

Composing Identity, Fiddling with (Post)Ethnicity: Liz Carroll's "Lake Effect"

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Abstract: This paper analyzes the title track of the 2002 CD Lake Effect, as composed by Chicago fiddle player Liz Carroll and arranged by Evan Price (featuring the Turtle Island String Quartet), positing the degree to which it is suggestive of "post-ethnic" identification. Beginning with a nuancing of the various identities performed and negotiated by Liz Carroll the musician and first-generation Irish American and Chicagoan, "Lake Effect" can ultimately be understood in terms of its transgressive and transformative features. Generated from melodic and rhythmic motifs that the composer identifies as "Irish," "American" or "jazzy," "Lake Effect" juxtaposes and interpolates sonic indices of different identities in a hybrid, cosmopolitan and potentially post-ethnic structure.

Résumé : Cet article analyse le morceau qui a donné son nom au CD de 2002, Lake Effect, composé par la violoniste de Chicago Liz Carroll, et arrangé par Evan Price (avec le Turtle Island String Quartet), en partant du principe qu'il indique jusqu'à un certain degré une identification « post-ethnique ». En commençant par exprimer les nuances des différentes identités jouées et négociées par Liz Carroll, musicienne de Chicago, d'origine irlandaise et américaine de première génération, « Lake Effect » peut finalement se comprendre en fonction de ses caractéristiques transgressives et transformatives. À partir de motifs mélodiques et rythmiques que la compositrice identifie comme « irlandais », « américains » ou « jazzy », « Lake Effect » juxtapose et intercale les indices acoustiques d'identités différentes pour en faire une structure hybride, cosmopolite et potentiellement post-ethnique.

This article has an accompanying video on our YouTube channel. You can find it on the playlist for MUSICultures volume 40, issue 1, available here: bit.ly/MUSICultures-40-1. With the ephemerality of web-based media in mind, we warn you that our online content may not always be accessible, and we apologize for any inconvenience.

In his preface to *Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West*, Mark Slobin makes a fleeting but tantalizing point about "Irish" music in the United States: "Up close" he says "what's 'Irish,' 'American' or 'Irish-American' looks like the work of tent dwellers, not stone raisers after all," suggesting that even

music genres that appear as “changeless megaliths” are only temporary shelters, defying rigid categorization and localization in one place (Slobin 1993: x). It is with this thought in mind that I pitch my own metaphorical tent by engaging in an “up close” look at a contemporary fiddle-player from Chicago whose music proves to be all of these things to varying degrees—Irish, American, Irish American, Chicagoan and potentially “post-ethnic” in its hybrid formations (Bohlman 2004a) and its contemporary, cosmopolitan play with what connects, rather than separates, different ethnic identities (Hollinger 2005 [1995]).

Drawing upon Bohlman’s use of the terms “post-ethnic,” “emigrant” and “ethnic,” I employ the term “immigrant music” to mean the music brought from a specific region or country to Chicago, where it is by and large preserved unchanged and performed in relation to expectations in the place of origin—in this case, Ireland. By “ethnic,” I mean music that is performed by generational Irish Americans but that is also connected to institutions in the city. Finally, by “post-ethnic,” like Bohlman, I mean music that is more free in sound and form, indexing a plural reality and existence for many different groups, involving deliberate borrowing and processes of hybridization (for example, Polka).¹ In relation to Hollinger’s (unhyphenated) “postethnicity,” as explicated in his seminal book of the same title (2005 [1995]), I am in particular interested in the manner in which Hollinger speaks of the “postethnic perspective” as one that “develops and allies cosmopolitan ideals” within specific historical contexts of recent times where there is a greater appreciation for ethnos in general and for “a variety of kinds of ethnic connectedness” (2005 [1995]: 4-5)

To term music “post-ethnic,” where musical translations and processes of hybridization become the primary creative principles, is to raise questions of intelligibility and musical integrity, not to mention ownership and access (Stokes 2007). Further, though hybridization may first and foremost connote two distinct musics coming together, given the place of the fiddle in Irish and American old-time and blue-grass, and the many shared traits of these musics, discrete characteristics may be more difficult to articulate for those outside these traditions. To play “Irish” or “American” or “Irish American” music may seem like different shades of the same thing. However, for composer/performer Liz Carroll, the following essay reveals my interpretation of her own nuanced sense of what belongs where. So, while I focus in detail on the compositional and arrangement strategies of this self-identified Irish American fiddler in situ, in this article I also acknowledge the need to engage more broadly with the implications of labelling music “post-ethnic,” making a case for the complex and nuanced forms of identification and affiliation that can cohere as well as potentially

disappear when discussing nationality, race and especially ethnicity as it relates to musical creativity.²

My work here draws upon extensive fieldwork in Chicago, where I was based from 1998 to 2003 while studying for my doctorate at the University of Chicago. During this period, I met Liz Carroll locally, at sessions, gigs and festivals. As a regular performer of Irish music in the city I also had some opportunities to play alongside Liz. She proved an engaged and informed conversationalist and I subsequently kept in touch with her. This piece therefore draws upon those experiences as well as upon observations made at performances and conversations with Liz Carroll since that time in Ireland and Chicago, including the most recent interview conducted from Melbourne, Australia, via Skype, in preparation for the completion of this article.

Liz Carroll

There's some pure magic communicated here through the sweet, energizing fiddling of this well-respected Irish-American colleen, her urbanized clarity impregnated by plenty of flavors, from Donegal to Cajun to Cape Breton, at a pell-mell pace and with a gypsyesque, Paganini, bluegrass tilt. (Moroney 2000)

Liz Carroll was born in Chicago in 1956 to Irish emigrants and her music engages with the personal and deeply felt challenges inherent in being a first-generation Irish American in the city. Her sense of place is shaped by two dominant modes of being: as a local in a city, where being an immigrant or ethnic other is part of the fabric of everyday life (Holli and Jones 1995 [1977]), and as a member of a diasporic music community (one that specifically plays and engages with Irish traditional musical forms) that sees and understands itself in relation to an "authentic" centre in Ireland (Dromey 1999; Cowdery 1990). Being only one generation removed from this claim to Irishness, but being very much a product of a Chicago upbringing, Carroll negotiates such identity issues at various times and in varying contexts by performing the role of "emigrant" or "ethnic" musician (Slobin 1993; Williams and Ó Laoire 2010). But, as I ultimately argue, to simply play Irish traditional music was perhaps never going to be enough to make Carroll feel fully at home and therefore it is her role as an ethnic composer, and her music's post-ethnic potential, that is particularly significant.

