THE NORTHERN CITIES SHIFT AND LOCAL IDENTITY IN A SUBURBAN CLEVELAND GROUP

by

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This study examines the use of the Northern Cities Shift (NCS) and local identity in a group of speakers from the Cleveland, Ohio area. Members of a suburban recreation center participated in audio recorded interviews, during which they answered questions about their personal background, their consumption practices, and their leisure activities, and engaged in conversation about their opinions and memories of the Cleveland area. Local identity was then scored using an identity index modeled after that in Kiesling, et al. (2005). A more locally loyal interview topic received a higher point value, while a less locally loyal topic received a lower point value. The sum of these values formed an overall identity score.

Tokens of both (aeh) and (e) were gathered from each speaker's interview. Tokens of (o), (oh), (ey), and (iy) were also gathered as reference points within the vowel space of each speaker; these tokens were measured in a controlled, pre-fricative or alveolar stop environment. Using a Praat script, first and second formant measurements were gathered within the first third of each token. These measurements were then normalized.

Using multiple regression, the vowel measurements were modeled based on the identity score and other social factors, including sex and age, and linguistic internal factors. This produced no statistically significant results. However, several subsections of the overall identity score were found to be statistically significant.

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PREFACE

First, a note on vowel labels: for typographical ease, the labeling system used by Labov (1991, 1994) will be the primary system used throughout this study. These labels correspond with traditional IPA symbols as shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Labovian vowel labels and their IPA counterparts

Labovian label	IPA/phonetic label
aeh	æ
eh	ɛ
iy	$i^{(j)}$
ey	$e^{(j)}$
oh	ɔ
o	a

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

The intersection of identity and language use is not a recent focus for sociolinguistic research. Many studies have examined how aspects of identity are demonstrated through linguistic behavior, be it phonological, morphological or discoursal (LePage & Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Labov, 1963; Bailey, 2001; Hazen, 2002; Johnstone et al., 2006). Specifically, previous work has demonstrated that the common linguistic behavior of a group of native residents in a region can index their regional identity (e.g. Beal, 2003; Johnstone & Kiesling, forthcoming). These studies mark a move away from explaining linguistic variation through the employment of broad sociological categories, such as age and sex. Previously described dialects are being re-examined upon the backdrop of personal orientation and speaker identity; the Northern Cities Shift (NCS) is one group of linguistic features that is just beginning to figure into studies of identity and variation.

Several previous studies (including Callary, 1975; Ito & Preston, 1998; Eckert, 2000; Gordon, 2001; Hillenbrand, 2003; Evans, 2004) have researched the NCS in Chicago, as well as Detroit and other parts of Michigan. These studies have included both acoustic analyses and discussions of the social significance of advanced variants of the shift. They comprise large-scale descriptive studies and detailed ethnographic research on smaller communities of practice. Research has even been conducted on the spread of the NCS to central Ohio (Keiser et al., 1997).

Despite this body of research, the NCS in the Cleveland metropolitan area has yet to be extensively examined.

This work, then, aims first to contribute to the growing body of research on the NCS, and second, to address the gap in the body of research on greater Cleveland speakers' use of NCS variants. The primary goal of this study is to investigate the social significance of the NCS by examining the use of raised (aeh) and backed (e) in Brook Park, a suburban Cleveland community. Local media, culture, and politics indicate that there exists a Cleveland regional identity—a solidarity built around being the underdog in economics and national exposure. This study seeks to find a correlation between the extent of Brook Parkers' sense of Cleveland regional identity and their use of advanced (aeh) and (e) NCS variants.

This thesis is organized as follows: Section 2.0, *Linguistic Background and Key Concepts*, discusses previous work on variation, identity, and the NCS. Specifically, it first reviews research that has found cultural identity, personal orientation, and speakers' attitudes to be significant factors in sociolinguistic variation. Secondly, a description of the NCS is offered through an explanation of earlier descriptive and sociolinguistic research. Lastly, this section reviews the role of ethnicity in the NCS.

Section 3.0, *Regional Background*, offers insight into the current social environment of the Cleveland area. This is first introduced through a description of metropolitan Cleveland's socio-historical and socio-economic background, including the city's founding, prevalent economic trends, and population distribution. These topics are then extended to Brook Park, Ohio, the suburban community in which the current study was conducted. An explanation of the parallel circumstances between Brook Park and Cleveland is offered, followed by a summary of evidence for a Greater Cleveland regional identity.

Section 4.0, *Research Questions and Methodology*, reviews the hypotheses of this study and the manner in which they were tested. This section describes the speaker sample, the sociolinguistic interview process, and the statistical analysis of the data. This is followed by Section 5.0, *Results and Discussion*, which lists the findings of the statistical analysis along with the results of other tests conducted on the data. This section also includes an interpretation of the significant factors and how they pattern. Finally, Section 7.0, *Conclusion*, recapitulates the main points of the study and offers suggestions for future research.

2.0 LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND AND KEY CONCEPTS

Numerous studies have examined variation within different languages. Regional or dialect variation maps the use of certain linguistic features to various physical and political areas, such as states or geographical regions. Sociolinguistic variation, however, aims to map linguistic features to social factors. These factors can range from gender (Holmes, 1997) and ethnicity (Dubois & Horvath, 2003) to age (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2004) and socioeconomic class (Labov, 1972; Trudgill, 1974). In other words, sociolinguistic variationists "seek…measures of social variation to which they can relate the kinds of linguistic variation they observe" (Wardhaugh, 2002, p.145).

For this study, the relationship between social and linguistic variation requires an understanding of two key background topics: first, how identity can factor into sociolinguistic studies, and second, what linguistic features may be involved in Cleveland area variation. Therefore, this section reviews previous studies of both regional and sociolinguistic variation. First, identity-based sociolinguistic studies are reviewed. This discussion is followed by a review of literature on the Northern Cities Shift (NCS).

2.1 VARIATION AND IDENTITY

Although geographical region and broad, sociological categories, such as age and socioeconomic status, may explain many instances of linguistic variation, they certainly do not account for all variation. Moreover, while these broad categories may help describe a speaker, they do not alone constitute a speaker's identity. Rather, a speaker's personal orientations, belief systems, and individual behavior may account for their language use in a way that sociological factors cannot (see, for example, Labov, 1963; Gal, 1978; Eckert, 2000).

For example, Eckert's (2000) analysis of a Detroit area high school shows that the use of advanced NCS variants correlates with membership in a certain community of practice. The most advanced speakers share certain attitudes and beliefs toward traditional authority and their suburban community. Also utilizing the concept of personal identity, Johnson-Weiner (1998) demonstrates that language shift among Anabaptist communities can be attributed to their outlook on lifestyle change; specifically, the groups' outlook on evangelism and interaction with outsiders impacts their shift from German to English. Similarly, Gal (1978) finds that young women in an ethnically Hungarian community are leading a language shift from Hungarian to German. This shift correlates with the women's views on the traditional peasant lifestyle they associate with speaking Hungarian. Regardless of whether the linguistic landscapes of these communities can be partially explained by sociological factors, their complexity and depth is only illuminated by the speakers' alignment with specific cultural notions.

This type of alignment plays a role in what Hazen (2002) calls "cultural identity." As he explains, "Cultural identity is a sociolinguistic factor that involves how speakers conceive of themselves in relation to their local and larger regional communities" (p. 241). Built into an account of variation, then, may be a combination of the history of the geographical area, an

understanding of the local and extra-local forces acting upon the speaker, a comprehension of the local norms for using and interpreting language (Eckert, 2000; Wolfram, 2003), and an ethnographic description of the community, its residents or participants, and its language. Unlike analyses through sociological criteria, sociolinguistic studies that incorporate cultural identity must discover that identity through the actual discourse, behavior, and lifestyles of the speakers; it is not a blanket variable that can be applied equally to every speech community.

The use of cultural identity as a sociolinguistic variable means that a linguistic feature can serve as a marker, or second-order index, of a speaker's local identity. That is, the linguistic feature can "evoke and/or construct" the speaker's local identity (Johnstone Andrus, & Danielson, 2006, p. 81). Speakers may not be aware of the tie between, for instance, the pronunciation of their vowels and their orientation to their hometown, but still may be able to change the pronunciation of their vowels in order to sound more or less local, and are often able to distinguish their dialect from an outsider's. Thus, speakers may have some level of meta-pragmatic awareness (Johnstone & Kiesling, forthcoming). Even though they may not be able to reflect upon the ideologies that make their speech uniquely local, the correlation between the linguistic feature and the identity exists, and is able to be ascertained through study (Labov, 1972; Johnstone, et al., 2006).

Numerous studies have discovered such a correlation. Frazer (1983) and Labov (1963) both find a correlation between the use of a phonological variant and speakers' endorsement of a traditional, local lifestyle. Bailey (1991) observes that in Texas, monophthongal /ai/ is more likely to be found in the speech of people who positively evaluate their home state and want to express their Texan authenticity. Johnstone, Andrus, and Danielson (2006) mention one of their Pittsburgh area participants, Arlene C., who consciously avoids the use of local, monophthongal

/aw/ because she wants to distance herself from the variant's working-class, urban stigma (p. 91). In Hazen's (2002) study of rural Warren County, North Carolina, he finds that speakers' cultural identity—be it local or expanded, that is, at the county level or above—correlates to their use of vernacular variants. Similarly, Ito and Preston (1998) find that non-urban Michigan residents who have a stronger local identity avoid the use of the historically urban, non-local Northern Cities Shift.

All of these studies find that linguistic features are doing some sort of social work, reflecting the cultural identity of the speakers. That is, the way in which people align themselves with or against their locality can be conveyed through their use of the local dialect. In Cleveland, the local dialect is marked by a series of vowel shifts, known collectively as the Northern Cities Shift.

2.2 THE NORTHERN CITIES SHIFT

The Northern Cities Shift (NCS) is a series of sound changes that covers a large area from western New England and New York to regions west of Wisconsin (Labov, 1991; Gordon, 2001). Cleveland is well within this region, and according to the *Atlas of North American English* (Labov, Ash, & Boberg, 2006), Cleveland speakers show all signs of the NCS. The dialect is characterized by an extensive shifting of the short vowels, as shown in Figure 1 below.

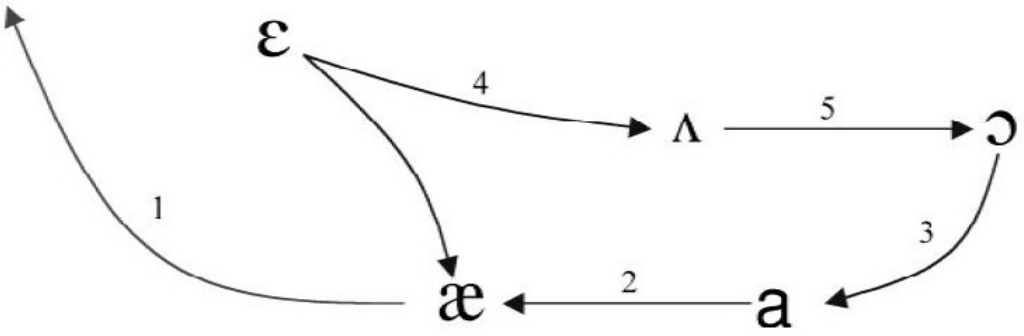

Figure 1. The Northern Cities Shift (taken from Evans, 2004, p. 156)

Labov (1994) describes this as a chain shift, in which the shift of one vowel triggers a chain reaction, prompting the other vowels to fill the newly openings in the vowel space. He claims that /aeh/ is the first shift; by raising, /aeh/ clears the low front position of the vowel space. This prompts a "drag chain" that fronts /o/ to the open space left by /aeh/. The shift of o/, then, drags /oh/ to a lower, centralized position. Meanwhile, /e/ might kick off another drag chain: /e/ moves toward the open low front position, thereby lowering /i/. The backing of /e/ might also kick off a "push chain": when /e/ backs, it pushes /ɒ/ further back. This shift then pushes /oh/ to a lower, more centralized position; this position is reinforced by the earlier upward shift of /aeh/ (Labov, 1994, p. 195).[1]

Labov (1994, p. 178) and Gordon (2001, p. 13) cite Ralph Fasold as the first linguist to make note of the NCS; in 1969, he noted /aeh/ raising, /o/ fronting, and /oh/ lowering and centralizing. Since Fasold's discovery, researchers have offered some descriptive accounts of

[1] The chronology of these vowel changes, and the designation of the NCS as a chain shift, has been subject to scrutiny. Gordon (2001) and Stockwell and Minkova (1997) each present alternative views of the NCS that challenge its characterization as a series of push and drag chains. However, there is substantial evidence that /aeh/ raising is one of the older, if not the oldest, shifts in the NCS, and /e/ backing is relatively much more recent (Callary, 1975; Labov, 1994; Eckert, 2000). In light of this evidence, and the fact that the shifts' chronology plays a very minor role in this study, my adoption of Labov's (1991, 1994) chronology should not impact my analysis.

the NCS (Gordon, 2001; Hillenbrand, 2003). Labov also has led several descriptive studies of the NCS, offering an overview of the extent of the shift and its geographical distribution (Labov, Yaeger, & Steiner, 1972; Labov, Ash, & Boberg, 2006).

