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Music That Tears You Apart: *Jazz manouche* and the Qualia of Ethnorace

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Abstract. Through talk and performance, participants in the genre of *jazz manouche* articulate and perform Manouche (French Romani/"Gypsy") ethnoracial identities. This article takes a semiotic approach to exploring how ethnoracial differences are perceived sonically and reified through language about jazz manouche guitar technique. By analyzing interlocutors' sensory descriptors such as power, rawness, and even the feeling of ethnoracial identity itself, this article reveals continuities between individual sonic perceptions of race and ethnicity and broader semiotic ideologies about race and ethnicity. These discourses can serve or compromise Manouche interests as they naturalize ideas about social difference.

Résumé. Cet article utilise une approche sémiotique à l'investigation de la façon dont les différences ethno-raciales sont perçues par le son et réifiées par un discours de la technique de la guitare jazz manouche. En analysant des épithètes sensorielles comme la puissance, la crudité, et même la sensation de l'identité ethno-raciale elle-même, cet article montre des continuités entre la perception individuelle du son de la race et de l'ethnie, et des idéologies sémiotiques plus générales concernant la race et l'ethnie. Ces discours peuvent faire avancer ou compromettre les intérêts des Manouches en même temps qu'ils naturalisent des idées de la différence sociale.

To describe a musical sound may seem a futile endeavor, like dancing about architecture.[1] But to claim that a particular sound or style is ineffable does not necessarily mean that the writer or speaker has failed to articulate what they perceive. While words may not account for the fullness of sensory experience, certain ones can be effective transducers nonetheless.[2] Whereas some people say that they do not know how to describe musical sounds in terms of genre,

timbre, or other technical aspects, they often have no problem describing how these sounds make them *feel*.

Consider, for example, one listener's enthusiasm for Manouche guitarist Tchavolo Schmitt. Tchavolo (as he is colloquially known) performs in the genre of *jazz manouche*, also called Gypsy jazz, so named for its associations with the French Manouche subgroup of Romanies (also known somewhat pejoratively as "Gypsies"). Sitting with me outside a café near our apartments in Strasbourg one afternoon, guitarist Cédric Loeffler said that there are some fine guitarists in Paris, but few have a "really Manouche thing." He then started praising an Alsatian musician who he said sounded like Tchavolo "back in the day." Quickly, Cédric grew animated, his voice grittier with emphasis, as he exclaimed, "You hear [Tchavolo,] and he's *the Manouche* at two hundred percent! When you hear him, there are *flames* everywhere. In one blow, he will *tear you apart*, you see. He and Django are the ones who *really* [gave me this] feeling in my stomach and made me want to [play this music]" (interview with the author, 11 July 2014, Strasbourg).

Indeed, Tchavolo is known for an especially freewheeling, exuberant approach to soloing. This can be heard in a live version of the tune "Mire pral" in which he displays a strong right-hand attack, rapid fluctuations in dynamics, and some muffled notes alongside heavily accented ones.[3] For Cédric, a performance by Tchavolo is most striking in its sheer visceral force: one that generates sonic "flames," figuratively poses a physical threat to its listeners, and aligns with Tchavolo's ethnoracial identity. Tchavolo is, by Cédric's estimation, sonically Manouche beyond comparison. The gut feeling Cédric first experienced from this sound helped motivate him to join his Manouche family members in pursuing a career in music.

This article explores how listeners make sense of ethnoracialized sound. I suggest that a semiotic approach can reveal continuities between individual sonic perceptions of race and ethnicity and broader "semiotic ideologies" about race and ethnicity (Keane 2003).[4] By paying attention to how particular timbral and articulatory characteristics in guitar technique are perceived as "Manouche," we can better understand how race and ethnicity are naturalized and linked to notions of place, history, gender, and other social domains. We can also learn about how individuals within marginalized groups, such as Manouches, contend with being marked as "different" and how they manipulate these putative differences for their own gain. This analysis reveals how ideas about sonic ethnoracial difference can, on the one hand, afford emic narratives of ethnoracial value and, on the other, contribute to processes of disenfranchisement within the broader body politic.

I use David Theo Goldberg's (1993) term "ethnorace" to call attention both to the mutability of ethnic and racial categories and to the interchangeability of

"race" and "ethnicity" in formal and everyday discourse. By treating race and ethnicity as variations of the same fundamental social construct, I stress that distinctions between the two are historically contingent (Brubaker 2009) and designated strategically (Urciuoli 1996, 2003). Ethnorace allows me to emphasize the fuzziness between ideas about genetic inheritance and enculturation that emerges in discussions about social difference, a fuzziness that also becomes apparent when particular sounds are heard to signify ethnoracialized bodies.[5] My research is carried out in contemporary France, where the government does not officially recognize the existence of ethnoracial categories. In policy and informally, claims to color blindness have resulted in widespread ignorance and denial of race's real effects (Bleich 2003; Keaton 2010). In other words, as Crystal Marie Fleming writes, "the dominant mode of 'dealing with race' in France consists of racial avoidance" (2017:6). Biological understandings of race may be denounced as fictions, but an insidious form of cultural racism persists in public discourse and quotidian interactions.

Manouches, as a subgroup of Romanies who have resided in France since at least the eighteenth century, have long been the objects of such "racism without races" (Balibar 1991:21).[6] The legal category of "nomad" was established in 1912 to restrict certain rights of itinerant populations, widely understood to be overwhelmingly Romani. Although this category was framed as one of voluntary lifestyle, it was considered inheritable and explicitly aligned with racialized assumptions about Romani values and behaviors (Olivera 2015). Despite gradual reforms to mitigate its racial connotations,[7] this legislation still exists and has inflicted extensive socioeconomic damage onto Manouche communities, itinerant and settled alike. It has also fueled racializing discourses that portray Manouches as primitive inferiors to a normative white French society.

