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Interviewee: Maka Khardziani

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Holly: Welcome to Voices of the Ancestors, where we explore Georgian polyphonic songs and the women who sing them. The voices today are me, Holly Taylor-Zuntz,

Susan: and me Susan Thompson.

Holly: And our guest today is Maka Khardziani, a founding member of Nanina, a group of women ethnomusicologists and singers based in Tbilisi. Who are reviving and keeping alive traditional Georgian women's songs and as this is something that we've been interviewing people about for five years now, we thought it was high time to geek out with Maka on this subject. (laughter)

Susan: Now one of Nanina, Maia Gelashvili, came up with the idea of holding festivals devoted to women's music and rituals. The group collectively worked together to bring this vision into reality, into being. Now we are recording today in Tbilisi, just before the Third Nanina Festival which is devoted to women's Georgian songs. And I'm not talking about a Glastonbury style Festival here. The Nanina Festival does have live concerts but it also has a space for specialists to give papers and also videos from regional ensembles about the particular theme.

Holly: So in the episode Maka chooses some of her favourite samples from those videos. So we're gonna hear about lullabies and about how the word Nana comes from the ancient goddess Nana.

Susan: That's right and we hear about healing songs. And while we may think about batonebi as folk rituals, the sample she chose shows us the ritual processing around a church.

Holly: And we hear about women's work songs: weaving, spinning, cooking, working in the field. And we get to hear what next year's festival will be too.

So this episode is best enjoyed visually on You Tube or this is the first time we've had a full video podcast episode and that's thanks to Ia Andghuladze who's behind the camera today. But she's also a member of Nanina. If you're driving along and listening to just the audio hopefully you can find time to go back and watch the video samples that we are discussing. Erm so it's thanks to Ia for taking the time and she'll also be doing her editing magic. Erm thanks to Maka

for speaking with us today, thank you to our Ko-fi and Patreon supporters yeah for making this all possible really. (Susan: For sure) So if you do want to support the podcast please sign up at patreon.com/voicesoftheancestors. And hope you enjoy the episode!

Main Interview with Maka

Holly: Maka Hello (*laughter*) thank you for being with us.

Maka: thank you for the invitation let me introduce myself (Susan: Please yes) I'm Maka Khardziani, in short I'm an ethnomusicologist I have PhD in musicology and er I'm an Associate Professor at Giorgi Mtatsmindeli chanting University and I'm a chief scientist at um the International Research Centre for Traditional Polyphony er at Tbilisi State Conservatoire and er in addition I am director of the ethnomusicologists creative group Nanina.

(Susan: Oh wonderful)

So er Thank you again for the invitation, for your podcast, for your interest toward Georgians, Georgian traditional music. Erm I am a listener of your podcast (Holly: Oooh) and I like it very much, and I appreciate your efforts towards this Georgian traditional music, your interest and your special interest to Nanina's um Festival and, er in general, Nanina's activities. Let me say at first about Nanina. (Susan: Yes please) How the ensemble was formed, and er how old are we...and so on.

Susan: Yes, how old are you? How old is the ensemble?

Maka: Our ensemble is 20 years old

Susan: 20

Holly: Wow

Maka: 20 or 22 (Susan: Gosh) And we are all musicologists and we are friends since student times. In 1990's we were students of Tbilisi State Conservatoire and our teachers were Kukuri Chokhanelidze, Edisher Garakanidze and Joseph Jordania and under the guidance of these people we became ethnomusicologists.

Maka: Evsevi (Kukuri) Chokhanelidze, Edisher Garakanidze and Joseph Jordania
They are famous Georgian ethnomusicologists

Holly: Yes some of our listeners will have heard us talk about them in previous episodes.
(Susan Yeah, yeah)

Maka: So um, let's return to Ensemble Nanina and the foundation of this ensemble was linked to Tea Kasaburi um, Tea was the first leader of the ensemble. We established our ensemble in 2003. (Susan OK) Um and before that we were just friends and er enjoyed to sing together er and um then finally we created the ensemble um, for 18 years Nanina was, um a participant of local and international festivals, um, many er, TV and radio podcasts and charity events. We had a lot of solo concerts and made audio CD's and so on.

Susan: So that's, so that showcasing Georgian women's repertoire is that, the core of what you wanted to be and do as Nanina.

