San Jose State University
SJSU ScholarWorks

Master's Theses | Master's Theses and Graduate Research

2012

A Study on Taiwanese International Students and Taiwanese American Students: The Interface between Naming and Identity

Yi-An Chen
San Jose State University

Follow this and additional works at: http://scholarworks.sjsu.edu/etd_theses

Recommended Citation
Chen, Yi-An, "A Study on Taiwanese International Students and Taiwanese American Students: The Interface between Naming and Identity" (2012). *Master's Theses.* Paper 4226.

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Master's Theses and Graduate Research at SJSU ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of SJSU ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@sjsu.edu.

A STUDY ON TAIWANESE INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS AND TAIWANESE AMERICAN STUDENTS:

THE INTERFACE BETWEEN NAMING AND IDENTITY

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Linguistics and Language Development

San José State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Yi-An Chen

December 2012

© 2012

Yi-An Chen

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

The Designated Thesis Committee Approves the Thesis Titled

A STUDY ON TAIWANESE INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS AND TAIWANESE AMERICAN STUDENTS:

THE INTERFACE BETWEEN NAMING AND IDENTITY

by

Yi-An Chen

APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS AND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

SAN JOSÉ STATE UNIVERSITY

December 2012

Dr. Rosemary Henze	Department of Linguistics and Language Development
Dr. Stefan Frazier	Department of Linguistics and Language Development
Dr. Soteria Svorou	Department of Linguistics and Language Development

ABSTRACT

A STUDY ON TAIWANESE INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS AND TAIWANESE AMERICAN STUDENTS:

THE INTERFACE BETWEEN NAMING AND IDENTITY

by Yi-An Chen

In this study, I analyze how Chinese and English naming practices influence name adoption and explicate how the use and choice of names by Taiwanese international students and Taiwanese American students at San José State University, California, are structured through social interaction and cultural context. The data were collected from in-depth interviews with 10 Taiwanese international students and 10 Taiwanese American students. The interviews focused on how they construct their identities and produce social relations with others through their choice and use of ethnic and/or English names.

The study findings help to illuminate areas that until now have not received much scholarly attention. Certain traditional practices, such as generation names, are used by both Taiwanese parents and first generation Taiwanese parents to solidify the kindred relationships among siblings and collateral relatives, thus showing continuity even when parents have immigrated to the United States. Furthermore, the use of ethnic and English names by Taiwanese international students, which appeared at first to be governed by personal choice, is often constrained by linguistic and social factors. Their use of English names begins in Taiwan and then continues in the United States, not only helping them to transform themselves from outsiders to insiders, but also greatly influencing their acculturation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful to my caring parents living in Taiwan. My parents have always been supportive of me. They have taught me invaluable life lessons and encouraged me to pursue my dreams. I wish to thank them for their understanding during my entire life.

I owe my greatest gratitude to my thesis advisor, Dr. Rosemary Henze. I would like to thank her for giving me endless encouragement during my graduate studies at San José State University. I can never forget how excited she was when she knew that my paper was accepted for an oral presentation in Portland, Oregon. The process of writing my thesis often made me depressed, but every time I had meetings with her, I no longer felt frustrated. Without her support and perceptive comments on my drafts, this study would hardly have been completed.

I owe a debt of gratitude to thesis committee members Dr. Stefan Frazier and Dr. Roula Svorou. Dr. Stefan provided me with constructive feedback and further helped refine my analysis. I thank him for being very encouraging. I would like to thank Dr. Roula for giving me confidence. No matter when I encountered new challenges, she always believed that nothing could hinder me. I am happy to acknowledge my sincere gratitude to my friends, Diane Case and David Gonzales. I thank them for proofreading and editing my manuscripts. The insightful comments from their perspectives often helped me perceive ideas from different angles.

Finally, I thank the Taiwanese international students and Taiwanese American students who participated in my research. I thank them for their countless generosities. This thesis would not have been possible without their participation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1: Introduction 1

1.1. Research Questions 4

1.2. Overview of the Study 5

Chapter 2: Literature Review 6

2.1. The Origin of Names 6

2.2. Identities and Names 8

2.3. Name and Gender 9

2.4. Asian American Identity 12

2.5. Taiwanese Names and Taiwanese Identity 12

2.6. The Construction of Taiwanese American Identity 17

2.7. Forms of Capital, Individual Agency, and Communities of Practice 19

Chapter 3: Methodology 21

3.1. Research Design 21

3.2. Participants 23

3.3. Procedure 26

3.4. Data Analysis 28

Chapter 4: Results 30

4.1. Short Description of Participants 30

4.2. Romanization Systems 33

4.3. Chinese Names 39
4.3.1. Naming Practices in Taiwan 39
4.3.2. Gendered Name and Symbolic Meaning 41
4.3.3. Naming Practices in the United Sates 44
4.3.4. Generation Name 46
4.4. English Names 50
4.4.1. English Names of Taiwanese International Students 50
4.4.2. English Education in Taiwan 53
4.4.3. Chinese Names of Taiwanese American Students 57
4.4.4. Terms of Address on American Campuses 59
4.5. Linguistic and Social Constraints 62
4.5.1. Speaking Chinese while Using English Names 62
4.5.2. Legal Name 65
4.5.3. Nicknames 69
4.5.4. Pronunciation 70
4.5.5. National Identity and Ethnic Identity 72
4.5.6. Acculturation and Cultural Identity 74

Chapter 5: Discussion 77
5.1. English Education and English Name as Social Practice 77
5.2. Individual Choice and Socially Structured Practice 81
5.3. The Interface between Naming and Identity 89
5.4. Recommendation for English Speakers (e.g., American Professors) 92

Chapter 6: Conclusion.....95

6.1. Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research.....97

6.2. Finale.....100

References.....101

Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Transcription 107

Appendix B: IRB Approval Letter.....113

Appendix C: Interview Questions.....114

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. The country in which the Taiwanese international students first used their English names 53

Figure 2. The person(s) who gave English names to the Taiwanese international students 54