Carroll's music, especially as evidenced in her composition "Lake Effect," proves to be flexible and mobile, qualities suggested by Mark Slobin

(1993: x), in the manner in which this particular instrumental piece and the album in which it features actively generate (and not simply reflect) social and ideological structures at play in Liz Carroll's Chicago, most notably in the realm of identity politics (Cohen 2007). Carroll's music, and the particular composition under scrutiny here, is therefore viewed as representing a highly personal negotiation of identity from a first-generational, ethnic perspective—one that is contingent upon personal history and local biography (Cohen 1995) and that does not simply draw upon a largely historically undifferentiated meta-narrative of generational Irishness in the U.S.—that treats the genre of Irish traditional music in a nuanced and complex way.³

Composing and Performing Identity

While growing up in Visitation Parish on the South Side of Chicago, Carroll was exposed to the local immigrant and ethnic Irish cultural scene from an early age. Being Catholic was a core constituent of Carroll's Irish American cultural heritage and many of her formative musical experiences were connected with parish and more general church-affiliated activities. Carroll's earliest musical influence was Sister Francine, who was based in the local school and taught Carroll classical piano and then violin, giving her a solid grounding in music theory and practice. Downtown St. Pat's (St. Patrick's Cathedral) was also a hive of activity and a focal point for Irish American Catholics, where monthly musical get-togethers were held, which attracted participants from all over Chicagoland.

Playing and listening to music in local pubs and clubs proved equally important to Carroll's musical and social development. She composed "Hanley's House of Happiness" (which also features on the album *Lake Effect*) in honour of the legendary Southside drinking establishment. Located on 79th street in the heart of the old Irish neighbourhoods, Hanley's was a favoured session spot in the 1960s and 1970s, as well as sponsor for a popular Irish music radio program. Carroll learned much of her craft by spending time with local (and visiting) musicians in such venues. She was a core part of the community of sound that so defined this ethnic group in Chicago (McCullough 1977, 1978).

Carroll also made frequent trips to Ireland, competing in the All-Ireland Fleadh Cheoil fiddle competition, which she won twice, once at junior (under eighteen) and once at senior level (at age eighteen), having qualified from the regional Midwest of North America final.⁴ For Carroll, playing traditional music was far from the most common way of expressing an Irish ethnic

identity, particularly when compared with a wider grouping of generational Irish Americans more drawn to Irish parlour music such as Moore's *Melodies* or to popular songs with Irish themes, such as "When Irish Eyes Are Smiling" or "Galway Bay" (Hamm 1983, 1979; Moloney 2006). Carroll herself acknowledges that playing Irish traditional music was, in fact, the only way she really expressed her Irishness or, as she humorously put it, "I'm not making any Irish lace—no doilies coming out of me!" (interview, July 10, 2006). But it was also through Irish music that she grasped the tensions between immigrant and ethnic and between Irish, American and Irish American categories of identification from an early age, especially in relation to her own sound:

For traditional players over here, it can be hard to feel you "belong" in America because the music you play is often what people don't want to hear, even on St. Patrick's Day. I can remember someone in a pub saying to me, "Let's play some of your music," and it's "Turkey in the Straw"! They really don't get it ... I think I used to, as a kid going over to Ireland ... I just so wanted to fit in and felt bad when I heard things like—"oh well, that's ... bluegrass, that's American," and I didn't hear that at all. I was just trying so hard to play it right but I guess that's just a product of sounding like yourself. (Interview, July 10, 2006)

Carroll quickly realized that her practice was not something that others—be they generational Irish Americans, recent Irish immigrants or traditional performers and audience members in Ireland—could always easily locate. At the same time, while her music was an activity that in one sense marked her as "other," it also had the potential to be deployed as a means to simply express her self and her reality. Therefore, as a strategy for making sense of these expectations of others, but more as a means of performing herself, she turned inward to her own compositional voice, producing music that said something about her place—where she was coming from but, most importantly, where she saw herself going. This profound recognition of the power to sound one's self would shape Carroll's compositions for years to come:

When I was nine years old, with much ceremony, I sat down and composed a reel. I can remember that this felt very special, different from learning a tune, varying one, or hearing one for the first time. I had a melody that had come to me, and it didn't exist anywhere else. I was at once the first person to hear it, to vary

it, to learn it, and ultimately to perform it. I can't tell you how exciting that was. (Interview, July 10, 2006)

As a result, a new, distinctive style of music influenced by her home city began to emerge, one in which the exploration of place and meaning would culminate in the composition that is the focus here: the title track of *Lake Effect*, which is possibly her most personal, challenging and forceful utterance on the issue of identity and creativity, something which she herself has confirmed, more than ten years since its publication (interview, March 7, 2013).⁵

Structure, Blocks, Codes

Since Carroll started off her musical life playing “inside” the Irish tradition, I begin my analysis of “Lake Effect” by illustrating how this particular composition challenges the boundaries of the genre of Irish traditional dance music. However, my analytical emphasis is ultimately less on transgression and more on transformative process and generation.⁶ Starting from the round in Irish music as the basic gestalt or compositional framework, I examine Carroll’s deployment of certain sounds and gestures (which I, following Slobin [1993], re-term “codes”)⁷ from a variety of music traditions as part of her creative process reaching out of an Irish music home. However, instead of focusing on how codes from other musics are sutured into pre-existing structures, I argue that there is a gradual decentring of this notion of an “Irish” structure by looking at how these codes actually generate more hybrid and fluid structures and hence a more hybrid music itself that does not have to be necessarily or exclusively accommodated within a nationally focused Irish traditional music paradigm. Such codes are less “authentic traces” of musics, traces that Stokes has cautioned against looking for (1994: 6), and more icons of sounds, shorthand for influential music traditions found in her hometown. I interpret “Lake Effect” as a product of the interaction of Liz Carroll’s personal and musical biography with the superstructural collective ethnic (musical) history in Chicago.

Ultimately, I view Carroll’s music as having the capacity to be truly local and Chicagooan and, by extension, more symbolically American, with its imagined local blues inflections and suggestive jazzy undertones, Irish gestures and post-ethnic form.⁸ In all these cases, what Liz Carroll considers iconically jazzy, bluesy, Irish or American⁹ is not always systematically defined. Taking this cue from the composer, neither is my analysis an exercise in establishing authentic traces of particular genres in others. Rather, it is an exploration of

how certain sounds and structures, motifs, harmonies and modalities can be imaginatively conceived and deployed to construct difference and sameness, and index self and other (or other self) within a relatively simple structure. In sum, then, to consider Carroll's music, in the first instance, as a local, contemporary form is to allow for an appreciation of how her music has the capacity to be mobile in meaning and hybrid in structure, performing the City of Chicago, its ethnic mix and its celebrated diverse musical heritages, in unexpected and sensuous ways (Herr 1995).