Maka: Yes, it's our main goal. And it should be mentioned that we created our group, er um In the footsteps of the Mzetamze (Susan Yea, yeah - Holly ah OK). Mzetamze Ensemble was the first who revived Georgian women's repertoire, and er the first group which er, began to popularize Georgian women's repertoire. As you know - Georgian musical folklore is rich of er, men's repertoire (Susan mmm) and of the vast, and um diversity of men's repertoire um made some people think that er Georgian Musical song belongs to men.

Holly: Oh we know this

Susan: Yes - We've come across that

Holly: that's why we started the podcast

Maka: A lot of men's ensembles (Susan: and they are very wonderful) During almost one century (Susan: Yes) er and these ensembles were popularized, men, women's songs (Susan: Yes) It's natural. And er it should be said that er indeed that men's repertoire is more rich, er more diverse and er rich of genres and forms of performance and effective on the stage er and this was the main reason why the men's repertoire was very popular on the stage among the audience. But women's repertoire er was er somehow in shadows and er it was not popular because the field of work of women was very narrow. Women's repertoire is um very simple er mainly one voiced and not effective on the stage. People consider that it was not effective on the stage so er they played the main attention on the men's repertoire and er this was the reason why women songs were kept in archives only archives er and was not popular on the stage.

Susan: But you've changed that

Holly: yes and I'm so glad

Maka: Not we - It started by Mzetamze ensemble and then we continue their work and we er are happy and we are proud of it because er I think we it's very important to develop and popularize Georgian women's songs, because I think that it's very interesting and it keeps the ancient layers of Georgian musical thinking and it keeps the root language of um Georgian music. Georgian lullabies are the basis of almost all Georgian songs for example Shalva

Aslanishvili the famous Georgian ethnomusicologist wrote that he has an article about it. That the lavnana's melody is the basic of most all Georgian songs - women and men. Women's and Mens repertoire.

Susan: I have so many questions!

MUSIC

Maka: *Sings opening phrase of lavnana*

This intonation is the basic and this intonation exists in almost all Georgian songs. Er he has the fundamental research in this direction so they, other scholars are agree with him.

The festival Nanina it's our, the first large project. And um the festival um includes some segments, some parts, these are scientific conference, video clips, representation of video clips, folk concerts, folklore concerts, er with participation of Georgian um, regional choirs and um Tbilisi choirs as well. Women's choirs er and er now in this festival. In the third festival we added one more part - it's an exhibition of women's handicrafts. (Susan: Oh Wow, that's so great) So um in the conference when I mentioned the multi disciplinary approach. I mean that our conference consists of the articles and the articles are from almost all branches of the art which are very close to ethnomusicology. It helps ethnomusicology to study the song for example in many directions from the stand point of for example linguistics, for example ethnographies for musicologists, music therapists as well, choriologists because we have syncratic phenomenon Georgian - not, not only Georgian, the folklore, the musical folklore is the syncratic phenomenon which includes not only singing but the dancing - but round dance, action

Susan: So when each of the members of Nanina. So you were all ethnomusicologists as students, would, did you as part of your training, go on expeditions to villages?

Maka: Of course. (**Susan:**Ah) The main direction of activities of Nanina were expeditions. Um especially to the regions which lost multipart singing. Meskheta for example it's South Georgia. Lazeti for example, the part of Lazeti is Georgian territory but part is in Turkish territory um Apkhazeti as well you know. it should be mentioned that er we have er the songs in our repertoire which cannot be found in other ensembles repertoires because we try to revive unknown songs. To uncover unknown songs.

Holly: That's so exciting.

Susan: This is so funny. Holly - yesterday, she said I've been looking at all these videos from Nanina - I didn't recognize any of the songs .

Holly: But also the rituals, so I'm so glad that the festival is multidisciplinary and it's taking account of the context because you're right it's not just about the songs.

Maka: OK let's see the video (Susan: Yeah) of Lalkhori (Susan: oh thankyou) and why its interesting and why I prefer to share this video with you almost all members are from Svaneti (Susan Yes) and they are 'so called' native speakers. So er I'm from Svaneti as well. (Susan and Holly - Oh) I am proud of it because I am very close to Svaneti and musical folklore and I like it very much and introduce it, and I perform Svan lullabies myself as well.

Susan: Which part of Svaneti - where in Svaneti?

Maka: er Mestia. (Susan - Mestia OK) er um my mother's village is Ipari and fathers village is Kala. (Susan OK) and er by the way the kvirik church was built by Khardzianis. (Holly: Oh Wow)

Holly: I would love to hear you perform a Svan lullaby. (Maka - I can) If you could that would be wonderful.