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Taiwanese international students' background information.....31

Table 2. Taiwanese American students' family background information 32

Table 3. Participant profile (Taiwanese international students).....33

Table 4. The correspondence between Wade-Giles and Hanyu Pinyin.....34

Table 5. Participant profile (Taiwanese American students).....35

Table 6. The comparison among Gwoyeu Romatzyh, Wade-Giles, and

Hanyu Pinyin 37

Table 7. Name orders of Taiwanese American students 38

Table 8. English generation name of Mason's family.....49

Table 9. Chinese and English generation names of David's family.....49

Table 10. The summary of Taiwanese international students' English names.....50

Chapter 1: Introduction

The United States boasts the world's largest international student population, which is still steadily growing. According to the Institute of International Education (IIE, 2011), during the 2010/11 academic year, the number of international students studying at colleges and universities in the United States was 723,277. Not only has this large population of international students furthered the ethnic, linguistic, and cultural diversity of American campuses, but it has also increased the influx of money, including education fees, study costs, and living expenses; international students contributed over $21 billion to the U.S. economy in 2010. The pursuit of higher education in the United States is synonymous with a trustworthy investment, and this concept has long been believed by Taiwanese international students and their parents. Consequently, even though it is a small country, Taiwan had one of the largest U.S. international student populations at American universities in 2010 (ranked 5th place, 24,818 students).

Despite the large number of Taiwanese international students, the neologism "Taiwanese" did not draw the U.S. Census Bureau's attention until 2010. Until that time, the "race"[1] of Taiwanese was excluded from the U.S. Census survey. Recognizing the unrepresented demographic of the ethnic Taiwanese population, the Taiwanese American Organization, according to Kang and Yang (2011), launched a "Write in 'Taiwanese'" campaign by promoting a YouTube video "to ensure [that] Taiwanese American [would be] a recognized and represented group in the United

[1] According to Mukhopadhyay, Henze, and Moses (2007), the concept of race has no validity as a biological category. However, race is a socially constructed category that is used widely in the United States.

States" (p. 168). The purpose of this YouTube video was to encourage Taiwanese immigrants and American citizens of Taiwanese descent (i.e., Taiwanese Americans) to identify their "race" as Taiwanese rather than Chinese in the 2010 U.S. Census survey. It appears likely that the video was instrumental in the increase to 230,000 people across the United States in 2010 identifying themselves as Taiwanese or of Taiwanese descent from 145,000 people in the 2000 census, according to figures cited in the *Taipei Times* (Tsao, 2011).

As a Taiwanese international student, I have always been intrigued by people's language choices and code-switching as well as their uses of personal names in public and private settings. During my first year of graduate study at San José State University (SJSU), one of the unique cultural phenomena among Taiwanese international students I found intriguing was that everyone used an English name instead of his or her Chinese name. On the contrary, other ethnicities, such as Arabic, Indian, and European students, tend to use their ethnic names with native English speakers. In addition, in comparison to other East Asian students such as Japanese, Korean, and Chinese students, Taiwanese students appear more likely to use English names on this campus. They are often addressed by professors and peers by their English names rather than by their ethnic Chinese names. This practice is also accepted and considered normal among all students and other Taiwanese sojourners. We are accustomed to addressing one another by our English names rather than by our Chinese names. The adoption of English names tends to be prevalent among Taiwanese international students, but questions about the interplay between their names and identities remain unresolved.

What fascinates me the most is not just Taiwanese international students but also how Americans of Asian descent, such as NBA sensation Jeremy Lin, show the predominance of English name adoption among Asian Americans. Despite the debate about Lin's ethnicity (American, Asian American, Chinese American, and/or Taiwanese American), the majority of Americans of Asian descent have extensively used English first names. This is particularly true for Chinese and Taiwanese immigrants in the United States, including Taiwanese Americans such as Yahoo co-founder Jerry Yang, YouTube co-founder Steve Chen, YouTube comedian Kevin Wu (KevJumba), and lawyer and educator Goodwin Liu. The chance of their first names happening to be English names by coincidence is low. There may exist some cultural factors that motivate Taiwanese immigrant parents to give their children English first names.

This same pattern between two distinct national identities, Taiwanese Americans and Taiwanese international students, thus draws my close attention. On the one hand, Taiwanese international students' cultural adjustment and adaptation in the United States have led researchers to investigate how the students overcome cultural shock and language barriers, and researchers pay extra attention to student academic performance, learning experiences, perceptions, and attitudes (Anderson, 2009; Chiang, 2009; Huang, 2010; Lin, 2003; Sung, 2001; Wu, 1999). On the other hand, researchers have attempted to understand Taiwanese American experiences in terms of acculturation, assimilation, accommodation, and formation of identity in the United States (Babb, 2008; Chee, 2005; Liu, 2010; Ng, 1998). However, relatively little attention has been paid in these studies to the English names used by Taiwanese international students. In addition, Taiwanese American naming practices and

identity formation are not adequately addressed in previous studies. People's uses and choices of their names not only reveal their parents' expectations and personal preferences, but are also influenced by cultural norms and social standards.

The purpose of this research is to understand the motivations and social constraints involved when Taiwanese international students adopt and use English names, and when Taiwanese American students continue to use English and/or Chinese names on American campuses. In addition, I explore how much choice they have in their names and how they use their names to produce social relations with others. The goal of this research is to discover how naming practices influence English name adoption and to explicate how the uses and choices of names by Taiwanese international students and Taiwanese American students are structured through social interaction and cultural context.

1.1. Research Questions

This research examines names and the identities of Taiwanese international students and Taiwanese American students at an American university. The research questions are:

(1) What are the motivations and constraints involved when Taiwanese international students adopt and use English names on American campuses?

(2) Why do Taiwanese American students continue/discontinue using English and/or Chinese names?

(3) How do naming practices among Western cultures (e.g., the United States) and East Asian cultures (e.g., Taiwan) influence students' English and Chinese name adoption?