At the same time, Manouche musicians are celebrated for their performance of jazz manouche. Jazz manouche is a string-centric genre involving small-group improvisation on American and French jazz standards of the 1930s and 1940s, as well as more recent repertoire. It is grounded in the recorded work of Manouche guitarist Django Reinhardt (1910–53), whose improvisational techniques and compositions feature strongly in the genre. Jazz manouche is especially recognizable for employing multiple (usually acoustic) guitars in rhythm and solo roles and for its signature *pompe*, a brisk, percussive guitar technique that helps coordinate an ensemble both rhythmically and harmonically. The genre emerged well after Django's death, starting in the 1970s as a familial practice within Manouche communities (Lie 2019).[8] Over the past several decades, jazz manouche has become emblematic of Manouche ethnoracial identity in France, though it is also performed by many non-Manouches and is often taken to represent French jazz more broadly. While women have made inroads into jazz manouche performance, they do so mainly as violinists or vocalists, and guitarists remain

predominantly men.[9] Jazz manouche is a widely recognized generic category in France; although its popularity peaked there between 2000 and 2010, the jazz manouche industry persists through concert series, festivals, recording projects, jam sessions, and informal practice in France and worldwide.[10]

In the context of long-standing ethnoracial prejudices and legislative discrimination, jazz manouche is a compelling means of representing Manouche identities to national and international publics. Jazz manouche is sometimes used strategically to create economic opportunities for Manouches and to mitigate anti-Manouche sentiment. Still, the association of an entire ethnoracial population with a single musical genre tends to essentialize Manouche identity and to flatten out the cultural heterogeneity of Manouche communities. While it is a boon to certain Manouche individuals and groups, discourse linking jazz manouche to Manouche identity can reproduce stereotypes that posit musical style and talent as innate to Manouches. Furthermore, although it is generally not considered appropriation when non-Manouche musicians play in the genre, some use it to perform a stereotyped otherness. For the general public, the "manouche" part of the jazz manouche label may connote a vaguely defined exoticism, but not always the music's connection to an actual ethnoracial community.

Considering these ethnoracial stereotypes in light of the French atmosphere of "racial avoidance," I argue that talk about ethnoracialized music can offer a window into how ethnoracial identities become discursively naturalized. In this article, I explore how those in the jazz manouche scene articulate what Manouche guitar techniques sound like, focusing on the affective dimensions of listening for "sono-racial difference" (Roberts 2016:16).[11] In doing so, speakers give shape to their ideas about the ontology of ethnorace and how it should be valued and instilled. Often, they valorize gendered qualities that might otherwise be denigrating—such as rawness and loudness—as important aspects of their ethnoracial identity that must be learned, not necessarily inherited.[12] This helps Manouches to define ethnoracial belonging on their own terms and to refashion ethnoracializing discourses to their advantage.

Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork conducted between 2012 and 2018 in Alsace and Paris, I analyze speech from interviews with and ethnographic encounters among jazz manouche musicians, musicians' families and friends, managers, concert and festival workers, audience members, and other jazz manouche participants. To many of these interlocutors, particular signs are understood to authentically represent Manouche identity, such as use of the Manouche language, places of residence, taste in various forms of media, and for some, the way a person plays the guitar. The strategies used to describe such guitar sounds frequently entail the use of sensuous metaphors with regard to *force*: a sound can be powerful, feelingful, loud, fiery, raw; it can deliver a "punch"

and even be laden with "testosterone." In talk about jazz manouche guitar, these powerful sensations are often associated with people of Manouche background, especially Alsatian Manouche men.[13] Manouche identity even takes shape as a perceivable yet ineffable sensory characteristic in and of itself.

Furthermore, by attending to the strategies people use to describe sonic experience—how a sound makes a person *feel*—I show how, in turn, people comprehend ontologies of sound. I do not seek to objectively define a Manouche sound; rather, I assess how ethnoracialized sound is apperceived.[14] While it may seem that, in doing so, I aim to debunk the very notion of a uniquely Manouche sound, this is not quite my intention. Instead, I am more interested in what attention to *how* people interpret such sounds can reveal about *why* they might ethnoracialize what they hear. What does belief in (or disavowal of) a Manouche sound accomplish for listeners, musicians included? What does this disclose about how listeners understand both the nature of sound and the nature of ethnorace? Claiming that sound is ineffable is an important part of this process, serving at times as a way to deal with the ambivalence that underlies the supposed audibility of ethnorace.

Qualia and Difference

Charles S. Peirce's broad conception of the sign as something that "stands to somebody for something" and that "creates in the mind of that person an equivalent sign, or perhaps a more developed sign" (1955:99) means that any sound can become a sign through its apperception as a meaningful event.[15] Because this approach does not construct hard boundaries between semiotic modalities, such as language and music, it allows us to understand how different means of expression and interpretation operate together.[16]

Peirce accounts for the semiosis of sensory experience through his concept of *qualia*, notably developed by several linguistic anthropologists inspired by Nancy Munn's (1986) work on the transformation of value.[17] As understood by these scholars, qualia can be defined as "sign vehicles reflexively taken to be sensuous instances of abstract qualities (stink, warmth, hardness, straightness, etc.)" (Harkness 2015:574) and as "qualities instantiated or embodied in entities or events" (Chumley and Harkness 2013:5; see also Harkness forthcoming). In other words, qualia are materializations of potential sensory qualities; so, for example, one cannot conceive of "stink" without experiencing it through something stinky. *Qualisigns*, in turn, arise when qualities become signs in themselves. As Lily Chumley and Nicholas Harkness put it, "Properties like greenness and hotness only appear to us in the form of things like leaves and fire, and yet we get the sense that these properties can be abstracted 'hypostatically' for any particular object" (2013:6)—in other words, that "greenness" can be abstracted

from "green."[18] Thus, "in the qualisign, it is this abstracted property itself—greenness, hotness—that signifies, not just the leaf or the fire" (6). In cases where this abstracted property (quality) is interpreted as meaningful in itself, it can then be called a qualisign.[19]

What Harkness calls "qualic transitivity" (2013:26) occurs when the same qualia are perceived as linked across domains.[20] For example, the hotness of a fire can also be linked to the hotness of a pepper or of a mood. Qualic transitivity is important to understanding how the qualia of particular *sounds* become the qualia of *cultural attributes*. For some of my interlocutors, a sound perceived as fiery or raw will also index the supposed fieriness or rawness of Manouche culture. Attention to qualia and qualic transitivity can help to describe how continuities emerge between semiotic modalities such as music and language. Thinking in these terms allows us to recognize how a musical sound can be perceived as *indexical* of an ethnoracial category, in that the sound points to or is contiguous with the presence of a specific ethnoracialized body or a general type of ethnorace. Sound can also be perceived as *iconic* of the ethnoracialized body assumed to be producing it, in that the sound and the body are perceived to share some kind of formal similarity (see Peirce 1998:4–26; Parmentier 1994:3–22). Importantly, the qualia of ethnorace can only be defined intersubjectively. The conventionalization of qualisigns allows "social actors to recognize particular people (and particular things) as having particular 'qualities'" (Chumley and Harkness 2013:6), accounting for the social dimensions of sensory experience.[21]

Anthropological considerations of qualia (specifically as apperceptions of sensations that traverse semiotic modalities) help to explain how something like the "lift-up-over-sounding" aesthetic that Steven Feld describes among the Kaluli "moves from a metaphor . . . to an icon" by virtue of its "felt 'naturalness'" (1988:93–94). The "hardness" and "flow" Feld describes as central to the experience and the articulation of lift-up-over-sounding are instantiated as qualia in music, dance, and bodily decoration, demonstrating a high degree of qualic transitivity (88–89). Hardness and flow become qualisigns when they are recognized as meaningful beyond modality-specific, seemingly unmediated sensory experience: they represent particular ideals within Kaluli social frameworks.