Significantly, the set of tunes entitled "Lake Effect," as it appears on the CD, was arranged by Evan Price for Liz Carroll and the Turtle Island String Quartet. A close examination of the track, which teases out implicit and explicit motifs, gestures and referents in Carroll's compositions, which she herself views as "not Irish," forms the centre of the analysis. Arguing that Price's arrangement moves Carroll's music even further away from an Irish centre than she herself has done does not undermine the potential of Carroll's musical output in general to be post-ethnic. Such an argument is, rather, an assertion that Price's arrangement takes these tunes' post-ethnic suggestions to the next level. In other words, what Carroll's tunes achieve implicitly, Price's arrangement draws out explicitly. Post-ethnic Chicago, as suggested by Carroll's music in this instance, is therefore treated to a kind of general hybrid arrangement that draws on a number of American "vernaculars" found in the urban American soundscape, Irish music being one of these. Much of what is suggestive in the basic tune structure of "Lake Effect" can be found across a number of Carroll's compositions, demonstrating a potential to burst out beyond forms and styles that are invariably tied to the dance music of Ireland and to Irish (music) historiography. That said, there does seem to be something special about "Lake Effect," given that it is treated to this kind of string quartet arrangement. Carroll notes, "I really don't think I would have picked another track off of that album for him [Price] to do. It was really the one you could hear something different happening in" (interview, March 7, 2013).

Up Close with "Lake Effect"

The album *Lake Effect* and the tune itself are clearly inspired by and located in Chicago, as the title references the great Lake Michigan upon whose shores the city is built. The album captures a particular moment in the creative output and personal journey of Liz Carroll as musician/composer, and is notable not only for containing a large proportion of tunes she composed that directly refer to events, people and experiences in Chicago and are thus a deeply

personal statement about her hometown, but also for the manner in which these utterances are matrices for the musical working out of experiences and memories in musical form.

The title track is treated to an unusual arrangement, particularly in comparison with all of the other “solo plus accompaniment” tracks, as Liz collaborates with the Turtle Island String Quartet to produce a different sound, one that appears to be a more deliberate American statement. The collaboration in this particular track speaks to the issue of American identity in a broad way, with a distinct reference to a Celtic-flavoured North American sound.¹⁰ The focus is on destination, not origins, and plurality, not the singularity of one traditional voice or genre. The LA-based Turtle Island String Quartet was established in 1985, and the 2002 recording of “Lake Effect” features Evan Price on the violin, David Balakrishnan on baritone violin, Danny Seidenbert on viola, Mark Summer on cello and Liz Carroll on fiddle.¹¹ Carroll had been aware of Price for some time as a champion Scottish fiddler in North America, as a regular traditional fiddle camp attendee and as a hugely respected performer in, and arranger for, the Turtle Island String Quartet (interview, March 7, 2013). Price, for his part, had long been an admirer of Carroll’s music and teaching abilities and jumped at the opportunity to, as he put it, “‘Turtle Island-ize’ this set for the album” (interview, March 6, 2013). Carroll originally presented Price with a longer set of tunes for the track but acquiesced to reduce it to the first two tunes of the set so that Price could “really integrate the quartet” as opposed to write a mere “accompaniment” to the tunes, which was precisely what she did not want him to do (interview, March 7, 2013). Carroll recalls her first hearing of the arrangement:

I didn’t hear it until I went out to San Francisco. I booked a flight, went out. We went to the studio. We shook hands and I went, “What does it sound like?” Or I think we met the night before at one of the fellow’s house. I just fell over [and thought], “This is so terrific.” (Interview, March 7, 2013).

Working with Carroll presented Price with the opportunity to do something with the music of a musician he had long admired (he speaks of being a teenager and devouring her first solo album), and doing so within the context of a quartet that had a specific agenda: “The sense of what we were doing was a new and timely fusion of elements of the American vernacular voices and classical, and [there was a sense] that we were always trying to fuse it in different ways.” For him, the key was to let Liz “do her thing” and let the arrangement grow from that (interview, March 6, 2013). It is important to note that Carroll had

a limited role in the actual arrangement. Her primary function was to play the tune set for Price in her inimitable style around which he arranged the quartet parts. However, the key point is that, in this arrangement, Price pulls out so much that is inherently suggested in the "Lake Effect" tune. The following section looks in greater detail at how this was achieved at a structural and motivic level in the composition and the arrangement.

Effecting Change

The "Lake Effect" track actually comprises two tunes, one traditional tune entitled "Catherine Kelly's," and the other Liz's composition, a type of slow reel, called "Lake Effect." The pairing might be, in itself, understood in part as an assertion that a tune from the traditional or common repertoire and a tune Carroll composed belong together and are therefore part of the same genre and collective. However, in this instance, the strategy of pairing one's own composition with a traditional tune is more than mere juxtaposition. The tunes structurally and motivically complement each other and, in turn, inspire the string quartet plus fiddle arrangement which takes the tunes into another sonic space that combines gestures from other Celtic traditions such as Scottish fiddling. This is particularly true of the first tune, "Catherine Kelly's." "Lake Effect" explores some of the same Celtic influences and then moves the music into another space with decidedly jazzy syncopations and sounds, drawing out other "American" codes that share Dorian modal structures. Far from contrasting with the deliberately "Celtic" feel of "Kelly's," the jazzy modernism of the arrangement in "Lake Effect" actually complements and extends the ideas in "Kelly's," suggesting that the kind of modernism found in this set of tunes is a modernism configured and shaped by 20th-century jazz and a late 20th-/early 21st-century take on Celticism that is very much a North American phenomenon.¹² In other words, these are not opposing ideas but rather different, though related, perspectives on the same idea.

Messin' a "Round"

Both tunes, which make up the composition "Lake Effect," comprise two conventional thirty-two-measure rounds. The first is a slip jig from the commons entitled "Catherine Kelly's" and the second is Liz Carroll's own composition simply labelled, significantly, "tune" (as opposed to defined as a particular type of tune, such as a jig or reel) and entitled "Lake Effect."

Irish dance music is best represented graphically by the repeating thirty-two-measure structure, which is found across tune types—jigs, reels, hornpipes, etc. Known as the “round,” this unit is made up of two parts (A and B) of two repeated eight-measure phrases (see Ó Súilleabháin 1990: 19). The round itself is then repeated a certain number of times (depending on mood, time, context), before the tune transitions into a second and/or third tune, referred to collectively as a set.