Geographically, the NCS has been a historically urban phenomenon. Callary's (1975) analysis of /aeh/ raising in Illinois found that the height of the variable positively correlated with the size of the speaker's community, rather than the community's distance from Chicago. However, Gordon (2001) found that features of the NCS are moving to smaller communities along the Detroit-Chicago corridor, and Ito and Preston (1998) found that some members of non-urban communities in Michigan also demonstrate aspects of the NCS.

Other descriptions of the NCS have been taken from sociolinguistic variation research. Evans (2004) describes the use of the NCS in speakers from Ypsilanti, Michigan, while correlating it to their Appalachian social networks. Eckert has done extensive research (1989, 1991, 2000) on the use of advanced NCS variants by high schoolers in the Detroit area. Herndobler (1993) describes gender-based NCS variation in a working-class Chicago community. Ito and Preston (1998) utilize the cultural identity of speakers—specifically, their feelings toward their hometown—in describing their use of the NCS. While all of these studies contain descriptions of the NCS within particular speakers or speech communities, their main focus is not descriptive, but rather social.

However, many social aspects of the NCS have not yet been extensively researched. For example, only a small percentage of sociolinguistic research on the NCS has focused on the impact of ethnicity on variation. Knack (1991) describes the differences in NCS features within groups of Jewish and non-Jewish Michigan residents. Gordon (2000) examines the dialect of Mexican-Americans and African-Americans in the greater Chicago area, discovering that their

use of NCS features is minimal. Indeed, most of the research on ethnicity and the NCS focuses on African-American communities. Anderson and Milroy (1999) find that the vowels of Detroit African-Americans are not affected by the NCS. In contrast, Jones (2004) finds that African-American speakers in Lansing do demonstrate some accommodation to the NCS, at least in /aeh/ raising. Their dialect is not, however, completely consistent with the NCS. While evidence seems to show the primary participants in the NCS are European-American speakers, extensive studies on ethnicity and the NCS—and, in fact, the NCS in general—have yet to be completed.

Overall, while investigations of the NCS have made a notable contribution to the study of linguistic variation and change, the body of research is still relatively small. In fact, the use of the NCS in greater Cleveland has yet to be the main focus of any linguistic research. This study aims to address that void.

3.0 REGIONAL BACKGROUND

Some background information on Cleveland can help describe the social setting upon which the NCS operates. The city's rise to the status of industrial powerhouse and its subsequent economic collapse seem to have an impact upon many aspects of life in the area (Knepper, 1989; Keating, Krumholz, & Perry, 1995; Miller & Wheeler, 1997).

Cleveland's experiences influence those of its suburbs; the city is the giant of not only Cuyahoga County, but the surrounding counties as well (see figure 2 below). It is not surprising, then, that "Cleveland" has become a term that envelopes both the city proper and the surrounding area.

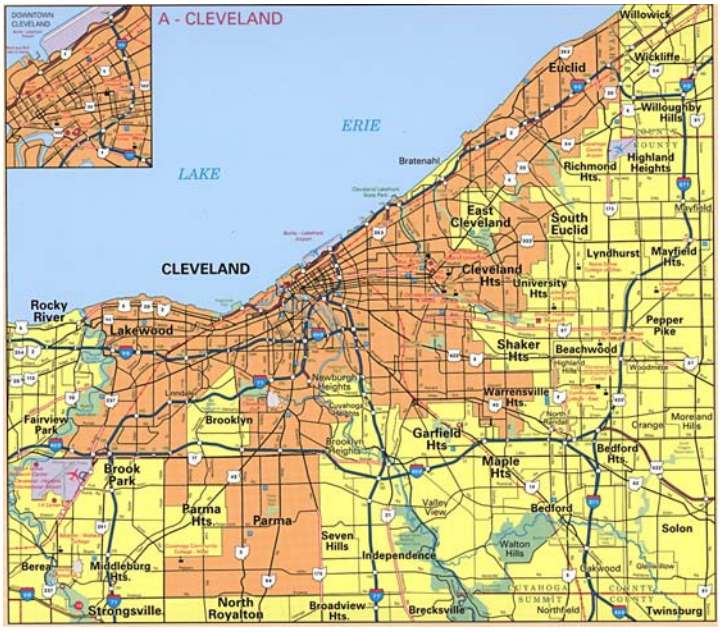

Figure 2. Cleveland and the metropolitan area (taken from the Ohio Department of Transportation)

With this in mind, this section examines the history, economy, and population of Cleveland and Cuyahoga County. Also included is a discussion of Brook Park, the suburb featured in this study for how it economically and socially parallels Cleveland. Lastly, the idea of a Cleveland regional identity will be considered. This information forms the social base upon which linguistic variation in greater Cleveland can operate.

3.1 HISTORY OF CLEVELAND AND CUYAHOGA COUNTY

Cleveland, once envisioned as an extension of New England, developed through its industrial economy and immigrant population. The city grew from being a small town of Connecticut settlers to a bustling industrial center in less than a century. Cleveland's history since the turn of the twentieth century, however, has been marked by economic recession, suburbanization, and population loss (Keating, Krumholz, & Perry, 1995; Miller & Wheeler, 1997).

3.1.1 The founding of Cleveland

In the late eighteenth century, the state of Connecticut owned a large tract of land west of Pennsylvania. Formally named the Western Reserve of Connecticut, this land was known in the common parlance as "New Connecticut", despite the fact that families from that state had yet to settle the area. Eventually, much of the Reserve was bought by the Connecticut Land Company, a private business co-managed by the General Moses Cleaveland (Perry, 1995). In the summer of 1796, Cleaveland also led the first surveying expedition into the Western Reserve (Hatcher, 1991).

Not surprisingly, then, it was Cleaveland who determined where to establish the principle city of the Reserve. He decided on the location where the Cuyahoga River met Lake Erie, and naturally, the town was named after him (Hatcher, 1991). Whether by misspelling (Perry, 1995), purposeful respelling (Knepper, 1989), or orthographic variation (Hatcher, 1991), cartographers placed Cleveland—not *Cleaveland*—on the map.

3.1.2 Settlement and demographics

Cleveland remained a hamlet for much of its early history. Though the Connecticut Land Company placed lots for sale in 1797, very few settlers bought land. In fact, in 1800, only one resident lived in Cleveland (Miller & Wheeler, 1997, p. 14). In the early 1800s, Cleveland became an official port-of-entry and the seat of the newly formed Cuyahoga County, but this attracted few settlers. By 1810, only fifty-seven people lived in Cleveland; by 1825, however, Cleveland grew to be a village of 500 residents (Miller & Wheeler, p.21). It was during this time that residents erected churches and schools, established a newspaper, and launched cultural activities[2] (Miller & Wheeler, 1997).

A boom in population did not occur until the mid-1800s, when canals and railroads made Cleveland much more accessible for industrial trade. Moreover, Cleveland's industries started to gain success at this time (see section 3.1.3), also fostering population growth. The city was home to 5,000 residents when the Panic of 1837's economic crisis struck (Miller & Wheeler, p. 38). Though this slowed population growth, Cleveland reached a population of about 44,000 by

[2] In light of the current state of Cleveland's economy, it is interesting to note that even during this time of early growth, a poverty problem existed. Miller and Wheeler (1997) write that "a number of poor appeared" (p. 23). They explain that "the township warned several families to leave its jurisdiction to prevent their becoming dependent on the village and it later paid for the removal of one family and for the funeral of another person" (p. 23).

1860 (Miller & Wheeler, 1997, p.53). Nearly a century later in 1950, Cleveland's population peaked at 914,808 residents (Miller & Wheeler, 1997, p. 199). With this population growth came increased poverty, intensified government assistance needs, and political turmoil (Miller & Wheeler, 1997, pp. 89-96). Though plenty of programs attempted to address these concerns, Cleveland still suffers from similar social issues today (Miller & Wheeler, 1997, pp. 192-98; Keating, Krumholz, & Perry, 1995).

In the vein of social matters, is important to note the role of African-Americans and immigrants in Cleveland's population growth. As Miller and Wheeler (1997) write, the black population mirrored Cleveland's general growth pattern; until World War I, African-Americans continued to move to the city, notably from the southern states. Despite the fact that African-Americans "never made up more than 2 percent of the population," "they were not isolated residentially" or socially (p. 55). In fact, Cleveland court cases supported African-Americans, black workers of all skills existed in all industries, and the public schools were integrated in 1840. After World War I, however, racism became more apparent; blacks had problems finding suitable, affordable housing; their residential area became more and more limited and ghettoized; and they experienced increasingly more discrimination both in and out of the workplace.

Immigrants to the Cleveland area shared a similar experience. Miller and Wheeler (1997) report that in 1860, an estimated two-thirds of Cleveland's population was European immigrants (p. 55). By 1890, they write that "fully three-quarters of the city's population was…either foreign-born or the children of foreign-born parents" (p. 82). Unlike African-Americans, however, immigrants usually settled in ethnic enclaves. As Hatcher (1991) describes,

> South of the Public Square, scattered along the bluff overlooking the Flats, were the congested and overflowing masses of Italians and Jews. Their district, one of the worst, was called the

> Haymarket. Russian Jews gathered in the Ghetto around the street markets in the same vicinity. The Hungarians and Slovaks made Buckeye Road their home. Murray Hill, near Lake View Cemetery, became Little Italy, populated by monument cutters and gardeners, many from Campo Basso. The Slovenes, Croatians, and Lithuanians settled along St. Clair Street. The Chinese huddled…on Ontario Street…When the construction of the Mall forced them to leave, they moved as a group to a planned settlement on Rockwell Avenue. Hungarians, Portuguese, Lithuanians, Norwegians, Swedes, Finns, Swiss, Turks, French, Slovaks, Greeks, Japanese, Mexicans, Irish, Welsh, Scotch, English—from all over the world they came to "the most desirable town in the 'Great West' to live in." (p. 234)

During this time, immigrants "were often feared, distrusted, and resented by their native hosts" (Miller & Wheeler, 1997, p. 86), while their African-American neighbors enjoyed a relatively tolerant climate for the era. Unlike African-Americans, however, Cleveland's various ethnic groups were eventually un-marginalized as immigration slowed in the 1950s. As European-Americans, the children of immigrants faced no racism while integrating into dominant society (Miller & Wheeler, 1997).

This impacted the current residential pattern of Cleveland. By the mid-twentieth century, social life in the city was deteriorating, despite a booming industrial economy (see section 3.1.3). As Knepper (1989) explains,

> …tens of thousands moved from older city residential areas to the outskirts of town…[and] in what had once been pleasant neighborhoods of single-family houses…the poor and underprivileged moved in. […] Such neighborhoods never seemed to have enough police or fire protection; schools and playgrounds were inadequate; public services such as garbage collection and street cleaning were erratic. City officials regarded them, with reason, as problem areas (p. 401).

The children of European immigrants and others who could afford to relocate to the suburbs did so; likewise, new residents to the area were attracted to the suburbs rather than the

suffering Cleveland neighborhoods. Highway and housing construction in the outer reaches of Cuyahoga County facilitated this suburban boom (Miller & Wheeler, 1997), as did G.I. loans that aided veterans in the construction of new homes (Knepper, 1989, p. 398). The city countered the exodus with urban renewal efforts, which only served to shift the problems of one neighborhood to another. By and large, African-Americans were forced to stay in the deteriorating neighborhoods and suffer the effects of urban decline. The Hough neighborhood on Cleveland's east side is a perfect example of the demographic shift in the 1950s and 1960s: "in 1950, its two square miles were home to 66,000 Clevelanders, 95 percent of whom were white"; however, by 1960, African-Americans "displaced by urban renewal began moving to Hough, and…the neighborhood was 74 percent black" (Miller & Wheeler, 1997, pp. 166-167).[3] Thus, Cleveland's first attempt at urban renewal didn't solve many problems; in fact, it only encouraged white flight, which in turn fostered massive suburbanization, "resulting in significant losses not only of people but of income and property taxes as well" (Miller & Wheeler, 1997, p. 162). By the 1970s, "the city of Cleveland lost 24 percent of its population, 177,000 people" (Bier, 1995, p.250). In 1990, Cleveland had a population of only 505,616 (U.S. Census Bureau [USCB], 2006).

This trend continues, as the population hasn't grown in recent years. As the suburbs continue to spread outward into neighboring counties, the population of Cleveland—and Cuyahoga County in general—continues to decline. In the fifteen years between 1990 and 2005, the city of Cleveland lost over 53,000 residents; of those remaining, almost 54% were African-American. Similarly, Cuyahoga County lost nearly 98,000 residents by 2006; however, over 65% of those remaining were European-American (USCB, 2006). The color line that divides the

[3] The Hough Riots, possibly one of the biggest tragedies in Cleveland history, were staged in this neighborhood in the summer of 1966. They followed just one year after the infamous Watts uprising in Los Angeles.

city from suburbia is becoming increasingly better defined, while the core of the Cleveland metropolitan area is home to fewer and fewer people.

