

CORRECTIONS

43A

Page 12 Line 6: Ono ope bi na wanni bi a wobema no bi.
It should be: Ono ope bi na onni bi a,
wobema no bi.

Page 14 Line 25: wo ha should be: oha (i.e 100)

Page 21 Line 2: So biara should be: So bers biara

Page 23 Line 9: Insert noa after wonnom to read
wonnom noa aduane no

Page 25 Line 5 from bottom: yi wo po te sen a?
It should read yi wo po de sen a?

43B

Page 2 Line 3: Me maame yi meka se, It should read.
Me maame yi mekae se (i.e I remember)---

Page 6 Bottom line: Yese fa aboa baako. It should read:
Yese fa ebos baako

Page 8 Line 32: Menni baabiara. It should read:
Menni obiara

Page 29 Line 6 from bottom: "programme" It should be
problem.

Page 35 Line 7. 'programme' should be
'problem'

(My mother Adubi?) Adubea, not Adubi (Adubea)
Yes, Abena Adubea. (And your father, is your
father an Akuapem citizen?) My father is
not an Akuapem citizen. My father is from
Poku Kadjetia's house. (Were you named, were
you named after someone?) Yes. (Yes) I was
named after somebody. (Then you were named
after an Nzema person.) Yes, I was named
after somebody (You were given an Nzema
name) So when I reach some place, they say,
are you an Akuapem person? Are you a
Kwahu person? That is what they ask me
and I say, my father, Poku Kadjetia's
nephew is he. So my father is not this
person. For they say, I was named after
somebody. (Yes, you were named after someone)
So in our house, there are about four
Adubea even in the house. (Yes) (Yes)
So we have senior Adubea. I am the
second. There is another one. There is
another one. We are about four. (Yes) (So
is your name Adubea?) Yes, Abena Adubea.
(Yes, Adubea) Abena Adubea. (We have
Adubea and we have Adubea) It is not Ado,
(Adubea?) Adubea, yes. (Then we will start our
conversation. It is now that we will start. Yes)
So as for today, the world, the world has
become very very hard. Formerly, when
we came to meet our grandparents, when
you have a little amount of money and you
go to the market with it, (Yes) you can make
profit out of it. Today, at the market that

we are, recently, I have stayed at home, my mother was bed ridden for seven years, six years, (Is that so?) before she died. Here is she. (She showed her photograph) (Her face is very beautiful) (Was she like this when she died?) (Was she a bit old?) She was a bit old. (Yes) She stayed in a room for a long time. This mother was the only child of her mother. (Yes) My mother (You, your mother) Yes, I, my mother, she was the only child of her mother. (So she was the only one woman.) One, nobody again. (Yes) There was ~~no one~~ ^{again} like this ~~again~~ was born, ^{again} by her mother at all. So my mother was her sister. I too, my mother had six children (Yes). There is a male or man. And I too, two of her children come after me. (Yes) And two died. So three women are left. (Yes) So I am the senior. So Auntie, I even brought her to this place; this is her chair on which she used to sit. (Is that so?) I brought her here several times. For my junior sister came to buy a house at Estate, the estate house. And she lived there, and my junior sister's children too worried her. So when I was moving to come, she said, "I will go with you." And I brought her to this place. When we came here, then there was a change in her; and someone's house, I may worry him/her (i.e. the house owner) so I went back with her. So whilst I am there that you don't know that)

it is fine, I go to stay at home. (Yes, then you go) So she was in the house for six years (Ei) I was not working. (Is that so?) Yes; I was not working. (Were you not working?) I was not working. I was not working. You go and come. Little by little, I stayed there like that. So, when she died too, I have stayed at home for a year again. I went to the market a week ago. (Yes) And I say since my stall is with somebody, I shall go and stay there a bit. There is no profit in the work I do. It is not good also; it is not good. You will take a car here to go. You have a child with you. He/she will eat; you will also eat. Yet when you get a thousand at all, maybe. Even that day you won't get a thousand. (Yes) Today, in this town when you live here and you you work, even where it will go, unless you travel. It is travelling job. Unless maybe, you go to Accra. Maybe you go to take goods. Then the money is much. Yes (Yes) Then, maybe about four or five millions is with you and you go to buy the goods to bring them and put them in the stall, and somebody comes to buy some, then as for that you get money. Left to the market, the profit is very, very small. So, it makes some of the women go to do what they should not do at all. And it has brought death and many things into the world. And as for us who are adults, you look to your God alone; like the Lord. And as for today, as for the work)

at the market, it is not everything that we earn money from it. The stalls too, they are expensive. The sanitary officers will charge you. As for today and the past, when you were at the market, when you arrange the goods on a table like that, (yes) they would come and buy. As for today too, they carry all the goods and go round. So, if you don't have a child, who goes round with some for you, you won't get anything. (Is that so?) Yes; unless you have a child and she takes some to go round. Then, as she walks round, by the time she will come, a little might have been bought. And if it is at the market there, today too, you have seen that whether it is plantain or cocoyam, they carry them. Whether it is meat; anything. (They go round with them) They don't enter only stores; everywhere, all this place; they carry everything. If you walk like that with it, and you have a child and she goes round with it for you, then, the sale goes fast. (Yes) And then, you also get a little with which you and your children will buy food to eat. And if it is on the table only that you arrange them, you will not get anything. But what will you do? It is God himself that we look up to. In the past too, it was not like that. As for the past, the money was small. When you took it, it was enough. You got some to pay your child's school fees.

You get some to do anything about your child. This my senior child; this, when he went to school, I was paying, at Opoku Ware, how much was I paying? Eighteen pounds. (Yes) When Busia came to head the government at all, I paid sixty. (Yes) When Busia came to head the government, (Yes) then at Opoku Ware, a term of three months, sixty (Sixty what?) Sixty was thirty pounds. (Sixty thousand?) That it was at first, thirty pounds. Today too, today too, the money is sixty. (Yes) Yes, formerly, it was thirty pounds. That was what I used to pay. Today too, a Day Nursery child at all, when you send him/her to school, the amount of money which you pay, is not a small amount. So it is a problem. Today, people in the country who are living comfortably are few individuals, auntie. (Yes) Young women who have their money to go from here to the road, ~~bikes~~ the big big ones, not like the elderly ones like us with old faces. (Yes) As I am there, I don't have a husband, I don't have a concubine; I am just living this, my husband, when I began life, when I was a young woman, my husband that I first married is this one. (Yes) And he died and left me behind. (Yes) (A respectable man) (True) And he died, leaving me behind. Our child is this senior one and two girls. The father died and left me behind, someone who has begun marriage; this father is dead. ()

My marriage became disorganised (Yes)
 So I left there. (So that so?) Yes, my
 marriage became disorganised. (What has
 made it disorganised?) When you first
 marry and he dies leaving you behind,
 (Yes) if God doesn't help you, you will not
 get another like the first one. (Yes) Yes.
 Sometimes too, you may be lucky, and
 maybe you get like the first one.

Now that I am there, I don't want a
 man. A man too doesn't want me.
 (laughter) Yes. So when I make an effort
 and go to the market, the little that I get,
 I come to buy food with it and eat it with
 these children. So, as for today, living is very
 difficult. If I say that it is not hard,
 it is hard. It is very hard. The life is hard.
 At first, as my mothers were there, with little
 money, you could buy something with it, (Yes)
 work with it even to get some to spend
 it. (Yes) Today too, when you work and
 the money is not huge, your profit, you
 won't get some to buy food to eat. And the
 money with which you are working, you
 take some of it to spend on food. You
 handle the money, and the money is gone.
 They say, that person is useless. (Yes) Yes.
 So if you will get it, when you get huge sum
 of money and you work with it, then there
 will be little little profit on it. And you get some
 to spend everyday. If your child is there, then
 you get some to pay school fees for him/her.)

But if the money is very small, when you work with it, maybe as soon as you went, you spent about three thousand (yes) four thousand. Your profit too is less than four thousand (yes) Yes! The profit is less than four thousand, less than two thousand. You too, as soon as you went you spent three thousand (yes) Today a little yam, when you pick it, maybe thousand five, one yam. (Yes) Today, a very little yam, when you pick it, maybe thousand five, one yam. (Yes) If she doesn't charge that, she went to buy it from the North in a lorry. Now, the fighting at all, they say it is coming again. (Yes) The Konkombal, it is said, are fighting again (Yes) They are fighting again. So if the sister goes, and she has gone to buy it at expensive price, the lorry, the fuel price has been increased. What the driver used to charge, he will not charge that. When she also comes, she too wants a little to buy food to eat it with her children. It is what? Today, now your children are many. Your children will be about three. When you go to buy yam for thousand two, when you cook it, it is not enough for you to eat. (Yes) A bag of rice, we used to buy it a cup, 3, about 3, about fourteen thousand, (yes) Today we buy it, about thirty thousand and over. (Yes) And what do you do? And a female parent, you and your children? This cooking oil, the price

of everything is expensive. So if you are there, if God doesn't help you, you think and maybe you get blood pressure at all. (Yes) For, you get up, you are disturbed, you are worried. If I say that, your mother, as I am there, I have no husband, I have no concubine. and I am there. When you get up, you will eat. And as you will eat, and you think like that. Ei! as it is day-break, maybe, as I am going at all, I will not get even two thousand to spend with these children. Yet you have to go. You hope that, maybe, by the grace of the Lord, you will get maybe about even thousand and when you take the money which is with you about thousand. What will the money do? Won't it be used up? (Yes) The money gets used up. (Yes) When you went, you got two thousand but you have spent about four thousand; and the money is gone. So, as for here in this country, it is hard. Those who are living comfortably are few individuals (Yes) We are suffering a lot. We are suffering. Nowadays, light bill is very expensive. Nowadays, the lights in my room here, all the lights (i.e. the bulbs) burnt out. You have seen that in the room, (Yes) I went to call an electrician to come and repair for me. They came to fix it; they charged me money; I have paid him. When the month ends, they say, the bill hasn't come. When they bring it, mine doesn't come.)

When they bring them, I go to ask; they say, mother, "The computer is in Accra and it is from there it comes." So, yours hasn't come, go and sit down. When it came, Auntie, the debt they have brought to me is about fifty thousand, (Yes) and over. A month, and it has become five months. (Yes) And my debt had not been brought. (Is that so?) Yes. So when I went there to ask, they said, "Mother, go and we will bring it." When they brought it and I looked at it, it was even fifty thousand and over. So, it is about three days ago that I went and I said, my lord, they said, "madam, five months. And I said, it is true, it has reached five months. I am not doubting you, I have ten thousand with me and I used it to reduce it. (Is that so?) It was for the bill of last year. It was ten thousand that I used to reduce it. Three days ago, when I came, these children said, "Mother, they have brought the light bill. For they have gone to enter it into it again with the fifty thousand debt still there." (Yes) A woman, you, as you went to the market too, how much do you get? Now, light bill of about fifty thousand is on me. And as for you, this thing, ei! Lord, I do not want to owe the government. So I went to the office there, and I said, my lord, your mother, that is not what I want it. I would have wanted you to bring it every month for me to pay it. It was you who

did not bring it and it has become a debt, so please, see to it that you don't come to disconnect it. (Laughter) I shall pay it bit by bit. Yes, I told them. When I went, they said, go up. I went up. I said, see to it that you don't come to disconnect it. When it comes as ten thousand, eight thousand; bit by bit, by the grace of the Lord, I will get to bring it. And now you have let the debt become big. What will I do to get it? I too, I don't have someone who will pay it for me, so you should look at it, maybe by the time I will go to the market and come back, they may say that you have come to disconnect it. Here too, I was saying that there are some insects or small animals over here. What will I do to be able to sleep? So please I shall pay it by instalment. They said, "mother, we have heard it. And I said, yes. So, now, the world is hard. This light bill, the big amount you would pay was how much? Five shillings, two shillings and six pence. Today too, it is not like that. (Yes) So it is hard for us. The people are one, one, one, one, one. If it is not your country at all in our world, we would not have known what to do. (Yes) By the grace of your country, it helps us bit by bit. So, as for this place, I say that as for this, left to me alone, there is no comfort in me. For as you are there as a person, you have to think a lot. You think about that, you think about)

this; you will have many problems. This place where I stay is not mine. It is somebody's house that I live. All is a problem. At the market too, those of us who are there, everyone says that. As for me, the little I know is that when you go on the road and you come back, (yes) you will get little, little, little on it to take. But if you stay at the market, there will not be much profit in it. As for me, that is what I know.