MUSIC: Maka *Sings Svan Nana - Nanila*

Holly: Thank you so much.

Susan: So that is in the Svan language. You see, my linguistics knowledge is small but I know that.

Holly: And with what you would call glossalali?

Maka: The glossalalias in this current song it's not glossalalia. But some people consider that 'nana' is glossalali, but its not true. (**Holly:** oh tell us about that). Nana is a, er was a deity of fertility. Er And er if we don't know about this, this information we don't guess why people repeat this glossalali in all lullabies.

It is interesting not only from the standpoint of songs included in this video. But here is the spell of mother or grandmother who whispered to baby and the purpose of this spell was um, to scare away the evil forces.

We watch the video of Lalkhori from the first Nanina Festival.

Holly: Our listeners are not all ethnomusicologists and I know they will be touched to er. See this and er hear this because it's a kind of magic - you know - when this attention is put and this focus - it's really something special.

Susan: And also there's a universal, there's a universality in that, just that rhythm of rocking a crib and rocking a baby it just 'travels'.

Maka: Yes and um and here are some interesting details - for example the fire around the cradle (Susan - yes I have not seen this - tell us) Um it has the same meaning that the spell -

(Susan: Ah OK) it scares away the er evil (Susan - evil spirits) it scares them away. So the second song

MUSIC *Maka Sings a fragment.* It was first performed by Nino Kalandadze and the First Festival was dedicated to (Susan I remember)

Holly: Oh of course so we made a - did we - when we made the episode about Nino Kalandadze we mentioned that. (Susan Yeah)

Maka: Her interest was especially lullabies, her dissertation based on lullaby songs, the articulation, semantics er

Susan: So the other action was, was, they were tying something onto the crib? Before they lit the fire.

Maka: It is, All these actions have the same purpose.

Susan: they all have the same purpose - ok

Maka: And er this song is one voiced. (Susan: Yes, yes) Usually one voiced but they made this song in 3 voice er it's not a problem of course but er traditionally lullaby was er one voice.

Susan: How, how do you know that? Because it seems to me you know that babies grow up within a family situation, not just with one person.

Maka: er but um falling asleep the baby was under the obligation of mother so we know from the history of the ethnographic sources we know that the mother was only - who sang lullaby song to the child. So the song from this time with a social function was one voiced - it's er it was a role but er nowadays, on the stage it can be .. (Holly - it's very tempting to put harmonies with it.)

Susan: So this creative group Nanina, I'm really curious now, how you're working with the women's songs, the women's repertoire - where are you finding it er, where - how you know it's come down the generations of women, rather than being composed.

Maka: Yea um the..part of our repertoire is from our expeditions (Susan: OK) we are er, um, searching these er songs from the archives - mainly from Conservatoire archive, from Television archive, from our individual archives our own archives as well. Levan, my husband, has his own archive.

As for the second festival - the second festival was um linked to healing songs batonebi - customs, traditions and music er Batonebi were, um some kind of gentlemens. Batonebi means gentlemens. Which, um Georgians believed that Batonebi were the main reason of illness of children - er this illness is er infection disease er so we have 7 infection diseases, as you know,

and um batonebi were gentlemens who were the reasons of this illness. So people thought, believed that they should make some rituals, accompanied by songs and actions - some actions, till to gain the heart of the batonebis (Holly Aaah) these songs are cult rituals as well - and we have 1,2 &3 voiced Batonebis songs er depends on if the mother was alone or she was with. er, her neighbours or her relatives. So this song could be sang by men as well. They sing together, this was the case when men and women sang together.

Holly: They all want the Batonebi to be appeased. And so which clip have you selected for this to represent the batonebi?

Maka: Let me share Nanina's video.

Susan: Ooh good, yes.

Maka: In this time because we had um choose Meskhetian region.

Susan: Can we see, I can't wait.

Maka: So it's Meskhetian video and er and we have a lot of Batonebi songs, healing songs in different regions of Georgia but we have only few songs in Meskheti - Victoria is very close to Valerian Makaradze was an ethnomusicologist which was very interested in Meskhetian musical folklore. He made a lot of expeditions to Meskheti. And we have a very important recordings. very interesting recordings from Valerian Makaradze and Victoria looking for healing songs and she found only two samples (Susan okay) very very simple songs batonebi songs, they were one voiced songs but we made it three voiced. The recordings that Victoria found had very low quality. And the music was listened was heard hardly Victoria transcribed these songs and taught us these are very simple but very interesting samples of batonebi songs and we used them in our clip.