(4) How do Taiwanese international students and Taiwanese American students construct their identities through the choice and use of their names?

1.2. Overview of the Study

This chapter (Chapter 1) provides demographic information for all international students in the United States, Taiwanese international students, and Taiwanese Americans. I argue that the relationship between the names of Taiwanese international students and Taiwanese American students, and their formation of identities, is critical and warrants a close examination due to these two groups' emerging populations in the United States. In addition, I state four research questions. I present a literature review in Chapter 2, aiming to identify relevant theories about how names in general originated, and how names are closely interwoven with gender and identity. Moreover, I provide a clear framework of Taiwanese Americans' identity construction, and I show how theoretical concepts are related to the choice and use of names. Chapter 3 illustrates how I chose the research design and methodology and why and how I selected the participants. Additionally, I explain my research procedure and show how I carried out data analysis. I report the results in Chapter 4 and present discussion and recommendations in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 ends with a conclusion, limitations, and suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This literature review provides a framework for studying the choice and use of Chinese names and English names by Taiwanese international students and Taiwanese American students. The purpose is four-fold: to illustrate the diachronic development of personal names, to explicate how personal names are related to identity and gender, to examine how personal names are inherently intertwined with ethnic and cultural identities, and to show how relevant theories and theoretical concepts account for the choice and use of names. It consists of seven sections: The Origin of Names; Identities and Names; Name and Gender; Asian American Identity; Taiwanese Names and Taiwanese Identity; The Construction of Taiwanese American Identity; and Forms of Capital, Individual Agency, and Communities of Practice. Through the literature review, I hope to show that names are intrinsically associated with national, ethnic, and cultural identities. Therefore, the goal of this literature review is to help readers gain a better understanding of how we can study English names of Taiwanese international students and Taiwanese American students and their resulting identity formation. The literature review will give us a better understanding of the process of naming in general.

2.1. The Origin of Names

Onomastics has fascinated anthropologists, archeologists, and semanticists for decades. They have attempted to understand how human names were constructed and from where they came. Based on historical evidence, names originated from nature. For example, according to Lambert and Pei (1960), human names used to

come from animal sounds and totem names represented a tribe's admiration for qualities of animals (e.g., courage and agility). In many ancient European cultures, humans associated themselves with animals such as bears and eagles. In addition, names show individuals' features and characteristics. That is, if one was a cripple, he or she might be identified as "the Limping One." Names also differentiated affiliations and nationalities. For instance, *Ali* and *Nadia* are Arabic names; the use of *Ed-* (*Edward*) came from Anglo-Saxon; *John* and *Mary* from Hebrew; *Peter* and *Eugene* from Greek; *Jacob* and *Danna* from Indian. The worship for God and choices of religious orientation may cause some to choose biblical names (Lambert & Pei, 1960, p. 19). Through etymological analyses, several types of first names have been identified. First names have direct relevance to physical characteristics, time or place or types of activities, real or desirable characteristics, parents' feelings, author's inventions, religions, plants or natural objects, place names, linguistic structures, or unknown origins (Crystal, 1995). For example, Crystal (1995) illustrates that *Kevin* denotes "handsome at birth;" *Noel* refers to Christmas celebration; *Stephen* stands for "crown;" *Abigail* means "father rejoices;" *Miranda* originates from Shakespeare's invention of a character; *Jonathan* is derived from *Johovah* and is associated with God; *Ruby* represents red jewel; Shirley connotes "bright clearing;" *De-* in *Dejuan*, *La-* in *Latisha*, *Sha-* in *Shafaye* originate from types of African American names; and *Arthur* has obscure origin (p. 150).

Despite the varying differences in name orders, an essential similarity between traditional Chinese and Anglo-Saxon England's naming customs exists: Chinese and English names both illustrate that "kinship is able to distinguish members of one generation from previous and succeeding ones" (Louie, 2006, p. 215). The theme

word in the names of siblings is called a generation name. For instance, Eadweard of Wessex (an old Germanic kingdom) named his three daughters as *Eadgyth*, *Eadgifu*, and *Eadburg*. The three sisters of the famous Soong family, which was closely related to events in Modern Chinese history, were named *Ai-ling*, *Chine-ling*, and *Mei-ling* (Louie, 2006, p. 215). In other words, the theme words *Ead* and *ling* are generation names that unite sibling relationships. Through the examination of naming practices, we can see that the Chinese naming practice is distinct from English naming in several other aspects. Edwards (2006) claims that Chinese name adoption "[is] viewed as governing the child's fate in some ways; they should harmonize with the time, and often the place, of the child's birth; and they may indicate membership in a generation in a family of intellectuals" (p. 92). On the other hand, Edwards (2006) found that a person's English given name in Britain underpins the solidarity with ethnic groups and argued that names are integral to people's solidarity with social rules, such as commitments, habits, and Christianity. This suggests that kindred relationships are manifested in Chinese names, whereas religion and ethnicity are manifested in English names.

2.2. Identities and Names

Names are part of who we are, and names also explicate social orders and civilization. Consequently, the exploration of naming practices among distinct cultures plays a pivotal role in understanding ethnic and cultural identity. Naming practices; therefore, provide good tools to understand social stratification because names can establish "the constructions a community places on gender, modernization, religious affiliation, sectarianism and variations in inter-generational values and

outlook" (Suleiman, 2006, p. 63). The understanding of naming practices helps people deconstruct social boundaries. Nevertheless, one's attitude toward name-adoption should be taken into consideration. The motivation to choose new personal names in foreign countries is never void of inquiries: is it the construction of an imagined identity or the loss of national identity? Immigrants living in the United States may choose English names. Their uses of easily pronounced English names and reciprocal first name addresses may generate a good chance of closing the gap among native English speakers and immigrants. However, some Americans may vilify immigrants for their adoption of English names because a foreign accent and appearance are incompatible with immigrants' possession of English names. Moreover, identity formation is often fluid and changing; how we wish for others to address us and how others perceive us are incongruent since "identity is a two-way street, […] identity is a contested issue that is reflexive and negotiated" (Ramos, 2001, p. 108). Therefore, Taiwanese international students and Taiwanese American students' attitudes toward their ethnic names and English names might be distinct because one's identity can be malleable depending on how one assimilates or acculturates in a foreign country. As Hall (2003) claims, "cultural identity […] is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'. It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture" (p. 236).