Liz Carroll’s development of a distinctive compositional voice might be read as a struggle for orientation within the Irish tradition (when she configures herself on the diasporic margins), a searching for acceptance while at the same time issuing a bold challenge to the communal canon that defines that Irish tradition. But to play with such structures and to be involved in transforming and transcending them (which is what happens in this arrangement) also signals a growing awareness that the traditional round, that fundamental gestalt of Irish traditional dance music, may no longer be sufficient to represent or sound the many possible selves at “home” in Chicago (Irish, American, ethnic, post-ethnic). Significantly, the “traditional” tune, “Catherine Kelly’s,” is not exactly conventional, being in the somewhat less popular slip jig format which has a time signature of 9/8 with three groups of three eighth notes. Slip jigs are perhaps not as well represented on recordings of Irish music in comparison with reels, double jigs (in 6/8) or even hornpipes, which may be in part why the slip jig was chosen to pair with “Lake Effect.” Carroll points out that the tune itself has special qualities outside of the arrangement to which it was treated, and it was her playing of that tune that was suggestive of the arrangement:

But even without them [The Turtle Island] doing their thing I really thought that just the notes of ... that first slip were cool.... There were a lot of moves that people don’t do. So I was ... very proud of it, even without the arrangement. The arrangement was not mine, but the fiddle playing of the tune is. (Interview, July 10, 2006)

The two-part slip jig is quite simple in structure. The tune is accommodated within a conventional thirty-two-measure round.¹³ This round is repeated three times (see Fig. 2). Unusually, the second or B part of the tune in that final round is repeated again—i.e., it receives three consecutive utterances (something that Carroll insisted upon in the arrangement, in spite of Price’s recommendation to not do so [interviews, March 6 and 7, 2013]). While a third utterance of a B part (mm. 9-16) does not rupture the round,

(Duration)
Track 5, 0:00 secs

1st round of tune

A Part

B Part

0:24 secs

2nd round of tune

A Part

B Part

0:49 secs

3rd round of tune

A Part

B Part

1:14 secs

extra

B Repeat

End: 1:26

The musical score is written in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a time signature of 9/8. It is divided into four sections, each representing a round of the tune. The first round (measures 1-16) includes an A Part (measures 1-8) and a B Part (measures 9-16). The second round (measures 17-32) also has an A Part (measures 17-24) and a B Part (measures 25-32). The third round (measures 33-48) has an A Part (measures 33-40) and a B Part (measures 41-48). The fourth section (measures 49-56) is labeled 'extra' and consists of a B Repeat (measures 49-56). Time markers are placed at the beginning of each round: 0:00, 0:24, 0:49, and 1:14. Measure numbers are indicated at the start of each line. The score concludes with 'End: 1:26'.

Figure 1. "Catherine Kelly." (Author's transcription.)

it does play with the inherent symmetry of the thirty-two-measure round. The addendum of eight more measures seems to be setting the listener up for something different, something that does arrive in the form of “Lake Effect,” where the round is deliberately challenged. Further, this emphasis on the second part of the tune hints at what is to come in “Lake Effect,” where it has an important structural implication for the entire arrangement.

Before getting to what is to come, however, it is worth focusing on the treatment of the slip jig. In each repetition of “Kelly’s,” the fiddle plays a slightly less syncopated version, contrasted by the quartet parts, which get rhythmically more complex. By the third round, the fiddle is essentially playing a relatively straightforward version of the tune, in contrast with the rhythmic surprises of the first round. By the final full round, Carroll’s playing, while still full of variation, is more metrically stable at a point where the quartet arrangement is at its most vigorous and complex, requiring more of the listener’s attention. This gives the sense that it is now the quartet, and not Carroll, that is pushing the boundaries of genre. But a closer listening reveals the level of variation in each round of “Catherine Kelly’s,” as articulated by Carroll in her fiddle part, and so it is clear that even with the power of the quartet to draw the listener in, the real power and suggestiveness resides in her playing, and much of the tension in and “surprise” of the tune can be found in that first round. A close analysis reveals that there is a deliberate playing with expectations in the opening measures (see Fig. 1).

On the very first hearing it is actually quite difficult to locate the downbeat of the tune because the first measure, and the prior upbeat E, plays with one’s expectations. Later variations of this first gesture make it clear that the first A, the initial note of a group of three eighth notes (all A’s), is the down beat, followed by two more sets of three eighth notes, making up the 9/8 signature. However, on the first utterance, the E to triple A, followed by an ABA melodic configuration, suggests initially that the E note is actually the first beat of the measure and that the tune should be (in groups of three eighth-notes to illustrate 9/8 time) E–A–A; A–B–A; A–G–E. But, of course, that would leave the fourth A note out: E–A–A–A; A–B–A; A–G–E. The listener does not expect a tune to start with the repetition of three of the same pitches in this manner. Further, the obfuscation of the downbeat is partly achieved by Carroll’s accent on the initial note as downbeat and not upbeat.

Such playing with rhythm and orientation and the natural or expected flow of the jig is further explored in the second full measure where the tied G effects a kind of “scotch snap” feel, something that hints at what’s to come in the initial measures of “Lake Effect.”¹⁴ The inclusion of such a distinctive rhythmic gesture is a nod to Scottish fiddling as practised by Evan Price, but it

is also a gesture to a Celtic cousin and a shared fiddling diaspora. In essence, this tune may also represent a tacit acknowledgement of an Irish American relationship, a Scottish Canadian relationship and a more all-encompassing Celtic fiddling practice.

The first round (i.e. the full rendition of the A part and the B part of this two-part tune) of this slip jig features Carroll playing the tune and another violin playing essentially the same rhythms and melodic contours in a harmonizing position. At the end of the round some notes are left out, creating an abrupt movement at which point the cello and other strings enter briefly. On the second round, Carroll appears to be alone momentarily until the quartet appears again, now playing long, drawn-out notes in various registers at around the third and fourth measure of the first part. Again, this part ends with syncopated notes and a very rhythmic approach is taken by the quartet in the second or B part with various bows bouncing off the strings while articulating the underlying motor rhythm of the slip jig.