(Yes) Yes, for the amount of money that we spend is much. One thing that makes it good ~~to that~~, for me who have been here for a long time, if sometimes I have none at all, and a sister has cassava, I can collect some.

(Yes) If a sister has ϵ , ϵ , ϵ , what is it?

Gardens, ^{eggs} I can take some home. (Yes)

Give me some. Today, I have no money; give me some. She can give me some.

Do you see? (Yes) When I go to the meat section, for meat, (yes) where they cut into pieces, many of my sisters are there. When I go, as for today, it is not good for me; give me some to go and prepare soup. When I get money, I go and pay. (Yes) For nobody sees that.

(i.e. you have no money) (Yes) Yes. As for this place, it is like that. When a sister comes and you too, you have something, she also, yam for instance, if your sister is there, when you go, you can buy, if it is four thousand, if you can, then you buy

and you come to put them there and you cook them little by little. The day God will give you some, then you go and pay your sister. (Is that so?) Yes. That is it. So it doesn't let us see that there is someone who is in difficulty. (Yes) Yes. (You would like to work little by little and you will get some.) Yes. You work little by little. When today you go, ^{and} you get two thousand, you tell her, "Take it." If after a week, I get two thousand, then I will come and pay. We have some of the children there at all, some of the young girls, she goes to take a bag of rice when she comes, she measures five cups and gives it to Auntie. And she measured five cup and gives it, and she measured five cups and gives it away. Always she comes and collect two hundred from Auntie. And she comes to you and collects two hundred. Little by little. And you bring the rice home. That is it. (Yes) When she comes, she brings to you cooking oil. (Yes) Cooking oil, about one gallon, and she gives it to you. Sometimes, when she comes, she will collect three hundred. Maybe four hundred. (Yes) Yes. Little by little, you pay for it and you bring it home. That was how we were staying there. It wasn't that somebody was doing any big work. We were not getting it. We were not getting any money. The young women who used to go on the road, as for them, yes.)

When she returns, there are little, little profits on them. And she collects them and goes away. (Yes). It may even be that by the time that she pays her duty, she will not get much profit like formerly.

(Yes) Today the duty is ~~very~~ very heavy. (True) The duty, when you arrive, the money they will charge you is very heavy.

Even the goods, there are some, when you bring them, they will pick part and take them. They take part of them at the airport. (Yes) Yes, they take them. There at the airport. These shoes, maybe the person who will pick them will find that one of this is not in it and one of that is not in it.

Everyday, some of my brothers/sisters are in Accra. (Yes) That is it. Maybe, some do not know. But what will you do? (Yes)

For the things are many. And I am saying why in our life, we don't let our secrets be known. Yes. If you are honest really, someone will not know that you don't have money. Only truth. That you will do, that it will be Auntie, give it to me. Tomorrow, I will bring it. (ie Auntie, give it to me on credit. Tomorrow, I will come and pay for it) As soon as tomorrow comes, then you go and pay. When you go the next day, when you go, why is it that when you want some, won't you get it? (Yes) That is what all of us do. Maybe, even we are here, a child comes to this house

~~with~~ palm oil (Yes) When she comes, she goes to pour it out for me. Sometimes, she measures four thousand for me. (Yes) When she comes, when she is going, then I give her thousand. Sometimes, she says, mother, today, I shall go to the bush. When she comes, I give her some. When she comes back, then she comes for the remainder. Do you see? (Yes) That is how we are staying there. If it is not that, -- (we can't) It is not like when I was a young woman. When I had one child, my mother, the world was very pleasant. I had one child. (Do you have pictures like that?) When I had one child only. (laughter) (Yes) (Ei! Then, you have changed.) (i.e. you look very different) It was then that I had become a young woman. (You were very beautiful) The world was very pleasant. (Yes) Yes. (Ei! You are very beautiful) (Yes) (You had given birth to one child only) I had given birth to one child only. (Was your husband there?) My husband was here. Yes, he was there. I was not worried in the world. As for today too, the world is full of worries. It is not like the past. The world is not sweet (pleasant) When you even get up, sometimes at all, when you get up, you and these children, even what you will eat, it was hard to get it. (Yes) So, as for the market, if you are there, by the grace of a sister. She, if she wants some and she doesn't have some,

you will give her some. So you too, you don't have some, and your sister too will give you some. (Yes) Yes. That is how we are staying there. And it is not very easy as such; only individuals. At the market where we are, there are individual people that have it very easy. (Yes) (Yes) And all of the things, we buy on credit like that. When this person comes, then she pays; when you come, then she pays just that. When you are there, and maybe, it is someone's meat that she has brought to you. (Yes) Yes. That is how we are staying there. Nothing is very easy there. We stay in wisdom and in honesty. Honest tongue. (Yes) Yes. If you stay with an honest tongue, you are not hard pressed at any time. Now that I am selling, we have those who bring the things from the Northern Ghana. Young men and adults (Yes) many of them. When they come, there may be someone who can give them to you and leave them there and go back to Northern Ghana (Yes) Yes. When she comes, you can take about two bags and he gives them to you saying, "mother, sell them." When you get some, even the money, now they buy them for about forty thousand. How much is it in English? (forty thousand) (Yes) And maybe, you take two. When you get about twenty thousand and you give it to him, he will leave it there and go. (Yes)

By the time he comes, you would have finished selling them and he comes to collect his money. The only thing is that you will let this be true. (Yes) Yes. Even if you are not there, maybe I am at home, by the time you will go, he had taken it and had put it in the stall. (Yes) He knows that when he gives it to you, you will pay him. (Yes) Yes. (It does not worry him. It doesn't worry him.) Yes. You will pay him. And he has trusted you. And he becomes a friend to you. I had an elderly man. He was old. He was at the wholesale. Everyday, when I went, and my mother was not there, when I would go, he had taken some into the stall. When I sell it, I get ten thousand and I go and give it to him. When I get twenty thousand, I go and give it to him. When some come, he gives me some. Like that. (Yes) Little by little, little by little, little by little. And I do it like that. (Yes) Do you see? And when you are honest. When you buy and you don't pay, then tomorrow, you won't get it again. (Yes) Yes. So, even if you are not there, now that I have gone, I don't see all my friends. Maybe if I were there, ei! (they will say) "my mother has come, my mother has come. When I go, I will bring you some. When you go and she went on the road, she would make some nicely and before you are aware, she has given it to a carrier to bring it to you. (Yes)

Mother, I have come. Maybe when she goes, you will get half of it and you give it to her. She will go. She will go to the Northern Ghana. (Yes) By the time she comes, she will come to collect the remainder. That is how we do it. As long as you are honest, you will get some.

The Hausa people who pick melon and slice them, water melon that we eat; you go; if someone makes melon farm, when you go into the farm, then they go and buy, yet they don't pay a ~~thing~~ (Yes) And they put them in a lorry and they bring them. When they finish selling, then that person comes to collect his/her money. That is it. They can go along the railway line somewhere, and they go and buy and put them in the train and bring them. Let they had not paid even a penny. (Yes) When they come, then he/she comes to collect his/her money. They don't pay for greater part of the goods. If only you are honest, you will get some. (Yes) Yes. Only honesty. And if you are not honest, then you won't get it. If you are honest, everytime, little by little like that, you can live. That is how we are staying there. Even someone, she goes to the market, she says, I don't have money. You say, when I finish selling, I will give it to you. (You have been trading for a long time. At that time) Yes (Yes) So when she/he brings them, when you finish selling, then

then she comes to collect it. Nkantomire - fresh cocoyam leaves - like that; you don't have money, yet when she goes, it may even be that she has no money, but when she comes, then she counts them. Maybe hundred. And she too goes to sell them three hundred, three hundred; when she comes, she counts her money. If maybe she came with hundred, then you count them two thousand for hundred and you gives her money to her. (Yes) And she comes for her money and she goes away. And you too, even if fifty, fifty; if you will charge fifty, sixty, sixty is what is on it (i.e. the profit), then you too take your sixty. Therefore it is only honesty. So there is no body who doesn't have a penny in her purse. (Yes) Yes. And that is how we are at the market. So as for the market, the profit is not a big amount over there. Those who sell white man's goods, (i.e. imported goods) for them, when you bring them, you know that this material, I bought it maybe for thousand. (Yes) I too, I sell it for thousand two. Mine is two hundred. (Yes) Maybe, mine is four hundred. But as for food items, maybe when you go and buy at all, it becomes a debt. (i.e. you lose) (Yes) But, little by little because that has become my business. And you stay in it like that. For all our mothers, when they began life, the business

they have been doing is the plantain. Even my grandmother, here is her photo. The one who gave birth to this one, her photo is here. (Yes) Plantain business is what ~~we~~ have been doing like that from all my childhood time. It was later that we stopped and we came to stay in the "Eighteen" (ie a name for a section in the Kusaie main market) and we sold scarf and we went back (Yes) We continued to sell the scarf. Later, we stopped again and went back to sell plantain up to today. You have seen that it is the plantain section that I have a stall there. (Yes) Yes, so as for today, for the profit, it is a bit by bit. It is a bit by bit. You don't get it as a huge amount. And as for the young women who go on the road, I will say that they get huge profit. Some of them too, the work, even someone, I was saying that she was not honest. She was not honest. And she became a liar. Very soon, she becomes rich. (Yes) Do you see? She went to buy it; maybe she went to buy it without going back to give the sister's money to her. And she gets money. Recently, a sister of mine, had an accident in a ~~wonder~~ truck on the road to Togo. (Yes) And someone who went with her said, "Auntie, you do business and I go with you, and the car gets an accident, and I die. So all my money is tied to my waist in my belt. You picked all of it."

She (i.e. the one who died in the accident) had three sons. She brought all of it to her sisters. She has been honest. (Yes) And there may be someone, when she took it like that, (she will not bring it) and she went with her, then, she comes to use it for her well-being. The money, they said it was about two millions. She brought all of it. (Ei!) And there was a little French money even among it. (Yes, She has done well) She brought all of it. (She is a good person) - Yes, she brought all of it. Ashanti New Town, her father's house, it was even there that they had the funeral. Do you see? And there may be someone too, when she died like that, then she has gained. She too, will use it for her work. (Yes) Do you see? She will use it for her work. (As soon as you do that, it will not end you well) (i.e. you will not prosper) Yes! And sometimes too, you also, you go and get death (i.e. you meet your death) And if you are honest, anything you do will be very very fine. (Yes) And if you don't give honesty (i.e. you don't show honesty in your dealings) and then you say this person had not some of this; I too, a car, I would like to have some. (Yes) That too, it doesn't give lives to people. That is what many people do not know today. He/she likes that right now, he/she becomes big. (Yes) He/she gets money very very fast. There may be)

even someone who has to go to school little by little to study to become learned, he/she doesn't go. He/she says, "I am going to trade." (Yes) Trading will bring the money quickly. He/she has to learn some handicraft. Maybe he/she has to learn sewing to do his/her work little by little to make a living; he/she will not learn. (Yes) He/she says, as for him/her, the money, he/she wants it from business. She/he gets it very very quickly. (Yes) Fast, fast. Very soon, she becomes a big madam. We don't live like that. This, this, this, are different. This, when God made it, this also is long. This is short, this is short; this also is very small; this is long. (Yes) And you say, right now, as for me, I would like to do this thing, it will not be well in the world. (Yes) That is why death comes quickly, quickly, quickly, quickly, quickly, quickly. The other day, somewhere, a gentleman, they say that he was a contractor. A small youngman, his age at all is very small. They say, he says he is called, A-Lot-is-there. It means that the money (a lot is there) a lot is there. The money is there very much. So that thing, it was the other day that they performed his funeral. Pankrono. (Is he dead?) Yes. Pankrono. A small youngman, Auntie. He had his cars. His wives were two. He has built a house for everyone. His own town Pankrono.

he has built many houses. A little youngman!
 He has named himself that A-lot-is-there.
 (Yes. Even the name at all is not good.)

(True) The money means that a lot of the money
 is there. Pride spirit. God too, he didn't
 arrange it like that. He says we should
 humble ourselves, for he, himself, lifts up
 people. (Yes) So, as for your mother, even
 this that I am wearing, even at all, this I am
 wearing will be for a week; I am not
 concerned about some one. (Yes) Yes.

Tomorrow, when the day breaks, I will change
 it. When I go to church and my cloth is one,
 I don't think about it. The only one; it is
 God that lifts up a person; I have no
 case with anybody. This, I wash and starch
 it and iron; for the whole week, if I will go to
 the market for a month with it, I don't mind.