2.3. Name and Gender

Occupational gender stereotypes are embedded in English terms, such as *waitress* and *server* (Tibbals, 2007). In addition, how people address each other is

sensitive to gender differences. With regard to terms of address in North America, women rather than men tend to be addressed by their first names when both genders have equal power (Wardhaugh, 2010, p. 341). In order to gain a clear idea of gender role stereotyping and status differentiation on American campuses, Rubin (1981) examined terms of address used among students and professors at an American university. Rubin's findings suggest that female students are more likely than male students to address female professors by their first names without titles. The omission of titles is not indicative of impoliteness or rudeness. To the contrary, the dropping of titles connotes solidarity, which shows that female students express their closeness with professors by using familiar address terms (e.g., first names) (Rubin, 1981, p. 973).

The recognition of English personal name patterns in North America is instrumental in understanding gender. In addition to terms of address, Americans' first names reveal gendered characteristics. The analysis of English dictionaries uncovered gender differences in personal names: women's first names, in terms of syllables, are likely to be longer than men are. When analyzing the phonetic property, "female names tend to make much more use of the high front vowel [i], such as Lisa, whereas plosives are much likely to be found in male endings, such as Bob, David" (Crystal, 1995, p. 153). Also, males are more likely to have monosyllabic names, such as Bob and Jim. Crystal (1995) further suggested that the characteristics of "smallness and brightness" in the [i] vowel denotes female names, such as Tina and Celia.

Furthermore, the occurrence of certain phonemes by gender denotes emotional meaning. That is, feminine emotions in women's names are judged to be more

pleasant, soft, passive, and sad, while masculine emotions in male's names are more unpleasant, nasty, active, and cheery (Whissell, 2001). Whissell's analysis of 5.5 million English first names collected from the 1990 U.S. Census parallels with Crystal's argument that the distribution of phonemes in women's and men's names are significantly different because "men's names are much more likely to end in obstruent consonants, women's in vowels, especially schwa and /i/" (Whissell, 2001, p. 117). In addition, women's names contain more vowels, whereas male's names include more consonants.

Through the examination of classical Latin names, Hough (2000) also argues that gendered-based patterns within the onomasticon are bound to linguistic rather than sociological factors, and gender differentiations are dependent upon the source languages from which they derive. In other words, gendered names are virtually inseparable from name origins and the histories of specific cultures. For example, the pattern of the classical Latin names reveals that feminine names tend to end in –a, such as *Claudia*, *Julia*, *Juliana*, *Laura*, and *Martina* and "there is a tendency for feminine forms to exceed their masculine counterparts by a syllable, and to end in a vowel, particularly schwa" (Hough, 2000, p. 6).

Therefore, gender might be a variable in comparison with how Taiwanese American students and Taiwanese international students are addressed and how they address their professors on campus. Previous studies suggest that male names tend to end with obstruent, and female names end in [i]; it would be worth examining to see if students' Chinese names follow this pattern.

2.4. Asian American Identity

Asian Americans have been treated as "others" by White Americans (Farley & Alba, 2002; Louie, 1998; Oyserman & Sakamoto, 1997; Tuan, 1999). As a Chinese American, Louie's experience in living in the U.S. leads her to comment that "Asians in the U.S. have been cast as perpetual foreigners, no matter how many generations we have been here" (Louie, 1998, p. 61). Furthermore, the question "Where are you really from?" to Asian Americans presupposes their foreign-born roots and their difficulties in comprehending English. As a result, Americans are surprised when Asian Americans' English competence surpasses their competence in Chinese or Japanese (Tuan, 1999). Consequently, stereotypes and identity dilemmas always seem to be conundrums faced by Asian Americans. There might be no clear-cut boundary between individualism and collectivism within Asian American families and "cultural accommodation should allow Asian Americans to view their ethnic groups as self-defining and themselves as good members of their ethnic group while focusing on individualist goals of self-definition" (Oyserman & Sakamoto, 1997, p. 446). Specifically, the traditional belief of collectivism in Asian American communities has shifted to a more Western individualism notion, and this phenomenon has been found particularly among third generation Asian Americans.

2.5. Taiwanese Names and Taiwanese Identity

Although a sizeable amount of *ming* or *mingzi* (given names) exist in the Chinese naming practice, a Taiwanese saying 陳林滿天下 (the ubiquity of Chen and Lin) illustrates that only a very limited number of *xing* (surnames) exist. Chen (2006) explained that 2.509 million Taiwanese have the surname Chen (11.1%), and 1.871

million are named Lin (8.3%) out of a total population of 22.6 million in 2004. Tsai's study (2006) further confirms that the five most common Chinese surnames in Taiwan between 1994 and 2005 are 陳 (Chen), 林 (Lin), 黃 (Huang), 張 (Chang), and 李 (Li). On the other hand, the statistics carried out by the National Natural Science Foundation of China shows that the top five Chinese surnames in China for 2011 are 李 (Li), 王 (Wang), 张 (Zhang), 刘 (Liu), and 陈 (Chen); particularly, over 270 million people in China possess the first three surnames, according to figures cited in the *Xinhuanet* (Li & Jhang, 2006).

Unlike the ordering of the first, middle, and last names in English, surnames/family names precede given names in Chinese. Chinese surnames are predominately monosyllabic, such as Chen, Lin, and Huang, whereas given names may be mono- or disyllabic (Li, 1997; Tan, 2001). As stated earlier, Western parents may give their children names which are subject to expectations, religions, and ethnicities. In contrast, Chinese naming practices are distinct from their Western counterparts in terms of the number of name choices and associations, as Li (1997) explicates:

> For Chinese parents, the choice of a given name is much freer. Since the entire stock of Chinese characters may be considered as resources, in principle there are thousands of conceivable combinations and permutations to choose from. In practice, however, Chinese parents tend to pick only those characters with good associations, and so the actual pool of characters commonly used for naming purposes is much smaller (p. 493).

