

18A - TRANSLATION

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g, as for me, I came to meet my mothers. (Ahaa) And when I came to meet them, first, my mothers' mud fish was the thing called Moti, which was coming then, (Moti is mudfish?) Moti is mudfish. That is what we are working on presently to make it come. (Hmn) That is the issue, about which I go to meeting to do something that, may be, the government will give us way-chance - to make ^{us} go and bring it, because we are suffering. Moti, the Moti in particular is that fish that when it comes then it is dry. When you buy it and put it there it does not get rotten. (Hmn) They use the sun to dry it. Moti. The Malian's town. Mali (Yoo - alright) Mali. It is there that the fish comes from. And my mothers, when it came then they went to buy it. And a gentleman for instance, they called him Gyalo, (ahaa) He had, he was a Malian. He was the fellow it came to. And when it came to him then the elders all together went. Then they went to fix the price. Then everyone, may be, yours would be three. Then they bought them and brought them to the market. That time, we were buying it then, the price was not expensive. six pounds (six pounds) Eh six pounds. And they knew that the price was expensive. Five pounds, four pounds and ten shillings. (that, was it a box or a basket?) A box. It was in a box. At first too then they were making it into

a knot. The Moshies' for instance, then, was in a knot. (hoo) The Moshies' mud fish. The Moshies were bringing it. And it was in a knot. As for that they had tied up here and tied up here. Then the knot too, the middle was where the mud fish was put (Hm) And the Moshies' own one was that. (Hm) And then the Wangara's own too were put in mats (Mat.) Mat (Hm) The Wangara's (Hm) And then the Malians theirs also too, were put into boxes. (hoo) They had constructed a box. And that too was put into it. But the price was not expensive. Koofiwa. The Wae chief's sandals. (As for that I saw some) Eh. (Ho, ho, ho, ho) That, too, that also they had, they had tied it up in mats. The price was not expensive. The Koofiwa too also were in boxes. The price was not expensive. Eight pounds, six pounds, four pounds and ten shillings. When we went then we were following a lot like that. My mothers, we followed at their backs. Eh when I brought forth then the thing was still there. Therefore I too I did it ^{bringing the} far. Until that I brought forth my children to finish. When I brought forth and finished it, then it meant that, the fish, now they were saying, they weren't offering the Mote. They were not going to bring it again. That was what came into being - in vogue. They were not going to bring it again. And what made it very hard. Limann's time)

too, (Hm) we had the chance to go to the Moti once, then they said they would not allow us to go. And then we cut it off completely. (Why was it that you did not go?) The government said it wouldn't agree. An issue that is not right like this, is what they are doing to us. (Aa)(Aa) The fish, if you brought it, they retailed it, five cedis, ten pounds. They retailed it. That day, some people, some government personnel, came to look into it. When they came then I was standing by the fish. And they came, they and I came to sit down, and did some explanations. And I said this, ten pounds, this is that, this is that, ten cedis even then we were retailing. (Hm) A have-not, if you took it, this thing, the face so nice, Whoever had wisdom, if she washed it, the third time, then she put it into the soup, then it became excellent. Then you cut this thing a bit to put into it. Koofiuwa a bit into it. (Hm) The price is not expensive. Therefore the government's personnel came. He said ei, then this place is good. (Khos) The things, the price was down-low. Now then, we didn't see what happened to this man ~~said~~, he was not going to let ~~make~~ us bring it again. (Aa) A lot of people took it high. A lot of people. This man said, he was not going to make us bring it. The fish too they were many who were coming. Sometimes,

even, cars six. (Hmmm) So, some came even cars ten. Therefore then the fish was cheap and when we fixed the price and bought it then (So) as for that everyone took some. The villagers for instance sometimes, ^{water} they came to take it even, it did not get rotten. This thing, the sun had scorched it dry. If it stood there three months even, it wouldn't spoil. (Who) All of it, they used the sun to dry it. (Who) Now then, he said, he was not going to allow us to go. We have tried, and tried and tried and tried and tried, I, an old woman. I keep walking in Accra. I have gone and gone and gone and gone. He said he wouldn't agree. And then we have stopped going after it. And then we are feeling hungry. And then this came. This even, then we were saying we didn't like it. Eeh, Eeh, Yeji, Yeji, and Karachi (Hm) And bope fish. And we said we disliked it. But when this went - disappeared, (Hm) we will eat it like that. Presently that we allow people to go into the waters for instance. Now, having gone into the waters, the things price has become expensive. The net they use for fishing. (aah) (Who) It has gone up. Petrol has gone up. They also use petrol to go into the waters. (Yes) (Hm) So the fish when it comes, the car also, the money it will take. When he comes that bring the cars charges,

then you are shocked. It was by this that they charged us like that? He said ha. They said petrol's price has become expensive. Therefore, we shall be doing what. We are sitting and sitting by it like that. Now then, recently for instance even, then they said, the fish, presently even, recently when they came, they said some fish, Kyikyie, they said if you fished some, they would seize it to burn it. And then this small ones too, also, that also they said the town's chief too said he would not make them fish it. If you fished it, and they arrested you, then they went to charge you about a hundred thousand cedis. Eighty thousand cedis like this. Roughly; if they came and you had fished some. So they do not allow us to fish. The market has again become frustrating. The recent one that came for instance, Kyikyie's off-spring; black like that, that too if you fished it, if you fished ten baskets even, they will seize it to burn it. (why?) They do not allow us to fish it to sell. (The fish, it is not good) They say that if they fish it, the fish will finish. (Ei! Nho, ho.) (Whoa) They say that if they fish it the mud-fish shall get finished. Therefore they do not allow us to fish it. And father (somehow) we are sitting there. When you came to the market there, you've seen how the place is like?

(Hm)(nhoos) Nothing is there. We are sitting there like that. (nhoos) And it is three days - recently - that a gentleman for instance, (nhoos) he's come. As for me, I do not know how to say it? I don't know his name even. He says I should call him Kwame. He brought this C.T.B.A., and has made it that, he will help us, to make us go to the Moti. (nhoos) Therefore he has made a paper for us. The paper he made for us, he says, over there, the overseas' people says that, they will bring us a car, to use to do the work for us too also, to get some [peace] a bit (nhoos) And it has become hard for us. If this Moti even, he gives the way - chance - that we should go, the car problem too. If one load sets here, when you sell it, you will not get the money. And then, he also even, he will not give the chance. The work is like this, the Moti; if you change their money here, you cannot. Then if all of us we contributed fees too, then we put it in the Bank in Accra (EHEE) then we go. You go to withdraw that place - nation's - money. The government has given us that place - nation's - money (ahaa) Nhoos. Then we use it to buy the thing to this place. (ahaa) Then we come to use it to take the money here. (Yoo) Then as for that; nice. Then you too you get a bit. But as for today in particular, in the older days then they were changing. Then the Nzemas,

all of them were changing the money. (Hm) French money too, then the Njernas, all of them, it is long ago, before, before, before, there, they were changing. Therefore, as they were changing, going, then it was cheap. Today too, over there, their money, the price has become expensive than ours here for instance. (Hm) (hoo) therefore when you change, it is not possible. When we went the he said, that in particular, he will not do it (Hm) He himself shall take it to put it at the bank, and to withdraw it there for us too. He will not agree. I walked and walked, it was not possible. And father - somehow -. And my mothers, those who were doing the work too (hoo) my mothers died. My mothers, all of them are dead. And when they died, then the mud-fish sellers, first, Madam Afia, Akoosa Tiwaa; Moli's time, Akoosa Tiwaa, then was the queenmother (hoo) (Akoosa Tiwaa of Kwao) Yes (eh) She was the queenmother (Madam Twumwaa) Madam Twumwaa, was then the queenmother (hoo) And then Madam Twumwaa left there, when she died, then they gave it to Madam Afia Mansah to also take it. (hoo) And Madam Afia Mansah, the C.P.P. time, they deposed her. When they deposed her and we were at it, at it, at it, then she returned to take it. Then the woman died. When she died then Madam Fema, (Hm) C.P.P. Fema.)

(I have heard her name. I actually do not know her) And she too they took her to rule. (Nheo) Then Madam Fremá died, and they took Kyinaman (Ei !) to rule a bit. When Kyinaman ruled, the ruling that she ruled too also, too, aah, it was not good. And they said, they wouldn't agree. (ahaa) And I even went to say that, my sister was she, let them make her rule. Every work - assignment - she was to do, as for me that time, then I was strong. As for me, I would do it for her. (You would help her) Therefore let them allow her to rule. (nheo) And the Queenmother's work-assignment-, whatever, I would do. (Hm) And they said, they had agreed, therefore, I helped her. (nheo) Then when it came - happened - that they were beating people too, (Hm, Hm) Then they were caning people, the market women, (yes, I remember, I remember) That, then they were going to beat mud-fish sellers. They went to call. They ran to call Kyinaman that she should come because Anna Dufie was getting tired too much. (Hm) As she got up at six o-clock to come to the market there, she got tired. She too, she was not getting the opportunity even to do some work (nheo) Therefore come. Instead of coming, she said, as for her, she was not going to bring her head to receive the drums; she had children. (Yoo) Therefore she was neither coming today nor tomorrow.