As would be expected, this population growth—and subsequent decline—mirrored Cleveland's economy. Cleveland's current economy is very different from the industrial powerhouse it was during its periods of population expansion.

3.1.3 Economics and industry

Cleveland had a slow economic start, but by the mid-nineteenth century, its industrial economy was quickly growing. Canals and railroads made the city more accessible for trade, and Cleveland profited from the industries in nearby states (Perry, 1995, p. 16); moreover, the increased traffic through the area promoted the local economy. By the 1840s, Cleveland's commerce was flourishing, but it wasn't until the 1860s that industry would greatly figure into the local economy. The city's oil, iron, and steel industries enjoyed success, which in turn promoted a wide array of manufacturing ventures. During this period, John D. Rockefeller relocated to Cleveland and founded the Standard Oil Company. Despite a nation-wide recession in the 1870s, Cleveland's industry experienced a general boom in the second half of the 19th century, and the large number of employment opportunities fostered immigration and population growth (Miller & Wheeler, 1997; Hatcher, 1991).

This economic success carried into the twentieth century. In 1909, "the Cleveland metropolitan district had 2,230 manufacturing establishments", and "the principal industry was iron and steel, closely followed by foundries and machine shops. Automobiles and automobile parts placed third" (Miller & Wheeler, 1997, p. 101). World War I promoted more industrial activity that lasted through the 1920s. The Great Depression, however, greatly affected

Cleveland's economy; industry halted, wages drastically decreased, and unemployment soared. World War II alleviated many of these problems, though the area's economic base started to spread into the suburbs during this time. By the 1960s, however, manufacturing and industry were losing ground to the service sector, and Cleveland's economy was struggling to make this transition (Miller & Wheeler, 1997). The recession of the 1970s worsened the situation, and by the end of that decade, many companies, such as Eaton and Westinghouse, began closing plants (Hill, 1995, pp. 57-59).

At the end of the twentieth century, Cleveland had yet to fully recover from these economic blows. As Hill (1995) explains, "…the region's economy still rests on manufacturing for its health and survival" (p. 67). Unfortunately, the manufacturing sector hasn't rebounded. A quick look on the forums at Cleveland.com, a popular city news website, reveals ongoing discussions labeled "brain drain," "economic development," and "price of poverty." The *Plain Dealer* newspaper frequently publishes articles on the state of the city's economy; it even features an online report on the economy and an ongoing series of articles entitled "Quiet Crisis" that looks into the city's decline.[4] Clearly, economic depression is still an important matter among Clevelanders (see section 3.3).

It's reasonable, then, to consider the idea that Cleveland's history—both economic and social—has been tied to that of its suburbs, and that residents of Cleveland's suburbs have shared in Cleveland's experiences. To that end, this study focuses on Brook Park, Ohio, an inner-ring suburb of Cleveland. Brook Park is representative of the suburban Cleveland area in that it is working class and largely European-American. Moreover, a look into Brook Park's economic and social background illustrates that the suburb is closely tied to the city.

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[4] This series can be found at www.cleveland.com/quietcrisis

3.2 BROOK PARK, OHIO: A CLEVELAND SUBURB

Brook Park, Ohio is a small, suburban city that shares its northern border with Cleveland proper (see Figure 3 below). Only eleven square miles in size, the city was established in 1914 and incorporated in 1961. It is now home to over 20,000 residents as well as some of the region's industrial giants (*Brook Park*, 2004; USCB, 2006). The city's past is tied to that of Cleveland, both socially and economically: Brook Park is not only evidence of the suburban expansion that has been powered by Cleveland's population loss (Bier, 1995), but also serves as a remnant of the region's manufacturing history. Therefore, the region's history is partially reflected in Brook Park's history, and this shared experience may play a vital role in the potential for Brook Parkers' local identity.

Figure 3. Brook Park city limits (adapted from Ohio Department of Transportation map)

3.2.1 Demographics

Brook Park has over 21,000 residents; the median age in 2000 was 40.1 years, and nearly 95 percent of the population was white. The majority of the adult population graduated from high school, though only a small minority went on to attain a bachelor's or post-graduate degree. The most prevalent employment is in the manufacturing industry. The city's per capita income in 2000 was $20,411, which exceeded Cleveland's per capita income by over $5,000, but ranked among the lowest of nearby suburbs.

Over 40 percent of Brook Park's population has lived in the same house for the past 25 years or longer. In 2000, only 1,343 housing units were specified as rentals; the majority of Brook Park's housing is owner-occupied. Of these owner-occupied properties, the median home value was $112,400. Again, while this is a significantly higher value than that of the city of Cleveland, it is the lowest among nearby suburbs (USCB, 2006; see Appendix A for more information).

These statistics paint a picture of a population that is predominantly European-American and relatively non-mobile. Congruent with Cleveland area history, the figures show that a great number of residents bought homes in Brook Park during the suburban boom of the 1960s and '70s and have since stayed. Moreover, based on home values, educational attainment, and income, Brook Park can be classified as working class. This status is solidified by the suburb's industrial landscape: Brook Park has served as the headquarters for several large manufacturing companies since World War II.

3.2.2 Industry and business in Brook Park

Some of the greater Cleveland area's largest industries and businesses have been located in Brook Park. In the 1940s, the Fisher Aircraft Assembly Bomber Plant fostered housing construction and population growth. Firestone, B.F. Goodrich, and Goodyear all operated factories in Brook Park (Brook Park, 1996). Today, Brook Park's landscape is marked by the expanse of the Ford Motor Company's plants, which employ thousands of workers to produce aluminum casting and engines (Ford Motor Co., 1996). As Hill (1995) states, the greater Cleveland area "clearly remains a manufacturing center"; in the region, "manufacturing's share of local employment…remains substantially above the national average" (p. 59).

Thus, the suburb seems typical of the area: industrial, working class, and otherwise consistent with regional patterns. The bigger question, however, is if Brook Parkers feel as though they are part of a greater Cleveland regional community. This leads to the question of whether or not there exists a Cleveland regional identity, and if so, what shape that identity takes.

3.3 EVIDENCE OF CLEVELAND REGIONAL IDENTITY

The Plain Dealer, Cleveland's only major newspaper, has been reporting on Cleveland's various "crises" for the past few years. These special reports figure prominently in the paper's website: entire series of articles outlining topics such as regional brain drain, economic recession, and the failings of the city public school system line the site's archives. These reports are given ominous names, such as "The Quiet Crisis" and "The Price of Poverty." It takes only a few moments of

scanning articles and letters to the editor to realize that Cleveland's press—and its readership—are not oblivious to the city's problems.

Perhaps as a result of the economic recession that has settled upon the greater Cleveland area, poverty has become one of the city's biggest issues. In 2003, the United States Census Bureau ranked Cleveland as the nation's poorest large city. In August of 2006, Cleveland topped the list again. At that point, almost a third of city residents were living in poverty (Suchetka and Galbincea, 2006).

What is striking about Cleveland's financial problem is that it doesn't seem to be isolated to the city. In one 2006 *Plain Dealer* article about the "poorest city" ranking, the authors mention that "for those living in the eight counties around Cleveland, median household income dropped by $1,778 over the last five years" (Suchetka and Galbincea, 2006). In the minds of these local journalists, the "poorest city" isn't simply a single city; it's a region of eight counties.

There are dozens of *Plain Dealer* articles that utilize similar thinking. In an article addressing "Cleveland's economy", the journalist uses the words *Cleveland, Cleveland metropolitan area,* and *the metropolitan area* interchangeably (Koff, 2001). The first article in a series addressing "poverty in Cleveland" is titled "The 'burbs clamp down: Laws directed at untoward activity."[5] Under the heading "Cleveland attracts the students but loses the grads," an article showcases the relocation of students who grew up in Westlake and Parma—two Cuyahoga County suburbs—and a student who attended Oberlin College, located over 30 miles west of Cleveland proper. The *Plain Dealer* clearly extends the term *Cleveland* to include the entire metropolitan area.

[5] See www.cleveland.com/poverty/plaindealer/index.ssf?/base/news/1161161039289790.xml&coll=2

This practice goes beyond the local media, though; businesses seem to share in the regionalism. The Cleveland metropolitan area phone book lists dozens of business names that start with the word *Cleveland,* and a great many of them aren't located in Cleveland at all: the Cleveland Hearing and Balance Center is actually located in an east side suburb; the Cleveland Spray Booth Specialists are located in the southwest corner of Cuyahoga County; Cleveland Glass Block has two locations, neither of which are in the city; and the Cleveland Pregnancy Center urges women to call its suburban phone number for advice.

The popular consciousness also seems to equate *Cleveland* with *the greater Cleveland region*. The various "You know you're from Cleveland if…" lists that circulate the internet make references that seem to cater more toward the larger suburban population than to those who live within Cleveland city limits. Items on these lists such as *You really don't know what the Warehouse District is, you just know that it's a great place to party; You have no idea how exactly to get to the Flats--you just kind of end up there;* and *You live less than 30 minutes from some college or university* imply a lack of familiarity with city neighborhoods and roadways, as well as a sizeable distance from the major urban universities such as Cleveland State, the Cleveland Institute of Music, and Case Western Reserve.

Even an informal survey of residents from the greater Cleveland area confirms that they consider themselves "Clevelanders" regardless of whether or not they actually live within city limits. Over the course of two months, I asked random members of my own network how they would identify themselves if asked where they were from. While none of them live in Cleveland proper, all but one of them responded, "I'd say I'm from Cleveland." The one who didn't identify as a Clevelander nevertheless included Cleveland in her response, stating that she would explain, "I'm from Streetsboro, which is about 30 miles southeast of Cleveland."

Thus, adding to the fact that Brook Park socially and economically parallels the city of Cleveland is the regional Cleveland identity implied by the local media, business, and popular opinion. Built into the methodology of this study, then, was the treatment of "local identity" as "Cleveland identity." As the following section discusses, the research design measures aspects of speakers' local identity; therefore, should a participant have a super-local, suburban identity, it would become evident through the gathering and the analysis of the data.

4.0 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

This study aims to discover if a group of suburban Cleveland speakers' sense of local, Cleveland identity positively correlates with their use of raised (aeh) and backed (e). As features of the NCS, these variables are historically urban linguistic forms. Greater Cleveland is an area involved in the NCS, and as such, the local dialect contains the shifted variants of /aeh/ and /e/. Moreover, the city of Cleveland serves as the center of a regional "locality" toward which speakers may align themselves. Should this group of speakers engage phonetic forms in local identity work, they would most likely use forms native to the region with which they identify.

4.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

This research is based on eighteen sociolinguistic interviews with members of the Brook Park recreation center. Speakers discussed their personal background, leisure activities, consumption practices, and attitudes toward the Cleveland area.

The interviews were examined and evaluated for identity. An identity index was used to determine a score for each speaker's sense of local orientation. Tokens of (aeh) and (e) were also gathered from the interviews. They were then measured in Praat to determine the extent to which they follow the NCS pattern.

The vowel measurements were then normalized and statistically analyzed. Using multiple regression, the vowels were modeled based on the identity scores and other social variables, such as sex and age.

This section describes this process in greater detail, offering a full explanation of the research methodology. It concludes with a review of the expected outcomes of the research.

4.1.1 Participants and interviews

The data were gathered through sociolinguistic interviews conducted at the Brook Park, Ohio recreation center. Recruitment of participants occurred via flyers posted at the recreation center and word of mouth among members and the recreation staff. By limiting research to the recreation center population, the project was able to achieve a higher level of experimental control: all of the participants would be from Brook Park or a nearby area, and thus would be more likely to share a similar socioeconomic background. All of the participants also had the same European-American ethnic background.

Eighteen speakers with these characteristics participated in the interviews. Ten were female and eight were male, and their ages ranged from 18 to 79. All of them were born in the greater Cleveland area or moved there during early childhood. Furthermore, all of them lived in greater Cleveland until at least early adulthood: one left the area for college and returned several years later, and two others temporarily left the area while they served in the military. Every speaker is a current member of the Brook Park recreation center. All but two of the speakers are residents of Brook Park; the two non-residents live in nearby suburbs with socioeconomic backgrounds similar to that of Brook Park.

Each speaker took part in one sociolinguistic interview, during which they answered questions about their personal background, their consumption practices, and their leisure activities, and engaged in conversation about their opinions and memories of the Cleveland area. The interviews were recorded using a Tascam DAT recorder and transferred to CD for computer playback and analysis.

4.1.2 Identity analysis

The content of each speaker's interview is divided into two main categories: localness of life experience and attitudinal localness. Questions regarding educational background, residence history, leisure activities, and consumption practices fit into the "localness of life experience" category. Discussion about the reputation of the Cleveland area and its residents, positive and negative aspects of the area, and personal convictions about the area fit into the "attitudinal localness" category (see Appendix C).

