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The Practice of Mainland Chinese Students Adopting English Names and Its Motivations

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THE PRACTICE OF MAINLAND CHINESE STUDENTS ADOPTING

ENGLISH NAMES AND ITS MOTIVATIONS

by

T. (LEO) SCHMITT

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Linguistics in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Linguistics in
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ABSTRACT

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Advisor: Cecelia Cutler

This dissertation examines the Chinese practice of adopting English names in the context of Chinese international students studying at American institutions of higher education. This work adopts the position of Bourdieu (1991) that there is a fundamental unity of the market, in that economic and political capital is connected to linguistic and cultural capital. Prosperity in one area is linked to others; people who have wealth and power tend to use language and have names that are similarly valued. In this situation, we are able to make choices about our linguistic and cultural stances based on our status within society. Such choices from what Mathews (2000) terms the cultural supermarket allow us to access varying levels of linguistic and cultural power. Such choices are subject to constant contestation depending on the ever fluctuating position of socioeconomic status (Volosinov, 1929/1973) and this study takes into account the sociocultural context in which name choices are made. It further considers, following von Bruck and Bodenhorn (2006), that names are entities in their own right. That is to say that names are not simply signifiers, but that they entail considerable indexical qualities. Individuals have a sense of ownership and attachment to their names (Valentine, Brennen, & Breddart, 1996).

Using these paradigms, this study surveyed (N=228) and interviewed (N=23) mainland Chinese international students in the United States about their use or non-use of English names. The study confirmed previous studies' (e.g. Duthie 2002, Edwards 2006, McPherron 2009, Heffernan 2010, Chien 2012, Bailey & Lie 2013, Sercombe et al 2014, etc.) findings that English name adoption

remains a dominant practice widely perceived as driven by pronunciation issues. This was the first such formal study of which the author is aware to be conducted in the United States.

The study also explores the potential advantages of adopting an English name beyond the frequently cited issue of pronunciation (e.g. Duthie 2002, Edwards 2006, McPherron 2009, Heffernan 2010, Chen 2016, etc.) and memorability (e.g. Edwards 2006, McPherron 2009, Chen 2016, etc.) In particular, the Chinese preference for titles over names in formal situations (Blum 1997, Sercombe, et al., 2014) along with Chinese given names typically being used only by family and close friends means that anglophone contexts (U.S. universities, international corporations, etc.) presents a challenge. Where neither Chinese given names (because they index a private life) nor titles, with or without family names, (because they contradict anglophone social mores) can be used, English names can fill an important gap. However, the adoption of English names is constructed from a Chinese perspective that does not necessarily fit American perspectives. The study also explores the stances of those who do not adopt English names while studying in the United States and argues that one factor influencing those who use their Chinese given names in anglophone contexts is their increasing familiarity with the American cultural practice of using only their given name. This contrasts with the greater flexibility of Chinese practice (e.g. Jones, 1997) of adopting multiple names.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

While my name appears on this dissertation as the author and I accept full responsibility for everything here, I fully recognize that none of what I have achieved, either here or elsewhere, would have been possible without the enormous support of many, many people. The tradition of the Prophet Muhammad teaches us "He has not thanked Allah who has not thanked people." (abu Dawood 4811, n.d.) Because of the interconnectedness of our lives, I acknowledge that the list is endless. I acknowledge the countless people who came before me and established the circumstances in which I am able to complete my work. Those who built up a university system operating within a relatively peaceful and secure society where our basic needs are met have been indispensable for my work. Such work and sacrifice should not be taken for granted.

Within that bigger picture, I must also acknowledge the many teachers I have had throughout my life, starting with my parents, Charles and Catherine Schmitt.

For the purposes of this particular oeuvre, I particularly acknowledge the help of my dissertation adviser, Dr. Cecelia Cutler. Dr. Cutler's constant support and encouragement have made this long journey far more bearable and illuminating than it might otherwise have been. Her insights and suggestions have made this a much stronger work than I could ever have achieved on my own, and I owe a debt of gratitude for this most welcome assistance. I must also thank the other members of my committee. Dr. Gita Martohardjono taught me principles of linguistics and second language acquisition that have allowed me to engage with the field in more meaningful ways and were fundamental in my following this current study. My work with Dr. Miki Makihara introduced me to currents in language ideologies and how they affect our thinking. I have striven to remain mindful of this throughout my work, but also acknowledge that I am affected by the language regimes in which I have been acculturated. I also gratefully acknowledge the support of Dr. Paul

I must also acknowledge the many friends and professional colleagues who have encouraged me and given me valuable feedback on the topic. They are far too many to mention here, but I am grateful to each of them.

Finally, I must express my undying appreciation for the patience and support of my immediate family. My wife, Inés, and my children Ayesha, Aziz, and Omar have been with me through this long and winding path and I appreciate their presence in my life in ways that I can never truly express. They have helped me with this dissertation in direct ways and much, much more in a plethora of indirect ways.

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CHAPTER 1: SITUATING NAMES

1.1 Background

The two and three-year-old children filed into the classroom as usual, but today they each had around their necks a piece of string holding a board with an English[1] name on it. The names would generally be quite at home in Derby, Alice Springs, or Peoria: Michael, Ellen, Mary, and David. These children, some still in diapers, who were still learning their first language, Mandarin Chinese, had already been assigned English names.

In 1988, I was teaching EFL at a number of institutions in Taipei. One of those was a pre-Kindergarten Montessori institution where Taiwanese parents sent their children to prepare them for future study, including a 20 minute English 'class', where we would sing songs and learn simple words. The idea of assigning English names to children so young seemed strange to me and very hard for them to grasp. Most did not associate with their English names at that age and I never used them. But the practice of assigning children English names from the earliest years

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[1] For the purpose of this study, an English name for Chinese people will refer to any name that does not follow Chinese phonological and orthographic rules. I find this more accessible perhaps than Sercombe, Young, Dong, and Lin's (2014) term Non-heritage name (NHN) because while the names considered here may not fit English (broadly-defined) naming sensibilities, they do seem to follow English phonotactic patterns. Additionally, the overwhelming sense among both Chinese and non-Chinese is that English is the language that drives these changes (e.g. Bailey and Lie, 2013).

When discussing an English name as commonly recognized by Anglophones (e.g. John, Mary), I will use the term Anglo name. This is a fuzzy term, as names in English-speaking countries can vary enormously. The study of this boundary is beyond the scope of this paper. It is also worthwhile noting that the idea that names "belong" to a certain language indicates a certain level of operation within a monolingual framework. As Canagarajah (2012:15) argues, part of this is through the linguistic ideologies within a speech community that certain words "belong" or do not "belong": "(languages) acquire labels and identities through situated uses in particular contexts and get reified through language ideologies." The term English also ties in with Tan's (2001) and Kachru's (1986) term of "Englishization", where the emphasis is on linguistic rather than cultural/political connotations of "Anglicization."

remained with me and most of the Chinese[2] people I have met over the intervening years, outside of China in the 1980s, have English names.

I noted also that when I was working at the Queens College intensive English program in the early 2000s, most of the Chinese students I encountered took English names. A decade later, however, working at the New York University's intensive English program, it seemed that a larger proportion, but still not close to the majority, of Chinese students preferred their Chinese names. At both institutions, the students were all, or almost all, F1 international students, i.e. students who came to the United States to study rather than to immigrate. Two possible explanations for this difference occurred to me: The first is that there is a difference in the type of student at either institution. Those students attending NYU pay approximately three times what those attending Queens College pay, suggesting that NYU students may come from a higher socioeconomic class, so a class explanation may be possible. The second possibility is that there has been a shift away from adopting English names in recent years, as a result of China's growing position on the global stage. I hypothesize that both of these factors may be playing a role in the decision to adopt or not adopt an English name.

Then, a few years ago, at a faculty meeting, I engaged in a discussion with two department chairs. The actual dialog is naturally lost to me, but the gist remains.

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[2] The empirical results in this research paper will explore citizens of the People's Republic of China who are of Han ethnicity. The exact delimitations of what counts as Chinese or not Chinese, and whether this is a gradable adjective, are hotly contested. Americans of whole or part Chinese ancestry, ethnically Chinese Indonesian, Malaysian, and Thai citizens, and people living in Taiwan (Republic of China/Chinese Taipei), and others highlight the complex nature not just of 'Chineseness', but also of national and ethnic identity. For the purposes of this paper in referring to previous studies, I will use the term *Chinese* as being in some way indicative of related to Chinese (中國) culture, history, and identity. For situations where I refer to ethnically Han Chinese citizens of the PRC, I will use the not entirely satisfactory phrase *mainland Chinese*. The precise nature of these connections is subject to constant negotiation and struggle (e.g. Bucholtz, 2016) and beyond the scope of this paper.

The first, chair of the Translation department, asked me, as the newly-hired international 'expert', why so many Chinese students adopted English names. She felt it was demeaning to them to have to change their names and saw a level of almost imperialist arrogance in how an American university would allow, let alone encourage, these youth to shed something as personal as a name in order to please their supposed superiors. The chair of the Public Relations program, however, felt that without adapting to 'western', or more precisely American norms, these students would remain "beyond the pale". Their ability to maximize their study here and certainly to advance in a business world dominated by English (and by extension English-speaking elites) would be hampered significantly if their professors, and thereafter their employers, had to wrestle with 'problematic' and unfamiliar names. In his view, the Chinese students were making a pragmatic choice, one that would allow them to reap dividends in the future. The two sides of this argument aroused further my own questions on the subject.

I have personally taught many Chinese students over the years. With some rudimentary understanding of the language, I feel I can pronounce Mandarin Chinese names with a much greater level of precision than many of my anglophone faculty colleagues. For several years, I almost insisted on using the Chinese name. It complicated some of my administrative duties as I tried to work out which of the four *Lis* in the class called himself *Michael*, when I knew them all by their Chinese names. But I felt better acknowledging the name their parents had given them. This somewhat smug attitude started to fade when I saw students push back, and noted that some definitively preferred using their English names. I started to re-evaluate the choices I made in naming and what impact that had on my English as a Second Language classes and their language development.

With these experiences in mind, I moved to make a more formal and detailed study of the choices Chinese students make when adopting, not adopting, or changing an English name. These choices seem to reflect the complex intersection of language, culture, and identity. While many people around the world adopt names, including Anglo names, which do not originate in their own recent cultural or linguistic history, the Chinese practice of taking an English name is, as Duthie (2002:2) avers, actually "rather unique to China." The decision to adopt another name can be seen part of a personal and cultural narrative that has wide-ranging implications on the person's language and identity. And as De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012) remind us, there are cultural differences in how such narratives are constructed. These narratives of who we are and why we do what we do are central to our own construction of identity. The decisions made and the reasons behind them, however, are often highly opaque, even to those making them. Bourdieu (1991) notes the power of the linguistic market and its concomitant forces are often hard for us to see and are often exerted subconsciously. The challenge of seeing how these decisions are made is significant and this study will attempt to shed some light on how and why Chinese speakers choose - or do not choose - English names and the motivations behind their choices[3].

1.2 Onomastics in Linguistics

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[3] "Foreign" names are adopted around the world. Many Anglo names are in fact of Hebrew or Greek origin. In East Asia, Filipinos have overwhelmingly adopted English or Spanish names in the Catholic north. In South Korea, a considerable number of Koreans adopt English names. However, these countries have very different colonial histories from China and foreign names have a longer history. While there may be some similar forces at play, China has a clearly different culture and history in this respect. In Japan, the practice is much rarer and in North Korea possibly illegal.

The study of names has a complex position in the field of linguistics. Clearly, words vary between languages. The word *dog* in English is *perro* in Spanish and *Hund* in German. Such variations in lexemes is part of the definition of linguistic variation. However, John Smith is usually still *John Smith* when traveling in Spain or Germany, even if he might have been *Juan Herrero* or *Johann Schmidt* had he been born and raised in those countries. With some exceptions, we do not attempt a translation of personal names. We call *Vladimir Putin* by that name, though his title and speech are translated into English. Many American family names are kept in their original forms as the *Obamas*, *Boehners*, and *Cuomos* of the country attest. Even among first names, there are names that have English language equivalents. Of the 40 most popular names in the United States for 2018 (Baby Center, 2019), Spanish *Isabella (#5)* is now significantly more popular than the traditionally English *Elizabeth (#36)*. Names then seem to operate in a different sphere from other lexical entries, in that they can, at least in some circumstances, more readily transfer across languages. This may be related to the fact that they index a unique person (or place or thing) rather than a type. Thus *Ayesha* indexes a specific individual, while *table* indexes any such piece of furniture that fits the definition. Hence in English, we would not typically use an indefinite article with a name and it always takes a capital letter in formal writing.

This work will explore the rich levels of semantic value that names possess, which is well established in the literature (Kripke 1972, Rymes 1998, Hughes 2004, etc). However, there has also been exciting work done in syntax (e.g. Matushansky, 2009) on the role of names and their role in developing a coherent syntactic understanding of language. Similarly Valentine, Brennen, and Bredart (1996) explore the phonological variations names demonstrate, showing connections with language on multiple fronts. These indicate that names are solidly a part of the linguistic

realm, even if their position is decidedly distinct from other parts of speech. Part of this may be explained by their highly personal indexicality, pointing to ourselves, our nearest and dearest, our most hated enemies, and strangers on the streets. These elements of language speak to a more visceral element, thus clouding some of the more detached elements that the more clinical preferences of the scientific study of language can more readily address. Nevertheless, as utterances conveying meaning, including the elements of displacement, arbitrariness, and productivity (Yule, 2010), they clearly and firmly belong to the realm of language.

Valentine et al. (1996) further examine the lexical status of names and discuss their unique status on multiple levels. One of these is the relative similarity of faces for recall. Thus, they cite Humphries et al.'s (1988) finding that structurally similar objects (such as types of fruit) are harder to recall than structurally dissimilar ones (such as furniture). It should be no surprise then that faces are situated at the less easily accessible end of the retrieval spectrum. They further cite the work of Morrison et al. (1992) that shows that such retrieval is also linked, not to word frequency as one might expect, but rather to the age of acquisition. Because adult language acquisition of words shifts away from lexemes to names (Valentine et al: 1996), their retrieval similarly varies accordingly. The relation between names and words is particularly heightened in Chinese, a central focus of this dissertation, as Zhongti and Millward (1989:266) say: "Chinese given names, (are) best considered lexical, rather than onomastic, items." These points indicate that the study of names or onomastics is intricately tied not only to sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology, but also to formal linguistics.

1.3 Value of Names

Despite the diversity of human culture, there are some constants. As Pulgram (1954) notes, names are universal. All people have names. We may apply names to other things, such as animals (such as pets), places (including bridges and buildings), and even inanimate objects (such as cars and boats), but people are the one clear constant. Even the eponymous (and fictitious) character in the film *Man with No Name* (Leone, 1964) is given nicknames *(Joe, Manco, Blondie*) by those around him. Names are one of the inescapable elements of human social interaction, even if their comparative frequency of use may vary from culture to culture (e.g. Blum, 1997). Alford (1988) similarly declares names to be a universal. He goes on to say that all societies have rules on their bestowal and while there are a wide variety of naming practices, the name is given. Though these processes through which we receive our name(s) and whether and how often they may change can vary considerably, names have value and in many cultures have a highly symbolic importance. As Wilborn (2014) blogs "You can't call it *it*", indicating that a simple indeterminate pronoun is insufficient for a human being. A name must be given one way or the other, and how that name is given will depend on the cultural practices and demands of those among whom one is born.

If everyone has a name, not everyone agrees on what that name means and what its semiotic value is. Kripke (1972), following John Stuart Mill (1843/1974), says that names do not have connotations. He similarly cites Ziff saying that names have no meaning and as such do not strictly belong in language. Kripke (1972) argues that it is not the properties that make an object an object. It is an object, plain and simple. While some properties may come inherently with the object in order for it to be that object, nevertheless, they do not make the object. Thus it is, in Kripke's view, the act of calling someone, for example *Zhangliao* that makes him *Zhangliao* and not any of his characteristics. Kripke (1972) cites the scenario whereby *Hitler* would still be

Hitler even if he did not commit all the acts for which he is infamous. In a hypothetical alternate universe where the horrors of the rise of Nazism and the Second World War did not come to pass, *Hitler* would still be *Hitler*.

Kripke (1972) goes on to address the classic semantic example of *Cicero=Tully*. He argues that this is not simply an equality. It is, rather a statement indicating that two different names can refer to the same individual; it is a statement of identity. Similarly x=y does not mean x and y are the same, but instead that they refer to the same number/referent/etc. As Kripke (1972:107) puts it, "Identity, so they say, is not the relation between an object and itself, but is the relation which holds between two names when they designate the same object." Thus gold is a metal that is colored yellow, but that does not mean that gold means 'yellow metal'. This point is key in his understanding that names do not cut to the essence of a human being, but rather that they are simply referents to a human being. Hughes (2004) reinforces Kripke's stance against names describing something, which he terms 'pure descriptivism' and suggests that we can easily have two mountains of exactly the same shape and size, but they would still be precluded from having the same name. Valentine et al. (1996:14) similarly argue that "A proper name has one referent but no meaning" adding that (1996:3) names operate "as a single unit with respect to grammar". In this view then, names do not have a meaning, but simply refer to a person, place, or thing. This stance calls to mind Shakespeare's (1597/1985: Act 2, scene 2) famous contention that "That which we call a rose would smell as sweet by any other name."

Bailey and Lie (2013) challenge this stance, arguing that names can have a 'duality of meaning' where they not only refer to a person (or place or thing), but can also carry an indexical quality. They concede that in some cases names do not have a second meaning, but say that it is possible that they do in fact index some quality of a person. This quality may be any type of

quality that we use to differentiate human beings, including social class, character, physical trait, etc. Similarly, Rymes (1996) takes the stance that while Mill (1843/1974) and others may find names to be arbitrary referents, in some contexts they clearly carry much information about the person referred to, and gives the examples of the Nuer and Hopi cultures as examples where names are clearly indexical of qualities of the person referenced. Rymes (1996) tells us that the meanings that names acquire depend on the context and a name in one context may have no indexicality, yet in another it may mean a huge amount. Zenner & Marzo (2015) also point to the associative meanings of names, dividing them into two elements. The phonological form may create semantic connections with other things, such as the name *Daisy* alluding to the flower *bellis perennis*. More importantly, they argue that names may trigger connections with languages, including English names. Bucholtz (2016: 274) similarly asserts "names are not merely referential forms...they are also, and more importantly, indexical forms with social meanings that are intimately tied to the contexts of their use." This calls to mind Volosinov's (1929/1973: 94) assertion that "Each and every word is ideological and each and every application of language involves ideological change." The idea that word choices, and by extension names, have implications, whether ephemeral or enduring seems clear in the context in which Volosinov is speaking.

In the context of Chinese people adopting English names, it seems clear that any emergent new indexical meanings in new contexts will be obscured to non-Chinese speakers, simply because they lack the linguistic and cultural resources to map any deep level of indexicality. The adoption of an English name may partially reflect a desire to access or at least project such indexicality in a more linguistically and culturally accessible manner.

If, as I would assert, names do indeed possess some level of indexicality, and if that indexicality is culturally and socially situated, then there still remains the challenge of how that indexicality adjusts to the cultural growth of human beings. Rymes (1996) notes that in some cultures (e.g. Hopi and Tewa), it is usual to adopt different names at different stages in life, though many other cultures are constant in their name usage. This is an additional layer of complexity, for English names adopted by Chinese people can appear in kindergarten as the anecdote above (Section 1.1) describes, but they can also be adopted at other stages in life, and even replaced periodically as in the Hopi and Tewa culture.

Rymes (1996) also notes that the compartmentalization of names, where one (Western) name is used in one context, but another is used in a different context, such as the Hopi practice of using an Anglo name in school but a Hopi one at home, helps to maintain a level of cultural identity. This identity, however, can only truly be accessed with the appropriate cultural and linguistic context and thus reinforces the appropriateness of having a different name in a different cultural and linguistic context. For in a different cultural and linguistic context, the indexicality of the name would be expected to be essentially meaningless. This understanding then, may also have relevance for understanding the Chinese choice to adopt English names, as we would expect all or at least most of the indexicality their Chinese names might have would be lost in a non-Chinese linguistic and cultural context. An illustration of this is that Anglo names are generally associated with a specific gender (Wright, 2007). One example of such association is phonological, which has in fact led to changes in the gender associated with names. Thus we see the increasing alignment of names ending in the phoneme /i/, typically represented by the grapheme –y or -ey, with female characteristics, so formerly male names such as *Tracy, Kelly*, or *Casey* are now increasingly associated with females. This practice demonstrates the cultural (and

temporal) situatedness of any indexing. Such a name is, as Reyes (2013:165) notes following

Agha (2007), an emblem, that "...thing to which a social persona is attached." This attachment,

however, is not as closely linked in another cultural context, if linked at all.

The idea that these phonological features can index certain characteristics is reinforced by

the fact that nicknames are often phonologically related to other names (Blum-Kulka and Katriel,

1991).

Similarly, Bodenhorn and vom Bruck (2009) take issue with the minimalist position of

Kripke and Hughes, arguing that names can constitute not just the persona, but the true

personality of the person named. In this case, they may be undetachable from the person. Indeed,

they argue (von Bruck and Bodenhorn, 2006:10) that beyond being signifiers, they can be

"…potentially powerful things in themselves." Bourdieu (1991) notes that naming has enormous

potential political ramifications, whether one names another *king* or *thief*.

This complex philosophical question of whether a name inherently has a meaning is

certainly a challenging one and one beyond the scope of this paper. Yet the fact that some would

imbue a name with a meaning and hold that a name does indeed index certain qualities in itself,

even if ultimately fallacious, points to a sociological perception that names carry meaning.

Indeed, as von Bruck and Bodenhorn (2006) tell us, if names only serve as labels, then they

become the tyranny of which Mill (1843/1974) warned us. That is to say, if a name is simply a

label with no indexical qualities, it could just as easily be a number or other sign. Using such

signs for human beings has a dark history, such as numbers used in the Holocaust or slave names

used in the Transatlantic slave trade. Developing simple labels devoid of any meaning can be

seen as powerful tool in dehumanizing people. In anything but the most oppressive societies,

communities are free to develop their own naming practices that take on deep and meaningful

value in one way or another. For those of us living in this world and dimension, the name *Hitler* carries a (usually highly negative) meaning.

Beyond this imputed meaning, people often have a strong personal and psychological attachment to their name. Valentine et al. (1996) cite the work of Nuttin (1985, 1987), that shows that subjects would often choose a letter in their name as a favorite, indicating a preference for those letters most closely associated with their name. Valentine et al. (1996) see this as support for the "ownership hypothesis", indicating that people have a sense of ownership tied up with their names. If a name were solely a referent with no other characteristics or implications, then such an attachment would not seem logical. We might expect people to feel an equal sense of attachment to their name as to their social security or bank account numbers. However, we typically see a stronger connection toward names. While people may feel attachment to a letter in their name, I am unfamiliar with any research showing an attachment to a number because it appears in one's social security number.

Huang and Ke (2016) similarly assert that the linguistic attributes of people's names can have considerable impact on the individual and their sense of the meaning of the name. This sense of ownership, coupled with a perceived indexicality of a name, indicates that names do mean something, at least on a mundane and practical level, to many people. What exactly that means may vary. It may index family history, as many surnames do; it may index ethnic, class, linguistic or religious identity; it may have a connection to another individual (as people named after relatives or famous people); or it may index something entirely different. Many other writers (e.g. Chen 2012, Burke 2001, etc.) have asserted the close link between names and identity. As Rymes (1996) says, names have long stories behind them.

Despite the meaning that people may assign to them, names clearly operate in a different manner from other linguistic units. Valentine et al. (1996) follow Burke et al.'s (1991) node structure theory to describe a key difference between common nouns and names. Common nouns are easier to access if they appear frequently, because the multiple exemplars all lead to the same node. Thus, the word *car* leads to all the many cars a person may encounter in their life. Common names, however, are harder to access because they go along a single node to a specific individual and then fan out. Thus, all the many cars we see are still all cars. The one word can be applied to any car. This allows multiple nodes. However, if we know many *Smiths*, they do not all lead to the same *Smith*. Each *Smith* is in fact different and has a unique pathway leading to *John Smith, Mary Smith*, etc. This, they argue, is one reason why recalling names is so much more challenging than recalling other words.

In addition to their unique referencing properties, names also appear in a very different fashion in our linguistic acquisition process. As Valentine et al. (1996) point out, as children we acquire many more lexemes than names during the early language acquisition. Yet as adults, when our vocabulary is mature, we begin to acquire more new names than new words. We frequently meet new names, especially in a large community, and accept the new phonologies that accompany them. Thus for Anglophones at least, meeting *Mr. Dreaner* would not be unusual, yet hearing that someone works as a *dreaner* would more likely cause a questioning look. This dichotomy between names and other parts of language is part of what makes them unique and linguistically salient. It also goes considerable distance in explaining why names can be constant when switching between languages while other words almost by definition must change to fit the new language.

As unique linguistic units, it is hardly surprising that they hold a special place in the sociolinguistic universe. Bailey and Lie (2013) remind us that getting a name is a performative act. This performance is what Bourdieu dubs (1991:105) "a magical intention". He then says (1991:106) "...the great collective rituals of naming or nomination...imply a certain claim to symbolic authority as the socially recognized power to impose a certain vision of the social world, i.e. of the divisions in the social world." Names, then, play a role in the imposition of how the world is and how the world should be. The power to control these names and the naming process allows those who exercise it the dominion to mold the social environment in ways that are more to their liking and presumably to their benefit. This is illustrated by the legal permissions and prohibitions of possible names in the U.S., where *1069* and *Santa Claus* were denied by courts, but *they* and *GoVeg.com* were accepted (Volokh, 2008). U.S. courts are still typically more liberal than many other countries, such as China that has banned certain Muslim names (Hernandez, 2017); Ghana, where many African names (but not Anglo names) were not allowed to be officially registered until recently (Ohene, 2018); India, where one village banned Muslim names (Ray, 2018); or Iceland, which has an official register of approved names (Lebowitz, 2017). A key contention of this paper is that names can have as much if not more effect on demonstrating control of linguistic capital as other elements of language do. The choices people make about their names, including whether and to what to change them, are subject to the same market forces that lead many people in the world to study English (Graddol, 2006) and far fewer to study, for example, the Amahai language of the Moluccas. This paper will attempt to explore what that means for mainland Chinese international students in the United States.

As we see, names play a complicated role in between language and identity that is both broad and deep. In the words of vom Bruck and Bodenhorn (2006:25), "Names then are many things."

1.4 Nicknames

A particularly relevant subset of names for this study are nicknames. These do not have the same formal position of names and consequently would be expected to accrue less symbolic value and linguistic capital than formal names.

Reyes (2013) points out that there is general agreement on two salient points on nicknaming: that the practice has multiple meanings and that what those meanings are differs depending on the specific context. Thus, like names, nicknames are culturally laden. Nicknaming, as Reyes (2013:167) notes "...in the US and other parts of the world has been widely enregistered as an index of informality (e.g. Collier & Bricker 1970; Kennedy & Zamuner 2006)." In addition to their commonly understood indexing of informality, Reyes (2013) argues that they can also index non-deference. Using someone's nickname in a hierarchical environment can provoke a realignment of the linguistic market, where a nicknaming presents interesting restructuring of the power dynamics between people. Thus if a boss calls his subordinate *Robert* as "*Bobby-boy*", there are implications for their power dynamic. A reverse situation where a subordinate calls his boss *Robert* as "*Bobby-boy*" would be particularly marked. However, as Blum-Kulka and Katriel (1991) note there are also times when a nickname may take on more power than the formal/official name (see also Chelliah 2005, Dickinson 2007). Thus *El Chapo* can be more a intimidating and powerful reference to the drug lord than *Joaquín Guzman.*

If Chinese adoption of English names can be equated with nicknaming, the power dynamics of Reyes' (2013) informality and non-deference should not be lightly dismissed. Curzan and Adams (2006) also note the power involved in being able to use a person's nickname, demonstrated in our hypothetical boss/subordinate scenario. In the words of Blum-Kulka and Katriel (1991:68) "In the broadest sense, the function of social control performed by the use of a nickname is not different in essence from the social power encoded in choice of address in general." Who gets to call whom X is a fundamental question of social power, and thus the type of name/title selected can tell us much about the comparative positions of each person.

1.5 Economic Value of Names

Beyond their linguistic role and their part in indexing identity and power dynamics, names seem to have a direct relevance on economics and material well-being (e.g. Obukhova, Zuckerman, and Zhang, 2011). Bourdieu (1986) has already argued that language is not unrelated to financial well-being. As he writes (1986:46)

> Capital is accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its 'incorporated, ' embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e. , exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor.

Thus any form of accumulated labor that allows the exploitation of social energy can be viewed as a form of capital. The ability to deploy linguistic and cultural practices to effect one's will, what Fairclough (2015:26) calls the "power over" is tied to one's socioeconomic status. While Bourdieu (1986:55) acknowledges that "...economic capital is at the root of all other types of capital", he draws a clear line demonstrating that economic capital allows linguistic and

cultural capital to similarly be accumulated by those with the financial wherewithal (Bourdieu, 1991). Austen-Smith and Fryer (2003) also note the challenges that exist if linguistic capital and economic capital are closely linked. They further note the inherent challenge in reconciling the tension between access to potential economic capital owned by an out-group and retaining the social capital of staying with the economically marginalized in-group. Those who wish to cross group divisions to gain economic capital must constantly reassert their connections with their in-group if they do not wish to abandon its attendant social capital. Those who leave their group in pursuit of economic capital must also leave its social capital. Thus, a choice must often be made as to which type of capital to pursue.

This rejection, or even unilateral renegotiation, of the marginalized group membership can lead to situations, as Bourdieu (1991) shows, where speakers of non-standard forms of language become willing participants in the destruction of their own language. As he (1991:49) says, "...it was necessary for the school system to be perceived as the principal (indeed, the only) means of access to administrative positions which were all the more attractive in areas where industrialization was least developed" and where such a school system enforced the standard language at the expense of the local non-standard. Bourdieu's (1991:51) linguistic market pushes the value of different languages and language varieties up or down depending on the "chances of material and symbolic profit." The unity of the market extends to social capital. Thus, it is no surprise that Chen (2012) reports that Taiwanese people who adopt an English name anticipate that the name will translate into more potential interactions with Americans. The social capital that hopefully becomes available by building linguistic capital should, they hope, lead also to cultural and even economic capital.

Speaking, to Bourdieu, is a business transaction and utterances are signs not only of authority, but also of wealth. Mathews (2000) also finds such concerns among Hong Kong parents who, when Hong Kong reverted to Chinese control in 1997, worried that losing English would hinder their pursuit of global success. As Mathews says (2000:159) "This conflict between Chineseness and internationalness, and between state and market, is the case not just in terms of politics, but also economics." English is strongly perceived as allowing far more potential economic gain, illustrated by the American actor Chloe Wang's (汪可盈) (Image 1) decision to drop her Chinese family name (姓 名 **xing ming**) and work by the stage name Chloe Bennet gained news coverage. Ms. Wang/Bennet noted her discomfort with this choice, but felt it necessary to gain opportunities in what she saw as a racist industry. She spoke out against the racism and offered hope that others after her would not have to change their names to find work. Despite her vocal criticism of unfair hiring and remuneration practices, she did receive considerable backlash among some Chinese fans, who felt that she should not change her family name (Herreia, 2017).

Image 1: Chloe Wang/Bennet 汪可盈

A similar situation in a different context can be seen for Angela Yeung Wing (楊穎) (see Image 2), a Chinese actress and singer who uses *Angelababy* as her stage name. Wang & Yao (2017) detail some of the negative commentary about her choice of an English stage name. Unlike Chloe Bennet, Angelababy performs in China but chose to use an English name (a combination of her earlier English name, *Angela*, and her nickname, *baby*) for professional purposes. This has led to nationalist criticism of this choice on popular Chinese social media sites such as weibo.com and qq.com (Wang & Yao, 2017), with comments indicating that such English names are inappropriate in China.

Image 2 Angelababy/Angela Yeung Wing/楊穎

It may be worth noting that Angelababy and Chloe Bennet have non-Chinese parentage (a German grandmother and white American mother respectively). It is possible that the non-Chinese parentage may play a role in the perspectives of the appropriacy of an English name in these cases.

If language in general indexes one's economic position, what about names? There certainly seems to be considerable evidence that names make a difference to the bottom line. Valentine, et al. (1996) cite multiple studies that indicate that names can have negative impacts on material aspects of one's life from the grades that one receives in class to the chances of

being elected in a democratic poll. Such consequences clearly have the potential to seriously affect one's material life. Louie (1998) tells us that some Chinese individuals adopt the name for economic benefits, such as *Craig* who thought that such a name would make the workplace easier for him. Similarly, Louie (1998) recounts stories of Chinese giving up their surnames (as described below in Section 2.1, a culturally momentous decision) in order to secure U.S. citizenship during the Chinese exclusion period. This would seem to be a direct example of trading linguistic or name capital for the cultural, symbolic, and consequently economic capital of U.S. citizenship. Banerjee, Reitz, and Oreopolos (2017) found that Asian names (Chinese, Indian, and Pakistani) correlated with fewer responses to job applications, with results even more salient with smaller employers. These point to very real economic consequences for simply having an Asian (non-Anglo) name. Weichselbaumer (2016) found similar consequences in Germany for job applicants with an identifiably Turkish name compared to a German name; this discrimination was significantly higher for Turkish women wearing hijab. Holbrook, Fessler, and Navarette (2015) found that typically Black American names like *Jamal* and *Deshawn* were likely to be envisioned as physically larger and more aggressive than typically white names like *Wyatt* and *Connor*. Booth, Leigh, and Varganova (2012) found that people with identifiably Chinese and Middle Eastern names applying for jobs in Australia had to submit at least 50 % more CVs in order to get to the interview stage.

These challenges extend beyond the workplace to academia; Milkman, Akinola, and Chugh's (2012) study also kept all variables constant except for the name. This single variable found that professors at both public and private American universities and across fields were more likely to respond to emails about doctoral study from people with identifiably "Caucasian" (Anglo) male names than those of females or other ethnicities. At the bottom of the pack came

Chinese females. Access to the highest level of education (and the concomitant economic opportunities) then seems to be impacted based on a person's name. Clark and Cummins (2012) found that the impact of names on one's social mobility is indeed pervasive and long-lasting. Their study found that family names in England correlated heavily with comparative wealth and educational success. This lack of social mobility was traceable over 200 years, indicating that names and their impact stay with us for a very long time.

This perception is echoed in the experiences of children with non-Anglo names in the U.S. changing names (or being forced to change names) to fit into the school system (e.g. Souto-Manning 2007, Gonzalez 2014, Park 2014, Treviño 2017, etc.). Despite these underlying practices, there are clearly also times when individuals are able to achieve much despite their name not being typically Anglo. The 44th president, Barack Hussein Obama is a case in point, though his name was clearly not a decisive issue for many American voters. Indeed, Devos and Ma (2013) found that although Obama's racial identity was particularly salient, his name also impacted the sense that he was somehow "less American" than Briton Tony Blair. Some Chinese Americans have also had political success while using a Chinese first name, such as Yuh Line Niou, representing the 65th district in New York's State Assembly (Robbins, 2016). These examples, seemingly despite, not because of the name, seem to be exceptions to the general trend. As Bourdieu (1977) puts it, some people have to fight for the right to speak, while others take that right automatically.

On top of all this, Valentine et al (1996:1) found that "Proper names are *the* linguistic category most likely to provoke retrieval difficulties in normal healthy adults" (emphasis in original). If one's name is forgettable or forgotten, then one's material (and other) needs are hardly likely to be prioritized.

With these facts in mind, it is small wonder that a spoof[4] of China's official media, which was able to dupe major news organizations such as the BBC and the Washington Post, suggests choosing "proper" Anglo names for wealth and advises against unusual names (CCTV News, 2014) "if you want a call back from that serious law firm in America." The fact that the spoof was believable to many mainstream news organizations speaks to the value and credibility attached to the idea. The material profit of the name one chooses is clearly of keen interest to many people and the overwhelming evidence cited above points to a powerful force inherent in names.

Despite all of this powerful argumentation, however, it should be noted that Fryer and Levitt (2003) came to a somewhat different conclusion when looking at the African American community. Their findings indicated that names are a consequence of poverty, rather than a cause and reminds us that names are part of a larger habitus that affects our economic potential. However, for Chinese individuals unfamiliar with the academic data, the perception apparently still remains that names do have an impact on how to gain material and symbolic profit. This perception is not unreasonable given the studies cited above. Indeed, the idea that language both drives social reality and is driven by it reinforces Bourdieu's (1991) contention.

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[4] The spoof site was originally posted at http://www.cctvnews.cn/2014/10/19/tips-for-chinese-choosing-an-english-name/ . Its URL was similar to http://tv.cctv.com/cctvnews/ , the official website of the predominant government television broadcaster. Thus, it seemed to have the imprimatur of the highest level. The website was quickly removed, but not before many international news agencies had seen and apparently believed the authenticity of the report. The advice given seemed to admonish Chinese people from choosing names that might appear ridiculous to foreigners.

CHAPTER 2: CHINESE NAMING PRACTICES

2.1 Chinese Names

The fundamental human practice of naming and names themselves clearly constitute a complex phenomena too wide for the purpose of this study. However, the broad descriptions above provide a necessary background and context to our study on the adoption of English names by Chinese people. With the caveats of cultural variance in mind then, it behooves us to understand, at least superficially, something of how names are regarded in Chinese culture. As Louie (1998:13) notes, "American name traditions and those of China seem to be diametrically opposed…" Thus writing in English for an anglophone audience, it is vital to understand some fundamental elements of Chinese naming practices.

Before even looking at names, it is worth noting that given names in general are less frequently used in China than the U.S. Instead, there is a preference for titles, such as teacher (老師) or boss (老闆), and other forms of address, which can serve to index social roles more effectively (Blum 1997, Sercombe, Young, Dong, and Lin 2014). This variance has ramifications for the questions raised above about whether and how names index something beyond the immediate referent.

As Edwards (2006) notes, Chinese names can be derived from any existing morpheme, such as *Zedong* 澤東 which could be translated as 'lake east' or *Jieshi/Kaishek* 介石, which could be translated as 'slate stone'. Therefore, to some extent, the discussion of Valentine et al. (1996) mentioned above regarding the acquisition of new words versus new names must function quite differently in Chinese (and other cultures where names are not as comparatively closed as they are in many English and other European cultures). This practice of using any morpheme for a name is very different from the practice in English and many other Indo-European languages,

where commonly used lexical morphemes do not tend to make up the majority of names. Female Anglo names reflecting flowers and attributes; such as *Rose, Lily, Hope,* or *Faith*; seem to be the most obvious, but limited, exceptions. This is a far cry from the incredible flexibility of Chinese naming possibilities. Indeed, the meaning of most Anglo names is not generally apparent even to educated Anglophones and they are generally regarded as belonging to a separate category from other words in the language. It is for this reason that there is a plethora of books and websites (e.g. Wilborn, 2014) that list possible names for parents to ponder. Zhongti and Millward's (1989) contention that Chinese names should be regarded as lexical entries rather than onomastic ones is particularly relevant here. Because of this, there are very different expectations for names between English speakers and Chinese speakers. As Edwards (2006:92) notes, the Chinese given name is "...indeed very personal". Not surprisingly, because Chinese names are intensely personal, much less likely to be held by others, and imbue a current meaning; great care is paid in the choosing of Chinese given names (e.g. Edwards, 2006). She cites Blum's summary of Alleton's study to show that Chinese names should not only be auspicious, but also should be referential of the time and place of the child's birth. Additionally, they may indicate a position in a generation and are likely influenced by current political or social trends (e.g. Zhongti and Millward, 1989). Examples of this may include *Dongfeng* 東風 ('east wind') or *Qiangguo* 強國 ('build the country'), which were popular during the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s (Obukhova, Zuckerman and Zhang, 2011). As Tan (2001) points out, the fact that Chinese given names can be any Chinese morpheme means that meaning takes a comparatively higher role in naming choices than it does for English speakers, who may often have no knowledge of the meaning of typical Anglo names.

Even though Chinese names can come from the over 50,000 characters of the Chinese language (e.g. Obukhova et al., 2011), Duthie (2002) does note a particular preference for certain areas. Among these, she notes names related to animals, the five elements, gratitude to Heaven, parental expectations, birth-related events, generational markers, or references to famous figures.

The proper use of names in China has a long and storied past. McPherron (2009:532) notes that

> In Book 13 of The Analects of Confucius, Confucius responds to the question about how to govern appropriately by commenting on the importance of using names properly. He notes, 'When names are not used properly, language will not be used effectively; when language is not used effectively, matters will not be taken care of . . . Thus, when the exemplary person puts a name to something, it can certainly be spoken, and when spoken it can certainly be acted upon' (Ames & Rosemont, 1998:162).