When I wear ^{my} one handkerchief, for me, I
 go my way. Do you see? (Yes) People of
 today too, they want everything very
 very quickly. Yet we don't live like that.
 Today at all, the world is hard. Maybe, you
 have a child, you look after him/her at school.
 (Yes) You too, you want everything, everything
 very very quickly. The world too, we don't
 live in it like that. Look, that I say that
 when I was a child, my grandparent was there.
 When I was like this, I was not buying food.
 (Yes) This, my mother, (Yes) when she returns
 from the road, she brings everything. I
 cook her food. This father, he will not

eating fufu. So I prepared my husband's food. I prepare my husband's food.
(Interruption portion; not translated)

(All right; then you have told me that your mother used to go on the road.) Yes (Where did she go?) My mother used to go to this Ashanti area. Our Ashanti here. Atwima Asante; we have Kwabere, Atwima and Ahafo. Do you see? (Yes) This very place; this back place. She used to go to buy plantains, garden egg, tomatoes, pepper and okra. So at times, when she goes, she goes to buy only garden eggs only and okra and tomatoes. Sometimes, they say, as for this Friday, we will buy garden eggs and tomatoes, only. (Yes) And she used to go with a lorry. (Yes) And she used to go and load it and bring it. (Ei!) Yes. (There is money in it.) (ie It is a profitable business) Yes. And she brings it. At times, they say, Tuesday, as today is Tuesday. (Yes) She will go to one town. By the time she would go, they had cut^{all} the plantains, (Yes) and would be waiting for her. And she herself with her lorry from here. (Yes) would go. By the time she would go, they had arranged the plantains like that over there. (Yes) Maybe ten. Then when you put ten together, you say, I will give you five Cedis (Yes) Maybe ten is ten shillings, and you put five together, and you pay five shillings. (Yes) This person too has arranged here, one pound and you pay)

for it. Two pounds and you pay for it like that. (Yes) So, maybe you went with maybe about ten thousand and maybe some of the money is left over. When you finish and you come, and unload them, then you pay the driver. At that time, when you loaded one lorry, it was three pounds. (Yes) And you pay it; and they come and unload it at Bode; and a cart brings them to the market and we group them. (Yes) And the single fingers in them, a sister of yours may come and pick some of the single, single fingers. And she too, puts them there. Maybe for one pound, twelve shillings, and she too buys it. When she also goes to arrange them, she will get about four shillings. (Yes) And she too, sometimes, she may be making daily savings of one shilling (Yes) When the daily savings collector comes, then he will mark her one shilling. (??) And she sells them. And she too, she gets some to go and eat it. So by the time the month ends, even if she is in a stall at all, formerly, too, the stall was not like as it is today. (Yes) Very, very cheap. (Yes) We were paying five shillings and two shillings and six pence. At the end of the month, she goes to renew her stall; and she too, she doesn't go on the road. When someone brings them, then she too buys some and sells them. (Yes) That was how we were doing it. Do you see? As for today, it is not like that.

This plantain, today, when you go to buy, if you are not holding a big amount of money, you cannot go and buy it. (Yes) You cannot go. It means that, today, it is expensive. Today, if you hold one bunch of plantain at all, it is five thousand. At times, six thousand. Only one bunch. (Yes) For, the cutlass for clearing a farm is expensive. The labourer who is going to weed the farm, his price is expensive (Yes) So, as for today, many people are in difficulty. As for me, I say that as I am there now, I am suffering. Now, your mother, I am suffering very much (Yes) I am suffering. (And when your mother was going on the road, were you at the market?) Yes. When she returns from the road about six o'clock in the evening, by that time, at all, the lorry had gone to the market. (Yes) At six o'clock in the evening, all the lorries pass through our gate and stop in front of the stall. (Yes) And they unload all the plantains there. (Yes) And porters arrange them, and the lorries move away. So when my mother goes on the road at any time, this mother, when she goes on the road, every evening, at about six o'clock, I go to stay in the stall and wait. (Yes) When it is about six o'clock, she comes back from the road. When the lorry also comes, it goes right to the market to stop. When the plantains are unloaded, then we cover them and we come back home. (Yes) In the morning, we

go to arrange and price them. When my mother takes some for me, in single, single fingers, then I also sell them. We arrange them penny, penny. (Yes) Three pence, penny. Yes. I sell them little by little. Maybe, my mother says, make daily savings of one shilling, one shilling. Even we can make daily savings of six pence. (Yes) Six pence. I make daily savings of six pence, sixpence like that and if something comes, like headkerchief, then I buy it. (Yes) When she comes, then I buy it. One day, then she comes for it. I mark it and she writes it. "Abenaa, today, you have given me maybe, you have given me maybe three shillings. (Yes) Yes. Then I write it, then I buy it. (Yes) So maybe in two weeks, I had paid for it. (Yes) Cloth, formerly, garment, very, very cheap. (Is that so?) This, when we go and pick ~~it~~ from V.A.C, it is very very cheap. (Yes) Maybe, two pounds and five shillings. As for me, what I came to meet is what I am saying. (Yes) Two pounds, five shillings. Behold, the passbook holders, these women, they bring them to the market. (Yes) Yes, when they bring them, "Ei! You may take them, little by little. There may be someone who will say, when the month ends, I will come to collect the money." (Yes) So, maybe, she will make it two pounds and ten shillings. She has increased ^{it} by five shillings only. (Yes) Yes. So, when you too return from the market, you put aside one shilling, one shilling,

and put it aside. If you don't give it to a savings collector at all, there is a money box like that. (The savings box) Yes, the savings box (Yes) As soon as you come, you take some and put it into it. (Yes) When you come, when you go home from the market, then you put it into it. By the time the month will end, you may have, (Yes) you may have it and you pay your mother, whose cloth you collected with it. (Yes) Yes, that is it. Little by little, did our mothers do it. And we are doing it like that. (Yes) (So at that time, cloth was) very very cheap. (~~Was cloth~~ not expensive?) Yes. It was not expensive. Some at all, ^{which} were inferior, were one pound and five shillings. I for example, I have bought some like that. One pound and five shillings, then you buy it. Some at all, you pay for it at six pence, six pence, six pence. (Yes). Some too at all, somebody says, everyday I will come to collect six pence, one shilling and you mark it. One shilling. When she comes, she makes a mark with chalk at the stall. (Yes) Yes, then she makes a mark. You have paid three times. You have paid two times. As for us, we don't write it in a book as it is today; (Yes) we do not write it. (Yes) When she comes, at the stall, I do that and I do this; two times, and she makes a mark and goes away. When she comes tomorrow, "mother, as for today, when you came, the market is not,

good at all; go, tomorrow, you may come."

The next day, when she comes, you give it to her. (Yes) That is how we were doing it. (Yes)

Today too, the world is very very hard. As for me alone, the world is hard for me. For, the money, a woman, when you go to the market, I and these few children who are here, little food at all, maybe that day ^{when} you say that you will eat fufu at all, maybe four thousand at all, (yes) it may not be ~~in~~ sufficient. I too, your mother, as I am there, because my grandchildren prepare the food, I don't like rough food. I like it very nicely, small bit, then I eat it. (Yes) Small bit, then I eat it. (Yes) For me, small bit, then I eat it, Auntie. (Yes) Very very sweet, so if you prepare rough food, I don't like it. Like food you will eat; rice, you will boil the rice like that. I don't like it. If I will get it, I get my fish a little. (Yes)

Yes, and I add to it and eat it nicely. (Yes). For now that we are there, the blood, if you don't get good food which you will eat to let the blood be good for you, then you get sick every time. (True) So, if little food is what you will get, very little, but very sweet. Evening like that when you have finished eating, then you get your little milk, milk and you drink it. (Yes) Bread, then you eat a little and you sleep. (Yes). Today too, if God doesn't help you at all, you won't get it like that. (Yes) (True)

It has become difficult. (And when your mother used to go on the road like that, were you married?) I was married. I had married this father. (Yes. And you and your mother were doing one business. Or you had your money and she too had hers?) I was working with my mother. When ~~my mother~~ ^{my mother's} returns from the road, I also stay at the stall. (Yes) And my mother sits down a bit and I also arrange and price them. (Yes) Sometimes, she would stay by me a little. She too used to sell some. At times she would go on the road. When she brings them, then she stays in the stall. (Yes) And I also arrange and price them. I arrange and price them like that. Perhaps, when someone comes to buy some, my mother will sell to her. And I also arrange and price them on a table like that. (Yes) Yes. She will ask that, "Abera," how much have you got? Maybe, mother, they have bought that much; then bring the money. Today, I will go on the road. (Yes) And I give it to her. (Yes) And she goes. That is it. My mother and I do that little by little like that. At that time, I was not ~~doing~~ ^{arranging} my own work. (Yes) For, when my mother returns from the road, ^{when} my husband gives me money, then I prepare my husband's food. (Yes) My husband doesn't eat fufu. Then I prepare his food and I go with it. My mother too, I prepare hers. (Yes) And I give it to my mother. (Yes) And she too eat. So when she

goes and comes back, I and my mother do one work. That I was saying that, when I want this, (Yes) she says, make savings little by little. When this comes, she buys some. (Yes) Make savings little by little. When this comes, she buys some. Do you see? (Yes) Yes.

So (Yes) I don't need to collect any money and put there. (Yes) For me, I eat (Yes) I buy things. My mother too, maybe, when this comes and she will buy it, she will cut half for me. (Yes) Yes. Even, headkerchief, if I am not there, and when it is beautiful, that it is the type for a young woman, and if it is not even here, she can collect some for me. (Yes) Yes. So I was not doing my work alone. (Yes) It was later that I did

my own work. So when I even started, I had about four children. I was working with my mother like that. (Yes, e! Were all your children born like that?) Yes. (And why were you and your mother not among?)

My mother? (Yes) What is she saying? (You say, what happened that, e, what happened that you and your mother stopped work like that?) (e, it means that, what happened that you and your mother stopped doing work?) e, my mother, what happened, my three sisters; I said that three (i.e. sisters) were among us. (Yes) Because of that, someone brings her child to her at times and she stayed at home to care for the children. (Yes) Yes. One of my sisters was in Europe or America.)

(Yes) Yes. Because of that, she too, when she gave birth, she gave her children to my mother. (Yes) Yes. And it means that my mother was at home to care for my sisters' children for them. And she too. (Yes, so she has stopped going to the market) Yes. She has stopped going to the market and it means that I am left alone. So now the world, when you go, you don't get some of the plantain. Right at the ~~road~~ ^{road} here, there ~~was~~ ^{is} none; unless you go far far away. (Yes) Yes. And there ^{is} none right at this place like the past. (Tone) In the past, just at these places; Atwima Kuro, Bordsese (Koforidua, just here) Yes. Atwima town, & where this master is even at. How is it called? Just right here. (On the Koforidua road, Boaguro road.) Yes. All these places, when you go, plantains are not scarce. (Yes) So, when you go, you don't even have to sleep there. As ~~for~~ today, when we go, it is far far away. Far, far away before you go to take some. So, I too I was buying some right there at the market. Even later on. I stopped. When someone goes to Bode, when someone brings (yes) garden eggs, then I pay for all and I arrange and price them to sell. (Yes) When I get a little, I go home with it. Just like that. (Yes) These children's schooling, little by little. This father (i.e. the husband) died leaving me behind, yet I had these children.)

with him. (Yes) So I left college at all. And I went back to the North and went to buy yams. So this one, I used the money earned from the yams to look after him at school.

(Yes) (Is that so? Have you been on the road for yams?) Yes. (For about how many years did you go?) The years at all, the date at all, if these children were here, I would know. It has been a long time a bit. It has been a long time. This one was going to school. Now, this one, he is about forty years at all. So it has been a long time.

(Yes) So when he was at Opoku Ware School, I stopped. My money was very little. Seventy thousand only. It was less than hundred thousand. (Yes) How do we say it today? Three, one forty. (Seventy thousand, £, one hundred and forty thousand) Yes.

(Yes) Only; I went on the road with it. I and a mother of mine at the market. She too gave birth to a few children. So

Ejura, (Yes) We went to Ejura. ~~Since I go to~~ the bush with her, I went to buy my own bicycle. (Yes) Do you know a bicycle? (Yes)

Twenty five thousand (Yes) (Twenty five thousand?) Yes (Yes) So you go with them, the Konkomba people; when you go to the bush with them, (Yes) then the yams, by the time you go, they had harvested them. And when you go to talk about the price, maybe, you say, this I will give you two pounds and ten shillings. I will give you one pound and five shillings.)