(Hmm) She in particular, she was not going to come for them to kill her, for me to remain. (Yes) They said yes - agreed. They said they had heard it and they went to give the men the information - At first, because of the Moti also, then a lot of men were with us, because, it were the men that went to the Moti. (Yes) It weren't the women who were going. The women collected the money together then they gave it to the men, then they came - back. If he came - back - and the work got abundant, and it got to herring time, and they came back - then it meant that, the little you got too, then you shared and you used it to buy food to eat, and you took the money's owner's thing, to put down for him. If it got to the following year, then you took it there. Therefore the elders, all of them, gathered around. They sat down. And the women said, the woman, the way she had brought them over - treated them - if she did to them whatever thing; they did not want her. If she didn't have for us, any mind as it was, then she, she was ruling as Queenmother in what form? Then she could think of her children. They; they had dethroned her. When they dethroned her then we all went to a meeting. We went to the meeting and I even, I pointed ^{out} someone, that you should take someone; this one, to rule as the Queenmother. And the men and women said,

they did not like her. Us, ourselves and mind, we wanted someone that our eyed-seriousness is her seriousness and our weeping is her weeping. whether she had money, whether she was beautiful, whether she was like what. She is the one we liked her. We wanted someone who said the truth. (who) Her yes was yes. She is the one we wanted to put her at our front. And we do not want selfishness. (Hm) We do not want someone who loves her children so much that you call her she would not come (who, ho, ho,) Father - somehow, we were going to the meeting, they said you, sit there, sit there, look after the people; the two that we say are going to be made the queenmothers. We ourselves we are going to our meeting to come. And father-somehow - I was sitting there, looking after them. When they came then they said they did not want anybody. therefore I, I should do it. And I said see! I in particular, I was afraid. (Hm) I was wretched. My people all of them had died. My mothers that I and they lived in the town here, they had died. I had not a man. And who was I to be queenmother? I wouldn't be able to rule. I beg you. And I in particular, you could take someone to rule for me to be walking there like this. Then find some food a bit to eat. They said they would not agree. And now then, what they would

do only was that, the Ashanti Queenmother brought - sent - a messenger that I should come there. Ei! ? (who, who) Father - somehow - I got up. I went, she said Anna. I said Nana. She said Anna, these people, all of them, women and men. They say you are young. E, you have nothing. But they say lead them. It is nothing. It was your mother that was keeping our front and death had claimed her. (Hm) Therefore if they say keep their front, it is nothing. Yours... Kindness, your love and as you do for people too, is what they say do. I said you - agreed. And then father - somehow - my sister, they made me sit there, that I am sitting there, that I keep walking and walking that, recently, C.-T.-B.-A. then came and told me that, as you are able to help people, as that you are able to love people; when the gentleman comes, I am the one that cooks his food, nhe, he, he (Hm - He comes from Accra and comes - arrives) And I said, an old woman in particular, I know what is sweet. Then he said you yourself, it is your food that I like. (mud-fish soup) (nhe, he, he) Therefore when he comes, bush. (Bush meat is what he likes?) HWEET - look. Bush. (nhe, he, he) Apate - fish (Then, he is an Ashanti) Then I shall prepare soup. He is not an Ashanti. An Nzema. But he likes Ashanti food. HWEET - look! He likes Ashanti food. Then I cook it.

That is what we are holding and holding it. This C.T.B.A. for instance; the papers that they said that they would give to us papers to go to Moti, he brought it. When we took the papers to Moti, they said, the waters, they had none. (Hm) And that even, the money is where? Today if you do not hold money that is big, you cannot do business. (Nho) We too we do not have money. Therefore the Moti even we cannot go. Because, today, except that you are holding money. And if you go to take two million, million, it cannot go. Except you are holding something big. (Nho) Then you buy the fish. And you are able to bring it, and your sister too gets some to eat. But they do not listen. And we are sprawling these. (Yoo) Therefore today, our lifestyle in particular, my lord, as we come to the market for instance, I myself, since recently that I said that I would do it, I have not had anything to sell, a penny, never. (Hm. True. I would come and your table, then nothing was on it) I do not get anything to sell. Then some was not coming (Hm) I had never got anything to sell to get a penny, never. (Nho) The life style has become haphazard. Inside has become hard. (Nho) Inside has become hard. You think and think and think, if you say that you will think, you will die. You think and think and think, an elderly fellow like me, shall

come to the market, you will not get what to buy food to eat, before you will get your car's money; your going and your coming, a hundred pounds. (Hmm) If you took a taxi even, three hundred cedis. Each day whatever; cedis, three hundred. You too, as you came, you did not get a penny. Then you are sitting there as what? You take the house rent to it. You take the water bill to it. You add the toilet bill to it. (Hmm) The light bill, you add to it. And my lady. (Nge) what will be done is that you will use your hand to rub your face. If you have some cloth, then it becomes fitting that, if you have some cloth which is old for instance, then it is fitting that you turn yourself. (Let me go to sell) If you do not do it like that, it will not be alright. (If you are tired, let me release you) Therefore my lord, as ^{at} today, we are troubled. (Hmmm)(Whoa) A lot of people, our work for instance, many people have stopped, and gone to find the village to stay. (Hmm) Because, you do not get the money to buy. You do not get money. Then if that, she is sitting like that, then she stops. Therefore you would meet many people. Today, the mud-fish business is spoilt. (Hmm) If the fellow sits there, she does not get a penny to buy food to eat. If she goes to find somebody's loan and brings it, then - the money - it burns - becomes bankrupt. The money will burn just now.

* sitting like this, it is not only me that I am sitting.

If you have no wisdom, and you say money,
somebody's money, I have taken it, and
I am using it to buy food to eat, three
days, then it is burnt - consumed. And it
means that they are going to arrest you
to put you ~~into~~ prison. (Hm) So then the
fellow stops. Recently the young woman who
came there too, she said nana - grandma,
the mud fish has got me indebted. (Ae)
The debt I have incurred, I do not get
money to pay therefore it is whiteman die-
folks - that I go to select a bit to get food
for my mouth. But as for the debt, it is like
that - it remains. That is how we are all
sitting here. I, an old woman, I cannot go
to do any work whatsoever. I have already
gone to take it upon myself that I am a
queenmother. (Hm) Therefore I am sitting
there. I am looking at God. We are looking
at what God will do. therefore my lord,
by your goodwill, at first then, si, as
for that, then it was sweet. Ei, at first
in particular, the fish, it was cheap. You
yourself if you looked at the Akobi-fish
that they had tied up like this, and you
yourself you were moving them out, then
you could see that, it was business that
I was doing. The fish too, the cost was
not expensive. You would be buying
it cheap. so that, sometimes you too,
as we didn't like it big - profits. We would
put just a little on it. this thing, if you
held a little food, you could get food to
money

eat (ஷோ) it happened and happened and happened, today, our work too, they say the Moti too, we cannot get chance to go. Therefore the fish, this even that we are selling even, that too, it has brought trouble. The thing they use to fish, the cost has become expensive. what they use to sew the edges, the cost has become expensive; & petrol, the cost has become expensive. It has made the work too, presently our work in particular is spoilt. (ஷோ) It has become haphazard. Else as you've come, then you wouldn't get a way. You wouldn't get a way, even, to come to where we are. The stalls, all of them would have become full. But today, I believe that, about sometime to come even, everyone will stop. (Hmm) As today it is going. The price is expensive too much. When you buy it, you do not get your money. My children for instance, when they buy it, then it makes them become indebted (ஷோ) So the way it is, as it is God only whose power is great, so (ங்கே) Oh, He in particular, the sky is not difficult for him to change. As it is, sometimes, by ^{His} goodwill, He will help us and change the sky for us. too, and if it is we ourselves ours too then. He Himself; the man; the elder; that everyone is praying to. that by His goodwill, he created us, and is giving us food to eat. Then looks over our lives, where it,

has got to. (n'ho) Therefore & I am seeing trouble - suffering - my sister too is seeing trouble. (n'ho) Therefore as, as far as ^{now} I know. In the older days, then, the weak ones; then it was peaceful. And as today, it has carried - uplifted to, we too, everything if you say, you are going to do, you do not get the chance. Everything too is money. Money too is not there. We do not have money. Money is not holding us.

(n'ho) If money too is not holding you, you cannot do any work. Therefore the poverty, so we are not able to do anything. My lady, that is what the issue is like.

(And at first, then money was there or?) And at first in particular, by God's good-will, then if money was not there even, then the things, they were down-low (n'ho) so you've seen it? And if something was low, if you bought plantain, it was cheap. Eeh, pepper a little bit, garden eggs a little bit, beans a little bit, then they mixed it, then you went to buy it. (Hm. A penny)

A penny. Therefore having gone to buy this a penny for instance (n'ho) Eeh, if you used it for something, it would be alright. You did go to buy charcoal, a penny. You had bought this two-pence.