This tight connection between names and language should not come as a surprise given the much greater overlap of names and meaningful language in Chinese compared to English. Because Chinese given names are not given to name someone after a relative or famous person as they may be in English-speaking cultures, their importance in communicative language can be expected to be much deeper than it is in English speaking cultures.

Naming, as we have seen above, is a complex process imbued with much social meaning and demonstrating considerable cultural and linguistic variation. It should therefore come as no surprise that social ranking and power have much to do with name choices as well. Duthie (2002:13) notes that this is true with Chinese names as well and the "...use of particular names reflects status and ranking within the social structure, and more specifically, the relationships defined by this status." Names have considerable power to recreate Bourdieu's (1991) symbolic

violence[5] and to perpetuate the status quo because names that evoke the previous generations' preferences serve to reinforce the system's continuity, just as those that throw tradition to the wind threaten to revolt against the system. Cummins and Clark's (2012) study seems to indicate that this generational hold does indeed persist. As Mathews (2000) indicates, for Hong Kongers, Chinese names connote family, hierarchy, and intimacy. The recent controversy over the Chinese actor's decision to call herself *Angelababy* (q.v.) (Wang & Yao, 2017: 2) highlights these issues, with nationalist elements pushing back against the growth of English names saying "Our examination reveals that the majority of netizens based their argument on the notion of nationalism, suggesting that Chinese names are the only legitimate ones to be used in China." This sense of "trueness to origin" (often reinforced by media, education, and institutions) can be seen as a reaction to the shifts in power structures including as Wang and Yao (2017:4) note, through the commodification of English, neoliberal discourse, globalization, and the lack of economic and linguistic resources. This tension between the nation-state narrative and the shifts in a globalizing world affects individuals in a dynamic manner. One realization of these changes in power are the names adopted by individuals in the group. The power of names in the Chinese community then should not be underestimated.

In light of this, how can we explain the various possible functions of the Chinese practice of adopting English names? In fact, given names may be subsumed or put aside though family names are rarely if ever touched. As Jones (1997:73) tells us "It is … only with the greatest of reluctance that a Chinese will abandon his [sic] surname and assume another." Louie (1998) similarly asserts that the Chinese family name will not be changed. It is indeed called the 貴姓

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[5] Symbolic violence is a situation where the victim may be seen as actively and willingly engaged in their own oppression. This should not be seen as a freely chosen action, but rather one in which the victim is constrained by their doxa and habitus. That is to say, we perpetuate many of the situations in life simply because we do not know better alternatives, even when those situations repeat our oppression.

(**Gui Xing**) indicating the "precious/esteemed" family name. This permanence of the patrilineal family name coupled with its central role in maintaining the sense of family and hierarchy creates a sense of continuity and stability. However, as Jones (1997:78) tells us, this deep attachment to the family name is "compensated by an unusual readiness to change the given names" as outlined in the next section.

2.2 Changing Chinese Given Names

In contrast to the family name, Chinese people are comparatively flexible when it comes to given names across their lifetimes. This flexibility in adopting different names in different contexts is well-established and goes back long before the current practice of adopting English names. For example, Chinese individuals entering a Buddhist monastery or nunnery may often change their names to indicate their commitment and sacrifice, though interestingly Taoist monks and nuns do not adopt a new name (Jones, 1997). Jones also notes other events where Chinese may adopt new names. These include a groom adopting a new first name on marriage (字 格**zi ke**) and a man adopting a "fancy" name (號 **hao**) that describe the individual's pursuits or perhaps an aspect of his character. They also include a "tzu" name (字名**zi ming**), which is similar to a nickname, but is considered more formal and elegant. It is commonly adopted by men at around 20 years of age. Jones (1997) notes the flowery name (花名 **hua ming**), common in Malaysia, which he describes as a "descriptive" name. An official name (官名**guan ming**) given at 15 or 16 is another possibility, as is a posthumous name. Chinese businessmen may in fact use different names for each sphere of influence in which they work. It has also been practice, though less so now (Jones, 1997) to give children "mean" names to protect them from evil spirits who may haunt them if they appear too attractive, giving them names such as *Ya Zhu*

(亞 猪 'pig') or *Gou Shi* (狗屎 'dog shit'). He goes on to note that adults too may change their names if they feel that their fortune is adversely affected and that a new name may open up better possible fortunes. There are thus multiple possibilities for changing one's given name in Chinese culture (e.g. Huang and Ke, 2016), particularly for males. Such changes are not unusual in the human experience. As Rymes (1996) notes, some people are mononymous, while others are not (such as the Hopi and Tewa as cultures where individuals may take many names at different stages in life). Rymes (1996) argues that this compartmentalization of names demonstrates that names indicate membership. Heffernan (2010) similarly notes the cultural flexibility in adopting new names in Chinese (and Korean) culture as a reason for the more common adoption of English names among those populations in contrast to the more onomastically stable Japanese naming culture: "The adoption of an English personal name is compatible with Chinese and Korean naming culture, but not Japanese naming culture" (Heffernan, 2010:32). Silver and Shiomi (2010) similarly note the more stable nature of Japanese naming practices, while noting a marginal, but still minimal, increase in the usage of English names. Thus, in the above examples, we see new memberships beget new names for many Chinese people across a broad spectrum of contexts. Again, this has interesting ramifications for the adoption of English names.

Women also generally have possibilities for adopting new names, typically a "milk" name (乳 名 **ru ming**), a marriage name, and a nickname (Jones, 1997). Although they typically have fewer opportunities for taking new names than males (and generally the opportunities for multiple names increase with one's social standing (Blum, 1997)), this range is still considerable when compared to most western naming traditions. Jones (1997) further notes that married women may need to change their name if one of their in-laws had the same name (though such a change would not be necessary if her husband had the same name).

Compounding this readiness to adopt new names is the complexity of the Chinese writing system, which means that some names are dispreferred. As Duthie (2002) notes, some Chinese people do not use their given name simply because it takes too long to write. As we see, there are multiple options for a Chinese person with complex characters in his or her name. Indeed, Huang and Ke (2016) suggest that the orthography may play a role in the increase in practice of adopting English names. Not only is the comparative simplicity a factor, but also the difficulty of accurately pronouncing romanized Chinese names remains, particularly because of the tonal nature of Chinese languages. This multiplicity of possible names for different contexts in Chinese culture underlines the flexibility of first names and stands in stark contrast with the constancy of the family name (姓 名 **xing min**). In the words of Huang and Ke (2016:851), "The relationship between a name and its bearer depends on the cultural conceptions of the idea of 'the name'." Thus, it may be that as Chinese individuals enter a more contested space, or gain access to Mathews' (2000) cultural supermarket, their cultural conceptions of names shift.

2.3 Practice of choosing English names

With the cultural willingness to adopt another given name so clear in Chinese culture and the role of names as indexical of status of membership or compartmentalization (Rymes, 1996), it is perhaps not surprising that the practice of adopting English names has become so widespread, even if these names have no official status (Sercombe et al. 2014). There are clearly alternatives to adopting another name when engaging with speakers of other languages, but changing one's name to accommodate to the community is one strategy (Bucholtz, 2016). It is clear that adopting an English name has become a part of many Chinese people's lives (e.g. Jones 1997, Louie 1998, Duthie 2002, Edwards 2006, McPherron 2009, Heffernan 2010, Chien

2012, Sercombe et al 2014, etc.). In Taiwan, where English names have a somewhat longer history than in mainland China, Huang and Ke (2016:849) report the "...English name has gradually become a component of a glocal [global +local] identity in Taiwan and this may have wide implications." However, it is a comparatively recent phenomenon and has received "very little attention (Hua, 2010:194). Even in anglophone countries with comparatively small Chinese communities, such as Ireland, the practice seems to be followed (e.g. Pollak, 2019). Similarly, Tan (2001) reports the Singapore premier Lee Kuan Yew commenting on the five-fold increase from 1964 to 1984 in the registering of "Western" names by Chinese parents. Even in the United States, where the Chinese have a long history, Louie (1998) found that the broader process of "Americanization" of Chinese names began just prior to the Second World War. At the beginning of the twentieth century, some Chinese Americans instead adopted the practice of using initials for their first names (though rarer today, as in the architect *I. M. Pei*). Such a practice itself is informative of the status of Chinese names within the larger Anglophone community. This practice may have assisted anglophones in determining the important family name (姓 名 **xing ming**). Indeed, Louie (1998) notes that the United States Census bureau often had trouble determining Chinese last names, in part because of the typical Chinese practice of putting the family name first followed by the given name: the opposite of typical American practice.

While some Chinese Christians embraced a new name with their new faith in the past centuries (e.g. Huc, 1871), the adoption of English names by the broader Chinese population is a much more recent development. In Taiwan, Huang and Ke (2016) report that parents feel that English names are more important for their children (55%) than they were for themselves (39%). This would seem to indicate that the practice remains on an upswing. While in Indonesia, as

Bailey and Lie (2013) note, the practice of adopting English names is tied with the Suharto

nativist sentiments of the 1960s, in China it is more closely related to Deng Xiaoping's opening

of China to the broader world in the 1980s, which has led to the growth of a professional class

(e.g. Zhang 2005). The growth in this practice since this opening to broader world has been

phenomenal.

As Duthie notes (2002), it is now a common practice among business professionals to use

their English name even in China, and English names are used not only when speaking English,

but also when speaking Mandarin and other Chinese dialects. The use of English names has

penetrated society to such an extent that some Chinese do not know their colleagues' Chinese

names, but only their English ones (e.g. Duthie, 2002). It also seems to have reached the highest

socioeconomic levels of society as Meng Wanzhou, CFO of Huawei (China's largest private

corporation) uses *Sabrina* and *Cathy* as English names (Bristow, 2019). Tan (2001:8) in

Singapore similarly argues that "Non-official English-based given names can also eclipse

Chinese-based given names." This doubtless ties in with the growth in foreign investment in

China and its concomitant growth in expatriate populations and international exposure. The

spread is also likely an example of success breeding success, where the cultural practice has been

so widely adopted that failure to adopt an English name now appears to be marked (e.g.

Heffernan, 2010). This speaks to Du's (2015) argument that Chinese cultural self-perception

(CSP) is driven partly by a more individualist "independent self", but also more strongly by a

collectivist "interdependent self", where one's cultural self-perception is heavily influenced by

the cultural practices of one's in-group (see also Zhang, 2005). This cultural self-perception is

one whereby having an English name is associated with being modern Chinese (e.g. Duthie,

2002) and thus one who does not participate in this cultural practice challenges the interdependent self with a lean toward the more independent self.

The popularity of adopting English names is clearly strong, but this practice is relatively under-researched, with only a few studies conducted and none in-depth and formally in the United States. Edwards (2006) found 65 out of 80 students at a British university (81%) actually adopted an English name. McPherron (2009) found in a Chinese university, 100% (N=58) adoption of English names by Chinese teachers and advanced English foreign language students, with lower percentages among beginning and intermediate English foreign language students. Heffernan (2010) found the practice widespread in Canada and Bailey and Lie (2013) report that only 3% of an Indonesian high school class (N=100) that was 98% ethnic Chinese had identifiably Chinese names, with the rest having English names. Bartz' (2009) large survey found in an online search of Zabasearch (a search engine specifically for looking up people), Boston residents with Chinese family names, only 25% (5,949 of 22,483) had English first names. Bartz' (2009) study clearly stands in contrast to the overwhelming popularity shown in other studies. There are several possible explanations that might spring to mind. One is that students are much more likely to adopt English names, for while Bartz' (2009) study canvasses all ethnic Chinese in a region, the others focus on university students. The other is that such changes are more common in the United Kingdom, Canada, Indonesia, and China than in the United States. The former may be a contributing factor as students may be expected to experiment more and engage different cultures more readily. The latter, however, seems an unlikely explanation as not only is there considerable anecdotal support for this phenomenon in the United States, but it would be difficult to explain why English names are more successful among ethnic Chinese individuals in China and Indonesia than in the English-speaking United

States. A third explanation is probably the most likely. The previous three studies asked respondents directly, allowing for nicknames, while Bartz' (2009) study used official or semi-official data. Not surprisingly, given the above-mentioned ease with which Chinese individuals adopt multiple names, secondary and non-official English names, which seem to be the norm, would not typically appear in official or semi-official data. This serves to remind us that for many Chinese individuals and people of Chinese heritage, English names are not typically the legal or default name, but rather an additional option. It is also interesting to note that meaning of the name may not be a key factor. Chien (2012), for example, found that none of his sample (N=132) of elementary school students knew the meaning of their English name.

The reasons for adopting English names seem to vary quite a bit. Duthie (2002) found two main reasons. She found that the first, "convenience", was a way of saying that it made pronunciation easier for non-Chinese speakers. The second was simply "out of necessity". This latter reason in particular reflects Bourdieu's (1977, 1991) assertion that participants in the linguistic marketplace are forced to make language (and by extension name) choices based on prevailing symbolic power. In this case, the economic implications discussed above clearly come into play and the link between linguistic, cultural, and economic capitals is reaffirmed. Heffernan (2010:32) makes a bolder statement, that English names signal an "affiliation with western culture." This sparks some serious questions about the power dynamics involved in these choices, perhaps not least of which is Said's (1978:263) comment about Orientalists' fear that the apocalypse would take shape with the "…destruction of the barriers that kept East and West from each other." This should, however, also be considered alongside Duthie's (2002) caveat below and Huang and Ke's (2016:856) assertion that English names do not index an "*English identity*" (italics in original), but rather a glocal one. This use of English names indexes a desire

to remain open to the outside world and the international market while staying within the local

cultural norms. Indeed, the widespread adoption of English names in Taiwan (Huang and Ke,

2016), Indonesia (Bailey & Lie, 2013), and China (Duthie, 2002) would suggest that this has

become a cultural practice that conforms more to local naming and identity norms than to strictly

British/American/English/Western ones. Names are of course just one manifestation of such

glocal practices. In language, Zhang (2005), for example, outlines connections with the global

while maintaining a local component. The various McDonald's specialities of the world (e.g.

Schlossberg, 2015) and Nike's efforts (e.g. Kobayashi, 2012) to connect to local sports

preferences indicate that these glocal practices extend beyond language into food and clothing.

While all manner of social and cultural practices connect to an international community, they

also remain locally situated and therefore locally influenced. Perhaps the Orientalists can sleep

more easily believing that there are still barriers between East and West.

   Edwards (2006) similarly finds a desire to make life easier for non-Chinese speakers as a

motivation; however, she also argues that adopting English names can serve as a defense

mechanism. Students with English names create what Edwards (2006) calls a "screen" between

the student and the teacher. This, she argues, is partly a result of the English teacher's cultural

preference to establish solidarity with the student conflicting with the Chinese student's cultural

preference to establish distance. Such a desire for distance may in part be explained by the out-

group status of the foreign teachers, heightening the Group Self Perception (Du, 2015). The

English name erects a wall to create a comfortable distance for the student in response to what

they might see as over-familiarity on the part of the British teacher, though conversely Huang

and Ke (2016) note that teachers may use English names (in the Taiwanese context at least) to

appear more friendly and reduce the more traditional teacher-student hierarchy. I address this seeming paradox in Section 7.2.1.

McPherron (2009) found an additional motivation among his students at a southern Chinese university: being playful. He argues that some of his young Chinese students chose names that would sound incongruous to anglophone ears, such as *Dodo, Celery*, and *Rain*, as a way to play with language and have fun. This has parallels with Deumert and Vold Lexander's (2013) work on the accessibility of English, the prestige language, as an appropriate target with which to play and test the limits. While at least some of these students seem to concede that if they were in a more formal context they would change their name (reminding us of the changeability of names in a Chinese cultural context), as students in a low-stakes environment, they enjoyed exploring these questions of identity.

Chien (2012) and Chen (2012) suggest Taiwanese students may hold the idea that having an English name will aid in learning English, a practice explored with some success by Silver and Shiomi (2010). Chien (2012) further found that the younger the student, the higher the chance that they would believe that an English name would aid in language development. This correlation between age and belief in assistance in language development may explain why most studies that focus on adults do not mention the perception that an English name helps in acquiring the language. Huang and Ke (2016: 851) do assert that "English names have been shown to facilitate the building of rapport and bonding in the classroom." and Sercombe et al. (2014) find that the majority of their respondents feel that an English name will help them with their own English language learning. Whether this is in fact true and whether it does in fact lead to successful language development is beyond the scope of this paper. It is an interesting empirical question that behooves further study for its potential practical classroom application.

The perceptions and attitudes as to whether adopting an English has any influence on English language development will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Bailey and Lie (2013), on the other hand, deal with a different cultural context (Indonesia) and the reasons for why the adoption of English names differs. Chinese names are dispreferred because of the legacy of anti-Chinese sentiment in Indonesia, yet Indonesian names are dispreferred because the indigenous population is perceived as having lower cultural and economic capital than the ethnic Chinese. Ethnic Chinese parents in Indonesia thus elect to give their children English names first as way to index the economic and cultural capital of the English-speaking and wider international world, but also to delineate their difference from the indigenous Indonesian population. This is similar to Huang and Ke's (2016:855) assertion that English names are symbolically "international and progressive." (See also Zenner & Marzo, 2015). English names thus enter the contested space of ownership of English and its tortuous relationship with "core" countries such as the United States and Britain (e.g. Norton, 1997).

This study will continue this exploration and shed more light on possible reasons for choosing (or not choosing) English names. It will also explore whether these choices are aspirational in that they hope to bring as yet unclaimed status or whether they are more indexical in that they point to already established stances and identities.

It is interesting to note that the adoption of English names does not presuppose fluency in English, as shown in my first example in Section 1.1. Bailey and Lie (2013) similarly show that ethnic Chinese in Indonesia select English names, but not Indonesian or Chinese names, even though they may speak both a variety of Chinese and Indonesian but no English. The adoption of an English name then, is clearly not solely grounded in English language ties and communicative competence, but part of a larger sociolinguistic process whereby one community aligns (or

dealigns) itself with another speech community (e.g. Zhang, 2005). Not all elements of the linguistic marketplace need be present, but it seems that linguistic capital can be boosted by names without communicative competence in the languages to which they ostensibly belong.

Taiwan has a somewhat less contentious history with English and the United States, so although it is generally considered Chinese within my working definition, that history may be relevant in considering how English names and linguistic competence interact. It is thus interesting that Huang and Ke (2016) find that English names in Taiwan are correlated with a higher level of education, which typically entails higher levels of English proficiency. Even in Taiwan, however, English names are widespread. While the educational attainment correlation may stand in other Chinese communities as well, the point that English names can allow some level of access to linguistic and cultural capital even in the absence of linguistic competence speaks to the allure of this naming practice.

2.4 Risks in adopting English Names

While there seems to be a very strong tendency among Chinese individuals, especially those in the business world, those living in the West, and those in college to adopt English names, these choices are not without risk. Pennesi (2014:38) cites Alia's (2007) work to assert that "...work on political onomastics demonstrates, even small naming choices are political." Political choices can be dangerous choices in any society and that is true for a centralized and authoritarian context as currently exists in the People's Republic of China. As Duthie (2002:32) notes, those who currently work for international companies must live with some level of concern: "For these business professionals, a fall from grace could potentially call into question their national alliances, as they are so actively engaged in global capitalism. It was, after all, not

long ago that business professionals in foreign-invested enterprises were targeted during the

Cultural Revolution". The Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), a time when any connection to

anything foreign might lead to "re-education" or worse (e.g. Obukhova, et al., 2011), is

emblematic of the shifting vicissitudes of politics in China and its oscillating perceptions of the

outside world. While the pendulum has clearly swung toward an embrace of the foreign, in

particular the "western", at the time of writing and state policy encourages "being open to

western culture" (Li 2011, cited in Sercombe et. al, 2014:68), Chinese citizens have learned to

exercise care in their choices. Bucholtz (2016:278) points out that even the uttering of a name

"may invoke boundaries of ingroup and outgroup". Once one uses a name, that name indexes

certain group associations for the listeners and that can be momentous. Thus Duthie (2002:32-

33) notes that Chinese citizens are quick to assert their Chinese identity:

> ...as a response to these uncertainties, business professionals are particularly explicit about their national allegiance, and cultural grounding as Chinese citizens. It is common among this group to emphasize one's 'traditional' character referencing Chinese culture and its central importance in one's life. It is common to hear statements beginning with "We Chinese…" or "Our China…" regardless of the presence of foreigners[6]

Similarly, Zhang (2005) finds that yuppies in Beijing may incorporate many elements of

international life in their social practice and see themselves as a bridge to the broader

international community, yet they also position themselves in Beijing and in China.

2.5 Making Choices on English Names

Despite these potential risks, it is clear that there is considerable motivation for many

Chinese individuals to adopt an English name. How then do people make this choice? As noted

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[6] The term 'foreigner' (外国人 Wàiguó rén) is a common term for Chinese to describe non-Chinese. It can also be seen through the lens of Group-self perception discussed by Du (2015) as an important differentiater between in-group and out-group. I will use it to refer to non-Chinese individuals.

above, there was a trend among Chinese Americans to use initials at the beginning of the 20th century. Together with Western names, initials were connected with missionary work in the early 20th century as Chinese Christians adopted western cultural naming traditions. Initials clearly do not fit Chinese orthographic traditions, as they speak to a foreign writing system and in 1933 the Chinese Ministry of Education banned the adoption of foreign names and initials for students (Louie, 1998). It is noteworthy that such an edict came from the Ministry of Education and was directed at students. This indicates their position at the forefront of such naming (and by extension cultural and identity) practices. Xu and Nicholson (1992) argue against the use of initials in academic work as such Western conventions do not apply well to Chinese names.

Duthie (2002:46) argues that "…like the *hao [*fancy name*]*, acquisition of the western name is optional." This adoption, then, would seem to be a choice that Chinese make on how, as Mathews (2000) says, they choose to present themselves as belonging to one identity or another, rather than any predetermined circumstances. He goes on to support this stance by noting that when Chinese are asked why they chose an English name, they cannot give a "real" answer, but when asked why they retain their Chinese name, the response is often that they could not "...find an English name that fits" (Matthews, 2000:147). He then argues that "...larger cultural and political factors seem irrelevant to them". So Americans may view the adoption of an English name, illustrated by the second anecdote in the introduction in Section 1.1, as some sort of nefarious residual effect of colonialism illustrated by Burke's (2001:22) sense that "The learner's name is something that is intrinsic to their individuality and has strong connections with their cultural background and identity, values and norms." In the words of Volosinov (Bakhtin, 1994:74) "Language is not a neutral medium that passes freely and easily into the private property of the speaker's intentions; it is populated- overpopulated - with the intentions of

others." The imposition of an English name inevitably brings with it an entire history of that name and its inextricably linked cultural and linguistic trappings. Language does not, Volosinov (Bakhtin, 1994) assures us, exist without its dialogic origins. However, Mathews' (2000) Chinese subjects seem surprised at this perception and view their English names as "authentic parts of (themselves)". This position is echoed by Huang and Ke (2016) who similarly argue that English names have become such a norm that any such indexicality to an English/American identity no longer exists. The notion that English (or even Anglo) names belong to the "inner circle" (Kachru, 1986) may still enjoy some sway in popular folk linguistics among both Americans and Chinese, such as Wang and Yao's (2017) report of Chinese nationalists decrying the adoption of English names even in China.

However, the continued growth of English may presage ever lessening control of English by the "inner circle." In this sense, we see that English names (and I remind the reader of the very open working definition of English names as those not conforming to Chinese phonotactics and orthography) have at some level entered into a truly Chinese level of cultural practice, beyond the determinations of English speakers. As Huang and Ke (2016:70) put it, "The adoption of an NHN [Non-heritage name] can reflect what Cheng describes as "hybridity" (2008: 53), mixing the traditional and the new (Burke, 2009)." The English name, then, does not detract from their Chineseness, but simply adds another layer to it. This, then, speaks to Volosinov's (Bakhtin, 1994) point that even though the word (or in this case, name) may come from the mouths of others and index the history and culture of others, the adopter may in fact be successful in making the word (or in this case, name) their own. Volosinov (Bakhtin, 1994:76) tells us:

> The speaker strives to get a reading on his own word, and on his own conceptual system that determines this word, within the alien conceptual system of the

understanding receiver; he enters into dialogical relationships with certain aspects of this system. The speaker breaks through the alien conceptual horizon of the listener, constructs his own utterance on alien territory, against his, the listener's, apperceptive background.

Thus, the Chinese stance found in Mathews (2000) and Huang and Ke (2016) would seem to indicate that English names can enter and may well already have entered the Chinese conceptual system.

For Chinese speakers then, taking on an English names seems to be a real choice. Mathews (2000:148) says "Chinese names seem to signify the particular personal and cultural world to which one belongs; Western names seem to signify the cultural supermarket from which one may choose oneself." This indicates that English names offer an opportunity to assert one's individual agency and to decide how to present oneself. Adopting an English name then, could be seen as tantamount to asserting the power to choose how to chart one's destiny (e.g. Curzan & Adams, 2006). It connotes, for Mathews' (2000) subjects, individual freedom and egalitarian relations with others in the world; yet, he argues, we all now co-exist in "cultural supermarket" in which "...we have no choice but to choose." (Mathews, 2000:178).

Despite this, such a choice may not be as clear cut and empowering as Mathews (2000) and Duthie (2002) assert. Indeed, as Duthie (2002) tells us, some individuals feel that their Chinese names could not be pronounced properly by non-Chinese speakers. This mispronunciation leads to a different name and so in some cases, Chinese individuals may decide to adopt an English name of their choosing rather than have their Chinese name misrepresented. As one of her subjects put it, "My name sounds really ugly when foreigners try to say it. It's just not my name, so why not choose an English name that I like and they can say" (Duthie, 2002:50). Other participants cited in Duthie (2002) felt that although using English names in international corporate contexts was at first a "necessity", it evolved into a trend. This practice

then, indicates a sense of choice and agency, which was perhaps absent in the earlier days when China was first opening up to international capitalism and business interactions. This certainly seems to be the stance of several participants, yet the question remains whether this is a truly voluntary choice or one to which unwilling participants have decided to give the best, or even a faulty, interpretation in order to save face, again calling to mind Bourdieu's (1991) symbolic violence.

2.6 Where the names come from

As noted above, adopting new names is not unusual in Chinese culture. Jones (1997) notes, for example, that teachers may give students new names when they first enter school, their so-called *shu ming* (書名 book name, also called a **xue ming** 學名 study name). This practice seems to have continued in their English language classes, as Duthie (2002) found that most English names are acquired either in their foreign language classes or when they first enter employment in a multinational corporation . Edwards (2006) similarly found that most students in English classes were told that they had no choice but to adopt an English name, though many were allowed to choose their own. This corroborates Duthie's (2002:37) findings where "Over half of the interviewees chose names for themselves, the most common starting point being a list of common English names found in the back of Chinese-English dictionaries." See also Table 6 in Section 4.3.4, which confirms this pattern for the subjects of this study. McPherron (2009) focuses on the creative aspect of the choice with wider parameters on what names might be beyond simple name lists.

Duthie (2002) and Edwards (2006) also note that it is not uncommon for an English name to simply be assigned, as in the anecdote above on Taiwanese two-year-olds. Duthie notes

(2002:38) "Among those who were "given" names, it was more common for the "giver" to be a Chinese colleague, teacher or superior, as opposed to a foreigner in such a position." Even for those who were not assigned a name, it may often be the case that the person is still looking for the right name. The minority of Chien's (2012) subjects, for example, who did not have an English name still mostly wanted one (See also Section 6.2.2).

2.7 Which name to choose?

Whether the person chooses the name for him/herself or has it given by another, the choice is riddled with questions of how to choose the name and which name is most appropriate, as Bourdieu (1991) predicts. Where Chinese take their names from varies considerably (e.g. Mathews, 2000).

Previous studies have found that there are a number of strategies used in choosing English names.

One strategy is to link the semantic definition of the Chinese name with a new English name (e.g. Duthie 2002, McPherron 2009) giving names like *Dragon* or *Jade*[7]. Louie (1998), however, argues that Chinese names are rarely translated, so English names should not be expected to continue indexing (even in a general manner) the ideas behind the person's Chinese name. While there may be general approximations in the name, connotations can obviously vary wildly.

A more common strategy is to choose a name that resembles the Chinese name phonologically (e.g. Duthie, 2002, McPherron 2009, Ben 2010, Chien 2012, Rimer 2014) at least

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[7] Animals include Heqiu=Autumn Crane; five elements include Jintu=Gold Earth; gratitude to heaven include Tianci=Heaven/God Bestowed; expectations include Jincai=Bring Wealth; birth-related events include Xiangyun=Thinking of Yunnan (a Chinese province); generational markers include Sanjiang, Sijiang=Third River, Fourth River; and famous people include Aidong=Love (Mao Ze) Dong. (Duthie, 2002)

having the same initial phoneme. Thus *Lijie* might become *Leslie* or *Linda*. This allows the person to retain some connection with their Chinese name and may also facilitate the non-Chinese custom of using initials. Huang and Ke (2016) found that the 25% of participants who reported that their English name sounded similar to their Chinese name also felt closer to their English name (see Valentine et al,. 1996 above on preference for words beginning with the first phoneme in a name, which may be an extension of phonetic symbolism). Chen (2012:60) similarly argues "…adoption of English names originating from the phonetic similarity may enable them to maintain social identity and avoid identity confusion." Duthie (2002) notes that this is similar to choices of the courtesy name or 號 **hao** which are also often phonologically or semantically linked to the Chinese given name. These first two strategies often incorporate other strategies as well. These two strategies, the general meaning or (more often) the initial sound may assist one of the choices below.

Although some chosen English names may relate in some way to the Chinese name, for many there is no such connection. A third strategy is to choose a common Anglo name (e.g. Duthie, 2002, McPherron 2009, Ben 2010, CCTV 2014, etc.), often from a list of common names, such as those found in the back of many English-Chinese dictionaries such as *Paul*, *Susan*, or *Rachel*. This is a safe option if the goal is to have a name that is recognizable as such to Anglophones. It is no surprise that such a strategy of choosing a "proper" name would be expected to be recommended by Chinese state media (CCTV, 2014). Chien (2012) specifically advises against "inventing" names and Phillips (2015:1) cites one entrepreneur Lindsay Jernigan as describing such names as "farcical" and "appallingly chosen."

A fourth strategy is to find an aspirational name (e.g. Duthie 2002, McPherron 2009, Rimer 2014) such as *Lucky* or *CEO*. Rimer (2014:1) reports one student saying "*Wind* has very

strong power—tsunami, typhoon, storm, tornado—those are all about wind. It says if you don't

treat wind, and the world, well, they'll pay you back. Respect the wind, respect the world.

Respect me." Names such as *Lucky* or *Wind* indicate that the person wants to reach for higher

goals. Names that refer to objects and adjectives are not typically Anglo names, with the notable

exceptions of flowers (e.g. Rose, Lily), seasons (e.g. Summer), and virtues (e.g. Grace, Hope).

Indeed, the meaning of Anglo names is typically opaque, and other names may sound odd

to native speakers of English. Chien (2012) recommends choosing names with roots that are

indexical of the student's self-described qualities, such as Sophia for a wise person. Such a

strategy would require a little more research to understand the origin of the desired name. This

approach also seems to suggest that adopting English names is not simply an act of making life

easier for non-Chinese speakers, but again has an identity component (see also Chen, 2012).

The fifth strategy identified in previous research is taking names from popular or famous

people (e.g. Duthie, 2002, McPherron 2009, Ben 2010, CCTV 2014) such as *Michael* for

Michael Jordan (the American basketball player) or *Yumiko* for Yumiko Hosono (the Japanese

singer). This may have connections with the aspirational approach. As noted above, Chinese

parents do not name children after other people directly, though they may include one character

from a respected person's name in a two-character name. Taking a famous person's name then is

a culturally salient act, indicating a level of affinity with that person as well as an understanding

that English names function such that multiple people often share a name, unlike Chinese culture

where such sharing is less culturally the norm. It is also possible, as Blum-Kulka and Katriel

(1991) assert, that the origin of the nickname can be more meaningful for solidarity within the

group than the name itself. Thus the connection with a famous person or character is a greater

index of identification than the name. Additionally, as Zhang (2013) notes, immigrants and other

visitors may tend to take names or choose names for their children that are associated with their own generation as these are their peers. They lack the cultural and linguistic capital to select generationally appropriate names and are more likely to select names of their peers or elders in the target community, thus increasing the possibility of choosing names that sound "old-fashioned."

A sixth strategy is to choose a name that indexes some positive meaning in Chinese culture (e.g. Duthie 2002) and these may include things such as animals (e.g. *Swallow*), foods (e.g. *Cherry*), objects (e.g. *Water*), and even numbers (e.g. *Six*) (Ben, 2010).

McPherron (2009) identifies another strategy, a playful, ludic approach to names, giving names such as *Masgo* (from "must go"), *EFG* (from the alphabet), or *Sayyousayme* (from the eponymous Lionel Richie song). It should be noted that this strategy was found in a Chinese university and several respondents conceded that they would choose more traditional names if they were to study in an Anglophone environment. Such an environment might include Hong Kong, which has a longer and deeper history of English language than Mainland China. Thus it should be no surprise that Hong Kongers are far less accepting of these non-Anglo names than those in Mainland China, where creative names seem to be less marked and more tolerated Heffernan (2010). Ben (2010) calls these names "Extra Creative Names" as a category, such as *Silver Fox* or *Mou*. Chien (2012) advises taking a more traditional approach to adopting English names, with a strong preference for Anglo names. So while there are clearly risks with creative names, many continue to use them in anglophone contexts (e.g. Lee, 2001). However, we should also note McPherron's (2009) findings that Chinese people are prepared to change them when the context calls for such. Louie (1998) claims that creative or "manufactured" names, as she calls them, may represent a quest for "stronger cultural identities". In this way, a name may

represent a case of neither fish nor fowl, where a new "Modern Chinese" identity requires a new naming strategy that does not follow naming strategies used in Britain or the United States. As Huang and Ke (2016:851) put it, "Being addressed in an English name could implicate someone as being modern, internationally aware, or well-educated". However, the shorter and less intrusive history of English in Mainland Chinese may mean that English names are less directly entwined with Anglophone culture and history, allowing Chinese people to express greater individuality, creativity, and even playfulness in their choice of an English name than is typically found among Americans and other anglophones. This desire for more individuality, a trait more associated with Chinese given names than Anglo names (e.g. Edwards 2006) leads to name variants that stand out, such as Medusa and Satan (Lee, 2001) or Phat and Pray (Kronick, 2013). Tan (2001:11) also ascribes this to a desire to have an unusual name and to set oneself apart: "The motivation must be the desire to have given names that are unique and distinguishing." Regardless of (or perhaps because of) the inclination toward distinctive names, Chien (2012) recommends gender normativity in adopting English names, recommending that the English name be gender appropriate if it is not gender neutral (e.g. *McKenzie* or *Jamie*). The issue of gender normativity is perhaps more pronounced in Anglo names than in typical Chinese given names and can be an additional confusing factor for Chinese people searching for an English name.

CCTV (2014) identifies another strategy that does not easily fit in any of the patterns described above: that of avoiding names with unintended sexual connotations such as *Pussy*, *Creamy*, or other names with the common Chinese surname of *Wang*. This highlights the challenge in choosing a name and the limited understanding many Chinese individuals have of what their choice of name may unintentionally index in an anglophone context.

These strategies are not mutually exclusive. In addition to combining elements relating to the Chinese name (such as sharing the initial phoneme), the other strategies may intertwine. As Rimer (2014:8) recounts one student saying "I wanted to be a guy with perseverance. I went to Michigan for an exchange student program and learned that *Andrew* is Jesus' first disciple. He is a tough and strong man. So I decided to keep this name." This shows a mix of the traditional Anglo name, taking a name from a famous person, and a sense of aspiration toward a positive quality that the individual perceives to be associated with the name. Similarly, the aspirational qualities reported above by Rimer (2014) for the person called *Wind* also has elements of a positive meaning in Chinese culture, as *Feng* 風 is a common character in a given name.

McPherron (2013) did not find any one strategy dominating in his interviews, while Duthie (2002:39) found that "For most interviewees, it was important to find a name with a meaning that was compatible to their aspirations, perceptions of themselves or the meaning of their Chinese given name." This indicates that Chinese people employ multiple strategies for deciding which English name to adopt.

In addition to multiple strategies to selecting English names, several generative patterns seem to emerge from the literature. Traditionally, Chinese names comprise a single-syllabled family name followed by a two-syllabled given name, such as *Mao Zedong*. Because of this, Duthie (2002) observes a preference for two syllable English names, with respondents describing them as "more friendly" and less "abrupt" or "harsh". This may also partially explain the common choice among Chinese of names that Anglophones would generally consider to be nicknames rather than full names, such as *Andy* or *Jenny* (Bartz, 2009).

Although, as noted above, one motivation for adopting English names is to accommodate non-Chinese speakers, Duthie (2002) finds that there was an awareness among Chinese living in China that most of the users of the name would actually be other Chinese speakers. Because of this, she notes that pronunciation (see below) is another important consideration (see also Heffernan, 2010), with many choosing names that could be easily pronounced by their Chinese speaking compatriots.

Another consideration, not surprisingly, is that names that might have negative phonological connotations in Chinese are avoided. Duthie (2002) thus mentions the case of a participant who chose the name *Jake* only to get some teasing because this name resembles the word for trash in the Wuhan dialect. With such challenges, it is little wonder that websites such as Wilborn (2014) have arisen that seek to find names that avoid negative connotations across multiple cultures.

An additional challenge arises from the preference for names that are not too common (e.g. Duthie 2002, Edwards 2006, McPherron 2009). While Chinese may often look for names phonetically or semantically linked to their own names and also related to Anglo names, they hope to have a name that stands out in some way. Whether because Chinese naming practices allow much more latitude and choice, because it allows an aspiration to stand out in a highly competitive world, because they enjoy the playful element of choosing a new name, or some other reason, Chinese individuals seem to prefer not to have a name that is too common. They have described such names as "not good" (Duthie, 2002:41). In some cases, this leads to the "Extra Creative Names" mentioned above, but many (Duthie 2002) still want an "authentic name". As authentic Anglo names are comparatively limited (e.g. Xu and Nicholson, 1992), this creates a challenge. McPherron (2009) suggests one way in which this is addressed, namely by

alternative spellings of Anglo names, such as *Megin* instead of the more common *Megan*. One

entrepreneur, Lindsay Jernigan (2018) has started a business selling names to Chinese people.

These seem to lean to the traditionally Anglo names, but benefit from the apparent imprimatur of

being bestowed by an American (Phillips, 2015).

We see then that there are multiple restrictions on how such names are chosen. These

generative rules can be and are broken, but they certainly indicate that there are predictable

elements to the process.

Regardless of how the name is chosen and whether it conforms more closely to British

and American naming practices or is more creative, previous studies have found that such

English names have a cachet and a certain sense of "coolness" surrounding them (e.g.

McPherron 2009, Rimer 2014). English names continue to be chosen and assigned by Chinese in

multiple contexts.

2.8 English Names in Interaction

English names, then, are clearly a socially situated cultural practice for many Chinese

people. However, as it is an additional name and not a replacement, we must explore when,

where, how, and why these English names are used. As noted, there are a limited number of

formal studies of Chinese usage of English names. Bailey and Lie's (2013) work on ethnic

Chinese in Indonesia shows that the English name is in fact often the legal name and that this

practice predominates. Among Chinese populations in Sumatra and Kalimantan, Chinese names

may continue to be used at home and in the private sphere, but for public and official purposes,

the English name is dominant. In more urban and cosmopolitan Jakarta, though most ethnic

Chinese have a Chinese name, they rarely use them, even at home. This heavy dominance of

English names over Chinese names shows the extent and depth of this practice. Its correlation with urbanity and cosmopolitanism is also indicative of its more global outlook.

Similarly, Duthie (2002:36) found that "...37% of her interviewees [in China] call their spouse or significant other by their western name, [and] of those, half use western names only on occasion and half use western names often, in the household as well as in public." Moreover, even Chinese people who had little contact with foreigners and who did not work in multinational corporations adopt English names. As Duthie's study took place in mainland China, it is indicative of the penetration of English names into Chinese society. English names seem to have traveled even into non-English speaking contexts such as Indonesia and China. This calls to mind Canagarajah's (2012:6) observation that "Communication transcends words and involves diverse semiotic resources and ecological affordances." In such situations, it may be hypothesized that English names have become more and more established in non-Anglophone contexts, again heightening the disparate trajectories of Chinese adoption of English names and English language use. English name adoption is not inherently tied to English language dominance or even use. These names can be seen as adding another additional layer of translingual practice, whereby speakers incorporate elements of different languages into their communicative repertoires. In this way, names constitute a complex and global addition to the local abstand language (Kloss, 1967), indexing membership in the global community (Bailey and Lie, 2013), connection to the English speaking community (Chien, 2012), affiliation with Western culture (Heffernan, 2010), or any other stance that the community might accept. This would support Seidlhofer's (2009:242) argument that "In many speech events, boundaries between languages… seem to be perceived as fluid or irrelevant." Chinese speakers, then, adapt English names as one semiotic resource to deploy to in their own local abstand language. In this

interloping of the "hegemonic English dominance" (Philipson, 2014:3) into other languages, the onomastic sphere may be posited as an early element in the anglicization of Chinese in a time when anglicization is clearly visible in every global language (Furiassi, Pulcini & González, 2014).

