So when he came to meet me, he said that the man with whom we went to have some drinks, here is his niece. And the man greeted me and went away. So when they went away, I went back to meet my mother and because her friend's husband runs a beer bar, when she comes back from the market, he goes to sit by her friend. And he again went to meet my mother there and he said that the girl I introduced her to him, here is her mother. I was there that my mother sent to call me and I went. So when I went, she said that this man says he is interested in you. And when I wanted to go away, I said, "I have heard it, I have heard it," and I quickly left them and went away. And I did not know that he was serious.

Then my mother kept worrying me like that and I said "no." I too, I was serious to learn sewing so I kept on saying and they said that if I would marry, she would make him send me to go and learn it. She will let him send me to go and learn sewing. Then when she says it, I say I will not agree. So before you are aware, she has gone to inform her friend, this friend and that friend. And they called me like that; they gave me advice and what not, and they gave ~~examples~~ when they were giving them for marriage and some marriages they refused and today their people who married have gone to Europe or America and they too are here and they are doing this thing (i.e. they are suffering) and then I was confused and then I stopped and I listened to them. So when I went, in about August 1971 (yes), the first day I went to him, I didn't have my period again and I gave birth. When I went too, I gave birth to a set of twins (Fi!) (And you gave birth to twins) Yes. So I gave birth to twins. And I, I give birth, for since I went, I was not happy; the marriage itself, I was not happy about it. So I told my mother that, I didn't like to do it, (i.e. to marry) for I was not happy about it. So, as I was there all the time, I was not happy about it and they said, twin too, if you divorce with them, they will bother you; and what not; they said a lot of things and I stopped to divorce and gave birth to Tawia (i.e. a child after twins)



So after the birth of the twins, a month, two years and I gave birth to Tawia. So two years after the birth of Tawia, I had Nyankomago (ie the child after Tawia) And it was all right for me and their father to divorce (So you had three children with him) Three. (Five including the twins) It was later that I had one daughter in addition to make five. (With the same man?) Only one daughter, four sons. (You had them with the "same man?") No. (You married again?) As for him, when I had those children with him, (yes) even, we didn't fight. When I had Tawia, Nyankomago, and he too, he was a soldier and at that time, he had retired. (Is that so?) And he told me that, but at retirement, he was not too old but he signed for eighteen years. So when the eighteen years ended, it was all right for him to stop. And the senior officers called him to postpone it a bit, but he said no to it and he stopped. So when he stopped and I had a child, I had to go and stay at my mother's house and he too stayed in the barracks for about three months and they removed him by force (yes) Yes, and he went to stay at Oshimase. (My place?) Your place, yes. And he came to stay there. So when he came to stay there and the room he was looking for, his nephews/nieces were with me, were with him, and his ~~sister's~~ children and he also, has two, three children (Is it Mr Ata?) Yes, (Mr Ata) You say. (The man is called soldier,

Ata) He, and he is not this thing, no.  
(Is he called Soldier Ata?) No, he was called Nkrumah (Yes) He was called Nkrumah. So, as for you, they, Edwense uncle Agya Badu, Agyemang's place, you know there is a toilet there. And I, when he went to stay there, I didn't go. For as soon as he moved there, he then arranged it that I should go to my mother, and he was looking for ~~an~~ more room and when he gets it, he will come and take me. And I went away. So when I went away, I stayed there for a long time and he was not coming to take me. And it was time to give birth to Nyankomago and I went to tell him and he said that I should go ahead to finish with it. Then when I finished delivering, not knowing that he had made his mind that he would not marry me again. For he had married another one. (O!) (Ou!) So when I delivered Nyankomago and he was forty days, he did not come with the child's name and I went that he should bring the name of the child for I wanted to go and register his name. He was making noise that if I have got a place to stay, I should stay and leave him to stay his place. (O!) As soon as he said it, I came to inform my mother. She too, because of how he was treating me when I went to stay with her, (i.e her mother) she was not happy about it. So as soon as I came to tell my mother, and my mother said, "Take your rest" and it was good that I also rested. Now, it is four o'clock.

(Yes) . So it is through that we divorced. (So didn't you marry again?) A, as for now, I have given birth; when I divorced, and at that time, I had not known Christ, and I went to have one girl in addition to the boys. So the boys are four and one girl. So when the girl was born, I later took Christ. So then, I took Christ up to today, though (laughter)

(So now when you get a husband, if someone says —) Even this I am doing, he/she is the child of one of the twins. (Yes) Yes (So if you get a man whose wife has divorced him, then you would marry him) (laughter) (All right) One of the twins child, and his mother, was not showing interest in it, I went to take my thing (i.e. my grandchild) (All right) (Thank you very much) (Now, your mother, doesn't she come to the market again at all?) A, as the Lord, the Lord's thing is what I do. If the Lord says I should marry again, (I say, doesn't your mother come to the market again at all?) My mother? No, it is rather today that she is here. Today, my sister Janet, says at times she should come to pick the bad nut from her groundnut for her. So as for today, at times, she comes occasionally but she doesn't often come. She is at home. Behind our house, have you seen that there is a plantain plantation over there; and do you know our place? (laughter) There are some plantains; she has made a little farm over there. (Yes) So, now she clears the weeds from it all the time. This

morning even, she has weeded a little and she  
 has come to the market a bit. As for her, she  
 doesn't come to the market at all. When she  
 comes, I am there, Emma is there and Janet also  
 is there. (So is Emma your sister?) That I,  
 my mother, she too gave birth to nine children.  
 (Nine?) Nine, and this thing, two are not there.  
 So my senior sister, her father is different, (Afia  
 Kwaaadu) Afia Kwaaadu. (Is she the senior?)  
 She is the senior. Her father is different. And I,  
 Emma, Janet and one boy, ~~our~~ father is  
 different. It is our father who is an Akwapem  
 person. Besides, she had ~~two boys also from~~  
 Mampong, & one girl one boy also from  
 Mampong. (Is everyone selling onions?) What?  
 Is everyone selling onions? They are there.  
 (laughter; the work is too much) (All right)  
 Now you have finished, let us go. (All right)  
 We thank you very much.