The apperception of timbre is especially apt to involve processes of qualic transitivity. Timbre allows us to know—or to *think* we know—who or what is making a sound. Because timbre is "a slippery concept and a slippery percept, perceptually malleable and difficult to define in precisely arranged units" (Fales 2002:58), speakers must rely on various linguistic strategies both to interpret and to convey their perceptions of timbre (see also Porcello 2002; Olwage 2004). Qualia are frequently invoked in these strategies because they can linguistically construct links between prior, intersubjectively shared sensory experiences. As

metaphors that are understood to remedy the ineffability of timbre, qualia allow speakers to make sense of what they hear. As they facilitate the communication of sensory experience, qualia can be taken to represent not only the sound itself but also the source of the sound: in describing a sound as rough, a speaker might characterize the body producing that sound as rough, too.

Timbre plays an important role in how social identities such as ethnorace and gender are constructed and perceived. Identity categories are not just constituted through the realm of words but are produced at intersections between semiotic modalities such as sound, image, and bodily movement.[22] Studies of race and voice in particular tell us that voices are often heard as reliable indicators of racial identities.[23] Voices heard as human are thought to emanate from bodies, like extensions of bodies themselves (see Connor 2000; Daughtry 2012; Kane 2014). Nina Sun Eidsheim writes that when we hear a voice as racialized, we hear a "thick event" (2019:10) that is actually "a composite of visual, textural, discursive, and other kinds of information. In other words, the multisensory context surrounding a voice forms a filter, a 'suggestion' through which we listen" (2012:10). Various semiotic modalities comprise the thick event, but they are distilled in the act of perception. Listeners don't always consciously recognize this contextual complexity. A Peircean approach to qualia—one that emphasizes the *interpretation* of various sensory inputs—allows us to recognize the many elements of the thick event and to further develop the idea that ethnorace "is not the resonance of a particular type of body; instead *it resonates in the listener's ear*" (Eidsheim 2011:646, emphasis in the original).

The remainder of this article builds on the aforementioned approach to voice and race but instead treats instrumental sound as perceived extensions of ethnoracialized bodies.[24] In talk about the sensory impressions made by guitar sounds, a certain guitar stroke is not only powerful, raw, feelingful; it is these things because *both* the (male) guitarist *and the sound itself* are heard—and felt—as palpably Manouche. Similar to "iconicity of feeling," in which Apache identity is considered a consistent "feeling" across temporalities and expressive forms (Samuels 2004:11, 54), speakers invoke qualia and qualic transitivity to explain that one can just *feel* when a Manouche person is producing certain sounds. In doing so, they render Manouche identity a perceptible sensation and therefore a quality in and of itself, like the composite qualities used to describe it.

Borrowing from Ruth Frankenberg's (1993) concept of "racialness," I propose naming the feeling of ethnoracial identity *ethnoracialness*.[25] Ethnoracialness is both a quality—a potential sensation—and a qualisign—a potential sensation rendered meaningful.[26] The "ness" of ethnoracialness emphasizes its sensorial dimensions, as well as its often ineffable character, as when speakers name other qualia in order to convey the feeling of ethnoracial identity.[27] Ethnoracialness also suggests the ambiguity of ethnoracial differences as inherited

and/or enculturated. In the way that "ethnorace" draws attention to the blurry lines between "ethnicity" and "race," ethnoracialness underscores how differences are both naturalized and socially reproduced. To be clear, just as race and ethnicity are social constructions with real effects, ethnoracialness exists not as a material fact but in the minds of its perceivers.

Ethnoracialness can be invoked as a sonically mediated qualisign when listeners articulate their affective responses to musical performance, especially jazz manouche. As I showed earlier, Cédric describes hearing Tchavolo as "*the Manouche* at two hundred percent!" before offering other qualia to further illustrate his own experience of Tchavolo's sound.[28] By insisting upon the sensory perceptibility of Manouche identity, interlocutors naturalize this identity from an abstract social category into a qualisign of ethnoracialness—they claim to perceive in sound. The ability to produce (and to hear) such an ethnoracialized sound is attributed primarily to long-term immersion in regionally specific Manouche culture. It is reflective of Manouche ideals, inscribed in bodies but not determined by genetics. Instrumental sound is conventionalized as not only representative of ethnoracial attributes and social values but as actual, palpable instantiations of these attributes and values.

The Poetics of Ineffability and "Feeling"

Within jazz manouche circles, it is a matter of debate as to whether Django's music actually exhibits uniquely Manouche characteristics. Some experts on the subject argue that his music displays no discernibly Manouche features (e.g., Givan 2014; Williams 2015). According to Patrick Williams, the existence (real or imagined) of Manouche qualities in jazz manouche is often retrofitted onto Django's music. If we (an audience) hear a Manouche influence in Django's music, it is because "we have learned to do so with all his disciples and followers" (2000:411). But others, including certain musicians and critics from the swing era to the present day, have assumed the contrary.[29] In an interview with me, Manouche accordionist Marcel Loeffler linked the affective force of Django's recordings to his presumed influence from Romani music: "Django was able to create the same emotion in his music because he was really inspired by [Eastern European Romani] music. For example, he did a version of a tune called '[Waves of] the Danube,' and there, you hear very well that he was really inspired by this culture" (interview with the author, 8 November 2013, Strasbourg). Having grown up in a family of professional Manouche musicians in which Eastern European Romani tunes were prevalent, Marcel projects his own frame of reference onto Django's experience. He connects his perception of Django's Romani expressivity to his choice of repertoire, "Waves of the Danube," a nineteenth-century Romanian piece composed by Ion Ivanovici (though Django recorded it under the title "Anniversary Song," arranged by Al Jolson and Saul Chaplin

and published as such in 1946). Although Marcel's stated evidence for Django's Romani influence is tenuous, he draws on his own deep experience with Romani music to justify his claim that such influence is audible.

Marcel also told me that "when Django plays a ballad, it's almost as—I don't know how to say it. It's as if a violinist played a piece that made you cry like that" (interview, 8 November 2013). Here, he qualifies his lack of words by describing a hypothetical emotional response to the sound he is attempting to describe. As stated at the opening of this article, asserting that a sound is ineffable does not always indicate a failure. Sometimes it indicates a strategy: claims to ineffability can convey more affective force than emotional descriptors themselves. In other words, as Michael Gallope argues, "Vagueness can nonetheless be explanatory in its own right" (2017:9). These claims can also work in tandem with descriptive language (e.g., "*I can't even tell you* how intense it was!"). As such, speakers enact a poetics of ineffability in which they convey affective intensity by suggesting that they lack the words for a felt phenomenon. The effectiveness of ineffability is reinforced by using affective descriptors simultaneously.