Duthie (2002) observes that in the contexts she explored, Chinese given names are generally restricted to the family and are considered inappropriate for the work environment. Similarly, nicknames are also considered insufficiently "serious" for professional life. The most formal name in Chinese is the family name together with the given name (e.g. Duthie 2002, McPherron 2009), but English names seem to have risen to a level of formality sufficient for them to be fully acceptable in official and professional contexts. This formality would seem to reinforce Edwards' (2006) contention that an English name can be used to create social distance and formality. Less intimate and friendly than their given name (名字 *mingzi)*, they allow the student in Edwards' (2006) classroom to create the barrier which Chinese students believe should exist between teacher and student. Conversely, Huang and Ke (2016) argue that the English name is used by teachers to establish a friendlier and more emphatically hierarchical relationship with the students. This is reinforced by McPherron's (2016b) observation that while English names are viewed as sufficiently professional, they also entail a certain level of informality that is absent with more formal Chinese titles and names. A significant part of this seeming contradiction can be explained by the Chinese cultural preference for titles (Blum 1997, Pavlik 2012, Sercombe et al. 2014). Chinese teachers will not typically use the 名字 *mingzi* in the classroom. Uttering titles such as student-last name or teacher "…acknowledge, illustrate, and create the desired relationship" (Blum, 1997:362). Another part can be explained by the context: Edwards (2006) reporting from the United Kingdom, where non-Chinese teachers

default to a "first name" is culturally distinct from Huang and Ke's (2016:72) position. Here Chinese-speaking Taiwanese teachers move to a naming strategy with very different connotations ("…reducing status differences, altering how relationships are performed and introducing some level of intimacy") to the ones typically employed in a more hierarchical educational context. The comparative shift in stance recalls Rampton's (1999:6) discussion of how we situate ourselves. As he says, "These switches seemed to operate as a kind of probe, saying 'if I'm this, then how will you respond?'" Choosing names to use, just as speech patterns and accents, is a way to 'cross' into a new position and try its comfort. Volosinov (in Bakhtin, 1994:72) argues "The word is the ideological phenomenon par excellence in continuous generation and change; it sensitively reflects all social shifts and alterations." It is my contention that, in the case of the Chinese socio-onomastic practice of adopting English names, a name takes on the same sensitive reflection of social shifts. An intriguing, but disturbing indication of this is the recent defacing of Chinese names at the Columbia university dorm (Toomey, 2017). In this case, the Chinese (official) names of Chinese students were targeted in an apparent xenophobic attack. This prompted a response where the students defiantly claimed their Chinese names and produced a video to encourage people to say their Chinese names. Such action can be seen as a possible exploration of reclaiming the naming process and indexing a sense of national and ethnic pride and resilience in the face of intolerance. The political forces in trying to prescribe naming practice and their potential reactions are also shown by the response to a Republican congressman from Texas' suggestion that Asian Americans use names that were "easier to deal with" (Miller, 2009:1). The congressman's position attracted a lot of attention in its implied diktat that Asian Americans should adopt names that accommodated the desires of European Americans. In light of the long-standing cultural norms, the opening of Chinese

markets to global trade, and increasing numbers of Chinese students studying overseas, subsequent chapters in this study analyze survey data and interviews with Chinese individuals and the naming choices they make. It explores how these choices represent their attempts to position themselves in certain roles within their larger society and the prevailing social and political forces that influence their choices. Names can be defensive, as Edwards (2006) argues, or the opposite as Huang and Ke (2016) argue, depending on the sociopolitical context and interpersonal interaction. In either event, the name choices index sociopolitical stances that are not immediately apparent and display a great deal of complexity. This dissertation will explore these practices and attempt to explain the ramifications of naming practices in terms of understanding how young Chinese students position themselves and construct their identities in a rapidly shifting world.

2.9 China-West interface

The complex world in which we live includes multiple nodes and perspectives on how the diverse constituents interact. The rise of the nation state since the 19th century continues to reverberate today and this lens is often applied when discussing cultural differences. Thus, when considering the propensity of Chinese citizens to adopt English names, we cannot ignore the geopolitical realities of our present world. While exploring this context, we must take care not to fall into the trap of othering or exoticizing those whose behaviors do not fit our previous experiences as Said (1978) warns. While this objective and critical view is the one most likely to yield an accurate understanding of the subject matter, a sociolinguistic study must nevertheless deal in many of the prejudices and preconceptions that color popular thinking. Thus, we should

understand that the discussion of linguistic and cultural perceptions is within the context of sociolinguistic perceptions rather than assertions of absolute and undeniable truths.

While many academics (e.g. Woo, Chook, Raitakari, McQuillan, Feng, and Celermajer 1999, Gunerwardene, Huon, and Zheng 2001 etc.) and mainstream broadcasters (e.g. McLaughlin 2013, Global Times 2013, etc.) employ the term "Westernization" to describe the process of China adopting behavioral traits associated with 20th or 21st Century United States, Duthie (2002) points out that most Chinese reject this term. Instead they prefer to present themselves as "modern Chinese", a term respondents also use with Rimer (2014). Duthie goes on to warn against using the terms "westernness" and "westernization" to describe linguistic (or for that matter cultural) choices like adopting an English name. Indeed she argues that such practices often are more about expressing a sense of being Chinese and then finding a practice that will facilitate branching out into the global world. This is reinforced by Mathews' (2000) and Bailey and Lie's (2013) work showing that Chinese naming practices aspire not to a national connection to the United States, Australia, or any other anglophone country, but rather as a connection to a global supermarket. As Bailey and Lie (2013:25) note, for Chinese Indonesians, English names denote "modernity, education, resistance to state discrimination, and difference from non-Chinese Indonesians". They cite, for example, one subject - *Vina* - who felt that English names were international. These are clearly not characteristics inherent and unique to the "West", however broadly or narrowly defined. As Mathews (2000:150) puts it, "English … tends not to be seen primarily as the language of Great Britain or of the United States, but rather of the world." Zhang (2005:436) sees the character 洋 (yang) originally, derived from *ocean*, meaning *foreign* or *western* has now come rather to mean "anything fashionable or progressive." This shift in meaning indicates that many elements the West may try to claim are not seen as

inherently western by the Chinese (or many other non-western cultures). It should come, then, as no surprise that Chinese see English names, along with other elements of language and culture, not as aping of anglophone cultures, but rather the adoption of a new, modern, Chinese identity. As Duthie (2002:69) writes, "...,it is this definition which most adequately rises above any scholarly attempt to dichotomize and partition the complexity of identity in a social, political, economic, and modern community."

2.10 Changing world

While the traditional "East is East and West is West" paradigm popularized by Kipling (1889) persists, the world continues to change. Migration and trade continue and increase worldwide and the development and growth of the internet has put people and cultures in closer contact than ever before. As Mathews (2000) notes, it was previously possible to retain one's own culture very easily, but now in the era of what he terms the "cultural supermarket", people have more flexibility in creating mélanges of "Eastern" and "Western" elements. Said (1978) charges Orientalists as living in fear of an apocalyptic end to the supposed division keeping the "East" from the "West", but perhaps this feared breach in the wall has already occurred, if the wall ever existed in the first place.

In practical terms, there have been enormous changes. Only thirty years ago, it was rare indeed to see a mainland Chinese student in the United States, yet now they constitute the largest international student population and number five times as many as they did in 2000, growing from 54,466 in 1999/2000 to 363,341 in 2017/18 (Institute_of_International_Education, 2018). Additionally, reports that China has overtaken the U.S. as the world's largest economy (e.g. Bird, 2014) and a militarily assertive China (e.g. Ignatius, 2014) indicate that sea changes are afoot. In

the word's of China's premier, Xi Jinping "China is increasingly approaching the centre of the world stage. No-one is in a position to dictate to the Chinese people what should or should not be done." (Cheung, 2018:1).

Change then, as Heraclitus is reputed to have said, is the only constant in life. Language is in a constant state of flux and does not remain stable (e.g. Yule, 2010). The Chinese adoption of English names is an example of a more recent manifestation of this truism. Yet against this apparent natural force of change, Bourdieu (1991) notes that the language of power and prestige, legitimate language, becomes semi-artificial as it is protected by conservative conservators such as writers and grammarians, who struggle to keep the language "pure". This protectionist drive may go some way to explaining why traditional names may be championed by some in both the East and West. Thus, English names may have become symbolic of the rapidly changing relationship between China and the anglophone world (e.g. Wang & Yao, 2017). If English names continue to be the standard with which China engages the outside world, it might be considered indicative of a flexibility in accommodating non-Chinese needs as well as aspiration to a more closely aligned linguistic marketplace. Alternatively, if fewer English names are adopted, this might presage a China that asserts its cultural and linguistic heritage as a key element on the world stage. One question must be whether this practice will continue in its current direction or whether we will see a different trajectory. The most recent trade skirmishes initiated by U.S. President Trump may be bumps on the road of increasing global interdependence or may presage a retreat into tribalism or at least a revived jingoism. Already, President Trump has indicated that there may be restrictions on student visas for Chinese citizens, including reducing the popular optional practical training (OPT) for Chinese students in STEM programs from five years to one year. U.S. Senate discussions on the potential threat of

Chinese students to American interests (e.g. Redden, 2018) exacerbate tensions between the two nations. These uncertain waters may lead to a significant rethinking of the value of a U.S. degree and an English name. Alternatively there may only be minimal impact if English names truly are linked to a global world independent of U.S. power and prestige.

2.11 Impermanence

While some people as noted above, including most of those in anglophone countries, are typically mononymous (in this context meaning only adopting one given name - irrespective of family names - for life) (Rymes, 1996), many cultures regard names as indexical of the fluidity of identity over a lifetime (e.g. the Hopi and Tewa).

As the world and language change, so too does our identity. As Edwards (2006) says, identity changes over time and space so it should come as no surprise that that names acquire different meanings in different contexts (Rymes 1996).

Clearly, a name indexing one thing at one point may index a distinctly different thing at another point in time and space, illustrated by what indexes a "French" name and the discussions over whether a name associated with the Arabic language can index Frenchness (e.g. BBC, 2016)[8]. The larger context may in fact be irrelevant when, as McPherron (2009) argues, the local context is of such great importance. Thus he notices that Chinese students may alter their names as they advance in English language proficiency or move to other locations. The fluidity of these names is indicative of the cultural comfort with such changes, but also may butt up against the norms of mononymous cultures. In situations where names are compartmentalized, which seems

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[8] Former French Justice Minister Rachida Dati was criticized for naming her daugher Zohra, as the name was considered "less French".

to be the case for many Chinese individuals (Jones, 1998), these names indicate a sense of membership (Rymes, 1996). Bailey and Lie (2013) similarly indicate that for Chinese Indonesians, it is not race but culture and behavior that define names. Changes, then, in one's behavior or realignments in one's culture may lead to a name change. Thus, the adoption of English names may reflect a desire for membership change, or a reorientation of one's identity. While names may not play that sociolinguistic or personal role as overtly in American culture, it seems possible that they do so in Chinese culture. If this cultural supermarket (Mathews 2000) allows people to realign their cultural identities, then names are a product to be selected, and seemingly more readily "bought" or adopted by Chinese individuals than by most Europeans and Americans.

Bourdieu (1991), as noted, sees the resistance to language change as a way to maintain the status quo. By changing names (as well as language), people can aspire to improve their social standing and access to the benefits that great power brings (e.g. Duthie 2002, Bailey and Lie 2013, etc.). It may be that the permanence of Chinese family names helps to maintain the power structures of Chinese cultural and linguistic capital, but the fluidity of given names allows a greater flexibility in accommodating to the cultural and linguistic capital of non-Chinese. This is reminiscent of Dickinson's (2007) study in Ukraine on "official" and "unofficial" names, where the name chosen indexes one's stance toward power structures. She argues that "…the unofficial naming system represents an alternative to the fixedness of unitary identities and names demanded by the needs of the state." This is reinforced by Bucholtz' (2016) point that states require names to be legible and pronounceable. Although Dickinson's (2007) unofficial names were more local and historically relevant to her subjects, there are parallels for Chinese individuals deploying their English names at strategically chosen junctures. Similarly, Chelliah

(2005) describes Meithei practices of choosing to deploy a Meithei, Hindi, or English name as appropriate for the occasion. Each may index a particular stance toward Manipuri autonomy, Indian nationalism, or internationalism respectively. As she says (2005:196), "Conscious name selection is a political act that safely allows the speaker to assert autonomy from the ruling authorities." It is no surprise that Scott (2002) (cited in von Bruck and Bodenhorn, 2006:14) opines that when names are fixed identities, it is "…always a process undertaken by the state." It would seem that the opportunity to explore power dynamics and identity in alternative ways through name choice may be a universal option in response to state bureaucracies, or perhaps to more general power structures in people's lives. The parallels with Volosinov's (1929/1973) argument that the power structure wishes to stabilize and limit the meanings of words while individuals continue to contest them seems obvious.

2.12 Pronunciation

As noted above, the challenge of pronunciation for non-Chinese speakers is frequently cited as a major motivation for the adoption of English names. Such a sentiment is hardly unusual (Bucholtz, 2016) as demonstrated by the humor of Iamnotatrouble (2014) (See Image 3)

How I Spent the First Day of School

Image 3: Name pronunciation meme

This lighthearted example not only illustrates a phenomenon to which many can relate, but also reveals a significant challenge for many people. As Pennesi (2014) tells us, such mispronunciation contributes to the alienation of students, for administrators can often have trouble pronouncing names with which they are not familiar. This is despite her finding that speakers often accept more than one way to pronounce their name. As she (2014:44) says

> Th[is] ... demonstrates how linguistic ideology works. First, the orator operated from the belief that there is one correct pronunciation for the words and that the graduates should want him to say their names correctly. In contrast, for the two graduates, the priority was not to trouble the professor by insisting on a particular pronunciation, which he may not have been able to achieve.

We see then that pronunciation may be viewed differently by two sides, with the respectful addresser wishing to correctly enunciate and accurately capture the phonetic value of the word, while the addressee wishes to avoid embarrassment on both sides. There are also many stories from people habituated to having their names mispronounced and who go on to say how

this has negatively affected them. Kohli and Solarzano (2012) tell us that mispronouncing a name can impact and social emotional well-being of students. Such impact can be expected to negatively affect learning. This is supported by many speakers who feel emboldened to share their stories of marginalization and humiliation at having their names mishandled (e.g. Gonzalez 2014, McLaughlin 2016, Treviño 2017, etc.). As Herwees (2014:iv) puts it, "We are both dreading roll call. When the gym teacher pauses at my name, I am already red with humiliation." Souto-Manning (2007) narrates of the difficult choice a mother makes to change her son's name to avoid this kind of alienation. As Bucholtz (2016) notes, as phonology is tied to language and language is tied to one's self, phonology has a central role in one's sense of self. It should then be no surprise that negotiations over phonology reverberate in speakers' senses of identity. These daily interactions highlight the centrality of the name and its pronunciation, particularly in educational contexts. It is worth noting that Duthie (2002) found that when Chinese are given names, the giver is more often Chinese than anglophone. She additionally found that ease of pronunciation for Chinese speakers was important. This is particularly relevant for Duthie's (2002) work as many participants were in Chinese-speaking environments, but is also illustrative of the phonetic connection with their own language. Thus, for example, the phonemes /ð/, /v/, and /θ/, absent in most Chinese phonological inventories, are widely avoided. Thus, Chinese individuals may make forays into the linguistic and cultural market of the English-speaking world, but there appears to be a preference to stay with elements that are more phonologically familiar. Additionally, it is worth noting that because the English names are often used with and given by other Chinese speakers, the issue of accommodating non-Chinese speakers' phonology is not the sole consideration (Heffernan, 2010).

These questions of how the Chinese stance toward naming operates, in particular with reference to the practice of adopting English names, raise interesting potential avenues of inquiry. How do very different naming practices operate when they come in contact? Are there key differences between naming practices among Chinese international students in the United States and Chinese people in other contexts? How do Chinese international students view their own choices (or lack thereof) and what motivations are most salient? And what do the answers to these questions tell us about the role of naming choices in the construction of language, culture, and identity? This study will attempt to address some of these complex questions by exploring empirical data gained through interactions with Chinese participants.

Chapter 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Overview

The above-outlined review of previous studies points to some insightful developments in the exploration of the implications of the common Chinese practice of adopting English names. These studies have gone considerable way toward defining the nature of this practice. Additionally, various scholars have explored the implications of adopting English names from a variety of perspectives (e.g. Political changes - Zhongti & Millward 1989, Classroom implications - Chien 2012, Nationalism - Wang & Yao 2017, etc.) to look to see how naming correlates with other phenomena. While these studies have proved illuminating and edged us closer to understanding the effects of onomastics on our human experience, there is clearly still more work to be done. It is for this reason that the current study was undertaken. I hope that this study will help explore how this particular cultural practice can be situated within the larger context of how mainland Chinese citizens are exploring their position in their country and in the world. With the continued growth of China's economy and its concomitant influence on its own citizens and those in the rest of the world, the choices that Chinese citizens take, particularly those who study in the United States will likely have lasting repercussions. This is particularly true at a point where Chinese students are portrayed as espionage agents (e.g. Redden, 2018) intent on damaging the American nation state. This of course comes as part of a broader political discourse about national and global identities. Whether these choices of Chinese students reflect an embrace of mutual respect and internationalism, an alliance with a perceived western power, a pragmatic choice to survive a difficult situation, a subterfuge to gain advantage, and/or a complex combination of these and many other impetuses will likely have reverberations for generations to come.

As noted above, I am unfamiliar with any formal academic study of the phenomenon among mainland Chinese students in the United States, despite a plethora of anecdotal evidence and multiple news articles on the practice (e.g. Lee 2001, Rimer 2014, etc.) as well as Chen's (2012) masters thesis on Taiwanese students in the United States. This study, then, will seek to first formalize some of the data to establish the current practice among mainland Chinese students in the United States. It will then take that data and attempt to situate the results in comparison with the practice of adopting English names among other Chinese communities. Secondly, and more importantly, it will explore the implications of this practice (as well as the rejection of this practice) on how mainland Chinese students position themselves within the American educational and social system as well as the implications for identity. In exploring these questions, I will rely heavily on Bourdieu's (1991) concept of the unity of the market, whereby economic capital is closely correlated with cultural and social capital. Linguistic capital is again closely tied with cultural capital and to these, I believe, we can add onomastic capital. That is to say, the names that we assert and those others use to address us speak to our position in society, including our socio-economic position. The practice of adopting an English name among Chinese communities can then be understood in this framework and its ramifications considered.

3.2 Locating the Researcher

All research occurs within a context and the researcher is an integral and inextricable part of such research. This is particularly true in social sciences where human beings research other human beings. While I have made every effort to collect, analyze, interpret, and present the data here in a scientific and critical manner, all of this process has been undertaken by me (and with the support of my committee, and particularly my adviser, Dr. Cecelia Cutler). My own

perceptions of what data to collect, how to collect that data, and what that data might mean cannot be discarded as simply irrelevant. I bring to this project my own experiences and those are germane to understanding why I undertook this research in the first place and what may have influenced the conclusions that I come to.

I do not identify as Chinese and have no known Chinese ancestry. Before the age of 19, my only interaction with China was probably occasional trips to London's Chinatown or eating at Chinese restaurants. Thus my formative connection with things Chinese is minimal.

I was, instead, born in New York to American parents, but my family moved to England when I was at a young age. At first, we lived in the north of England, the city of Leeds, before moving to London. I also spent my kindergarten year in Florence, Italy. Thus I spent much of my formative life in different countries, as a "Third Culture Kid" (Useem and Downie, 2006), one who grew up in a country different from his parents. The United Kingdom in the 1970s and 1980s was still coming to grips with its developing multicultural nature. My family name is Schmitt and at the time there was no question in the minds of my peers that someone with such a name could not be British. I was deemed to be German, including by most of my teachers, even though I was unaware of any German familial connections until I was thirteen. Many of my peers would give me a Nazi salute (the Second World War was still fresh in the memory of many older Britons), and a number called me Helmut (after Helmut Schmidt, West German Chancellor at the time). Additionally, my Catholic family sent me to a Roman Catholic school in a nominally majority Protestant country at a time when tensions were high. Indeed, most of my classmates traced their family origins to Ireland and the political tension and violence in Northern Ireland at the time often spilled into our classrooms, hallways, and playgrounds in verbal and occasionally physical manifestations. There were no other Americans or ethnic

Germans that I knew of in a school of over 1,000 pupils. The Catholic community of North London itself was often tense with questions over loyalty to London, Dublin, or Rome. In this context, I felt very much as a minority of one. This sense of alienation was hardly pleasant for an adolescent, but I survived.

Though I survived and completed my "A levels" (advanced certificates typically taken by more academically inclined students in preparation for university studies following two additional years of post high school study), I did not feel particularly inclined to stay in the United Kingdom. I did not feel that it was my home, though I had a legal right to stay in the country and my mother and siblings lived there. I felt that there was something more out there and wanted to explore my options, in particular my country of birth.

I had become interested in other cultures and other languages, perhaps because of the lack of solidarity I had found in the anglophone community. I had taken French and German (along with mathematics) at the A level. This led me to hitchhike through France and Germany, where I found I loved traveling and seeing new cultures immensely. As I traveled, I met people who had traveled in Asia who told me that it was affordable to do on a shoestring. I worked on a construction site in London long enough to save enough money to travel overland to Asia, and was able to experience many countries and cultures in a year of traveling. This experience helped me to become more empathetic to different cultures and to explore the challenges of learning new languages, as I tried to learn at least some of the language in each country I visited, in a time before Duolinguo or Google translate. The alienating and marginalizing experience of being a clear foreigner with minimal language skills was enlightening, even though it was heavily tempered by my privileged position as a phenotypically white male and American citizen.

I first entered China in 1987, when the country was still quite isolated from the western world. It seemed much less developed than Thailand, where I had recently visited, and far less international. All food was Chinese, and the now ubiquitous fast food franchises seemed unthinkable. The few people I met who spoke English were older people who had studied in the United States prior to the Communist Revolution. One gentleman who stands out in my memory told me, in flawless English, that he had studied at Princeton; now he was a school janitor. The level of disconnect from the West, especially in the context of the Cold War and the Cultural Revolution, was striking. This disconnect made it particularly fascinating to me and I wanted to learn more.

As I traveled, I learned about English teaching opportunities in Taiwan and decided to explore them. I spent over a year in Taiwan, studying Mandarin and teaching English. I found Taiwan far more accessible as someone raised in a western capitalist environment. While Taiwan embraced its Chinese heritage and culture, it was enthusiastic about engaging with the wider world. International brands and the English language that goes with them were widespread. The people did not seem concerned about being seen talking to a foreigner as they had in mainland China. I was able to make many Taiwanese/Chinese[9] friends and better explore Chinese culture. Taiwan was a great preparation for my second visit to mainland China. My second trip to China took place in 1989, two months after the massacre of pro-democracy protesters in Tiananmen Square in Beijing. The suspicion of foreigners was still there, but it seemed less. This may have been because I was now able to converse in Chinese and read more of what was going on around

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[9] At the time, Taiwan was emphatically Chinese. The official title "Republic of China" was everywhere and the identity of being Taiwanese was only spoken in hushed tones. Almost everybody I spoke to considered themselves Chinese first and foremost. There was, however, some tension between the earlier inhabitants whose families had arrived in Taiwan over the past centuries and the more recent arrivals who had come after the Nationalist government's retreat to Taiwan following the Communist victory in 1949. The latter held most of the political power. I had minimal interaction with the indigenous non-Han minority.

me, both literally and figuratively. However, in retrospect, I feel confident that the massive social transformation was in full swing. I noted that the ubiquitous Mao suits of my earlier visit, were no longer entirely dominant. I even ate at the newly opened KFC when I was in Beijing.

Of course, the state apparatus was evident. I recall seeing people described as political prisoners being beaten on a train. I recall the near impossibility of getting travel permits to visit Tibet. I recall the nervousness of Uyghurs around uniformed officials in Eastern Turkestan (Xinjiang). I feel very uncomfortable in the face of coercive power even when not directed at me, so my feelings toward mainland China remain tinged by this experience. Nevertheless, and despite the fact that a massive crackdown had just happened, I was able to engage in political discussions with people across China. They represented a wide range of views from Communist party stalwarts, including Cultural Revolutionary apologists, to dissidents and people upset with the authoritarian traits of a centralized system. My discussions bolstered my own beliefs in the fundamental humanity and goodness of Chinese people, beliefs that at times were challenged by other foreigners with whom I spoke in China. These experiences, coupled with my experiences in other countries, helped me to make sense of my universalist understanding of human experience. Every person I talked to, Chinese or otherwise, reinforced my belief as Terence puts it "*humani nihil a me alienum puto*[10]". Every grand act of generosity and every venal trick made me reflect on the human struggle in which we engage, but the thought that certain traits were inherently unique to one group of people seemed untenable.

As I grappled with my own place within this vast world, I found that my name was highly indexical of my identity, both in my own mind and in the perceptions of others. Soon after I had left London, I found myself in the company of several other people whose name was Thomas,

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[10] Nothing human is alien to me

my given name. The confusion led to a suggestion that I be called Leopold, and I felt oddly attracted to this suggestion. It stuck, and I have used Leo personally and professionally for over thirty years. Since then, I have only used Thomas in official situations. Only a year after this, I became a Muslim and was told that part of my religious identity was adopting a Muslim name, which is Ali Omair (علي عمير). It is a name that many of my Muslim friends will still use with me (or the teknonym Abu Aziz (أبو عزيز)). At this time, I was in Taiwan and many of my Chinese students and friends would ask me about my Chinese name. Other non-Chinese that I knew had adopted a Chinese name and it became necessary when I tried to register my newly acquired motorcycle. Taiwanese restrictions meant that the name on the registration card could only be in Chinese characters. I had to go to the American government representative (there was no embassy because the United States had ceased to recognize the Republic of China after 1979) to take an affidavit noting my Chinese name. My Chinese flatmate suggested Li Oumou (Traditional:李 歐姆) (Simplified: 李 欧姆). He said it approximated my English name, it was the name of a famous Taiwanese scientist, and it included a common family name, Li. Thus within the space of about eighteen months, I had acquired a new Anglo name, a Muslim name, and a Chinese name. It was certainly a dynamic time for my personal exploration of onomastics. While my names have since stabilized, each of them speaks to my own explorations of belonging and identity. Doubtless my personal quest to understand the role of names in how we construct ourselves and others plays a role in my interest in this topic and will shape my interpretation of the data. Such a number of names, I realize, is not typical for American citizens of European ancestry and can be expected to play a part in my perception of naming practices of others. Following my own period of personal ferment, I have accepted my own sense of alienation, whereby I can interact in many social and cultural contexts, yet feel truly comfortable in none.

This sense is perhaps exacerbated by my own neurodivergence. When my son was diagnosed with autism and the psychologist described autism as a tendency to fail to understand social communication and fail to behave in typically expected social patterns, I commented to my wife that this seemed to describe most of my family. While I have never been diagnosed as autistic, I have strong sense that my "social instinct" is atypical. I am able to make eye contact with others, show genuine interest in their lives, and follow the social rules of a given community. However, in all these cases, I do so consciously, reminding myself that this is what "people" do. As someone who has spent many years studying second language development, I believe that I understand social interaction as a consciously learned practice rather than as an acquired instinct in the way that neurotypical individuals seem to do. While this sense of disconnect probably does not make my lived experience more pleasant, I do believe that it may lead to a deeper understanding of some of the questions of connection and belonging that each individual goes through in their social interactions with larger communities.

This sense has probably helped me in my career of teaching English as a second language. I have worked with learners of English who have had many different motivations for studying English. Each of these motivations speaks to a different point of entry into the larger English speaking community. As a native speaker of English who was early exposed to the prestige varieties, I have a more privileged membership in the community (though this is tempered by memories of being beaten as a child for using the "wrong" variety of English.) This has allowed me to help my students engage with the questions of language and acceptance. The current study arose from an administrative position I had in student services at a large private university. My college had seen a large influx of international students with increases in numbers in excess of 500%. The upper administration was desperate to maintain that growth to

increase revenue, but wished to placate faculty who were frustrated by the sudden changes in

teaching conditions. Classes that were once almost 100 % mid-career professionals and native

English speakers had become, in some cases, over 90 % non-native speakers with little or no

professional experience in the space of a few years. My initial needs analysis indicated that the

challenges were many and severe. In addition to a plethora of academic, logistical, financial,

linguistic, and attitudinal problems, international students and their faculty faced significant

differences in cultural expectations. The question of names that is addressed in this study was

one very small part of a much larger problem in successfully integrating international students

into a struggling college of a successful global university.

While it is a small part of the problems my students faced, as it was a small part of my

own larger identity questions, I believe that it can give useful insights. As I saw my students

struggling for acceptance and empowerment, I felt that I had a responsibility that transcended my

paid position, and to advocate for their fair treatment. The marginalization of international

students and the reluctance to see them as valuable members of the community in their own right

and to focus on their tuition payments seemed patently unjust to me. This was compounded by

some highly unethical decisions I saw made by upper administration. This also informed my

current study on the role of names in my students' alienation.

3.3 Recruiting Participants

My work in student affairs supporting international students brought me into frequent

contact with Chinese students. They made up over 50 % of the international student body in my

college and frequently faced some of the biggest hurdles in terms of adaptation and acceptance

(e.g. Milkman et al., 2014). European students, for example, frequently expressed high levels of

confidence and comfort in their programs, yet many Chinese students reported problems. It is important to point out that many Chinese students were often reticent to raise their issues because of the issue of losing face (e.g. Altigan, 2014). Thus, it was important to build a sense of trust and community, whereby my position could be seen as one of advocacy and support for their needs. I feel that I was able to make considerable progress in this area and many students began to feel comfortable to share their concerns with me. Sadly, I had to leave that position before I was able to sufficiently help that population. Nevertheless, I feel that I built the trust of many of my students in my time there and when I left, many heard about my research project and offered to participate. They in turn contacted their friends, and I was able to get a snowball effect (e.g. Gray, 2013) to reach a broad range of Chinese participants. While I spoke with Chinese people around the world, I made the decision to focus on mainland Chinese students in the United States. This was partly because there has not been, to my knowledge, a major formal onomastic study of this population, despite the many secondary reports on the topic. It was also partly because the qualitative and experiential differences between mainland Chinese and other Chinese individuals seemed significant enough that a narrower subset made sense. I thus set to focusing on mainland Chinese students in the United States. Most of my participants were students at my former institution. It is a large private university, with a high position (in the top 100) on websites that rank U.S. universities (e.g. #30 in US News and World Report, 2018), a factor that is often cited as important for Chinese students deciding on which university to attend. It also has a tuition cost of over $40,000 per year, a significant amount for a country where the World Bank says per capita GDP is $8,827 (2018). While admission criteria were not particularly stringent, the cost and prestige of the course of study meant that most applicants either enjoyed an appreciable level of socioeconomic status or aspired to do so. Thus while most

of my participants indicated some level of challenge and discomfort, including some for whom there was a distinctly financial element, none of my participants seemed to come directly from the lowest socioeconomic levels of mainland Chinese society. China has made admirable strides in eliminating poverty to the point where in the last thirty years, poverty has been slashed from over 50% of the population to less than 2% (World Bank, 2014).

3.4 Data Explored

Because this study explores the onomastic choices of Chinese students in the United States, the names they chose are naturally of particular interest. The research tools sought to explore the extent to which participants had a choice in their naming processes and to what extent, in what situations, and why those choices were made. The crafting of the questions posited was conducted after a preliminary reading of some of the literature and after extensive informal discussions with a wide range of people. The questions indicate a line of questioning that first, as noted above, sought to confirm some of the previous findings and second sought to uncover some of the motivations and perceptions of the participants themselves as to what the practice (or non-practice) indexed in terms of identity and status.

The study uses mixed methods to explore the question of English names used by mainland Chinese students in the United States. The quantitative elements explored in Chapter 4 were to explore some of the parameters of name usage. That is to get an idea of how many participants use English names and when they used them. In large part, this was undertaken to replicate and confirm previous studies in different contexts (e.g. Duthie 2002, Edwards 2006, McPherron 2007, Heffernan 2010, Chien 2012, Sercombe et al 2014, etc.) about the actual use of English names to see their use in the U.S. higher educational context. Following this, the practice

seems clearly established and empirically proven. The qualitative elements explored in Chapter 5 then seek to drill down to explore the social, cultural, and linguistic factors that participants feel acting upon them in their use (or non-use) of English names.

After initial questions were created, they were trialed with a small group of volunteers and the answers were explored for their validity and reliability. On the basis of feedback from this initial pilot study, the finalized questions for the survey (see Appendix B) were created.

The primary vehicle for research in the initial stage was a survey run via qualtrics.com. The survey format allowed multiple questions to be asked and then to be cross-tabulated in a simple manner. The survey established a level of demographic and socio-economic data combined with some fundamental quantitative data on the participants and their practices and stances on their Chinese and English names.

In addition to the survey, which aims to provide quantitative data on the questions at hand, participants were invited to volunteer in a follow-up interview. These interviews allowed additional data to be obtained and provided an opportunity for participants to explain their positions in the form of a narrative. This follows Norton's (2013:13) exhortation to use qualitative data in exploring questions of identity because of its nature is "multiple and changing." Participants were encouraged to speak as freely and for as long as they felt appropriate. Some participants were more reticent than others to explore such a close personal characteristic and its attendant elements with a relative (out-group) stranger, which may limit some of the data (see limitations, Section 7.3).

3.5 Survey Organization

The survey (see appendix B) was divided into three main areas to explore central questions in the complex area of motivations and precipitators of Chinese adoption of English names. A full copy of the survey is included in the appendix.

The first section explored the adoption, use, and dynamics of English names. Question logics were employed to ensure that participants were not presented with irrelevant questions and could be sent directly to relevant questions. For example, the first question asks "Have you ever had an English name?" Participants who answered in the negative were not asked any further questions about their (non-existent) English name, but instead asked questions revolving around their non-adoption. Participants who answered in the affirmative, on the other hand, were directed to further questions about the genesis of, their feelings toward, and their usage of their English name(s). This section aimed to replicate and expand on previous studies to quantify the usage of English names to give a more empirical understanding of the prevalence of the practice as well as some of the most often cited factors associated with English name choice and use. Additionally, it seeks to gain some initial insights into the perceptions that participants may have toward English name usage.

The second section explores the participants' views toward some of the larger social questions that may be associated with the Chinese practice of adopting English names, including their attitudes toward English and Chinese languages[11] and their views on society in the United States and China. This section, then aims to explore whether and to what extent any views about language or cultural/political capital may influence name choices. For example, to consider

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[11] Note that these questions ask about English and Chinese as languages, thus presenting them as unified concepts. The questions avoid some of the deeper academic queries about the exact nature and delimitations of language and simply present English and Chinese to the participants for their consideration given their personal linguistic ideology.

whether a strong affinity toward the English language or the United States has any impact on participants' decisions to adopt and use English names.

The third section explores basic demographics. While many Chinese people completed the survey, those who were not mainland Chinese (see definition above) were discarded from the final results. Among the mainland Chinese who completed the survey, questions were asked to ascertain age, gender, home province, time spent in the United States, and native dialect. In addition to these questions, an attempt was made to gain an insight into socioeconomic status. Such questions can be invasive, so based on feedback from the pilot survey, questions were asked about participants' international travel, parents' level of education, and the level of sacrifice required to attend university overseas. These questions aimed to give a sense of the relative socioeconomic status of the participants, but naturally must be seen as tentative.

3.6 Interview Organization

Following the survey, a number of mainland Chinese participants were randomly selected (the survey included several Chinese participants who were not mainland Chinese). These interviews were conducted either in-person or online via Skype. In both cases, they were recorded and later transcribed. These transcriptions form the basis for the analysis conducted in Chapters 5 and 6.

Interviews were semi-structured (e.g. Richards, 2003), with a set of predetermined questions posed (see appendix A), the exact nature of which would depend on previous answers given (e.g. if the participant indicated they did have an English name, they were then asked where they got it, when they used it, etc.) There were occasional relevant follow-up questions when appropriate based on the flow of the discussion. A few participants were comparatively

reticent and gave shorter responses and a few were very detailed in their responses, expanding on the reasoning behind their answers and engaging more deeply with the questions. Length of responses varied from twelve to forty-six minutes, with an average of twenty-two. In an effort to maintain as much reliability as possible, following Gray (2018), I conducted all interviews personally. I kept all questions in the same order, adding questions only when particularly germane. I also attempted to establish rapport with all subjects and was clear on thanking them for their time and willingness to participate. I offered participants the option of meeting place that they preferred, offering a coffee shop of their choice in midtown Manhattan, the CUNY Graduate Center, or online via Skype.

The interview started with a brief introduction, along with an explanation that participation was entirely voluntary and that participants could refuse to answer any and all questions and stop at any time. Participants were asked if they understood, given a copy of the IRB form with contact details, and asked if they understood the protocols.

The questions themselves started with questions about the students' use (or non-use) of English names and the backstory of those names as well as their feelings toward English names. The next set of questions explored the participants' experience growing up and learning English and traveling in the English-speaking world, followed by questions about their experiences in the United States as well as their friendships with Chinese people, Americans, and others and how those friendships interacted with their use (or non-use) of English names.

The next set of questions asked them to consider both their personal future, including their plans and hopes, as well as the larger international future. This was followed by questions about their educational experience. Finally, they were asked to reflect on their English name and their perception of its role in their identity.

The overall tenor of the discussion was aimed at being friendly and honestly curious while remaining respectful of the very personal nature of the questions. While I had personally known several of the participants, I was cognisant that I did not have the personal connection to expect answers and that these were voluntary answers. As such, the participants may have been wary (especially given the varying official stances toward friendship with foreigners noted above) about their answers. In light of this, I essayed to put the participants at ease and endeavor to maintain my respect for their personal integrity in writing this dissertation. The nature of interviews is fraught with challenges and by expounding my personal stances here, I hope that I can convey the data effectively, without claiming that which would be unreasonable to claim.

CHAPTER 4: QUANTITATIVE RESULTS: RESPONSES TO SURVEY

This chapter explores the results of a survey conducted in 2014-2016 on English name adoption. The target population was mainland Chinese respondents studying in the United States. The quantitative data presented here seeks to test the previous findings in other contexts (e.g. Duthie 2002, Edwards 2006, McPherron 2009, Heffernan 2010, Chien 2012, Sercombe et al 2014, etc.) None of these previous studies took place in the United States, so data here will help fill in that gap. It also seeks to expand the questions about usage to explore the potential effects of using an English name. While this empirical data can go a considerable way to highlighting broad practices and perceptions, the qualitative data presented in Chapters 5 and 6 explores the nuances of this cultural practice in much greater detail.

4.1 Research Questions

Given the multiple factors noted in the first two chapters, there are clearly many interacting aspects to consider when looking at the Chinese practice of adopting English names. This section will consider the few serious studies of the issue that have been undertaken in the past twenty years in various locations and attempt to see if there are indicators that a change is afoot.

The second part of the chapter presents the results of a 2014-16 survey of college age mainland Chinese students studying in the U.S. (N=228) In exploring the literature and discussing the issue with academics and Chinese individuals, several particularly germane areas seemed to arise. The core question that seemed to arise was whether this social practice amply documented in other contexts also applies to the situation of mainland Chinese international

students in the United States and what factors might lead to such adoption/non-adoption of an English name.

Thus the research questions that motivated the survey were as follows:

RQ1: Do the motivations for the adoption of English names cited by Duthie 2002 in China, Edwards 2006 in the United Kingdom, McPherron 2009 in China, Heffernan 2010 in Canada, and Huang & Ke 2016 in Taiwan hold for more recent cohorts of mainland Chinese students studying in the United States?

RQ2: Is there evidence of a shift away from the long-term trend towards the adoption of an English name by Chinese students, and if so, what are the reasons for this trend?

Noting the paucity of studies focusing on the adoption of English among Chinese students in the United States, the survey attempts to address this gap by reviewing the current state of adoption of English names among Chinese students. It further seeks to find if there are any correlations or trends, whether demographic or attitudinal, that may indicate how and if English names are adopted, as reflected in RQ3 below:

RQ3: Looking at the central elements of Chinese adoption of English names, are there any personal or attitudinal factors that might influence the non-adoption or the quality of the adoption of English names?