Without understanding the naming customs and rules in China and Taiwan, people might come to overgeneralize that all Chinese names are alike. Chinese

names in English orthography are by no means arbitrary; geographic separateness, pronunciation, ideology, and political connotation are determinants of one's transliterated name (Curtin, 2009; Leung, 2011; Li, 2002; Tan, 2001). Three romanization systems (i.e., Wade-Giles, Tongyong Pinyin, and Hanyu Pinyin) existing in Taiwan uncover ideology considerations and China's emerging power.

In Taiwan, the romanization of Chinese names was based on the Wade-Giles system, even though the Taiwanese government has strongly encouraged the citizens to adopt Hanyu Pinyin since 1998. Wade-Giles was introduced by Sir Thomas Wade in 1859 and later refined by Herbert Allen Giles in 1912 (Li, 2002). The Wade-Giles system was extensively used in Taiwan to romanize personal and place names. Due to its unconventional spelling, the obscurity of Wade-Giles caused the Taiwanese government to decide to adopt the new standard romanization of either Tongyong Pinyin or Hanyu Pinyin. The use of Tongyong Pinyin was "seen by some as indexing Taiwan's provincialism and political isolation" (Curtin, 2009, p. 232). According to *The China Post*, Tongyong Pinyin, which was invented and used exclusively in Taiwan, was adopted as the official romanization of Mandarin Chinese in Taiwan between 2002 and 2008, and around 68 percent of the agencies at the central and local-level governments used the Tongyong Pinyin system. Tongyong Pinyin was replaced by Hanyu Pinyin in 2009 (The China Post news staff, 2008). According to the *Taipei Times*, despite the fact that the DPP (Democratic Progressive Party) expressed strong opposition to this movement, the Kuomintang (Chinese Nationalist Party) compelled government agencies to adopt Hanyu Pinyin, a Chinese romanization system developed by the People's Republic of China (Shih, 2008). Even though Hanyu Pinyin has worldwide acceptance, the adoption of Hanyu Pinyin

and its Chinese origin may be a preoccupation, as Curtin (2009) notes:

> Whereas it formerly indexed Communist China, it is now proclaimed as indexing (1) authentic ethnic and/or cultural "Chineseness," (2) Chinese nationalism and pro-unification with China (with "unification" understood in strategically ambiguous terms), and (3) Taiwan's receptivity to internationalization (p. 232).

Two different romanized spelling systems with regard to Hanyu Pinyin and Wade-Giles are illustrated clearly in names of Mainlanders and Taiwanese. Governments have regulated the standard form of the English name spelling. Mainlanders use Hanyu Pinyin to transliterate their Chinese names. In contrast, "Wade-Giles is still used in Taiwan, this name style also carries political overtones" (Louie, 1998, p. 216). Not only is the spelling of family names licensed by geographical boundaries, but also given names denote socio-political norms. The appropriateness of one's given name depends largely on cultural convention as well as political autonomy. Huang (2007) argues that "China- or Chineseness-inspired name […] many [Taiwanese] now find it ironic for such a name to be attached to the Taiwanese localists and their relatives" (p. 319). For instance, a politically associated given name 致中 (Chih-Chung) "devoted to China" might be avoided.

Mainlanders and Taiwanese have large numbers of shared surnames; however, the English spelling of surnames differs to some extent. Therefore, Chinese Americans' surnames are also spelled differently due to the influence of the diverse pronunciations in several Chinese dialects: South Min, Cantonese, Hakka etc. (Louie, 1998, p. 72). Leung (2011) asserts that the awareness of Chinese naming practices enables immigrants to show how changes in culture have influenced how names have

been romanized diachronically (p. 211). Furthermore, the understanding of surnames romanized in English helps Chinese Americans trace their ancestral roots. For instance, a Chinese surname 謝, spelled as "Hsieh," has roots in Taiwan; "Xie" in Mainland China; "Tse" in Hong Kong; and "Der" embodies *Hoisan* or Szeyap heritage (Leung, 2011). Despite the variations among several spellings, the system of Hanyu Pinyin dominates over others when it comes to the romanization of Chinese names and proper nouns in the United States (Li, 2002). Li argues that dictionaries published in the United States and international news agencies favor Hanyu Pinyin to transliterate Chinese names because "[the] struggle to obtain worldwide recognition for Pinyin has been more or less a political one, and in spite of some resistance the adoption of Pinyin has become a world trend" (Li, 2002, p. 56).

Not only the English spelling of Chinese names, but also the variation of address terms is dependent upon country. An accepted form of address in a country may become taboo in another country because of cultural and religious differences. In ancient China, it is considered taboo to directly write or speak the names of the respected, the elder, and the virtuous. The violation for using emperors' names may result in extreme penalties (He, 2002). In addition, addressing parents' names, too, is treated as a deviation from the norm. Even though it is no longer taboo in modern China, people still find this direct address inappropriate (Chen, 1988).

In Western cultures, for instance the United States, addressing people by first names reveals intimacy with addressees[2], but it is not always the case in Chinese cultures. An alternative address term *tóngzì* 'comrade' became a popular address term in China after the Cultural Revolution. *Tóngzì* was not only used in diverse

[2] It should be noted that first-name address is variable across the West, segments of society, and socio-cultural statuses.

settings, but also it could be accompanied with several variants, including Last Name (LN) + *tóngzì*, First Name (FN) + *tóngzì*, Full Name (FL) + *tóngzì*, *tóngzì* + Title, and *tóngzì* to differentiate one's ranking, position, and social status from others (Fang & Heng, 1983). Like language, this address term also underwent semantic change and loss. Gu (1990) notes that *tóngzì*, an indication of manipulating social distance, prevailed to some extent from 1949 to 1976 and it has become less and less popular after 1976. The sense of *tóngzì* has undergone the change of meaning since "[n]owadays, *tongzhi* when used in a particular context, has already lost its original connotation" (Fang & Heng, 1983, p. 497).