Later in our interview, Marcel elaborated on this sense of expressivity, saying that there is "not really a theoretical explanation to give about it" and that "when a Manouche plays this music, you hear the soul. [You hear] the soul of this music, which was invented by Django, who himself was Manouche. So when we play it today, we try to reproduce it, as best as possible, the way Django composed it. But not everyone has this soul that we Manouches have" (interview, 8 November 2013). My interlocutors often gloss this apparently ineffable yet immediately recognizable characteristic of "soul" as *feeling*. Feeling, as an English loanword, is defined by the *Dictionnaire de Français Larousse* as a "quality of emotion and of sensitivity manifested by a performer, in particular in jazz, blues and rock" (my translation, https://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/feeling/33160). In his work on country music among working-class Texans, Aaron Fox describes "feeling" as "a powerful cultural/verbal master trope for emotional depth, rightness, and intensity" (2004:152). Similarly, David Samuels writes that "feelingful" (as an adjective) evokes "a wide variety of noncognitive responses to cultural expression" (2004:11). "Feeling" in the French context aligns closely with these representations of the term. As expressed and perceived through musical performance, feeling confirms the emotional sincerity of the person performing. It recalls the "honest[y]" Alessandro Duranti and Kenny Burrell point to when they say that "for jazz musicians, the search for a unique type of sound indexes the search for a unique type of person, with particular moral values, including the quality of being 'honest' in what one chooses to play" (2004:271–72). For some musicians, when a listener describes a performance as full of feeling, it is one of the highest compliments they may offer.[30]

Feeling is noted when a player incorporates particular kinds of tension into an improvised solo. Examples of this tension include the use of rubato, slides,

pitch bends, ghost notes, and varying intensities of vibrato; dynamic contouring, especially to create a sense of swelling and deflation; playing slightly behind the beat; brief passages of polyrhythm; and the artful use of silence. An example of a performance often deemed particularly feelingful is Django's solo on a 1940 recording of his own composition, "Nuages."[31] The solo opens with a series of understated harmonics, then delves into runs and arpeggiations, punctuated by a number of turns and mordents that have been hailed as some of his signature ornamentations.[32] At various points in the solo, Django plays somewhat behind the beat, briefly stretches the beat, experiments with syncopation and triplets, and makes frequent use of silence. Intentionally or not, some notes are slightly clipped, as if to evoke stuttering. He also deftly manipulates a relatively soft dynamic range (enabled by the electric amplification of his acoustic guitar), which he maintains throughout the solo.

For many of my interlocutors, Django's ethnorace plays an important role in his capacity for feeling. The use of "feeling" is not unique to descriptions of sounds produced by Manouches as opposed to the rest of the French population, nor is it applied only to jazz manouche. Yet certain Manouche interlocutors believe that they have a particular capacity for both the expression and the perception of such a quality in jazz manouche specifically. By insisting that what makes Manouche performance superior to that of non-Manouches—known in Romani as Gadjé—is visceral and cannot be captured in words, Manouches mystify and valorize this property. Doing so not only secures economic advantages (a boon considering the discrimination many Manouches face when seeking employment) but also reinforces a sense of cultural pride. As Manouche guitarist Albert Weiss told me, "If you want to hear good music, you have to go to a Manouche. And I think that [*laughs*] most Gadjé want that. Real Manouches. . . . If you want jazz manouche, what do you look for? You *won't* go to the Gadjé!" (interview with the author, 2 July 2014, Strasbourg).

Within this paradigm, a musician's virtuosity is valued to a certain extent, but if it is perceived to override feeling, listeners may evaluate the performance negatively. Musicians who play dizzying sequences of notes at breakneck speeds are disparaged as show-offs and thought to be missing the point of musical expression. My interlocutors associate this tendency much more frequently with Gadjé than with Manouches and with amateurs as opposed to professionals. Too *much* precision can even indicate a *lack* of feeling, while certain "participatory discrepancies" (Keil 1987), such as slight inconsistencies in rhythm and intonation, may be considered a good thing. As one Manouche musician put it to me, "There are some people who are not Manouche who play [jazz manouche] very well, [in terms of] technique and all that. But I'll say that at the level of *feeling*, I think that it's necessary to listen to it when it's played by Manouches. That's my opinion . . . and my perception. You see, one can really feel that there is a lot

more sensitivity here, with Manouches, than with others" (interview with the author, date and place redacted for anonymity).

In an interview, Albert similarly drew an analogy between jazz manouche played by Manouches and flamenco played by Spanish Gitanos: "When [Gitanos] play [flamenco], it comes from the heart. It's *them*, it's their music. And for us, it's the same. When we do jazz manouche, it's ours. And I think people understand that, they know that. They've understood that that's the way it is. That it's not otherwise. That it can't be otherwise" (interview with the author, 2 July 2014, Strasbourg).[33]

As these quotations suggest, the ability to recognize feeling involves an "understand[ing]" of where feeling comes from. This understanding, in a way, is meant to be precognitive. In addition to being inherently intersubjective—the production of feeling through musical performance entails affective, feelingful responses from listeners—it is a form of visceral knowledge. Feeling, like ethnoracialness, is so widely understood as palpable that it is interpreted as a quality in itself. Descriptions of Manouche feeling tend to connote a thoroughly corporeal, even anti-intellectual musical orientation. This is frequently contrasted to more "theoretical" approaches, which are typified as "French" or "Gadjo," to musical study and performance. The attribution of feeling to Manouche performance can thus reinforce primitivist stereotypes of Manouches while, at the same time, valorizing a Manouche capacity for affective expression.

When prompted to identify which kinds of sounds are heard as particularly Manouche, some interlocutors speak of a uniquely Manouche "attack" in the right hand that is especially prevalent among Alsatian Manouches. When I asked Manouche guitarist Railo Helmstetter whether it is possible to distinguish between Manouche and Gadjé ways of playing, he told me,

> RH: I sense it right away. I hear it right away. I don't mean to create a difference, but I mean, [I hear it] even if I'm listening to a recording.
> SL: But what are the differences?
> RH: I think it's a lot of right hand, a question of attack. It's a complex question because I'm so used to feeling the music that [it's hard] to put it into words. . . . [With a Gadjo,] there isn't the same touch, there isn't the same attack. A musician like Adrien Moignard, he plays at such a high level! But he doesn't have the Manouche touch. You see? It's not a critique at all. I mean, if I get the chance to play with him, that will be great. But [he doesn't have] the attack, whereas when you listen to Tchavolo [Schmitt], there you feel it. Even if there isn't the same virtuosity, you still feel the difference right away. (interview with the author, 12 December 2013, Strasbourg)

Though Moignard is certainly not the only well-known Gadjo in jazz manouche, in the majority of my conversations about Gadjé jazz manouche players, speakers consistently refer to Moignard as the epitome of a professional "Gadjo" style due

in large part to his impressive technical precision. In contrast, Tchavolo Schmitt's technique, praised earlier in this article by Cédric Loeffler as generating sonic "flames," exemplifies a possibly less virtuosic but more feelingful sound.