I will give this much; you go on to bargain; maybe you say I won't get it. Even when you won't take it, when you come home, then they pick about four yams; "take them home to cook them to eat. (When you didn't buy them at all?) When you didn't buy them. (And she again gives you some to go and cook it to eat.) (Yes) Yes. And she again gives you some. So the next day, you then go to another farm. (Yes) You go and you talk about the price. When she gives you a price, you say, ei! mother, add some to it. "I won't take it." But as she won't take it, then she gives you some and you bring it home. (laughter) (laughter) And you bring it home; you come to cook it. So when you put them together, you again leave them there. "Ei, mother, so yesterday, your money, is it what you said?" (Yes) Won't you add some to it for me? A bag like that, only two bags is what you said? Maybe, she says, come. Three bags. Come. (Yes) And let us go and see it. When you go, you bargain for the prices like that and you put them there. (Yes) When you bargain like that you put them there, then you come to Kumasi to find a lorry. Maybe, mine may be about thousand. (Yes) Sister's ^{portion,} may be about thousand. (Yes) The lady's portion, may be thousand. (Yes). And all of you load them in one lorry. (yes) and you bring them to Bode. When you come to Bode, there is

someone also there, she too, she doesn't go on the road. She is at Bode. (Yes) When she too comes, then she buys them. This person selects hundred; and this one selects two hundred; and that one selects two hundred. And they buy them like that. (Yes) Maybe at first, maybe one pound, one pound would be the profit on it. So if you brought a thousand, you get one pound, one pound ten; yes. And the yams too that you collected when you went to bush, you have cooked some to eat there at the North. (What they gave to you as gift) What they gave to you as gift. (Yes). There in the North, you have cooked some to eat. And you bring what is left; when you come you give them to the children. Your sister may be there; "ei! I have returned from the road. Take these two, that you too may prepare "Ampele" with them. Then you take two to Auntie; "Take these two, that you too may prepare "Ampele" with them. (Yes) Maybe when they buy them like that, when they buy them in bulk, then they go to the market with them. So after about three days, oh, I would like to go, Auntie, I am coming for money. Someone also may be there, as soon as she buys, then she unties your money, (i.e. she takes your money from her purse) and gives it to you. Here may be someone too, she has taken them but she has no money. So she pays it bit by bit for about three days.)

Yes. She goes and walks around and collects your money. And maybe you also go around, maybe and you also get a little. And if your child goes to school; ~~for~~ my mother, as she is there, when I come, I buy charcoal too. The charcoal, I buy it from far away, then, I bring it. When I come, my room is there. My mother too is there. (Were all of you living at one place?) We were all living in one house, Ashanti New Town. My room was there. My mother's room was also there. That house, when we went to stay there, I was very small. So when I moved to this place, you didn't know that I have moved. (Yes) All these children were born there. At times too, she used to go to my brother in Accra. (Yes) There in the house too, all of us were one so as for you, you get food; a little yam; charcoal is there. And you give the children some money; what they will take to school. Formerly too, my daughter, her picture is not here. When they were attending school, they could even make little groundnut cakes. (Yes) When she goes to school, then she sells them. (Yes - Together with all milk toffee) Yes (I even made some before) Yes, and they made them; and went with them. And when you also get a little for them, the children, when they are going to school, then they go with it in the morning. Maybe you go on the road about two weeks, three weeks, then you come back. (Yes) Yes. And the children,

there may be someone who can ^{even} prepare her father's food to go and give it to him. (Yes) Then you too, you go and come. little by little like that; little by little like that. And when I conceived Joyce, I had a motor accident, (Ah!) and I stopped going on the road for years. (Is that so?) I was pregnant for six months. (Were you pregnant?) I was pregnant. As for that time, at all, this thing, at Tamale, only white people were assisting in delivering babies. (Yes) So white women like this my child; this one comes to press this side of me; and that one comes to press here. Mother; this one comes to press this side of me; that one comes to press here. When the lorry did that, we had arrived at a certain river. As for that time, the world was not like this. Tree trunks were across the river. (Yes) The bridge, the bridge was made of tree trunks. (Yes) The lorry came to climb a hill. I and an elderly man. I was sitting in front of the lorry. We had finished loading the yards. And we were coming, we were coming to Salaga. (Yes) When you leave there, then you are coming to Salaga. (Yes) Yes. The lorry does this, then it does that, then it does this; then it does that (i.e. it goes here and there) And it passed by the river and fell into a ditch. And it was this part of me that hit there. And somebody who was pregnant for six months. So my stomach fell on the side

like this. (Ei!) Then, when it happened like that, my palm heel was cut. As for today, you won't see it. It was stiched. (Yes.) It was a deep cut. (It was well stiched) Yes, so, when I managed it, they carried me to a doctor. White people like this, about four of them examined me for a long time. And for the child, they said that there was nothing wrong with ~~him~~ her. Then, Auntie, I was not feeling well. (Yes) They said that they were taking me to Tamale and I said that they should not take me there; I begged them. Now, as for that place, maybe I would die and it will take a long time before my mothers hear of me. (Nobody will know that you are dead) (Yes) So, I begged; they should bring me to Kumasi. As for Kumasi, if I die on the way and they bring me, then they go back. So Auntie, then when it happened like that, the child struggled in my stomach (i.e. womb) kuku! kuku! kuku! kuku! like that. Then when I go to the toilet, blood flows. (Ei!) Blood in the toilet. And a certain father, as for God, if ^{you} go about and you don't like doing evil things, a certain father had gone on pension. He had brought all his things to Kumasi. An elderly man. It had remained his last trip after which he would not go back to the town again. He was from beyond Tamale. (Yes). What happened was that, his private car, (i.e. he was travelling in his private car) and the ladies

stopped him. This doctor stopped him and he said; "father, this lady, she came to buy yams. Her lorry has fallen down by the side of Kundu river. So go with her for us." (Yes) And they lifted me and put me in the car; then this father did not stop again. He and his one son only. And he drove very fast. And I said; "Father, my stomach pains me at times. I will go to the toilet." Auntie, when I go to squat there, no toilet comes. (Hei!) Blood flows. (Ao!) Blood had accumulated there. So when I gave birth to Joyce, her eyes were paining her. Her eyes pained her for a long time before it stopped. So as soon as I came, I arrived at noon, one o'clock on Sunday. (Yes) When I came, all my mothers were pounding 'fufu' at Akenti New Town at my house. (Yes) Afua, why? Then I could not speak. (Ao) I could not speak. Someone who I am pregnant for six months. There are cuts in my palms. Even, this side of my face was cut. (Ao!) I said, I have been involved in a lorry accident. My mother held me and took me to Gaa (i.e. Komfo Anokye Teaching hospital). I went to the toilet for one day with one roll of toilet paper. (Eish!) For when my doctors give me some medicine, when they give me the medicine, then the blood was flowing more. So when they give me the medicine, I said that I won't drink it. And they

said, "Ei! drink it." For all the ~~udint~~ that ~~is~~ in the blood that has piled up hasn't come out. (It hasn't passed out) I say, doctor, when I drink the medicine, then the blood flows more. He says, drink it. Formerly, the world was not like today. They cared for me very well. They cared for me very well. Then, I was on admission for about a month, and they allowed me to go home. Even when I delivered, I did not go back to Gce (i.e. Kempo Anokye Hospital) I gave birth at a Midwife's Maternity Home (Yes) So when I gave birth to Joyce, her eyes were paining her. Her eyes pained her for a long time. So after giving birth to Joyce, I was afraid a bit. (Yes) So even today, when a car climbs a hill, a hill which is high, at times it makes me think; (you have remembered) I have remembered. And it made me stop going on the road for yams. (Yes) And from that time, I stopped the yam business. (Yes, you don't go again?) Yes, I didn't go again. (And why did you stop plantain to go and sell yam?) Yes. The yams, for the yams, when I went to look at the work a bit for a while, I did like it, (Yes) for the yams, when you bring them, you get a little more than the plantains. (Is that so?) That the yams too is a job that there is no cheating in it because you know the quantity in it. If you bought them for one hundred, hundred, if you bought them for a hundred,

you ^{know} that, this when I come, if I sell them for this much, each is this much. Maybe each is five hundred. Each is thousand. Any quantity, you know what the price is like. Each is six hundred. If each is five hundred, you know. (Yes) You know the price for every hundred. So I became interested; for this, I was born with ~~the~~, but I became interested in that work. (Yes) (Yes) And if you go on the road for plantains, can't you get profit like that? No, for the plantain, today it has gone far away. (Yes) Yes. And the plantain too, there is a lot of tiredness in it. (Yes) Even this, at times, I can put on trousers like this; I climb the bicycle (Yes) and on the bicycle, the Konkombas go with me. Maybe, you go to meet the child of your house owner and a boy, then he goes with you to bush like that. (Yes) When you finish, you give him money. (Yes). Yes.

Then, I did that for some time, and also, the river too, there is a place which is not good. Guinea worms are there. Guinea worms are there. The water, if you don't boil it, if you don't boil the water and you drink it like that, it gives guinea worms. I even had guinea worm when I came back. (You had guinea worm?) Ei! I had guinea worm. (Yes) (O! Is that so?) The water is not good. & the water. So today, this foot, a full shoes (Yes) Shoes that cover the whole feet, I don't like it. (Yes) So every time I like shoes which

air passes through. And when I wear them, then the worms stick on ~~my~~ legs. Ei! I suffered from the guinea worm. (Yes) In my thigh here, they stuck there. (Yes; a friend of mine too, had it. She went on the road for years and got it) When you go on that road, you have to be careful of what you eat. If you will have it, anytime your water should be on fire. (i.e. boil your water) (Yes) Or when you reach a place and it is difficult for you, and coke is it that you will get, drink it. (Yes) And when you go, then it is in your luggage and you drink it. And as for the water only, when you drink it, you will get guinea worm. (Yes) I say, I have been in bed (room) like that. As soon as it attacked me, they were sticking to my legs and a doctor came; they say he has gone to Europe or America. Those things alone did he go to study at Mamporten. (Yes) He saved me. (Right now, where is he now?) The master moved away. (One of our friends has been attacked right now that she is in a room.) I took the treatment and I recovered. I went to present some gifts to the master. A small young man, they say he went to Europe or America to study everything. (Is that so?) That is it. This and boils and other things. (Yes) He gave me medicine that I got well. (Yes) Mamporten. Medicine for me. When this person comes, then he/she prescribes a drug.)

I have used herbal drugs several times. A certain doctor, they say, bread, sugar, anything, when I use, it doesn't go (i.e. any drug I use doesn't help) And somebody, they put me in a car. I hired a taxi; they said a young man has come. ~~Who~~ went to Europe or America, he did not study anything apart from this illness. So, you should take her there. And I went there; behold the drugs. He arranges them like this and gives them to me. Then I came to drink them and these worms, they came out like that. And they have been cut into pieces. They are ugly. They are like this. Ei! Working for money is painful, Auntie. (laughter) And from there, even recently, I decided that I would go. (Yes) And because of money, I said, as for today, as I have your line; then the other day, when I heard it, they say, they have brought the fighting again. (Yes) (Yes) They say that they have started the fighting (He!) Yes? Then, Auntie, as for money, we got up and left it there; ~~we~~ ~~don't~~ take it anywhere. (i.e. when we die, we don't go with money). Little by little, I will get what I will eat; little by little. And that is how, your mother, I am staying here. I stopped again. I went again to buy charcoal. Charcoal, too, ^{the} Konkomba people, the Sissala people (Yes) I went to buy charcoal like that to come. (Did you go to)

buy it from the North?) As for that, from
Kintampo ~~area~~ and this very place. It is not
far far away in the North. (Brong Ahafo)
(Yes) Kintampo, ~~adema~~, beyond Kintampo,
behind Takyanan. (Yes)

At the Bantama market, I come to unload and I go. Then as for that day, I went to buy charcoal. I took ~~a~~ sacks to go to the bush, a very big tree, even dolmar cannot cut it. (laughter; is that so?) It had fallen somewhere. This, they will go with a tractor to go and gather them. I go with a tractor to go to gather them to the house. (Yes) And before I come to put them in a lorry. (Yes) For they have put them in the sacks. They have put them in (in sacks) sacks. Yes. And when I go with a tractor, a lorry cannot go to that place. (Yes) So when the tractor goes, then ~~they~~ bring them to the house for me. Then, ~~when~~ I reached there, when the tractor had ~~gone~~ the tree, I have never seen some before. A tree had fallen on the charcoal. Ei! It had fallen in front of the charcoal. The charcoal we were going to take. (hee.) Yes. The tree had fallen in the bush over there. (Yes) It had covered the charcoal which the tractor was going to pick. (It was going to pick) And how will I go to the bush there to take them? I was worried. This amount of money too was much. I was worried like that; then we were able to get it, ~~there~~ on the sides a bit by bit. The charcoal was there for a long time. Then some of my sacks even got rotten. (Yes) Then I stopped again. My mother, and I stopped again. I ~~stopped~~ the charcoal behind. I picked a little and I came. And what was left, the sacks were there. When I go, then a little;

maybe at home, I go to buy about four
and put them in a lorry and I bring them.
Then, the children, when I am not there
myself, then my children become sick. (Ah!)
The children, the children become sick. I
say I won't travel again. When I am there,
these children don't get sick. When you are
not there, by the time you will come, then
they are sick. (Yes) So I won't travel again.
(Yes). The devil had put that thing in me.
(Yes) As soon as I am not there. (He) Yes.
My children get sick. I say, I won't travel
at all. Then we kept holding on like that.
My mother, I remember that during that time,
my mother too got sick. This my mother was
sick, I too, I am the senior child. (Yes)
I am the senior. I have to stay by her to
look after her for her too to die. (Yes) So,
this mother, she could not get up. (Yes) She
could not. (She was sick at which part of
her body?) Auntie, these children came to
take her away. They came to take her to
over there. (To Europe or America?) Yes when
she came, as soon as she came, she got sick.
(Yes) Then, when she sits there, she doesn't
see that Auntie Mary is the one sitting there.
She is not blind but her mind (has been
affected) (Yes) Her mind has been affected.
(He) When she is there, if you don't ask her a
question, she doesn't speak. (Yes) She doesn't
talk; unless you ask, mother, are you
hungry? (Didn't her get a stroke?) The

stroke, the doctor said it affected her mind..
(E, it affected her mind (i.e her brain) Yes.