(n'ho) When you went, meat, two-pence. Four o-clock meat. Four o-clock, if you went, they had arranged four o-clock meat, two-pence, two-pence. (n'ho) You could go to pull-out-purchase - the)

stomach things — intestines — two pence, then you would go to pull out — purchase meat two pence then (hmm, I even I saw a bit, four o'clock meat) Oh four o'clock meat. (Four o'clock meat, eeh) And if you went to pull it out — purchased it meat, everything, they had arranged it cheaply. (nhoo). Then they had arranged it cheaply quite well. What then would happen that you wouldn't be comfortable. (nhoo) Today everything too has gone up, money too is not there. (nhoo) At first, because of the things that were cheap, if the fellow was holding six pence even, then she was happy. (nhoo) Because of the fact that, she feels comfortable. The six-pence, she will eat — spend — it for about one week. (nhoo) There, then, she had comfort. And today too, & even, as, as, &, I am sitting there for instance, & even that, & dislike something that is sweet too, cedis. two thousand for instance, if it is held by you, there are children with me. (It will not be enough) It will not be enough. When & go then & and they begin to fight. Beirago, is it this money that you have spent — consumed — it all. Tomorrow we shall eat what? & myself & do not get things to sell. (Nho, ho,) She says, Mamma, everything; the price has become expensive. And & shall do what? If it doesn't become good a bit too, we cannot eat ~~it~~. Therefore then,

it should be. So my Lord, today for instance, the things have gone up. (hoho) Therefore today in particular, money is not there. Everybody does not have money. We those who are sitting in the market there, we are sitting there haphazardly and haphazardly. The market has spoilt. (hoho) therefore it is the God only that we are appealing to. And you also too your good-will. You in particular you see - offer - people. your ^{new} sympathy o. Then you see - give - us your sympathy. Then you help us. As, e, excuse me o, they have created us and you all. And somehow, it is a place that you, you have got to stay.

(Hmm) And we also, we do not have a place good enough to stay. Therefore I shall take it that, somehow, your children even are us. And you came to take us as slaves. Then you give us food to eat.

(Hmm) therefore if you look after us, we like it. If you help us too, something that is not good there. When you bring it here then, it is something new. (Hmm)) What you have thrown into the boiler too, when it comes to Ghana, it is something new. Us, we do not have any. (aaah)

Therefore what is not good even if you bring it to us then, you've brought us something new. (hoho) Our body shakes. We know that it is new. But then you too you had thrown it into the boiler. (Hmm) We too, when it gets here, it is new.)

Therefore by your goodwill (nheo) If you give us your grace and you collect some to bring to us then, somehow, we too we shall get something a bit to eat.

(nheo) Therefore we depend on you, by your goodwill. Look at our distress for instance and help us. (nheo) My Lord. That only is what I am saying. Help us. We thank you. (We thank you very much. You've done well. Congratulations) (May, she will ask you some questions for instance May be she has some question to ask you) Yes, if she asks, I shall answer her.

(So at first, were they buying fish than today or?) Hmm, since at first for instance, if you held money; small, (aha) you were able to use it to buy the thing (asha) then the things were many. Today too if you hold money; big too, if you use it to buy something too, the thing too, very small (nheo) You've seen it? Then you yourself, you are holding money. Today two thousand cedis for instance, at first whoever had two thousand cedis had a high standing.

(Hmm) Ei, as for that then he was a man worth his salt - a whole person (nheo) You that cedi we are saying for instance, nobody had mentioned its name, never. (nheo) Eeh, two thousand cedis. At first, you are who to be able to mention the name? But today, too also, this two thousand cedis, if you use it to buy food, I even)

being poor for instance, (who) it won't be enough for me to eat. (who) Therefore, because of how the world is going too, (who) And has made it become like that. Therefore since we are living in the world for instance, today if you buy the thing too, and you use a lot of money to buy it, it is small (who) At first too if you used little money, then it was many. (who) EHEE. (Therefore at first too, then a lot of people could buy, could eat - consume - fish greatly like today or today they eat - consume - fish greatly than at first) (She means that, at first, then a lot of people were using plenty fish to prepare soup. Or today for instance people are able to use a lot of fish to prepare soup.) But as for that, different each person's. (Hm) Someone is there, at first, excuse me o, if she got a patre-fish, two even, she would use it to prepare soup. But it would be sweet to her to make her eat it. Someone too would go and buy beef and then take a patre-fish and take herring to mix it. Then she too would eat it. (who) There is what everyone likes. Therefore in the older days, if the fellow bought it even, the money was small. She would go to buy a patre, they bought it for how much? Herring they bought it for how much? Eeh, every fish was cheap. (who) Everything they eat it cheaply. Therefore.)

if she liked - delighted in - fish even, if she bought it, the money was small. (nheo) Today too, if you like something that is sweet, that too the money is plenty. The thing too that you are going to buy is small - scanty. (nheo) That is how it is like my Lord. (nheo) The issue that is there is that. (Hmn) That is what I mean that, today the money, if you buy something that is big, it is small. (nheo) At first too if you bought something that was small, it was big. (nheo) The money too very small. Today too if you use big money to buy it, then it becomes small. (nheo) And it means that we are hard pressed. By your goodwill, help us. (Hmn) As you will hold us, and you yourself, you've seen that we are miserable. Yes. You help us, and the things you've thrown away even, if you bring it, as for us we like them. (nheo) If it gets to Chanc, it is new. We like it. Then you help us. (nheo) That is the issue that I am saying. (And what help do you want actually presently?) My Lord, as for me, I have put it across. That you will help us. If you give us money we like it. If also our work's material too (nheo) and you will bring it to us. That may be the thing that we use for fishing (The net) The Net. I shall help you with a net. (nheo) then take, and use it to go fishing (nheo) And the)

work, any material you will bring to me
(nho) & in particular, by your goodwill,
& like it. (nge) Also if you bring me money
too, & like it. (nge) whatever you will
bring to help me, whatsoever, & in particular
& like it (nho) which will make the work
go on. If you bring it & like it. & my
work for instance, all the papers - documents
that are lying at the government's house
even too. (nho) since our work is not a
hidden work (nho) Our papers - documents
are in Accra plenty. Because of the Moti
that we went to put the money in Accra.
(Hmm) before we would go there to with-
draw. Therefore our papers, my certificate
hangs at my office. (Ei, as for that,
you've done well.) & have made a certi-
ficate, it is at my office. (certificate)
(yes) I have not taken you, I have
not taken you there. I shall take you
there. And you go to look at my office.
(Your office is at where?) It is at, Roman
building around there. (shaa) I have built
an office, nicely there. (Is that so?) (shee)
Eeh Opuni Mensah's goodwill, this gentle-
man. (Hmm) Aa. Lord (nho, ho, ho) This child?
Closely related, he and I, so close. The help
he has helped me. (Hmn) when I came,
might be, he had slept. When I came then
& would be sitting there quietly. Then
his child would go and tell him that,
ah, an old woman had come to sit there.
Then he would say, Madam, you had come)

and you would not make them call me ?
Then I would say sir, my lord, white man,
you were sleeping, could I have awoken
you? I was waiting for you. If I went
he would say, madam, may be, an issue
like this, an issue like this, an issue like
this had happened here. I would say I had
not heard it, my lord. My issue I brought
is that, by your goodwill, give me a place
a bit to sit. I beg you. My people, they
do not get a place. (Hm) You then by your
grace, give me a place a bit. that is why
I am walking. At night then I am following at
your back. In the afternoon then I am
following at your back too. A place, a bit,
that my people will rest too. Then he would
say wait I would come. The gentleman
too he came. That day we went to the white
man die - folks - section to hold a meeting.
Yam queenmother was present (Hm) We
went to the Yam queenmother's section. After
leaving there we came to up there. In the
olden days, this thing, Nzongo Market
there. (Yes) Nzongo market there. (Yes)
It was that place they gave to me. (Hm)
The cinema building - house - the back.
(Yes, the back of Rex there) Well done!
(Hm) Some building, when you see it,
they have made it blue. (aaaah I have
seen the place) The mudfish section. The
mudfish sellers building. (Yooo) And
then when we got there, he said, madam,
I said my lord, he said go and see whether)

it is not for someone then, take this place
for your section. The help I shall use to
help you only is this. As I looked at it, I
was shaking and I can't look at it. They
said it was lying there - free. Then he said
madam, make the plan. Then I made the plan.
We have built three houses - rooms. (Hm)
on it. That even in particular, later, he said
I would help you. If even if someone got
a land that was big, I could give it to
the person, then grouped them all to come
and look. If the fish came, it wasn't
enough ^{space} here (hm) If the fish did not
come too, we might die. Therefore nobody
should trouble herself. Then my lord, by
his grace, gave that place to me. Wisdom,
wisdom, with wisdom, with wisdom, I took
how much? A thousand cedis, a thousand
cedis. Later, as it was, I again took -
collected - a thousand cedis. And then it
was Opuni Mensah, even that said, that
make some collection - of money -. And
then he called all of them, that we were
organizing a gathering. It's, our market
there, where he had given to me. Then
he called the mudfish sellers all together,
as for that, orange queenmothers, even
came too, (Hm) and yam queenmother
(hm) And he asked the mudfish sellers
that mudfish sellers, this woman, do you
like her? They said, yes, we like her.
You like her very much? They said
hm. If you like her, I too I like her.