Importantly, to articulate the differences between Manouche and Gadjé sound, Railo repeatedly uses words evoking tactility: "there isn't the same touch"; "the Manouche touch"; he is "used to feeling the music"; "you feel it"; "you feel the difference." In our interview, Railo added that this "difference" is best felt in the way one plays the *pompe* (the percussive right-hand rhythmic technique central to jazz manouche). He suggested that the Manouche attack is something learned and embodied, saying that it is possible for Gadjé to play it but that "there are very few Gadjé who really do it the Manouche way. Everything is in the right hand."

Provincializing Ethnoracialness

Prior to the early 1970s, the repertoire of Alsatian Manouches centered on Central European Romani musics, which they termed "Hungarian" due to their csárdás-like aesthetics. In the late 1960s, the German Sinti collective, Musik Deutscher Zigeuner, combined these so-called Hungarian styles with Django-inspired jazz, generating both a stylistic strain that would be incorporated into the later development of Alsatian jazz manouche and a model that inspired Alsatian Manouches to transition from their own "Hungarian" methods toward a jazz-focused practice.[34] Today, the Alsatian Manouche sound of jazz manouche exhibits a sense of rhythmic vigor—what Railo described as a special right-hand "attack"—that may be interpreted as a vestige of the oom-pah rhythm of the csárdás. It represents the historical continuity of a particular Manouche sonic identity and is portrayed as a sign of enduring, place-oriented Manouche authenticity.

Among my interlocutors, an Alsatian Manouche sound is frequently understood to be the quintessential expression of Manouche ethnoracialness. Alsace is popularly known as the "cradle" of jazz manouche, a claim that grounds the music in a specific place and authenticates the region's Manouche musicians as the rightful heirs to the tradition. The region is advertised as a bucolic destination proud of its hearty cuisine, wholesome agricultural products, quaint Christmas markets, and rustic Germanic architecture.[35] Despite the fact that Strasbourg, the capital of Alsace, is one of France's most important *urban* centers and one in which the majority of notable Alsatian Manouche musicians reside, the *rural* character of the region is discursively linked to an Alsatian approach to feeling in jazz manouche performance. This involves speech that both invokes and bundles together qualia such as vigor, roughness, and energy. In turn, these qualia are associated both with broadly held notions of masculinity (not limited

to Manouche identity) and with conceptions of regionally specific authenticity and honesty.

Alsatian jazz manouche guitar technique is most frequently contrasted with Parisian technique, with each location serving as a metonym for rural or urban life, respectively. For my interlocutors in both locations, the Parisian style represents refinement, whereas the Alsatian style is raw; or, from an especially Alsatian perspective, the Parisian style is pretentious and delicate, while the Alsatian style is powerful and characteristically Manouche. Among those who favor the Alsatian sound, it is described as more feelingful, more visceral, and more sincere than its urban counterpart. An important distinction to note is that within these characterizations, "Alsatian" is a gloss for Alsatian *Manouche*, while "Parisian" does not always carry such ethnoracially specific connotations. This cements the qualia of typically Alsatian performance techniques to gendered notions of Manouche ethnoracial identity. For example, Marcel Loeffler told me, "When you hear a guitarist who does the pompe, the rhythm, in Paris, and when you hear a guy who does rhythm here [in Alsace], they are totally different. Because the Parisian, he plays rhythm and he doesn't have a lot of energy. He doesn't have this, this *punch* [here, Marcel used the English word "punch"], whereas here, if you hear a rhythm player, if you hear [Manouche guitarist] Hono [Winterstein] play, well, it's simply amazing" (interview with the author, 8 November 2013, Strasbourg).

Musicians I have spoken with broadly acknowledge that Alsatian rhythm guitar technique packs a "punch" relative to its Parisian counterpart, with musicians like Hono Winterstein exemplifying a particularly heightened "energy."[36] Such energy can also be attributed to, for example, Mandino and Sony Reinhardt's comping techniques in the previously described recording of "Mire pral" with Tchavolo Schmitt; both guitarists are Alsatian Manouches, and Mandino has played a significant role in shaping the Alsatian Manouche sound since the 1970s.[37]

One Parisian musician told me that the Parisian rhythmic technique is "more swing" and uses more electric guitar, while the Alsatian style is "more compact," demonstrating this phonetically with a brisk "*chk chk chk chk chk*." An Alsatian musician said that the key difference between the regions can be heard in the way the pompe is played: whereas it is "finer, softer in Paris," in Alsace, "there is more testosterone in it, [it's] a little sturdier. It's more emphatic, often played more loudly." Another Alsatian told me that right-hand technique in his region has more "drive." In another sexualized metaphor, one Alsatian said critically of Parisian musicians, "I always get the impression that they're trying to hit on [someone], to play with the sound to make it kind of smooth." (All of these quotations are interviews with the author, dates and places redacted for anonymity.) Gendered evaluations such as these are common, linking idealized notions of Manouche masculinity to musical sound.

In an interview with me, Alsatian Manouche guitarist Francky Reinhardt drew similar parallels between cultural and aesthetic characteristics:

> SL: On the subject of Parisians, I heard that there is a difference—
> FR: Bah, exactly. I'm not criticizing [them], I'm not, but the Parisians' style: you hear one soloist, you could hear ten. That's to say, they all sound like each other. That's the concern.
> SL: Whereas in Alsace—
> FR: Alsace! Bah, Alsace has its sound. Alsace was the core. [In] Alsace, you have the biggest guitarists. . . . Everything begins from the core, [and] that was in Strasbourg. [Manouche guitarist] Mito Loeffler, who died, he was also a very, very good guitarist in the old style! You can't find that in Paris. (Interview with the author, 12 July 2014, Strasbourg)

By contrasting the Alsatian style to the allegedly homogeneous Parisian style, Francky makes a case for the creative and stylistic superiority of Alsatian musicians. The glorified "old style" he points out and his references to Alsace as the origin of good jazz manouche suggest that the specific history of Alsatian jazz manouche accounts for this superiority.

The historically grounded, vigorous character of Alsatian jazz manouche is an important aspect of the semiotic bundling entailed in defining Manouche authenticity. For Alsatian Manouches, emphatically valorizing particular qualia such as rawness, energy, rusticity, simplicity is a means of reclaiming attributes that may otherwise be used to denigrate their communities. Instead of pushing back against these attributions, many Alsatian Manouches embrace the qualia with which they and their music are associated. These qualia are construed as artistic advantages and as inherent to a gendered sense of Manouche ethnoracial identity.