(Yes) It affected her mind. That is what a certain doctor said. (Yes) About three different doctors said it. (Yes) And as for her body, nothing happened to it. And he said that if we had seen it early, and perhaps he treated it, maybe it could have been possible to treat it. (Yes) So it affected her mind. (So at times, she becomes quiet?) Yes. She doesn't talk

(hE) She doesn't talk. When you ask her a question, ei! mother, ei! Are you hungry? Ei! If you would give it to me, I would eat. She is hungry (she doesn't say it)

A! She will never say it. She sits there like that. She sits there like that. She will sit down from morning. She will sit there like that until evening. (Aa.) She doesn't get up. (Yes) So unless you hold her hand.

Mother, come and urinate. "Mother, come and go to the toilet." (AaA) (Aa; then, you are tired.) (Yes) Ei! Auntie, tiredness? As for tiredness, I am very, very, very, very tired.

Madam, you have to lift her to go and bathe her, and dress her. (Yes) (Ei!) And powder her and do everything for her. And her food, in the morning, if she will eat porridge, if you will give her tea, even later, if you don't take the tea and give it to her, she will not drink it. (Yes) Unless you give it to her.

(Yes) So I have stayed at home like that. The

to-and-fro that I am doing all the time, I am not working. (Yes) And you go and come and you take a lorry. There will be some trouble at home, you will go. (Yes) They will come and tell you. Look at me that the day my sister-in-law's mother died; we went and came back up to Nkoranza. The other day when I came back my debt was more than twenty thousand. (Yes) (Yes) When I came back my debt was more than twenty thousand. There will be trouble; you will go. (Yes) You will leave children at home. (Yes) Children at that time ----- secondary school. (Yes)

You go, you come. This sister too, as soon as you go, she says, I am not in speaking terms with you. Confusion. All of them, the Lord will care for them. (Which sister?) My child, Nana Ama, Fii's mother (Yes) (Laughter) She is not in speaking terms with me, Auntie. (Why? Is she not the one who came to take your child away?) The small one went. (Why?) She came to take this little away, then Auntie, she says I am not in speaking terms with my mother. (That you have done what?) I have not done anything to her. Everybody was surprised. (As) She came; just recently when my mother died; even that day, I was sick. So I am here and I go to a doctor and I have been drinking some medicine ~~what~~ I go. She was sitting in a chair here and the house owner was sitting here and he/she said, what has

your mother done to you that you say that you are not in speaking terms with your mother? She said Auntie, and right there, tears (i.e. immediately she wept) Ei! What has your mother done to you? The house owner said and said and said it. Immediately I said, sister, you may get up. (For, what is really her case?) She has nothing to depend on it. Recently someone went to Europe or America. When he/she went he/she said, look after your mother. ~~to it~~ all people that care for people even for them to go and come back to meet them? (Ei!) What has your mother done to you? She says, immediately, she was weeping. She did not tell any story to him/her. (Something that was bothering her) That is it (She needs prayers. Pray for her.) As for me, I pray. (Pray for her. It is the devil.) Auntie, look, by her grace alone, when the month ends, she says, when her child was with me, she introduced me to a certain gentleman. "Mother, when the month ends, go and collect a little amount of money to buy food to eat. (Hs) I went to this gentleman. Then, when she came to take the lastborn away, Auntie, you know the devil, his things, now it is a year and over, a penny has never come. These children, even her brothers/sisters, she is not in speaking terms with them. (Ao) Even her brothers/sisters, she doesn't speak with them. (Ao, why? And when you die, will she come?) She says when

I send her a recorded speech on a cassette at all, she will put it in a river. And I said that I won't make a cassette. (Pray for her) As for me, I am praying every time. (As for you, tell the Lord.) I share my thought with the Lord. It is the devil. Auntie (She fills you with sadness by this.) The world, excuse me to say, as for me, I say that I know a village very well. I say, formerly I know a village. I say, formerly when they were not removing (i.e. emptying) bomber latrine (i.e. septic latrine), when you go to the toilet, and behold, this old woman, smoking her pipe profusely will come and ease herself. You say, ei! she came right now; has she finished easing herself? She is jealous; faeces, even toilet that the Lord says, when we have eaten and then we should empty it, don't you see that people are jealous of it? (Yes) People are jealous. So when they saw that she, (she will look after you) she will look after me, you have seen what the devil^{ie} (has done) When she came, did you go with her to the village? Did you go to your town with her? Ah! for my town, it is right here. (Yes) Kenyase, just here. We didn't go to a village. I know that when she goes for a while, then she comes, when she goes for a while, then she comes, it doesn't worry people, Auntie (Yes) When we came, you know that when she goes, then she comes, when she goes,

then she comes. (Pray for her.) She has gone
 to put up a house somewhere. It is somebody
 who is occupying it, (i.e. living in it) Auntie.
 (Haish!) She has put up a house at
 Mpankxono. As for me, I don't know there.
 I say, I won't like to see it at all. (Yes)
 She has built a house. I too, I rent somebody's
 building. (If you live there at all you can
 keep it clean, when you are at home. Do
 pray ~~rather~~ for her) As for prayers, Auntie,
 I do. Now, now, we have got up; even on
 Wednesday, we have prayers in which we
 have big, big, big testimony on countries,
 countries. We have Wednesday prayer
 meeting from nine o'clock in the morning to
 one o'clock. So everyday I put it to the
 Lord. And as for the Lord, there is nothing too
 big for him to do. As for him, he is not in
 a hurry to deal for us (yes) As for us, we
 don't have waiting spirit, that anything we
 want to tell him, he has to do it for us
 just today. As for the Lord too, he has patience
 and he does things with it. So it is the Lord
 himself that I have put it to him, Auntie.
 (You have put it to him; as for you, cry on
 to the Lord. The Lord will do it) And everybody
 was surprised. All these my little children;
 ei! mother, sister, is this really Nana Ama?
 (laughter) Is this really Nana Ama? When you
 went abroad you left this your child behind
 for a year and about five months when the
 child was about a year and five months.)

This child, I have looked after her/him and he/she is nine years old. When you came to take him/her away, then you are not in speaking terms with your mother. (Yes) (Yes) She is not in speaking terms with me. When my mother died, these children, she says, when your mother died, this my child could not say that maybe; also that child, when I was pregnant, she was born, eight months after, I got pregnant with another one (Yes) So the interval was close; so my mother got this child and carried her at her back; I didn't hold or touch her. She says, "Don't hold her for she will be ugly. So my mother took my child and carried her at her back. And I was pregnant with a male. My mother cared for her for me for a long time. And you, if I didn't do anything for you, I did hold your hand to Roman Girls' School. At that time, when you had to go and register a child, you had to light a lamp. (Yes, They go with her/him at dawn) (Yes) At dawn, then you go to write the child's name at school. All of them (Yes) As for this one even, when I went to write her name, they said, take one stone. She went to take five and the mistress let her go and put them there. (Yes) And she went to bring ten. (Yes) This one. At that time at all, Day Nursery, it was then that it was being introduced. There was no Day Nursery. So she went to

bring four stones. She said, go and put them there. Go and bring six again. That was how they registered children's names. (laughter) When you go to school, three o'clock at night, you switch on the light. You run very fast and you go and stand in the school. And I have looked after you at school. Roman Girls' School little by little. As for you even, you did not continue (ie you didn't go to a secondary school) You went over there and you said you will ^{not} continue. As for this one, she continued, continued, continued. She went all over there. (Yes) Then studies is important. By the grace of her brothers/sisters And you came to visit me. Even you had gone and as for you, by the grace of the Lord, you have received your papers and you have done it. You are not the one who will care for me to give me food. (Yes) She has built a house, I don't know. So as for Agyeiwaa, she says, "I will go and look at the house, mother. When she went and came back, that day I had finished cooking, but she said that she would not eat. And I said, why is it that you won't eat? Why won't you eat? She said, mother, and sister Nana Ama has built this house somewhere, and we too are living somewhere? (People are living in it; she has completed it?) She has completed some that people have to stay in them. Two flats. (That one, you could have ^{even} stayed in it.) You could; you could.)

(What sort of person lives there?) Well, it is someone who watches there. Yet Auntie, as I live here, I look up to the Lord. (If you think about it, it will bother you.) Yes. (So, give it to God and rather pray for her, that God may change her.) Yes, yes. The other day, I said Lord, that person, when I was about to deliver her at all, I collapsed, (Yes) before I went to a midwife. Because all my children were born at Auntie Aggie's place at Suame. All my children were born at Suame midwife, Auntie Aggie. (Yes) Today, she was at Papa Kofi Afa's two storey building. Today, she has built her house. Then Auntie, her children have come to take her to Europe or America. All my children were born at Suame. And you, I have cared for you to have teeth, and as for you, you won't care for me for mine to fall (ie you won't care for me to lose my teeth). You have become a young woman. Recently, I heard of her that she has gone to her sisters/brothers in America. And I too, I am here and I am suffering and worried. (Pray for her) So as for me, like formerly, maybe you will go to a fetish priest that, this my child, and my friend, I don't hear from one of them. This person says, sister Ahera, when we go to somewhere --- And I say, as for me Ahera, I won't go anywhere. As for me, I look up to this one alone (ie God) This one, I look up to. He alone.)

I have nobody. I look up to this Father. Wherever ~~the~~ the Lord puts me, I look up to this Father. (Yes) So, as for me, I have nowhere to go. I look up to this one only. He knows what you have planned in your head; what has been bound, he knows. No one knows. So, as for me, I won't go anywhere. I look up to this one. Wherever the Lord will put me, I like it. The other day, so this master, he asks of me everyday. Master John. (Yes) Everyday. Even, three days today, he asked of me. She has never written to me. (God is there.) So, it is the Lord I put my problem to him so at times, as it was in the past that I didn't know the Lord, I too, I do have fever a lot; and I go to buy beer to drink and I get sick. I can get sick and be in bed for about, maybe, even two months and I will not be up. (You should not drink.) And I go to a doctor. And as for today too, the Lord has changed me so (Yes) I don't have anything. At times, I put my legs there and speak to him. And he gives me an answer. That is what I do. So as for my mother, it is to the Lord that I put my everything. For it is like the children, even the devil has turned their eyes. What they should have done for me, the devil has turned their eyes away. The devil has turned their eyes away. (He doesn't want you to be happy. Pray. God will do it.) Only prayers, prayers alone is what your mother is doing. Sometimes, these)

people, they are about two or three also, at times, I am worried. And also even when somebody's is only one, she can make her do things. And I too mine, and then, the Lord, why? But the Lord, I don't judge you guilty for it is not big for you to do. (i.e. God can do everything) Maybe if I did some of that, I would have got what someone has got but I would not have been alive.