since I came to this town, except this woman who had come to me. If you asked her something, she would say no, by your goodwill, it is a land that I am scrambling for. If you asked her something she wasn't saying anything. She was not opening her mouth. What she brought only, that was the only thing she would say. Her urgent issue - need - that only was what this woman would say. Therefore I too, I had given this place to her. Power; the Ashanti-king has given me some. I have some paper-document - for instance about this (Hm) if someone does a bad thing even, I can arrest the fellow. But I fear for myself. As for me when I come, I say, sweep. At first, if I got up, when I was strong too, I was walking in the market, I made everyone to sweep the market. (Hm) You I said didn't sweep, I would go to call the town council - sanitary inspector - Yam action, all together, I would get up to ask them to sweep. (hoo) Then N30n3o even, then I made them sweep. I said the Ashanti's Queen mother said, she had beaten the gong-gong, the dirt, if you did not sweep it, she would make these people come to arrest you. You would see the Northerners. As for that, in the street all together they would sweep. I too, that is how God has created me. (Making things good) he, he, he. That is how God has)

created me. And I hope walking here like
 that then, this gentleman's goodwill, he handed
 over that place to me that kioriki, kioriki
 - action, action -. Presently even, you know
 Northerness? You, you would be able to
 build? And then I said, God. I, I do
 not have strength. And as it is, I with
 wisdom; wisdom; wisdom; wisdom. When
 I was doing it then I did not ^{have} a half-
 penny. But it was wisdom that I gave it
 to somebody that kioriki, kioriki - action,
 action - that we built it there, that it has
 become mudfish sellers' office, that it ^{is} there
 that we are unloading things for instance.
 (hmm) nicely as it is there, my lord. So,
 by your goodwill. (You've done well indeed)
 whatever you will give to me too, when you
 come there, my certificate hangs there.
 (Talk Nang - grandpa.) (aha) So by your
 goodwill, any help you will help me
 whatsoever too, I like it. (hoho) Whatever
 you will bring to me whatsoever too, I
 shall thank you. (hoho) And we are miserable.
 We do not have anything (hoho) (And the)
 government in particular, what can she
 do, so as to help you well? If the govern-
 ment wants to help market people, baders,
 See, as for those who have things in
 particular she can help them. (hmm) And
 you who has no property whatsoever in
 particular, they wouldn't help you. We
 the market people in particular, (eh?)
 that some in particular, may be, they have -

property to go and take something, but I
in particular (ahaa) they haven't given
me some. Hmm. & too as I am, I cannot
go there. But Rawlings, can you go to
face him? (N-nhs) I cannot go. Therefore I,
for instance, in particular, they haven't
said that, they were giving us something.
(nhsos) That may be, they will say that,
may be medfish sellers come, (nhsos) this
one come. I shall help you. If he says
that then you get the power to go (nhsos)
May be when I wrote papers to there for
instance, that medfish, let them allow
us to go to this Moti for instance, and
may be they has called you that, you and
your elders come, and may be you and
your elders went, and said maybe, I
would help you like this. Then you could.
But if he had not called you, would you
be able to go? (N-nhs) You have no power.
& in particular even, if I say that I
know where he is, then I am lying. E, the
place that they called us, we went to
meeting. As for that he called farmers.
When he came newly, that he gave to
Lemann. (nhsos) when they were giving it
to Lemann, they called all of us, and we
hired busec; two (The Queenmothers)
We and farmers. (nhsos) We those who are
keeping the farmers' front. (nhsos) and
queensmothers. Everyone and her people.
And then we went. So when we went,
we went to a meeting. We ~~are~~nd him.

some big building. They took him in. And then he came. Then he was giving it to Limann. (Hmm) Therefore we and him went to a meeting, for him to tell Limann that, presently, those, those who were selling the food accessories and fish, we were farmers. (Hmm) Therefore Mr Dabo, should take us, in addition, to himself. Then he was the farmers' chief. He was to take us in addition to the farmers. Whatever it was, they had to look after us. Therefore he gave us to him, for them to accept us into it, and we said that we were coming and our master said that we should not come, and the next day, he would have Limann shown to us, so we slept (hooo) till day break, for them to show him to us. And we and they even cut - took - photographs. And father - somehow - we came. When this Limann also came, also he made us go to a meeting, once, some farmers' meeting. That too we went to look also. That above is that.

And if he has not called you then
father - somehow - . (Hmm) Hmm. That is what it is like. (Can you ask her if there is anything in the laws and regulations that will help them. If the government is making new laws or new regulations about trading?) (Say it again) (The government sometimes makes laws about trading.) (Yes) (Or say they can do things or not do things. What if there is)

anything about that would help them, if the government wanted to change something) (She means that the government, sometimes he is able to make laws also. the government) Hmm (sometimes he is able to make some laws also. Like may be, we want to help you like this, or may be, I am changing things, and may be, & so on this road to help you like this. That thing, can it help you?) (You cannot understand my question properly?)
Nooo (May be the government likes to may be) he helps us (ahaa) Nooo. (And everything that is done, laws are on it) That is it, that is it, that is it. (If he says he is making this law to come and to use it to help you, that too, would it help you?) It will help us. If it makes us become comfortable also. That is good. (May be he will change something o. May be he will change something and use it to help you) Hm, hm. If he uses it to change something to help us and there is comfort a bit in it also, that we like. (ah) Hm we like it. As for us, we do not hear issues. We do not hear anything. Therefore whatever he will say, also and we also it is good for you then, ehee, it is only that we give thanks. We do not know where the thing comes from. The thing if you do not hear anything then, you do not know anything. — ~~ignorance~~ — (hmm) Therefore what they will do to make it good for us)

we like it. (ng) Excuse me o, you too also, if you do it, what is not good, that you will not do for us. (hmm) You know that we do not hear any talking - innocent - (shes) Hmm. Therefore you will not do what is not good for us, therefore when you do it for us, we like it. (ng) You know that this is not good and this is what is good. If you do it for us, we like it. My Lord. We like it. My building, standing there for nothing like that, there is nothing in it. These boxes also are standing there for nothing. There is no fish in it. (the fish is where?) (hmm) Ei! when we said we would be going to Moti, then I put up the buildings that we would bring them to put into them. (ahaa) The Moti did not become good - possible -. They did not agree. Today, the men even, all of them are dead. (hmm) Today if we say that we are going to Moti, we do not have a half-penny. The men, all of them are dead. We strained - tried - ourselves to go, it didn't become good - possible -. Today the people left, we do not have three pence, that if they say that we should go at all, we shall use it to go. If you do not help us, we shall not get money to go. (Therefore if the C.T.B.A. officials say that they will help you with money to make you go, then would you go?) As for that, then we shall go. (shoo) If they shall take and put it here, and we go)

to take it over there, (Hmn) then we shall go.
(Aah; and you do not like, ^{it} that the money is held by you to go ?) No (aha) It will not be good. (Yoo) If you hold the money as you go, it will not be good. And then if you use it to change some too, that too, you will become indebted. Today the price is expensive. (It means, over there, their money, the price-exchange rate - is more expensive than ours here also) That is what it is like (aah) Therefore except that, then the government put it there, and he withdraws ^{some of} their money for us to go. (I have understood it) And then, as for that, if you ^{buy with} ~~pay~~ it ~~there~~, when you come then may be you get a profit of a penny to buy food to eat. (Hmn) But even today the car, if the government, by his grace, does not give us a car, (and you yourself you go to take your car, they will charge you) As for that it would be hard. Because the place; the way is far. (hooo) We shall get to Tuugu, (where?) Tuugu (aha) It is there, ^{on} the way to the place. (ngs) It is there that they collect the duty. (hooo) When they collect the duty then it means that we have come to this land. (aha) Then we pay it and finish then we come. So at first, in our doing it, then we used money, that place; their money, to go. (aah) then we used it to make the duty. (aah) Before the fish came. (hooo) Therefore if they help us with a)

car, and if by grace they give us money, we shall go. And this gentleman too said he would help us, to make us go. (hmm) That alone is what we are planning. The help he says he would help us is where presently we are standing also. It is the help's meeting only that we go to. That he will give us loans bit by bit, for market women are miserable. By his grace, he will help us bit by bit to use to do the work. Therefore it is about it that we are there also. ^{How it may be good} So as far as possible that (hmm) The ^{group} going also that we are saying for instance, some even, recently someone asked me that, so this fish too, it is going to be true? And I said, it is all with the Lord. I, I haven't gone to sea. (nheo) These men had gone and had come to say it. I, I do not know anything. And they had come to put this paper there. (If you read it even, you wouldn't see it) And I, it is only that it is lying there, I do not know the particular thing. If I take it even, they will say, excuse me, I am taking it to toilet. And I do not know (hmm) Therefore I in particular if you ask me about it, it will not be good. Except that God we are looking at. (nge) Therefore it is there C.F.B.A. officials who have said that they would give us something. And then we are performing its work. If it becomes good - possible - then we could write to the)