Ethnoracial Immersion

Among those who speak of a particular Manouche sound, some attribute its source to having grown up in a Manouche milieu and all the life experiences that involves. This is contrasted to a Gadjo upbringing, which necessarily lacks these experiences. Fabrice Steinberger, a manager of several Manouche performers and of Manouche background himself, insisted to me in an interview that a Manouche "life history" determines a specifically Manouche sound:

> If a French person discovers this music, however good a musician he may be, when he plays this music, he needs to immerse himself in the culture.[38] And for that, you can't just do it in a few years. It requires a life history. So if you take some musicians, [he lists several Manouche musicians]—these are musicians who are on a fertile familial ground. [They're] anchored in a culture. That's to say that the tunes, they are played, played, played, played, replayed an incalculable number of times with musicians, with parents, with family, and at special family occasions: family

> parties, meetings, birthdays, marriages. That makes it so that this tune, it is *full* of history. . . . [This includes] a certain idea about life, which is living in the moment, and not the life of tomorrow, [worrying about] what you're going to do tomorrow. The relationship to time in Manouche culture . . . is completely different from the relationship to time in the dominant [French] culture. So inevitably, if you take all these phenomena, all the factors are completely different. That explains why I agree with those who say [that the Manouche sound is distinctive]. Manouche music played by a Manouche is different from music played by a non-Manouche. [The latter] doesn't evoke any of their [i.e., Manouches'] qualities. (interview with the author, 3 April 2014, Strasbourg)

Likewise, Gadjo guitarist Pierre Vigneron (who married into and resides with a Manouche family) told me that it is the entire Manouche "way of life" that determines one's playing style: "I think, and this is really important, that what makes it so that the music Gadjé make will never be the same [as that made by Manouches] is that it's a way of life. When you drink, when you eat. I don't know quite how that has an impact, but it enormously influences your way of playing music. And [a Manouche like guitarist] Yorgui [Loeffler] surely has a way of living that's totally different from [a Gadjo like] Adrien Moignard" (interview with the author, 11 October 2013, Wisches [Alsace]).

Whether Yorgui Loeffler *actually* lives his life in ways that are qualitatively different from those of Gadjé musicians is somewhat beside the point here. To Fabrice, Pierre, and others I have spoken with, even aspects of life experience not explicitly linked to music are transformed into musical technique: the way one travels, eats, drinks, conceives of "time" in a broad sense, and relates to family members. Music is one of many elements of Manouche ethnoracial identity, and its relation to these other elements is said to determine the character of Manouche sound. If one moves freely, eats heartily, drinks with gusto, thinks only in the moment, and participates in a robust family life, the qualities associated with these practices (energy, rawness, warmth, etc.) will be audible in one's music. Listeners might insist that only the totality of Manouche "life history" can lead to a person's ability to produce (and, sometimes, to perceive) a Manouche sound.

A minority of interlocutors who recognize a Manouche sound say that this also involves a hereditary component. Genetic claims to musical sovereignty usually involve a combination of constructionist and primordialist understandings, reflecting what Marilyn Strathern calls "seem[ingly] contradictory appeals to choice and to genes" (1996:38; see also Comaroff and Comaroff 2009:59). One well-known Manouche musician told me, "Either you have [the music] in your blood or you don't," but he then proceeded to draw analogies between music, language, literacy, and religion, collapsing all these practices together as both inherited and socialized. He reiterated that musical ability "comes naturally, or it doesn't come naturally," and that "some of it you can learn, but in the end,

you know how to do it or you don't" (interview with the author, date and place redacted for anonymity). His understanding of music being "in your blood" or not reveals "blood" to be the site of both immutable genetic difference *and* learned culture. For him, musical style is the most reliable indicator of one's roots, be they natural, nurtured, or a combination thereof.[39]

For most of my interlocutors, however, saying that musical talent and style are in one's "blood" or have an otherwise genetic component is not a literal endorsement of a primordialist viewpoint but a convenient way of articulating how deeply immersed in Manouche culture one must be in order to produce a characteristically Manouche sound. For example, one Manouche musician said to me in an interview: "Anyone can play this music. Except that when you hear musicians who aren't Manouche, you still hear a difference. [This is] because we have this culture that is in our blood, and the others—" Here he paused for a moment to clarify what he meant, probably recognizing what a literal interpretation of "blood" might imply. He then continued: "We were raised with this music, but the others, they haven't been steeped in it like us. They came later. There are a few who have been steeped in it, too, but they're still—there are fewer—when a Manouche plays this music, there is still a difference in relation to Gadjé. You see what I mean" (interview with the author, date and place redacted for anonymity). To this musician, locating culture in "blood" means that through prolonged, immersive exposure to Manouche music—being "steeped in it"—one can acquire Manouche culture permanently and palpably.

Using physiological metaphors like this allows speakers to articulate how Manouche culture is, to them, both enduringly embodied and sonically perceptible. In these cases, "blood" means habitus, not necessarily heredity. The capacity to produce a Manouche sound is understood to be inscribed within Manouche bodies, the result of an array of life experiences inaccessible outside of a Manouche social milieu. The sound one hears is perceived as a distillation of all these experiences, rendered palpable as the qualia of ethnoracialness.

Ambivalent Apperception

Mendi Obadike writes of racial "sonic stereotypes" as phenomena that "haunt" and "lurk in the shadows of the threads of narratives we can easily see and dissect" (2005:125).[40] Like phantoms, these stereotypes point to "an ever-elusive object," in that "from a distance we may feel their presence, but when we 'approach' these stereotypes, they disappear." Thus, "like a ghost in the attic, [Blackness] is 'there' when it haunts us and 'not there' when we try to exorcise it" (125–26). Similarly, as some of my interlocutors do, one may write off the perception of ethnoracialness in sound as the projection of an ethnoracialist fantasy. But ethnoracialness continues to haunt—or, one might say, animate—talk about musical sound. It

should not be dismissed as delusion but rather assessed as a component of an ethnoracial-aesthetic discourse that has real material effects. Listeners summon ethnoracialness into being by sensing sound and making sense of that sound. In bringing semiotic ideologies about ethnoracialness to bear upon their sensorial perceptions of the world, they render ethnoracialness *real to them*.

Semiotic ideologies about Manouche ethnoracialness are not about Manouche identity alone. Ideas linking Manouche ethnoracialness and musical sound index binary notions about Manouches and Gadjé, revealing the marked status of the former and the unmarked status of the latter. This is especially the case when a Manouche musical sound is framed in opposition to the *lack* of such a sound among Gadjo performers. If Gadjé are both praised and derided for their supposed privileging of technical precision above feeling, then to claim that a Manouche sound is better than a Gadjo sound is to deprioritize such precision in favor of feeling to Manouches' advantage. This challenges dominant standards of musical quality, placing a distinctively Manouche sensitivity to sound, measured in terms of qualia and articulated and perceived across semiotic modalities, as superior to supposedly Gadjo musical tendencies.