An identity index modeled after that used by Kiesling, et al. (2005) guided the evaluation of the interview content. Each main answer or discussion point received a point value based on its degree of localness: a more locally loyal response received a higher point value, while a less locally loyal response received a lower point value. The value for each response was then computed into an identity sub-score, and all of the sub-scores then factored into an overall identity average. This was then translated into a percentage as their identity score (see Appendix D). Thus, a higher identity score indicates more locally loyal responses, whereas a lower identity score indicates less locally loyal responses.

These average calculations allowed for a reliable analysis of the interviews, rather than gauging each speaker relative to the others. For instance, a speaker who did not attend college

did not accumulate a point deficit in relation to a speaker who attended a local college, nor did a speaker who discussed a local topic receive more points than a speaker who simply didn't talk about the topic at all. Each speaker's identity, then, was gauged individually; only the averages were compared.

Moreover, this system also allowed for a more specific analysis of each tenet of the interviews. The ability to consult both an overall identity score and response-based sub-scores promotes flexibility in the final analysis; it minimizes the possibility of overlooking a specific interview topic's role in variation.

4.1.3 Vowel analysis

The two variables for this study are (aeh) and (e). Both of these vowels are involved in the NCS in Cleveland (Labov et al., 2006) and elsewhere (Labov, 1991; Labov, 1994; Ito & Preston, 1998; Gordon, 2001). Raised (aeh) is said to be the leader of the shift. It is the oldest, and therefore the most advanced and stable shift; backed (e), however, is relatively new and is one of the final shifts in the chain (Labov, 1994). It is possible that these chronological differences may play into the variation of each vowel.

Moreover, the potential indexicalities of (aeh) and (e) further differentiate them. As Ito and Preston (1998) state, the phonological changes involved in the NCS do not seem to be "available to respondent awareness" (p. 468). By this, they seem to mean that speakers do not tend to have a meta-pragmatic awareness of NCS features; that is, shifted (aeh) and (e) are not usually second-order or higher indexes of sociocultural factors (Johnstone and Kiesling, forthcoming; Johnstone et al., 2006). Still, they do mention "there is some indication that there is low-level awareness of" the (aeh) shift (p. 481). They cite Labov (1994), in which a Detroit

speaker articulates the difference between a New Yorker's pronunciation of (aeh) and her own shifted pronunciation[6]. Unlike the speakers studied in these studies, however, Cleveland-area speakers' meta-pragmatic awareness of the NCS has yet to be fully examined. In order to ensure some level of un-self conscious speech, then, it is necessary to analyze both variables: (aeh), which may serve as a second-order index or marker of local identity, and (e), which may not have moved beyond first-order indexicality, and thus may not be involved in identity work (Labov, 1972; Johnstone et al., 2006).

Thus, a target of fifteen tokens of both (aeh) and (e) were randomly gathered from each speaker's interview. A target of five tokens each of (o), (oh), (ey), and (iy) were also gathered as reference points for normalization within the vowel space of each speaker; these tokens were taken from controlled, pre-alveolar stop or fricative environments. A Praat script was then utilized to measure the vowels. At the midpoint of the first third of each token, the script measured and recorded the F1 and F2 values.

These measurements were then normalized using the Nearey method outlined by Labov, Ash, and Boberg (2006). Outliers were determined using boxplots generated through SPSS software and then removed from the data set.

4.1.4 Correlations

After the identity scores and phonetic measurements were determined, they were analyzed in SPSS. Using multiple regression, the phonetic values were modeled based on the overall identity score, the scores for specific interview topics, and other social factors such as sex and age. This

[6] see Labov (1994, p. 185).

was able to predict which factors significantly correlate with the speakers' pronunciations of (aeh) and (e)—specifically, whether or not local identity is a significant social factor in the advance of these NCS features.

4.2 HYPOTHESES

Following previous research that has found dialect features can index local identity (Labov, 1963; Ito & Preston, 1998; Beal, 2003; Johnstone et al., 2006; Johnstone & Kiesling, forthcoming), the expected outcome of this study is a significant positive correlation between the speakers' participation in the NCS and their Cleveland identity. Thus, there are two specific hypotheses being tested in this study:

- **Hypothesis 1:** (aeh) will be more significantly raised by speakers with a high identity score.
- **Hypothesis 2:** (e) will be more significantly backed by speakers with a high identity score.

Both variables are predicted to show a more advanced shift with stronger identity values, despite their different positions in both the NCS and, potentially, speaker awareness. This is based on the assumption that more locally loyal speakers might adopt more advanced NCS features, regardless of how those features figure into the chain shift or speakers' levels of awareness. In the following section, these hypotheses will be discussed in light of the research results.

5.0 RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section offers an explanation of the research results and their significance. The hypotheses for both (aeh) and (e) are not completely supported, as the overall identity score was not significant for variation of either vowel. However, the interviews were divided into identity subsections that addressed both attitudinal localness and the localness of speakers' life experience. The localness of each sub-section is represented by an identity sub-score. These sub-scores, rather than the overall identity score, are significant for variation.

In order to interpret the results, it is necessary to understand the distribution of the identity sub-scores. First, both residence and work history are significant for /aeh/ raising ($p \leq .01$; $p \leq .05$). Both factors were scored on a percentage scale. For residence history, 100% corresponds to the speaker having lived in the same neighborhood for his or her entire life; 80% represents lifelong residence in the general Cleveland area; 60% corresponds to the speaker living less than one-quarter of his or her life outside the Cleveland area. All of the speakers scored at least 60%, and the majority (12 out of 18) scored 80%.

The work history sub-score was based on the location of each speaker's primary job. Speakers were able to receive only three scores: 100% represents a primary job where the speaker's coworkers are from his or her neighborhood or the same side of the city: the Cuyahoga River divides the region into an "east side" and a "west side," and for Cleveland area residents, this is a very salient division. The "side of city" distinction has fostered a rivalry among people

in the Cleveland area, and it is a common perception that life on "the other side" is significantly different, and usually worse. Thus, the inclusion of "side of city" in the work history subsection is necessary. A score of 67% represents jobs in which the speaker works with others from the Cleveland area, but not necessarily from his or her side of the city. These include jobs such as those on the opposite side of the city, most office work, and county government positions. Lastly, 33% corresponds with jobs that require working with people from outside the region; this type of work includes freelancing, college teaching, political jobs, and any work that requires extensive travel outside of the Cleveland area. In all, ten of the eighteen speakers received a 100%, while six others received a 67%.

Speakers' attitudes toward Cleveland also factor significantly into both /aeh/-raising ($p \leq .05$) and /e/-backing ($p \leq .05$). For this section, sub-scores of 80% to 100% indicate somewhat positive to strongly positive attitudes toward the Cleveland area. A sub-score of 60% indicate neutral attitudes, and less than 60% indicate a range of negative attitudes.

Speakers' evaluation of their neighborhood is a significant factor for /e/-backing ($p \leq .01$). Sub-scores of 80% to 100% indicate a somewhat positive to strongly positive evaluation of their neighborhood. 60% indicates a neutral evaluation, while 40% indicates a somewhat negative evaluation. No speakers received lower than 40% on their neighborhood evaluation sub-score.

Consumption practices, such as following the local news and preferring local restaurants over national chains, are also significant for /e/-backing ($p \leq .05$). However, this subsection was scored somewhat differently. A percentage sub-score was determined by comparing the amount of local consumption practices to the overall number of practices the speaker mentioned. The

percentages range from 28.57% to 100%. The average of all the consumption sub-scores is 59.65% (see Appendix D).

The identity sub-score, then, indicate the speakers' degree of localness for that particular aspect of their local identity. As will be explained in the following discussion, these sub-scores do not pattern similarly for each variable; sub-scores that are significant for (aeh) are not necessarily significant for (e). Furthermore, the correlation between the sub-scores and variation does not always support the hypotheses; some local sub-scores actually correspond with less advanced variants. The following sections discuss the results for (aeh) and (e) variation.

5.1 (AEH): RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

It was predicted that higher identity scores would positively correlate with more advanced (aeh) variants. In fact, the regression shows that the overall identity score is not a significant factor for (aeh). However, four of the identity sub-scores are significant, despite the fact that the coefficients do not indicate a great correlation: residence history ($p \leq .01$), work history ($p \leq .05$), attitudes toward the Cleveland area ($p \leq .05$), and evaluations of Cleveland area residents ($p \leq .001$). This information is shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Significant factors for (aeh)

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	719.390	174.584		4.121	.000
	Sex	15.010	23.889	.098	.628	.532
	Age	-.005	.760	-.001	-.007	.994
	ID IA life	-2.920	1.099	-.414	-2.657	.010
	ID IB school	-.395	.619	-.119	-.639	.525
	ID IE work	1.725	.783	.373	2.203	.031
	ID IF leisure	1.015	.937	.131	1.083	.282
	ID IG consumption	.035	.706	.009	.050	.960
	ID IIA attitudes	-3.685	1.507	-.500	-2.445	.017
	ID IIB Clevelanders	3.092	.889	.514	3.478	.001
	ID IIC neighborhood	-.093	.720	-.025	-.129	.898
	ID IIE criticism	.100	.584	.031	.171	.865
	ID IIF Clevelander	1.042	.754	.377	1.382	.171

a. Dependent Variable: FirstThF1 NORM

It is interesting to note that sex and age are not significant in (aeh) variation. This deviates from the findings of previous variation studies, and is worth some discussion.

5.1.1 Insignificance of sex and age in (aeh) variation

Historically, sex and age have played a major role in linguistic variation (e.g. Milroy, 1980; Dubois & Horvath, 2000). Labov (1994) explains that "the most advanced vowel systems are found among younger speakers," and "in most of the vowel shifts…women are considerably more advanced than men" (p. 156). Indeed, in his Philadelphia study, Labov finds that women lead in the raising of /aeh/ (1994, pp. 508-509). Studies on the NCS have remained consistent with this finding: Ito and Preston (1998) find that the advanced speakers are female, and the most advanced is a teenage girl. Eckert (2000) finds that the most advanced NCS variants are used by young women who are most extreme in their adoption of "burnout" behaviors and attitudes. Similarly, Gordon (2000) finds that for most of the NCS features, women lead men in the use of

advanced variants; with regard to age, however, he finds that in most cases, adults lead adolescents. Nonetheless, all of these studies find a correlation between age, sex and variation.

In this group of speakers, however, older and younger people of all sexes seem to pattern the same in their use of NCS features. This could possibly be explained by the chronology of the NCS. Evidence shows that /aeh/-raising is the oldest aspect of the NCS (Labov, 1991; Labov, 1994; Gordon, 2001). Perhaps in this group of speakers, the /aeh/ shift has reached completion and a stable distribution. It follows that factors such as sex and age may not be a significant for variation.

Although sex and age do not significantly correlate with /aeh/-shifting, other factors are significant. As table 2 illustrates, residence history, attitudes toward the Cleveland area, work history, and speakers' evaluation of Cleveland area residents all significantly correlate with (aeh) variation. The following section examines these factors in greater detail.

5.1.2 Significant factors for (aeh) variation

Residence history is a significant factor in /aeh/-raising. First, the more advanced (aeh) variants were those with a lower F1 value; smaller measurements, then, correspond to more advanced vowels. Second, speakers who had spent a larger amount of their lives within the Cleveland area received higher residence history sub-scores. Therefore, the negative correlation between the F1 of (aeh) and the residence sub-score indicates that a more local residence history corresponds with a more advanced (aeh) variant. In figure 4 below, the mean of the data is marked by a square point. The F1 values below the mean correspond with identity scores at or above the mean.