place. And they said the waters had over-flowed^{their banks}. So, then you would have seen what she would have brought from there to this place. (hm) There is fish there very much. Every kind of fish. E, bush meat, that of the water, old women's one, They do not like it. (eeeh) Ah! Because it is sweet they call it sakapea- very tasty (y-hehehe) ~~sweet~~ therefore we call it therefore we call it Sakapea - very tasty - (hm) Else you would have seen some. (hm) Tied up like that. So ~~then~~^{spareme}, put into boxes. (At first, when the mudfish were not many, then the mudfish, the small ones were not many) Akwaabi-fish was that. (Then it was big; big; big) Akwaabi-fish. (hoo) Akwaabi-fish; the big ones, it is there. (Today is Akwaabi-fish there?) Akwaabi-fish is here but today in particular even, it doesn't come so much. (hm) Some are here (hm) Eeh, the one who was sitting by me, I was conversing with. (hm) Recently that her child also had ~~some~~ brought^{the} the Akwaabi-fish. She brought some and made I, and she bought some. Today it doesn't come greatly - so much - (hm) But at first then it was coming greatly - very much -. Then it was from over there. (hoo) (then it was sweet. It was sweet indeed) If you used it for light soup) Therefore that is the only thing that my sister, we are looking at that D

you would help us, to make us go also, by your goodwill. If you bring us something then also, somehow. As for that we can go to make us feel comfortable. (nhoos)

As that place, their fish is nice. (nhoos) It is dried. Insects, what so ever, are not in it. (nhoos) Beautiful. They use the sun (nhoos) They say this even, a sheep, if you cut it up, and you put it on the iron sheets, that they have this thing and they use it to tie them - the mutton - up.

If you put it at the back, they say if it stays for three days even, you will cut it and chew - eat - it. (ahaa) It is dried. So that is how they dry and dry the meat. (nhoos) and the Koofiiwa - fish too. They do not use fire. (nhoos) They use the sun to dry it. Therefore when it comes and is dry, then it is dried once and for all. (nhoos) Therefore by your goodwill, if you help us, to make us do the work, then it would have been good. And the work also, if you do not help us, it will go to waste. (Hm) Presently the strength is finished. Today too, everything, we use money to do it. If you do not hold some, you would be doing what? You have to stay at home. That is how it is like.

(nhoos) (And you in particular, yourself, what helped you well in your work, at first?) Be free in particular, if you were able to buy the thing (nhoos) They were selling. (nhoos) They, if they

bought the meat, may be, you had money,
(hho) then you would give it to the fellow.
Today too even, the coming and selling
faders, when they come, then they come to tell
you that, give me money, and make me go
and build a boat, (hho) and then buy a
net and go to fish and bring to you.
Then it means that if he goes to fish for
you, then he comes to sell it for you. (hho)
And the selling he will be selling for you,
and you too, may be, you will use some
small money, maybe you will use it to get
ten pounds; maybe you might have used
five cedis. And you too, you put onto it.
Bit by bit; bit by bit; bit by bit, May be
when you finish, then somehow, when you
get two thousand cedis 0, three thousand
cedis 0, then you too, you also, you use
it to buy food to eat. Then he too takes
the money away. Then it means that you
the money too, you are eating - profiting -
by it. (hmm) And if he uses it for the work
and he gets the money then, it means that,
he brings the money to you. (hho) Then it
means that you had repaid the failure's ^{boat}
all together, the debt. (hho) Then as for
that, if he brings it to you, then you carry
it. And if you do not have money too,
then you sit there like that. If he comes
and you do not have some, then he will
not bring it to you. (hho) Then those
who will go to find loans. The loans too
also, if you go to find and you give it

to them, those who are not good, you will not see them again. (rhos) That too, then becomes your case-trouble-. And we are sitting and sitting by it. Therefore I in particular, today I do not have money. But when I had the money for instance, if you gave it to someone, then he would go to bring some to you. (rhos) If he brings it then he brings it to you. Then somehow, you give him money to go and pay car charges. Then he and you comes. Then you come to sell it. He says I am selling it for this. And they too give him a bargain-price-. If he bargains like a hundred pounds, then they also bargain, to maybe a hundred cedis, maybe it gets to forty-five, maybe it shall get to six pounds. That is what they have allotted to us. They have counted some to everyone, and have written each person's name. (rhos) Therefore if she goes to sell and finish it, then she brings it, And then if she gets on it something a bit. But today in particular, they buy it like that then incur debts. She herself, she was coming to find something to eat (hmn) but rather incurred a debt. Then if some money a bit has come to her, she would be afraid, and adds to it, to come and pay (rhos) That is what has made this work become spoilt. Then she would add to it, to come and pay this debt. The money on her is finished. Can she come to the market?)

Then it becomes haphazard. Therefore, it is the poverty, that has made it become like it. Hard ~~places~~ - strain + difficulties - have come over us. (Then she means that you, yourself) Hmm, & myself (Yes, what helped you in your work, to have been able to sell the mudfish, up until this time? Or maybe who embarked you on the trading, or what has made you able - possible for you - to do this work also?) As for the trading, it was my mother that embarked me upon the trading (ahaa)(haha) My mother (haha) Then I said, they were doing this work. From the older days aa, (haha) For, I even was ^{very} small - youngest - of all, I and my mother went to sell the mudfish. (haha) They, they were bringing it to us. (haha) In a knot, and baskets. (aaah)(haha) And that was what they were bringing to my mother. Then I was following at her back aa, (to go to the market there) To go to the market. (And you did go to school?) I did not go to school. (So, your mother, was she going on the road to bring fish, or they were bringing it to you?) At first in particular, then they went to buy. (haha) They went to buy. (Your mother went) Yes, then they were going on the road to go and buy and bring it. They went to buy to bring it. And in the older days in particular, if you held money, small for instance, if you took it to go - away -, you would be taking a lot)

to come with. They were going to buy to bring it. When this Moti came, then they stopped. (hmm) And it meant that they took the Moti to bring to us. And they stopped, the buying they were buying. And then we ~~were~~^{had} stopped the Moti also. Of the Moti came, it wasn't small - scanty -- therefore we collected it rooms full and full. Therefore they stopped (hooo) And I too I have been following it like that. Now when I happened to bring forth, then I had seen how to sell it. (when you brought, then your mother was still selling mudfish, then he was alive ?) Yes. I ~~gave~~^{had} birth to all my children completely, then my mother died, but when he died, has not been long at all. (ahaa) (hooo) I sold, I gave birth to all my children completely. I put it on, bit by bit, bit by bit, bit by bit, bit by bit, and I too when I followed her and she became an old woman, then I was selling. When I sold, then the money I received, I would give them to her (hooo)* Then I too, I too I would take some, and I used some to look after my children also. (hooo) Some times were there when I had no money. The man I went to take too had no money. Therefore I myself was looking after my children also. Therefore today, I, I get tired. (And your husband, he does what kind of work ?) My husband, at first then, they went to buy, then they were buying things to the goats fields --

* and she would take it to buy food to eat.

the north - (who) He and his brother (what things?) Garri - cassava powder - , and wood (who) That was what they were taking to the grassfields - North - . And the brother, a way also he was taking him on, the he stopped. Then he came to work at Pioneer. Pioneer Biscuits (Yes, Pioneer Biscuits) (At Edward Nasser there) That today they have spoilt it also. (Yes) That was the place then he was working. Today the something is spoilt, and he stopped. (And is he living ?) He is there (Yes - alright) (And you say he did that work and was not getting money -----.