The third round sees a combination of both techniques, as well as the inclusion of upper harmonics on the violin in the first part. The second part in this round is given a fuller quartet-like treatment, creating a dense texture, which thins out on a third repeat of this second part now accompanied by sporadic upper harmonics on the violin and pizzicato gestures on cello. In the CD liner notes, the track title of "Catherine Kelly's/Lake Effect" is followed in brackets by the tunes' descriptors: "slip jig and tune." The tune "Lake Effect" is not, significantly, given a structural/formal name such as



Figure 2. One generic round of "Lake Effect." A part measures 1-8; B part measures 9-16 = two repeated parts give a thirty-two measure round. (Author's transcription.)

“reel,” which might tie it to a specific genre of music. In 4/4 time, it seems to be a type of slow reel, or hornpipe, with a distinctive scotch snap pointing to a Scottish or some kind of Celtic configuration (see the dotted notes in the first measure in Fig. 2).

The tune is a simple enough one, a kind of slow reel in a straightforward thirty-two-measure format. Carroll begins by playing the tune unaccompanied, though gradually each string instrument in the quartet takes a turn at producing a countermelody or an upper harmonic with the main melody, the fiddle scratching and almost growling on the low strings against the high-pitched upper harmonics of the violin. All eventually take a role, sometimes in unison, or sometimes alternating, deploying interesting cross rhythms and rhythmic dissonances that decentre the underlying motor rhythm or, in adapted Schenkerian terms, the background (if one is to consider the tune itself the foreground and the quartet arrangement as a kind of middle ground).¹⁵

In the second round of the tune, things start to take an unexpected turn. Where the B part of the tune should start, there is, in its stead, a jazz-inflected interpolation, with bended sliding notes around the fifth of the melody and a clear departure from the tune proper of “Lake Effect.” This moment is accommodated within the eight measures of the B part structure, which, on the repeat, reverts to the tune proper of the B part of “Lake Effect” as introduced in the initial round. At the end of the second round, though there has been a stylistic interruption, the round itself has remained intact, but not for long.

By the third round, this introduction of material outside of the melody begins a little earlier. The first eight measures of the A part are interrupted midway for interpolation 2, which is only four measures long and features lots of tied notes that suggest a jazzy syncopation. This section also hints at what



Figure 3. “American” 3 against 4 gesture in “Lost in the Loop” and “Sevens” by Liz Carroll. Top stave: “Lost in the Loop” (3rd part of the tune). Bottom stave: “Sevens” (2nd part of the tune). (Author’s transcription.)

Liz Carroll herself has labelled an “American sound,” which she identifies as being present across many American vernacular genres, including bluegrass and jazz (interview, July 10, 2006). This American sound, or “groove,” is typically represented as a leap of a fourth or an open fifth and, in some cases, an octave, where, in a sequence of four eighth notes, there is a leap from high to low and back up to high which, when repeated, creates a three against four feel, as evidenced in Carroll’s other compositions, such as “Lost in the Loop” and “Sevens” (see Fig. 3).

In interpolation 2 (see Fig. 4), which comes at the equivalent of measure 5 of Fig. 2, the gesture is not repeated to create the three-against-four groove, but the octave leap follows in the same recognizable pattern (seen here as $A-A_1-A_1-A$).¹⁶ The tying of the final A creates the syncopation, contributing to the jazzy feeling. The music then moves immediately to the B part with no repetition of the A part. Again, the B part is uttered partially (four measures) followed by interpolation 3, which is succeeded by the B part played once in full (eight measures). The round has now been destabilized, not just in terms of motivic content, but also (and especially) metrically and duration-wise, given that there have only been twenty-four measures in this “round” (tantalizingly, the equivalent of a doubling of a twelve-bar blues structure).

Price points out:

I had to look for ways to break out of the pattern or at least to bend it to my will ... that was at least part of my thinking behind putting in part of the slip jig ... looking for an opportunity to manipulate the balance of expectations. (Interview, March 6, 2013)

Interpolation 3 itself warrants closer inspection (see Fig. 5). This interpolation comes in at the equivalent of measure 13 of Fig. 2. The transcription of the melody line in these four measures of interpolation 3 (the second stave in Fig. 5), reveals that this is actually not only motivic material from “Catherine Kelly’s” (the first stave in Fig. 5) but that it has been stretched, transformed and played against the 9/8 rhythms being harnessed into a 4/4 structure. Not only has the round been decentred, even ruptured, but the very



Figure 4. Interpolation 2 in “Lake Effect”—“jazzy” sounds. (Author’s transcription.)

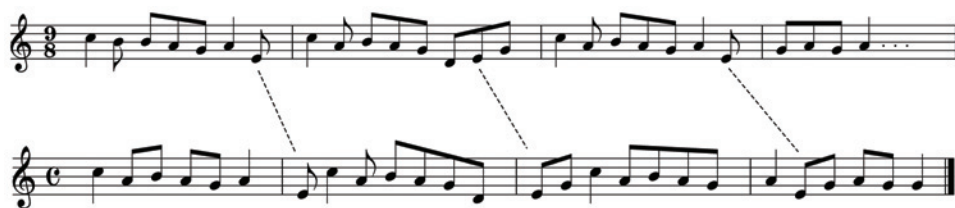


Figure 5. Interpolation 3 in “Lake Effect.” Top staff: the 9/8 slip jig “Catherine Kelly’s.” Bottom staff: “Lake Effect” featuring a 4/4 version of melodic material from the slip jig. (Author’s transcription.)

autonomy of tunes as independent structures has been challenged. Ultimately, “Catherine Kelly’s” is the interpolation, nested inside “Lake Effect,” with all its jazzy and syncopated feels—a clear statement that what is happening in the “traditional” tune is not so very different from what is happening in the newly composed “Lake Effect,” even with all of this metric dissonance and syncopation. In fact, these modal tunes are revealed as speaking to each other and speaking across genres, their codes interweaving, playing, exploring and ultimately producing a new sound that is also old, a jazz-trad hybrid of sorts. For Price, the syncretic matrix was already present:

On a purely musical level, modally speaking—Dorian mode for “Lake Effect”—it’s not a far cry from minor blues. Basically I just had to add a blue note and it sounded bluesy, or add a backbeat.... I would venture to say that the slow reel [“Lake Effect”] already had an America sound ... with its accent on three. (Interview, March 6, 2013)

The final and complete rupturing of the round is reached in the fourth partial utterance, lasting twelve measures and exclusively comprising materials from interpolations 1, 2 and, in particular, 3. At this point the round truly splinters as gestures from various parts of the tune are treated to call and response, exploration and innovation. All sense of the round disappears as the interest and focus moves to the smaller elements of the material and the manner in which they are treated. This “fragmentation” is sophisticated and highly involved, and the tune ends with a dramatic movement up to a unison tonic. This section is deliberately located sonically quite far away from traditional Irish music, without totally losing reference to it. Price had originally planned to return to an iteration of “Catherine Kelly’s,” but Carroll overruled him, wanting to have a dramatic flourish at the end (interview, March 6, 2013).