Clearly, there is some distinct variation regarding address terms used in different countries. In addition, Fang and Heng (1983) identify that teachers are addressed as *laoshi* rather than *tongzi* after 1950, and the use of *jiaoshou* in addition to *laoshi* is also a common term to address professors in universities. Even though *tóngzì* is not a suitable term to address others in Taiwan, other occupational terms, such as *laoshi* and *jiaoshou* are identical. Most importantly, it will be also interesting to discover if teachers and professors in Taiwan are addressed as *laoshi* and *jiaoshou*, respectively by students.

2.6. The Construction of Taiwanese American Identity

Families emigrated from Taiwan to the United States for several reasons. Their main purpose of migration is not because of their dissatisfaction with political, economic, or environmental issues in Taiwan. Instead, the Taiwanese immigrant parents think highly of the prospects of their children's education because "the Taiwanese immigrant parents were, and continue to be, willing to do anything to

ensure the success of their children" (Babb, 2008, p. 147).

Taiwanese Americans feel obliged to uphold their Taiwanese identity. After the Write in "Taiwanese" campaign in 2010, Taiwanese Americans are further concerned with their national identity in the political realm. Some even move from state to state to ensure that their own rights are protected. According to the *Taipei Times*, California has changed its policy and will now allow Taiwanese Americans to list their place of birth as "Taiwan" when they register to vote rather than "Taiwan, Province of China" (Lowther, 2012).

The first generation Taiwanese Americans are proud to claim their associations with Taiwanese roots. Unlike them, the second generation does not regard their Taiwanese identity as their parents do. The second generation's relative indifference to the current situation in Taiwan reveals that "[i]f ethnic identity is a community of memories, they do not share the same memories and perspectives as their parents" (Ng, 1998, p. 155). Second generation Taiwanese Americans are often under the impression that Taiwan is merely a place where their relatives live. To much of the first generation, it is imperative for their children to attend Chinese language schools, socialize with other Taiwanese, and appreciate the Taiwanese heritage and culture to strengthen their Taiwanese identity, as Ng (1998) writes:

> First-generation Taiwanese American activists see a need to acquaint the second generation with the rationale for a Taiwanese identity, lamenting, as do other first-generation immigrant groups, the acculturation and disinterest in cultural identity among their offspring (p. 116).

Raising consciousness in understanding one's ethnicity is intimately intertwined with one's identity, and it therefore prompts us to examine the interdependent

relationships among naming, ethnicity, and identity.

2.7. Forms of Capital, Individual Agency, and Communities of Practice

Bourdieu (1984, 1986) discusses concepts of forms of capital, including economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital, and explains how these three forms of capital can be acquired and achieved through social practice. Bourdieu (1986) states that parents' roles in educational attainment highly influence social classes of their children, as he notes:

> capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the forms of property rights; as cultural capital, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the forms of educational qualifications; and as social capital, made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the forms of a title of nobility (p. 47).

The examination of this theory may account for the interrelationship between English education in Taiwan and Taiwanese students' English names. In other words, three forms of capital may help us understand Taiwanese international students' transmission of educational advantages from their families. How they are able to produce social positions with others through attending extracurricular English classes will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

In addition, two theories with regard to identity construction in SLA (Second Language Acquisition) research are individual agency (Giddens, 1991) and

communities of practice (see Lave, 1988; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). The individual agency theory explains that the construction of identity is "a self-conscious, reflexive project of individual agency, created and maintained by individuals" (Block, 2007, p. 865). That is, it is each individual who makes personal and internal choices to develop his or her own individual identity without interference from external factors. On the other hand, communities of practice, a concept adopted by some scholars, rejects the notion of individual agency. They believe that "the relationship between social participation and communities of practice" (Block, 2007, p. 865) has become an indispensable external condition in shaping our identities. In other words, one's (re)construction of identity can only be mediated by the awareness of the outside world and social communities.

Using these two theoretical frameworks, I will further discuss how much choice students have in their use of names as well as terms of address on campus, and how their choice can be constrained through social factors. That is to say, individual agency and communities of practice should be taken into account when examining students' construction of identities by understanding how they choose to use their names on campus. The exploration of these two theories leads us to disambiguate whether Taiwanese international students, 1.5 generation Taiwanese American students, and American-born Taiwanese students participate in the same practice.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter focuses on the research design and methodology I adopted for this study. After discussing the recruitment of participants, I explain the research design. I state the location and institution where I recruited the participants, the sampling strategy I used, and how I contacted the participants. Lastly, I provide synopses of the procedures I used in ensuring research ethics and conducting data analysis.

3.1. Research Design

The use of quantitative research methods has led some onomastic researchers to be particularly interested in testing people's attitudes toward English names, such as the prediction of socio-economic status from children's English names (Figlio, 2005) and the sounds and emotions from gendered names (Whissell, 2001). Despite the merits of quantitative methods in being confirmatory, reliable, generalizable—and according to some, objective (Mackey & Gass, 2005), an increasing number of researchers in basic disciplines and applied fields, including psychology, sociology, and linguistics, have shifted to a more qualitative paradigm (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Without relying on numbers as the unit of analysis (King & Horrocks, 2010), qualitative researchers investigate how and why things happen in order to understand the social world. In addition, qualitative methods allow researchers to study selected issues in depth and detail (Patton, 1980).

As stated in Chapter 1, the current study's research questions aim to address Taiwanese international students' motivations to adopt and use English names, Taiwanese Americans students' continuation of using English and/or Chinese names,

the relationship between naming practices and name adoptions, and the connection between name and identity. Furthermore, relevant theories with regard to forms o f capital, individual agency, and communities of practice, as stated in Chapter 2, will be employed to examine how much choice the participants have in their names. Since this current study aims to explicate the uses and choices of names and terms of address by Taiwanese international students and Taiwanese American students and their identity formation, a qualitative research design using in-depth interviews is well-suited (Esterberg, 2002; King & Horrocks, 2010; Patton, 1980; Sunstein & Chiseri-Strater, 2007).