Holly: I absolutely love this process. It's really like taking these songs and making them alive. Hearing them on this old recording that's now in 2025 here you are able to give them another life.

We watch the video clip of Nanina performing a Batonebi ritual together

Holly: Wow that was, first of all it was really beautiful to watch this connection of well - first of all I really enjoyed how Victoria's voice was so strong (Susan: Yes) and some people might imagine that healing songs should be very gentle and quiet but it's actually quite strong. And second of all they're walking while processing round a church and it's like okay, two worlds.

Susan: If I share my understanding of the relationship between Georgia and families and Batonebi because in England - Batonebi - we don't have this concept. Sometimes it's really hard to understand, but it is like

Maka: Sometimes it's connection with the people, or the mother, or other people with these gentlemen's

Susan: There's a relationship of respect? It's a very, there's a respectful relationship so they're greeted and they are sung to and there are rituals and the purpose

Maka: and and their purpose was the gain of their hearts, the Batonebis hearts

Susan: Ah OK. And to entreat them to leave their child and return their child to the family

Maka: Yes This clip she puts off her white dress and the mother leaves this white dress near the church. It was this ritual, this kind of ritual. And um they believed that the Batonebi were stayed with the church and the child at home recovered. The recovered child and healthy, without Batonebi. So this was the ritual of saying goodbye to Batonebi. Because the character of this song was so optimistical and sacred.

Susan: And at the beginning there was a white stone, pebble

Maka: Yes, I um I said some um a Spell, it was a Spell and I mentioned the stone which must be left at the church at the door of the church. I don't know why - it's symbol - I don't know exactly why, but they made these actions but it's to say goodbye to the batonebi. So er Batonebis Festival was er multidiscipline as well as the scientific conference I mean. There are a lot of articles er about traditions, about rituals, about songs linked to batonebi um for example linguistics, tow linguists. They had an article about verbal texts that are maintained in Svaneti - it is interesting that er ,we have no tradition, singing tradition linked to batonebi at all. We have no samples of batonebi in Svaneti - we have in almost all regions of these kind of songs (Susan Except Svaneti). We have not in Svaneti, we have not recording of this, so we were interested why and we were interested if er in other branches, if other people know about these rituals, for example linguists and um we discovered that in the oral tradition, in the fairy tales there are some verses - folk verses we have a lot of information about batonebi. And we have, even some terms linked to Batonebi (Holly - what?) (Susan terms) - Svan names Maldiani for example. Names of Batonebi, all sorts of Batonebi, of them of different kinds.

Holly: That's a great example of looking outside of one sphere to inform the songs. You are looking outside of musicology.

Maka: It's er a context. So er choriologists for example - Holly: What's a choriologist? - Susan: I think it's a choreographer to you - dance. Because it is a ritual with action um like dance or round dance (Susan: We have space you can show us) around the cradle um the coriologists study this actions and um they wrote articles for our second festival, it was very interesting, because all these actions have their own meaning and they transcribed what meaning went with what action.

Susan: I'd love to know - it's like - I can remember in Adjara someone was kinda going this action in a dance it is from sweeping or something - and I think what you are saying that within dance there's a whole

Holly: It's not just a dance move.

Susan: No it has a meaning - oh I'm so sad I missed the second one - oh I could have learnt so much.

Maka: We invited musical therapists to the second Festival because as Nino Kalandadze mentioned in her dissertation batonebi songs and lullaby songs as well They were a great impact on the child's psychological thinking, It makes people calm and er, very important for the speedy recovery.

Holly : The nervous system yeah

Maka: So our ancestors they had this, They had this wisdom so interesting that nowadays we use some medicines to, we use some medicines instead of this batonebi songs and so unfortunately these Batonebi songs disappeared from everyday life

Holly : I'll take both, I'll take the medicine and the batonebi now. *Laughter*

Maka: As for the third Festival (Susan I can't wait now - what will you find?)

Holly: What's the theme of this year's festival?

Maka: The theme of this festival is er Georgian women's labour, 'Customs tradition and music'. In this case we have some problems. Because labor songs of women were recorded very rarely and we have a few samples of this genre unfortunately, women's I mean, because we have a lot of men's labour songs for example naduri songs.