If the trend explored in RQ1 above holds, then presumably there should be some advantage to the continued adoption of English names. RQ4 seeks to explore what the benefits are of adopting English names.

RQ4 What are the benefits of adopting English names?

On the basis of the survey methodology described in the previous chapter, the following sections examine the survey results and the answers they provide to the research questions above.

4.2 Survey Structure

4.2.1 Section One: Adoption of Names

In order to see if the general findings of previous studies held for this group of participants, the first section solicited input on the current usage of names. A full list of questions is included in Appendix B. Participants were asked if they had ever adopted an English name and whether they continued to use such a name. They were also asked what that name was. As the names are typically informal and unofficial, they were also asked whether they had changed their English names and if so how many times they had done so. This was done partly to understand the level of permanence of the adopted English names.

Participants were also asked about the origin of their names. Previous studies indicated that Chinese individuals (e.g. Edwards 2006, McPherron 2009) get their English name through a variety of processes, with some being assigned and some being chosen. For those that chose their names, they were asked about factors that influenced that choice.

4.2.2 Section Two: Use of Names

Previous literature makes clear that the adoption of an English name does not generally mean the rejection of the Chinese name, but rather the existence of the two in tandem. This section explored participants' choices on when to deploy their English names. Participants were asked about their personal attitudes to both their Chinese and English names to gauge their level of attachment to their names. They were additionally asked about the contexts in which they would prefer to use their Chinese names or their English names, as well as their attitude toward non-Chinese speakers' use of their Chinese name as opposed to their English name.

4.2.3 Section Three: Attitudes toward China, Chinese, the United States, the World, and English

Part of this research aims to explore the extent to which name choices are influenced by cultural, political, and attitudinal positions of Chinese speakers. The survey included multiple questions aiming to uncover attitudes toward the level of interaction between the United States, China, and the broader world. These included evaluation questions on five-point likert scale probing the participants' attitudes toward Mandarin Chinese and English on elements such as perceived beauty, prestige, and scientific efficacy as well as their sense of affinity toward the language. Further questions about China and the United States explored the participants' attitudes to the relative prestige of both countries in the spheres of culture, science, and power as well as their level of attachment to the countries.

4.2.4 Section Four: Demographics

The final section of the research asked for identifying factors to help understand the participants' particular backgrounds. These included basic demographic questions including age and gender. It also included questions about the participants' home province (as China is a large and diverse country and to my knowledge no studies have been conducted to see if English-name adoption is a geographically-dependent practice beyond the studies focused on Taiwan) as well as their primary dialect.

As one hypothesis is that the particular level of cultural and/or economic capital may affect the adoption or non-adoption of English names, the survey strived to determine the participants' relative socioeconomic position. Direct questions about income can be considered culturally insensitive; additionally, the potential for inaccurate data due to a desire to project a certain status may be higher than with other responses. The survey sought to find some reliable data that would support an argument in case of a correlation. A number of questions were deployed in attempt to gauge the participants' socioeconomic status.

First, the highest level of education of both parents' was asked. This serves to indicate participants who came from families with a higher level of cultural capital as well as some possible indication of economic capital. Participants were also asked how much of a financial sacrifice their study overseas was to their family. This question was designed to give an indication the participants' economic capital in an indirect manner. Another question asked about time spent overseas. As overseas travel is expensive and also culturally enriching, these answers can give further insight into the relative cultural and economic capital of the participants.

4.3 Results

4.3.1 Participants

Participants were solicited via social media and personal networks to reach Chinese students studying (or who had studied) in the United States. This allowed a broad number of students to be included in the research representing a variety of backgrounds, but adhering to the basic group of mainland Chinese students working toward degrees in the United States. Participation was somewhat problematic, however, as not all participants completed all parts of the survey. While 207 participants started the survey, only 242 engaged sufficiently to be considered. Of those, 14 were discarded as they were not from mainland China, but other countries/regions, including Taiwan and Singapore. A total of 228 respondents from mainland China engaged with the core questions of "Have you ever had an English name?" and "Do you use an English name now?" The survey followed ethical guidelines and no answers were required of participants. Because they were able to omit answers to any questions, multiple questions had fewer than the full 228 responses. The data presented here reflect the freedom that participants had not to divulge one or more aspects of their life. The author fully respects that right and presents the quantitative data here cognisant that it is lacking in definitiveness, but satisfied that this is ethical given respondents' rights to share only what they wish to share. In all data below, the number of null responses are recorded as "No Answer: N= " with the appropriate number of non-respondents shown. As the numbers are somewhat limited, a full statistical analysis has not been undertaken (See limitations in Section 7.3.4).

Of those that responded to the question on gender, the majority were female (74%, N=96) and under the age of 28 (85%, N=110), indicating the young and female character of mainland Chinese students in the United States. Slightly more than half of the respondents who answered the questions (55 %, N=73) spoke Mandarin as their first dialect, with Xiang (12%, N=15) and Cantonese (13%, N=17) making up much of the remainder. See Tables 1 and 2.

Total N=130; No Answer: N=98

Table 1 What is your gender?

Total N=229; No Answer: N = 99

Table 2: What is your first dialect?

It is interesting to note that the non-adoption of English names was considerably higher among Mandarin (21 %) users than most other dialects. However, it reached 40 % of the N=5 Wu speakers. The latter number shows the problem of drawing any definitive conclusions based on the low numbers of speakers of non-Mandarin dialects. With the current data, we might only note an interesting avenue of future exploration.

Many participants came from comparatively modest backgrounds, with forty-two percent reporting that their fathers had not attended university and forty-six percent reporting the same for their mothers. Even with parents who had attended university, many reported that the cost of study in the United States was a significant burden, with over 50 % reporting it to be a big or very big burden on their families, and a further 34 % reporting it to be a moderate burden (See Table 3).

How much of a financial sacrifice was it for your family to send you to study overseas? (All answers on this survey are confidential)

#	Field	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std Deviation	Variance	Count
1	How much of a financial sacrifice was it for your family to send you to study overseas? (All answers on this survey are confidential)	1.00	5.00	2.56	1.11	1.22	127

#	Answer	%	Count
1	Very big	17.32%	22

2	Big	33.07%	42
3	Moderate	33.86%	43
4	Small	7.87%	10
5	Very small or not at all	7.87%	10
	Total	100%	127

No Answer: N = 101.

Table 3 How much of a financial sacrifice was it for your family to send you to study overseas? (All answers on this survey are confidential)

4.3.2 Use of English name

The results of this survey provide some interesting insights into Chinese naming

practices. Eleven percent (N=27) claimed never to have had an English name, and a further 14 %

(N=33) no longer use their English name. See Tables 4 and 5.

Table 4. Have you ever used an English name?

Table 5. Do you use an English name now?

This means that the clear majority, 74% continue to use an English name.

Of the 181 usable English names supplied by respondents, the clear majority (76 %) were identifiably Anglo names such as *Jane, Steven, Matthew, Claire*, and *Ann.* Six percent had less common but recognizable names such as *Calista* and *Luna.* Eighteen percent (N=32) had names that many English speakers might not immediately recognize as such, such as *Season* or *Lafelle*. This desire to be unique or to stand out from the crowd is a strong thread in the tapestry of identity developed by adopting English names and is addressed in more detail below in the interview results (See Section 6.3.4).

4.3.3 Changing of English name

Among those who did adopt English names, those names were not necessarily permanent. Almost half who answered the question "Have you ever English changed your name?" (48%, N=83) reported that they had in fact changed their English names, with sixteen percent (N=13) of these participants reporting that they had changed their English names three or more times. Such a willingness to change names speaks to the comparative flexibility with which Chinese individuals approach name adoption, as explained in Section 2.2.

4.3.4 Origin of English name

The majority (57%) of respondents who had English names chose them for themselves. but a significant number were given the name by others, most often a teacher, either Chinese or foreign (25%). See Table 6.

Thinking about the English name you use now, where did it come from?

#	Field	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std Deviation	Variance	Count
1	Thinking about the English name you use now, where did it come from? - Selected Choice	1.00	4.00	1.90	1.18	1.40	183

#	Answer	%	Count
1	I chose it myself	57.38%	105
2	It was given by an English teacher (Chinese National)	13.11%	24
3	It was given by an English teacher (Foreigner)	11.48%	21
4	Other	18.03%	33
	Total	100%	183

No answer: N = 45

Table 6: Thinking about the English name you use now, where did it come from?

The impact of phonological issues, such as pronouncing phonemes not present in Chinese such as /θ/ or /v/, was a consideration for sizeable minority (43%) of the respondents. See Table 7.

Did English pronunciation issues play a role in your choice of English name (e.g. avoiding names with /th/ or /v/ sounds)?

#	Field	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std Deviation	Variance	Count
1	Did English pronunciation issues play a role in your choice of English name (e.g. avoiding names with /th/ or /v/ sounds)?	1.00	2.00	1.57	0.50	0.25	155

#	Answer	%	Count
1	Yes	43.23%	67
2	No	56.77%	88
	Total	100%	155

No Answer: N = 73

Table 7: Did English pronunciation issues play a role in your choice of English name (e.g. avoiding names with /th/ or /v/ sounds)?

4.3.5 Perception of Chinese name

Participants' perception of their Chinese names seemed generally positive, with a very clear majority (87%) agreeing or strongly agreeing with the statement: "I love my Chinese name." A majority (56%), coupled with considerable ambiguous responses (30%) to the statement "My Chinese name reflects who I want to be." indicated that this statement caused the most consideration. The third statement, "My Chinese name is my real name." saw ninety percent (89%) agreeing or strongly agreeing with this position. See Table 8.

What do you think about your Chinese name?

#	Field	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std Deviation	Variance	Count
1	I love my Chinese name	1.00	5.00	1.68	0.92	0.84	180
2	My Chinese name reflects who I want to be	1.00	5.00	2.32	1.11	1.24	179
3	My Chinese name is my real name	1.00	5.00	1.53	0.82	0.67	177

#	Question	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neither Agree nor Disagree		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total
1	I love my Chinese name	56.11%	101	26.67%	48	11.11%	20	5.56%	10	0.56%	1	180
2	My Chinese name reflects who I want to be	29.61%	53	26.26%	47	29.61%	53	11.17%	20	3.35%	6	179
3	My Chinese name is my real name	63.28%	112	25.42%	45	7.34%	13	3.39%	6	0.56%	1	177

Question 1 No Answer: N = 48

Question 2 No Answer: N = 49

Question 3 No Answer: N = 51

Table 8. What do you think about your Chinese name?

4.3.6 Perception of English name

The respondents' perception of their English names was similarly positive. On the statement "*Using an English name makes it easier for me to work with foreigners*" 79% of participants (N=142 who answered this question) who use English names agreed or strongly agreed and over 65% agreed or strongly agreed with the statement "*It helps me feel part of the English-speaking world*". Sixty-seven percent also agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that "*When speaking English, English names are the most appropriate.*" Using English names also was felt to improve acceptance by foreigners; in response to the question "*It makes foreigners accept me better*", 60% agreed or strongly agreed. The sense that an English name facilitates communications with foreigners may be partly explained by the role English names may take in replacing titles more widely used in Chinese interaction (Blum 1997, Sercombe et al., 2014). In this way, Chinese people can avoid the awkwardness of using a given name typically used only by close family and friends in a context where Chinese practices of using titles are less commonly employed. Additionally, using the appropriate title reinforces one's position within the social hierarchy (Pavlik, 2012).

On other questions, there was more ambivalence. English names were not generally seen as increasing prestige in the United States (Agree and Strongly Agree 26%), in China (Agree and Strongly Agree 12%), or in the rest of the world (Agree and Strongly Agree 19%). English names do not seem to be seen as conveying much in the way of prestige for most respondents. Rather they seem to have a more utilitarian role to play. Only 40% felt that their English name helped them feel part of the United States. Just short of half felt that an English name helped them to think in English. And only thirty-one percent felt that an English name gave them more right to speak to foreigners. See Tables 9 and 10.

Please respond to the following statements regarding your English name?

Strongly Agree	
Agree	
Neither Agree nor Disagree	
Disagree	
Strongly Disagree	

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70

■ Using an English name makes it easier for me to work with foreigners
■ Using an English name increases my prestige in the United States
■ Using an English name increases my prestige in China
■ Using an English name increases my prestige in the rest of the world

#	Field	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std Deviation	Variance	Count
1	Using an English name makes it easier for me to work with foreigners	1.00	4.00	1.99	0.86	0.75	142

#	Question						
2	Using an English name increases my prestige in the United States	1.00	5.00	3.12	1.03	1.06	140
3	Using an English name increases my prestige in China	1.00	5.00	3.53	1.01	1.03	139
4	Using an English name increases my prestige in the rest of the world	1.00	5.00	3.40	1.04	1.08	140

#	Question	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neither Agree nor Disagree		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total
1	Using an English name makes it easier for me to work with foreigners	30.28%	43	48.59%	69	13.38%	19	7.75%	11	0.00%	0	142

2	Using an English name increases my prestige in the United States	7.14%	10	18.57%	26	37.14%	52	29.29%	41	7.86%	11	140
3	Using an English name increases my prestige in China	5.04%	7	7.19%	10	34.53%	48	36.69%	51	16.55%	23	139
4	Using an English name increases my prestige in the rest of the world	3.57%	5	15.00%	21	35.71%	50	29.29%	41	16.43%	23	140

Table 9. Please respond to the following statements about your English name?

How do you feel about your English name?

Strongly Agree		

(chart legend)
- It helps me feel part of the United States
- It helps me feel part of the English-speaking world
- It helps me to think in English
- It makes foreigners accept me better
- I feel I have more right to speak with foreigners if I use my English name
- When speaking English, English names are the most appropriate

#	Field	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std Deviation	Variance	Count
1	It helps me feel part of the United States	1.00	5.00	2.74	1.12	1.25	140
2	It helps me feel part of the English-speaking world	1.00	5.00	2.31	1.09	1.19	140

3	*It helps me to think in English*	*1.00*	*5.00*	*2.70*	*1.12*	*1.26*	*139*
4	*It makes foreigners accept me better*	*1.00*	*5.00*	*2.45*	*1.14*	*1.29*	*140*
5	*I feel I have more right to speak with foreigners if I use my English name*	*1.00*	*5.00*	*3.10*	*1.20*	*1.43*	*139*
6	*When speaking English, English names are the most appropriate*	*1.00*	*5.00*	*2.46*	*1.21*	*1.45*	*141*

#	*Question*	*Strongly Agree*		*Agree*		*Neither Agree nor Disagree*		*Disagree*		*Strongly Disagree*		*Total*
1	*It helps me feel part of the United States*	*15.00%*	*21*	*25.00%*	*35*	*39.29%*	*55*	*12.14%*	*17*	*8.57%*	*12*	*140*
2	*It helps me feel part of the English-speaking world*	*23.57%*	*33*	*41.43%*	*58*	*20.00%*	*28*	*10.00%*	*14*	*5.00%*	*7*	*140*

3	*It helps me to think in English*	*12.95%*	*18*	*36.69 %*	*51*	*25.18%*	*35*	*17.99%*	*25*	*7.19%*	*10*	*139*
4	*It makes foreigners accept me better*	*20.71%*	*29*	*39.29 %*	*55*	*20.00%*	*28*	*14.29%*	*20*	*5.71%*	*8*	*140*
5	*I feel I have more right to speak with foreigners if I use my English name*	*10.79%*	*15*	*20.86 %*	*29*	*29.50%*	*41*	*25.18%*	*35*	*13.67%*	*19*	*139*
6	*When speaking English, English names are the most appropria te*	*25.53%*	*36*	*31.21 %*	*44*	*21.28%*	*30*	*15.60%*	*22*	*6.38%*	*9*	*141*

Table 10. How do you feel about your English name?

4.3.7 Perception of foreigners using Chinese names

The respondents' comfort with using English names, however, may have been somewhat influenced by the stance taken by some respondents regarding non-Chinese using Chinese names. Fifty-five percent agreed with the statement that "Foreigners cannot pronounce my Chinese name" (23 % strongly agree and 32 % agree), indicating that foreigners may struggle

with engaging with Chinese names. While some phonetic realizations vary slightly from English

usage, most Mandarin Chinese phonemes do not seem to display a salient difference. Chinese is,

however, a tonal language, which may influence the pronunciation significantly (See Section

5.8.1 for further discussion on the influence of foreign pronunciation of Chinese names). There

was considerable ambivalence on the statements "Foreigners getting the tone wrong can be

embarrassing" and "Foreigners mispronouncing Chinese names can be embarrassing" with

respondents recording a wide disparity of positions. This can likely be explained by the fact that

some names are more likely to have pejorative terms that are phonologically adjacent.

Despite this, there was more consensus against the statement "Foreigners should not try to

pronounce Chinese names", with seventy-eight percent (76%) disagreeing or strongly

disagreeing. See Table 11.

How do you feel about foreigners using your Chinese name?

Legend:
- Foreigners cannot pronounce my Chinese name
- Foreigners mispronouncing Chinese names can be embarrassing
- Foreigners getting the tone wrong can be embarrassing
- Foreigners should not try to pronounce Chinese names
- Foreigners do not understand the importance of Chinese names
- Foreigners using Chinese names is an invasion of my Chinese identity

#	Field	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std Deviation	Variance	Count
1	Foreigners cannot pronounce my Chinese name	1.00	5.00	2.56	1.22	1.48	165

#	Question												
2	Foreigners mispronouncing Chinese names can be embarrassing	1.00	5.00	3.16	1.16	1.34	164
3	Foreigners getting the tone wrong can be embarrassing	1.00	5.00	3.29	1.10	1.20	164
4	Foreigners should not try to pronounce Chinese names	1.00	5.00	4.01	1.11	1.23	162
5	Foreigners do not understand the importance of Chinese names	1.00	5.00	3.05	1.08	1.16	163
6	Foreigners using Chinese names is an invasion of my Chinese identity	1.00	5.00	3.88	1.12	1.27	164

#	Question	Strongly Agree		Agree		Neither Agree nor Disagree		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Total
1	Foreigners cannot pronounce my Chinese name	22.42%	37	32.12%	53	18.18%	30	21.21%	35	6.06%	10	165

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2	Foreigners mispronouncing Chinese names can be embarrassing	6.10%	10	29.27%	48	20.12%	33	31.71%	52	12.80%	21	164
3	Foreigners getting the tone wrong can be embarrassing	4.88%	8	20.73%	34	29.88%	49	29.88%	49	14.63%	24	164
4	Foreigners should not try to pronounce Chinese names	5.56%	9	4.94%	8	12.96%	21	35.80%	58	40.74%	66	162
5	Foreigners do not understand the importance of Chinese names	6.75%	11	26.99%	44	29.45%	48	28.22%	46	8.59%	14	163
6	Foreigners using Chinese names is an invasion of my Chinese identity	4.88%	8	8.54%	14	15.24%	25	36.59%	60	34.76%	57	164

Table 11. How do you feel about foreigners using your Chinese name?

In addition to the quantitative survey, participants were invited to participate in a short interview conducted either in person or by skype. The narratives derived from this will be

discussed in the following chapters to delve more deeply into some of the individual motivations that color the generalizations discussed here.

4.4 Discussion

The initial results from this study show some interesting trends that can be remarked upon. First, the fact that there was a distinct minority of Chinese participants who claimed never to have had an English name is of interest. Similar to previous studies and informal reports (Ben 2010), we see that the adoption rate (88%, N=228) and use (74%, N=228) of English names seems to remain the typical practice: Edwards' (2006) result of 81% (N=80), McPherron's (2009) 100% (among advanced English foreign language students) (N=81), Bailey and Lie's (2013) 97% (N=100), and Heffernan's (2010) 96% (N=71), Chien's (2012) 86% (N=132), and Huang & Ke's (2017) 89% (N=564). While the number of mainland Chinese students in the United States is at the lower end compared to previous studies on Chinese name usage in other contexts, it follows the patterns identified in these previous studies. See Table 12.

Values
- 2006, Edwards, UK
- 2009, McPherron, PRC
- 2010, Heffernan, Canada
- 2012, Chien, Taiwan
- 2013, Bailey & Lie, Indonesia
- 2016, Huang & Ke, Taiwan
- 2019, Schmitt, Have Had, USA
- 2019, Schmitt, Currently Use, USA

Total

Table 12. Percent adoption of English names by Chinese in recent literature

While there are those that do not adopt English names in every study, they seem to be a distinct minority. It seems clear that the practice of adopting English names remains a strong one in the Chinese community and that the practice in China, Taiwan, and elsewhere holds true here in the United States as well. The slight dip seen in numbers in this study compared to others is fleshed out in more detail in the qualitative data explored in chapters 5 and 6. However, in response to RQ1 and RQ2, it does seem that the general trend to use/have an English name and the justification of primarily focusing on pronunciation seems to hold.

The names themselves again displayed a variety of approaches to the actual adoption of English names, from the typically Anglo names that would easily be recognized as a standard name like *David* or *Ann*, through slight variations that personalized names in small twists such as *Brigitta* or *Julyn*, and onto names that may sound unusual as personal names to many English speakers such as *Season* or *Lafelle*. The variation that exists between the traditional Anglo names recommended by CCTV (2014), the slightly less common names, and the quite unusual ones again confirms previous reports on the variations of name adoption practices. We thus see a similar spread in the choice of names. While no immediate patterns were discernible in this

study, there may be a correlation between some aspect of the participant's personality and their name choice: I hypothesize that individuals most prone to experimentation or individuality may choose unique names whereas more conservative individuals "play it safe," but there may also be concomitant economic or cultural factors at play in the choice of names. For example, more socioeconomically secure individuals may have more freedom to experiment or conversely be more likely to engage in radical choices. Similarly, individuals from subcultures more aligned with anglophone/international culture may be more likely to adopt Anglo names, similar Heffernan's (2010) argument that Hong Kongers, with their longer and deeper association with English mores, eschew the more adventurous, non-standard names. Statistical evidence for this would require much larger data, currently unavailable (see Limitations, Section 7.3.4) The qualitative data in the next chapters attempts to shed more light on these questions.

Similarly, the results confirm previous studies with regards to where the names are coming from, again supporting RQ1. Most participants report choosing their own names, but a significant minority (25%) report that the name was assigned to them by a teacher, either Chinese or non-Chinese. This speaks to the continuing institutional pressure on Chinese individuals to adopt English names from a young age – often in conjunction with English language instruction. Indeed, as with previous studies (e.g. McPherron 2009, Chen 2012, Sercombe et. al 2014, etc.), even those who choose their own names seem often to have done so at the behest or encouragement of an English language teacher. When a name was assigned or chosen is one that can be expected to play out through Chinese cultural norms and can perhaps be seen as indicative of the level of agency individuals have in this communal practice of naming in different cultural contexts.

The origins of the name similarly support previous studies, with similarity to the speakers' Chinese names as the most popular derivation of their English names, but still only accounting for 32% of participants. Fourteen percent noted that they wanted an "unusual or unique name", thus highlighting the comparative importance of having a first name that stands out from the most common Anglo names; this also goes considerable way to explain subtle twists in traditional Anglo names such as *Brigitta*. Seventeen percent of the respondents also indicated that the name they adopted was one of a person they respected, thus highlighting the aspirational element of English name adoption. Recall that naming after another person is handled very differently in Chinese, so this adoption not just of English names but English naming mores is noteworthy. See Table 13.

What factors were important in choosing your English name? (Select all that apply)

#	Answer	%	Count
1	It sounds like, or is similar to, my Chinese name	32.39%	46
2	It is the name of a person I respect (actor/singer/politician, etc)	16.90%	24
3	It is a common English name	11.97%	17
4	It is an unusual or unique name	14.08%	20
5	It relates to me in another way (please explain)	12.68%	18
6	Other	11.97%	17
	Total	100%	142

No Answer: N = 86

Table 13: What factors were important in choosing your English name?

We thus see that there are multiple elements involved in the selection of an appropriate English name, but that these are in concordance with previous studies.

The participants' respect for and attachment to their Chinese names and for China in general seems clear from the responses to questions about these issues (Section 4.3.5). It thus seems that the choice to adopt an English name is not simply an attempt to eliminate or leave the home culture (as Austen-Smith and Fryer (2003) suggest may happen in the African-American community), but rather an attempt to forge a new cultural identity that is firmly Chinese. As Duthie (2002) notes, the aspiration is not to be "American", but rather "Modern Chinese". The

adoption of English names is part of the current change in the sociolinguistic landscape of present-day China, where identities have oriented over the past fifty years from a more inward-looking, nationalistic perspective, to a more global perspective, as suggested by Bailey and Lie (2013).

An interesting area for further research is the minority who do not adopt an English name. Their responses in the interview portion will show interesting stances when juxtaposed with the majoritarian practice of adopting an English name.

4.5 Conclusion

In response to the first research question, the findings of previous studies conducted in China, Indonesia, Taiwan, Canada, and Britain do seem to hold for Mainland Chinese individuals in the United States. The sample does not seem to indicate any major changes in the current practice and the general elements regarding naming practices appear to be replicated in this study. With more data, we can hope to either confirm this more broadly in the United States or find data that would suggest trends away from the general aspects of naming practices outlined in this paper.

In response to the second research question (*Is there evidence of a shift away from the long-term trend towards the adoption of an English name by Chinese students, and if so, what are the reasons for this trend?*), there is seems to be a small decrease in the number of users compared to previous studies in other contexts, but this may not be statistically relevant. Given the paucity of previous studies, no definitive conclusions can be reached. However, it is hoped that further research looking more longitudinally will help to show if there is a change in the broader trend. It is possible that there are economic and/or cultural factors that play a role in the

decisions that Chinese make on the adoption or non-adoption of an English name. These are explored in the following chapters.

It was not possible to determine solid support for answers to the third (*Looking at the central elements of Chinese adoption of English names, are there any social or attitudinal factors that might influence the non-adoption or the quality of the adoption of English names?*) and fourth (*What are the perceived benefits of adopting English names?*) research questions from the quantitative data collected. Instead, these questions may be better addressed with instruments that try to dig deeper into personal motivations. The following chapters will elaborate on these questions using qualitative data.

As Mathews (2000) notes, "Why questions" are very hard to answer. The root impetuses of this trend toward adopting English names are likely complex and suited to a longer treatise. However, it is hoped that further study will at the very least uncover some general trends and improve the predictability not only as to whether a Chinese person will adopt an English name, but perhaps also what type of English name they may select and what their personal motivation may be.

This survey, then, has explored a previously unreported, yet large and salient, context, mainland Chinese students in the United States. It has done so with more robust numbers than many of the previous studies. It has found that the practice of adopting names remains dominant and many of the trends seen in earlier studies are confirmed. It has also explored new domains, including the preferred contexts for using English names and the stance of respondents on foreigners' use of Chinese names.

CHAPTER 5: QUALITATIVE RESULTS: THOSE WHO USE AN ENGLISH NAME

5.1 Process Overview

Following the survey, participants were selected at random and asked if they were available and willing to participate in a more in-depth interview. At the end of the survey, participants were given the option to request 'no interview'; those who did so were not contacted. No individual who was contacted refused to participate in the interview stage. Participants were given the option to interview in person or via skype online video chat service. Participants who chose to interview in person were given a choice of where they wished to talk. Most opted for a coffee shop, though some opted for meeting at the CUNY Graduate Center, where I interviewed them in the Psycholinguistics lab. In all cases, I emphasized the importance of the participants feeling comfortable and in charge of what they would share and how. Participants were given a copy of the consent form and given a brief overview of their rights. All interviews started with an explicit statement that emphasized the rights of the participants to stop at any time and that they only need share such information as they felt comfortable with. As an onomastic study, names are explored here. However, no family names are used, Chinese names are romanized with no tones, and English names are insufficient for accurate identification. I therefore do not believe that the names explored here are sufficient to definitively identify any of my participants. Nevertheless, I have slightly altered all names, generally by a single phoneme, to protect their anonymity. For the purposes of reference, I will refer to each participant by their preferred name (most recent English name for those who use an English name, Chinese name for those who do not regularly use an English name); other names will be linked to the core

reference as appropriate. All interviews were recorded. A total of twenty-three usable interviews were conducted and later transcribed. Table 14 shows a the list of usable interviews:

Name	Use English Name?	Gender	Age	First Dialect
Lilian	Y	F	23-28	Mandarin
Farrah	Y	F	23-28	Cantonese
Leah	Y	F	23-28	Mandarin
Raquel	Y	F	23-28	Chuan
Cindy	Y	F	23-28	Xiang
Carla	Y	F	23-28	Mandarin
Riyal	Y	F	23-28	Mandarin
Ryan	Y	M	23-28	Mandarin
Sheila	Y	F	23-28	Mandarin
Laura	Y	F	23-28	Mandarin
Joanne	Y	F	23-28	Mandarin
Joy	Y	F	23-28	Cantonese
Lucid	Y	F	23-28	Mandarin
Rosy	Y	F	23-28	Wuhanese
Gracie	Y	F	23-28	Mandarin

Irene	Y	F	23-28	Mandarin
Cara	Y	F	23-28	Mandarin
Janet	Y	F	23-28	Cantonese
Sanxiao	N	F	23-28	Mandarin
Tie	N	F	23-28	Mandarin
Jin	N	F	23-28	Mandarin
Gia	N	F	23-28	Mandarin
Renman	N	M	23-28	Mandarin

Table 14: List of Interviewees

Image 4: Map of China noting provinces and autonomous regions. From

https://www.travelchinaguide.com/map/china_map.htm

    I was familiar with many of the interviewees as I had served as the founding director of an international student support center at a major American university and part of my responsibility was to help international students succeed in an American educational context. I believe the participants were generally well inclined toward me, either because I had helped or

advocated for them personally or because they knew that I had advocated for individuals like them.

The survey (Chapter 4) attempted to gauge the prevalence of English name adoption and quantifiable measures associated with this. As Norton (2013) argues, however, issues about identity are more complex than quantitative data can adequately capture. The idea that human beings can be reduced to numbers not only raises serious ethical issues, but also fails to encompass large parts of our lived experiences. The questions (Appendix A) seek to encourage the participants to reflect on their own choices and create a deeper context in which these practices take place. Additionally, I hoped that their personal narratives would give me better indications of factors that may have otherwise been subsumed by more socially salient factors. We are again reminded of Rymes' (1996) observation that names have stories behind them. The interviews here also represent the first such qualitative data in North America on the topic and a deeper exploration than most previous such studies.

5.2 Taking an English Name. The When and Where

Interviewees who took an English name formed the clear majority, as they did in the survey section and as they have in other studies outside the United States (e.g. Duthie 2002, Edwards 2006, McPherron 2009, Heffernan 2010, Chien 2012, Sercombe et al 2014, etc.).

These names were derived from sources and in situations similar to those mentioned in Chapter 2. Many of the respondents spoke about their names being a requirement or expectation, often in a language class. The expectation of an English name began early for several participants. Six reported being expected to have an English name in elementary school. However, even at this age, there were a variety of sources. In the case of Gracie and Joy, for

example, their names were chosen by the teacher. Cindy's elementary school teacher also chose her name for her, but Cindy highlighted that the teacher was a friend of her mother's implying a somewhat closer connection with the naming process.

Cara was also required to have an English name for elementary school, but in her case her father chose it for her. Her father had some English proficiency and looked up an appropriate name. This parental involvement in the English naming process is noteworthy because it seems atypical from participant's reports.

Carla's school seemed to empower the students somewhat more than the other participants and students were tasked with choosing their own names in her case. All of these cases indicate that the use of an English name has penetrated deep into the Chinese educational context. These are students who attended state-run schools and had Chinese teachers, yet even in elementary school, in some cases even from first grade, English names are seen as a *sine qua non*. This does not seem to be geographically determined, as respondents of similar ages from the same province or even the same town would report different situations. While some were required to have an English name from their elementary schooling, others in the same area would graduate high school without ever having encountered such a requirement. This would seem to indicate that although expectations of adopting an English name are widespread, they are not systematic in their application, but rather indicative of a general cultural practice that may be becoming more entrenched as the expectation reinforces itself.

While this expectation clearly has permeated at least some elementary schools, many Chinese citizens may encounter the expectation a little later in their academic career. Raquel described being expected to have an English name when she reached high school, where she chose the name for herself. Irene and Lucid reported that it was only when they were

undergraduates in college that they were expected to have an English name. In Irene's case, her name was given to her by an American instructor. These examples indicate that the practice of adopting English names is not restricted to children whose identity is still quite inchoate, but also to adolescents and young adults whose identity is largely formed. It is also informative that teachers can still play a role in this practice by giving names to adult learners. This speaks to the power of language and the power to name (Bourdieu, 1991) and will be revisited in the next chapter.

Even beyond the academic sphere, we can see the practice of adopting English names has entered the greater society. Joanne did not encounter an expectation to have an English name until she entered the world of employment, but once there she found, as Duthie (2002), Hsu (2009), and Kronick (2013) report, that many Chinese businesses, particularly those that do business internationally, expect their employees to adopt an English name. The pervasiveness of this expectation to adopt an English name then expands beyond simple academics or language classes and into everyday life and society to the extent that it appears to be an opportunity for the production of what Bourdieu (1991) terms *symbolic profit*.

The pervasiveness of the practice of English name adoption in mainland China is indicative of the spread of the Mathews' (2000) cultural supermarket, where adopting an English name has become an increasingly standard practice. However, this penetration, as noted above, is not complete. Indeed, several respondents had not encountered the expectation prior to leaving China. Laura, for example, only first adopted an English name in preparation for studying in the United States and Janet adopted her English name after she arrived in the United States to pursue her college studies. Both Janet and Laura are from Guangzhou, generally a comparatively wealthy and cosmopolitan Chinese province. For context, it had a 2017 GDP of $12,909,

compared to the Chinese GDP of $9,311 (Babones, 2018). As a coastal province, it has a long history of foreign contact, attested to by the most famous previously foreign outposts and now neighboring special administrative regions, Macau and Hong Kong. Many individuals who made up the earlier Chinese diaspora, from New York's Chinatown to ethnically Chinese Thai citizens, trace their ancestry to Guangdong. Despite or perhaps because of this comparative economic and international cultural capital, it seems that English name adoption has not completely penetrated all of China, including one of its wealthiest and more cosmopolitan provinces.

As reported elsewhere (e.g. Edwards 2006, McPherron 2009, Chen 2012, etc.), the methodologies for selecting an English name conform to a few patterns. Some, such as Lilian, Gracie, and Irene, were assigned their English names by a teacher. For example, Lilian responded:

Transcript 1[12]: Lilian, Female, Age Range 23-28, Liaoning, First dialect Mandarin[13]

> I: And how did you get your English name?
>
> P : It is a name picked by my English teacher in elementary school because it sounds a little like my Chinese name.

Here, Lilian is able to elaborate on the connection with her English name. Gracie, on the other hand, was not able to see a connection.

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[12] Discourse markers include:

{}	Author's comment or translation
(?)	Question/rising tone
CAPS	Emphasis
. . .	Pause
[...]	Intervening text omitted for brevity
I	Interviewer (The author)
P	Participant

[13] For each transcript, I will include a name, gender, age range, home province, and native dialect. A complete list of interviewees is available in Table 14.

Transcript 2: Gracie, Female, Age Range 23-28, Guangdong, First dialect Mandarin

> I: How did you get your English name?

> P : In my first grade my English teacher got[14] me the name. I didn't know why she picked that name because everyone else is, for example one girl's name was Li Li and she will get a name Lily because it was similar. But I can't see a connection with my Chinese name.

Here we can see that even among the individuals who were assigned a name (31% in the quantitative data reported in chapter four), there is considerable variation. Lilian seems quite satisfied with the derivation of her English name and can connect it to her life. Gracie, on the other hand, has adopted a name for which she sees no logical connection. This speaks to the power of the authority vested with the ability to name her (in this case, her teacher), which Bourdieu (1991:106) describes as the "mystery of ministry." The power to name, in this case, appears stripped bare of its niceties and revealed to have a level of arbitrariness that calls into question the patterns of naming cited above.

In addition to teachers, other individuals may have the power to suggest or apply names. Cara received her name from her father and Ryan took his name at the suggestion of American friends. These interactions may have a more personal connection with the individual named, but similarly speak to the power of naming as a way to assert authority.

In situations where participants were able to exert a level of autonomy and choose their own names, we see a variety of tactics. Janet points to the shortened form of "Jan" as sounding similar to her Chinese name. This phonological connection speaks to a common origin, as

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[14] As non-native speakers of English, interviewees' language is retained in its original form.

attested in other studies (e.g. Edwards 2006, McPherron 2009, Chen 2012, etc.). However, while quantitative studies seem to find the phonological connection to the participants' Chinese names a particularly common tactic (e.g. Silver and Shiomi 2010, Sercombe et al. 2014, etc.), in my own data outlined in Chapter 4, it is noteworthy that only one interviewee specifically noted that she chose her English name based on a phonological similarity with her Chinese name. While it is entirely possible that such an outcome was stochastic, it may be that verbal similarity with a Chinese name is a less salient element in participants' minds than might be inferred solely from quantitative data.

Indeed, several participants, including Leah, Farrah, Raquel, Laura, and Carla, chose their names after being exposed to popular media (TV, books, movies, etc.) where English names have a more contextualized presence. In these cases, participants felt a connection that was not necessarily predicated on connections to their Chinese names (or perhaps even their Chinese identity), but rather on interaction with new texts and new cultural spaces.

As Farrah puts it in Transcript 3:

Transcript 3: Farrah, Female, Age Range 23-28, Guangdong, First dialect Cantonese

I. How did you get your English name?
P:. Well I think I watch a movie or TV show and I liked the character inside and I think the name is special, it's not like a lot of people have this name, so I think um, it's simple.

Here we see multiple relevant points in the process of selecting a name. Farrah felt some level of connection with the character, perhaps indicating an affinity or an aspiration. This speaks to a connection with the broader English-speaking world, which has been implied elsewhere (e.g. Heffernan, 2010). However, it also speaks to the quality of the name itself. It is simple, thus

reducing pronunciation and other issues, yet - for Farrah at least - it is special and not particularly common. Thus Farrah can build a level of distinctiveness with her less-than-common English name, a characteristic frequently mentioned in other studies (e.g. Lee 2001, McPherron 2009, Heffernan 2010, etc.) as an attractive element for Chinese people considering English names. In addition to picking names from popular media, as mentioned above, some participants went even further and took names from less likely sources. Riyal, for example, explains her process lightheartedly in Transcript 4.

Transcript 4: Riyal, Female, Age Range 23-28, Jiangsu, First dialect Mandarin

> I: So Riyal your latest name, how did you get that name?
>
> P: Actually that's a very funny story. I want to laugh at myself.
>
> […]
>
> So Riyal, Riyal. I was really in the lack of money at that time when I started to call myself Riyal. And Riyal is a currency, and one Riyal equals to about like four American dollars and I thought "oh, Riyal, a lot of money!" and then I called myself Riyal.

Here we again see an aspirational element coupled with an unusual name that helps Riyal stand out and suggest a connection to wealth.

5.3 Preference for an English Name over one's given Chinese Name

While the majority of both the survey and interview participants did adopt an English name, this was in all cases, as noted in Chapter 2, in addition to the individual's Chinese name,

not as a replacement. This holding of multiple names leads to the question of whether there is a preference and what the participants' feelings are toward each of their names.

Most of the respondents preferred to use their English names, particularly in certain circumstances. Raquel went so far as to consider it a universal preference (see Transcript 5).

Transcript 5: Raquel, Female, Age Range 23-28, Sichuan, First dialect Chuan

> I: So do you prefer to use your English name here in the United States?
>
> P: Yes, and actually because I did my bachelor in Hong Kong where all the Chinese students, it's no matter you are Hong Kong Chinese or Mainland Chinese, we all prefer to use English names instead of Chinese names, so I used Raquel for a very long time.

Here Raquel expresses the idea that all Chinese people, whether from Hong Kong or mainland China, prefer English names. While other responses were sometimes more nuanced - Joy, for example, specifically located her preference to U.S. classroom time - the idea that this social practice is a preferred practice and that it has the support of the mainland Chinese student community in the United States seems to be an important component of how the practice is viewed by the Chinese students themselves. This again speaks to the pervasiveness of the practice mentioned above. That such a practice is the preferred behavior of the community improves its *symbolic profit* by incorporating more people into the belief that such a practice is universal and settled. Such an analysis is reinforced by the fact that many of the respondents specifically cited the ease of pronunciation for non-Chinese speakers as a reason for why they preferred the use of English names. As we see in Transcript 6, Gracie prefers her English name because her Chinese name causes trouble for non-Chinese speakers.

Transcript 6: Gracie, Female, Age Range 23-28, Guangdong, First dialect Mandarin

     I: Why is that? Why do you prefer to use your English name?

     P: Because they don't pronounce my Chinese name well. Some of my friends stick with their Chinese name but most of them have a very easy one [...] Basically, Americans can not pronounce my name.