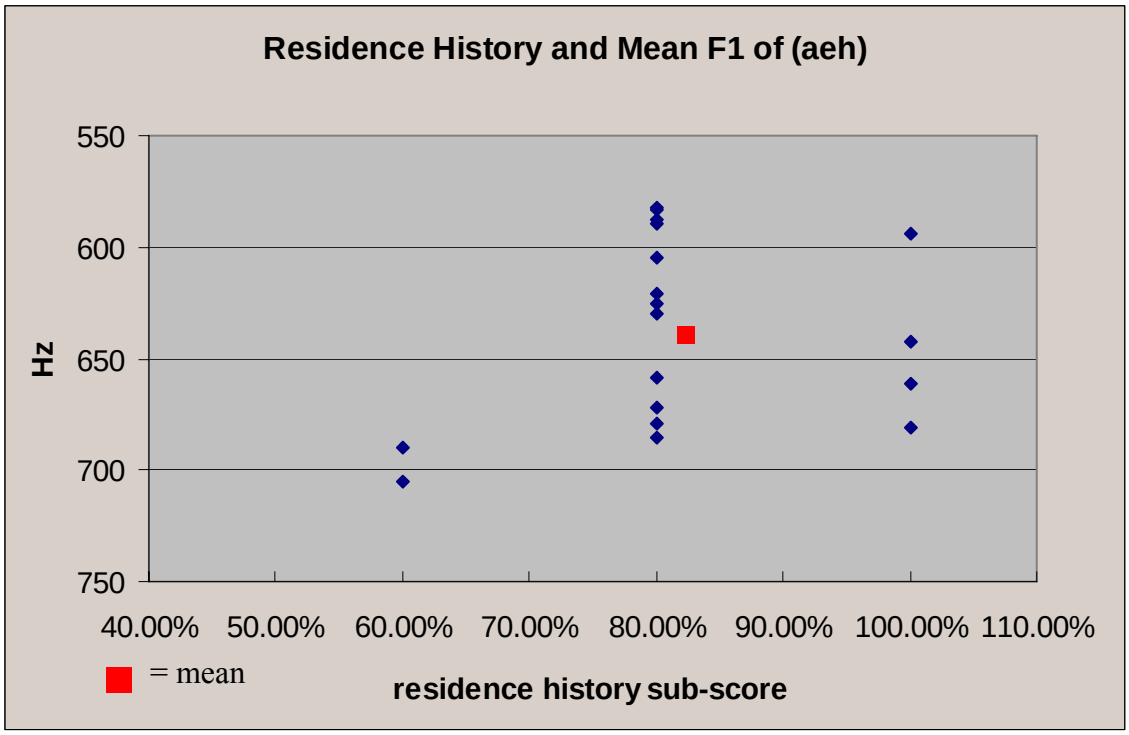

Figure 4. Residence history and mean F1 of (aeh)

Speakers' attitudes toward the Cleveland area have a similar correlation with advanced (aeh) variants. Again, the lower F1 values correlate with higher attitude sub-scores. As shown, the F1 values below the mean correlate with the sub-scores above the mean. Differently worded, there is a correlation between advanced (aeh) and positive Cleveland area attitudes. Figure 5 below demonstrates this relationship.

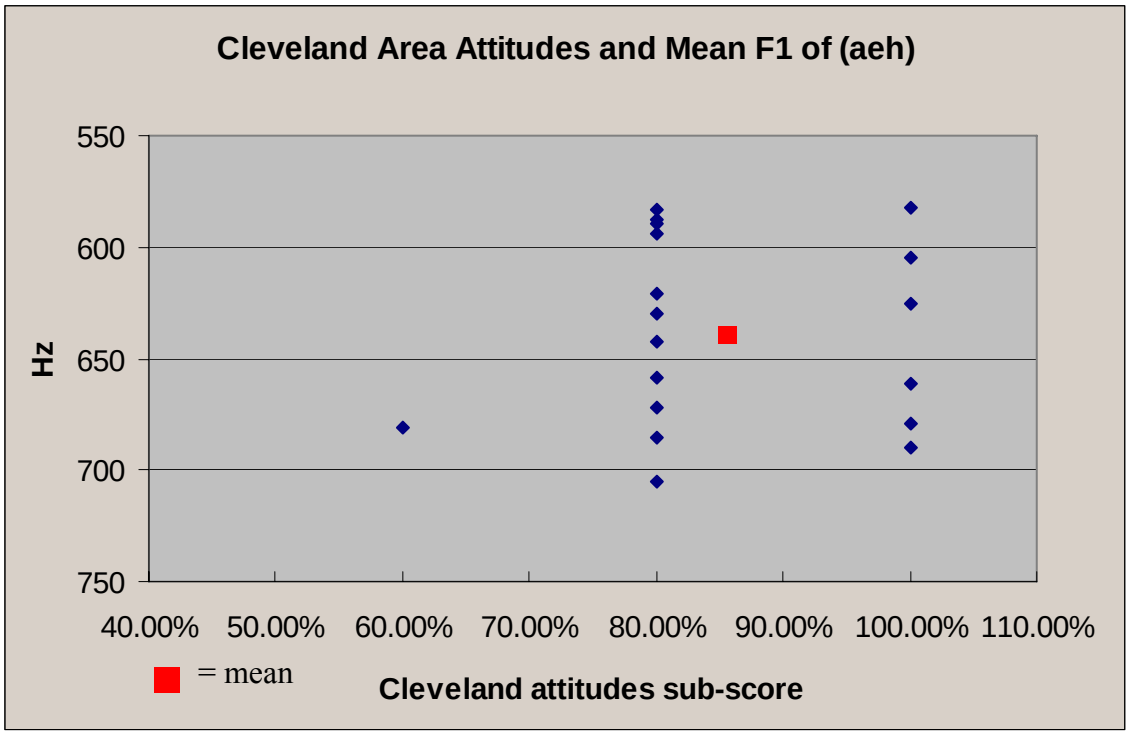

Figure 5. Cleveland area attitudes and mean F1 of (aeh)

The other two significant factors for (aeh) are work history and evaluation of Cleveland area residents. Unlike residence and attitudes, however, these factors *positively* correlate with the F1 of (aeh): a greater sub-score, indicating positive local responses, correlates with a less raised variant. This positive correlation seems to contradict the prediction that locally loyal responses would correspond to more advanced (aeh) variants. Figures 6 and 7 illustrate these results.

Figure 6 below shows that speakers who produced more advanced (aeh) variants also had lower work history sub-scores. Sub-scores below the mean correspond with above-average F1 values. Thus, a more local work history correlates with a less raised pronunciation of (aeh).

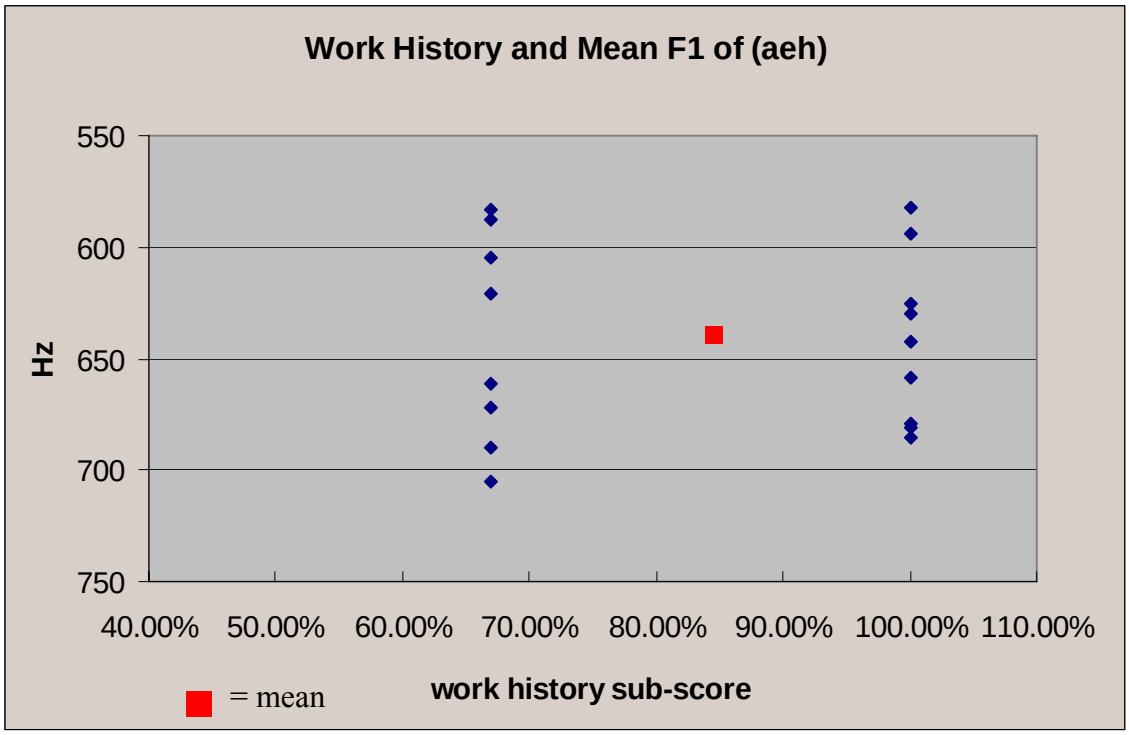

Figure 6. Work history and mean F1 of (aeh)

Figure 7 below illustrates a similar correlation between speakers' evaluation of Cleveland area residents and the F1 value of (aeh) tokens. The lower F1 values—those that represent more advanced (aeh) variants—are concentrated in the lower identity sub-scores. This indicates a correlation between positive evaluations of greater Clevelanders and lower (aeh) variants, rather than advanced variants.

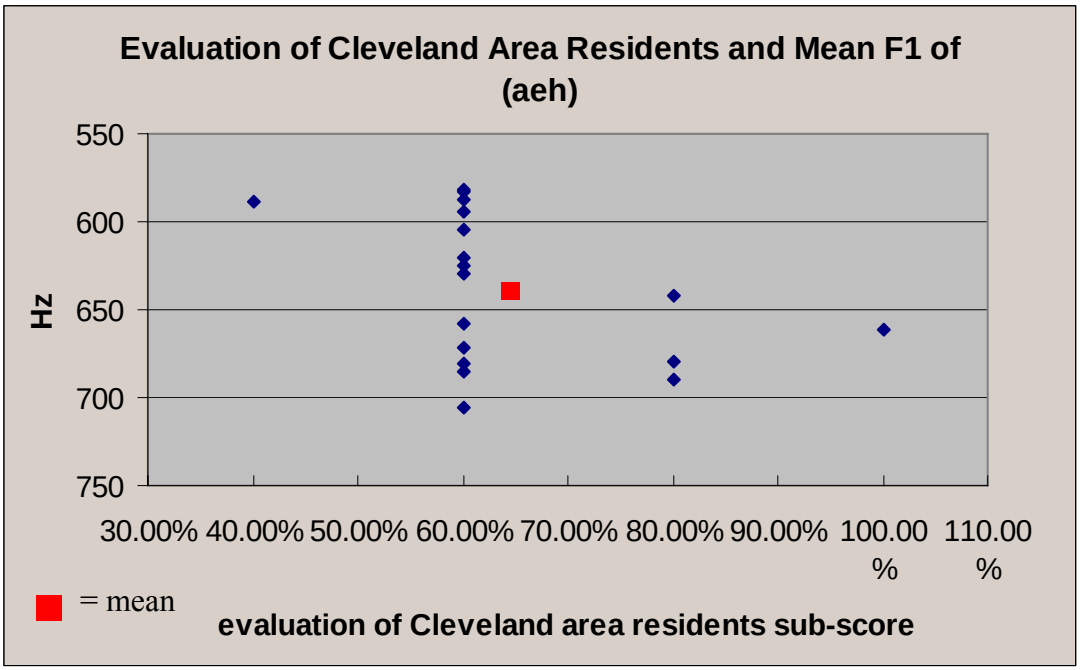

Figure 7. Evaluation of Cleveland area residents and mean F1 of (aeh)

Overall, two sub-scores—local residence and positive local attitudes—significantly correlate with advanced (aeh) variants. The other two significant sub-scores—work history and evaluation of Cleveland area residents—correlate with conservative (aeh) variants. This outcome lends itself to a discussion of why the sub-scores carry different types of significance; that is, why two sub-scores correlate with raised (aeh) variants, while the other two correlate with less raised variants.

In order to explain this, it is important to first note the differences between the factors themselves. As explained in the methodology, the content of each speaker's interview was divided into two main categories: localness of life experience and attitudinal localness. Two of the factors, residence history and work history, fit into the "localness of life experience" category. The other two factors, attitudes toward greater Cleveland and evaluation of Cleveland area residents, fit into the "attitudinal localness" category. A more detailed review of each

significant sub-score will reveal that raised (aeh) seems to be associated with attitudinally-based local identity. Life experience localness, however, does not seem to pattern the same way.

The first attitudinal measure of localness, speakers' attitudes toward greater Cleveland, correlates as expected: positive attitudes toward the region correlate with raised (aeh). In this sense, speakers do seem to associate advanced (aeh) with the Cleveland region. However, the other attitudinal sub-score, evaluation of Cleveland area residents, correlates in the opposite way: positive evaluations of greater Clevelanders correlate with less raised (aeh) variants. Although both of these sub-scores are attitudinally-based, they differ by the degree to which they involve the speaker. Psychological distance, and the fact that these are suburban speakers, might account for this difference.

When speakers evaluate the region, it does not reflect upon them as individuals. The region does not consist of just the city of Cleveland, but also dozens of suburbs and their wide diversity of residents. While the region is certainly marked by economic recession, poverty, and a less-than-perfect reputation, it is also home to cultural centers, affluent suburbs, higher education and world-renown medical facilities. Thus, the speakers are able to comment on the region as a resident without directly associating themselves with the stereotypical, poor Cleveland that makes newspaper headlines. They are capable of being involved with the region without being individually pigeonholed by its reputation. One way of expressing this involvement could be utilizing a local, advanced (aeh) pronunciation.