(Yes) Yes. So I don't become jealous that someone has done this. Sometimes when I am there, I say, A! even when somebody's one child arrives abroad, she can do great, great things. And why Lord, and why, what are you doing to me? And I raise my eyes to look at the Lord's face. When the time is not due, you say the Lord is not near you; but he is close to us at this place. As we are speaking at all, there are messengers among us. (Yes) Messengers are with us here. For we don't have eyes to see it. So every time, I put my everything to him. That as for him, he can do everything. Yes. So life is what is needed. (i.e. life is important) (God is there) Life is what is important. When you have life, then you have everything. Yes. So as for me, I will not rush on everything that is mine. The children who are left with me, at times, as for mother, I say, ei! as for you, you should not use force or you should not rush. We begin from one before we go to two. And as

for you, as soon as you begin, then everything becomes perfect. The Lord makes everything perfect. Don't say that this person has done this and I am also running. I am also going to do some. So patience gives victory. So as for your mother, the other day, even when I did it, I was jealous, I was worried. And when I do that, the children say, no. I am worried. As for our house, there are many families. The houses are many. But I, myself, my mother, she has none. Our uncles, they died and left us well, those who will take, have taken. My mother, the grandmother, gave birth to her only. (Yes) So I have no mother and uncle. The uncle, I have some. there. But as for my own mother, she has no brother. (Yes) I should also get mine. that if I am not there in future, the children too, when a trap gets loose, it goes to its original place. And she too has seen that maybe, I too, these are my mother's descendants. I struggled hard, then, I have been in difficulty very much. then I said I will move to a village. I will move. I was born in this town. (Yes) I was born at Roman Hill. At that time my grandparent said, my mother said that you have to go and call a midwife to your house to help you to deliver the baby at your house. (Fi! Formerly, do you see?) (Yes) Yes. That is what they told me. (Hs) So, they went to call the midwife and I was born.

And sister, ei! As for a doctor, he is wonderful. They say that when I was born, my grandmother and her senior sister fought. She said why was it that her sister talked. (For what?) She said, when I was born, one of my grandparents said, "Ei! just now my mother has given birth; a doctor too, is wonderful. That meant that there was something behind it, so if it was not for the doctor, (yes, she would not have delivered quickly). She would not have delivered quickly. They say, immediately my grandmother too, she ~~was~~ ~~big~~ and tall. As for my mother she ~~was~~ fine. My grandmother ~~was~~ big and tall. A very big and tall woman. (Yes) Her sister too ~~was~~ slim. She and her sister began fighting; ~~that~~ why has she said that? (Yes) She had had only one child. She has given birth to a male; she has a female. Ei! a doctor too is wonderful. For if it was not a doctor who did it, would you have done something to her? Do you see? (Yes) - (Laughter) So, they say, ~~after~~ I was born, Ei! just now, she has given birth; ei! Then the doctor too is wonderful. And it moved the old woman. And she said, if it was not the doctor, what would you have done? They say, she and her sister started fighting: A person who, (laughter) A person whose daughter has given birth. Your daughter has given birth. You have not gone to bring her home and you are fighting with your sister. She says, she has said something against you. If it was

not the doctor, if a doctor is not a fearful person. And it means that you would have done what? If a doctor is not God, that means that you would like that the person could not give birth or you kill even the child or you let the mother do what? Do you see? (Yes)

She says, it is not the fear of a doctor. She says, she went to hold her and said, if it was not the fear that you fear a doctor, what would you have done? What would you do? And also ~~the~~ doctor and God have finished doing it. She has given birth to a female. (Yes) So get away. Then our uncles say, "Stop, Akosua. As for you, yours is a single one. She has given birth to a male; she has given birth to a female for you; as for you, be quiet. Be quiet.

Auntie, as I am sitting there, I have given birth to nine children. (Yes) Nine. Only one is not there. (Is that so?) I have given birth to nine children. Only one is not there. And that means that what the old woman will do, I have done it for her. So when my grandmother was alive, she had respect for me. So at times, when I am there, I say ei! Lord. Sometimes, the children come to say, school fees. One goes to Day School. (ie he doesn't live in the school as a boarder)

Even at that time, the fee was not very much. And even when you go as a day student, the fee was thirty; for day student. For three months, thirty. (Yes) She comes and I say,

ei! go, for I don't have some. Go. My grandmother says, be quiet, you hear? As for you, the Lord will do it for you. It is not you that will do it. She did like me. Be quiet, the Lord will look after them for you, and it is not you who will do it. The children's father has died and left them behind. When the father died, the children were very young. I was pregnant for six months (Yes) The father had died. It was C.P.P and N.L.M. period.

A man was shot dead. Auntie, did you hear about it? Maybe you will hear. He was shot dead at Kejetia (Yes) At Kejetia. There at Atwemorom. It was this man. (Yes) It was this father. (Ei! your husband.) This father. Yes! (Was it a knife?) they stabbed him with a knife. It was the day C.P.P. and N.L.M. had a big fight in this town. (I was small) (Yes, it was Nkrumah's time) (Yes) Was he a member of C.P.P.? As for him, as for this father, he was a member of N.L.M. (Yes) He was living in Baffour Akoto's area (Area there) Area there. His house, his uncle's house is opposite Baffour Akoto Street. (EEE) (Yes) And his brother too was a very strong senior member of C.P.P. (Then, that was ~~the~~ reason. My father and his brother, they were like that.) Yes. His brother was a very strong ^{senior} member of C.P.P. (Yes) And this father, he used to go to Takoradi to take cement. (Your husband?) Yes (Cement?) Yes, he used to go to Takoradi

for cement. (Yes.) At that time, kerosine in gallons and kerosine tins. That was what he went to take. (Yes) That was what he went to take when he used to go to Takoradi. (Yes) That was his work. (True.) At first, he was a carpenter (Yes) He was a carpenter. He used to roof houses and did other things. And later he stopped and went to farm a little. (Yes) He did it with his brother and he ~~defted~~ it ~~with~~ his brother and went on the road. So when I had all of these children, kerosine, at that house, I used to supply kerosine. For the kerosine tin, (Yes) when they bring it to me, I use it to light fire wood. (Yes) So if I am at home with you, and you don't have kerosine to use to light your fire, then I pour some for you. (True) All the people at my home, I give them kerosine. (Yes) When you finish, I say, I will collect the kerosine tin. I collect it. When you take it and you give it to them, that is the kerosine tin, then you make it well, and he/she with a board, (Yes) and he/she put a board at the bottom and she/he goes for water with it. (Yes) So the world was very pleasant. But today, the world is not pleasant. I have seen things bit by bit. Five shillings, when they give it to you, you can use some to prepare 'ampesie' (Yes) Five shillings. Formerly. The former money at all, I did have some there. Five shillings. You will prepare 'ampesie' with it. Morning breakfast, seven o'clock, then.)

you go and give it to your husband and he goes to work. (True) Yes. Before you cook in the evening. (It is very big but when you do any work, you will get it quickly) Yes. When you work, you will get a little to buy any of your personal things. You will have some to eat. Today too, you will be tired like that. This money will not be enough for you. Oh! As for today. (And when did it become so difficult like that?) You see, during Aksum's time, it was not as difficult as that. (And it was whose time that it became so difficult?) Auntie, right now. (I don't understand) Yes, Auntie, right now too, what I have taken a bit, in the world, the people too, are too many. (Yes) Today, people have become too many; do you see? Look, at first, they grow, they grow before they give birth. (True) Even before you reach the puberty age at this place. Today too, very young children reach their puberty age soon. (Yes) Then she gives birth. (Yes) Do you see? Also, formerly, people like us, we were afraid of men. Do you see? (Yes) We were afraid of men. Even a man, if someone will talk with you, you will do it. (i.e. you have to reach your puberty age.) Today too, the children, they are not afraid of men. Very young, then she has given birth. Very young, then she has given birth. Do you see? At first, what has made it more difficult, the people are too many. As for me, I believe that

people are too many, Auntie. (Yes) At first, people were not too many. And they grow and grow and grow before they give birth. I for an example, I say that when I gave birth to this my child, I had grown a bit. (Is that so? You were about how many years?) Oh!

When I gave birth, was I about eighteen years? Even that shows that I wanted it very quickly. (Yes) (Yes) Do you see? For, my mother was the only child born by her mother. She too, she ~~did not~~ give birth to a male. She has given birth to me. (Yes) My father said that he was sending me to school. My grandmother said, NO, NO, NO, NO, Look here!! (She wants you to give birth before) Yes. (laughter) My grandmother had only one child. She gave birth first to a male. (Yes) She has given birth to the second, a female. And my father said he would send me to school. My grandmother? (Yes) She too, she ~~is~~ a citizen from Kumasi.

(E, is that so?) She knows this place. She is a woman. She is civilised. She is big. She is tall. She said, look here; I, my only child, should I let you take her to school? I won't agree. (Yes) I won't agree. My grandchild, come. And I went to follow my grandmother. (laughter) I have gone to follow my grandmother, do you see? (Yes) (For, she likes you) My home, now, my home in which I am, members of my family, they are all ladies. (i.e. they are women who have been to school and can read, write and speak English) So, if a problem comes to the house,

then I become very tired. (Yes) For anyone who will come, behaves as if she is not concerned. If somebody dies, it is a serious matter that I am saying, (Yes) And she becomes unconcerned. I too, all Ashanti customs, my grandmother taught me. (Yes) When someone comes, you have to welcome him/her. You ask for his/her mission. (Yes) When there is a funeral (Yes)

They too, when there is a funeral, someone comes to sit here. (Yes) You too, maybe the person, came because of you. (Yes)

Yes. It is because of you that, that person has come. You didn't ask for his/her mission. You didn't welcome him/her. Because of whom, did he/she come? (Yes) What will he/she do? That is not what we do. So, when there is a funeral at my home, I do get very tired.

(Yes) When there is a problem, any person from Kumasi that will come, I say, madam, welcome. And why this morning? (ie. what is your mission?) And she too, she tells her mission, and, too, maybe, this and this and this. (ie. she tells the news at home.) And I too tells her what is here. (Yes) That I have to give her water, then I go and get it for her. When my sisters too have come, many are in Accra, (yes) many too are here. Some are doctors. Big, big, big ladies. (Yes) And they sit behind and I get tired like that because I did not go to school. (Yes) So I know everything of the Ashantis. (Yes) I know that this madam came from this house. Maybe even Asantehene's sisters)

came (Yes) Where they are sitting is not good. (Yes)
(Yes) Then I go to find a very nice place, (Yes)
Nananom have come. And we take them to sit
there. (Yes) The other day for example, one of
my sisters, she went and died abroad. (Yes)
When they came, there was a quarrel in our
house so we had to lay her in state at
Ash. Town yet they did not lay her in state
there. And my sister, a very young lady,
a child; (Yes) she is at ϵ , when you go
on Santasi road; she is a teacher. (Yes)
She has built a very fine house there that
saying that, there will they put her sister.
(Yes) And I saw that Asante here's sisters and
his nieces had come. They came to greet the
rest of my mothers. (Yes) Where they were
sitting was not good. So I ran to bring a
chair. I said, Nana, some of the chairs
are even there which an elderly person
sitting on it, you won't like it. (Yes) I ran
and removed some of the chairs. Nananom,
as for Nananom, they have to sit at this
place. My sisters too, they are ladies, so they
won't get up at all. (laughter) They won't get
up. Because I didn't go to school, any bad
job, I will do it. Do you see? (Yes) Though I
am a senior, but when things come like that,
now that my mother is dead, her sisters, my
mother's sisters are there. (Yes) All of them
and me are one. Then I removed my blouse
and I changed my cloth. Then I picked one
and I did that with one. And I showed all

this side of me. And I became one with all my mother's sisters. Yet there may be someone who may be of the same age as me. But as for her, as she came, she had put ~~on~~ a headkerchief very nicely and a nice wrist watch. As I am from this house, I know that I face a problem now so I won't put on a wrist watch. (Yes) Yes (As for Ashanti's we don't even do that) Yes (Yes) Yes, in Ashanti. I am sad. My relation is dead. I won't put ~~on~~ a wrist watch on my hand. (You won't wear ear rings.) I won't wear ear rings. I won't put on a wrist watch. (Yes) To show that I am sad. When we finish everything and I go away, then I can do it (Yes) And as for a lady, when she comes her wrist watch is on her wrist. When I want to know the time, then I ask my sister. (laughter) Sister, what time is it? (laughter) Sister, what time is it? (Yes) Ei! Maybe, when I went, I did not give the children some money; then, I will run home. It is two o'clock. I go home and maybe I let the children go to the market. (Yes) And I go back again. (Yes) And I come and give, or if something is there, then I come to show them. You may do this. You may do this; maybe, I am also at the funeral. Do you see? (Yes) Because I didn't go to school. If I also went to school, I would not do it. (That everyone is important. Everyone is important. laughter) If I had gone to school, I would not

do it. (Yes) So when there is a funeral, I will be tired like that. I will be tired like that. I will do the greetings. I will welcome people. I will ask for their mission. Take this and put it there. This person has come. We should give him/her drinks. This elderly person, he/she came from here. We should treat him/her like this. He/she too, he/she came from Accra and has come to sit down for a long time behind. They are in Kumasi. Even many of the children are in Kumasi here. My sisters. There may be someone who was born on the same day as me. But I, now, I am older than her, because I didn't go to school. I know something; family matters in the house. (Yes) Yes. Do you see? So because my mother's grandmother had her as the only child, (Yes) she did not allow me to go to school. So a sister of mine is there. The child who came to me for money, is the child of my younger sister; (Yes) and I am here with her/him. (Yes) He/she is the child of my mother's last born. (Yes) She too, that was how her grandmother treated her. She did not allow her to go to school. (Yes) When she goes to school, ~~Kantan~~ Kantan Girls School was very close to our house, (Yes) Ash Town. (Yes) Yes. And when it is about eleven o'clock, she comes. She says, (ie the grandmother) Have you been beaten? Has the teacher beaten you? (Yes) Come and sit down. Remove the uniform.)