This sentiment is also expressed by other participants, including Ryan, Laura, and Lucid. The comparative ease of pronunciation of their English name gives the participants access to a broader world, where they may access opportunities beyond and in addition to those that they may access in mainland China. Naturally, this raises what Rampton (2017:280) describes as issues of "social legitimacy" when participants adopt an English name to give them this potential access. To what extent are English names of Chinese individuals accepted as legitimate by the English-speaking world? This relevant question is beyond the scope of this paper, but can serve as a useful starting point for a future study. For the participants, it is clear that they hope that there is some social legitimacy to their English names and that the more phonologically accessible English names will allow them to access their new social context.

Rampton (2017) has introduced the use of language of another to build a sociolinguistic practice he calls "crossing". As he puts it code alternation "...involves a more fundamental contravention of routine expectations - it entails a disjunction between speaker and code that cannot be readily accommodated as a normal part of ordinary social reality" (Rampton, 2017:278). Looking at the deployment of English names, it is worthwhile to consider to what extent the practice of adopting English names may be a different type of crossing distinct from the ones documented by Rampton in a vastly different context. it meets this definition of code

alternation. Clearly, the phonological differences (English names are non-tonal and may include phonemes not present in the Chinese inventory) point to a disjunction. Additionally, the idea that English names are not the speakers' "real names" is a theme repeatedly visited (e.g. Tan, 2001) and seen in the interviews (e.g. Transcript 9), showing that the disjunction is at least perceived. Such points may index a new dimension to their identity. On the other hand, however, we see the flexibility in given names noted in Section 2.2 and can envision a situation where a speaker can see the English name being very much part of the ordinary social reality, as Bailey and Lie (2013) argue is the case in Indonesia. The position of Chinese names as a question of a form of crossing, then, is opaque. As Rampton (2017:278) puts it "The basic disparity between speaker and voice that is fundamental to language crossing means that potentially, it has a good deal of symbolic resonance as a form of code-switching." In some cases, this may be the case, yet in others it seems not to be. As Rampton himself notes, the delineation between the ordinary and exceptional is hardly clear-cut.

As Rampton (2017:280) describes it,

> Crossing, in contrast, focuses on code alternation by people who are not accepted members of the group associated with the second language they employ. It is concerned with switching into languages that are not generally thought to belong to you. This kind of switching, in which there is a distinct sense of movement across social or ethnic boundaries, raises issues of social legitimacy that participants need to negotiate.

In this case, a key question must be the extent to which Chinese people consider themselves members of the anglophone world. That is to say, whether English belongs to them or not, and whether they are truly within the world of English speakers, or something apart. The ownership of English has long been a political and sociological question as much as, or more than, a linguistic one (e.g. Kachru 1986, Graddol 2006, Crystal 2012, etc.), and the sense of Chinese speakers toward English must comprise a central role in their attitudes toward English

and Anglo names. Whether their use of English names is indicative of a move toward incorporating English language use in discourse or is in fact a borrowing that has become fully Chinese is a tangled issue that will be considered in Chapter 6.

Of course, as Park (2017) notes, the idea that Chinese names are less phonologically accessible than some other foreign names widely recognized in many anglophone communities, such as Tchaikovsky or Schwarzenegger, points to a potential racial element in the question of social legitimacy. That is to say that while the participants may prefer their English names as a way to connect and achieve some level of symbolic profit by accessing the larger market or perhaps simply by performing a cultural practice associated with the more powerful elements in society, this is hardly a simple process and the level of acceptance may vary. Such conundrums will also be addressed in Chapter 6.

While the majority of interviewees seemed to prefer to use their English names in general, and as noted in Transcript 5, the perception exists that this is a near universal social practice among international Chinese students, this is not the case for all interviewees. Some participants localized their preference of using their English name to specific situations such as Joy, who preferred to use her English name in class, but her Chinese name elsewhere, and Ryan, who expressed a preference for his English name only when working with English speakers. Still, these individuals seemed to prefer their English names in general while in the United States.

A few would have preferred to use their Chinese name - including Lilian, Sheila, and Joanne - but felt that they needed to use their English name to accommodate non-Chinese speakers. Joanne's stance in Transcript 7 encapsulates this viewpoint.

Transcript 7: Joanne, Female, Age Range 23-28, Xinjiang, First dialect Mandarin

I: So do you prefer to use your English name here in the United States?

P: I think I try to promote my Chinese name but I find it's difficult for someone to pronounce and they're not confident whether their pronounce is correct. So I try to promote my Chinese name first and then now all my friends they still call me English name. Including the Chinese students.

We can juxtapose this group with the interviewees who did not have (or did not admit to having) an English name. In the former group, even though they preferred not to use their English name, they found that the use of the name was hard to avoid. They found that the ease of pronunciation for non-Chinese speakers was a significant factor. However, beyond this, they confronted the dominant cultural practice highlighted in Transcript 5 "we all prefer to use English name", where there seemed to be an expectation that English names would be used. This goes some way to explain the final comment in Transcript 7, where Joanne says she uses her English name with other Chinese students, despite preferring to use her Chinese name. She, along with other participants who had English names, but preferred their Chinese names, had engaged in the practice of using an English name and were now seemingly facing problems to leave this social practice. As Chen (2012: 82) puts it "Whether to use ethnic names or English names in the United States is often not a personal choice." Personal preference may play a role, but this must withstand pressures from external forces that may overwhelm the individual's ability to assert a name. It would seem then that this practice more closely aligns with what Volosinov (1929/1973) describes as behavioral ideology rather than established ideology. That is to say, that the practice of adopting English names is still at the level where it is in response to

the changes in socio-economic forces; it has not yet been accepted as unremarkable. This is

supported by the literature (e.g. Duthie 2002, Bailey and Lie 2013, Kim 2014, etc.) and seen in

Transcripts 5, 6, 7, etc. These forces have not yet become fully established but the behavioral

ideology can be seen as what Volosinov (1929/1973) describes as the higher strata[15], creative

and sensitive to the current contexts. When the demand is such that Chinese people want non-

Chinese speakers to pronounce and remember their names, then this behavioral ideology can

become activated. However, as Rampton (2017) notes, there is more than one ideological current

at play here. The case of participants that prefer their Chinese name shows they are fighting

against stronger behavioral ideologies that may, at first sight, seem to be well on their way to

becoming established ideology, though see below for discussion on potential directions in this

practice in response to the socioeconomic context. It may be worth noting here again that one

established ideology with Chinese cultural practice seems to be the openness to multiple names

(see Chapter 2.2). Rampton (2017:309) builds on the Volosinov's (1929/1973) concept of

ideology to argue that ideology "...shapes and influences 'lived' social relations." Such an

analysis would seem to support the choices confronted by those who see the dominant behavioral

ideology of adopting an English name conflicting with their preference to use their Chinese

names, at least in some situations. A similar struggle can be seen for those who resist adopting an

English name, and whose situation will be outlined below in Chapter 6. Of course, the economic

impact of late capitalism, to which we are all subject, creates multiple social groupings

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[15] Volosinov says (1929/1973:92) "Newly emerging social forces find ideological expression and take shape first in these upper strata of behavioral ideology before they can succeed in dominating the arena of some organized official ideology." In other words, as new socioeconomic forces arise, they provide new affordances for linguistic practice. These new practices become part of the behavioral ideology. If they can sustain themselves, they may become part of the more established official ideology. Such a view can be connected to Fairclough's (2015) argument that certain discourses can become "naturalized" in the appropriate prevailing power context. That the practice of adopting English names has not become part of the official ideology is demonstrated by the fact that they are frequently remarked upon and provide a fruitful and accessible area of study.

(Rampton, 2017). The participants are subject to such divisions, perhaps the most salient one being the ethnic/national one around which this study is based. Sadly, this particular division is reinforced by frequent racist actions in the U.S. directed against Asians in general and Chinese in particular (e.g. Herreria 2017, Toomey 2017, Whitford 2018, etc.). This powerful divisive line clearly cannot lead simply to ethnic absolutism, but encounters a plethora of alternative identities (see Rampton, 2017). These competing identities again play a role in influencing the use, non-use, or non-adoption of an English name in each specific socioeconomic context. It is within this context that this group of participants, who prefer their Chinese name but are called by their English names, find themselves.

5.4 When and Where to Use an English Name or Chinese Name

The preference for using English names seems to occur most frequently in contexts where English is a dominant language. Seventy-six percent (N= 114) of my survey respondents who used English names reported that they used their English name always or most of the time outside of China with foreigners. This compares with 16 % (N=25) who used their English names always or most of the time in China with other Chinese speakers. Joy, in Transcript 8, mentions the more common contexts:

Transcript 8: Joy, Female, Age Range 23-28, Guangdong, First dialect Cantonese

I: When do you use your English name?

P: Usually when I was a kid when I was having English class. And in all English classes. Then later when I was talking to foreign friends or when I traveled abroad. Then later when I came here I used this to communicate with classmates and also with friends.

Here we see that English language class in China is the first contact point for English as a dominant language. This then connects with personal interactions with non-Chinese speakers and trips overseas. Finally, coming to the United States, where English dominates, it is no surprise that the linguistic context remains predominantly English, leading to the expanded use of English names. Almost all of the interviewees who had an English name used it in contexts where English dominated, such as classrooms or work situations, despite some having a preference for using their Chinese name mentioned above (e.g. Transcript 7). The one context in the United States where use of the Chinese name was required was is in dealing with legal and official situations. As Lucid expresses it in Transcript 9, it is for formal situations, in her case including when contacting instructors via email.

Transcript 9: Lucid, Female, Age Range 23-28, Guizhou, First dialect Mandarin

> I: Are there particular times when you use your Chinese name rather than your English name?
>
> P: I think formal occasions like signatures and other things.
>
> I: So for official business?
>
> P: Yeah and also when I email my professor anything I use my real name. My Chinese name.

Of note here is the separation Lucid makes here between her use of her English name in classroom contexts, but her Chinese name for emails to her professor. Such granular distinctions highlight the enormous complexity of choices and social forces that many Chinese students face,

deciding when to draw the line between English names and Chinese names. This stands in contrast to those who choose to use their English name in all non-legal situations (e.g. transcript 12) and those who do not adopt an English name at all (see chapter 6).

Gracie (Transcript 10) similarly expresses formal situations, such as renting an apartment, as a time to use her Chinese name, despite a preference for her English name. Needless to say, the legal ramifications of naming are sufficiently powerful to compel the use of the Chinese name, even if there are, as Gracie (Transcript 10) notes, pronunciation issues.

Transcript 10: Gracie, Female, Age Range 23-28, Guangdong, First dialect Mandarin

I: When do you use your English name?

P: Mostly with foreigners.

I: Okay. Do you prefer to use your English name here in the United States?

P: Yeah.

I: Why is that? Why do you prefer to use your English name?

P: Because they don't pronounce my Chinese name well. Some of my friends stick with their Chinese name but most of them have a very easy one. [...] Basically, Americans can not pronounce my name.

I: Are there any particular times that you do use your Chinese name rather than your English name?

P: You mean with foreigners?

I: With non-Chinese, yeah.

P: When I wanted to rent the apartment I have to use my Chinese name because it's my real name. It's the name on my passport. Or when I go to interviews I will try to tell them

my Chinese name. And basically, they will just ask me if I have an English name.

In addition to legal and formal situations, another area where some interviewees use their Chinese name is with other Chinese speakers. As Farrah puts it, the English name seems to be for situations where English is the default language, but in situations where she is talking to Chinese speakers, she does not use her English name.

Transcript 11: Farrah, Female, Age Range 23-28, Guangdong, First dialect Cantonese

I: So when do you use that {English name}? Who do you use it {English name}with?

P: Actually [in] China, I don't use that {English name}. Maybe just talk with some English friends or in English classmates when they require us to use that. But in America, I'm dealing with English teachers or uh the students, local students or international students, I will use the English name, but when I'm talking to Chinese friends, I never use my English name.

While the idea that Chinese speakers use Chinese names with each other might seem obvious, it is clearly more nuanced than this. There is considerable literature (Duthie 2002, Hsu 2009, Chen 2012, Bailey and Lie 2013, etc.) showing that English names can often be used between Chinese first language users, even if they have no English language competence. It should, then, come as no surprise that such a practice continues, as attested by Rosy (Transcript 12), who affirms that all of her Chinese speaking friends use her English name.

Transcript 12: Rosy, Female, Age Range 23-28, Hubei, First dialect Wuhanese

I: Do you ever use it with other Chinese speakers?

P: Yes, my friends here. They all call me Rosy.

What is of interest, I would argue, is precisely this contest between English names in both the English and Chinese language arenas. The use of English names has penetrated Chinese language interactional dialogues, but it has also encountered resistance as other speakers opt to use their Chinese names or eschew adopting English names at all.

5.5 The Impact of Using an English Name on Comfort Speaking English

McPherron (2009) has written on the perception of Chinese students that an English name will allow them to gain acceptance into the English-speaking community. Hua (2010:195), speaking in the context of Chinese diasporic communities, says:

> I would argue that when both names [English and Chinese] are known to a speaker, the choice made by the speaker during an interaction is significant and meaningful. It symbolizes the social and cultural membership the speaker would like to evoke.

Here, the social and cultural membership the individuals seek to claim, is partially indexed by their choice of name in a given interaction. We see the issue cited above by Rampton (2017) of the comparative level of acceptance or non-acceptance by the speech community, again, hotly contested. The name may play a role in gaining acceptance into a speech community, though of course the success or failure of such a gambit is hardly assured simply by adopting an appropriate name.

In the case of non-native speakers of English, this attempt to use an English name as a partial down-payment to access the English speech community, may possibly lead to closer

social ties. If speakers feel accepted, this may lead to positive effects on L2 acquisition, as Schumann (1986) suggested in his acculturation model.

Previous studies have not explicitly explored the question of the effect of English name adoption by Chinese speakers on language facility. Interviewees felt differing levels of impact of their English name on English language use. The majority felt that it did not play a role, as typified by Laura's stance (Transcript 13)

Transcript 13: Laura, Female, Age Range 23-28, Guangdong, First dialect Mandarin

I: So you speak English well. Do you feel that using an English name helps you feel more comfortable speaking English?

P: I don't think there's a connection between that, no.

Such definitive negatives were typical responses for the majority of interviewees, who felt that their English name had no perceived effect on their linguistic competence or comfort. A minority felt that initial challenges over pronunciation of their Chinese names could derail discussions and lead to a suboptimal interaction as Rosy (transcript 14) indicates.

Transcript 14 Rosy, Female, Age Range 23-28, Hubei, First dialect Wuhanese

I: Do you feel that having an English name makes you feel more comfortable speaking English?

P: Yes because if people ask me my Chinese name then I tell them my Chinese name is gonna be really weird because they're going to pronounce it awkward. So I prefer using my English name. It's easier for everyone.

In such situations, using an English name could be an early marker of membership in the speech community and a way to forestall more complex questions influenced by the abstand status of Chinese vis-a-vis English. Thus an English name may serve to get a proverbial foot in the door and allow a conversation to ensue without being derailed at an early point over name confusion. Otherwise, interviewees did not see a connection between an English name and comfort in using English with one exception. Lucid (Transcript 15) seemed to consider this possibility for the first time when I asked her about it.

Transcript 15: Lucid, Female, Age Range 23-28, Guizhou, First dialect Mandarin

> I: Does it make you feel more comfortable? Having an English name when you speak English?
>
> P: I actually haven't thought about that. You know, the connection between my English name and confidence.
>
> I: So you don't see a connection?
>
> P: Well if there's a connection I will say it makes me...okay, yeah, I guess less awkward. Yeah, probably more confident when I speak English.

Lucid thus seems to open the door to the possibility that an English name may be play a role in building confidence.

Among those who did not have an English name, most were quite happy with that state of affairs and had no interest to adopt one. However, Gia was ambivalent about whether an English name might be helpful. She also left open the possibility that having such a name might help her spoken English.

Transcript 16: Gia, Female, Age Range 23-28, Shaanxi, First dialect Mandarin

> I: So you speak English well. Do you feel that if you had an English name, you would speak English better?
>
> P: I don't know for about this. Maybe better.
>
> I: Why do you think so many Chinese use an English name?
>
> P: Maybe it's easy for Americans to pronounce or more easier to remember.

Gia and Lucid are the only ones who seemed to consider that an English name (but see also section 5.8.2, where the potential benefit of avoiding awkward initial encounters is explored) might be a positive in English communicative competence, or at least confidence . As outliers, it is quite possible that this is not a typical result of English name adoption. However, given the response that Lucid had not considered such a possibility before, it may be worth further exploration, particularly if such a factor may lead to stronger or more rapid second language development.

5.6: What Feelings Do English names Evoke?

If English names do not seem to affect most Chinese people's sense of confidence in English language skills, nevertheless quite a few interviewees do seem to have some emotional connection with their adopted English names. Broadly speaking, the emotional connection between the interviewees and their English names can be divided into two groups. The first group explored below engaged strongly with their English name and felt that it was a strong part of who they are. This group can then be subdivided into those with Anglo names and those with less typical names. The second group were far more tepid in their connection. This group

generally did not see their English name as carrying any real emotional power or connection to their identity.

In the first group, we find that several interviewees felt a strong connection to their Anglo name, including Joy, Rosy, and Irene. In each case, they expressed a sense of connection to that particular English name. Rosy (Transcript 17), for example, expresses a closeness that she cannot explain, yet stands in contrast to her earlier choice of Kelly, which is phonologically similar (two syllables, ending in a high front vowel).

Transcript 17 Rosy, Female, Age Range 23-28, Hubei, First dialect Wuhanese

I: How do you feel about your English name?

P: It's good. I like it because I think ten years ago when I went to English school I used another one, Kelly, but I don't really like it. That's why I changed to this one. I just take what I want. I think this one is really good because it's really easy to remember. And when people call my name I'm gonna feel happy. I don't know why.

Joy (Transcript 18) also feels a connection. She is able to elaborate it a little more, identifying a connection with its semantic properties as well as its status as an Anglo name, but again, like Rosy (Transcript 17), her final sense is more visceral than intellectual.

Transcript 18: Joy, Female, Age Range 23-28, Guangdong, First dialect Cantonese

I: How do you feel about your English name?

P: I feel like it's a great one. My name is Joy so you know joy, happy. And I think shows a little bit of my personality. But I also have a feeling that it's like an old school English

name, right? I don't know. I'm not sure but I don't care. I don't want to change to another one so I just keep it.

Irene (Transcript 19) also feels a strong connection to her name because of its connection to one of her favorite writers (also Chinese who took an English name).

Transcript 19: Irene, Female, Age Range 23-28, Liaoning, First dialect Mandarin

    I: So how do you feel about your English name?

    P: I actually like it because one of my favorite Chinese writers, she happens to use the same English name.

In all three of these examples, we see that the interviewees felt a connection to their English name that is palpable. The first two offer reasons, but at the same time point to a sense that their connection with their name is a visceral and somewhat indescribable.

Such a connection to their English Anglo names can be separated from the responses of Lucid, Leah, Farrah, and Riyal, whose names are perceived to be less Anglo and more unusual. In the case of the latter subgroup, their emotional connection to their English name can be more closely attributed to the comparative rarity of the name, a quality often sought after as discussed above and in McPherron (2009). Riyal (Transcript 20) considers her name "unique", building on her sense of value outlined in Transcript 4.

Transcript 20: Riyal, Female, Age Range 23-28, Jiangsu, First dialect Mandarin

    I: So how do you feel about your English name?

P: You mean Riyal? I think it's unique and funny.

Similarly, Farrah notes the comparative rarity of her name compared to the more typically Anglo names of Angela or Tiffany.

Transcript 21: Farrah, Female, Age Range 23-28, Guangdong, First dialect Cantonese

I: So how do you feel about your English name?

[...]

P: I like this name, but it's hard to describe the reason why. Maybe just I don't see many people have this name. So it's like when you call Angela or Tiffany, a lot of people have this name. Maybe Farrah is special.

Unlike the first subgroup, who felt an emotional connection with their English name for personal reasons, this subgroup make a connection between the unusualness of their English name and their affection for it. It is entirely plausible that being atypical but still conforming to English phonotactics may make the name, and by extension the individual, more memorable, thus offering opportunities for greater access to capital markets as suggested by studies looking at work and study opportunities (e.g. Milkman et al. 2015, Bannerjee et al. 2018, etc.)

These two subgroups then, expressed a positive emotional connection to their English names. The other respondents were much more non-committal. Many felt that the name had a function, but were not particularly attached to it. Janet (Transcript 22) illustrates this stance when she asserts that the name is fine, but has no real sense of connection.

Transcript 22: Janet, Female, Age Range 23-28, Guangdong, First dialect Cantonese

I: So, how do you feel about your English name, Janet?

P: Janet; I think Janet is fine. It sounds just a regular English name. I guess.

I: So do you feel close to that name? Do you feel that that's a good name for you?

P: I think it's a good name to me but I don't feel close. I don't know why.

Raquel (Transcript 24) expresses a similar stance, calling it "not anything special".

Transcript 24: Raquel, Female, Age Range 23-28, Sichuan, First dialect Chuan

I: So how do you feel about your English name?

P: It's not anything special. Perhaps because I've used it for a very long time. So it's kind of become part of me. I don't feel anything special about that.

This sense of acceptance of the English name and its imposition without any apparent sense of emotional attachment stands in contrast to the first two groups described in this section, who felt a clear affinity for their English names. In these cases, though, the name is "just a regular English name" and does not appear to have any meaningful connection to the individual. So while adopting an English name seems to be the dominant cultural practice, for many the actual practice seems to entail a much more kripkesque view of names where they carry no special qualities beyond indexing a specific individual. Regardless of their sense of connection to their Chinese names, these respondents feel no strong connection to their English names. This reinforces the findings of Sercombe et al. (2014) in mainland China who reported that their

respondents appreciated the functional value of their English names, but did not evince deeper associations.

It is, however, possible that these individuals just have not yet found the "right" name. As noted, it is quite common for Chinese people to change their English names (e.g. McPherron, 2009) several times until they find one that suits them. Forty-eight percent of respondents to my survey who used an English name had changed it (Section 4.3.3). That this might lead to a new relationship with the English name, one that indexes a stronger emotional connection as seen in examples above such as Irene (Transcript 19) and Joy (Transcript 18), is alluded to by Carla's (Transcript 23) belief that she could get a stronger connection with the right English name.

Transcript 23: Carla, Female, Age Range 23-28, Shanghai, First dialect Mandarin
      I: How do you feel about your English name?

      P: Uhh I feel maybe if I had a chance I would choose another English name. Yeah because every Chinese name has a meaning and when I got my English name I don't really understand the meaning of it and (laughs) I think Carla is maybe not a very modern English name. I want to change it once but I just feel that I've been called Carla for a long time like I also working international company back in China before so I just feel used to being called Carla.

Here, Carla does not evince a strong connection with her English name, yet she notes that the meaning does not particularly resonate with her, nor does it index a sense of modernity which she feels may better connect to her. This insight into a sense of names shows them being taken as part of a broad cultural practice (e.g. Duthie, 2002). Yet the names themselves often fail to create a personal connection, speaking to the challenge that Chinese people have in tackling naming

practices as they are instantiated in the Chinese-speaking and in the English-speaking worlds. As they gain more knowledge of English names and their indexicality in anglophone cultures, they may re-evaluate their connection and by extension their adopted name. The weak connection that the interviewees above express toward their English names contrasts with the strong connection expressed by the first group discussed in this section.

5.7 Do English Names Create a Separate Identity?

It seems then that there is an absence of a sense of personal connection for many of the interviewees, so the name might be taken to indicate a participation in the cultural practice (e.g. Duthie, 2002) of adopting English names. This conforms to Chinese naming practices (e.g. Jones 1997) allowing multiple names noted above in section 2.2. However, the extent to which these are "not anything special" (Transcript 22) or actually become part of the adopters personality is unclear.

When asked whether their English name created a separate identity, most were emphatic that it did not. Gracie's one word response (Transcript 25) is typical.

Transcript 25: Gracie, Female, Age Range 23-28, Guangdong, First dialect Mandarin
    I: Do you feel that having an English name creates a separate identity for you?

    P: No.

For most interviewees, there was no question that a new name implied any sense of new identity. In a few cases, however, interviewees might entertain the question and explore it a little. Irene (Transcript 26), for example, showed some interest in the question and opened the door somewhat to this possibility.

Transcript 26: Irene, Female, Age Range 23-28, Liaoning, First dialect Mandarin

I: Do you feel that it creates a separate identity for you?

P: What do you mean by that?

I: Do you feel that Irene is somewhat of a different person than [Chinese Name]?

P: Yeah. Sort of.

However, it should be noted that as the interviewer I had to rephrase the question and this may have influenced Irene's response. Even for Irene, it was only "sort of". However, the door seems opened. In the case of Lilian (Transcript 27), we see someone who felt that her name was tied up in her workplace identity.

Transcript 27: Lilian, Female, Age Range 23-28, Liaoning, First dialect Mandarin

I: Do you feel that having an English name affects your identity?.

P: Hmmm, sometimes I have the feeling it's very weird when Chinese colleagues or Chinese bosses call me by my English name. It's like a different name. Hmm Yeah, it's like I have the feeling when I work in a import agency in China, if you work under a boss who's American, the colleagues love to call each other by English names, whatever their English name is. So, it's like um, when you start working, your brain, I have that kind of feeling. The name just appears in the workplace. So it's related to my work.

This of course ties in with the longstanding Chinese practice of adopting different names specific for business purposes (Jones 1997), but also points to a sense that the English name in Vivan's case is an extension into a different realm. Lilian thus elaborates a more nuanced view

of identity than other interviewees, who seem to have interpreted the question more fundamentally.

The case of Leah is even more striking, however. Leah belongs to the group mentioned above in Section 5.3 that tried to use their Chinese name in the face of strong pressure to use an English name. When she did use her English name, she felt that it was as a different person (Transcript 28).

Transcript 28: Leah, Female, Age Range 23-28, Liaoning, First dialect Mandarin

I: So why don't you use an English name when so many Chinese do?

P: Oh, cause yeah, I have already explained that. It's cause my Chinese name is not as difficult as the other Chinese name and I found out that [Chinese name] is the real name. When I talk to people like I'm Leah, I pretend to be someone else. That's not me.

Leah signals here that her use of an English name, one that she would prefer not to use because her Chinese name works, is one where she is afforded the opportunity to pretend to be someone else. Not only does the English name index a new identity, it is not even her identity ("That's not me." Transcript 28). Such a resistance and sense of being a different person from her English name again calls to mind the argument put forward above that the English name, often imposed by social and cultural forces beyond the participants' control, are resisted by at least some of the people involved. This ludic element also calls to mind McPherron's (2009) exploration of the playful nature of English naming practices. Because of their unofficial, or at best semi-official, status in mainland China, English names can be an exciting arena for participants to explore alternative senses of identity. Young college students can experiment in a

socially sanctioned, yet low stakes environment, in considering the options of Mathew's (2000) cultural supermarket.

5.8 Why Do Chinese People Take English Names?

After exploring some of the more personal motivations and circumstances with my interviewees, I switched to asking about their understanding of the social practice on a broader scale. A central question to open up this area to their insights was along the lines of "Why do you think so many Chinese people choose to adopt an English name?" It was clear from the responses that most of the interviewees had given this matter some consideration or at least discussed it with other Chinese people. The cultural salience of this practice is attested to by the frequent discussions about naming practices, particularly adopting English names (e.g. Hsu 2009, Huang 2017, Wang & Yao 2017, etc.). This practice has even reached mainstream American Network television as the central story in an episode of ABC's *Fresh off the Boat* entitled "Hi, My name is ..." (Fruchbom & Purple, 2016). Indeed, the broad conscious awareness of this phenomenon is indicative of its markedness in American naming culture as well as its comparative recency.

5.8.1 Pronunciation and Memorability

Given this salience, it is no surprise that interviewees had something to say on this issue. For the most part, they attributed the practice in general to the issue of pronunciation, supporting the argument made elsewhere in the literature (e.g. McPherron 2009, Heffernan 2010, Sercombe et al. 2014, etc.) that pronunciation is a major factor in choosing to use English names in anglophone contexts. The desire is to create a name that is easier to pronounce for non-Chinese speakers, perhaps highlighting the sense of negative politeness (e.g. Levinson, Brown, Levinson,

& Levinson, 1987) whereby anglophones are not inconvenienced by having to pronounce Chinese tonal names. The comparative power relations of English and the United States in contrast to Chinese and China may also play a role; this would go some way to explain why the Chinese government punishes name choices of its captive Uyghur population, whose pronunciation[16] is not even allowed (e.g. Lemon, 2018), but permit and even encourage English names for its citizens. Such pronunciation issues are also consciously connected in the minds of many of the interviewees with their memorability, supporting the connection noted by Chen (2012). This memorability, as argued by Milkman et al. (2015), has real life consequences, again supporting the argument that socioeconomic forces play a role in the adoption of English names by Chinese individuals.

The twin themes of pronunciation and memorability were frequently cited by interviewees. Janet (Transcript 29), for example, clearly links the two as central reasons in her mind for this practice. As noted above, this is a dominant theme in a highly salient cultural practice.

Transcript 29: Janet, Female, Age Range 23-28, Guangdong, First dialect Cantonese

I: Many Chinese who come here use an English name. Why do think they do that?

P: Well, for first it's definitely easier to pronounce and easier to remember. If you use an English name, people might remember you better than using your Chinese name; they are difficult to remember and things like that, right.

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[16] China has banned multiple names common among Uyghurs and other Chinese Muslims, including Arafat, Hüsein and Fatima. (Radio Free Asia, 2017)

Similar stances were shared by other interviewees, though some focused on pronunciation without pairing it with memorability. Such positions support a broader linguistic ideology that Chinese names are beyond the ability of non-Chinese speakers. This is interesting because standard Chinese (also called Mandarin) does not have a phonemic inventory that is highly at variance with the English phonological inventory. The differences between aspirated and unaspirated stops (e.g. /pʰ/ vs. /p/ are phonemic and some places of articulation may vary slightly, such as the alveo-palatal /tɕ/ (represented by pinyin letter j) should not present major issues for anglophones. I would argue that the qualitative phonetic differences involved here are minimal, or comparable at best, when compared to phonemes not found in English such as the pharyngeal /ħ/ found in Arabic, the uvular /ʁ/ found in French, or the velar /x/ found in Polish. Yet people named Muhammad, Thierry, and Lech respectively do not seem to generally change their names when in anglophone context, at least not for pronunciation issues. The same can even be said of Anglo names in different English dialects. The Anglo name *Jennifer* would have different phonetic realizations in rhotic and non-rhotic dialects, yet it is hardly remarked upon. The same could be said of the anglo name *Scott*, whose vowel quality may range from mid back to low front in different anglophone speech communities. The implied pronunciation and its alignment with phonetic qualities associated with one group or another, such as American or Chinese, may index identity associations with one group or the other, as Zenner & Marzo (2015) point out.

As Chinese is a tonal language, clearly the tonal quality of names is something to which speakers of non-tonal languages will be unlikely to attend. It is possible that such tonal mispronunciations may be particularly salient for Chinese speakers (See also Sections 5.8.1, 6.2.1 for further discussion on pronunciation).

The stance that pronunciation, often connected with its impact on memory (recall also Valentine et al.'s (1997) finding that names are always harder to remember than other linguistic units), is widespread and common, interviewees would elaborate on this. Laura (Transcript 30), for example, pointed to the same issues of pronunciation and memorability other interviewees raised.

Transcript 30: Laura, Female, Age Range 23-28, Guangdong, First dialect Mandarin

I: So why do you think so many Chinese choose to use an English name?

P: I think I think they have the same reason with me. Because firstly maybe even for you to remember. Because you know a lot of Chinese names are like Ding, Ting, Qing, Ping. They are all the same. I mean Chinese you can, you don't know the difference between it and maybe you will like think they are similar. And also for me if I use English, I can easily know that when you are talking to me or not. Because if we are in a group easily, I mean I will feel confused when you call my name because it not in a Chinese way. And everybody pronounce my name in their own way. It will make me feel confused.

Yet she also analyzed this as more than simply an issue of phonemic or even tonal difference. Instead, she pointed to the comparatively limited syllabic possibilities in Standard Chinese. This is born out by Wolfe's (2007) note that Standard Chinese has a 409 unique possible syllables (due in large part to the onset being limited to a single consonant and the coda being limited to only a voiced nasal alveolar /n/ or velar /ŋ/). This is a far cry from Barker's (2009) estimate that English has 15,831 occurring syllables. The enormous disparity in distribution between the two, even taking into account the role of tones in increasing possible syllables, points to Laura's argument (Transcript 30) that non-Chinese speakers may perceive

Chinese as having fewer possible phonetic combinations. This may in turn lead to Chinese speakers to accommodate to the dominant language ideology and adopt English names. The nuances of tone and character[17] are unlikely to be accessible to non-Chinese speakers. This also speaks to the findings of Schmitt et al. (1994:428)

> Chinese consumers are more likely to recall information when the visual memory rather than phonological memory trace is accessed. In contrast, English native speakers seem to be more likely to recall information when the phonological trace is accessed compared to the visual trace.

The impact of the written logograms of Chinese on memory must be taken into consideration, as names (as with all Chinese words) are tied to their phonological realizations in a manner that is deeper and less direct than in English, despite English's own irregular grapheme to phoneme correlation (e.g. Curzan, 2013).

5.8.2 Communication

While many respondents specifically linked pronounceability with memorability, several also linked the idea of pronounceability with ease of communication with non-Chinese speakers. Lilian's (Transcript 31) stance expresses this idea.

Transcript 31: Lilian, Female, Age Range 23-28, Liaoning, First dialect Mandarin

I: So why do you think so many Chinese choose to use an English name?

P: I think maybe they want foreigners to better communicate with you. Um, they can

easily call your English name, but it's hard for them to remember and read your Chinese

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[17] Chinese has a large number of homophones where syllables may have the same phonetic realization including tone, yet index very different meanings such as yóuyú: 由于("because of; due to") and 鱿鱼 ("squid") or chénmò: 沉默 ("silent; taciturn") and 沉没 ("to sink"); written characters, as well as context, help to separate meaning. This written realization is an important part of Chinese language usage.

name so it's just a better way to communicate.

She feels that by avoiding the roadblock of dealing with pronunciation issues, she can move on to communicating and preventing a break in the flow of discourse. This may tie in with the perception noted above by Gia and Lucid (Section 5.5) that an English name may smooth communication with non-Chinese speakers. Such a stance would be in line with Li's (1997:512) finding that "... this subsystem of Western address forms enables them [Hong Kong Chinese] to speed up the process of getting acquainted, both in there communication with Westerners in English and with other fellow Chinese Hong Kongers in mixed code." By avoiding getting stuck on naming issues and their concomitant phonological and indexical questions, solidarity can be established more quickly.

5.8.3. Comfort and Assimilation

This ease of communication may in part be facilitated by the comparative level of comfort interviewees may feel when their name does not become a diversion from other interaction, particularly at early stages in any interactional relationship. Sanxiao (Transcript 32), who has not adopted an English name, felt that adoption of an English name may lead to a quicker and more comfortable adaptation to a non-Chinese environment.

Transcript 32: Sanxiao, Female, Age Range 23-28, Shanghai, First dialect Mandarin

I: So why do you think so many Chinese people do use an English name?

P: I think they want to adapt to the foreign environment quickly and more comfortably.

Such an adaptation may speak to an alignment with western culture espoused by Heffernan (2010) and embraced by a significant part of the Chinese online community in the data provided by Wang & Yao (2017). Indeed, quite a few interviewees specifically mentioned adapting to American culture as a reason for adopting an English name. Leah (Transcript 33), for example, cites pronunciation as the primary reason. Yet, she cites fitting into American culture as a secondary reason.

Transcript 33: Leah, Female, Age Range 23-28, Liaoning, First dialect Mandarin

I: Why do you think so many Chinese choose to use an English name?

P: Yeah, because their Chinese name are too hard to prununciate. You know we use Pinyin and some pronunciation that American can't say it. Yeah. I think that's the basic reason. May I give a second reason? It might be they want to fit in the American culture. Yeah.

While pronunciation remains the default answer, Leah, along with several other peers, felt that there was an element of cultural adjustment in adopting an English name, despite the fact mentioned that such changing of names is rare among most other international students. Tie (Transcript 34) is even more critical, seeing it as akin to the cultural imperialism mentioned in Section 1.1 .

Transcript 34: Tie, Female, Age Range 23-28, Shaanxi, First dialect Mandarin

I: So why do you think so many Chinese choose to use an English name?

P: [...]. First of all. Chinese people have the mindset that all things foreigner is good. So I think that when they pick up an English name, when they give themselves an English

name, they will feel that they are really into Western culture. They are really connected

to, you know, the Western culture. So it's like, just like into the upper level of life. I

know it sounds a little bit strange, but it is true that Chinese people will think that all

things from Western countries or foreigner are good.

The idea of an English name indexing connection to American/Western identity may

seem obvious to Americans, but as Bailey and Lie (2013) point out, it can just as easily index a

more international or cosmopolitan identity (cf. Zhang, 2005). This is the stance of Farrah

(Transcript 35), who uses the word international instead of western or American used by Tie,

Leah, and Cindy.

Transcript 35: Farrah, Female, Age Range 23-28, Guangdong, First dialect Cantonese

I: Why do you think so many Chinese adopt an English name?

P: I think it sounds like international and a lot of them some of them don't like their

Chinese name. And I think the English name, maybe the English names is cool or chic or

yeah.

Such differences call to mind the discussions in Bailey and Lie (2013) about indexing to

a broader, more cosmopolitan and less nationally based identity rather than a more

geographically situated alignment with the host culture. We can thus see a contest in terms of

aligning identities between a more globally conscious position or a more local instantiation. Such

choices call to mind Mathews' (2000) analysis of the global supermarket where citizens are

forced to choose how to orient themselves. It also calls to mind Huang and Ke's (2016) view that

such naming practices may be glocal in that they index both local concerns (in this case seen as aligning with or at least assuaging local American expectations) and larger cosmopolitan expectations of the world (in this case aligning with the global power elites and the English language that to a large extent still defines them (e.g. Phillipson, 2014)). Thus we see that for a not insignificant number of interviewees, English names index some element that is non-Chinese. Whether that is American, western, or more broadly international (and what constitutes each of those identities) remains hotly contested (e.g. See Mathews 2000, Duthie 2002, Bailey & Lie 2013, etc.). However, such indexing may in fact be only minimal, while other factors in naming practices may in fact index a stronger connection to American/Western/International culture (see section 6.3.2)

5.8.4 Following the crowd

It seems then that pronunciation and memorability are the major points in supporting the choice to adopt an English name for many of the interviewees, supporting previous studies. However, as noted already, speakers of other languages do not engage in the adoption of English names in the same manner or to the same extent as Chinese speakers seem to do (e.g. Heffernan, 2010). Furthermore, there is the possibility that the adoption of English names may have an effect on the communicative comfort of the adopter, though there seems to be limited empirical evidence as yet to support this position. In addition to these, there is the connection that may resonate with many non-Chinese, to wit that an English name indexes some connection with English speakers. This may seem so obvious to some that it hardly merits discussing. However, recall that this paper draws a clear distinction between English names and Anglo names. If the purpose of adopting an English name is to create a connection with English speakers, then one must ask why individuals might choose a name like Satan or Medusa (Lee, 2001) that would be

heavily marked in most anglophone communities. Additionally, recent research suggests that an Anglo name coupled with accented speech is considered less American than an ethnic name (Lindemann, Chlapowski, & Tan 2019). Their research indicated that Americans found accented speech coupled with Korean and Spanish names (*Jae Won* and *Juan*) were considered more American than the same speech coupled with Anglo names (*Hunter* and *Seth*). The idea here is that somebody whose accent indexes a non-native speaker with an Anglo name is somehow unaware of American mores, while an American with a name that indexes non-native connections may be considered more American. This may be because Americans may find people without American accents using Anglo names to be somehow duplicitous, as the names do not seem to 'fit'. If this is the case, then adoption of an English or Anglo name may not have the desired effect, but rather the reverse.

All of this leaves the reason for the adoption of English names somewhat unsatisfactorily explained. I would posit an additional reason for the adoption of English names, one that would fit with the broader social trends in modern China. That is, that the adoption of English names has become such a widespread social practice that almost all Chinese students moving into anglophone contexts now adopt English names (see Table 12). As this practice becomes more fully embedded into society, it moves to becoming what Volosinov (1929/1973) describes as an established ideology. That is to say that Chinese people have reached the point where it is expected to adopt an English name and those that do not do so in fact stand out. This group, in fact, proved to be so salient in my research that I have devoted the entire following chapter to exploring their motivations. An awareness of this trend was evinced by several of my interviewees. Raquel (Transcript 36) sees it as an established norm at this point.