The evaluation of people, however, does not allow speakers the same level of involvement with the region. Rather, it promotes a level of detachment. When evaluating the average Cleveland area resident, the speakers must draw upon stereotypes. An average greater Clevelander does not embody all of the pleasant aspects of the region; rather, he or she falls in

line with the average, unfavorable perception of the region. If the speaker does not want to align themselves with this stereotype, they must distinguish themselves as *not* average. If raised (aeh) is associated with "Cleveland-ness," then conservative (aeh) can be utilized to distance the suburban speaker from the blue collar, financially troubled, "brain drained" greater Clevelander. This distance does not mean, however, that speakers are negatively evaluating the average person from the region; they actually offer positive evaluations. The use of conservative (aeh) is simply a means by which the speaker can dissociate themselves from the stereotypical Cleveland resident, highlight their suburban residence, and allow themselves the privilege of passing judgment. The fact that Brook Park feels the effects of the region's economic woes cannot factor into the detachment these speakers might be trying to create. Indeed, if it did, the speakers would reduce themselves to a stereotype, and thus lose their position of evaluative privilege.

Thus, raised (aeh) seems to be associated with attitudinally-based localness. As expected, favorable attitudes toward the region positively correlate with raised (aeh). The evaluation of greater Clevelanders is not so straight-forward. However, the evaluation of people might involve a sense of detachment from the region, and this detachment could be marked by the use of conservative (aeh). This nevertheless would support the notion that raised (aeh) may index Cleveland localness; it just inversely demonstrates that indexicality.[7]

Similar explanations cannot be offered for the life experience sub-scores. While the local residence history sub-score correlates with an advanced (aeh) variant, local work history correlates with a less raised variant. It can be argued that in light of the current wave of out-migration from the Cleveland area, speakers who continue to live in the region are actively

[7] It is possible that speakers in this group might style shift by using more local sounds when they discuss more local topics. However, an investigation of this possibility would require more data than was gathered for the current study.

asserting their local ties. In this sense, residence history could actually be a measure of attitudinal localness. Work history, however, cannot be explained similarly. Someone who lives in greater Cleveland is choosing it over thousands of other locations. However, a speaker who chooses to live and work in greater Cleveland has a more limited range of job locations; the vast majority of the jobs they can reasonably accept will be located in greater Cleveland. Thus, it is unlikely that the decision to work within the region represents an attitude. With this in mind, the role of life experience localness in greater Cleveland variation requires more extensive study.

Overall, greater Cleveland localness does correspond with advanced (aeh) variants. However, this sense of localness seems to be measured in terms of attitudes rather than life experience. In this group of speakers, life experience-based factors do not consistently correlate with raised (aeh). However, advanced (aeh) does correlate with attitudinal localness, and thus may serve as a second-order index of attitudinal localness. As the following section will discuss, there is no evidence that advanced (e) carries a similar indexicality.

5.2 (E): RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The second hypothesis predicted that higher identity scores would positively correlate with more advanced (e) variants. Again, while the overall identity score is not significant for (e) variation, several identity sub-scores are significant: consumption practices ($p \leq .05$), attitudes toward the Cleveland area ($p \leq .05$), and evaluations of the speaker's suburb neighborhood ($p \leq .01$). This information is shown in Table 3 below.

Table 3. Significant factors for (e)

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	1030.111	390.802		2.636	.010
	Sex	36.974	48.126	.094	.768	.445
	Age	1.187	1.258	.121	.943	.349
	ID IA life	-.046	2.438	-.003	-.019	.985
	ID IB school	.416	1.293	.049	.322	.749
	ID IE work	-.814	1.869	-.069	-.436	.664
	ID IF leisure	-1.265	2.131	-.065	-.594	.555
	ID IG consumption	-3.633	1.659	-.367	-2.189	.032
	ID IIA attitudes	9.032	3.524	.472	2.563	.013
	ID IIB Clevelanders	-2.345	2.097	-.144	-1.118	.267
	ID IIC neighborhood	4.351	1.466	.450	2.968	.004
	ID IIE criticism	1.593	1.285	.197	1.240	.219
	ID IIF Clevelander	-2.275	1.462	-.327	-1.556	.124

a. Dependent Variable: FirstThF2 NORM

Only the consumption practices sub-score negatively correlates with the F2 value of (e). Figure 8 below illustrates this result. The red point indicates the mean of the data. As the figure shows, the speakers who produce the most advanced (e) variants—those with the lowest F2 value—also have above-average consumption sub-scores.

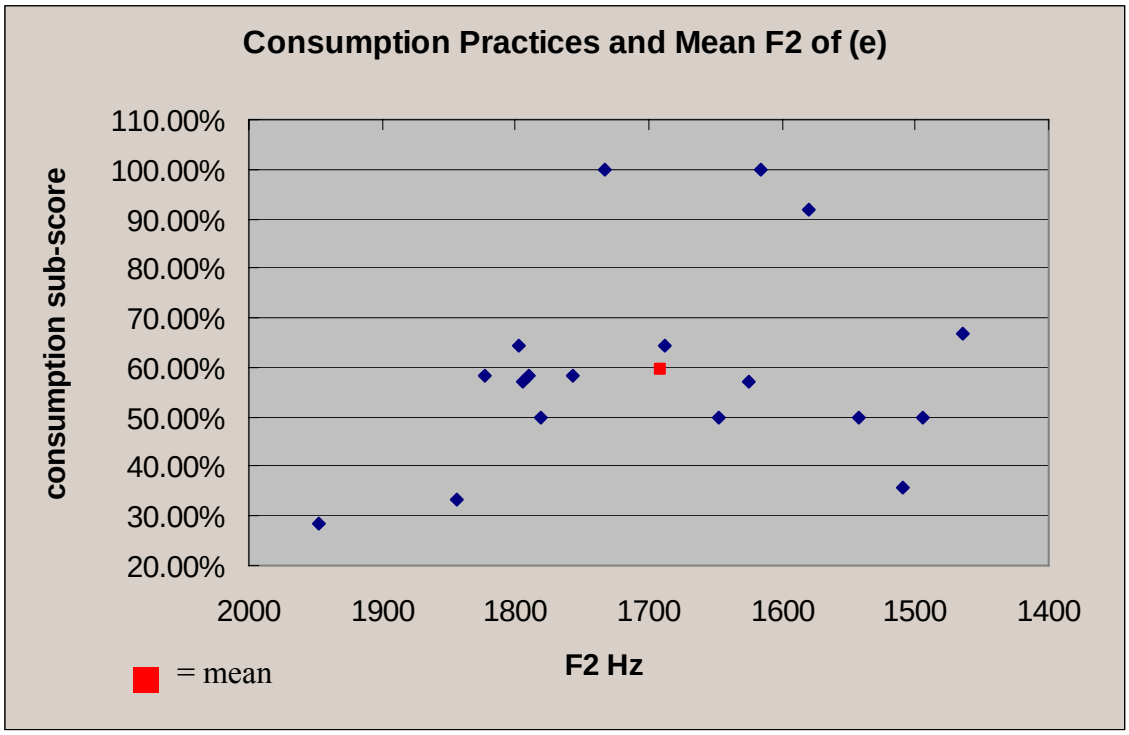

Figure 8. Consumption practices and mean F2 of (e)

The other two significant sub-scores, attitudes toward the Cleveland area and attitudes toward the speakers' suburban neighborhood, correlate with more fronted (e) variants. Figure 9 illustrates the correlation between Cleveland area attitudes and the F2 of (e). The mean sub-score is at 85%, while the mean F2 value is 1690 Hz. The lowest F2 values correspond with below-average sub-scores.

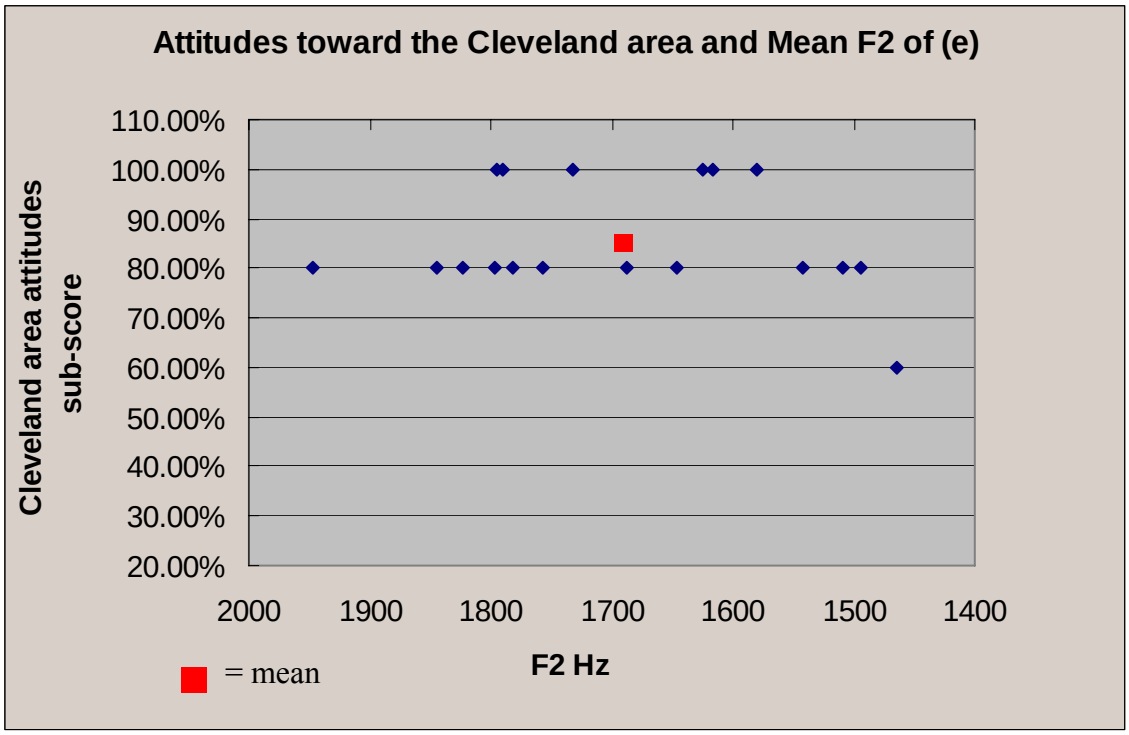

Figure 9. Attitudes toward the Cleveland area and mean F2 of (e)

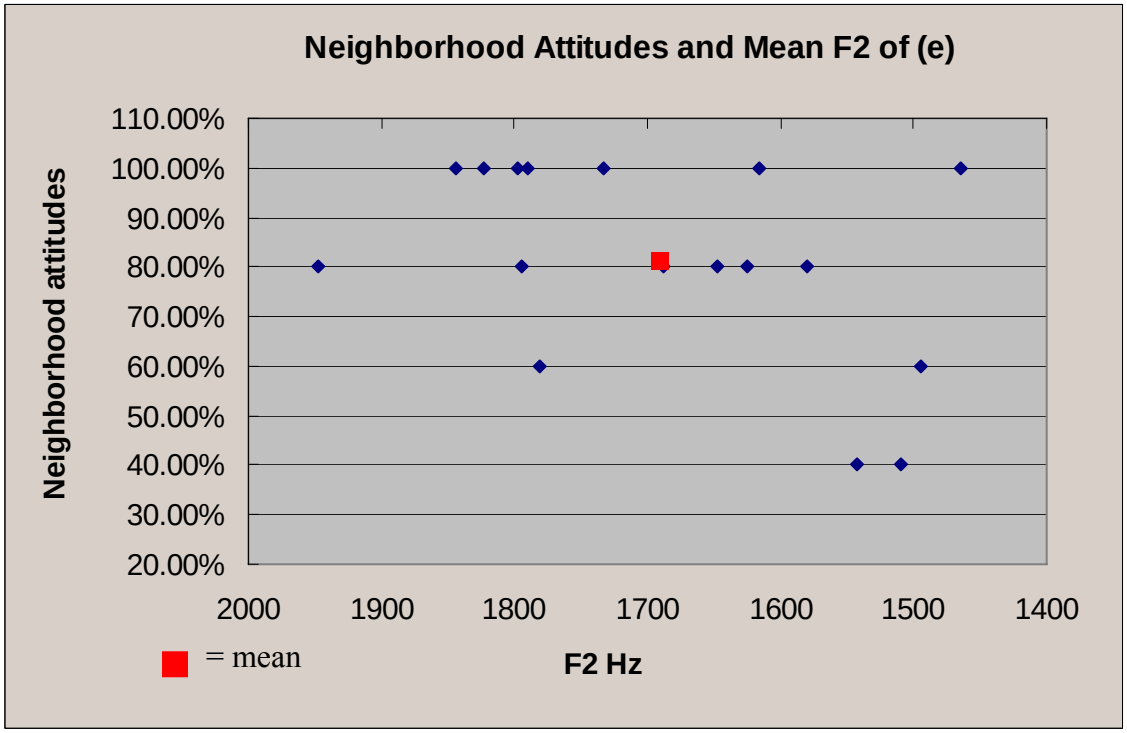

Figure 10. Neighborhood attitudes and mean F2 of (e)

Figure 10 illustrates a similar correlation between neighborhood attitudes and the F2 of (e). The mean F2 value is 1690 Hz, while the mean sub-score is 81%. As the figure shows, most of the lowest F2 values correspond with sub-scores that are below the mean. A positive evaluation of the neighborhood, then, correlates with a less backed (e) variant.