Starting at	Structure	Length	Total
1:27	A part x 2	16 measures	32 measures – 1st complete round
	B part x 2	16 measures	
2:14	A part x 2	16 measures	32 measures – 2nd complete round
2:36	Interpolation 1	8 measures	
2:48	B part x 1	8 measures	
2:59	A part (partial)	4 measures	24 measures – incomplete round and with material from “Kelly’s” in 3rd interpolation
3:04	Interpolation 2	4 measures	
3:10	B part (partial)	4 measures	
3:16	Interpolation 3	4 measures	
3:21	B part x 1	8 measures	
3:32	Conclusion	12 measures	
3:51	End		mixture of interpolated materials

Table 1. Structure of “Lake Effect”

On the issue of potentially labelling the piece “post-ethnic,” Carroll wasn’t familiar with the term itself but in conversation she said she could see why I might interpret this musical moment as such and, as is evidenced at the end of this article, this term speaks to how her practice may very well be turning down that road once more. Price also ruminated on the significance of the artistic and political climate at the turn of the century and on whether he considers the label “post-ethnic” appropriate for the “Lake Effect” track:

I’m a child of that time. It [the arrangement] does reflect that—although, not self-consciously, therefore probably more authentically. At the heart of that philosophy we’re talking about, coming together and finding our commonalities, exploring while preserving some of our differences—this music certainly does that.... I went down to the genetic level of the music and found the common ground between these two voices, Liz Carroll and the Turtle Island, and initiated a dialogue while preserving them. It always sounds like Liz Carroll and the Turtle Island. (Interview, March 6, 2013)

In effect, the “Lake Effect” arrangement takes two tunes into a sonic space that combines gestures from various Celtic traditions: Irish traditional, Irish American, Scottish fiddling and Scottish-inflected traditions of North America, particularly in “Catherine Kelly’s.” It then moves the music into another space with decidedly jazzy syncopations and sounds, drawing out other “American” codes and sounds that share certain modal structures. Far from

contrasting with the deliberately Celtic feel of “Kelly’s,” the jazzy modernism of the arrangement in “Lake Effect” actually complements and extends the ideas in “Kelly’s,” suggesting that the kind of modernism found in this set of tunes is a modernism configured and shaped by 20th-century jazz and a late 20th- /early 21st-century take on Celticism that is very much a North American phenomenon. In other words, these are not opposing ideas but rather different, though related, perspectives on the same idea. “Lake Effect” is arguably most at home as part of an American, post-ethnic landscape, one that draws on a rich heritage of traditional, vernacular and popular musics, growing out of a natural response to living in an ethnically diverse American soundscape, and sounding out that very experience and state of imagined post-ethnicity.

Locating “Lake Effect”

At the time of *Lake Effect*’s release, some critics in “Irish” music circles in North America were quick to pick up on the fact that in this album something different was happening. As Earle Hitchner of the Irish American newspaper *The Irish Echo* mused, in a language infused with hybrid referents:

In the traditional slip jig “Catherine Kelly’s” paired with her own “Lake Effect,” Carroll ventures into the classical-Americana mode popularized in recent years by Mark O’Connor, Yo-Yo Ma and Edgar Meyer. Guesting with her is the Turtle Island String Quartet, and the mix of Carroll’s fiddle with a violin, baritone violin, viola and cello becomes an edgy track of traditional and classical strings sparking off each other.¹⁷

Yet in current promotional materials on Carroll’s website, *Lake Effect* is notably absent, while considerable emphasis is given to *Lost in the Loop*, which preceded *Lake Effect* by two years, and the 2009 duet album with John Doyle, entitled *Double Play*, which received a Grammy nomination. Liz admits that she tends not to talk much about the album, or about “Lake Effect” specifically, because the track did not receive the response she expected since it was released, in spite of her own pride in and satisfaction with the piece (and in how the album as a whole turned out). But she is quick to acknowledge that “it might not have been everybody’s taste. For people who wanted a trad tune, that wasn’t it. Nobody was looking for a jazz tune. Nobody in the jazz world bought that album” (interview, March 7, 2013), which raises Stokes’s critical

point on intelligibility and translation challenges associated with hybrid music formations (Stokes 2007). And yet, Carroll remains sure that there is something about this set of tunes, in which she did her “own usual thing” but for which she felt the need to collaborate with an experienced arranger and traditional music practitioner. Carroll knew Price could transform the set into a “magic, Irish Jazz fusion ... American thing” within a quartet framework setup that did not simply “do long notes” or “wasn’t movie music” but “was really, within itself, so cool” (interview, 7 March 2013).

“Lake Effect,” then, demonstrates the possibility of moving between playing Irish traditional music as emigrant/immigrant music—as opposed to Irish music—and playing it as the music of the ethnic self in situ, or indeed as a music contributing to a broader signification of post-ethnicity. The



Figure 6. CD Cover of *Lake Effect*

recognizable forms and genres of Irish music therefore offer possibilities of transformation, of change and of making new meanings, particularly where the music is decoupled from nationalist narratives of Ireland and becomes a freer, ethnic form, inviting more hybrid practices the more one is removed from “immigrant/emigrant” associations.

Liz Carroll’s Chicago acts as a nexus for the processes of fusion and hybridization, as Irish musical forms combine with American vernacular music gestures, and Irish codes are deployed within more commonly shared genres, signaling the emergence of a distinctly American music with Celtic flavours. In her ability to move between emigrant/immigrant, and ethnic/post-ethnic constructs of identification, whether in performance, in composition or in inspiration to others, Liz Carroll has herself become a symbol of Chicago, a city that apparently seeks to celebrate the diversity that has structurally and historically generated it.¹⁸ Significantly, September 18, 1999 (prior to *Lake Effect*) was declared Liz Carroll Day in the City of Chicago by the then-presiding mayor, Richard M. Daley, also of Irish American descent. Mayor Daley celebrated Carroll’s contribution to the world of Irish traditional music specifically in the context of American cultural life, acknowledging Irish music as one of the many rich threads woven into the ethnic tapestry of Chicago.

Liz Carroll’s “Lake Effect” manages to sound her complex identity politics and her city with its immigrant and ethnic histories and current realities (Holli and Jones 1995 [1977]). In amplifying the motivic and rhythmic details of her compositions, and in adding his own textures of place and experiences of a variety of music traditions, Price’s arrangement speaks more broadly to post-ethnic configurations of possibility. In “Lake Effect,” Liz Carroll’s gaze is not oriented toward Ireland but very firmly toward the familiar ground of her own place, as illustrated in the cover of *Lake Effect* (see Fig. 6).