END OF 18A TRANSLATION

18B TRANSLATION

①

Look (Yes) They use it to fetch water ^{go to retake} o.
(who) They, The sides sitting here for instance, some go on the road. (who) Then, were using it to fetch water (who) to give to the ~~Batoe~~^{Buyers} people tribe. (who) The Batoe people tribe. (Those who draw out the fish) Ahaa. And if you ~~were~~ went then they gave you the fish also, to buy (who) for you also to bring it. They, they were coming on Mondays, they were coming on Tuesdays. Today the market is spoilt. Then at first, Thursdays for instance. Today in particular, they have cancelled it. Today they do not come again. (who)
Today in particular the days are three. At first too, then the week all together then fish was coming. (Is that so?) Today in particular they have stopped. (Is the fish plenty?) Today in particular the fish does not come. (Some is not there) Some is not there. We do not get the fish too. (who) Hmm. Therefore today in particular, the days are those only that we use for trading. (who) Therefore Thursday, if you came to the market those, then people wouldn't be there. (who) Yaaa. Tomorrow for instance, sometimes you can come and look. Because some will come. The previous Friday even too fish did not come. Tomorrow's week too nothing came. (Hm)(who) That is what it is like. Today in particular, I do not have money. (You do not have)

money to give to someone to go on the road
for you) Eeh, I do not have money to
give to someone to go on the road for me.
(sheo) That is why when you come, my
front area there is lying there - empty too.
I do not get money to give to someone
to go and do the work for me. (ahaa)
Eeh, and someone too, after bringing it
wouldn't give it to you. (Hm) May be,
she that sits by me is the one who
sometimes, after getting some, then may
be, some small one also, she would say,
take to put these for Nana. (sheo) And
maybe if I do it and maybe eeh, a
thousand is on it then I take it. (And
when your mother was there, was she
giving you money for someone to go on
the road for you or ?) Yes. My mother
when she was there then, she gave me
money. (sheo) And I gave it to someone
(sheo) to do business. There, too, then she
had become an old woman. (Hm) When she
grew up, she stopped it. But when she
was like me for instance then she was
coming to the market. (sheo) As for
that, then she was coming also then
later, that the Moti became haphazard
then, (Is that so ?) Hm when it became
haphazard then she said, those in
particular, she wouldn't be able to sell
as business. (Is that so ?) Hm, so
she has become an old woman, she is
sitting in the house. (sheo) And later)

also, she became ill. She stayed in the house always, so you've seen it? And my children too also, I looked after them too, (hoho) the school too, & I haven't been to school before, and I wished that my children, too, went to school. (hoho) Therefore when I looked they I didn't have money again. (Hm) Yes. Money was not with me. (You had used your money all to pay for school fees) I had used it to look after my children to pay school fees, therefore then, I did not have some. (hoho) And that had made it become like that. (And the time that you started to bring forth children, aah, that time then you had money you used it to send to buy things) Hm as for that, then the money was not much. (ahaa) Therefore if you had some small money even, you had money. (Hm) You could use it to work (ahaa) If it was like today, then we wouldn't have been able to look after the children. (Hm) Then, nobody could have been able to look after her child, never. (Who, ho, ho) And at first too, if you were holding money, small, to give to someone then, the things that she would be bringing too, if you sold it, then you too, if you had pounds; ten even also, then you could be able to use it to do everything to make you happy about. (Hooo)(hoho) Everything you will use it to do, whatever.)

you would feel comfortable. Money, small also, if your hand got it, you could get something in abundance. (nhs) Therefore then school, too also, when Kasame Nkounah came for instance, he said we were not going to pay school fees. (Hmn)(aha) So then everyone was able to send her child (aha) to go. (nhs) You were not paying school fees, therefore you were able. (Your child went to school and your business money too layed there) That is what it is like (nhs) Therefore you were able to use that ~~to do~~ something (nhs) And the school fees came also, today, they do not speak about the school fees issue. (nhs, hs) You cannot, so somehow, that is what it is like. So that time in particular then, we were not paying school fees, therefore if your child went to school, you were not hardpressed. The little you've had too, if you used to buy something also, plenty. (nhs) therefore you too also, you wouldn't crave for profits too much, (nhs)(Hmn) You craved for just a little (Hmn) Because, as it is, if you had a little even, it was sufficient for you. (nhs) Therefore we carried the things cheaply, so that somebody would be grateful to you to be picking. (nhs) For you also to get a little. (nhs) Therefore if you sell even and cedis; five hundred is on it, you like it (Hmn) If you get a thousand cedis)

* the little money that you have to buy things

for instance, then it means that, you had become worthy. As for that (nhe, he) That day, you would dance like that. (he, he, he, he, he) You had got money (ahaa) That is what it is like. Therefore today in particular, I do not have money. (And your children, as it is, they have become elderly) Hmm. (Sometimes they do not help you a bit ?) Hmm, that. Today's people who have come. If she helps you, how much ? (Hmm) is she giving to you? (You brought forth a lot ?) Hmm. My children too are eight (Ei) (Hmm) (As for that you are beautiful) Nhe, he, he, he. Then they were nine and then three days - recently - one, by what o, one died. ~~Wednesday~~, ~~she~~ said ~~she~~ was going to take his child to go to school. What I heard only was that, ~~my~~ child had died. My children's' third - one - (accident) It was not an accident. I did not see the particular thing that killed them, but I said I had no man. I have given it to the Lord. (A) (He even she's brought forth four. (A) (A woman) Yes a woman. Presently, her children are four that she has presently left ^{them} for me. (A) (And grandmother the mudfish, then you were talking about the Moti) Hmm (And presently, Ghana here for instance, where and where do you get fish ?) Krache, (ahaa) Yeji (ahaa) (nhoo) Kadjeiji (Kayeji?) Kadjeiji?) Nhoo. That place, the Krachis

town is the place o. (aaah)(nhoo) The Kadjeji too, it is the Krachi's town. (nhoo) As for that, the towns; areas, areas, differently in abundance. (hmm) They are within, within inside there plenty (hmm) Villages many-of them - that they have built them near the waters there. (Nhoo) The Krachi also even, it lies its somewhere. Those of us who fear the waters, as for that, we stay at Krachi, then we give money to them to be brought to us. Those of us who do not fear the waters, we go to the village. (nhoo) And it is the village also that they when you go it is good. Therefore they sit on the water's face with the boat too. (hmm) The boat that I say is petrol too. (yes) popo popo popo. (yes)(hmm) That is they use to take them to go. (nge) Then they go to buy them at the villages, villages in abundance (hmm) They go to buy. And as for the towns in particular, those that are worthy in particular what I remember, Kadje; this one; Krachi; Yei; Bope; (hmm) Nhoo. What is left, all of them are villages. Kadjeji. What is left, all of them; KwadwoKwesi, KwameKwesi. As for that they are all there. (nge) That place, all together, we take fish to come. (nhoo) (And this one; the Nkronte - fish - too, you took it from where ?) As for the Nkronte-fish - also, at first, the Nzema's then were bringing it. (nhoo) And the Nzema's too have stopped. (ada) Therefore except)

the mudfish too also. That one with the head big and we ourselves we say nkonturo. (Therefore presently, in particular, nkonturo - fish - is not there?) No. Nkonturo - fish - does not come again. The Nzemas, at first the Nzemas were then bringing it. (Hm) Today in particular, some comes. (aha) None comes. (Therefore when someone says nkonturo) Eeh, it is the mudfish; only some of it. (The mudfish) Some big ones are in it (And the Kyikyie - fish - offspring too) You've seen that at first, the Nkonturo - fish - was there, and Kyikyie - fish - too was there. (yes) So you've seen it? (Hm) Nkonturo - fish - is there and Kyikyie - fish - too is there. One in particular the head is big that when they do it, they say that is Nkonturo - fish -. (Hm) And at first you've seen that the Nzemas, they were tying it. The Nkonturo - fish . (Yes) Small ones, and they used the rope to tie it up. (Yes) The Nzemas. Today in particular they have stopped it, even, even, even, even, they do not bring some. It is quite long even. (Hm) Hm. Therefore now we do not have a abundance. (And when you came, when you and they all were young women you and they all were selling the mudfish in like manner. Someone was there, who went higher than someone or 3) (He means that, those whom you and they started to sell)

the mudfish.) Hm - (Someone is there who presently has gone high, like his living has gone higher than others?) Hm, like those who started like my mother's elders or my age-groups? (Your mother's elders who started to sell the mudfish) Hm, as for that, excuse me, excuse me o (Hm) they say the thing; all are not the same. Fingers (Nge) (Yes) Hm, some even are children but they've gone high. (ahaa) It is all from the work. (nhoo) If something a bit is holding you then, someone too may be, someone is behind her, then he gives her some. Someone even would be sitting there and somebody would say, I shall give you a loan. (nhoo) Then she uses it to work. If you use it for it, it will be good. (It will go up) Hm, others have theirs in the villages. May be if someone does a cocoa farm a bit, (nhoo) when she takes the money, she says my child take this to do business, they, (nhoo) And if she gives it to the fellow to go and buy and she comes, she will get some. (hmm)(nhoo) Therefore going - up - in particular, some have gone up. (nhoo) Some have gone up. (As someone gave her a loan therefore) Hm, if you get a loan for instance, you will be able to do business. It is money that we use to do business. (hmm)(nhoo) Eh! That is so. But if you are not holding money then, you will do what? (nhoo) And if someone become graceful to you and you also, you turn it over to someone they. Like recently for)