Overall, these results are inconsistent with the results for (aeh). First, with the exception of Cleveland area attitudes, the two variables have no significant sub-scores in common. Raised (aeh) correlates with several aspects of attitudinal localness, while backed (e) correlates with only one feature of life experience localness. Attitudinal factors correlate with a more fronted (e) variant.

Moreover, there is no consistent relationship between the significant factors for (e) variation; the reasoning behind the significance of one sub-score does not hold for the other sub-scores. For example, the significance of the neighborhood sub-score might lead one to believe that a conservative (e) variant might index a super-local identity. This would follow the patterning of (aeh): advanced variants correspond with Cleveland regional local identity, and thus, conservative variants may signal neighborhood-based identity. Along that line of logic, we would expect to find a positive correlation between advanced (e) and positive Cleveland area attitudes. However, this is not the case: a conservative (e) variant correlates with both positive neighborhood evaluations *and* positive Cleveland area attitudes.

Furthermore, the significance of the sub-scores cannot reliably be explained by a difference between attitudinal localness and life experience localness. Only the consumption practices sub-score significantly correlates with advanced (e) variants; no other life experience sub-score is significant. While this hints at the possibility of a correlation between life experience-based factors and /e/-backing, it does not serve as conclusive evidence. In fact, the

other two significant sub-scores serve as stronger evidence that attitude-based local identity correlates with conservative (e) variants. Of course, this runs contrary to the expectation that a strong sense of local identity should correlate with advanced local linguistic forms.

There are, however, several likely explanations for the patterning of (e). First, (e) variation might not be involved in local identity work. Instead, it might be associated with a type of "expanded identity" (Hazen, 2002), wherein the speaker orients toward a cultural factor beyond their locality. In Hazen's (2002) study, expanded identity involves speakers' orientation toward areas outside their home county; these areas could be geographically defined, such as the state, or they could be cultural areas, such as the hip-hop lifestyle. In this case, measures of local identity would not accurately capture the forces behind (e) variation.

Another possibility is that (e) might not index any type of identity. /e/-backing is a recent shift within the NCS, and therefore could carry a lower-order indexicality. In this case, (e) might not be involved in identity work. Rather, it could pattern according to some other factor unexamined in this study, such as class, ethnicity, or growing up in a certain section of the region.

Another possibility is that /e/-backing does not consistently occur across the Cleveland region. Again, this can be attributed to the fact that /e/-backing is among the youngest shifts in the NCS. While Labov, Ash, and Boberg (2006) indicate that backed (e) is a feature of the Cleveland area dialect, their data does not extensively cover all areas within greater Cleveland. It is possible, then, that backed (e) is a new enough linguistic form that it hasn't spread to the speakers in Brook Park. This might explain why backed (e) does not significantly correlate with sex or age.

Lastly, (e) variation might be explained by social networks, an unexamined factor in this study. Because the participants in this study are all members of the same recreation center, and because the Brook Park area is substantially smaller than the greater Cleveland area, it is likely that the speakers have developed extensive networks with their neighbors and fellow recreation members. As Milroy (1980) demonstrates, this can have a significant impact on variation. In line with Milroy's results, network affiliations and other related factors might inhibit /e/-backing in this group of speakers, regardless of the speakers' opinions of their neighborhood and greater Cleveland in general. For instance, conservative (e) might indicate a closed network. In contrast, local consumption practices might relate to a more open network, or at least different network affiliations, in a way that promotes /e/-backing. The fact that neighborhood attitudes are only significant for one variable, and moreover, that two of the variable's three significant correlations run contrary to the NCS pattern (Labov et. al, 2006), makes the social network explanation one worth further exploration.

At the bottom of these possibilities lies the fact that different variables may pattern in different ways. Factors that are significant for (aeh) will not necessarily be significant for (e), and /e/-backing might significantly correlate with multiple social factors. This concept is exemplified by Eckert (2000), who finds that a speaker's suburb, high school community of practice, sex, social network affiliations, and leisure activities can impact their pronunciation of (e). All of these factors are not significant for every linguistic variable Eckert analyzes; rather, she treats each variable individually, and in the end, pieces together an overall picture of the speech community. An overall sociolinguistic picture of the Brook Park group will require the examination of social factors not present in this study.

6.0 CONCLUSION

The role of identity in language variation has been the focus of countless sociolinguistic studies. Few of these, however, have targeted the NCS, and virtually none of them have analyzed the use of the NCS in the Cleveland metropolitan area. The goal of the current study was to begin to address these gaps by determining if features of the NCS are engaged in local identity work within a group of Cleveland area speakers.

In order to achieve this aim, this study analyzed two NCS features that are reportedly present in the Cleveland dialect: (aeh), which is raising, and (e), which is backing (Labov et al., 2006). These features were acoustically measured. The measurements were then compared with speakers' sense of local identity, as determined through their local experiences and attitudes. While the two hypotheses were not supported, they were not categorically refuted, either. Certain aspects of identity, rather than overall sense of local identity, are significantly correlated with both advanced and conservative (aeh) and (e) variants. While raised (aeh) might index attitudinal local identity, backed (e) is not conclusively involved in local identity work.

The results of this study open several avenues for future research. First, many of the social aspects found to be significant in this study could be extended to other studies and re-examined under different conditions. Because specific aspects of identity, such as speakers' opinions of Clevelanders, were significant in this study, a future study might explore the possible

sociolinguistic significance of additional identity criteria. Further research might also examine the social work being done by other NCS variants, such as (o) and (oh).

Furthermore, in order to fully understand the sociolinguistic landscape of greater Cleveland, more ethnographic studies might be necessary. If, for instance, speakers' opinions of Clevelanders are significant for (aeh) variation, a future study might question how these opinions are formed, if they correlate with other linguistic variants, and if they relate to other, unexamined attitudes speakers might demonstrate. Similarly, researchers might examine Cleveland area discourse and speaker attitudes to learn the role of inclusive and exclusive speech. As this study discovered, speakers tend to avoid the use of NCS features when evaluating fellow residents, but not when evaluating larger groups and concepts in which they can anonymously take part.

In addition, a study of social networks could enrich the view of sociolinguistic variation in the greater Cleveland area. Future studies might explore the tie between neighborhood and variation; specifically, they might ask whether social networks are significant for variation within Brook Park or other Cleveland area neighborhoods, especially for /e/-backing and other recent shifts in the NCS.

Studies might also explore the intricate mingling of "expanded" and "urban" identity in speakers' attitudes. While regional identity generally seems to be supported by the (aeh) data, the (e) data hints at the possibility of expanded identity (Hazen, 2002). Research on the boundaries between these two identities, and the effect each type of identity has on both the NCS and other regional dialects, could greatly inform sociolinguistic research.

On top of these specific research questions, however, is the overall body of research on the NCS. The amount of research on the NCS in general is relatively small, and NCS research in the Cleveland area is virtually nonexistent. Future studies might investigate the extent of /e/-

backing in greater Cleveland, investigate the role of sex and age in the variation of all NCS features, or focus on sociological factors such as ethnicity, class, or location within the Cleveland region. Overall, any studies of the NCS in greater Cleveland, regardless of their particular focus, would address the lack of research on both the NCS and the Cleveland area.

While this study does add to the body of NCS research, its primary findings lie at the intersection of Cleveland identity and local linguistic features. In this respect, it also contributes to the growing amount of cultural identity-based sociolinguistic research. The current results indicate that life experience-based factors, such as residence history and career paths, may affect variation differently than do attitude-based factors. Unlike life experience-based factors, attitudinal identity is not coincidental or the result of merely being born in the area. Rather, it can indicate a way by which people orient themselves toward or away from the Cleveland area. Local identity includes ideologies through which each speaker carves out a psychological space for him or herself. Thus, when a speaker expresses their positive evaluation of the Cleveland area, they might be aligning themselves with more than just the Cleveland that exists geographically; they also might be aligning themselves with experiences and features that they deem as "Cleveland" in nature. If linguistic behavior constitutes an expression of identity (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985), the raising of (aeh) can be a means by which these speakers demonstrate their attitudinal and experiential "place" within the Cleveland region.

APPENDIX A

BROOK PARK CENSUS DATA

Information gathered from the United States Census, 2000.

RACIAL COMPOSITION

Race	**Percent**
White	94.5
Black or African-American	2.0
American Indian or Alaskan Native	0.2
Asian	1.3
Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander	0.0
Some other race	0.8
Two or more races	1.3
Hispanic or Latino (of any race)	2.0

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Population, 25 years and older	**Percent**
Less than 9^{th} grade	3.7
9^{th} to 12^{th} grade, no diploma	15.5
High school graduate (equals equivalency)	43.4
Some college, no degree	22.2
Associate degree	5.4
Bachelor's degree	7.2
Graduate or professional degree	2.5
TOTAL POPULATION 25 YEARS AND OLDER	**100% / 14,883**

OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND

Most common industries	**Percent**
Manufacturing	22.8
Educational, health, and social services	14.8
Retail Trade	14.2
Arts, entertainment, recreation, accommodation, and food services	9.4
Other industries, including professional, public administration, and real estate	Less than 8% each
TOTAL WORKING POPULATION (16 years and older)	**100% / 10,379 persons**

MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME COMPARED TO NEARBY SUBURBS

Suburb	**Median Family Income (in dollars)**
Brook Park	53,324
Adjacent Suburb 1	52,436
Adjacent Suburb 2	59,194
Adjacent Suburb 3	60,015
Adjacent Suburb 4	62,422
Adjacent Suburb 5	66,196
Nearby Suburb 1	62,803
Nearby Suburb 2	76,964

MEDIAN HOME VALUE COMPARED TO NEARBY SUBURBS

Suburb	**Median Value of Owner-Occupied Units (in dollars)**
Brook Park	112,400
Adjacent Suburb 1	113,500
Adjacent Suburb 2	118,600
Adjacent Suburb 3	153,100
Adjacent Suburb 4	142,300
Adjacent Suburb 5	142,200
Nearby Suburb 1	136,000
Nearby Suburb 2	170,200

APPENDIX B

BASIC INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Were you born in the Cleveland area? If so, where? What is your ethnic heritage?

2. Have you always lived in the Cleveland area? If not, where else have you lived? For how long?

3. What elementary and high schools did you attend?
   (If applicable) Which college/grad school/professional school did you attend?

4. What do/did you do for a living? Where is/was that located?

5. What do you enjoy doing most at the community center? Do you do any other activities in your spare time?

6. Do you ever go out to eat at restaurants? Which restaurants do you like the most? Which restaurants do you go to most often?

7. Do you follow any sports? Which teams are your favorites? How do you show that you support those teams (attend games, wear team-oriented clothing, etc.)? Are there any sports teams you just can't stand?

8. Do you keep up with the news very much? If so, do you read any newspapers or watch any television news programs? Which do you prefer?

9. There is a TV commercial I've seen in Pittsburgh for a lawyer—it's on all the time, and everybody seems to know this guy. They can even quote him! Do we have anything like this in Cleveland? Are there commercials like that, or semi-celebrities that we all seem to know about?

10. Are there any local events that you do/did attend regularly (every year)?

11. What do you think are some of the defining features of the Cleveland area? These can be places, landmarks, people, etc. What do you think about these features? Why do they make you think of Cleveland?

12. Do you enjoy living in Brook Park? Do you enjoy living in the Cleveland area? What is your favorite/least favorite part of living here?

13. What are your most memorable experiences (good or bad) from living in the Cleveland area?

14. Who do you think is the average Clevelander? Describe their appearance, what they do for fun, where they live.

15. Are most of your friends/family from the Cleveland area?

16. What do you think that people who don't live in the Cleveland area think of us? Do you agree with this outlook?

17. Has being from Brook Park ever been a negative experience for you?
Has being from the Cleveland area ever been a negative experience for you?