Unlike structured interviews, in which the sequence of questions are predetermined, in-depth interviews or semi-structured interviews allow interviewers to use interview guides to explore the perspectives of interviewees on the topic, and thus interviewees may express more detailed information in flexible and conversational domains. Identity formation cannot be measured, nor can it be directly quantified. Rather than showing numerical evidence, qualitative data render "well-grounded, rich descriptions and explanations of processes in identifiable local contexts" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 1). Furthermore, Esterberg's affirmative perspective to employ in-depth interviews led her to suggest that in-depth interviews help participants express ideas and opinions in their own words (Esterberg, 2002). Consequently, many scholars (Chang & Wu, 2009; Edwards, 2006; Gao, Xiu, & Kuang, 2010; Kim, 2007; Okamura, 2009; Thompson, 2006) have successfully employed interviews to address the relationship between name and identity as well as shifts in address form.

The present research uses open-ended questions and focuses on personal names and their resulting identity formations. Open questions help the researcher elicit the participant's perspective and allow for more conversation exchange (Sunstein & Chiseri-Strater, 2007, p. 239). In-depth interviews help the researcher identify each participant's different themes of family histories and cultural norms with regard to naming practices and identity formation. Through the process of interviewing, both the researcher and the participant are able to share their thoughts, and it allows the researcher to probe and ask follow-up questions. In addition, in-depth interviewing enables the researcher to explore how using a Chinese/English name shapes cultural identity and why this phenomenon is prevalent in each culture. Despite the advantages of in-depth interviews, the Hawthorne effect and halo effect cannot be avoided. The Hawthorne effect refers to a phenomenon in which subjects alter their responses or behaviors because they are aware that they are being observed or studied. The Halo effect is a bias in which participants may give the researcher answers they think are appropriate and expected (Mackey & Gass, 2005, p. 114). While neither effect can be minimized, the dynamic between interviewers and interviewees is enhanced; therefore, the researcher is able to gain valuable knowledge and elicit unexpected responses from the participants due to the flexible and reciprocal dialogue that is characteristic of in-depth interviewing.

3.2. Participants

Due to its amicable weather and favorable working environment, California has been the state which attracts the most Taiwanese immigrants since the Immigration Act of 1965. Consequently, a sizeable Taiwanese American population resides in the

city of Monterey Park in Southern California, along with the South Bay/San José/Silicon Valley area in Northern California (Ng, 1998). "Admission to the University of California at Berkeley or at Los Angeles is among the most cherished hopes of many Taiwanese parents and their children" (Ng, 1998, p. 41) because the public universities in California providing excellence in education and affordable tuition are highly competitive among Taiwanese Americans. These internal and external incentives have long been an allure for Taiwanese international students. The abundance of Taiwanese international students at U.S. institutions have shown that, according to the IIE, California hosts more foreign students than any other state and the number of Taiwanese international students in California ranked the fourth place, totaling 6% of international student population in 2011.

This research was conducted at San José State University, San José, California for two primary reasons. Since I am a current graduate student studying at this university, the campus setting was optimal for collecting the data and provided an opportunity for me to become acquainted with other Taiwanese international students and Taiwanese American students. Moreover, it is not uncommon to find Taiwanese students at SJSU because Taiwan ranks fourth among all countries for undergrad transfer and graduate students.

In this framework, twenty SJSU students were chosen based on ethnic background and country of origin. They consist of two groups divided by national identity, namely Taiwanese international students and Taiwanese American students. The number of participants includes ten Taiwanese international students and ten Taiwanese American students. Both groups contain current undergraduates and graduate students at SJSU. The crucial differentiations between Taiwanese

international students and Taiwanese American students are the amount of time they have resided in the United States and the first language(s) they acquired.

Taiwanese international students are those born and raised in Taiwan and studying abroad in the United States. They identify ancestral dialects as well as Mandarin as their first languages. Most of them completed their higher education in Taiwan; they are pursuing Master's degrees in the United States. Taiwanese international students in the United States are required to obtain Form I-20, a legal document issued by university institutions, for instance SJSU International Programs and Services. An F1 student visa permits them to enter, reside, and study in the U.S. Even though Taiwanese international students may identify themselves as Taiwanese or Chinese, they are referred to as Taiwanese in this research.

Taiwanese American students are American citizens whose parents or grandparents emigrated from Taiwan to the United States. Taiwanese American students consist of two categories: American-born Taiwanese and 1.5 generation Taiwanese. American-born Taiwanese were born and raised in the United States. They identify English and Mandarin, along with ancestral dialects, as their first languages. 1.5 generation Taiwanese were born in Taiwan and immigrated to the United States before reaching puberty (Generation 1.5) (Tse, 2001). They identify ancestral dialects as well as Mandarin as their first languages. Although Taiwanese American students may identify themselves as Asian Americans, Chinese Americans, Taiwanese Americans, or Taiwanese, they are generally referred to as Taiwanese Americans in this research.

However, how I categorize the participants may not be compatible with how they identify themselves. There is always some slippage because not every

participant neatly fits the categories that have been constructed by the researcher. For example, a participant who immigrated to the United States at 11 years old does not consider herself as 1.5 generation. In addition, another participant who was born in the United States, raised in Taiwan, and moved back to the United States at 13 years old is intermediate between American-born Taiwanese and 1.5 generation Taiwanese. This shows that identity construction is fluid and complex.

As the researcher, I recruited the participants from my own social network (e.g., friends and classmates studying at SJSU). I also posted a message on a Facebook webpage of the Taiwanese Students Association at San José University to look for potential participants. Moreover, a few potential participants were introduced by other participants through snowball sampling (Esterberg, 2002). I contacted all participants by email or phone or met with them in person to ask their permission to participate in my research.