For Manouches facing widespread discrimination, ethnoracial distinctions become important resources in the struggle for recognition and material benefits. Manouche ethnoracialness, as something available *only* to Manouches, is an asset in the music industry, one of the few economic domains run by Gadjé in which there is a demand for specifically Manouche labor. Although appeals to Manouche singularity in the musical realm cannot transform the political-economic structures and ideologies that entrap Manouches in subordinate positions, these appeals are tactics meant to improve their material conditions at least marginally and to increase their public audibility. The harnessing of particular qualia is one important component of these tactics.

At the same time, such essentialization necessarily underpins the ethnoracial discrimination so pervasive in French society, and some interlocutors are keenly aware of this. A Manouche musician once recounted to me how another musician had boasted about his ability to tell the difference between a Gadjo and a Manouche based on guitar sound alone. The musician telling me this said that such words infuriated him, not because he did not believe the claim—in fact, he did not deny that this was possible—but because he felt the act of making such a statement was unnecessarily divisive. Even if a sonic difference does exist, he suggested, it is not worth putting into words, adding that "no real Manouche" would behave like this.

What is more, while sonic perception is often considered a privileged means through which to affirm the existence of ethnoracial differences, its interpretation can also reveal profound uncertainties about the very constitution of these differences. When I asked Pierre Vigneron about the possibility of any palpable

distinction between Manouche and Gadjo musical sounds, he responded, "I'm skeptical when [Manouches] say this kind of thing. They also say that they could pick out, out of a thousand people—this [is said] pretty often—[who is] a Gadjo or not. I've noticed that this is not the case. Sometimes, they think that I'm really Manouche. Gadjé [do], too. I think you have to take that with a grain of salt. But there is certainly some truth [to the notion of musical difference,] because even I can hear some differences" (interview, 11 October 2013). Pierre calls out listeners who, he says, wrongly assume they can pinpoint one's Manouche background (or lack thereof) based on sound alone, using others' misreadings of his own musical sound as an example, but he admits that there is still "some truth" in the claim to be able to do so. His ambivalence is less about whether a uniquely Manouche sound actually exists and more about the conviction with which he says people believe they can perceive it.

Pierre is by no means the only person, Manouche or Gadjo, to express skepticism about the ability to hear a player's Manouche background. Ambivalence about this ability points to the inevitable untenability of the Manouche-Gadjé binary. For all the categorical statements speakers make about what is and is not Manouche, there remains the underlying, perennial question about what Manouche ethnoracialness actually *is*. Sometimes this uncertainty is reflected in Manouche antagonism toward Gadjé, from assertions that a Gadjo sound is inferior to accusations against Gadjé of shoddy imitation or cultural appropriation. Such antagonism is, of course, fundamentally linked to the subordination Romanies in general have endured for centuries. Uncertainty also arises with the question of how to assess sounds produced by people of mixed Manouche and Gadjo backgrounds. These concerns draw attention to the instability of Manouche ethnoracialness and of ethnoracial identity more broadly. To say that a quality is ineffable can be a way to manage ambivalence about the claim one wishes to make.

Attention to what is said and what is not said—to talk and its metapragmatics—helps us to understand how and why people generate semiotic ideologies of social difference. Speech about musical sound is a vector for articulating ideas about race, ethnicity, and slippage between the two categories. It also sutures notions of place, history, and gender to ethnoracial identities. Talk about ethnorace and music can be especially important in an environment where public discussions about race are avoided or constrained. In the case of jazz manouche, speakers imagine ethnoracial identity as materialized into bodies and into soundwaves. The transitive distribution of qualia across sounds, concepts, and subjects reinforces these semiotic ideologies, hardening lines of ethnoracial difference in compelling (though unstable) ways.

As Webb Keane notes, "The social power of naturalization comes from . . . the misconstruing of the possible entailments of indexicals—their effects and

possibilities—as if they were merely expressing something (such as character) that already exists" (2003:417). The naturalization of particular musical sounds as inherently ethnoracial, and perceived as such through their constituent qualia, expresses ideas about ethnoracialness as a qualisign that "already exists"—even though, like all social identities, ethnoracialness is continually constructed through the dynamic interplay between language, sound, and other semiotic modalities.

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Notes

1. As Michael Gallope writes, "To face the ineffable is to face the weirdness and complexity of the [musical] medium head-on" (2017:31). The phrase "writing about music is like dancing about architecture" is attributed to various celebrity musicians of the late twentieth century.

2. On the transduction of semiosis, see Silverstein (2003b), Keane (2013), and Harkness (2017) (cf. Helmreich 2015).

3. "Mire pral" is an original composition by Tchavolo Schmitt and Mandino Reinhardt, first released as part of the film *Swing* (dir. Tony Gatlif, 2002). The title means "my" or "our brother" in Manouche Romani. The live version described in this article is available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6TgBwVlmnB4. The musicians are, from left to right, Mandino Reinhardt, Tchavolo Schmitt, Gautier Laurent, and Sony Reinhardt; Tchavolo's solo begins at 1 minute, 21 seconds.

4. Building on the linguistically centered notion of language ideologies (Kroskrity 2000; Schieffelin et al. 1998), Webb Keane defines a semiotic ideology as a set of "basic assumptions about what signs are and how they function in the world" and "are not just about signs, but about what kinds of agentive subjects and acted-upon objects might be found in the world" (2003:419).

5. By calling Manouches an ethnorace, I do not mean to downplay their racialization. To the contrary, I want this term to draw attention to the plural and shifting ways in which Manouches are conceptualized (and conceptualize their own identities).

6. On cultural racism, see Taguieff (1988); Bonilla-Silva ([2006] 2014). Manouches often self-identify with the broader Romani subgroup of Sinti; for more on Manouche/Sinti history in France, see Vaux de Foletier (1970) and Poueyto (2011), and for Romani history more broadly, see Liégeois (2007) and Matras (2015).

7. In 1969, "nomads" were legislatively renamed the less pejorative Gens du voyage (Travelers). Since then, successive reforms have eased certain restrictions on Gens du voyage, but it remains a marginalized status of second-class citizenship that is tightly associated with French Romanies.

8. Since many musicians I write about share the same last names (e.g., Loeffler and Reinhardt), to avoid confusion, I use their first names. Django Reinhardt is popularly known as "Django."

9. This is especially the case within more conservative Manouche communities, in which women must fulfill other gendered obligations.

10. For more on the history and contemporary practice of jazz manouche, see Williams (2000), Antonietto and Billard (2004), Givan (2014), Andresz (2015), Lie (2019).

11. Roberts defines "sonoracialization" as "the organization of sound into taxonomies based on racialized conception of bodies," emphasizing that sonoracial categories constitute "discursive signifiers that can be deployed or consumed toward the production or maintenance of racial structures" (2016:4). See also Stoever (2016).