instance, I was there, a gentleman came,
he said ah, he brought some fish. He
said grandmother take it and sell. (hooo)
When I sold it and finished, what he
said; he said grandmother hm, anytime
I come, nothing is here, and you would be
sitting there like that, it gives me pain. (hm)
Therefore make an effort - try very hard - to
go and find a loan, a hundred thousand
Adis to be brought to me, for me to go to
work to be lowered down to you, and get
some penny to buy food to eat. And I said
my Lord, whom am I going to take the loan?
Presently also, (hm) it has become hard.
Therefore go and come. When you go and come
maybe someone will help. I have walked
and walked, I have not got some. (hooo)
I have tried very much, I have not got
some. Then he said grandmother, I am going
and shall be coming back. By the time I shall
come, then you have put it there. I have
someone to give me some. Today only, if I say
it, I shall get some. (hm) But also, if I come
to look at you, it gives me pain. Therefore
make an effort - try hard - to find some
of the loan for me, to lower it - be your
guest - to you. And I said, have you seen
it? Therefore at first, when we were
children even, when we had money, (hm) it
was high. (hooo) Hm, but if you do not
have some for instance, someone too also is
more than me, but she hasn't got anything.
(hm) She is sitting there for nothing. If you

do not have money, for someone to come and take it to come. (hmm) Then you will be sitting there. (hmm) You do ^{not} have some. Someone even is older than me, but she does not have some. (And at first, someone would be getting a loan earlier than today or ? As your mother found a bank to do business, your mother or you yourself when you were a young woman, and you were looking for money to do business, would it have been hard like today or you would have got some?) Today in particular, as it is, that issue is hard. (hmm) Today in particular, Ei. (hmm) At first for instance, some money, just a little, you could use it to do business. Therefore your mother or your grandmother even, if she was holding money and you said give it to me, then she would turn it over to you. (ahaa) for you to use it to go and do business. As for the money in particular, just a little bit. (hmm) Today too also, except what is big. Today the hundred thousand cedis that I am talking about, he knows that I will ^{not} get some, that's why he is saying that. (hmm) If I will get some, then he would have mentioned something bigger. But he knows that I shall not get it. That is why he said I must give him that. (hmm) Since they, the thing that they will build that they will sit in it; it is money issue. The price is hard-expensive. Today look at timber costs? (hmm) Everything has gone high. Therefore)

today everything has gone high. Therefore if you are not holding the money too, if you say that you will do the work, you cannot do it. (whoo) But excuse me, if you are holding money also, they say excuse me, they use that thing to draw fish. (Fish to draw fish) Fish to draw fish. And if money were holding you then, you too also, everyday, he will come to put it there for you, for you also to get a penny to buy ~~Foodings~~ to eat. And if you do not have some also, and a child has got her money, then she too she is using it to do her work. (hoo) Hm, then you too also, an elder of merit, would be sitting there. That is how it is like. (So your mother, someone gave her a loan like that or?) My mother in particular, when she started (whoo) they went to ^{markets} bade (whoo) She goes trading. She was buying plantain. She was buying pepper. She was buying things like that. And then she got her capital (baah) And then she had money to hold (whoo) And then, she turned herself to come to the mudfish. And then she was going to the mudfish trading. She was going to buy to bring, then the Mote also (whoo) these people, when the Mote came, and the Moshies came. And that only was where we were buying it. The Moshies in particular only. And then what we saw only was that, the Wangares had come. And then the Banbaras also came.

Then it meant that ^{the} people had become three - groups - . (The Wangaras were those that brought the Waehene - fish - .) Anha-No. The Motis ~~were~~ those who made the Waehene - fish - come. (eek)(rhoo) Then it meant that the groups had become three. (rhoo) Therefore in the olden days in particular, if they brought it, you had to sell it to finish, entirely, ^{you} before ~~they~~ gave their money to them. Then truth was in the nation - community - . (rhoo) People spoke the truth. People feared God. (rhoo) So if the fellow brought it and if they were boxes; twenty, thirty o, and if they fixed the price, and finished it then, they ordered you that, a day like this, you should come to pay. Then when you went, then you sold it cheaply. As for that, some even, pounds like this; ten pounds, five pounds, this, and put them on it. They would take the money. Just a little bit was what we put on it. Just a small bit was what we put on it. What we were putting on it even, didn't come up to a hundred pounds. (hmn) What we were putting on it. A hundred cedis; twenty pounds. Just a small bit, then you put it on it. Then you too your sister took it. And they too would take it the market. Then they too would be taking bits to put on it. When the day broke then she would bring the money. Then they were all collected together. Then you too, you would

go to give it to him. (who) And you too
the small money you've had, it was a lot
of money to you. (who) How sweet to you.
Because as you too, if you took the money to go, the
little to go, you would be getting something
in abundance. (who) Therefore then it
made us sweet. Therefore my mother,
in particular, she herself made it bit
by bit, by bit by bit and got her money.
(Who: Her family members did not help her.)
No. (who) My grandmother. (Your grandmother)
My grandmother. (who) Achiaa Obeng, she,
who her money, (who) She divided to
her children. She gave my mother Kame;
and gave Adwoa Manyah; and gave
Afia Kobi. She divided to them bit by
bit. (Ho, ho, ho, ho) She divided it to them
and my mother too looked wise. (who) When
she got up, she would walk (who) she
could walk. Therefore even her husband
divorced her. (hmm) But my mother in
particular, it didn't worry her. (You've
seen that, at first, if the man was
working, he didn't like that the woman
would be working.) No. He didn't like
that she would be working. Therefore
my mother did not listen (hmm) If she
had listened, then it wouldn't have been
an issue that was good. (hmm) She did
not listen. He used it to divorce her.
And when the man divorced her then my
mother continued too, and now, she
became prosperous and was able to)

That she was at "blue castle." The husband bought
cocoa. His wife also would buy cocoa. He didn't ~~think~~
like it. That ~~was~~ ^{her} she has not stopped the work.
And she said ei! If I stop the work ^{then}, what will I do?
If I go and I buy my plants to come back, and you also
you go and buy your cocoa, we will meet. That was
why her Husband left her. (Just because of that.)

build a house. (Oh fine, she was able to build a house?) Oh well, as for a house in particular, she's built some. (And it moans that, it was of the mind only that she used to build the house) Yes. (aha) The mind only and she continued too, also. (ooh) Oh! Tek even she has a house there. (whoa) She has a house at Tek. (aah) She has some too there. She has three houses. (aaah) (Is that so?) (And you time also, you couldn't build a house?) As for a house, I in particular, I have not built some. I hasn't built some and I have become an old woman that I am about to die too. Business, whatsoever is not there. I do not have money. The business is not like my mother's time. (aaah) And at first too, if you were doing something, like money; just a little bit, then you would be able to build a house. (Yes) Today if you build a house, how do you do it? (hoo) And your mouth's food, do you get it? You've got aah, one million, you say, I am going to build a house. (You cannot build. Land even you cannot buy) That is how it is like. Today, the land, look at where it has got to. (Three million) (hmm) Look at where the land's cost has got to. I am to do what? Then for you to be able to build? (whoa) Therefore except that you are holding money. (Yes) But you too also,

you are not getting anything. Excuse me, what you are to use to go and work even you do not get to do it. Then what to use to go and build a house is what you will get? (And if your mother built two houses. One of them, is it for you, or?) It is not for me. It is my small-younger-sisters/brothers. My small sisters/brothers. It is my small sisters/brothers too, that she gave to them. (Nheo) (nheo) Mine was a bedroom; one only. (ohoo) What she gave to me even too, her people, then they wanted to do. I too I was afraid. And I stopped there. (Is that so?) Bedroom; one only, but even I have given it to my daughter to stay in it. Therefore all of it my sisters/brothers property. (Is that so? A man or a woman?) (Your brothers/sisters or her brothers/sisters?) Her brothers/sisters (And then she gave the house to them?) No, she gave it to my younger brothers/sisters. (aah, yes your brothers/sisters.) Yes, her children. She, her children. The small ones. (Hem) And I too, my mother (ahee) too died. When my mother died then I was little. I did not see it. (Hem) (Ah is that so?) I, I did not see my mother. (Then she had got about how many years?) My mother? (When she brought you forth and died. Your mother) (She says that it was when she brought you forth that she died or your eyes were then opened a bit?) I did not see it. (You did not see it at all?)