Transcript 36: Raquel, Female, Age Range 23-28, Sichuan, First dialect Chuan

I: So why do you think so many Chinese choose to use an English name?

P: It becomes a kind of norm. As long as one Chinese student will have an English name, the other students will just jump on the bandwagon to do the same.

She also shows an awareness of the propensity of other members of the community to "jump on the bandwagon" and follow the practice now largely instantiated in the group. This is illustrated by Raquel's comment (Transcript 5) "we all prefer to use English name", again speaking to the perception that this is the typical practice and non-adoption is seen as somehow marked. Joanne (Transcript 37) similarly mentions this as a reason.

Transcript 37: Joanne, Female, Age Range 23-28, Xinjiang, First dialect Mandarin

I: So why do you think so many people choose to use an English name?

P: Umm. I think two reasons. First is to be more modern. Second is just to follow the majority. Everyone has English name so I should also have an English name. Yeah.

Here we see Joanne's assertion that adopting an English name is a majority practice (as attested in Duthie 2002, Edwards 2006, McPherron 2009, Heffernan 2010, Chien 2012, Sercombe et al 2014, etc. and the findings outlined in Chapter 4, Tables 4 and 5) and that there is a sense that this practice means that members of the community feel pressure to conform. This ties in with Du's (2015) concept of "Group-Self Perception" (GSP), the idea that Chinese individuals have a duty to the collective group that often overrides individual desires. Of course, we must also recall Pennycook's (2007) caveat to avoid dichotomizing western individualism with eastern collectivism. As this and the following chapter should make clear, Chinese individuals respond to the GSP in a wide variety of ways.

5.9 Modernity and English Names

While the social pressure to conform is nothing new (and something explicitly noted by many interviewees about Chinese culture (see section 6.3.1)), the actual widespread practice of adopting English names is itself comparatively new. Since end of the Cultural Revolution (1976) and the market liberalizations instituted by Deng Xiaoping in the 1980s, China has emerged from a period of nativism (e.g. Zhao, 2000), where autarchy and Chinese nationalism were prized and all things foreign were suspect at best. In Zhao's words (2000:5) "In (the) nativist view, the eradication of foreign influences is the route to revived national strength." This stance has been replaced by what Zhao (ibid) describes as pragmatic nationalism, more open to foreign influences. It has been in this period that we have seen China's economy grow enormously (e.g. Bird 2014, World Bank 2014), a growth in its military clout (e.g. Ignatius, 2014), and an increase in its interest in western culture (e.g. McLaughlin, 2012). It is in this time that the practice of adopting English names has become common practice in mainland China. As China undergoes the significant social changes outlined above, not least of which is the increase in disposable income brought about by the enormous improvement in economic activity, a new sense seems to be coalescing among China's youth. The harsh communist ideologies of Mao Zedong and the poverty of the 1950s have given way to a sense that China's urban elite and middle class can access economic, cultural, and social opportunities that would have been unimaginable for their grandparents' generation (e.g. Hernandez & Bui, 2018). While there are still 500,000,000 people living on less than $5.50 a day (ibid.), those who have been lifted out of poverty are optimistic. They comprise a community that is looking forward and outward. This community consider themselves "modern Chinese." Joanne (Transcript 37) uses the term modern, a term that Duthie

picked up on as a salient point for many Chinese even in 2002. As more and more Chinese people join the middle class and aspire to engage with the outside world, the behavioral ideology of identifying as "modern Chinese" can be expected to continue. While Duthie (2002) drew a correlation between being modern Chinese and having an English name, the preceding decade and a half seem to have lessened the importance of having an English name to being modern Chinese. Joanne (Transcript 37) was the only interviewee who volunteered the idea that an English name indexed being "modern Chinese". However, based on Duthie's (ibid) findings, the next question in the interview revolved around the connection with a newer, more cosmopolitan identity for young Chinese, being "modern." Several interviewees did indeed feel that an English name indexed a sense of being "modern Chinese." For example, Jin (Transcript 38) identifies the adoption as being part of the culture now.

It is of interest to note that none of the interviewees challenged the descriptor "modern Chinese." The term seems to have considerable currency and reflects the optimism and forward-looking nature that seems to be the current zeitgeist in mainland China (e.g. Hernandez & Bui, 2018). Of course, what this term actually and exactly means beyond a shared sense of progress remains unclear. It may perhaps be best seen as different from the China prior to the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, but also different from the China of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). These two events were foundational in their impact, yet the consensus seems to be that China is in a new era.

Transcript 38: Jin, Female, Age Range 23-28, Guangdong, First dialect Mandarin

> I: So because so many Chinese going overseas adopt English names, do you feel that doing so is part of being modern Chinese?

P: Yeah I think so. It's not only that people are using English names outside of China. I do know that in China, some of the companies the require people to have English names so I think it's part of the culture right now.

Jin also reiterates that this adoption is not restricted to overseas travel, but has become embedded as a behavior inside mainland China as well. Lilian (Transcript 39) similarly accepts the connection of English names with being "modern Chinese" and their use in mainland China, noting the attachment that Chinese people have for English names although she expresses a sense that she feels it is "strange."

Transcript 39: Lilian, Female, Age Range 23-28, Liaoning, First dialect Mandarin

I: Um, so because most Chinese going overseas choose to use an English name, do you feel that doing so is part of being modern Chinese?

P: Part of it, I have to say, yeah. Even if we work in a global company in China, sometimes your colleagues although they're all Chinese, they love to use English names. I experienced that kind of thing. I think it's strange. We're all Chinese people, but we like to use English name.

This sense of the practice of adopting English names as part of current Chinese culture associated with being "modern Chinese" was supported by eight of the interviewees. While these interviewees saw a connection between English names and a sense of being modern Chinese, reiterating Duthie's (2002) findings, almost none of the respondents actually felt more modern when they used a Chinese name. When asked the question "Do you feel more modern or

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sophisticated when you give somebody your English name?", the almost unanimous answer was

a clear "no." So while some interviewees felt a connection between the practice of adopting

English names and the status of being modern Chinese, none felt that the actual act had any

perlocutionary effect in this direction.

A few interviewees did not answer the question about whether English name adoption

correlated with modern Chineseness directly, but rather sought to unpack the implications

(Transcript 40) embedded in the question. For example, Tie (Transcript 40) separates the

adoption of English names from the human practice and instead ties it more directly to the

economic and political changes (e.g. Zhao 2000) that have happened in her lifetime.

Transcript 40: Tie, Female, Age Range 23-28, Shaanxi, First dialect Mandarin

I: Because most Chinese going overseas adopt English names, do you feel that doing so is

part of being modern Chinese?

P: Modern Chinese? That's really a good question. The funny thing is I think that it is a

sign that China is more connected with the world with each countries especially in China

even though these professionals don't go abroad to study; they just work in the, you

know, the local companies. They would like to have their English names. So it's, I think

it's a sign that China is getting more connected to the world. It's becoming a modern

country. But for people, I am not. I don't want to judge if the people is getting modern

man or not. It depends. It really depends. It's just the country is becoming more modern.

In this case, Tie (Transcript 40), who has not adopted an English name, sees the practice

as a response to China's increased contact with non-Chinese individuals and institutions. As mentioned above, Mathews' (2000) model of the "global supermarket", whereby individuals are increasingly exposed to a growing array of cultural options from which to choose, can help us situate this. Individuals with more access to global currents, including Chinese international students in the United States who encounter a wide range of identities, can pick and choose in this "global supermarket". In fact, they are to some extent compelled to make cultural and identity choices, including naming choices. It also speaks to Volosinov's (1929/1973) arguments about the role of socioeconomic forces in the production of language. Tie's insights (Transcript 40) highlight the potentially enormous role of changes in the economy and society can have on the very words that we utter.

While a minority of the interviewees (35%, N=8) did see a connection between the social practice of adopting English names and being a "modern Chinese" person, and a few (N=5) sought to look beyond, a larger number (N=10) explicitly rejected a connection between being modern Chinese and adopting an English name. Interestingly, all of these were among the majority (N=18) who had an English name. Thus it was not a question of individuals not adopting an English name and considering themselves "modern." Rather, it seemed to be a widespread sentiment that English names were a cultural practice that was not a prerequisite for being modern. This shift since Duthie's (2002) findings that respondents strongly associated their English names with being "modern Chinese" seems to indicate that English names are not seen as *de rigueur* for young, upwardly mobile Chinese people. Rather, English names seem to have become a common practice of many young educated Chinese people, but not one that necessarily indexes modernity. Riyal (Transcript 41), for example, is emphatic in her disassociation of the two.

Transcript 41: Riyal, Female, Age Range 23-28, Jiangsu, First dialect Mandarin

> I: Because so many Chinese going overseas do adopt an English name, do you think adopting an English name is part of being Modern Chinese?
>
> P: Modern Chinese? No, definitely not.
>
> I: So you don't need have to have an English name to be a modern Chinese?
>
> P: Yeah

Such a rejection of the connection between adopting English names and being a modern Chinese person may point to the practice having become more established and therefore less salient as an indicator of being modern Chinese. After all, if the practice is adopted by people with lower cultural, social, political, and linguistic capital, as increasingly seems to be the case (e.g. Duthie 2002, Hsu 2009) then the opportunity for what Bourdieu (1991) calls symbolic profit is proportionally reduced; English names cease to have the cachet that they once had and their role in establishing social order (Blum, 1997) is reduced. If this is the case, then it is little wonder that English names lose some of their indexical power for the urban upwardly mobile class. Such markers are important to separate them from the 500 million fellow citizens who have not attained the same access to cultural, social, political, and linguistic capital. This of course echoes the arguments made by Zhang (2005) about the linguistic choices of Chinese yuppies, who choose markers that index access to preferred statuses. It may be that English names no longer strongly index modern Chinese because they have become increasingly widespread and are no longer a marker of distinction.

5.9.1 Chineseness and English Names

While the key quality of modernity seems far more debated than Duthie's (2002) findings indicated, its collocation with Chinese is also of considerable interest. As Zhao (2000) and Wang & Yao (2017) make clear, there is a strong sense of national pride in China. Even though he does not demonstrate that nationalism is empirically definitively rising, Johnston (2017) demonstrates that there is a solid nationalism alive and well among China's youth. Most mainland Chinese are proud to be citizens of their country; this ties in with the optimism, particularly economic, discussed elsewhere (e.g. Bird 2014, World Bank 2014, Hernandez & Bui 2018, etc.). Given the national pride felt by most young citizens, especially in juxtaposition with the sometimes fraught relations with the United States (e.g. Ignatius 2014, Johnston 2017, Redden 2018, etc.), the use of a name that may be seen as indexing the United States is noteworthy. It may be a potentially fruitful "edge of chaos" (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2007), a liminal stage between two eras, in moving to a new sense of national pride.

For the majority of interviewees, using an English name evoked no particular impact on their sense of Chineseness. Fourteen of the eighteen interviewees who had English names felt that using an English name had no effect on their sense of being Chinese. Joanne (Transcript 42), for example, pointed to the practice's ubiquity among her Chinese peers as noted above.

Transcript 42: Joanne, Female, Age Range 23-28, Xinjiang, First dialect Mandarin

> I: Do you feel less Chinese when you give people your English name?
> P: No. Every Chinese, nearly every Chinese around me has English name.

Because it has become such a widespread practice, its use has lost much of its indexicality of anything non-Chinese and become significantly sinicized. Just as it seems to be

losing its indexicality of modern, so too it seems to be losing its indexicality of foreignness. Joy (Transcript 43) similarly evinces the stance that the name has no marked status for Chinese people, as it is a matter of convenience.

Transcript 43: Joy, Female, Age Range 23-28, Guangdong, First dialect Cantonese

> I: Do you feel less Chinese when you give people your English name?
>
> P: No because I use my English name only for convenience.

These examples support the majority position that English names are no longer seen as being particularly "non-Chinese". This ties in with Heffernan's (2010) remark that mainland Chinese are far more playful and creative with English names in ways that Hong Kongers (who have far more familiarity with anglophone culture) would find heavily marked. Thus Anglo names may have once indexed some level of foreignness, but the current English names seem to be significantly in keeping with Chinese culture and characteristics.

While most interviewees felt that using an English name in no way lessened their Chinese identity, a minority did allow that this might be the case. Lilian (Transcript 44) makes the association with an English-speaking environment although of course as we have seen (e.g. Duthie 2002, Hsu 2009, Transcript 39, 40, etc.) English names can be used in Chinese-language contexts as well.

Transcript 44: Lilian, Female, Age Range 23-28, Liaoning, First dialect Mandarin

> I: Do you feel less Chinese when you use an English name?
>
> P: Yeah, I have that feeling.
>
> I: So how do you feel a little less Chinese? Can you explain it?

P: Hmm. Let me think. Hmmm. I feel like, um, people will use this name in an English-speaking workplace. So it start to make me feel like for example an English-speaking environment. Laughs.

This touches on the extent to which English language use is or is not associated with being somehow less Chinese. Such a question is beyond the scope of this paper, though see Norton (1997) for some of the discussion revolving around this issue. Lilian, however, was an outlier here. No other interviewees felt that the English language context indexed some reduction in Chineseness. Rather, they pointed to the unusualness of the English name from a Chinese perspective. Raquel (Transcript 45) saw her English name as largely divorced from her Chinese culture and consequently admitted to feeling somewhat less Chinese for using it.

Transcript 45: Raquel, Female, Age Range 23-28, Sichuan, First dialect Chuan

I: Do you feel any less Chinese when you use an English name?

P: Yeah, Might be.

I: Why do you think that is?

P: It feels like… How can I say… it's… Because during the time I use my English name Raquel, it embedded some of my history in it. And that part of history has not much association with a Chinese background. So I think that will make me feel less Chinese in some way.

This phonological and etymological divergence stands in contrast to many of the other naming conventions typically used in Chinese culture, such as the 花名 **hua ming** (see Section

2.2), which are typically in concordance with Chinese phonology and etymology. It even stands

in contrast to older naming practices that can be traced to cultures did not originate in the cradle

of Chinese civilization, such as those practices used by Christian and Muslim Chinese people,

which have been significantly sinicized over the years (see Jones, 1997). This comparatively

recent development of English names, then, does not seem to have been fully accepted as truly

Chinese. However, the fact that this is a minority stance and that the overwhelming majority of

interviewees saw no contradiction in using an English name and being Chinese speaks to its

acceptance as a Chinese practice by a significant number of more outwardly oriented Chinese

(see also section 7.2.1).

As Huang and Ke (2016) argue, English names are symbolically "international and

progressive." Such descriptors seem fully in keeping with the outward and forward looking

sensibilities of the vast majority of young Chinese people, particularly those who are in a

position to pursue educational opportunities in the United States, where average expenses exceed

$100,000 per year (Ge, 2018).

Thus, while some may still see English names as somehow indexical of foreignness, there

seem to be considerable indications that the adoption of English names is no longer held to be

incompatible with being fully Chinese in terms of identity. Indeed, given the dominant practice

of adopting English names among the socially and economically mobile youth as well as the

increasing institutional requirements in mainland China (e.g. Hsu, 2009), it seems that this has

become the default naming practice for many of today's socioeconomically advantaged Chinese

youth. Wang & Yao's (2017) exploration of the nationalist critiques of Angelababy for using an

English name seem to go against this general trend of accepting English names for Chinese

people. I would suggest three possible, not mutually exclusive, reasons for this. First,

Angelababy is a celebrity and her fame may increase her visibility as well as her potential influence on others. Additionally, her main audience is Chinese, not international. Second, her non-Chinese grandparent may mark her as an outsider, who therefore needs to prove her loyalty to China. Third, there may still be a strongly anti-foreign sentiment in China that suspects or rejects all things foreign; perhaps not surprisingly this becomes more virulent online, where Wang & Yao did their research. The role of violence and cultural tensions is addressed again in the conclusion (Chapter 7).

The interview data explored in this section suggest that English names may be a marker of status as an educated English speaker, but not necessarily of being a "modern Chinese". They serve a very pragmatic purpose in most cases, but may also carry deep personal meanings for some individuals.

CHAPTER 6: QUALITATIVE RESULTS: THOSE WHO USE THEIR CHINESE NAME

6.1 Exploring those who do not adopt

In the previous chapter, we explored some of the perceptions and motivations revolving around the widespread practice of adopting English names by comparatively socioeconomically advantaged Chinese youth. This practice is clearly widespread (e.g. Duthie 2002, Edwards 2006, McPherron 2009, Heffernan 2010, Chien 2012, Sercombe et al 2014, etc.) to the point where it is often required, with costs for non-compliance (e.g. Hsu 2009). As noted above (Section 5.3), the socioeconomic forces may circumscribe individual choice on not adopting an English name, sometimes in the face of personal wishes. This is illustrated, for example, in Transcript 7, where Joanne finds that even though she would prefer to use her Chinese name, she ends up using her English name, even with other Chinese people. Yet clearly there remains a not inconsiderable minority in all of the surveys who do not adopt an English name (see Table 12). Even McPherron's (2009) study, which found 100% adoption in the highest level of English study in a Chinese university, did not find 100% in lower levels of language study. If, as the data indicates, there is an enormous pressure to adopt English names, starting for many in elementary school and continuing to the work world, how can we account for those mainland Chinese students who have achieved sufficient English competence to pursue graduate studies in the United States? This chapter will explore this intriguing question and point to some possible explanations in the choice to not adopt an English name.

6.2. Why don't you have an English name?

6.2.1 People can pronounce my Chinese name

Chinese students in the U.S. who did not adopt an English name constitute the minority of both survey respondents (N=60, 26%, See Table 5) and interviewees (N=5 from 23 total, 21%) in the current study, as they do in other studies of other contexts (e.g. Duthie 2002, Edwards 2006, McPherron 2009, Heffernan 2010, Chien 2012, Sercombe et al 2014, etc.). Given the argument that this practice has become a powerful social force among well-to-do and internationally-oriented young Chinese people to the extent that it is required in some situations (e.g. Duthie 2002, Hsu 2009, etc.), it seems reasonable to ask why some individuals have not adopted this practice and have instead committed to using their Chinese names in all interactions, including those conducted in English with non-Chinese people in American contexts.

The responses from the five interviewees who did not use English names at all varied considerably. Renman and Jin both felt that their names were sufficiently easy to pronounce for English speakers that a change did not seem necessary (e.g. Transcript 47). Neither of them cited tones as an interfering factor, compounding the challenge of using pronunciation alone as a justification for adopting English names (See discussion in Section 5.8.1).

Transcript 47: Renman, Male, Age Range 23-28, Shaanxi, First dialect Mandarin

> I: Why don't you have an English name when so many Chinese do?
>
> P: Actually, the first reason I don't have an English name is my Chinese name is pretty easy to pronounce for American and just like a couple weeks ago and when I talk to one of my professors and he asked me my name I said "My name is Renman" and he is surprised. He said "Is this English name?" and I said "No." He is surprised. He thought this is an English name.

Interestingly, Renman found that his name could even be perceived as an English name. Naturally, such an interpretation would not hang on tonal or orthographic elements, but the simple phonetic realization was sufficiently comparable to English (and perhaps not stereotypically identifiable as Chinese) that it could be perceived as a western or English name. These two interviewees highlight the continuing ideology of the importance of pronunciation in naming practices. Their choice not to adopt an English name is predicated, to a significant extent, on the perception that their Chinese name is sufficiently pronounceable that adapting it is not necessary.

However, as noted above, the Chinese phonological inventory does not contain phonemes that are particularly challenging for anglophones. It is true that there are some graphemes used in *Hanyu Pinyin*, the official romanization method used in mainland China, that can make reading names challenging for anglophones. For example, Q represents the phoneme /$\widehat{tɕ}$ʰ/, Z represents /$\widehat{ts}$/, X represents /ɕ/, and Zh represents /$\widehat{tʂ}$/. However, the majority of interviewees did not have one of these graphemes in their Chinese given name. Even if they did, this would not be likely to cause problems when introducing oneself orally. Thus the perception that Chinese names are pronounceable or not for non-Chinese speakers must be suspect at best, at least at the non-tonal level. If Jin or Renman are viewed as pronounceable, then why not Wang or Ding (comparable names of adopters of English names)?

6.2.2 Cannot decide

Jin and Renman adopt the stance that pronunciation is important, but resist the dominant practice of adopting English names by arguing that their Chinese names are sufficient to address the perceived pronunciation gulf. Sanxiao and Gia seem to align with the dominant practice in a

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different way. Rather than point to pronunciation as an issue, they point to the challenges in adopting an English name (e.g. Chien, 2012). Sanxiao (Transcript 48) had previously tried to adopt an English name, but found that her name was "too unique", perhaps echoing McPherron's (2009) finding that Chinese students in China recognized their name may not fit into anglophone norms. She then found that the process (Section 2.7) was challenging and decided to use her Chinese name, at least until she found an English name that resonated for her.

Transcript 48: Sanxiao, Female, Age Range 23-28, Shanghai, First dialect Mandarin

> I: So why don't you have an English name when so many Chinese people do?
>
> P: Because my previous English name was too unique and not common so I wanted to change to a new one but there is too many options and can't pick one. So I think maybe I'll just use my Chinese name.

While Sanxiao may be looked on as in the process of adopting a new English name, the fact that she uses her Chinese name as the default speaks to the resistance against a dominant cultural practice that she may find overwhelming.

Gia (Transcript 49) similarly had an English name that she stopped using, allowing her Chinese name to be her default. In Gia's case, she found her English name had negative connotations that she did not like because of a character on an (apparently anglophone) TV show. While she could certainly have conformed to the cultural practice and simply adopted a new name as many other Chinese people do (48% of survey respondents said they changed their English names at least once. See Section 4.3.3), she - like Sanxiao above - felt overwhelmed by the process that she now understood a little better and chose to use her Chinese name as a default.

Transcript 49: Gia, Female, Age Range 23-28, Shaanxi, First dialect Mandarin

I: So why don't you use an English name when so many Chinese do?

P: I decided if I had an English name it's Lesley, right? When I watch the TV series they can use character's name is Lesley and I'm not... I don't like it so I don't use that English name. And the reason why I don't use English name is because I don't know how to pick a English name that's more suitable for me. Like maybe I think the same will refer to personalities or something about you. So I don't have one.

Both Gia and Sanxiao seem open to the possibility of using an English name, but have forestalled adopting another name and use their Chinese name as a default. Given the responses above (See Section 5.3), this is somewhat atypical. Neither of these individuals stood out as particularly different from the other interviewees in any variables explored in the survey. They did not have particularly marked affinities toward the U.S. or China, they had not spent significantly more or less time in the U.S. than average, they did not seem to come from a significantly different socioeconomic background. In sum, there was no apparent alternative reason for not following the dominant practice of simply choosing a new name other than the one stated (Transcripts 48, 49). This realization that choosing an English name is a challenge (e.g. Lee 2001, Chien 2012, Phillips 2015, etc.) is of course nothing new. McPherron (2009), for example, illustrates the name changes individuals make as they develop as human beings and as they develop their understanding of naming practices in Anglophone culture. What is interesting is this apparent extended 'time-out', where rather than adopt a more appropriate English name, as McPherron's (2009) examples illustrate, they have chosen to use a default that does not conform to the general cultural practice, namely they have chosen to use their Chinese given names. Recall that such usage is not simply a 'return' to a standard, because given names are not

nearly as commonly used in interpersonal interactions in Chinese culture (Blum 1997, Pavlik 2012, Sercome et al. 2014). Rather, these individuals have chosen to use their given Chinese names in an anglophone context in ways that they would be unlikely to be used in a Chinese language context.

Such a usage, opening up one's typically more private given name to socially distant individuals may not jibe so well with Edwards' (2006) argument that English names can serve as a "screen" creating social distance between teacher and student, but also calls into question Huang & Ke's (2016) contrasting proposition that English names can improve solidarity and reduce the hierarchy between teacher and student. Naturally, the choice of distance between Chinese student and language teacher can vary, but Gia and Sanxiao's choice to use their given name, a name typically reserved for closer friends and family (Jones, 1997), with anglophone teachers and other acquaintances seems noteworthy.

Of course, a significant part of these two respondents' position is that the actual process of choosing an English name is complicated. This points to the possibility that they have developed a more nuanced understanding of anglophone naming practices, as they realize that names have indexical qualities in English that are opaque to them. If this is the case, then perhaps they are more aware than many of their compatriots who look at English names as less meaningful. Such a comprehension of anglophone name usage would also fit with their willingness to use their Chinese given names with socially distant interlocutors, as is typical in anglophone, particularly American (e.g. Cronin, 1958), interactions. Using their Chinese given names in public interactions is at one level, I would argue, more about adjusting to anglophone naming practice than simply adopting another English name that may not index appropriate identity.

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6.2.3 Charting her own course

While Jin and Renman may feel that their names are phonologically sufficiently accessible for anglophones and Gia and Sanxiao may feel that they would rather use their Chinese given names than risk adopting an inappropriate English name, Tie stands out as different type of interviewee.

Transcript 50: Tie, Female, Age Range 23-28, Shaanxi, First dialect Mandarin

I: So why don't you have an English name when so many Chinese do?

P: First of all already like my name, my Chinese name. It has a real, it is really meaningful. So I think the name my parents gave me has their hope their wish me to be a certain person so if I choose another name, I will, I just feel I don't have the the power or you know I give, just randomly pick a name and give to myself. I don't think that sounds like responsible behavior, I mean.

Tie (Transcript 50) asserts a strong connection to her Chinese name, citing its meaningfulness and its connections with her parents. Not only does she feel her Chinese name is close to her, she also rejects the idea of picking another name in quite harsh terms (e.g. it is not "responsible behavior"). Such a stance stands in opposition to the the broadly held stance mentioned in Section 2.1 that Chinese people are generally quite ready to change their given names (Jones, 1997). Tie is from Xi'an, a large and historic city. and seems to have experienced a typical upbringing for her age group. Thus, it seems hard to reconcile her vehement rejection of changing a given name with the broader cultural practice. Indeed, in most her responses about

her life growing up in China, Tie does not stand out. This stance is reinforced by the fact her brother wanted an English name for her niece (Transcript 51). Rather, what sets Tie apart from her peers is her social awareness.

Transcript 51: Tie, Female, Age Range 23-28, Shaanxi, First dialect Mandarin

> **P:** You know, example I want to talk to you is my brother, he has a daughter. Her daughter, his daughter going, uh went to primary school, the elementary school. The English professor, the English teacher asked them to have their own English name, which made me shocked. Because the little girl came to me like "Aunt, can you give me an English name?" I don't have an English name at all. Why, How can I give you an English name? Because every children at that elementary school have their own English name. So my brother had no choice. Even though he doesn't want to change the little girl's name, he has no choice. You know, finally, how he get, how he got her name? He just opened a dictionary, the name dictionary and found it. Amy is really really easy for a little girl to learn because it just has three letters. And also A is in the dictionary. It is in the beginning so he thinks that professor will give attention to the beginning names. So my brother just named his daughter Amy. I asked my brother "Do you know what Amy means?" He said, "No, it's just easy to spell and also Amy is always on the top of the namelist." See, this is so ridiculous. I don't want to criticize because I know he has no choice at all.

In Transcript 51, we see Tie express shock at the expectation of an English name and push back against this "ridiculous" practice, though her niece ultimately succumbs. Such resistance, as we saw in Chapter 5, is atypical. The clear majority of Chinese people follow the

practice willingly. Tie signals her disagreement with the practice and regrets that her brother is compelled to participate in a practice which she has managed to resist.

Her growth in her time out of Xi'an is demonstrated in Transcript 52. While she acknowledges it as her hometown, she seems to have outgrown it in some sense. She distances herself from other Xi'anites who feel a stronger attachment to this historical city - It was the capital of China during the Zhou, Qin, Western Han, Sui, and Tang dynasties - and critiques its cultural conservatism. This town, she says, "is just my past" (Transcript 52), highlighting her more outward and cosmopolitan orientation (cf. Zhang 2005). This hints at her taking a less typical cultural position.

Transcript 52: Tie, Female, Age Range 23-28, Shaanxi, First dialect Mandarin

> I: Do you feel that that's your home community? Do you feel very close to the city of Xi'an?
>
> P: I know it's my home town. Home means, really means a sense of belonging.
>
> I: Umhmm, yeah
>
> P: But my mind is very clear that in my life, I can have hometown, but I can also have the residency to somewhere, you know, and also make my dream place. But it is just my hometown. I have a connection to them but it's not necessary that I need to really get close to them. Because Xi'an is a city, an ancient city, and it is not a top city in China. So people in Xi'an is relatively conservative (?){questions pronunciation}
>
> I: conservative
>
> P: Yeah, conservative. Exactly. Conservative.
>
> People in Xi'an just have like, I can tell from my friends, they have a strong, strong sense

of belonging to Xi'an. Like, wherever they go the just feel "Ok, Xi'an is the greatest city in the world. I will finally go back to Xi'an." I cannot be with them. I cannot agree with them. Because this is just your hometown. You have a certain relation to your hometown. But you are not necessary to your hometown. Xi'an is not your destination. So I don't think I'm so close to Xi'an. Xi'an is just my past.

Similarly, in Transcript 53, we see Tie's growth as she engages in using English as a means of communication after coming to the United States. Here, she outlines how she moved from a focus on the typical formal elements of language highlighted in the Chinese educational system (and tested in the Gaokao - the final Chinese high school exam) to a focus on communication. Here Tie seems to discard an earlier belief in language as a formal rule system, especially as she moves to using more oral communication, to a broader communicative system where the message is more important than the formalistic rules.

Transcript 53: Tie, Female, Age Range 23-28, Shaanxi, First dialect Mandarin

I: How would you describe that change in attitude? How did you feel about English when you start to use it to communicate?

P: I feel speaking is more difficult than like writing. I mean our mind is trained in completing all exams. So, I don't know how to form a complete sentence, even though, I know like sometimes I know how to speak a complete sentence. But my mind is way behind my mouth. So I need to really think about it. I mean how to form a sentence. It's really really difficult. And also, cause you know in daily life, most of words that we may not met them during the exams. So sometimes I speak a sentence, and until the end of sentence I just suddenly realize that this word I do not know how to say it. So I have to

use dictionary. And also after I came to America, I feel speaking is another, speaking English, is another concept as the right/write English or you know exams. Because speaking is more, much more easy and terrible? Like sometimes, in the beginning, I try to say a really really standard English with the correct grammar, so I think relatively slow and really I think about very softly. But now with more and more speaking with Americans, everybody just they don't care about grammar. They just care about how the message is delivered to another people. So they don't care about grammar. It's actually one day an American asked me "Do you know what's the difference of 'between' and 'among'?" I was shocked. Like 'Between' and 'among', these two words, this basic grammar knowledge I learned in my elementary school. Why you ask me how to use it? See people even don't care about it.

While Tie shows an awareness of more global options (Transcript 52) and how the strictures of her education may not apply in other circumstances (Transcript 53), I found her insights into questions of social justice most telling. The majority of respondents seemed to focus on what they could achieve and while some reported some level of bias, for most this was limited to real or perceived bias against themselves. Tie, however, explored the question of social justice in broader and more philosophical ways. In Transcript 54, we see her explore the idea of white privilege as well as connecting her friend's anti-Latino prejudice experience to her own anti-Chinese prejudice experience.

Transcript 54: Tie, Female, Age Range 23-28, Shaanxi, First dialect Mandarin

I: Why do you think you get on well with this friend?

P: Uh, First off, I think he is Mexico American. He is not, he is not white, honestly. I am

not racist, but I have to say I see so many um examples, cases, situations, that when people is really hard to get along with because they have a sense of you know um priolij?

I: Privilege?

P: Privilege. They have a sense of privilege, Yes exactly. I don't and I don't think they want to be my friend also. Because this American friend, he is from Mexico. And he told me one story makes me feel really really bad for him. Because he grow up in California. And he knows that.. He went to elementary school which all Mexico goes. But so he doesn't realize that he is different, his appearance is different as other Americans. When he went to the middle school, there's like people from Asian or white, or black or Mexican, he just realized that he is different others. So he stole his mother's foundation powder to put on his face just trying to make him more white. So he can hang out with white guys. And I just almost cried when I listened to that. So, It's not just me that have difficulty like get along with white people. I think they are, they also have difficulties. But, for another thing, is that it depends because some white people they really have open mind. They see the trend. That is a global village. Like, you should have, you should get along with people from different countries. It will help you a lot. But most of white people think, they just have sense of pri, pri, pri? privilege. privilege?

When she says "It's not just me that have difficulty like get along with white people" (Transcript 54), she indexes her shifting her view of American society from a more Chinese national lens to a more American lens, where narratives of white privilege and color are deeply embedded. This is in contrast to the narrative that typifies many of the other responses (e.g. Transcripts 10, 11, 26, 33, etc.) that juxtapose Chinese practice against English/American/foreign

practice or usage. Such a sense of solidarity with other non-Chinese people again marks Tie as quite different from many of her peers. Such a stance is reinforced by her assertion that Chinese people in the U.S. are one minority among many (Transcript 55) and that they are similarly situated in status vis-a-vis the white power structure.

Transcript 55: Tie, Female, Age Range 23-28, Shaanxi, First dialect Mandarin

> P: So basically I think American people's mind is shaped by observing Chinatown. That's why we feel lower standard; we feel lower status. Yeah. I think that's. But the good thing is we are all international. We are all minors. We are small group. That's why we feel united.   And that's why we want to know each other and get stronger.
>
> I: You mean minorities, right?
>
> P: Yes, minorities.

Tie, like all of the interviewees, did not evince any desire to permanently relocate to the United States (She has since relocated to Hong Kong). Like many of them, she feels a strong responsibility to look after her parents in China, a common sentiment in a country where filial piety is a treasured quality and the one-child policy (1979-2016) has ensured that most interviewees come from families that only have a single child (e.g. Hesketh, Lu, & Xing, 2005). Thus Tie's stance cannot be ascribed to an alignment of identification with other new Americans. Rather I would argue, while remaining an international student like her peers, she has more thoroughly engaged with an American cultural outlook.

6.3 Why don't they have English names?

As we saw, some individuals, such as Renman and Jin, feel their name is sufficiently accessible for anglophones that a change is unnecessary, while others, such as Sanxiao and Gia, are reluctant to adopt another English name without understanding the full ramifications of that name. In these cases, the individuals have reasonably clear reasons in their minds as to why they have not adopted an English name. However, all interviewees were aware that the minority position of non-adoption did exist. When asked to hypothesize about why Chinese people might not adopt an English name, several perspectives came through.

6.3.1 Respect for China and its names

The most widely cited reason for Chinese people not to adopt English names seems to be the belief that such people cleave closely to their Chinese identity and reject an English name because it indexes an international orientation. Lucid, for example, voices such a stance in Transcript 56 connecting Chinese identity with a rejection of international connections.

Transcript 56: Lucid, Female, Age Range 23-28, Guizhou, First dialect Mandarin

> I: Some Chinese don't adopt an English name when they go overseas. Why do you think they don't adopt an English name?

> P: Yeah I know some friends like that. They stick to their Chinese name. I think from my experience I would say they...hmm... . They want to have their Chinese identity, you know? They want to stick to that identity that they have.

Leah similarly cites the desire "to be Chinese" and a desire to show "their love to their home country." (Transcript 57).

Transcript 57: Leah, Female, Age Range 23-28, Liaoning, First dialect Mandarin
> I: So why do you feel that some Chinese don't take an English name? [...]

P: Cause their names are simple. And, I don't know. They may show their love to their home country or something. They don't want to like…I don't know they want to be Chinese. I think so. Yeah.

The idea that not adopting an English name indexes being somehow more Chinese seems widespread. The majority of interviewees who addressed this question (twelve out of twenty, sixty percent) mentioned or alluded to Chinese identity or somehow being more Chinese by not having an English name. This supports the nationalist perspective outlined in Wang & Yao's (2017) research that showed contestation over the star Angelababy's use of her English name. However, it goes against the broader arguments outlined in section 2.1 and 5.9.1 about the Chinese naming traditions (e.g. Jones, 1997) and the flexibility in adopting multiple first names attested to in many of the studies cited in Chapter 2. Thus while it seems clear that flexibility with adopting an English name has become an established cultural practice for many Chinese international students and this exists within a broader onomastic tradition of flexibility with first names, the idea that English names do, to some extent, continue to index non-Chinese identities. The majority of the respondents had English names, and while they may have engaged in some minor critiques of Chinese culture, none of them showed any lack of pride or confidence in their Chinese identity. They continue to be, as Duthie (2002) repeatedly quoted her subjects "modern Chinese." Because they clearly identify as Chinese, reconciling their stance that non-adopters index a Chinese identity seems to present a conundrum. I would posit that there may be a group, most likely predominantly in China, that does not adopt English names because they are more domestically-oriented. These would be comparable with the group identified by Zhang (2005) typified by working for state-owned companies and being less outwardly-oriented. The majority of my interviewees, however, are like the majority of respondents in previous studies (e.g.

Duthie 2002, Edwards 2006, McPherron 2009, Heffernan 2010, Chien 2012, Sercombe et al 2014, etc.). They adopt English names, but maintain the outward, international orientation that has become the typical for much of the Chinese middle-class and aspiring middle class (e.g. Zhang, 2005). For this group, the traditional Chinese naming flexibility can be blended with an English name, indexing openness to the anglophone, and by extension broader, world. However, they attribute a more traditionally Chinese identity to those who do not adopt English names, according them some respect because of this. This may possibly be to fend off the type of nationalistic hostility cited by Wang & Yao (2017) questioning the patriotism and authenticity of those who adopt English names. The nature of the English name (or non-Heritage name as described by Sercombe et al. (2014)) is of course such that it does not conform to Chinese phonological or morphological rules. Thus, while flexibility with names may be part of Chinese naming practices, English names face an additional barrier by dint of their association with the foreign.

6.3.2 Not international

Not only might not adopting an English name index traditional Chinese identity, it may also indicate a level of rejection of internationalism. Lucid's words "they don't wanna be that international" (Transcript 56) point to this as do the arguments of heightened nationalism in Wang & Yao (2017). The indexing of English names, not with the United States or other specific anglophone nations, but with the international community in general, has been established (e.g. Mathews 2000, Bailey & Lie 2013, etc.)

The extent to which such connections are established may be in part because of a rejection, but may also be partly lack of exposure as Joanne suggests (Transcript 58) when describing a friend from a less cosmopolitan city.

Transcript 58: Joanne, Female, Age Range 23-28, Xinjiang, First dialect Mandarin

I: So why do you feel that some Chinese don't adopt an English name?

P: I think they don't think it's -- they think it's unnecessary to have an English name. And they don't have many friends around them that has English name. For example Tie was in Xi'an that city is not as international as other cities. I think that's why.

The options available for individuals coming from less internationalized backgrounds may be fewer in choosing from what Mathews' (2000) terms the 'cultural supermarket'. This might extend to the choice of adopting an English name. It may also play into the point made by Heffernan (2010) that those in more cosmopolitan Hong Kong are more aware of appropriate English names than those from mainland China. That is to say that the less familiarity with anglophone and international mores in a region, the less likely individuals from that region are to adopt an English name, particularly an Anglo name.

6.3.3 Easy to pronounce

While the idea of a not adopting an English name to remain more Chinese and less international may fit into an anglophone view of naming practices, it was far from the only reason suggested by interviewees. As the issue of pronunciation is particularly salient (see Section 5.8.1) in the motivations for many of the interviewees to adopt an English name, it should be no surprise that the issue arises also in non-adoption. Rosy (Transcript 59), for

example, feels that the name Tie is easy to pronounce and thus there is no incentive to change the name.

Transcript 59: Rosy, Female, Age Range 23-28, Hubei, First dialect Wuhanese

I: So why do you feel that some people don't use an English name?

P: I don't know. Like my friend, Tie, she's using her Chinese name as English name as well. But I think that's because her name is quite easy to pronounce so that's why. But for some people it's really difficult to pronounce so they're going to change to an English one.

Similarly, Sanxiao (Transcript 60) cites a friend, Xingxing, whose name she considers easy to pronounce, thus obviating the perceived need to adopt an English name.

Transcript 60: Sanxiao, Female, Age Range 23-28, Shanghai, First dialect Mandarin

I: So why do you feel that some Chinese people don't adopt an English name?

P: Maybe it's a way for them to try to be unique. And maybe their Chinese name sounds like an English name. Maybe foreign people can very quickly remember it. My friend's name is Xingxing and it's very easy to understand.

Such a perception that certain names are easier for non-Chinese to pronounce seems to be widely held. This ties into the dominant ideology that English name adoption is closely connected to ease of pronunciation for non-Chinese speakers. However, this seems to run into some practicalities, at least with regards to English speakers. The Chinese diphthong /ie/ is not standard in English pronunciation, and even less so in the final position as it is in the name Tie /tiɛ/. Similarly for Xingxing /ɕɪŋɕɪŋ/, the alveopalatal fricative /ɕ/ is close to the English post-

alveolar /ʃ/, but hardly identical and the orthographic representation of /ɕ/ as 'x' is not easily accessible for English speakers. In contrast, speakers with Chinese morpheme names such as Ming /mɪng/ or Li /li/ adopt English names even though their orthographic representation more closely aligns with typical anglophone expectations. And all of this excludes the tonal distinction of Chinese, which is a significant and unfamiliar challenge for anglophones. Thus pronunciation does not seem to be the sole, or perhaps even a significant, determiner in non-adoption.