18. From the following list of words, which four do you think are MOST important to describe how you think of yourself?

Clevelander	(grand)mother/(grand)father, daughter/son (based on age)
Brook Parker	Wife/husband/partner, boyfriend/girlfriend (based on age)
American	Ethnic group
Ohioan	Occupation

APPENDIX C

IDENTITY VALUE SHEET

ParticID _____

I. Localness of life experience

A. How local is interviewee's life experience, as a whole? 5 4 3 2 1

5 Lived in same neighborhood whole life
4 Lived in Cleveland area whole life
3 Lived elsewhere for less than 1/4 of life
2 Lived elsewhere for 1/4-1/2 of life
1 Lived elsewhere for more than 1/2 of life

B. How local is interviewee's elementary/secondary educational history? 3 2 1

NOTE: **Name of high school, if any_____**

3 completely neighborhood-based (all schooling in Cleveland area public schools)
2 partly neighborhood-based (eg., local elementary school, private high school or non-Cuyahoga County high school)
1 mostly or completely non-neighborhood based (eg. magnet schools or city-wide private schools throughout)

C. How local is interviewee's college educational history? 4 3 2 1 n/a

NOTE: **Name of college, if any _____**

5 Very Cleveland-oriented, most fellow students from Cleveland. (CSU, Tri-C, local trade or business schools, hospital-sponsored nursing programs)
4 Located in Cleveland area, many fellow students from Cleveland. (Baldwin Wallace, John Carroll, Ursuline, Notre Dame, CWRU, CIA, others in Lake County—e.g. Lake Erie)

3 Not Cleveland-oriented, but in northern Ohio (Kent State and all satellite campuses, even those in Tuscarawas and E. Liverpool, Akron, Toledo, Bowling Green, YSU)
2 College in central or southern Ohio (OSU, OU, Dayton, Cincinnati, Xavier, Dennison, Miami)
1 College in another state (but returned to Cleveland after college)

D. How local is interviewee's post-college educational history? 2 1 n/a

NOTE: **Name of school and type (eg. Case Medical School) _____**
2 in Cleveland
1 elsewhere

E work 3 2 1

NOTE: **Name of primary type of work_____**
3 works/worked mostly with people from his/her neighborhood or on the same side of city (east or west) (eg. old millworker pattern, factories, city services, bartending, homemaking)
2 works/worked mostly with people from Cleveland area, but not from his/her neighborhood (eg. most clerical kinds of work, school teaching, hairdressing, Cleveland government, all jobs on other side of city)
1 works/worked mostly with people from elsewhere (eg. professor at any college, local rep to state or federal government, travelling consultant)

F. leisure 4 3 2 1
NOTE**: list the interviewee's activities, each categorized** as
a. Cleveland area-based (church, neighborhood community groups, travel with neighbors, city sports league, Cleveland sports team fan, local chapter of a national organization, travel with others from greater Cleveland area)
b. NE Ohio-based (NE Ohio clubs and organizations, outlying counties like Lorain, Medina, Lake, or Ashtabula,
c. supra-local (online activities, travel with strangers, national or statewide organizations)

Leisure activity	**category**

Then code:

4 leisure activities mostly Cleveland area-based
3 leisure activities partly Cleveland area-based, partly NE Ohio-based or supra-local
2 leisure activities partly NE Ohio-based and partly supra-local
1 leisure activities mostly supra-local

G. How local are interviewee's consumption practices?

For this section, use the table called "Consumption results for local orientation coding" to fill in the table below. Here is how to interpret the lines on the table:

1. Interest in local affairs: Do they follow local news closely or somewhat closely? If so, check "local."
2. Source for news: Do they read a local newspaper or watch local news on a local TV station regularly? If so, check, "local."
3. Preference for locally-owned restaurants: Do they make a point of choosing locally-owned restaurants when they go out to eat (that is, do they mention a restaurant other than Friday's, Applebee's, Houlihans, etc.—e.g., Santo's, Jennifer's, Luna's, etc.)? If so, check "local."
4. Support of local professional sports: In answer to the question about whether they like sports, do they mention a local professional sports team? If so, check "local."
5. Support of non-professional sports: Do they mention a local high school, college, or amateur sports team? If so, check "local."
6. Pop cultural knowledge: In answer to the question about commercials and Cleveland celebrities, do they mention at least two? If so, check "local."
7. Participation in Cleveland traditions: in answer to the question about Cleveland traditions and customs, do they mention at least one they regularly participated in during their lifetime (e.g., do they mention the downtown Christmas light ceremony, visiting Higbee's at Christmas, attending the Marconi Grand Prix, seeing the Pops at Christmas, regularly attending the Feast in Little Italy, attending Homecomings or Cook-Offs, etc.)? If so, check "local."

Reported consumption habits	**question answered?**	**if so, local?**
1. interest in local affairs		
2. source for news		
3. preference for local restaurants		
4. support of local professional sports		
5. support of local college/high school/amateur sports		
6. knowledge of Cleveland pop culture		
7. participation in Cleveland traditions		
Total questions answered =		
Total "local" answers=		
Divide total "local answers by total questions answered = local consumpion percentage		
NOTE: Anything else in this part of the interview, as you listen to it, that suggests they are either making a claim to a local identity or claiming not to be locally oriented.		

II. Attitudinal localness

A. What are interviewee's attitudes about the Cleveland area? (Base this answer on the discussion explicitly prompted by the questions about Cleveland, and on other things interviewees say.)

5 Strongly positive
4 Somewhat positive
3 Fairly neutral **5 4 3 2 1**
2 Somewhat negative
1. Very negative

NOTE: **transcribe interesting quotes**

B. What are interviewee's attitudes about Clevelanders? (Base this answer on the discussion explicitly prompted by the questions about what Clevelanders are like, and on other things interviewees say.)

5 Strongly positive
4. Somewhat positive
3. Fairly neutral **5 4 3 2 1**
2. Somewhat negative
1 Very negative

NOTE: transcribe interesting quotes

C. What are interviewee's attitudes about his/her neighborhood? (Base this answer on the discussion explicitly prompted by the questions about the neighborhood, and on other things interviewees say.)

5 Strongly positive
4 Somewhat positive
3 Fairly neutral **5 4 3 2 1**
2 Somewhat negative
1 Very negative.

NOTE: transcribe interesting quotes

D. Does interviewee say that being a Clevelander has ever been a negative, in answer to the question about this?

0. N/A (if interviewee does not identify as a Clevelander)
2 No, not a negative **0 2 1**
1 Yes, has been a negative

E. Does interviewee identify him/herself as a Clevelander in the identity list question?

0. N/A (if interviewee does not identify as a Clevelander)
3 Lists "Clevelander" first
2. Lists "Clevelander," but not first **0 3 2 1**
1. Doesn't list "Clevelander."

APPENDIX D

LOCAL IDENTITY SUBSCORES

SPEAKER	I-A 0/5	AVG	I-B 0/3	AVG	I-C 0/5	AVG	I-D 0/2	AVG
BP01	4.00	**80.00%**	1.00	**33.33%**	n/a		n/a	
BP02	5.00	**100.00%**	3.00	**100.00%**	n/a		n/a	
BP03	4.00	**80.00%**	3.00	**100.00%**	n/a		n/a	
BP04	5.00	**100.00%**	2.00	**67.00%**	5.00	**100.00%**	n/a	
BP05	5.00	**100.00%**	3.00	**100.00%**	5.00	**100.00%**	n/a	
BP06	4.00	**80.00%**	2.00	**67.00%**	n/a		n/a	
BP07	5.00	**100.00%**	3.00	**100.00%**	5.00	**100.00%**	n/a	
BP08	4.00	**80.00%**	3.00	**100.00%**	n/a		n/a	
BP09	4.00	**80.00%**	2.00	**67.00%**	2.00	**40.00%**	n/a	
BP10	3.00	**60.00%**	3.00	**100.00%**	n/a		n/a	
BP11	4.00	**80.00%**	3.00	**100.00%**	5.00	**100.00%**	n/a	
BP12	3.00	**60.00%**	1.00	**33.33%**	2.00	**40.00%**	2.00	**100.00%**
BP13	4.00	**80.00%**	3.00	**100.00%**	n/a		n/a	
BP14	4.00	**80.00%**	2.00	**67.00%**	5.00	**100.00%**	n/a	
BP15	4.00	**80.00%**	3.00	**100.00%**	5.00	**100.00%**	n/a	
BP16	4.00	**80.00%**	2.00	**67.00%**	n/a		n/a	
BP17	4.00	**80.00%**	3.00	**100.00%**	n/a		n/a	
BP18	4.00	**80.00%**	2.00	**67.00%**	n/a		n/a	

SPEAKER	I-E 0/3	AVG	I-F 0/4	AVG	I-G 0/X	AVG	II-A 0/5	AVG
BP01	3.00	**100.00%**	4.00	**100.00%**	2.5/7	**35.71%**	4.00	**80.00%**
BP02	3.00	**100.00%**	4.00	**100.00%**	3.5/5	**58.33%**	4.00	**80.00%**
BP03	3.00	**100.00%**	3.00	**75.00%**	5.5/6	**91.66%**	5.00	**100.00%**
BP04	2.00	**67.00%**	4.00	**100.00%**	7./7.	**100.00%**	5.00	**100.00%**
BP05	3.00	**100.00%**	3.00	**75.00%**	2/3	**66.67%**	3.00	**60.00%**
BP06	3.00	**100.00%**	3.00	**75.00%**	2/7	**28.57%**	4.00	**80.00%**
BP07	3.00	**100.00%**	4.00	**100.00%**	1/2	**50.00%**	4.00	**80.00%**
BP08	3.00	**100.00%**	4.00	**100.00%**	3.5/6	**58.33%**	5.00	**100.00%**
BP09	2.00	**67.00%**	4.00	**100.00%**	1/3	**33.33%**	4.00	**80.00%**
BP10	2.00	**67.00%**	4.00	**100.00%**	1/2	**50.00%**	4.00	**80.00%**
BP11	2.00	**67.00%**	4.00	**100.00%**	3.5/6	**58.33%**	4.00	**80.00%**
BP12	2.00	**67.00%**	4.00	**100.00%**	6/6	**100.00%**	5.00	**100.00%**
BP13	3.00	**100.00%**	4.00	**100.00%**	4/7	**57.14%**	5.00	**100.00%**
BP14	2.00	**67.00%**	3.00	**75.00%**	4.5/7	**64.28%**	4.00	**80.00%**
BP15	2.00	**67.00%**	4.00	**100.00%**	3/6	**50.00%**	4.00	**80.00%**
BP16	n/a		4.00	**100.00%**	4.5/7	**64.28%**	4.00	**80.00%**
BP17	3.00	**100.00%**	4.00	**100.00%**	2/4	**50.00%**	4.00	**80.00%**
BP18	2.00	**67.00%**	4.00	**100.00%**	4/7	**57.14%**	5.00	**100.00%**

SPEAKER	II-B 0/5	AVG	II-C 0/5	AVG	II-D 0/2	AVG	II-E 0/4	AVG	II-F 0/3	AVG	AVG OF I-A THROUGH II-F
BP01	3.00	**60.00%**	2.00	**40.00%**	0.00	**0.00%**	2.00	**50.00%**	1.00	**33.00%**	**55.64%**
BP02	3.00	**60.00%**	5.00	**100.00%**	2.00	**100.00%**	4.00	**100.00%**	1.00	**33.00%**	**84.67%**
BP03	3.00	**60.00%**	4.00	**80.00%**	2.00	**100.00%**	2.00	**50.00%**	3.00	**100.00%**	**85.15%**
BP04	5.00	**100.00%**	5.00	**100.00%**	2.00	**100.00%**	2.00	**50.00%**	2.00	**67.00%**	**86.45%**
BP05	3.00	**60.00%**	5.00	**100.00%**	2.00	**100.00%**	3.00	**75.00%**	2.00	**67.00%**	**82.15%**
BP06	3.00	**60.00%**	4.00	**80.00%**	0.00	**0.00%**	3.00	**75.00%**	0.00	**0.00%**	**58.69%**
BP07	4.00	**80.00%**	3.00	**60.00%**	2.00	**100.00%**	3.00	**75.00%**	1.00	**33.00%**	**79.82%**
BP08	4.00	**80.00%**	5.00	**100.00%**	2.00	**100.00%**	2.00	**50.00%**	2.00	**67.00%**	**85.03%**
BP09	3.00	**60.00%**	5.00	**100.00%**	1.00	**50.00%**	1.00	**25.00%**	1.00	**33.00%**	**63.21%**
BP10	3.00	**60.00%**	2.00	**40.00%**	2.00	**100.00%**	4.00	**100.00%**	2.00	**67.00%**	**74.91%**
BP11	3.00	**60.00%**	n/a		2.00	**100.00%**	4.00	**100.00%**	1.00	**33.00%**	**77.83%**
BP12	4.00	**80.00%**	5.00	**100.00%**	n/a		2.00	**50.00%**	2.00	**67.00%**	**77.94%**
BP13	3.00	**60.00%**	4.00	**80.00%**	2.00	**100.00%**	2.00	**50.00%**	2.00	**67.00%**	**81.29%**
BP14	3.00	**60.00%**	4.00	**80.00%**	2.00	**100.00%**	4.00	**100.00%**	2.00	**67.00%**	**76.39%**
BP15	3.00	**60.00%**	4.00	**80.00%**	2.00	**100.00%**	3.00	**75.00%**	3.00	**100.00%**	**81.09%**
BP16	2.00	**40.00%**	5.00	**100.00%**	0.00	**0.00%**	2.00	**50.00%**	1.00	**33.00%**	**61.43%**
BP17	3.00	**60.00%**	3.00	**60.00%**	2.00	**100.00%**	4.00	**100.00%**	1.00	**33.00%**	**78.45%**
BP18	3.00	**60.00%**	4.00	**80.00%**	2.00	**100.00%**	2.00	**50.00%**	3.00	**100.00%**	**78.29%**

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