Susan: So naduri are specifically from songs from the field - people in the field, people working in the field?

Maka: Yes, Yeah it's field song for field work. Naduri song, khelvavi songs,

Susan: khelvavi is hand?

Maka: khelvavi linked to hand it's er When they make something by hand, not by some tools. Khelvavi and elesa song as well, many songs of men, but very few in women's repertoire, unfortunately and when we offer to regional ensembles to make some video clips some of them said no - because we have no material. No musical material

Holly: oh it's so sad

Maka: But they covered some material from museums, from archives, but from the musical repertoire unfortunately they couldn't find any examples. But anyways we have 10 video clips. (Susan OK) Yes. And it should be mentioned that not only regional ensembles but Tbilisian Ensembles Tbilisi Ensembles are also included in our festival. So for example Ialoni made video clip from Samegrello, Nanina - Mskhetian video clip, And more, so we have this section in this festival as well.

And the most interesting thing is, er that I mentioned an exhibition of handicrafts. On the one hand it's very hard to reach some songs linked to Georgian women's labour. But in the other hand we have a lot of activities of women many examples from women that can be included in this video clips for example Georgian cuisine, erm, which are very rich of dishes that are made of

Holly: That's counted as women's labour? Cooking, handicraft - what else?

Maka: What else? mm it's er make er make thread from the wool.

Susan: Working with wool - making thread from the wool - so spinning yeah. - In the villages I've met many women who are caring for cows - but it's their cow.

Maka: We haven't any songs linked to this.

Susan: OK - and to cheese making?

Maka: We have no unfortunately - cheese it's cuisine.

Susan: I'm just thinking where I might expect there to be songs.

Holly: Because I might expect weaving and handicraft (**Maka:** knitting) And are these maybe group activities so there might be more than one voice?

Maka: Tes We have the practice of group activities and it's name is women's Naduri. Naduri is the song that's sung together when er, people help each other. And this song is characterised in the men's repertoire, but we have women's Naduris as well. When they help each other, when they have free time - it was at night. They gathered and they made er threading - they made thread from the wool (Susan They made thread - with the spindle.)

Holly: Naduri is not only in the field then?

Susan: No, that's what I'm thinking.

Maka: Yes because they helped men in the field as well and they sang with men but it was not women's repertoire.

Susan: Well I was taught a song once in Adjara by Lola Surmanidze (Maka - Xertlis Naduri) and she had a different one. She had been researching a recording and it was field work and because it was near to the Turkish side one field had men in one field had women in and they were singing to each other between the two fields.

Maka: This is an exceptional case. Because we have no recording of this kind of song.

Susan: I must remember to listen back to her teaching.

Maka: In Adjara we have a lot of women's work songs. I don't know why.

Susan: Because they are very hard working women in Adjara. *Laughter*

Susan: Now in Georgia there's felt making as a tradition as well isn't there.

Maka: Yes

Susan: Are there any songs associated, because that can be an activity for many people together? I'm thinking of the 'waulking' songs in the North of Scotland which is not dissimilar to making felt.

Maka: Similar - not the same but er

Holly: So many more things to ask.

Susan: But we might need to ask the question we always ask because it would be sad not to.

Holly: Yeah Maka thank you for all the information about the festivals.

I have a question that we ask to all of our guests coming towards the end of the interview and it's - What does Voices of the Ancestors mean to you?

Maka: OK - er I think er it's a call for me it's a call to protect traditions. It's very important I think and I think that er the Voices of Ancestors er aren't only sounds we heard from the old recordings er, it's um all the traditions which our ancestors um, kept. (Susan: mmm) er and er I think it's obligatory to maintain and keep these traditions and er transmission of these traditions to the younger generation and er, the main goal of Nanina is er, this actually so er, I think er, I like to thank you for this title for the podcast. I thank you for your podcast in general. I thank you again for invitation I'm glad to participate in your podcast and er, I'm glad to um, give you er, I have an opportunity to erm, say something about Nanina er, to your listeners to share my experience with er, Festival Nanina and er, I wish you good luck.

Holly: Thank you Maka

Susan: Thank you so much

Susan: You have a film about the festival, yes I know. Shall we ask Ia to come here so we can see her

Maka: the film title is a Festival Nanina and it's a short film 20 minutes

Susan: Ah here she comes

Holly: From behind the camera, we are welcoming Ia, in front of the camera.