Come and let us cook. (laughter) The grandmother goes to take, (laughter) She goes to take 'Ampezie' and put it on fire. And she pours a lot of palm oil. She mashes the sauce and pour on a lot of palm oil. When the child finished eating, she says, sit somewhere. Were you beaten when you went? (Yes) The one who came now to collect money, her mother. So it had let her have many children. She has given birth to seven children (Yes). It is troublesome. If you don't get a man to look after them, they become useless. Today, life in Ghana is difficult. (Yes) I was not sent to school, the second child after me however went to school. (Yes) And she became a lady. So she is the one I say that she is in Accra. (Yes) She goes to and fro Europe or America. When she goes, then she comes back. When she goes, then she comes back. (Yes) For, even her, when she was attending Roman Girls' School, two twins, sister Nana Ayiwaa's (Yes) grandchildren, the two twins, were teaching at Roman Girls' School. (Yes, the skin two sisters. They taught me before.) Yes. And they beat my younger sister. (They are sisters.) Yes, twin sisters (So even me, they taught me before.) Yes. You have seen when I said it. (E) And one caned my sister to let blisters appeared on her skin. Formerly, caning was allowed. And my grandmother put on cloth and went to sit at the entrance of the Roman Girls School.)

She insulted this lady for a long time. (laughter)
 She insulted this lady. But my junior aunt is
 a senior doctor. At present, she is at Tech. (Yes)
 And at that time, she was teaching at, - what is
 the name of this town? Some of these big
 towns. When she came, she said that somebody
 should come to beg Mama forgiveness; she is
 my junior mother, for you know that she is an
 old woman. So I beg you, stop. And she said
 she would not let the child, my sister, go to
 school again. (Yes) And this my aunt came
 from her station and pleaded for a long time.
 And my sister was able to go to school. My
 grandmother, when you go to school, and as
 soon as you are called, she says, stop going.
 (Eish!) Don't go. Have you been beaten? This
 my child was attending Opoku Ware School and at
 that time, they say homo. They say he has
 been homoed. They say, when they went to the
 school, they had gone to catch, this thing, a
 frog. A frog. (Yes) And they say, they were
 homoing them with it. And it means that
 when you go to catch a frog and bring it,
 then you pass. And he too, a timid person
 (He is afraid) He is afraid. So his body was
 shaking like that. She says, Abenah, I say, ei!
 Nana; at that time even, the world was not like
 today. And she was going to her school and
 my children should stop going. Nana, don't bring
 your case upon this one. Nana, I don't like that.
 Kwaku, go to school. He is intelligent too. He is
 intelligent. Kwaku, go to school. When you come,

don't tell your story; when you come for holidays, don't tell Nana any of your stories. As for grandma, she didn't let us go to school. (laughter) Laughter (When you say it, she won't let you go.) So, when you say it, she won't let you go so, go to school. So my grandmother did not let me and my mother's lastborn go to school. This person's mother. The one who just came for money (Yes) So, though she is not old but she has given birth to seven children. (oh!) Seven. This one is attending a college. Today's schools are in a mess. (Yes) When this one goes, even the continuation they don't pass you well. And do you see that there is work? Formerly, the child, when he/she attends a little at all, he/she gets a job. And he/she can use it to buy his/her thing which he/she will use to brush his/her teeth or to buy soap. (Yes) Today too, all of them, you have to buy for ~~the~~ ^{your} child. So a parent, you are there, your children may be about three or four, then you are worried. (Yes) And as for me, I say, I won't disgrace the government because the people have become too many. This has made my story too long; the people are too many. (True) Formerly, people were not too many. (Yes) Formerly, you see, we were afraid of people. You will grow for some time before; we have something, they say you will menstruate. (Yes) We for example, they performed the puberty rites for us. (Yes) When you that, when you reach about sixteen years or seventeen. (he) your mother, she tells all her sisters. Thursdays and Mondays did they often do it.)

(Yes) And your mother goes to buy eggs. She buys a chicken, a sheep, yams, everything, any food that they may eat and add to them. (Yes) And those of us who know this town a bit, then your mother goes to inform Nana Asantehemaa (ie the queen mother of Ashanti) (Yes) Nana, I will perform the puberty rites for my child. So if maybe they will perform the rites by playing drums in her town, the drums are there (Yes) And the people in your town come; in the morning, they come to beat the drum known as 'Donno' sounding ton, ton, ton, ton, ton, ton and they put you on a seat there. They dress you in white cloth; (Yes) white and they seat you there. In the morning (Yes) They come to seat you there in the morning like that, and they cover you with kente, known as 'Adwinasi'. Do you see? (Yes) Yes. And they cover you with it. When they cover you like that, at three o'clock, Asantehemaa allows her sisters about three or two (Yes) to come. And they come to sit down. And they go to draw water from Subini (a river that flows through Kumasi) The river Subini that is there; (Yes) yes; and they allow children to go there to go and draw some. When they come; then they put them in the sun. And they with brass (ie brass pan) very, very beautiful; our mothers have big brass pans (Yes) Yes. And they put it in the middle of the house you live. And these elders, they sit there. And they kill the sheep. And they make something called "ekyim". (ie a food

prepared of blood and palm-nuts, spiced with salt and pepper.) They use the blood of the sheep to make it. (Yes) They use its blood to make palm-nuts soup. (Yes) Even I know how to make it. (Is that so?) Yes. The blood of the sheep, they put it aside and they remove the inner parts of the sheep. (i.e. the intestines) And they tie them very nicely and they wash them, and they add onions, tomatoes and they put the palm-nuts soup on fire.

When the palm-nuts soup is cooked a bit, then they pour the blood into it. (Yes) And onions, pepper, everything are in it. A fine scent; it tastes very very good. One day, my husband, my sister's husband let me to prepare some in Accra for his Fante friends. It tastes very good with plantain "Ampezie". (Yes) Do you see? And you do it. And we prepare mashed yam, known as "Eto". And we prepare plantain that is also mashed. (Yes) And we kill the

chicken and pound fufu. And Nana's sisters come to sit down. And all elders from Kumasi come to sit down. (Yes) Yes. When this person comes, even when I conceived this child, I used to wash my things at the public stand pipe.

Somebody brought me seven shillings. ~~She~~ She said, because I was a good child. I was pregnant. (Yes) And the madam said, when I did it, she was not here. That is why she has come to give me seven shillings. When this sister comes, ten shillings, then she brings it to me. One pound, one pound and one shilling, they bring to me. Like that. (Yes)

Like that and in the evening at three o'clock, we had a grandparent here, (Yes) Kumasi here. Now she is dead. Even when she is dead, we have another one there. (Yes) Then she comes. And they dip her in the ~~water~~ three times. That of river Subin. (Yes) The river Subin. And they dip you in ~~the water~~, they dip you in it. And the old women make speeches. As for me, I don't know how to say the words. (Yes) & That the Lord may let you give birth to a child and you may have a good husband. (Yes) Yes. And they pray like that for you. Then, they use pipe boss water to bathe you. And when they are bathing you, they make you naked. Our mothers have beautiful beads. (Laughter) Yes (The beads) The beads. Big; about four, six and they put them in your waist. Even mine, they did it like that. A child of Antehene, ^{it was} they performed the puberty rites for her, they came for it and gave it to her at the palace. (Yes) They were beautiful. (Yes) So when the royals saw ~~that~~, they came for them. So before they bathe you, they put you in a pan; to find out whether you are pregnant (Yes, true) That is the reason. And they make you naked. And you turn your eyes here. They will look at your buttock. (Yes) They will look at your this place. They will look at your that place. (Laughter) And to find out that you are not pregnant. (True) Your breast. They will expose your breast. That is it. And they pick this breast to see that the nipple is not black. (Yes). There is nothing. You are not pregnant. (Yes) Yes. And they turn your

whole body. All the elders. Many elder women
 (Is that so? And you don't feel shy?) Ah, when
 they are doing it, you feel embarrassed. Even
 when I was doing it, at that time, Kotoko
 footballers, Kotoko, those, the young men who
 play football, (yes) as for today, some are not
 there again. They used to climb a pole and
 stand on it. I did it at Ash Town; so they
 climbed the electric pole to look at me. (Yes)
 Do you see? (Yes. Then, the whole of your
 this thing, everyone will look at it.) Yes. (Yes)
 So everyone used to come to look at it. And when
 they finish, then one old woman cleans your body
 nicely, (Yes) and they take you to a room. Then they
 take an egg and they speak with it that the
 Lord may let you have a good husband, (Yes)
 to let you give birth to a child. And they break
 the egg into small parts. And they do that three
 times. (Yes) And they take the mashed yam and
 do the same. And they take the plantain. We
 have some meat also, a little bit also at
 the market. (Yes) And we break in pieces.
 And they do the same thing with you. (Yes)
 When they finish all, then they end it. (Yes)
 And then, the elders' food, when somebody comes,
 they take a little of the mashed food, (Yes) Yes,
 as for Nananom, what is in it, it is food for
 the palace. So, they take a nice thing and
 for Nananom, when they share, maybe they
 say to a child, take it to Nana's house.
 (Yes) Yes, the royals, (Yes) they are at
 Ahenmboano. Nana, maybe Nana Amma Seswa.)

The Ashanti queen mother's child, (Yes) it is for her. Nana Baah, Akwasi Agyeman's mother. (Yes) the mother of the City Council Chairman. (His mother) His grandmother. His mother; as for his grandmother, she is dead. His mother is there. (Yes) And she goes with it. And you go with it to give it to them. The food. (Yes) Yes, the "ekyim". They share it like that. And the elders in town here, they give it to them. (Yes) Yes. And they share it like that and they give it to them. (Yes) And when they finish, you too, you have your friends. (Yes). And they kill the chicken and you prepare fufu. And you with about two friends eat. (Yes) And you stay in a room like that. And there is a pomade at the market. Shear nut butter. (Yes) Yes. ~~When~~ You stay in the room like that in the morning and you bathe. In the afternoon at this time, maybe it is about twelve o'clock, they have finished your fufu. You finish bathing and they apply the pomade on your body. And you are in the room like that and they put water on you. And you and your friends, if you have this thing, then you play and you entertain yourselves. (Yes) And your friends, your mother goes to the market to buy things and brings them and your mother prepares plenty of food and they eat. (Yes) Six days. You will stay in the room one, one six days. (Yes) Yes. This fufu, they will pound a lot. Everyone, there may be even someone who ~~will~~ not go to school. (Yes) She ~~will~~ not go.)