6.3.4 To be unique

If Chinese naming practices are historically flexible to be open to adopting other names, and pronunciation for non-Chinese speakers does not determine choices, then what are alternative explanations? One explanation is the quest to stand out. This was explored in the choice of English name in Section 5.6, where some adopters choose unusual names to stand out (e.g. *Medusa* in Lee, 2001 or *Nashville* in McPherron, 2009). Cindy (Transcript 61) sees the use of a Chinese name in the broader context of widespread English name adoption as "special", "unique", and "more cool." Such a desire has clear connections to the work of Irvine (2001), who describes the quest for distinctiveness in the sociolinguistic sphere. She (Irvine, 2001:42) " found it important to place less emphasis on the specific features of a style (or register, or variety, etc.) and more on the contrasts and relationships between styles." The contrasts we see here may in some cases be minor, yet they are in some way perceived as sufficient to establish distinctiveness.

Transcript 61: Cindy, Female, Age Range 23-28, Hunan, First dialect Xiang

I: Why do you feel that some Chinese DON'T adopt an English name?

P: Special. They want to keep themselves unique and to... Maybe this way's more cool.

All of these attributes play into the broader sense that a name can play a key role in memorability in social and professional contexts. Such salience can be expected to be heightened when the distinctions of Chinese names do not create sufficiently distinct entries to aid recall (see Valentine et al, 1996). The particular challenges of retrieving names were explored in Section 1.2. Because of the real world costs and benefits of name associations and their memorability (Section 1.5), it should be no surprise that individuals would seek to heighten their personal salience.

Riyal, who cited the desire to be unique in her own reasons for choosing that English name (Transcript 20), similarly sees a connection for those who use their Chinese name when interacting with non-Chinese speakers (Transcript 62).

Transcript 62: Riyal, Female, Age Range 23-28, Jiangsu, First dialect Mandarin

> I: So why do you feel some Chinese don't adopt an English name?

> P: I guess try to umm protect the Chinese element in them and to stay unique because I know a girl whose Chinese name is Ling Gao and she just call herself Ling which is just her first name in Chinese.

While Chinese does have a limited number of possible syllables (Barker, 2009), Chinese given names are, as noted, more likely to be unique because one syllable may have multiple tones and many more orthographic representations (and thus semantic indices). Additionally, as Chinese adoption of English names has been the overwhelming trend (see Table 4), non-adoption can paradoxically be seen as a way of standing out. If most of your peers do not use their Chinese names, the comparative frequency of all the "...names [that] are like Ding, Ting, Qing,

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Ping" (Transcript 30) will be much lower and therefore it may stand out. Sanxiao (Transcript 60) similarly cites a sense that a Chinese name seems more unique in a context where most Chinese people adopt English names. Of course, such a choice must be sensitive to the needs of the environment. If all Chinese people ceased using English names, Chinese names in the anglophone context (devoid of tonal and orthographic nuances) would likely be perceived as more similar, thus losing much of their valued uniqueness. For the time being, it seems that a Chinese name can still be seen as sufficiently unusual in the American academic context to give some element of the desired quality of uniqueness.

6.3.5 Mutual Respect

While practical matters of pronunciation and the desire to be remembered in classrooms or workplaces evidently play a role in the practice of using a Chinese name, many Chinese international students are beginning to assert a sense of pride in their identity as Chinese and rejecting a stereotypical accommodation to western expectations. Demands to adopt English names or avoid using Chinese (e.g. Miller 2009, Toomey 2017, Wang 2019, etc.) have clear xenophobic, and perhaps hegemonic, implications. Wang & Yao (2017) point to the rising sense of national pride in mainland China and the adoption of English names seems to be one arena where this plays out. Cara (Transcript 63) indicates that while she originally seemed to prefer her English name, the sense that this was an obligation seemed unjust to her. She is perhaps here referring to Congresswoman Betty Brown (Miller, 2009:1), who suggested that Chinese Americans adopt names that were "easier for Americans to deal with". Regardless of the catalyst, Cara seemed to feel that the choice to adopt an English name had moved to becoming an expectation situated in a political, and possibly xenophobic, context. This motivated her to begin

to use her Chinese name more, with the added bonus of being more different as a result (see Section 6.2.2.4 above).

Transcript 63: Cara, Female, Age Range 23-28, Shaanxi, First dialect Mandarin

> I: Why do you think that some people don't use an English name? So for example, why don't you use your English name anymore?

> P: I think I'm a special case. I started to use my English name when I first came to America and the UK and then I sort of had an argument with my partner who is a native speaker (American) and he told me that I should just stop using my English name and I said "You can't even pronounce my Chinese name right and we've known each other for two and a half years." And he told me I need to teach people how to pronounce my name. Actually I just a read a news piece, I think a woman works in Texas in the government in Texas and she was telling some minorities, mostly Asians, that they have to change their names because they are hard to pronounce. And I got angry at that kind of thing and I thought why do I even use an English name? Even if I had it for a long time, my ID name is my Chinese name and I kind of like it because it's different. Not a lot of people have my name so I just started to use my Chinese name more.

Tie (Transcript 64) was even more forceful in her equation of using her Chinese name as a question of mutual respect. She expresses a sense that although she is a "foreign national", she asserts her right to be treated as an equal, that "I should have the mutual respect that you should learn my name."

Transcript 64: Tie, Female, Age Range 23-28, Shaanxi, First dialect Mandarin

I: Very interesting. So why do you feel that some Chinese like you don't adopt an English name?

P: OK, I think some of them just have the same perspect with me because I feel I… Look I am in American so I don't...even though I'm a foreign nationals, but we are now live in the same country, right? We go to the same school. I don't think there's no there's no difference. So I try to I learn your name. I should have the mutual respect that you should learn my name. And also especially America is the number one country in the world. It is much more modern than China. So people should be more open then to all names. I know the Indian names is more difficult. I didn't see Indian people choose English name,

I: Right. Yeah, absolutely.

P: So I think mutual respect.

Tie goes to situate that specifically within the United States, where she points to its apparently advanced social status, "especially America is the number one country in the world" (Transcript 64). Here she is arguing that a country that is perceived as a developed and advanced country with a sense of morality should respect human rights. This argument ties in with Tie's other statements (e.g. Transcripts 51, 54, 55) where she demonstrates an awareness of American social practices that is often absent from her peers. In essence, she argues that the United States cares about social justice and respect for minorities and that the nationalistic and ethnocentric viewpoint that English must dominate is inconsistent with the liberal and open nature of American culture epitomized by the motto of the United States, 'E pluribus unum." Rather, as an individual wtih equal rights, she expects to be treated with respect, and that respect should extend to her name. This stance is reflected in the pushback that Congresswoman Betty Brown

(Miller, 2009) received from much of the political establishment when she tried to assert a more monolingual approach to naming.

While such a stance is not typical among Chinese international students who may be loathe to rock the boat, those who understand some of the American progressive positions on multiculturalism appear more likely to question the need to adopt an English name.

6.3.6 Real Name

While Chinese given names are susceptible to frequent change (Section 2.2), the same is not nearly as true for anglophone cultures (Alford, 1988). The phrase "What is your real name?" is a meaningful and frequent one in English. For example, a Google search turned up over half a million results with that specific phrase. It appears in many movies (e.g. Down Periscope 1996, Dirty Dancing 2006, X-Men: X2 2011, The Dictator 2012, etc.) as a set line. It is often said in a context of suspicion that something is being hidden.

One's "real name" in anglophone culture is typically that given at birth. In Chinese culture, on the other hand, the birth name may be called the "Child name" (Tongzi ming 童子名), "Milk name" (Nai ming 奶名), or "Small name" (Xiao ming 小名) (Jones, 1997). This indicates that a "real name" has currency in English-speaking countries, but much less so in Chinese-speaking ones. Such a sense is seen in some interviewees. For example, Transcripts 9 and 10 speak about "real names" being used for legal and formal situations. However, some other interviewees seem to go further and more fully embrace the idea of a "real name" and begin to move away from their English names. We saw Leah (Transcript 28) begin to reduce her use of English name as she felt her Chinese name was more "real". Similarly, we see Sheila (Transcript 65), who still uses her English name, also note this ideology, feeling that those who

do not adopt an English name feel that their Chinese name is their "real name."

Transcript 65: Sheila, Female, Age Range 23-28, Guizhou, First dialect Mandarin

> I: Why do you feel that some Chinese don't adopt an English name?
>
> P: Some people I know a part of their Chinese name can be in English, you know, like the
>
> pronunciation. But some people I know prefer to use their Chinese name. And some even
>
> if it's hard to pronounce, they feel that their Chinese name is their real name. It's even
>
> like that at home. If you have a close relationship, they will call you a nickname. it's
>
> good for others to call you your name.

Such a view may be compatible with the view (e.g. Transcript 56) that the Chinese name represents the authentic Chinese identity, while the English name represents a sort of screen, as Edwards suggested (2006).

It is also quite possible that those individuals who engage with the ideology that their birth name is their real name have begun to engage with the anglophone practice of cleaving to the birth name. Such a shift might indicate accommodation to anglophone onomastic practices as a result of increased cultural understanding. This may connect to McPherron's (2009) observation that Chinese students in Mainland China with non-Anglo names may change them in the future if they then interact with non-Chinese speakers to better accommodate to their context.

6.4 Would having an English name make any difference anyway?

As we have seen, only a minority of the respondents did not have an English name despite the common perception that life in the United States may potentially be easier if they have an English name. For example, Sanxiao (Transcript 66) believed that her life would be improved by having an English name with which she felt comfortable. Gia expressed a similar sentiment (Transcript 16), citing memorability of her name as a benefit to socialization.

Transcript 66: Sanxiao, Female, Age Range 23-28, Shanghai, First dialect Mandarin

I: Do you think your life would be better if you had a good English name that you felt comfortable with?

P: Yeah.

I: Why is that?

P: Because I think it's more easy for foreign people to remember and also when they ask me my name if I say my Chinese name, I need to teach them how to pronounce it.

Here we see again the issues of pronunciation and memorability discussed above in section 5.8.1. These two participants felt, in a way similar to many who actually adopted an English name, that an English name may provide access to the highly desired, yet frequently unachieved (see Gareis 2012; Kudo, Volet, & Whitsed 2017), social interactions with American students. Thus even among those who do not use English names, there was a sense that English names may address concerns about the memorability and pronounceability of their names.

However, a small group (N=3) comprising Tie, Jin, and Renman, did not feel that an English name would have any perceivable positive impact on their lives. Tie's response (Transcript 67) arguing that there is no difference is typical.

Transcript 67: Tie, Female, Age Range 23-28, Shaanxi, First dialect Mandarin

> I: Do you think your life would be better if you had a good English name that you felt comfortable with?
>
> P: I don't...Is there any difference? I don't think there's no difference you know because people, sometimes people they're not aware, for example, American people, they don't -- they're not aware that Chinese people are using English names. So I don't think there's difference if I have a English name.

The belief that an English name does *not*, in fact, offer any benefits of social, cultural, or linguistic capital is of course noteworthy in that it represents a rejection of the dominant narrative (e.g. Huang & Ke 2016; Transcripts 30, 31, 32, etc.) that such benefits can be derived from adopting English names. For these individuals, names are not seen as a viable route for attaining the benefits and opportunities that most respondents attribute to them. Perhaps there is a connection here with the suggestion raised by Fryer & Levitt (2003) that individuals with markedly Black names may be called for fewer interviews than those with names more associated with White individuals, but may nevertheless benefit by not wasting time going to interviews where employers would not hire them anyway based on racially discriminatory practices. That is to say, names that index alternative identities do nothing to address the phenotypical appearance and linguistic traits of those individuals; prejudice cannot be eliminated

simply by using another name. By signaling their ethnic identity more clearly with a Chinese name, they can more readily avoid those who would engage in racial prejudice early on.

Additionally, Tie (Transcript 67) raises an additional concern about the nature of English names not directly corresponding to Anglo names. In her stance, the variation in English names is so great that they may no longer be recognizable to Americans as English names. Such an argument speaks again to the ludic nature (see McPherron, 2009) of picking names, as well as the atypical nature of such names in the anglophone community (Lee 2001, Heffernan 2010). It also speaks to the traditionalist argument (e.g. Chien 2012, CCTV News 2014) that when Chinese individuals adopt English names, they should choose specifically Anglo names if they want to be taken seriously and access the best opportunities. Such a position reiterates Tie's comparatively sophisticated understanding of anglophone naming practices.

6.5 Discussion:

We have seen, then, in the interviews that the minority of Chinese individuals who do not use an English name in anglophone contexts have a variety, or are perceived to have a variety, of motivations. The perception that not having an English name is associated with being inward-looking and more traditionally Chinese was certainly voiced (Sections 6.3.1 and 6.3.2) and that this constituency exists is attested by online data cited in Wang & Yao's (2017) work. Yet none of the interviewees I spoke to indicated that this was a consideration for them or any students they knew in the United States. It would be entirely reasonable to expect that individuals who held a tight affinity to Chinese culture along with a mistrust or rejection of things international and/or American would be far less likely to make the significant commitment of leaving their beloved country to spend time and money overseas. This would explain why my interviewees,

individuals who had chosen to leave their country of birth and dedicate significant resources to study overseas, would not place themselves in such a rejectionist camp, regardless of their adoption or non-adoption of an English name. The fact that Duthie (2002) and McPherron (2009) found many Chinese in mainland China adopt English names might be explained by the populations (upwardly mobile residents of cosmopolitan Shanghai and university students studying English respectively). Such populations would not be expected to be the most nationalistic and xenophobic, just as upper middle-class New Yorkers and American university students learning Chinese are probably not among the most nationalistic and xenophobic people in the United States. I am unfamiliar with any research on the adoption of English names by rural Chinese individuals with low levels of education, but I would suspect that the numbers would be significantly lower than in the present study shown in Table 4, in Section 4.3.2 (89%).

If the use of a Chinese name cannot be attributed to a staunchly traditional stance or to a rejection of internationalism among Chinese international students, other motivations may better explain this practice. In the survey, 55% (N=90 out 165 answers) noted pronunciation issues with foreigners using their Chinese names (See Table 11) and all of the 23 interviewees except Cindy mentioned the issue of pronunciation in at least some connection with their names. It would seem then that pronunciation is clearly a factor that is perceptually salient for many respondents. However as noted above (Sections 5.8.1, 6.2.1), pronunciation does not seem to have the explanatory power to address the practice on its own. Rather, the secondary responses of some of the participants seem to indicate that the choices of adopting, and particularly not adopting, English names are also tied in with a larger positioning within the broader context of Chinese-anglophone relations.

The interviewees here are all international students in the United States who have spent most of their lives in mainland China. As a result, they are not fully cognisant of many of the nuances of anglophone culture. The term cultural competence and its evaluation are complex. Kramsch (1991:230) has noted that attempting to develop a national instrument to evaluate cultural competence is bound to be "risky." and the National Center for Cultural Competence at Georgetown University (2019:1) says "There is no one definition of cultural competence." Thus any exploration of the issue requires awareness of the uncertainty of the issue. Given this is the exploration of perspectives from potentially enormously different perspectives, this is likely inherent to the endeavor. What one culture or community sees as cultural competence may not always be the same as what another community sees.

ACTFL (2014) uses the term "global competence" and describes it as the ability to:

1. Communicate in the language of the people with whom one is interacting.
2. Interact with awareness, sensitivity, empathy, and knowledge of the perspectives of others.
3. Withhold judgment, examining one's own perspectives as similar to or different from the perspectives of people with whom one is interacting.
4. Be alert to cultural differences in situations outside of one's culture, including noticing cues indicating miscommunication or causing an inappropriate action or response in a situation.
5. Act respectfully according to what is appropriate in the culture and the situation where everyone is not of the same culture or language background, including gestures, expressions, and behaviors.
6. Increase knowledge about the products, practices, and perspectives of other cultures.

A good deal of this competence exists on a spectrum; "knowledge about the ...practices ...of other cultures" in the naming context is not an absolute. Most anglophones are unaware of the meanings of most Anglo names, for example. It is rather a cline, where our Chinese participants grow their understanding of anglophone culture and better understand how names index certain stances. This is shown in Gia's realization (Transcript 49) that her chosen English

name may index an unpleasant connection, in Tie's (Transcript 51) pointing out that many Chinese people may not know the meaning (and thus connotations) of their chosen English name, and Cara's change in response to realizing that there was a coercive sense on the part of some anglophones that she adopt an English name (Transcript 63). In each of these examples, we can observe a shift as they move from a more Chinese perspective of adopting English names as part of a broad cultural practice, to a stance that is much more informed by anglophone and particularly mainstream American cultural and onomastic values.

6.5.1 Cultural Competency Cline

Among my participants, there seemed to be a pattern. Although they had all been in the United States for six months to two years, most preferred to use an English name, others struggled, and a smaller number had definitively opted to use a Chinese name. I propose that there is some level of correlation between cultural familiarity and the preference to use one's Chinese name rather than an English name. However, this should not be taken to be a definitive cause and effect. Such competence must also accompany a desire to take on that stance. That is to say that even understanding a different culture's expectations would be insufficient on its own. Rather, it would require adopting a stance. Those who develop sufficient cultural competence to understand American naming practices must also take a stance that they are willing to break from their own cultural expectations to take a more intercultural stance, adapting at some level to their new cultural context. How and to what extent this actually occurs will inevitably vary depending on the multivalent nature of each individual's identity.

6.5.1.1 Habitual Users

Those who felt most comfortable using an English name seemed to be the least connected to American culture and life. Janet and Irene are two examples of this. Both had not engaged much with English before arriving in the U.S. Neither had many close American friends and both reported a sense of distance. Janet (Transcript 68) found Americans to be "very different."

Transcript 68: Janet, Female, Age Range 23-28, Guangdong, First dialect Cantonese

    I: So what do you think about Americans?

    P: Americans? Um, Americans are very different.

Additionally, when noting the things she liked about life in the United States, she tended to point to practical creature comforts, such as climate control and the cost of food and clothing.

Transcript 69: Janet, Female, Age Range 23-28, Guangdong, First dialect Cantonese

    I: So what do you like about living in the United States?

    P: Well, compared to what um my living conditions in China, it's much much better cause back at that time I was college student and I had to like live in college dorm and my school was a public school and the condition is, was terrible. It was in a city that like super hot in summer and freezing cold in winter but there's no heat or air conditioning so it is ... And I have to share a room with like five others, one single room with five others. And now I have my own room and get to choose where I live and who I live with. And the airconditioning is very good here. New York, it's not hot at all. So I guess that's the benefit. And oh, there's things in American also like if it's dog food or living expense like clothings, for example clothings or um like things you need for like activities, it's much much cheaper than its price in China. So, that's good.

Irene (Transcript 70) more pointedly notes her disconnection with the people and culture in the United States.

Transcript 70: Irene, Female, Age Range 23-28, Liaoning, First dialect Mandarin

> I: So what do you not like about living in the United States?
>
> P: I don't like that I can't speak English well which kind of stopped me from making friends. Sometimes I still feel like a, how do you say….I don't actually understand American culture because I don't have a lot of American friends. Sometimes it's a little bit difficult to be one of the U.S. culture.

Both Janet and Irene seem to lack the necessary "knowledge of the perspectives of others" (ACTFL, 2014:1) to engage effectively with Americans. Instead, their cultural self-perception (Du, 2015) is more typically Chinese in that they identify strongly with their in-group and use this familiar cultural outlook to interpret the outside world. They typically use their English names consistently which fits into a pattern we see in mainland China (e.g. Duthie 2002, McPherron 2009), while feeling quite separate from Americans and American culture, the out-group (Du, 2015).

6.5.1.2 Moving Along

Other users seem to have adopted an English name, but are in the process of trying to distance themselves from it. Joanne, for example, uses her English name, but struggles to "promote" (Transcript 7) her Chinese name. Joanne previously had a chance to engage with English in China with Japanese people, and had also traveled extensively, including to Europe and Southeast Asia, giving her more exposure to non-Chinese cultures. She also claims to have many

American friends in China, as well as a Canadian and Mexican-American friend here. Joanne

also likes life in the United States because of more individual opportunities and an evident lack

of social pressure for conformity (Transcript 71).

Transcript 71: Joanne, Female, Age Range 23-28, Xinjiang, First dialect Mandarin

    I: So what do you like about living in the United States?

    P: I think it's there's no comparison among different individuals. In China you feel much

    greater pressure that everyone wants to compare each others, the size of the houses and

    something. Yes and here is more individualized and you know everyone has just the feel

    that it's not that stressful.

Joanne thus contrasts with Irene and Janet, who seem to have little social interaction with

Americans in line with Gareis (2012) who noted that limited friendships with Americans is

sadly the norm for many international students. She also seems to focus on opportunities for

personal growth in the United States in contrast with a more material focus.

While Joanne (Transcript 7) does try to break out of the use of English name use, she also

acknowledges (Transcript 37) that there is a strong social expectation of English names (see also

Raquel's comment "we all prefer to use English names instead of Chinese names" Transcript 5).

So while she notes some exceptions, most of her interlocutors address her by her English name.

6.5.1.3 Fully Rejecting

While Irene and Janet use their English names most of the time despite feeling somewhat

disconnected in the U.S., and Joanne somewhat reluctantly acquiesces to using her English name

despite a stronger sense of cultural competence, there are others who do not use an English name at all. These individuals seem to illustrate some of the more insightful understandings of American culture among the interviewees. Tie, for example, shows an awareness of the idea of importance of mutual respect (Transcript 64) and that as we live in same country, there is an implication that we are all equal. Tie is quite well socialized, reporting multiple American friends, including one particularly close one. Her engagement with the English language and American culture began in China when she befriended one of her English teachers. Perhaps because of this, she is able to engage in a social and cultural analysis of Americans. She notes (Transcript 34) the Chinese love of all things foreign and comes to realize that communication is far more about pragmatics than the basic grammar Chinese schools typically emphasize (e.g. Transcript 53). She then goes on to apply this understanding to analyze the concept of white privilege and the importance of solidarity among people of color (Transcripts 54, 55), which may explain her resistance to her niece adopting an English name (Transcript 51).

Her feelings about living in the United States (Transcript 72) similarly show an emphasis on her personal growth, where she emphasizes both her personal freedom and her ability to engage with people. The former, personal freedom along with less social judgementality available in the United States, was a concept often present among those who were less likely to use an English name. Here they begin to move away from the Cultural Self-Perception (Du, 2015) that emphasizes the group over the individual. The latter factor, on the other hand, again highlights that Tie has had more socialization opportunities and thus is much better positioned to gain the cultural competence necessary to understand anglophone naming practices.

Transcript 72: Tie, Female, Age Range 23-28, Shaanxi, First dialect Mandarin

I: So what do you like about living in the United States?

P: I feel… you mean (living?) United States. First of all, I feel very very safe.

I don't know if because living here nobody knows me or. Even though I wear strange, I

walking on the street nobody knows me. Maybe because that, I just feel free. You are free

to do everything because nobody will judge you. Because everybody's concentrating on

their work. So -- and also I feel American is really really clear about, I mean not New

Yorkers, just like general Americans. This, they say 'hi' to you. They ask you 'How are

you?' They want to know how your days goes. Especially, from, you know, except in

New York. Other people, like general Americans. People are really really nice to you.

I've been to several cities. I know it's because America doesn't have so large

populations, so everybody wants to know each other and to interact with you. So, in

China, like nobody cares about you. It just they don't want to say 'Hi'. And even I think

there's a class in China in people's mind. But in that, one really really simple example is

that in China, I don't think I can be a really good friend with maybe senior or like high or

senior management people. I cannot be friend with them. But in America, I can just get

really along with um, you know, really maybe a fifty-something fifty. And I, uh, as long

as we have common topic and really enjoy talking with each other, why not? Just as I had

really good conversation with several elderly ladies in the subway station. We really

enjoyed talking with each other. I don't know why. Maybe they are missing their

daughters. It's funny. 'Nice to meet you, ma'am.' It means what what what. Even though

I know I'm not going to see them in the future. But I really enjoyed talking with them.

But in China, talking with, you know, I don't think that could happen. Uh-huh.

This stance is shown in relation to the practice of adopting English names in Transcript 73.

Transcript 73: Tie, Female, Age Range 23-28, Shaanxi, First dialect Mandarin

I: Do you think your life would be better if you had a good English name that you felt comfortable with?

P: I don't...Is there any difference? I don't think there's no difference you know because people, sometimes people they're not aware, for example, American people, they don't, they're not aware that Chinese people are using English names. So I don't think there's difference if I have a English name.

Here Tie opines that Americans are not even aware that the names Chinese people adopt are actually English. Her understanding of the lack of global competence among typical Americans coupled with her insights into the sociopolitical positions inherent in adoption and non-adoption, I hypothesize, lead her to be far more likely to use her Chinese name in the United States. Cara, as seen earlier in Transcript 63, is also moving in this direction. She also notes her freedom to engage in writing and film production that would not be possible in China. Her American partner also allows her greater insight into American culture and politics. Thus, she seems to be moving toward the position that Tie occupies, and only uses her English name with friends who already knew her by that name.

6.5.2 Between the Poles

In my introduction (Section 1.1), I recounted an encounter with a very "progressive" head of Translation studies who felt any use of English names reflected some sort of cultural

imperialism, and also with the head of Public Relations, who felt that taking an English name was a natural accommodation to find success in a different culture. While I do not feel that either of these individuals understood the complexity of this naming practice, they may perhaps stand in as useful signposts on a continuum of ideological beliefs. One the one end, we have cultural neophytes in the American context, who bring with them Chinese practices that are partially informed at best. These are the individuals who have not engaged much with Americans, but who use Chinese naming practices in the hopes of easing their transition. Thus, these individuals will generally adopt an English name, a practice conforming to Chinese cultural practice.

At the other end, we have individuals who are more engaged with American culture and as a result are more sensitive to anglophone naming practices as well as identity politics. Such individuals are far more likely to at least flirt with the idea of using their Chinese name than their less informed peers.

As Bucholtz (2016: 275) puts it "...names become sites of negotiation and struggle over cultural difference, linguistic autonomy, and the right to self definition." The questions of differing graphemes, tones, and phonemes are all part of the struggle. It is one which many Chinese individuals seem to have chosen to avoid by using a strategy (adopting an additional name) that is both culturally familiar and considered to be practically effective. This allows them to postpone or even avoid the challenging work of developing the cultural competence they need to make naming and address choices that are more appropriate to their current context. Unlike studies in Chinese-speaking contexts (e.g. Duthie 2002, McPherron 2009, Chien 2012, etc.), in American contexts, the pressure to adapt to a different naming practice interacts with the other factors. I contend that one result is an increased likelihood of deciding to use only one's Chinese name.

Chapter 7: CONCLUSION

7.1 Overview

As we have seen, the Chinese practice of adopting English names intersects with many fields, including onomastics, Chinese cultural practices, cultural interaction, globalization, identity, geopolitics, economics, sociolinguistics and language teaching. These and other factors are among the many that influence Chinese students coming to the United States for higher education. They find themselves pushed and pulled in many directions, while searching for some level of agency that may allow them to improve their lives. Volosinov (1929/1973:21) writes that "...the forms of signs are conditioned above all by the social organization of the participants involved and also by the immediate conditions of their interaction." There have clearly been changes in the social and material situation of mainland Chinese citizens over the past sixty years (World Bank, 2018). These changes have operated on multiple levels, pointing to the multivalent nature of factors influencing identity choices. Such changes may well have led to the exploration of name usage; as noted previously, an English name in the Cultural Revolution would have been a very risky social choice (e.g. Obuhova et al. 2011) whereas now it is the norm. Thus continuing changes in the social and material situation can be expected, as Volosinov (1929/1973) proposes, to influence the usage of language, and naming in particular. These changes will be influenced by multiple factors and exhibit multiple characteristics, reminiscent of the reciprocal causality expressed in complex dynamic systems theory (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2007) where complex systems, such as human identity, are influenced and influence a multiplicity of characteristics.

What, then are the implications of better understanding Chinese attitudes toward English name adoption? Improved cultural competence, first among educators and then among the wider

public, will reduce friction and improve educational and later economic results. On a global

scale, the emergence of a new Chinese identity that is both true to its roots and yet modern and

cosmopolitan may have profound effects on fields as diverse as politics, art, science, and

business.

Furthermore, the stance that not only are English names global but also the English

language, speaks to the continued growth of the perception of many that English no longer

belongs solely to those countries where it was spoken two hundred years ago, but rather to all

citizens of our increasingly interconnected world. If this hypothesis is correct, then the term

"English name" may become indexical of its historic philology as Roman alphabet and Arabic

numerals are today rather than its connection to the political and economic position of the United

States or United Kingdom.

7.2 Summary

7.2.1 Chinese names and practices

As we have seen (Jones 1997), Chinese naming practices are considerably more flexible

in comparison to anglophone, and other cultures, such as the Japanese (Heffernan 2010) and

Indonesian (Bailey & Lie, 2013). Thus, adapting to new situations with a new name is not a

tremendous innovation, but rather indicative of opening to the possibilities on display for

individuals with newly found access to global contexts, the "cultural supermarket" that Mathews

(2000) explores. As Huang & Ke (2016:851) put it, "Being addressed in an English name could

implicate someone as being modern, internationally aware, or well-educated." Thus, just as a

Chinese businessman in Malaysia may adopt different names for different enterprises to index a

growing portfolio (e.g. Jones, 1997), so too may Chinese individuals who engage with the

outside world want to adopt a new name to indicate that they are part of the global community. The fact that English names, and particularly Anglo names, are chosen for this reflects the global role of English (e.g. Graddol 2006) but also the desire to avoid being localized with less prestigious groups (e.g. Bailey & Lie, 2013). Such international connotations for English names are found in many diverse places: Chelliah (2005) found in India that Anglo names index international identities. Zenner & Marzo (2015:9) found in exploring the use of Anglo names in Flanders, that not only did Anglo names index internationalism, but they also index "fun, modernity, and trendiness."

Heffernan (2010:32) posited that the use of English names could signal "affiliation with Western culture." I believe that such a stance is unwarranted. It may even reflect Said's (1977) warning not to look at "western" culture as the default. Instead, I believe, as noted above that these are broader affiliations with a global culture. At the same time, these English names incorporate very Chinese elements, including the flexibility of name usage. Sercombe et al. (2014) conclude that English names do not detract from Chineseness but in fact add another layer to it and I think this speaks to the heart of the practice. Instead of being solely an accommodation to anglophone mores, it is rather a Chinese solution to a challenge that Chinese individuals face as China continues to open up to the wider world.

One element that illustrates this is the Chinese preference for titles over names (e.g. Sercombe et al. 2014). In such situations, it is important to know the kinship term for the one being addressed. It is for this reason that Blum (1997) emphasizes the importance of the introducer in Chinese social situations. That person can play the role of determining which title the two people meeting for the first-time should use for one another. Such decisions are typically

made based on the political and social status of the respective individuals, a nuanced area where intimate knowledge of the culture is necessary.

In contexts overseas, with non-Chinese speakers unfamiliar with the particularities of Chinese culture and social expectations, and often in a context where there is no individual who can perform the important role Blum (1997) outlines in introducing and setting social standings, English names can play a vital role. In this way, as Li (1997) shows, Chinese speakers can avoid the complex questions of social hierarchy expected in Chinese social relations and instead embrace the ostensibly more egalitarian social context of anglophone circles.

Hence, at this level, the adoption of English names conforms to a Chinese willingness to adopt a new name while also offering a way to adapt to a new context where familiar social relations are replaced by different human interactions. The adoption of English names, seen from this perspective, is not American or British at all, but in fact a very Chinese way to approach a new social environment. In this way, some of the social uncertainty inherent in first encounters can potentially be forestalled. This provides an opportunity to engage with and establish relationships with anglophones, avoiding some of the awkwardness that can arise when incorrect forms of address are used (e.g. Transcript 15).

It is in fact, possible to see the English name as filling an important gap exposed in Chinese society by the expanding position of internationalism (e.g. Zhang, 2005). In this view, the given name (mingzi 名字) is appropriate for close friends and family (e.g. Jones, 1997) and the title, often with the family name (貴姓 **Gui Xing**) used for formal situations (Blum 1997, Pavlik 2012, Sercombe, et al., 2014) outside the home. Yet neither of these work within the expectations of international (and specifically anglophone) naming professional contexts (e.g. Cronin, 1958). In such situations, the Chinese flexibility with name choices offers what seems to

be a viable solution, namely the use of English names (Duthie, 2002). This English name can be sufficiently formal for use in professional contexts (Duthie, 2002), yet sufficiently informal (McPherron, 2016b) and egalitarian (Huang & Ke, 2016) that it fits in with modern global corporate practices. While pronunciation (along with its association with memorability, see Section 5.8.1) is clearly a frequently cited motivator and benefit of adopting English names, as I argue in Section 5.8.1, it is not entirely satisfactory. In response to RQ4 (What are the benefits of adopting English names?) then, I acknowledge that the most salient perceived benefit continues to be the ease of pronunciation and its concomitant benefit of memorability for interlocutors (as noted by Edwards 2006, McPherron 2009, Chen 2012, etc.). However, I would argue that a possibly more important, but generally unrecognized, actual benefit is the ability to use an English name as means to tackle questions of address that differ between English and Chinese Discourse communities. This would go some way to reconciling the view of Edwards (2006) that English names can act as a screen against an overly invasive foreigner and the view of Huang and Ke (2016) that English names improve solidarity by moving away from more rigidly hierarchical Chinese address practices. English names then occupy a middle ground, neither as intimate as their Chinese given names nor as staid and formal as their title or family name.

7.2.2 Contact with United States Culture

In 1987, some 21,000 students and scholars visited the United States (Orleans, 1988) from mainland China. By 2018, that number had risen to 363,341, an increase of over 1600% over 30 years (IIE, 2018). From a rarity on U.S. campuses, Chinese students have become the largest single group of international students.

The Chinese practice of adopting English names now operates within the expanding

contexts that have become available for mainland Chinese people since the opening of the

economy in the 1980s, thereby changing the "immediate conditions" Volosinov (1929/1973:21)

refers to.

In these immediate conditions in China, the GSP seems to dominate (Du, 2015:39). The

in-group, which in this case might be broadly described as the Han Chinese, "is regarded as the

basic unit of social existence and social actions. The out-groups are seen as part of the physical

outside world." Arrival in the United States changes these immediate conditions, where the

limits of the outside world become blurred. Some students are able to establish relationships and

engage with non-Han Chinese, while others are more closely connected to the Group-Self where

their ability for individual autonomy is limited (Du, 2015). For those who cleave more closely to

the Group-Self, closely identifying themselves with Chinese identity, it is no surprise, though

perhaps counter-intuitive, that they continue the practice of using English names. For those who

venture out and begin to develop more of the autonomy typical of and usually encouraged in

American college campuses, the immediate conditions allow more possibilities of try alternative

strategies including the more typically anglophone adoption of using one's birth name in most

settings. This calls to mind Volosinov's (1929/1973:79) argument that

> ...consciousness awakens to independent ideological life precisely in a world of
> alien discourses surrounding it, and from which it cannot initially separate itself;
> the process of distinguishing between one's own and another's discourse, between
> one's own and another's thought, is activated rather late in development.

As Chinese international students engage with the "alien discourses surrounding" them

(i.e. American social practices), they can engage in a more informed understanding of how a

name is interpreted and how one wants one's name to be interpreted. Rampton, (2017:61) argues

that "In stratified urban societies (and probably elsewhere), the language varieties associated

with different social groups often become the site of diverse and conflicting symbolic meanings."

As Chinese students come to the United States with English names adopted in China as part of Chinese cultural practice, they encounter these "conflicting symbolic meanings." The more unified sense of an English name indexing membership of the Chinese upwardly mobile class (e.g. Duthie, 2002) and an international outlook becomes more fraught as it clashes with the established ideologies of American anglophones. Many seem to feel insecure in response to some of the xenophobia they find (e.g. Miller 2009, Toomey 2017, Wang 2019, etc.) with such insecurity perhaps leading to a more conservative approach, as Zhang (2008) suggests. Such a position would be expected to heighten the GSP (Du, 2015) and thus many newly arrived Chinese students may react to anti-Chinese sentiment with an impulse to close ranks. This would lead to fewer opportunities to engage with these "conflicted symbolic meanings" and therefore the use of English names continues. Such a position is reinforced by Xu's (2015) findings that Chinese international graduate students with English names are more likely to have other friends with English names. Playing by the rules and following the cultural practice reinforces the GSP.

On the other hand, those students who do begin to shed their GSP and develop some level of autonomy, may explore alternative symbolic meanings. It is no accident that those who were least likely to use an English name at all times were most likely to cite some element of personal freedom as a preferred element of life in the United States (See Section 6.5.1.3). These interviewees also cited their social connections with Americans more frequently than those who usually used English names. They had had the success that Gareis (2012) notes is frequently missing or limited for East Asian students in the United States; they had made close American friends. Those who used English names in most situations, on the other hand, typically struggled to engage socially. This was not because they did not want to. Gareis (2012) found that East

Asian students in particular struggle to make satisfactory social relations with Americans despite a high desire to do so. While Sercombe et al. (2014) argue that Chinese individuals believed the English name could bring them closer, it does not seem to have that effect. This stance may be part of the belief that an English name can substitute for the preferred "kinship terms" used in Chinese (Blum, 1997:360). Such a belief may be misplaced, heightening the conflicting symbolic meanings. Chinese students may believe that an English name serves as an entrance ticket, while Americans may be confused because an English name is perceived as a pseudonym. Such a belief may be intensified if it was bestowed or encouraged by an English teacher (whether foreigner or not), who plays the role of introducer discussed by Blum (1997). In fact, it would seem that the name does not play the role that Chinese students hoped it would.

7.2.3 Different Levels of Contact Lead to Different Results

As Chinese international students arrive in the United States, they look for the pleasant world implied on college brochures and media. Their view of life in the United States in general and friendships in particular, comes heavily primed by cultural artifacts such as TV shows and other media (e.g. Xu, 2012). These expectations of social interaction seem to prove to be overly optimistic and instead they find themselves with far fewer opportunities to interact with Americans outside of class than anticipated (e.g. Gareis, 2012). Many seem to retreat to a GSP, where homophily can ease the many issues of culture shock that they encounter. This gives the advantage of preferencing the Chinese identity, thus promoting a stronger social identity (e.g. Tajfel, 1981).

But the intellect, curiosity, and interest in things American that most students bring with them to their new context also encourages engagement with the host culture. While this can

result in negative experiences (e.g. Miller 2009, Toomey 2017, Wang 2019, etc.), it can also open up some shifts in the cultural self-perception, allowing individuals to consider the question of individualism contrasted with collectivism (Du, 2015). They must then explore to what extent they are independent selves and to what extent they are interdependent selves. In the words of Du (2015:38)

> For the interdependent self, others are included within the boundaries of the self, and the individual is incomplete and only becomes whole when fitting into or occupying one's proper place in a social unit. The independent self, on the other hand, 'is assumed to be a complete, whole, autonomous entity without the others'.

The independent self may find an easier experience in the more individualistic culture of the United States. By leaving some of the costs of interdependence, individuals can explore American culture and engage with Americans and others. I would argue that one indicator of this movement, though it may seem at first look counter-intuitive, is the reduction of the practice of adopting an English name. Of course, such a move comes at a cost to their connections with the Chinese group (e.g. Tajfel, 1981).

As individuals become more engaged with American values and culture, they begin to explore elements of their previous identity. Cara (Transcript 63) is an excellent example of this. As she engages more with her partner's culture, she begins to see that an English name does not index the same thing it seems to index among Americans in the United States that it does among Chinese people in China, leading her to eventually use her Chinese name more.

> This process would not come as a surprise to Volosinov (1929/1973:76) , who wrote:

> Prior to this moment of appropriation, the word does not exist in a neutral and impersonal language (it is not, after all, out of a dictionary that the speaker gets his words!), but rather it exists in other people's mouths, in other people's contexts, serving other people's, intentions: it is from there that one must take the word, and make it one's own. And not all words for just anyone submit equally easily to this appropriation, to this seizure and transformation into private property: many words

stubbornly resist, others remain alien, sound foreign in the mouth of the one who appropriated them and who now speaks them; they cannot be assimilated into his context and fall out of it; it is as if they put themselves in quotation marks against the will of the speaker. Language is not a neutral medium that passes freely and easily into the private property of the speaker's intentions; it is populated - overpopulated - with the intentions of others. Expropriating it, forcing it to submit to one's own intentions and accents, is a difficult and complicated process.