Maka: presentation of both days, first and second day before the concert part.

Susan: So this is the film that Ia edited and made and created. And what was your artistic goal?

Ia: Well this film was specifically made for a presentation and they had to present in Batumi, and for another festival. And the final result was probably that good that the final result was made public and now they are showing it at this year's festival. So it was a very big experience for me and it gave me motivation to do more and the challenge as well. It was a very good experience.

I'm very grateful for everyone who gave me that chance (Maka: Thank you)

Holly: it's so wonderful to have

Maka: You are our treasure

Holly: Of course because Ia is a young, you know person, that's grown up in Tbilisi I think right and you're still passionate about this folk music and you sing in the ensemble and make the film about it. So - do you have anything from your perspective that you want to share after listening to our interview?

Ia: I have a lot of things - I'd like to share that sometimes we do not realize how far this traditions go and how long it has been showing up. For example for me it was the surprise to realize that it was just starting to show up to the public and for example, for specifically women's repertoire and when they said that there were so many women ensembles on the concert. I think there were 20 or (Maka: 29 it was our first festival) 29 wow yeah (Holly amazing)

Maka: We didn't expect

Ia: It was a shock for me too (Susan: okay)

Susan: Do you know what I remember from that first festival? And those first concerts, was - I won't name who, but a gentleman standing up saying - Well when somebody said we were

going to just have a concert with just women's ensembles I thought it might be boring. But it isn't is it! *Laughter*

Ia: They especially thought that because it was about lullabies. And it was definitely not.

Maka: And it should be mentioned that it encouraged some ensembles, some groups of women to make some ensembles for our festival to take part. (Susan Oh Wow) My student Elena Shubitidze created her ensemble. She gathered er, the group of her friends and er they um performed some Kartlian songs. you must festival and they are going to perform er labour songs at this festival.

Holly: It's a great motivating factor isn't it.

Maka: They dedicated their ensembles to our festival. It's interesting. And er we are so glad that um, all of the people who are connected to this festival they are looking forward to this festival. And they say that er, they like our festival very much and er they are looking forward. (Susan Yeah)

Susan: And I'm looking forward to knowing what you will do next year.

Maka: Next year we are going to showcase um cult ritual songs - wedding songs.

Susan: Fabulous

Maka: There are a few samples of weddings for women's wedding songs but there are weather songs (Susan yes of course) such as Gonja yes yes and the songs linked to childbirth for example Mze Shina yes yes (Holly: so rituals) so a lot of things (Susan yeah that will be) will be happening next year.

Holly: That was really exciting cause it's almost like it's starting from this domestic private sphere of lullabies and healing songs, stepping out a little bit into work songs, which can be domestic and can be public and then wedding songs which is a public thing.

Maka: You guessed.

Susan: I guess - ritual songs - are they a public thing or a private thing? Or are they both.

Holly: That's a good question. Back to the beginning of the interview when you mentioned about why men's songs were so popular and recorded. I guessed it was because of this public sphere that men operate in you know, church, around the table and women being in this domestic private sphere, but actually it's, it's not black and white this yeah so

Ia: Also I'd like to mention that on our expedition (not mine, Nanina) we asked that maro bebo - about Meskhети tradition, women's traditions and she told us that it was not only for women. It

was like if men could help they would help. It was not exactly black and white and they would help.

Susan: That's my sense of it that

Holly: It's not binary

Susan: No it's not

Maka: And I think er why these songs disappeared from everyday life because, er because of technical progress, because of urbanization and does some many, many reasons we have in this case but I think women which are very busy, in their everyday life they raised children they sang lullabies, they sang healing songs, while the children were ill, they help their men as well, they made some foods and Georgia cuisine is a prompt that we have a rich, very rich cuisine. So contemporary women, they are busy, but they have other challenges, they have another interests and they sometimes, they were even known, don't raise their children themselves and the children are raised by nannies, so they didn't need lullabies anymore, er the medicines, invention of medicine make disappeared the batonebi songs. We don't need more batonebi songs, only I think, only members of group Nanina sing these songs to our childs. So as for labour songs um we have some factories and make these activities made by women by our ancestors so we don't need handicraft.

Susan: I want you to stay and answer a question first - I want to know what Voices of the Ancestors means to you?

Ia: No I should go (laughter)

Susan: Oh she's gone.

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