12. A thorough exploration of intersections between gender and ethnoracial identity is somewhat beyond this scope of this article; see works such as Monson (1995), Tucker (2002), and Rustin-Paschal (2017) for analyses of masculinity in jazz.

13. I am most concerned with how speakers discern a specifically *Alsatian* Manouche sound, not only because my primary ethnographic fieldwork is in Alsace but also because characterizations of this sound tend to emphasize its sensorial intensity as evidence of gendered cultural authenticity.

14. There is an extensive anthropological and ethnomusicological body of research stemming largely from the work of Franz Boas and Edward Sapir that addresses how human-produced sounds are apperceived in relation to social types, including ethnoracial categories; see Harkness (2014:11–21) for a review of this literature as it pertains especially to voice. Linguistic anthropologists refer to the process by which social types become stereotypically associated with specific communicative styles as *enregisterment* (see, e.g., Irvine 1990; Agha 2007:55; and Gal and Irvine 2019). On how "voiceness" is perceived in instrumental sound, see Fales (2019). Grant Olwage has suggested that "instead of the colour of the voice, we might speak about the colour of the ear" (2004:217).

15. It is worth noting that Peirce himself held racist beliefs (see, e.g., Peirce 1994:secs. 2.550, 2.702, 2.400, and 5.285).

16. Some ethnomusicological research has drawn on Peircean semiotic theory, with works by Thomas Turino (1999, 2008, 2014) and Tony Perman (2008, 2010) among those that make particularly strong cases for the relevance of Peircean semiotics to ethnomusicology (see, e.g., Feld 1988; Monson 1996; Fox 2004; Samuels 2004; Spinetti 2005; Wallach 2008; Politz 2018). Anthropologist Paja Faudree has called for further consideration, in Peircean terms, of "music and language as variably constructed distinctions in a total semiotic field" (2012:520). She writes that a holistic analysis of contingencies between signs acknowledges the importance of simultaneously "attending to different signs—to nonlinguistic ones alongside linguistic ones, to signs in their material and sensual, relational totality" (530).

17. This cohort took shape through a graduate seminar convened by Michael Silverstein in 2005 (see Chumley and Harkness 2013:7–8). Philosophers have developed various conceptions of "qualia," but I limit myself here to qualia as defined by semiotic anthropologists. See Peirce (1955), Parmentier (1994), Turino (1999), and Perman (2010) for more detailed explanations of Peirce's trichotomies and sign classes.

18. Peirce refers to "hypostatic abstraction" as "that process whereby we regard a thought as a thing, [and] make an interpretant sign the object of a sign" (1998:394; see also Parmentier 1994:28–29).

19. Perceptions of qualia also entail perceptions of quantia, which Paul Kockelman describes as "change in the intensities . . . of various dimensions: more or less pain, heat, resistance, softness, illumination, noisiness, warmth, and so forth" (2016:343).

20. Harkness defines qualic transitivity as a phenomenon in which "the properties or features that apply to one modality . . . also apply to the various other modalities to which the former is indexically linked" (2013:26).

21. See Silverstein (2003a) for the cultural construction of "indexical orders."

22. See, for example, Kristina Wirtz on the semiosis of Blackness in Cuba as "a configuration of signs" whose "co-occurrence . . . produces Blackness (just as 'race' more generally has never been just about phenotypic markers, never just about place of origin)" (2014:14).

23. For research on relationships between race and sound, see, for example, Radano and Bohlman (2000), Radano (2003), Mahon (2004), Kajikawa (2015), and Stoever (2016).

24. See Weidman (2009) on how, similarly, the violin may be considered a "ventriloquizer" of the voice because it possesses "a seemingly natural ability to reproduce the voice" (61–62).

25. Frankenberg discusses white racialness in terms of structure, vantage point, and "cultural practices" (1993:1); my modification of "racialness" emphasizes the semiotic and affective dimensions of this schema.

26. One kind of ethnoracialness is "sonic blackness" (Obadike 2005), which, when manifested in the form of black music, can "produc[e] a palpable affect of human form so enduring that it is difficult to listen without also experiencing the fleshly sensation of blackness as such" (Radano 2013:127). Much research on sound and race has focused on sound and Blackness, though I avoid equating understandings of Blackness with all forms of ethnoracialness.

27. For these reasons, and to draw the parallel with Frankenberg's "whiteness," I have chosen the derivational suffix "-ness" as opposed to "-ity" (which is used more often to indicate the hypostatic abstraction of adjectives ending in "-al," e.g., "aurality").

28. Susan Gal calls this process "'rhematization,' building on Peirce's notion of 'rheme' as an indexical sign that its interpretant takes to be an icon" (2005:35fn5; see also Irvine and Gal 2000:37).

29. For example, Michael Dregni, currently the best-known English-language author on Django and jazz manouche, writes of the supposedly "Gypsy" character of Django's music as something whose "essence glows like the embers within a campfire" (2008:144).

30. For more on the concept of "feeling" in jazz specifically, see Monson (1996), Porter (2002), and Jackson (2012).

31. Swing SW 88 (OSW 146); also available on *Django Reinhardt—Intégrale Volume 10: Nuages 1940* (Frémeaux et Associés FA310, 1998, disc 2).

32. See Givan (2010) for a comprehensive overview of Django's most characteristic improvisational techniques.

33. *Gitanos* is the most widely used name for Spanish Romanies.

34. See Lefort and Maeker (1997), Andresz (2015), and Lie (2019) for more on Musik Deutscher Zigeuner and its impact on Alsatian Manouche musical practices.

35. Recent efforts by tourism officials in Alsace have sought to rebrand the region as more cosmopolitan and thus as "a place of profitable hybridity, marketable diversity, and attractive ambiguity" through what has been termed the "Alsatian oxymoron" (Burdick 2016:165).

36. Listen, for example, to a recording of "Them There Eyes" featuring Hono Winterstein on rhythm guitar, Brady Winterstein on lead guitar, and Gautier Laurent on bass (*Generation Django*, Dreyfus Jazz FDM 46050 369 432, 2009; also available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tyGS_dH5M0s).

37. For an extended oral history with Mandino Reinhardt, see Lie (2018).

38. By "French person" Fabrice Steinberger means a French Gadjo. This is a commonly used synonym that points to the fact that Manouches are not always considered to be fully "French."

39. Similarly, Alaina Lemon writes that in the USSR with regard to Romanies, "'talent,' especially in music or dancing, was said to lie 'in the blood,' passed along through the generations" (2000:69).

40. Here, Obadike draws on Frederick Douglass's phantasmal simile: "A longstanding prejudice . . . paints a hateful picture according to its own diseased imagination, and distorts the features of the fancied original to suit the portrait. As those who believe in the visibility of ghosts can easily see them, so it is always easy to see repulsive qualities in those we despise and hate" (1881:567).

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