The English names adopted by Chinese people in China, whether self-selected or assigned by a Chinese or non-Chinese teacher, may submit, in the Volosinovian sense, more easily to Chinese speakers in China, as seems to be the case in studies there (e.g. Duthie 2002, Hsu 2009, McPherron 2009, Sercombe et al 2014, etc.). In the United States, however, the intentions of others include the many Americans; this change in context leads to a new round of Volosinovian contestation over what names belong to whom. This stance is supported by recent work by Lindemann et al. (2019), who have recently found that ethnic names are considered more American than typically Anglo names for accented speakers. In their study (2019), they found that Americans considered speakers with accented English to be more American if they had identifiably Spanish or Korean names compared to those that had typically Anglo names. Such a stance seems to show Americans accepting new Americans' ethnic background, but feeling that an Anglo name for an accented person would indicate some level of dissimulation.

For as Volosinov (1929/1973:86) goes on to say, a "*...word is a two-sided act*. It is determined equally by whose word it is and for whom it is meant. As word, it is precisely *the product of the reciprocal relationship between speaker and listener, addresser and addressee*." (italics in original). In the United States, English names are no longer the ludic elements that many Chinese seem to consider them (e.g. Lee 2001, McPherron 2009, Heffernan 2010), but rather meaningful signifiers with a far deeper and longer history than most Chinese speakers realize when, for example, selecting them at random from a list of names. This tension between

the meaning of the word for Chinese speakers and English speakers becomes more apparent as the two sides interact. For some, as mentioned, the interaction is limited and superficial. But for others, the interaction can become quite profound. It is particularly noteworthy that those Chinese individuals who spend the most time interacting with Americans, tend to choose to back away from using an English name.

While such an accommodation to American cultural practices may indicate some successful integration and growth in cultural competence, it does of course operate in a highly politicized environment. As Volosinov puts it (1929/1973:86)

> The ruling class strives to impart a supraclass, eternal character to the ideological sign, to extinguish or drive inward the struggle between social value judgments which occurs in it, to make the sign uniaccentual.

In this case, we might look at those Chinese international students who successfully navigate American culture in general and naming practices in particular as those who have then been coerced into adopting a name that the dominant (American) social class expects. That is to say, the idea that as a foreign Chinese individual names should reflect that heritage may be the American expectation. To do otherwise is to reject the dominant narrative of (American) society which seeks to make the sign (the name) more uniaccentual. Note that I do not explore the status of Chinese Americans in this paper, who may well operate under very different parameters.

These findings go some way to answering RQ3 (Looking at the central elements of Chinese adoption of English names, are there any personal or attitudinal factors that might influence the non-adoption or the quality of the adoption of English names?). I would argue that the most salient social and attitudinal factor is exposure to and engagement with American cultural expectations. As mainland Chinese students understand American naming practices better, they become more likely to stop using an English name.

7.3 Limitations

As with any study, there are inherent limitations to what this study can reveal about the practice of Chinese international students in the United States adopting English names and more broadly comment on the many elements explored above.

7.3.1 Not longitudinal

This study looked at the practice of Chinese international students, studying in the U.S. in the period of 2015-2016. Participants shared their views at the point of survey and interview, but it was not possible to follow them over a period of time. A longitudinal study exploring students' naming practice at arrival, when they may be expected to have less cultural competence with American cultural and naming practices contrasted with a later study exploring changes after social interaction might have bolstered some of the claims presented here or alternatively have led to a reappraisal of those claims. A future study tracking such students from initial arrival in the U.S. to their departure might measure level of engagement with Americans and comparative group self-perception (GSP). This could then be compared to decisions about name adoption. Such a study could offer great insights. It should be noted, however, that a significant practical issue (and one that explains why this could not have been undertaken in this study) is that some level of trust is important in such studies to encourage candor and this can be difficult to establish immediately.

7.3.2 Impact of Group Self-Perception

As noted above, Du's (2015) concept of group self-perception (GSP) is an important part of how Chinese cultural practices, such as adopting English names, can be understood. I am not from mainland China, am not ethnically Chinese, and am not perceived as part of the GSP even though many of my Chinese contacts have noted that my understanding of Chinese culture is stronger than most Americans' (though this could very well be a function of Chinese cultural politeness). Therefore, my understanding of the Chinese practice is inherently and inevitably that of an outsider. Given the importance of connections with other Chinese individuals noted above, my views will only reflect part of the story. As Rampton (1999) reminds us, most sociolinguistic study focuses on the role of the "home" community on language development, but neglect the effects of the target community. Further studies that could look at the role of how Chinese students maintain (or do not maintain) in-group dynamics might help shed more light on the extent to which Chinese international students can depart from the GSP and explore individual motivations. Tie notes a positive of living in the United States as being the perceived lack of judgmentality of Americans (Transcript 72), a view echoed by Jin, Raquel, and others. The role of social pressure may be an important one in engaging with another culture and gaining the cultural competence to understand American naming practices. Studies on this topic undertaken by mainland Chinese researchers may uncover many rewarding areas that would have been imperceptible or unavailable to me.

7.3.3 The Role of Tones

As noted above, pronunciation issues can apply to names from many languages. However, the role of tones could possibly be a particularly confounding factor. None of the

participants who always used their Chinese names indicated that tones were an issue at all. Indeed, only Laura specifically mentioned tones (Transcript 74).

Transcript 74: Laura, Female, Age Range 23-28, Guangdong, First dialect Mandarin

> I: Have you ever had somebody mispronounce your Chinese name?
>
> P: Yeah, a lot.
>
> I: Ok. Tell me about a few times that happened.
>
> P: Like. Because, you know, there are four tones in Chinese like people somehow go Ping[1][18] Ping [2] Ping[3]. Anyway they were pronounce like it doesn't make a word. It's a stupid sound. I don't like it. Uhhuh.

She points out that a name pronounced with a different tone can be a completely different word or even nonsensical. While this did not seem to affect the non-adopters (Section 6.1), it may be sufficiently salient that tonal variations need to be accounted for in exploring name choices.

7.3.4 External Validity

As noted above, there are approximately 363,000 mainland Chinese students in the United States at present. Millions of Chinese citizens have visited the U.S. in the past few decades and the population of mainland China is currently estimated to be 1.4 billion (United Nations, 2017). Clearly a small study such as this one will be severely limited in its ability to make generalizations about a population so large. This study seeks to propose a hypothesis based

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[18] 1 High tone   2 Rising tone   3 Falling tone

on the study's internal validity. Whether such data would correspond to larger data is unclear. However, it does seem to follow broad trends set by previous studies in terms of general name adoption and integration of Chinese people in different contexts (e.g. Duthie 2002, Edwards 2006, McPherron 2009, Heffernan 2010, Chien 2012, Gareis 2012, Bailey & Lie 2013, Sercombe et al 2014, etc.), so I believe this could be a fruitful avenue to explore. A significant challenge in exploring "big data" was uncovered in Bartz' (2009) study that sought to explore name usage by Chinese Americans by looking at telephone registries. Despite being a former Google employee, Bartz found himself constrained to looking at data only in the Boston area because of the challenges of getting larger numbers. While this was admittedly a decade ago and vast improvements have been made in data collection since, it highlights the challenge of collecting large amounts of data even of something as simple as a telephone list, which contains official names. Getting responses to a survey on such a scale, or any other instrument to measure use of informal names that may change frequently, would likely be truly daunting.

7.3.5 Researcher's Paradox

I became particularly interested in this topic because I saw considerable marginalization, as well as outright hostility toward a group of people toward whom I felt a responsibility. I have worked with Chinese students on and off for over thirty years. I witnessed much behavior by administrators and faculty at American institutions of higher education that I thought was inappropriate, counter-productive, poorly informed, and on occasion outright hostile. I did my best, which was far from good enough, to speak up for better treatment for my Chinese students (as well as all my students, both international and domestic). I believe this led to many of my participants to view my work as sympathetic and supportive. Some of my participants were

former students and others I had worked with in one capacity or another. I believe this made them more willing to share their personal thoughts and motivations with me. However, I recognize that our personal interactional relationships may color some of our discussions and indeed my interpretations. I do not hold myself immune from Volosinov's (1929/1973) warnings about the nature of words. The very act of discourse leads to words being pushed and pulled in different directions. I hope that our dialogues may have thrown up new understandings, but I also recognize that in this process the very meaning of the words I use here may be subject to change. I can only endeavor to report my findings and interpretation as faithfully as possible to my readers.

7.3.6 Interpersonal Implications for Reliability

Each individual is, at some level, unique and thus any two individuals speaking together will inevitably lead to differing responses (e.g. Bell, 2014). Our individual lived experiences will affect our own perspectives and lead to different foci. I have written about my own position within the study (Section 3.2) and this must be understood to have some bearing on the study and the interactions. I am not ethnically Chinese and have only a conversational level of communicative competence in Standard Chinese, thus can be considered outside of the GSP. There is considerable distrust (and in some contexts outright hostility) between the United States and the People's Republic of China. This has led to individual interactions sometimes taking on very xenophobic overtones (see for example Section 6.3.5). I have spent much of my life trying to reduce the distrust between different people, including between Americans and Chinese, with varying success. I worked with many of the participants before initiating this research and tried very much to convince them that I wanted to see them succeed. Many voiced their recognition of

that to me in discussions beyond the record here. However, it is not possible to be fully aware of anyone else's deepest thoughts and true intentions; it is quite possible that the larger sense of distrust between nations may have affected some of the data. Building a deeper sense of trust and rapport, explaining the research methods in greater detail, working with respondents who better understand the value and process of this study, or working with a mainland Chinese interviewer might all have reduced some of the potential issues, yet at the same time may have had different effects on the data. The responses given here must reflect the interpersonal relationships that I was able to establish with the participants as well as their own willingness to explore these questions at their particular juncture in their stay in the United States. I believe that the answers given here represent an honest interpretation of the insights my participants shared with me, for which I remain grateful to them.

7.4 Discussion

7.4.1 Conflict and Oppression

Sadly, conflict continues to rend our world, restricting people's life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The role of language in conflict and oppression has been broached by many scholars from many perspectives (e.g. Said 1977, Bourdieu 1991, Phillipson 2014, Fairclough 2015, etc.). As noted in Section 1.2, names clearly belong in the linguistic sphere. Sadly, this also means that their effect is felt in terms of conflict. As Del Valle (2003:285) tells us, indigenous peoples in America as part of their subjugation were "given White people's names." Similarly we see Muslim names being banned in India (Ray, 2018) and African names not accepted in Ghana (Ohene, 2018). In China itself, the government has taken the step of banning minority names, particularly those of Muslims, as part of a process of Sinicization (Hernandez,

2017). Even the names of rivers can be changed as part of an assault on identity (Independent, 2018). This takes place in a backdrop of hate in which the other is denigrated and vilified (Huang, 2018).

In the United States, xenophobic demands that Chinese students change their names (e.g. Miller 2009, Toomey 2017, Wang 2019, etc.) now have less official support, yet seem to have powerful implications for naming and identity issues. Bucholtz (2016) sees these strategies as a form of indexical bleaching. By removing the name of minority and marginalized peoples, they can then be deracialized. In this way, the 'other' is denied the agency even to choose their own name.

7.4.2 Power

Such denials of agency highlight what Fairclough (2015:26) describes as the "power over" others. The ability to deny another's ability to choose their name or their children's name requires a level of power that is highly invasive. It speaks to Volosinov's (1929/1973) established ideologies, where an authority has embedded itself to such a level that there is no alternative. We see many such examples in the world. Malcolm X (1964/2015) famously followed the suit of many followers of the Nation of Islam in adopting X as a symbol of a stolen name. Bucholtz (2016) reminds us that this was the case for many African Americans and Native Americans over the past centuries. In Singapore, Tan (2001) tells us how Chinese names are switched from Hakka or other dialects to Mandarin (Standard Chinese) and written in Roman script, meaning tones are lost. We see similar struggles in the Ukraine (Dickinson, 2007) and India (Chelliah, 2005), where the powerful central government is able to impose its will on smaller communities. Louie (1998) notes that the standardization of American names occurred in the 1930s and 1940s as the federal government was able to expand its bureaucratic reach. In all

of these cases, centralized governments show that they are increasingly capable of enforcing

standardization and hegemony on their citizens. Naming would be a natural area to enforce such

standardization because it allows the government to assert its control over the individuals by

identifying every single human being within its control. In this process, it is also able to impose

cultural, ethnic, nationalist, or other elements of naming to increase loyalty to the state and

decrease the opportunities to symbolically resist its power. Perhaps the practice of Chinese

international students to use their Chinese given names can be seen as such a development. To be

sure, as seen in Transcript 10, Chinese international students know to use their legal names in

formal and legal situations. Yet the extension of this usage to more informal situations might

imply the successful growth of this behavioral ideology that Volosinov (1929/1973) proposes.

If we wish to respect the right of the individual to take agency over something as personal

as naming, we might follow the words of Bucholtz (2016:278)

> Regardless of an individual's solution to the problem of misnaming, however, none
> of these strategies should be seen as either simple linguistic accommodation or
> coerced cultural assimilation. Rather all such strategies are acts of ethnoracial
> agency that claim the right to name oneself as one sees fit in a given context.

Individuals will make decisions based on their own affordances and situations. They may

choose to use the name they were given as infants or adopt another name for any of a myriad of

reasons. Such choices by individuals will inevitably find themselves in a Bakhtinian tension with

expectations from the larger society, in particular governmental agencies.

7.5. Implications

7.5.1 Implications for Cross-cultural Understanding

This study has noted some of the different cultural practices of Chinese, American, and

other groups. It has also noted that such differing practices can lead to increased tensions that can

spill out in offensive and even violent manifestations. I believe that such negative events can be reduced by improving our understanding of the motivations and practices of others.

The Chinese practice of naming is clearly not the same as the anglophone practice of naming, and this may lead to misunderstandings that may have severe ramifications (e.g. Miller 2009, Toomey 2017, Hernandez 2017, Independent 2018, Wang 2019, etc.)

As Huang (2018) notes, hate is big business, and this can lead to the tragedies that sprawl across our headlines with depressing regularity. How people's emotional connections are created must also be viewed through a cultural lens. As Blum (1997) explains, for Chinese people affection can be more often expressed through the use of names and kinship terms rather than through direct expressions. Such a difference in expressions of connection and solidarity increases the potential for misunderstandings and mistrust.

Of course, any choices about how such names and other linguistic signs are interpreted play out in the socioeconomic field. Bourdieu (1991:77) says "Linguistic signs are given a price by powers capable of providing credit, linguistic production is inevitably affected by market sanctions." Those with power are able to make choices about what names and other linguistic signs are appropriate. Thus in China, English names are allowed and encouraged because they can index modernity and access to global currents, while Muslim names are banned because they index Uyghur culture and a threat to centralized control of the periphery. In the United States, on the other hand, English names for Chinese international students might be dispreferred because they index an unrecognized affinity with white anglophone culture whereas Chinese names are preferred because they index one's ethnic identity within a pluralistic society (e.g. Lindemann et al., 2019). In each context, the centripetal forces of power pull toward the dominant center. Thus Tan (2001) finds that a change to an English name in Singapore is associated with a rise in

Christianity, English as a home language, and increased English literacy. All of these come at the expense of the local cultural practices; some being further than others because the dominant culture can determine the relative distance from the center (Bourdieu, 1991). It is perhaps for this reason that Park (2017) can point to the bigotry involved in Asians changing their names, when nobody would dream of anglicizing the Russian composer's name, *Tchaikovsky*. The comparative distance of Asian and African names determined by the core means that their names are particularly prone to alteration. Of course, as the growing number of Chinese international students demonstrates, there has been a phenomenal growth in Chinese-western interactions in the past four decades since the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). Chinese words and Chinese names have again begun to appear more often in the mouths of non-Chinese, as Volosinov (1929/1973) would have it, leading to a re-evaluation and reinterpretation of what these words and names mean beyond China. If this is the case, the move toward the acknowledgement and assertion of Chinese names seen in Chapter 6 might presage a broader acceptance of China in the west.

While the names and words of the anglophone world may index internationalism, modernity, fun, and trendiness (Zenner & Marzo, 2015), the growing presence of China at every level pushes other interpretations to the fore. Rather than Heffernan's (2010:32) assertion that English names index "affiliation with western culture", the growing power of China means that English names can add another layer of Chineseness as Sercombe et al. (2014) argue. These names have become internalized as part of China's growing clout on the world stage.

These arguments about how culture is created and interacts with other communities' behaviors is enormously complex and this paper can only begin to address these issues. However, it is also important to note that the broader patterns are not the only thing to see here.

As noted in the case with Tie, there are individuals who behave in atypical manners. We might

do well to follow Rampton's (1999:10) advice and follow the

> ...shift away from an earlier tendency to hypostasise system, structure and regularity as governing principles with a foundational status… Instead, systematicity is now much less likely to be taken for granted, and there is a concomitant growth of interest in exceptions themselves.

Such exceptions may prove to have the power to establish themselves as newly minted

established ideologies over a period of time if they follow the pattern laid out by Volosinov

(1929/1973:92):

> ...in the process of their gradual infiltration into ideological organizations...these new currents in behavioral ideology, no matter how revolutionary they may be, undergo the influence of the established ideological systems and, to some extent, incorporate forms, ideological practices, and approaches already in stock.

I hypothesize that the process of adopting Chinese given names in anglophone contexts

may well continue, but will of course be subject to the "established ideological systems" in

place. The relative economic, cultural, and military statuses of the United States and China may

be expected to play a crucial role in the elaboration of naming and language practices. But so too

will the individual interactions between the many Chinese, American, and other students,

immigrants, tourists, and others who interact on a daily basis all around the world. Engagement

can reduce ignorance, and reduced ignorance can lead to greater cooperation and peace.

7.5.2 Implications for Teaching

Chinese international students have been the largest international student contingent in

the United States for over a decade (IIE, 2018). Their impact has been felt on campuses and in

classrooms across the United States. However, as noted in Section 1.1, this has not been without

controversy. Many students come inadequately prepared for American higher educational

culture. The acclimatization process can be crucial and failure can lead to serious consequences, including a 25% dropout rate for Chinese international students in the case of Ivy League universities (Luo, 2013). It is therefore pertinent to consider whether anything in this current study might be relevant for helping Chinese international students and their instructors to make the learning experience more effective.

Canagarajah, (2012:202) tells us that "Teachers are in the front lines of the ideological battle to construct effective forms of global citizenship and cooperative dispositions." Instructors must therefore address how names play a role in building a sense of community in the classroom. As noted above, the tension between individual choices and societal expectations can be fraught. Sercombe et al. (2014) suggest that English names may help their adopters feel closer to English speakers, especially to their instructors. Yet students who do not feel respected may opt to conform out of fear. Teachers must navigate this tension between respect for the students' rights to choose their own names and the inherent structural power of an instructor, reinforced by Confucian traditions of respect for teachers. Teachers must further grapple with the issue of what Bucholtz (2016) calls deracialization. To what extent do naming choices by teachers in that position of authority represent a form of cultural and linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992)? Addressing this may allow teachers to find ways to answer Pennycook's (2007:22) call to "allow[] for an understanding of the possibilities of change, resistance, and appropriation" that may allow students to gain some level of agency and empowerment.

Yet teachers must also grapple with the practical challenge of understanding the naming practices and phonological constraints of what may be a very diverse student body. At the very least, they can try to evade the monolingual mindset (Clyne, 2008) that may lead them to apply their own anglophone understandings of naming and phonology. Some engagement with the

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names of their students should be warmly received (e.g. Pennesi, 2014). Additionally, American instructors might consider their role as introducers for their learners, a key role (e.g. Blum, 1997) that is otherwise likely to go unfilled. Whether such introduction takes the simpler form of giving an appropriate English name or a more elaborated and respectful form of helping international students understand American cultural naming expectations, students can be better prepared to deal with the broader world outside of class. Each classroom has its own unique context, and the interpersonal and intercultural relations between teachers and students, as well as among students, will mean that no one size can fit all. However, some engagement is worthwhile. I often explicitly note in the syllabus that I welcome students sharing their preferred name or form of address. When calling names on the roster at the first class, I ask students to correct my pronunciation or tell me if there is a preferred form of address. This works for some students, but others may need to establish a sense of rapport and trust before they can feel empowered to share their own preferences. I have also found discussions and explorations of naming practices to be useful, but again treat each event as a unique performance. Establishing expectations from an instructor's position of power can have the effect of imposing certain naming protocols that fail to fully respect the individuals' right to determine their own identity. Naming is a complex and messy task, and one that is, as Volosinov (1929/1973) reminds us, dialogic in nature. Instructors intent on asserting their own power and authority may arbitrarily even rename their students, as shown in my initial anecdote. Yet such a stance is anathema to good pedagogic practice. By empowering our students, in naming choices as in other classroom practices, we can encourage far greater gains in learning. .

Instructors may also find that it may be worth exploring naming and title protocols in the relevant cultural context. I spoke to one senior administrator who took enormous offense at being

called "lady" by a male Chinese student. As a progressive feminist, she felt that the term 'lady' implied outdated gender stereotypes and that the student was demeaning her by using the term. I do not believe that the student had the linguistic or pragmatic competence to understand this differentiation, yet the damage was done. Language instructors cannot anticipate every cultural misunderstanding, but an awareness that these dialogic events can have profound ramifications can help inform our curricula.

Language instructors specifically might consider how naming choices affect their classrooms. Canagarajah (2012) notes that English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) scholars are now exploring how other languages impact the teaching of English to speakers of other languages. Within this subfield, instructors might consider how non-anglophone naming practices might affect typical anglophone practices. Tan (2001) points out that because Anglo names typically occupy a separate category from other parts of speech in English and other Indo European languages, unlike in Chinese and other languages, this may make names more salient in Indo European languages. Whether and to what extent these different naming practices may affect ELF might be an area for ESL teachers to attend. Examples of such effects on ELF might include incorporating more of the Chinese preference for titles (e.g. Sercombe et al., 2014), greater flexibility in personal names, or an increased influence of Chinese and other languages' phonologies. With so many people now engaging with and learning English worldwide (Graddol, 2006), the impact of different languages on this globalized language will likely continue to be profound. In the same vein, we can anticipate differing naming practices to influence these behaviors depending, following Volosinov's (1929/1973) observations, on the socioeconomic conditions in which these interactions play out.

7.5.3 Implications for Economics

Chinese-American trade relations are enormous. Chinese-American trade totals over $710 billion dollars and China is the United States' largest goods trading partner (U.S. Treasury Department, 2019). Against this backdrop, there have been periodic rifts, including President Trump's current trade war (Wong & Koty, 2019) that portend major changes in economic patterns. These changes have the potential to affect the global economy and thus the livelihood of billions of people. We should, of course, be under no illusions that the global economy is fair or equitable. In the words of Phillipson (2014:16) "Globalisation is, as Bourdieu writes (2001), a pseudo-concept that conceals the interests hidden behind the notion and the interests it serves." Those with wealth will seek to protect and expand that wealth, but must do so in an increasingly interconnected world.

Choices about language in general and names in particular may play a role in the larger economic decisions. The choices about which languages and which names are acceptable is determined by the market (Bourdieu, 1977). At present, the strength of English on the global stage (e.g. Graddol, 2006) drives choices such as those recorded by Bailey & Lie (2013). However, with continued growth of China's power it is entirely conceivable that the acceptability of Chinese will continue to grow. In light of this study, the question then is whether these English names will stay even when and if English ceases to occupy the position of what de Swaan (2010) calls the "hypercentral" language. Volosinov (1929/1973:86) tells us that "... the word as sign is the most sensitive index of change in the socioeconomic base". If Chinese people maintain the practice of English names (not Anglo names) even without the dominance of English in the world, this will truly demonstrate that English names are an added layer of Chineseness (Sercombe et al., 2014). At such a point, we may expect to see a reduction in the

type of discrimination based on names described by Banerjee et al. (2017). Such a reduction may also occur if the increasing concentration of power and wealth in the hands of a decreasing number of mega-corporations. As Banerjee et al. (2017:2) find, large organizations typically discriminate less often "because they have more resources devoted to recruitment, a more professionalized human resources recruitment process, and greater experience with a diverse staff complement." Greater concentration into a few massive corporations may lead to less discrimination because the larger organizations must deal with a global population in order to maximize their productivity. Of course, whether such concentrations may lead to reduced competition as production veers toward monopolistic conditions is another issue to consider entirely. It also leaves open the question as to whether such large organizations would tailor their operations to cater to local populations or regularize operations to smooth interdepartmental cooperation. If they opt for the latter, they may end up moving toward the hypercentral English which, as Lou (2012) argues "no longer indexes any particular ethnolinguistic group or even the globalization process". English may have established its position long beyond the dominance of the inner circle nations' economies, just as Latin survived for many centuries after the fall of Rome in 476. As noted in section 2.10, the world continues to change considerably. The comparative durability of the English language in general, and English name adoption by Chinese people in particular may be tied to the choices world leaders make whether to exacerbate world tensions and wreck world trade. Such choices would inevitably lead to reduced economic output and international connections, with huge implications for the well-being of billions of individuals.

7.6 Future Directions

Rampton (1999:11) notes "the general shift of interest from entities-as-stable-unities to dynamic-processes-of-flow". The world we live in continues to change on a day-to-day basis. Fifty years ago, this study would have been almost unimaginable, for the simple reason that almost no Chinese students would travel to the United States. The middle-class, upwardly-mobile, and globally aspiring individuals that I have come to know would have been more likely to have been sent to live life as peasant in a village without electricity than to be sent to study in New York City. What the future holds we must anticipate with a mixture of hope and trepidation, but it will doubtless continue to change. By tracking these changes, we can hope to uncover some illuminating patterns that help us to understand how human beings construct our identity and living experiences through language, culture, and economics.

We seem to live in an age of rising authoritarianism that has ramifications for our human interactions. Tromel-Plotz (1981: 76) warns us, "only the powerful can define others and can make their definitions stick. By having their definitions accepted they appropriate more power." However Volosinov (1929/1973:74) gives us hope despite an apparent amassing of power that "The dialogic relations of heteroglossia do ensure that meaning remains in process, unfinalizable." Even when powerful individuals or institutions seek to delegitimize others' language and names, they must contend with the force of others. Rampton (2017) argues that ideologies are inevitably plural. Dominant ideologies must still contend with local ideologies that push back. The constant push and pull as the powerful seek to assert control is met with the power of the marginalized. At the local level, the powerful can never truly be able to assert complete control. As Chinese international students confront the competing pressures of Chinese and American institutional expectations about their names and many other things, they will inevitably find a space, no matter how small, where they can carve out a small area where they

can make a choice. Each and every one of those choices has the potential to challenge the dominant ideologies and lead to a new, and better world.

7.7 Final Thoughts

Bourdieu (1991:170) tells us that "what creates the power of words...is the belief in the legitimacy of words and *those who utter them*" (emphasis added). The power of individuals and institutions to make determinations on the words we use and even the names we take is in part determined by the power we give them by accepting their legitimacy. However, the choices over what names to call ourselves and others, as we have seen, is influenced by a plethora of factors, not just the powerful institutions in our lives. Names can mean something to the holder that are opaque to those around them (Sercombe et al., 2014) and in this way, we can resist and form our own choices.

Phillipson (2014:5) avers that "It is a delusion for academics to regard their work as 'apolitical'." I try to limit my delusions, so I acknowledge that there is a political element to my work. I support the right of individuals to make choices about their own lives, particularly with regards to the words they use to describe themselves, including their names. Such choices will seemingly inevitably clash with those in power when they are made by the marginalized, whether they are made by Chinese international students in the United States, Africans in Ghana (Ohene, 2018), Uyghurs in China (Hernandez, 2017), or Meithei in India (Chelliah, 2005). I am strong supporter of dialog as a way of reducing distrust and conflict. I am not so naive or optimistic as to believe that it can cure all ills, but I believe that it can go an incredible distance to make us more aware of our own shared humanity. In the words of Appiah (2007:85), "Conversation doesn't have to lead to consensus about anything, especially not values; it's

enough that it helps people get used to one another." I hope that my own modest foray into the question of Chinese international students' adoption of English names can help promote such conversation.

T. Leo Schmitt 2019

Appendix A: **<u>Interview Questions:</u>**

<u>If a question is repeated, wording may be changed to ensure understanding of the question.</u>

<u>Clarifying questions may be asked if necessary and appropriate</u>.

Introduction:

Thank you for agreeing to do this interview. Under American law and practice, as this is research involving people, I need to make sure you understand that you have the right to stop at any time. This law and practice was instituted to protect people from dangerous, unnecessary and unethical research. There are no known risks to this research. You should be safe!

I am simply going to ask you some questions about your name and your views on the world. Nothing that you say today will be personally identifiable to anyone except me and my doctoral committee. That means that nobody else will know specifically what you as an individual say to me.

Do you have an English name?

If response is: Don't have English name:

> Why don't you have an English name when so many Chinese do?
>
> > Possible Follow-up Questions: Do you think your life would be better if you had a good English name that you felt comfortable with?
>
> You speak English[LS1] well.
>
> Do you feel that using an English name would help you feel comfortable speaking English?

Possible Follow-up Question: Would having an English name help you feel more comfortable speaking English?

Why do you think so many Chinese choose to use an English name?

Because most Chinese going overseas adopt Chinese names, do you feel that doing so is part of being modern Chinese?

Why do you feel that some Chinese DON'T adopt an English name?

If response is: Have an English name:

What is your English name?

How did you get your English name?

When do you use your English name?

Do you prefer to use your English name here in the United States?

Are there particular times when you use your Chinese name rather than your English name?

You speak English[LS2] well.

Do you feel that using an English name helps you feel comfortable speaking English?

Possible Follow-up Questions: Do you think that is because it makes you more international or American? Is it because it makes the person you are speaking to more comfortable with your speech?

Why do you think so many Chinese choose to use an English name?

Because most Chinese going overseas adopt Chinese names, do you feel that doing so is part of being modern Chinese?

Why do you feel that some Chinese DON'T adopt an English name?

> Possible Follow-up Questions: Do you feel that not having an English name makes you different from most Chinese studying overseas? Why (not)? How does it make you feel to not have an English name when most Chinese studying overseas do have English names?

How do you feel about your English name?

> Possible Follow-up Questions: Do you feel your English name creates a separate identity for you? Do you think that it creates a more formal environment than using your Chinese first name? Why?

For all participants:

Where did you grow up?

> Possible Follow-up Questions: How different is that from your later experiences? Do you feel that you really belong there rather than anywhere else? Do you feel very comfortable with the community you grew up in? Do you still feel very close to your home community? Do you think (home community) speaks good Chinese?

How old were you when you started learning English?

Possible Follow-up Questions: How old were you when you first used English to communicate with other people? What did you feel about English when you were learning it in elementary/high school? Was there a change in your attitude toward English when you started speaking to other people? How would you describe it?

How much time have you spent outside of China? Where have you travelled to? Where have you lived?

Possible Follow-up Questions: Were you living in a Chinese-speaking environment? How much contact did you have with the local people? Do you still keep in touch with non-Chinese there? Did you spend much time with non=Chinese speakers there? Did they use an English name or Chinese name to speak with you?

How long have you spent in the United States?

What are you studying here?

Possible Follow-up Questions: Is this something that will help you a lot in China? Is this something that might help you find work outside of China? Etc.

Do you have any American friends?

Possible Follow-up Questions: How close is this friend, how often do you meet? Why do you feel you get on well with this friend? Do they call you by your English or Chinese name? Do they show any interest in your Chinese name?

What do you think about Americans?

Possible Follow-up Questions: How has this opinion changed over time you have spent in the U.S.?

Do you have any other non-Chinese friends?

> Possible Follow-up Questions: How close is this friend, how often do you meet?
>
> Why do you feel you get on well with this friend? Do they call you by your
>
> English or Chinese name? Do they show any interest in your Chinese name?

If you had the opportunity, how long would you like to stay in U.S. after you graduate?

> Possible Follow-up Questions: Why would you prefer to stay here? Why do you
>
> want to return to China?

Where do you see yourself living in five years? How about ten years?

What do you like about living in the U.S.? What do you not like about it?

> Possible Follow-up Questions: Do you think that the way people treat you makes
>
> a big difference to your life in the U.S.?

Do you like your professors in the U.S.? Do you feel they treat you fairly? Do you think
that you are treated differently because you are Chinese? Why?

> Do you feel like you get enough opportunities to share your ideas with your

professors and classmates? What makes it difficult to share your ideas?

> > Possible Follow-up Questions: What strategies have you tried or thought
> >
> > about to change that? Why do think they worked/didn't work?

How comfortable do you feel speaking with non-Chinese people in English?

Why do you think that is?

Do you think other Chinese people feel more or less comfortable than you speaking with

non-Chinese people?

Why do you think that is?

Do you feel English belongs only, or primarily, to Americans, British, Australians and others who grew up speaking the language?

Do you think that will change in the next thirty years?

> Possible Follow-up Questions: You mentioned that having an English name is part of being modern Chinese. Do you think that speaking English is also part of being modern Chinese? What do you think about Chinese people who have English names but cannot speak English well/at all.

Have you ever had somebody mispronounce your Chinese name?

Tell me about it.

> Possible Follow-up Questions: Did this affect your choice to adopt an English name? How do you deal with people mispronouncing your name?

Do you think China will become more powerful culturally or economically than the United States in your lifetime?

What do think China's future role in the world will be?

Do you feel that having an English name affects your identity?

Do you feel more modern or sophisticated when you give people your English name?

Do you feel less Chinese when you give people your English name?

Do your parents have an English name?

Do your parents know your English name?

[LS1]All students are matriculated graduate students. It is expected they will speak English well.

[LS2]All students are matriculated graduate students. It is expected they will speak English well.

Appendix B: Survey Questions.

Survey was offered on qualtrics.com. Available at bit.ly/chinanames

Survey used logics to avoid redundancy. E.g. Respondents who answered that they had never

had an English name were not asked any questions about it.

This survey is for people from China.

Thank you for agreeing to take this survey. This study is looking at how Chinese students use

names when they study in the United States. We hope that this information will help our

American faculty and universities to better understand how to support Chinese students and to

tailor services to support other Chinese students in the future.

This study will be part of my doctoral dissertation. At no time will any personally identifiable

information be made available to anyone other than me (T. Leo Schmitt) and my doctoral

committee at the CUNY Graduate Center. All information will be kept private and confidential.

The results of this survey and any associated discussions may be shared with the wider

educational community. The results may also be presented in academic contexts. All results will

be put in aggregate. For example, it may say 'forty percent of male students do not use an English name regularly' or 'only four female Chinese students does not have an English name'.

There are no known risks to taking this survey.

All answers to this survey are entirely optional and confidential. If you agree to further discussions and share your name/e-mail, your full Chinese name will not appear in any analysis or published work.

Participants will be entered into a draw for a $100 Amazon.com gift certificate.

If you would prefer to discuss any challenges you may have in person or by phone, please contact Leo Schmitt at tschmitt@gc.cuny.edu (tel: 212 992 3647).

Completion and submission of the survey is considered your implied consent to participate in this study. Please print this form for your records.

Thank you for your time.

For the purposes of this survey, an English name will mean a name that is not Chinese and one that you use with foreigners.

Have you ever had an English name? (For the purposes of this survey, an English name will mean a name that is not Chinese that you use with foreigners.)

Options: Yes   No

Do you use an English name now?

Options: Yes   No

What is/was your English name? If you have used more than one, note the most recent/current name.

Text Entry

Have you ever changed your English name?

Options: Yes   No

What other English names have you used before?

Text Entry

How many times have you changed your English name?

Options:

One time   Two times   Three times   Four or more times

Thinking about the English name you use now, where did it come from?

Options: I chose it myself

It was given by an English teacher (Chinese National)

It was given by an English teacher (Foreigner)

Other (with text box)

What factors were important in choosing your English name? (Select all that apply)

Options:

It sounds like, or is similar to, my Chinese name

It is the name of a person I respect (actor/singer/politician, etc)

It is a common English name

It is an unusual or unique name

It relates to me in another way (please explain) (with text box)

Other(with text box)

Did English pronunciation issues play a role in your choice of English name (e.g. avoiding names with /th/ or /v/ sounds)?

Options: Yes No

What do you think about your Chinese name? *Asked on five-point likert scale.*

I love my Chinese name

My Chinese name reflects who I want to be

My Chinese name is my real name

When do you use your English name. Asked on five-point likert scale.

In China, with other Chinese speakers

In China, with foreigners

Outside of China, with other Chinese speakers

Outside of China, with foreigners

How do you feel about your English name? *Asked on five-point likert scale.*

It helps me feel part of the United States

It helps me feel part of the English-speaking world

It helps me to think in English

It makes foreigners accept me better

I feel I have more right to speak with foreigners if I use my English name

When speaking English, English names are the most appropriate

How do you feel about foreigners using your Chinese name? *Asked on five-point likert scale.*

Foreigners can not pronounce my Chinese name

Foreigners mispronouncing Chinese names can be embarrassing

Foreigners getting the tone wrong can be embarrassing

Foreigners should not try to pronounce Chinese names

Foreigners do not understand the importance of Chinese names

Foreigners using Chinese names is an invasion of my Chinese identity

Please respond to the following statements regarding your English name? *Asked on five-point likert scale.*

Using an English name makes it easier for me to work with foreigners

Using an English name increases my prestige in the United States

Using an English name increases my prestige in China

Using an English name increases my prestige in the rest of the world

How do you feel about the following statements about society? *Asked on five-point likert scale.*

I have a position of respect in Chinese society

It is important for foreigners to respect Chinese society

It is important for me to be respected in American society

It is important for me to be respected in global (international) society

How do you feel about the following statements about Mandarin Chinese? *Asked on five-point likert scale.*

I speak Mandarin Chinese very well

Mandarin Chinese is one of the most beautiful languages in the world.

In the world of science, Mandarin Chinese is one of the most important languages.

Mandarin Chinese is a language of prestige.

Foreigners cannot learn to speak Mandarin Chinese well

Not all Chinese people speak Mandarin Chinese well, including those from areas where

Mandarin Chinese is spoken.

How do you feel about the following statements about the English language? *Asked on five-point*

likert scale.

I speak English very well

English is one of the most beautiful languages in the world.

In the world of science, English is one of the most important languages.

English is a language of prestige

I want to speak English as well as I speak Chinese

How do you feel about the following statements about China? *Asked on five-point likert scale.*

Scientifically, China is an advanced country

Socially, China is an advanced country

Culturally, China is an advanced country

China is a powerful country

I am strongly patriotic toward China

How do you feel about the following statements about the United States? *Asked on five-point*

likert scale.

Scientifically, the United States is an advanced country

Socially, the United States is an advanced country

Culturally, the United States is an advanced country

The United States is a powerful country

The United States is a country I would like to be closer to

How long have you been in the United States (Include all time spent in the U.S., including previous stays)?

Options: Less than one year   One year   Two years

Three years   Four years   Five years or more

When you graduate, where would you like to live?

Options:

Stay in the United States permanently

Return to China permanently immediately after graduation

Live in the United States for a few years and then return to China

Work internationally, living in different countries

The country I live in is not important

Other (With text box).

What percent of your time do you spend with the following? (NOT INCLUDING CLASS TIME) The totals here do not need to total 100 % (for example you could spend time speaking to both Chinese and non-Chinese speakers, or you may spend time alone). Respondents could set a percentage on a sliding scale.

Chinese speakers

Native English speakers (Americans, Canadians, etc.)

Other nationalities

What is your gender?

Options: Male   Female

What is your age?

Options: Under 23   23-28   28-32   Over 33

What province are you from?

With text box

What is your first dialect?

Options:

Mandarin (官話)   Cantonese (廣州話)   Hakka (客家話)   Wu (吳語)

Min (閩語)   Xiang (湘語)   Gan (贛語)   Other (With text box)

Which country do you live in?

Options: China   United States   United Kingdom   Australia

Other (with text box)

What is the highest level of education attained by your father?

Options:

Did not complete High School

Graduated High School

Some University

Graduated with Bachelor's degree (or equivalent)

Some graduate study

PhD (or equivalent)

What is the highest level of education attained by your mother?

Options:

Did not complete High School

Graduated High School

Some University

Graduated with Bachelor's degree (or equivalent)

Some graduate study

PhD (or equivalent)

How much of a financial sacrifice was it for your family to send you to study overseas? (All answers on this survey are confidential)

Options:

Very big   Big   Moderate   Small   Very small or not at all

Before you came to the United States, how many times had you traveled to countries outside mainland China?

Matrix Question

                              Four or more times   Three times   Twice   Once   Never

Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macau, or Singapore

Europe

North America

Asia

Australia or New Zealand

Other Parts of the World

Please enter your e-mail here if you would be interested in participating in a follow up interview. If you would like to be entered for the Amazon.com gift certificate but do not want to interview, enter your e-mail followed by the words 'No interview'.

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