Then I was small. Yes. (who) when she brought me forth and they said she fell ill and she died (aah) Therefore, then I was small. I did not see it. (Then you were a baby) Yes, then I was small. I did not see it. (aah) And my mother I am talking about, she was the one who cared for me. (ahaa)(who) And when she cared for me and I grew up, then she came to bring forth after me. (who) Her child then was at Tek. They call him Asante. (age) Then he came after me. And then she brought forth Tetey, and then she gave birth to Akuba. (who) Therefore they, they are children. (who) Therefore it is they who have taken the house. And I am saying, as for me, I try, as for me I have grown completely. Hmm. And I, I have become an old woman, I didn't build some. Then is it some children's property I am going to seize? That is what it is like. Hmm. (So, since the time you were a child, have you been staying in Kumasi?) Hmm (You are all in Kumasi) We in particular, we are here only. (who) My mother, then we were staying at Ashanti New Town, and my mother also, the house I am talking about, they came to buy it. The money was how much? A little bit. A labar there, (who) and my mothers, and her brothers / sisters. She and my mother Mane. And my uncle Kwansia. They also, all are dead. And they bought

the house. (They joined together and they bought it) Hmm. They and us all. And then we are staying in it. (whoos) Then later also, they my mother Utahera-chief's house there, (whoo) and my mother went to stay in it. & even was the one that made her buy it, she went to stay in it, then came to buy it. (Nge. As for that you are a Kumasi folk indeed) Nho, ho, ho. (Kumasi child) (Kumasi folk's child) Kumasi folk's child, you do not have money. Then you are a Kumasi folk? (But then your eye is opened o.) Your eye only is opened (Your eye is opened) Your eye only is opened, Burrower. (Hmn) My Lordship, son is not good- if you commit sin, you will become miserable. As I am sitting there, I have grown. (whoo) I have grown very much. But I dislike sin. (whoo) And God too is standing behind you. (Hmn; that is good) (hmn) God likes righteousness. (hmn) & for instance, someone's child's distress, is my distress indeed. (whoo) I love people very much. As I am like, if you are there, you will see that everyone likes me. (hmn) I love people. I dislike sin. Nge, ge, ge, ge, ge. Sin in particular, I do not like it. If those C.E.B.A. officials too, come to see me, you will say that, they've seen some worthy person. They will be lowering themselves to me like that. (It is because you do good) I am saying that, as I am like, it is good so)

mech. I am a person whom everybody, I love. I like that everyone too eats. (That is good) (uhoo) I do not like that I eat. As for that, I shall give it out and sleep like that. I too, mine also is that. As people will come, and food, I shall give it to you and sleep. I, If I do not eat, I shall feel comfortable. For you to fast and I to eat, I will not do it like that. (uhoo) I, if my food lies in my bag even, at first that we were working, the Moti work too, everybody who was hungry said she was going to look into my bag. She would go, if I was not there and food was lying there, then she took it to eat. (hmm) If I came, she would say Madam Kaa, I have taken your food to eat. Then I would feel comfortable. I would be buying food and be putting them into my bag.

So that when someone felt hungry, she would be taking it. As that, may be, three days even, then the food would be lying inside. I, I eat very little. So the world, if you do that, (hmm) then God blesses you) That is how it is like. (You are also very beautiful) I have love for human beings (that is so) Because we do not take the world to get to anything.

(hmm) You do what, you will die. Why don't you love your brother? Why don't you love your fellow's child? (ahaa)

If you don't do that then, you lived for nothing. Therefore, as for me, I love

human beings very much. And these C.E.B.A. officials, when they see me, they become happy very much. Because I do not say bad things to people. (ahoo) I shall advise you like that. That this. What you are doing stop. That is how we live in the world. If you do it like this; it will become like this. What you are doing, you've done a mistake. God does not like son. (hmm)

As for you pray. And do good for Him. If you do good, and someone does you wrong even, she lies. It will go to her. (hmm) (It is true very much) That is how it is like. As you are, whatsoever too, as for you, look at yours in particular. As I am sitting there also, I do not take anybody serious. If children even, children even send me then I go, then the mudfish sellers will be talking, si an elder; so [what] and as for you why?

(Hmm) They created you how? (he, he, he) If I look at your face, a child even, sends me, as for me I shall go. I too, what God has created me is that. And they shall be talking an elder; so whole, then they are sending you. Then I say, don't make it become hard, it is nothing. The fellow, if an issue comes, I shall go to say to it to make it peaceful just now. (That is good) (ahoo) Police station, I shall go. Everywhere I shall go. If I go to say it too, it will be peaceful. (hmm)

I too, mine I am using to stay in the world is that. Therefore I am, to everybody miserable. So ~~somedays~~, if I do not get fish even, you will look then someone ties some. Mudfish sellers heads rather is hard - unkind. At first when I sat there then the mudfish was not scarce to me never. (Therefore it should have been; so therefore, sometimes they do not get a little for you?) The giving they give to me is that; they go, they, these people too, the Koachis too, said that, they will not allow the mudfish sellers to do the work too. (hmn) These people, the Ashantis, (hmn) should not come there. And they came to inform me and I said I and you would go. So I and they went. It made us go to meet. We and government officials all together, we met. And I said why because we were all one people? (who) This river even, if we were to ~~pass~~ go by Ashanti, then it would have been Asem chief's property (hmn?) If we went by old folks tales, it would have been Asem chief's property. In the olden days, they said they went to war. When they went, they reached somewhere, then people were standing there. When the Asem chief raised a gun immediately then they raised their hands. Then they put them down. Then they said Nana, don't kill us. And D

there is some water here, take us to stay by it. (hoo) And if you take us to sit by the water, we shall serve you. Because where we are, water is not there. Therefore take us to go and stay by this water. He said take the lead then. He took them to stay by it. Therefore in the olden days, it is today that the world is spoilt. At first if it got to the fourtieth-day celebration, ^{Alasade} yams, mudfish, they bring them from Yeji (hmm) Because the water formerly was the Asem chief's property. Then they would bring them. They would come to rely on the Asem chief. (hho) Then he too would take the front, for them to use it to go and serve the Ashanti chief. (hmm) Today that all, (since eye-openess-civilization-has come) they have stopped. (hmm) Therefore then the water too, formerly the man in particular. Today too, someone does not serve someone. Ebad behaviour has come. Showoff, and hard pressing - self strain -. If it weren't for self straining in particular, then as for old folks tales, they do not cancel them. (-hoo) old folks tales - olden days practices - and culture in particular, they should not have been cancelled. (hoo) But today the self strain. The fellow will say that he will do it, then everyone is saying -)

- using - legality (power) matters too.
(hmm. Being rough) Aha. If he takes it through then he moves. If it weren't so then. (And when you were saying it, your lips did not end. Then I was asking you that, the fish that they were bringing to you too, you were speaking of a disagreement that made you go there.) Aah, I went. I went and went to settle it. They went to tell them (nhoo) But, talking and its omissions, that time that we went too (nhoo) they did not come. (nhoo) They did not come. And I, I tried ^{I want} to go to Kwadwo Krom - Kwadwo town -. It was there that I went to stay. When I went, they had also gone to Ladjéji. (hmm) It was there that the King and the Queen-mother was. (nhoo) Therefore when I reached there too, then they, I called the Ashanti women all together and I and they held a meeting. And I told them that, I said, if the day breaks, I and they shall hold a meeting, because I was tired. (Nge) Therefore I was sleeping. Therefore it was in the night that I called the Ashantis all together and I asked about their mission and they said it. But rather, I abused them. It was that, they had made one person on a bicycle to come there, in the night, that he should come and listen to the message I brought.

(hmm) Then I abused them that, they are saying that when you come here, you abuse them. Therefore I abused them all. I insulted them well. Therefore the town's folk said, he talked to the Queen and the King that, the Queen who had come was good. What she had done to her people therefore, if they were saying - settling - it, they should stop for her to say - settle - it for them to do the work.

(hmm) Therefore after day break when we were making the meeting, as for that, we all returned to the Kadjeji there. We and the King and the Queen. We and they cut - took - photographs. Somehow we sat down. We hit on; knocked on - deliberated; I said the fish price was too hard - expensive - too much. The world we do not live like that. Today everyone is in hardship - hardpressed - self strained. And if you make the fish price hard - expensive - too. they meant that; the water folk - fishermen - meant that, it wasn't they - their fault -. Because you, If you gave - offered - this for instance six pence too, someone would come and say she would be giving nine pence. (hmm, hmm) And he would leave this there to

go to take three pence? (Ech, it is all of you that have increased it - the price -.) That is what has made it like that. That is why I and they sat there and we reduced it. That is why it became)

good. And today in particular, they mean that, the thing too that they buy (hmm) then they are not getting some. They are not getting some even. (hmm) When you come here, they say go to Accra. Look at the car's money - fare - that you will use to go and come. (Today if you go to Accra it is debt - expenses - a bit) Hmm. This also too, that he will put on, (Hmm) and find the thing, the net's money. (Hmm) the net, he has to get its money. That is what has happened ("Dss" too is what ?) The net, /aaah, and you call it "dss" too ?) Yes. (Yoo) the net. Therefore at first that I went to say it in particular, they listened for us to make everything, and later, it became very hard and then, they explained that, it wasn't their fault -, but the things' prices has become hard - expensive -. Today petrol is what they use to go and draw out the fish too. Look. (hmm) The net also, look at the cost. something that hangs at the edges (hmm) plenty. That is what has made the fish price become hard. But we do not get help from anywhere. Should you help us for this Moti to do business, then, ah, probably we shall be restrained towards the hardship on us. (whoa) therefore by your goodwill. So that you will see our miserable - state -, and help us, (whoa) for the work to go on. (Yoo it is good news.)

18B-Translation

(25)

You, as for that do you have something
in addition, that you will like to say
to me for me to understand?) Ech, as
for me, I do not have anything. My words
all together that I shall say is that, I am
using God to beg you, you must help
us. So that we too we shall get something
to hold. To be able to do business. Since
we are not about to die for instance,
then for us to get some food a bit to
eat, until that we shall die. (who, ho)
(Yess I thank you) (We thank you very
much Grandma.) (We thank you very
much) from,

END OF 18B TRANSLATION.