to school at all. She will do that and comes to you. (Yes) The six days you will spend, she will not go to school. And she is in your room like that; (Yes) she is in your room like that for the six days for her to finish. In the morning they will prepare mashed food, (etc). They will prepare ampesil. They will make soup that tastes very good. And you eat. Plenty of meat. (Yes) And everyone eats some. And you do that for six days. And then you finish. When you finish, on Sunday, maybe you go to church. (Yes) When you go to church, then you enter Kumasi market; you will thank all your sisters who came. (Yes) There may be someone who has money; she takes four shillings and gives it to you. (Yes). Seven shillings and she gives it to you. Ten shillings and six pence and she gives it to you. One pound and one shilling, and she gives it to you. Even someone, she may say, she is a good child; two pounds and two shillings, and she gives it to you. (Yes). Like that; they will give it to you like that; and maybe the money, by the time they will finish, the money may be fifty. (Yes) And maybe you are a child and you use it as your capital. Yes. (True). Yes. When you put the money together like that, (True) then your mother has given it to you, (Yes) and you too, you go and work with it. Do you see? (True) As for me, when I did that, then this father said he will marry me. (You had

never seen him? Yes, I had not seen the father. So when I did that and I was in my menstrual room (Yes) and the father said he will marry me. (Yes) And he came to asked for me. And he married me. So when he married me, they went to see my father's family members. (Yes) Even my father had died. So my father's uncles (Yes) were those they went to give the drinks and they ~~accepted it~~ (Yes) and they prayed. And they give to you, and then he has married you. (Yes) ~~He will take you to his house, then, he takes you away.~~ (Yes) Or also, if you are with your mother, I for example all the time I married, I was with my mother. Do you see? There may be someone who will marry you like that; he will say, I will go with you to my house. (Yes) Someone too, you will be with you mother. (Yes) Yes. Someone too, when he marries you, he takes you home. Formerly too, they were not doing it like that. (Yes) Today, the woman, maybe, she attends a funeral, the man, when he sees her, then he goes to take her. (Yes) He went to a dance; as soon as he sees her, he goes to take her. He doesn't know the house from which she comes. (Yes) She doesn't know that the man is good or he is not good. Right now when I came into the stall, the stall next to mine. (Yes) there is a girl, she sells oil. They have allowed her mother to be arrested and detained. (Why?) That her husband has committed an offence. When they

came to look for the youngman, they could not find him. ... Her child too, they cannot find him/her. They have detained the mother, Auntie.. Yesterday, the Auntie's brothers went to bail her at the Police Station (Ei!) Do you see? If they came to beg to marry the child that she knew she was going to Auntie Mary's home, (Yes) she would say, ei! Auntie Mary, as for Auntie Mary's home, ~~that~~ is fine. (Yes) Auntie Mary is a good person. So if Auntie Mary's child comes to marry my child, I know Auntie Mary. As for today too, they don't do it like that. (Yes) When she goes to meet him in the street somewhere, she takes her concubine. There may be someone, when he takes her a concubine, he does not marry her. Now I have a ~~problem~~ like that. My beautiful child, as for her, when she finished school, she said that she would not continue. (Yes) She said that she would not continue. And she is learning sewing. (Yes) She is learning sewing. The house in which I was, a young man, he sends people to Europe or America. He takes them to Europe or America. Then he came to deceive the child and had sex with this child. The child has become pregnant (aa!) When she became pregnant, I called him and I said, 'Ei! you have bothered me. He said, "Madam, I am responsible. Don't talk again and stop." I said, 'a' It is nothing (i.e. no problem) if you have said that, I thank God. Then, this child is pregnant; whether she will go to a doctor or)

do something, it is my responsibility (Yes) Whether she will go to a doctor or she will do something, it is my responsibility. For a short time, he brought me some money which this child would take to a doctor. He said, mother, I am going here to come. I said, all right. When he went, this child has got seven months. (i.e. the daughter has been pregnant for seven months) (Yes) He did not come. This child delivered and was admitted at Gee (i.e. Kofa Anokeye Teaching Hospital) A white female doctor. You are a little older than her. (Yes) This child was in an incubator like that. I was worried. O, Lord, I was worried like that. What happened was that, when they take him out from the incubator, they again put him in a cot. And they put something in his nostrils. (Is that so? Her baby?) Yes Auntie, I was worried. (Ei! Then, I never knew) Ah. He' He won't suck the breast. These ladies, as for one midwife, she told me that, Auntie, do come early. She knows that the next day won't meet him. (i.e. she will die before the next day) As for Kofi, it was only God. They do this to him. They do that to him. The lady does this to him. He won't suck the breast. He doesn't open his eyes. He won't do anything. (Aa!) And he was in the cot like that. And by the grace of God, little by little, and when we brought him home that yesterday he was three years. (He has become a big person) His meat is, ^{even} in the fridge. I say his mother should prepare it for him.

He was three years yesterday. The young man, Auntie, "I am going to come"; up to today, I have not heard of him. (Aa!) He never came and this child has given birth and this child has grown up. Quite recently my mother died that I celebrated the year's anniversary recently; (Yes) my mother died, I was in the house, I say, I saw that it was raining and this young man came through it. "Madam." And I said, Well, why? The young man came that maybe, madam, you are tired, so maybe (even two thousand, take this to pay a debt.) He didn't give me a penny. (Aa!) Yet you know that this child, if God didn't help, he would have ruined his life. (Yes) (Yes. It is true) If God didn't help, he would have destroyed his life. And the child too, because his mother was lying there, everything had gone roughly. And I said that she should go and continue her work (Yes) she should go and continue her work. Recently, I have gone somewhere with her. They have said how much they will charge. I was coming to take money to go, when they came to my house with a problem, Auntie. It was not straight for me. And I said, Afia, let us know about the problem first. I even came to inform my child Nyarko. Let us know about the problem first. And now, if you are not careful and you even go to stay at the market, they will let the police come and arrest you. (Why?) They said, a young woman came to this house with shoes.

A friend to Afia used to live down here, one Yaa Baby. (Yes) And the house owner's child took some goods ----- valued at four hundred thousand Cedis, they say. She says that she is a friend to Afia, so as she came to this house and did not find her, she would let ^{them} come to arrest Afia. (Aoi) And I said, Afia, as for you, stop, and when we look for the child and we find her, then you will go and do your work. And I stopped again. Even the money, I have spent even the money. (You will spend it; as for Kumasi money) (Yes) I have spent the money. And that this child, the other day did I make it that she should stop and little by little, she is tired of staying at home. She has stayed at home for too long. (Yes). So she should do it little by little and God willing, after Easter the Lord will glorify himself. And I may get some and go and put her in it and I may keep her child for her. And even where he (i.e. the baby) has reached, when he attends Day Nursery bit by bit, (yes) then she too may go and do her work. Hasn't he bothered me? (Yes) If this child has learned her work, by this time, it would not be long (she will be finishing) she will be finishing. Look; the Devil. I have given birth to many girls. The thing for which I was begging God was that he should not let any temptation come upon me. (Yes) He should not let some of that temptation come upon me. And now he has let this child become like that. So as for people, it is nothing.)

So if I take her child for her, she will be able to continue her work. If she says that she will learn it, she can continue. The machine is in the room there. She can continue her work. And, the young woman who came is the one that said she is not in speaking terms with me, by her grace, even when she went, she did not look at her face. And she left it there and went away. So all these are troubles for me. (Yes) They are all troubles.

She alone, as for this one, she said that she would continue her studies, that today she is at G ee (ie Komfo Anokye Teaching Hospital); they say she is doing what, National Service little by little. And if, even she will continue again, all is in the hands of the Lord. (Yes)

As for this one, he has given her a trailer (ie the man has had a child with her without looking after her and the child). And he doesn't come here. This child, what he will do, (ie whether he will eat or not) Today, milk is over five hundred Cedis. (Yes, five hundred and over.) (Yes) We have trained this child with milk like that. As he is there, in the morning, as soon as you brush his teeth, he has to drink tea. When you give him rice, he won't eat it. Unless he drinks tea. He will drink tea before, if he will eat, then he eats. (Yes) So because of this child, I have been buying milk like that up to this time. And this milk, if you don't get five hundred Cedis

to go and ~~bring~~ for him, you have brought him up with it. Tomorrow, he may be sick. And the child too, when he was born, it is by the grace of God himself, (followed by interruption)

As I too, well, I and my lady sisters have stayed for a long time so, as I am there, Auntie is where, I don't like dirt. (Yes) So all my things, I didn't go to school but all my things are neat. I don't like dirt so all my things, as my children, even formerly when the world was not like this, I looked after my children very well. So as I gave birth to many, only one went to climb a mango tree, and fell down for me to take him to see (ie Kombo Ankye Hospital) for admission. I say, as I have had many children, they say, you are burned. My children; I have not given the life of my children to them at all. So when I give birth to children, I pay attention to them very well. You do that every time; so that child, I don't play with the attention I have for him. That his mother will be unhappy. So in everything, I help his mother. And now, she is staying there. This master (ie the young man) when he came, he said, E, he is coming to give the child a name. And I said, as for the child, I have named him after my father. My father who begot me. (And you, have you asked for the debt for naming him after somebody?) Yes. (Unless you ask for your debt.) He did not ask for his debt. Auntie, he did not ask for his debt. (If even he had returned.)

from travelling, maybe I ~~was~~ not here. And maybe how much debt have you incurred?) Auntie, he did not ask me ~~that~~. (You should have told him.) Auntie, ei! Auntie, ei! When he came, my mother had died and I was in the house there. (539) When he came, he said, "Mardam, I am going to come. Ho. I am going to come. (i.e. excuse me for a moment. I will be back soon.) Even, I prepared for him at this place. I was coming to meet him here.

He should have come here so that if there was anything, we should have discussed it. "I am going to come. (So he didn't come?) And he didn't come, Auntie, where should I go to look for him? (Yes) I don't know where I am going to look for him. And well, I have taken him, for I say, I will not let his mother go with him, that anything may not worry him. So anything that he needs, by the grace of God, I do it for this child. And I am with him here like that. So as for problems, we have a lot.

A young beautiful child, if she did pay attention to learn her work, she must have learned to an advanced stage. Even if she had not finished, the time left would be little. (Yes) Then, a man had come to take her, and her child too, he doesn't look after him. (Yes) He doesn't look after the child. And this, if you don't handle him well, if you don't handle him well for the child; (i.e. for the mother) if you don't look after the child well little by little, to train him in a Christian way, (Yes) and you leave him,

then, when he frees himself, is it not at the market that he jumps into? And then he becomes a pick pocket. (Yes) As for today, Auntie, what they are doing is that, when they take a second-hand cloth, then they put it into a bag. And he takes the new one, they are about four crooks, about four, and he takes the new; ei! "Madam, won't you buy something? And when some of the women ~~also~~ go to the market, they are not good. There ^{are} cloths in stores, they won't go and buy some. There are cloths in the market. He showed it to her. He said, "Take it for five thousand." ~~He~~ will give it to you and when you open it, there will be in it a paper bag and worn out cloth. (laughter. Recently somebody came and wept in our stall here. (Aa!) The other day too, at the butchers' shop, they slashed somebody. I say it. (Aa!) As for the second-hand cloths, these boys have been cheating in it for a long time. (Aa!) So they take cloths; old ones, old ones, worn out cloths, worn out cloths. And they look for five ten pounds cloths and they come to show them to you. And, madam won't you buy? As soon as you give it to him, then; (Even this, he won't allow you to untie it to see. For he is afraid) The other day, I met someone; she says, her children are four; she hasn't paid their school fees. And I said, you have taken eight thousand to buy this, and your four children are at home, you ^{have} gone to take eight thousand.)

(And go into a store to buy it.) For what reason? Cloth, in the market here we are, when you credit it at all, they give it to you. And this, for eight thousand. In front of her, it is in my stall here; as for this, Auntie. I talked like that and I felt uneasy. A young woman; she says, her children are four. And I said, and your children are four and you have taken eight thousand to pay for this? Today that food has become expensive and you have used what you will spend in three days. So as for today, this is what they have brought. An old one, and they put it in a paper bag, and they sell it. And some of the women too, they say when they reach there, and they have opened their things that they are doing it, then, they go and stand by them. Then, they get them. The other day, my sister who dyes cloths to make them red in Ash-Town; a very beautiful red cloth, I take it to cover myself every time; it is beautiful. And the Juaben Queenmother's funeral, she came for it, and she said, Ah! And she picked one and added to it. When she reached the Roman Girls' school area, (yes) pick pockets cut her with a knife and took them away. She came to pay for them before me. (Ah!) They have taken them. She has bound them like that. She has come for the red cloths to Juaben for a funeral. They have taken them away and cut her with a knife. So if today,

you have a child and you don't care for her/him well and give her/him a good training with the fear of God and put him/her into school and give him/her a good training, and if God doesn't ^{help} you, because of the pride in us, then he/she goes away. When he/she arrives at the market, then he goes to do pick pocketing. And you are disgraced. They say so and so's child is the one going. A thing for which I pray that it should ~~not~~ happen to me in this town. As we are here, we have children who are really citizens of Kumasi, and they stand at the market doing pick pocketing. And you are worried. So, Auntie, as for me, I didn't go to school, also I am not a young woman ^{of} today.