Conclusion

I have endeavoured to argue that “Lake Effect” seems to embody in musical form a particular discourse on identity, one dealing with post-ethnic formations. To view “Lake Effect” as an example of post-ethnic or purely hybrid music is to suggest a shift in perspective from musical borrowings from “others” to new cosmopolitan, temporary ownership of sounds indexing lived experiences and relations which in turn possibly predict what is yet to be in social relations (Attali 1985). When/if a politics (and art) of post-ethnicity is to be practised in an inclusive, open, creative manner, as Hollinger would have it, it is possible to view “Lake Effect” as one example paving the way. Undoubtedly, the threat

of charges of co-optation and colonizing of the sounds—their decoupling from the lived experiences of others who “own” them—remains potent, as critics of Hollinger’s ideas have been quick to point out, most notably Eric Lott (1996, 2000). Therefore, the notion of a “post-ethnic” music may be both idealistic and unrealistic, particularly when understood materially in relation to a city like Chicago, which remains to this day so ethnically and racially divided (see Rich 2013 for a discussion on post-racial society). It is interesting to note that Carroll’s subsequent recordings and performances tended to move decidedly away from the type of collaboration evidenced in “Lake Effect” toward making music with others located more firmly within Irish and Celtic music traditions (in part as a response to the poor reception of the set “Lake Effect” and to the *Lake Effect* album as a whole). But more recently she is less deterred and comments on her upcoming recording projects that she has begun to play with the round structure and with more “American” sounds, by which she implies the modification of a fixed structure through improvisation, deviation, and the addition of extra “bits,” all of which is quite transgressive:

I’m kinda messing around a little more. Not only are they [the tunes] sounding a little more American again but there’s a kind of “fill” and it happens nowhere else, this thing. And friends ask, “Is that the same tune?” And again, it’s little things sounding a little more American, like I feel “this could be a song” ... strumming the fiddle as if it was a ukulele, or sounding Mexican somehow. (Interview, March 7, 2013).

Another challenge that may be made to the post-ethnic music paradigm relates to, more broadly, the justifiable temptation to focus on a certain privileging of Irishness in Chicago (due to the strong historical presence of the Irish in church and political organizations), not to mention a privileging of whiteness in general, in examining the power relations at play in hybrid musics and post-ethnic postulations in Chicago or elsewhere.¹⁹ But perhaps such a legitimate critique needs further nuancing and problematizing, given that “Lake Effect” has been created (and deliberately put forward for a particular kind of arrangement) by a musician from a marginalized group—women (particularly professional female musicians). Gender is yet another dimension to the ethnic and post-ethnic debate that invites further engagement on all sides to get to the heart of what this “American groove” might really mean, beyond the specific example analyzed here.²⁰ And as Liz Carroll continues composing and producing new, more “American” projects (she hopes to launch her next album in July 2013), it is an invitation to watch this creative space. 🍀

Notes

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1. For a more general discussion of ethnicity and music in North America, see Bohlman (2004b).

2. Though Slobin (1993) places a hyphen in Irish-American, I deliberately leave it out because it seems suggestive of an older understanding of this particular ethnic identity based on an assimilationist model (McCaffrey et al. 1987; McCaffrey 1992; O'Grady 1973; Fallows 1979). I wish the "Irish" and "American" aspects of identity to stand apart, as the person I am discussing here can be either and both on any given occasion, and this flexibility allows for a greater plurality and mobility of expression on behalf of the musician.

3. There are a considerable number of sources available on the Irish in the U.S. (Lee and Casey 2006; Fallows 1979) and specifically in Chicago (McCaffrey 1987 et al.; McMahan 1995; McGreevy 1996; Funchion 1995; Fanning 2000). The presence of Irish traditional music practice in the U.S. within a more ethnomusicologically oriented framework has similarly been documented (McCullough 1978; Ó hAllmhurain 1998; Smith 1994). None of these sources, however, directly engages with the post-ethnic formulations of Irish identity posited here or with the post-ethnic possibilities of Irish (traditional) music in the U.S.

4. The Fleadh Cheoil is an Irish traditional music, singing and dancing competition run by the Irish Cultural Organization Comhaltas Ceoltoirí Éireann, which has branches in Ireland and across the U.K., North America, Australia and many other places with direct diasporic connections to Ireland (see <http://comhaltas.ie>). The annual all-Ireland competition, the final, features qualifiers from such regions as Midwest U.S., East U.S., All Britain, etc., alongside qualifiers from the four provincial Irish finals (Munster, Ulster, Leinster and Connaught, which in turn have been fed from the county level). When Liz Carroll competed at the junior and then senior level fiddle finals, she would have performed traditional tunes in a highly technical but very traditional manner, emulating those that had gone before her and paying tribute to a distinctly Irish aesthetic.

5. It is important to consider *Lake Effect* within the arc of Liz Carroll's recording output. Her first eponymously entitled CD (1988) appeared to be about establishing her understanding of herself in relation to the Irish Tradition as well as to her Irish identity in Ireland, through the inclusion of tunes written for her parents' home places in Ireland. Her work in the trio Trian (1992 and 1995) was

more generically Irish "trad" music. *Lost in the Loop* (2000) began the process of expanding the ratio of featured "commons" tunes to her own, oftentimes more quirky, compositions, something developed further in *Lake Effect*, which at this point in her output features the highest proportion of her own compositions. Her subsequent duet output with guitarist John Doyle, *In Play* (2005) and *Double Play* (2009), sees the music move back into a more placeless, biographical and relationship groove, even as she continues to include her own compositions. The focus, however, is more on musical partnership, presented in an ostensibly more traditional format of solo fiddle plus harmonic accompaniment. Other collaborations include performing in the all-female fiddling group String Sisters. The band released a recording in 2007.

6. For analytical purposes, I adapt facets of Schenkerian approaches to analysis. Schenker has been adapted and used as a means to analyze folk music in a variety of contexts, particularly by Alan Forte in his work on ballads (1995). Linda C. Burnman-Hall has also argued that Schenker is ideal for common practice tonality and tonal materials in oral traditions (Porter 1998), and I would argue that this could be extended to modal theory as well. In my analysis of Liz Carroll's compositions here, I focus in particular on motivic elements, tonality and modality, and, to a lesser extent, on concepts of background and foreground.

7. I borrow this term from Mark Slobin (1993) who talks about particular sounds being perceived as representing, somehow, the essence of a musical genre. Slobin argues that "a future, more sophisticated sense of musical code might want to evolve a more precise term" that would take into account languages, dialects, levels and registers, all of which fall under the category of "codes" in social linguistics. However, it is exactly this sense of codes based upon a "local understanding," as Slobin puts it, that is at stake here in Carroll's music. Even as terms/codes lean into more universal senses of such categories of sound and style, "Irish," "American," "Celtic," "bluegrass" "bluesy," and "jazzy" make sense here only in relation to Liz Carroll's usage in a local Chicago context (see Slobin 1993: 93). For an exploration of Chicago's Irish community in relation to race relations, see McMahon (1995).

8. Philip Bohlman asserts that it is African American music that "undergirds what is most distinctive about American influences in post-ethnic music in Chicago" (2004b: x), something clearly audible in Liz Carroll's music in terms of jazz and blues soundings and allusions across a variety of her compositions, including "Lake Effect." For approaches to discussing music and race see Radano and Bohlman (2000). For a more recent discussion on connections and contrasts between black and transatlantic Irish identity, see Onkey (2012).

9. For music specifically understood as "American" or "vernacular," see Hamm (1983), Goertzen (1983), Grazian (2003) and, in particular, Slobin (2001), for his use of "heritage" music. By using "American" here, I'm not trying to replace one national configuration of music with another. My usage is meant to be accommodating and also mobile in meaning, not as—what James Porter cautions against (1998)—some kind of purely American practice. However, I am emphasizing, in this instance, the need to acknowledge the "critical regionalism" at play that con-

nects different sites—i.e., parts of Ireland with parts of the Midwest (Herr 1996), and this acknowledgement builds up and expands beyond the notion of traditional models of Chicago's hinterlands (Cronon 1991).

10. Using the term "Celtic" is not without its challenges. In cautioning that "no scholar has established a set of sonic traits that can qualify or disqualify music as Celtic," Lois Kuter draws attention to the fact that invoking Celtic identity through musical form is not particularly predicated on material fact or identifiable styles (2000: 320). Kuter outlines the kinds of processes involved in creating and maintaining a Celtic music identity, involving establishing boundaries in non-musical realms (geographic, linguistic) as well as transcending boundaries to enter into a more imagined and ephemeral plane, where any attempt to empirically prove the existence of Celtic music proves challenging. Nonetheless, the "Celtic" music traditions tend to be identified as Irish, Scottish, Manx, Welsh, Breton and those of their associated diasporas.

11. I use the term "fiddle" for Liz Carroll's playing because this is the term she uses, and it is the term used generally within folk and traditional musics as it indicates a particular approach to playing the instrument. "Violin" is retained for the string quartet performer.

12. The idea of a specific North American take on Celticism is toyed with in Chapman (1992, 1994), and features in a more developed form in the introduction to Stokes and Bohlman's *Celtic Modern* (2003). Porter (1998), Taylor (1997) and Kuter (2000) have also examined the phenomenon of Celtic music in a variety of ways, including its relationship to white ethnic identification in North America in particular.

13. The "round" is a term used by musicians in the Irish tradition to connote the cyclical, durational structure of a dance tune which generally comprises two parts (referred to as the A and B part, or first and second part). Each part has a duration of eight measures, and is typically repeated during a performance, resulting in the following pattern: A, A, B, B or 8+8+8+8 (32 measures). Some tunes may have more than two parts but the eight-measure structure remains constant and is for the most part always doubled (repeated). The round frames the structure in which the tune is embedded. The relationship is recursive, of course, because the tune generates the round (i.e., a full iteration of the tune composition). In an Irish music session or on commercial recordings, there are generally at least three iterations of the round of a given tune before moving to another tune, and a selection of tunes is known as a "set." For further discussions on the "round" in Irish music and its relationship to dance figures, see Ó Súilleabháin (1990) and Ó Riada (1982).

14. A "scotch snap," a short-long rhythmic articulation, created from a dotted rhythm (usually a sixteenth-dotted eighth note configuration), is a prominent feature of Scottish strathspey tune/dance forms but is not common in other Celtic music traditions, such as Irish.

15. I am adapting Schenker's notion of the *Ursatz* or background to mean

the basic structure/gestalt of Irish dance music piece (i.e., a thirty-two-measure round), which focuses on temporal structure, meter and rhythm, as opposed to tonality, as Schenker intended. Many of his other terms also prove useful, such as "interruptions" or, as I call them here, "interpolations," in terms of material not expected and not part of the fundamental melody.

16. Notes in the octave beginning with middle C are rendered simply as uppercase letters; notes in the octaves below middle C are rendered B1, A1, G1, F1, E1, D1, C1, C2, etc.; notes in the octaves above middle C are rendered c1, d1, e1, f1, g1, a1, b1, c2, etc.

17. This quotation originally appeared in *The Irish Voice* in 2003. It appeared in an older (2006 or earlier) version of Liz Carroll's website (www.lizcarroll.com), but was removed approximately three years ago. For a time, reviews of *Lake Effect* featured prominently on the website. Currently, however, though *Lake Effect* is listed in her discography, more fulsome references to it are absent. Quotations from review now focus on *Lost in the Loop* (2000) and particularly on the albums post *Lake Effect* (see <http://www.lizcarroll.com/reviewspress.cfm>) and on Carroll's book of tune compositions (2010).

18. Some years earlier, in 1994, Carroll was presented the National Heritage Fellowship by First Lady Hillary Clinton, worth \$10,000, in acknowledgement of her work as an exemplary folk artist. Unlike other ethnic entrepreneurs who perform Irish and Irish American music (see Williams and Ó Laoire's 2010 monograph on Joe Heaney), Carroll has enjoyed considerable professional success, touring regularly, receiving awards and featuring on radio and television

19. See Kendall (2012) for a discussion on how to create "authentic relationships across race" and the importance of understanding white privilege as part of this process. Irishness has not always been considered a "white" identity. For a detailed historical discussion on this, see Ignatiev (1995), and also Hill (1997) and Hardiman (2001), both of whom engage with "whiteness" more broadly. Undoubtedly, as Carroll was firmly establishing herself as a formidable musician during the 1990s, Irish identity was indeed viewed as white and, for many white middle-class Americans, as a "safe" Celtic identity (Taylor 1997).

20. See Dillane (2009) for an analysis of the title track of Carroll's *Lost in the Loop* (2000) and of a subsequent and separate arrangement by Darol Anger for *The Republic of Strings*.

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