3.3. Procedure

Before conducting interviews, I submitted the consent form and research proposal to the Institutional Review Board (IRB). An important issue I confronted was the intention to use and publish participants' real names rather than pseudonyms. In qualitative research involving human subjects, it is conventional to replace participants' real names with pseudonyms. The disclosure of identifying information, therefore, might be prevented. However, since this research not only addresses personal names, but also the analyses of naming practices as well as cultural and ethnic identity formation, it is heavily dependent on the participants' actual Chinese and English names. Replacing participants' real names in this research with

pseudonyms could have made this research untenable. In addition, I believe that the risks, if any, are minimal even if participant names are identified because this research aims to understand the relationship between names and identities instead of controversial research topics.

The need to incorporate participants' real names into this research was approved by the IRB (see Appendix B). The interviews mostly took place in a reserved room located in the King Library at SJSU. Before interview sessions, I notified participants that audio recording devices, such as a laptop, microphone, and Smartpen would be used if they agreed. I asked the participants to read the consent form and told them they had the right to withdraw from the interviews and research at any time. In addition, I explained the purpose and goal of my research to the participants, and each participant clearly understood my motive to use his or her real name. All participants agreed that the researcher would publish their real Chinese and English names, genders, and educational backgrounds. Since all participants were SJSU students with adequate English competency, and were able to read and write in English, the informed consent was written in English.

Each interview was conducted during one session lasting between 90 and 110 min. Participants were told that they were able to answer interview questions based on their communicative repertoire, Mandarin and/or English, depending on how expressive and comfortable they felt while they spoke the language(s). The language choices in interviews followed the participants' preference, communicative competence, and language capacity. After each participant read and signed the consent form, he or she filled out a demographic questionnaire. After the participants filled out the questionnaire, I built trust and rapport with them by

divulging my family background and personal history and then began with audio-recording. All of the Taiwanese international students answered questions in Mandarin, whereas the majority of Taiwanese American students did so in English. I probed for specific answers with regard to four major themes: languages, names, name and social context, and name and identity (see Appendix C). I wrote emails to participants after the interview sessions if some follow-up questions had emerged or remained unanswered.

3.4. Data Analysis

This research employed a general inductive approach for qualitative data analysis (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999; Thomas, 2006). The process of this approach is to summarize the raw data from a large number of texts and phrases, to examine how the level of frequent, dominant, or significant summary findings overlap or diverge from others, and to report theories/models from the selected categories. One of the merits of the inductive approach is it enables the researcher to efficiently establish key themes without omitting crucial findings extracted from deductive data analysis such as those used in experimental research (Thomas, 2006).

I took notes about what I found most important during each interview. I followed Creswell's coding process in inductive analysis (Creswell, 2002). After I conducted the interviews, I transcribed the recordings into text. Partial rather than full transcription was used because the purpose of this research was not how identity is mediated by the languages used in context (pragmatics), including pause, tone, and intonation in discourse analysis or conversation analysis (King & Horrocks, 2010, 143). Instead, I focused on main themes of interest and left sub-portions

untranscribed. Once I had typed and printed the texts, I read them in great detail to gain a better understanding of the preliminary raw data. After this step, I divided the data into upper level/general and lower level/specific categories derived from the raw data. I defined the overlapping themes and then condensed them into given categories. Finally, I chose the most appropriate quotes and created models incorporating the most salient 3-8 categories that were relevant to my research questions.

The validity and reliability of qualitative data depend to a great extent on the methodological skill, sensitivity, and integrity of the researcher (Patton, 1980, p. 11). The analysis of qualitative data is heavily associated with the researcher's experience and appropriate treatment of the data. In order to elicit more detailed information and rich data from the participants, I strove to make the participants comfortable and interested. Among the effective interview techniques used in this study, open-ended questions and appropriate body language were especially helpful.

Another procedure I used to assess the validity and quality of analysis is respondent feedback (King & Horrocks, 2010). After I completed an initial analysis, I returned participants' sub-samples to them. They were asked to express agreement or disagreement with my interpretation of the data and to give me their opposing views if they found my analysis unpersuasive. Through discussion with participants and the understanding of their feedback, I further enhanced the accuracy of my account and interpretation.

Chapter 4: Results

This chapter consists of five major sections. In Section 1, I provide participants' background for the reader. I offer participant profiles and romanization systems of their Chinese names in Section 2. Section 3 explicates Chinese names of the participants, including naming practices in Taiwan, gendered name and symbolic meaning, naming practices in the United States, and generation name. In Section 4, English names of Taiwanese international students, English education in Taiwan, Chinese names of Taiwanese American students, and terms of address on American campuses are presented. In section 5, I illustrate how the participants' use and choice of names are constrained through linguistic and social factors. The last four sections shed light on the research questions listed in Chapter 1. Interview quotes from twenty participants, comprising ten Taiwanese international students and ten Taiwanese American students, will be used as evidence to report the data. It should be noted that I translated the utterances of all Taiwanese international students and three Taiwanese American students, Michael, Mason, and Carl, from Mandarin Chinese into English. As a result, some of the word usages and syntactic structures in their quotes may not be completely equivalent to their Chinese originals. Nevertheless, I strive to preserve each quote as authentically as possible.

4.1. Short Description of Participants

During the interview, each Taiwanese international student revealed more than one reason as to why he or she chose to study abroad in the United States. The ten Taiwanese international students provided the following seven categories, and each participant provided more than one reason.

Table 1. Taiwanese international students' background information

Reasons for studying in the U.S.	Frequency
To experience American cultures and environment	8
To pursue advanced education	4
Recommended from others	4
To attend language school before pursuing Master's degree	2
To improve English skills	2
To live with relatives	2
Personal affairs	1

As seen in Table 1, the primary consideration for Taiwanese international students to study abroad in the United States is that they desire to experience American cultures and develop familiarity with America. They believe that such experiences will equip them with better cultural sensitivity and help expand their world view insofar as the United States is one of the most influential countries in the world. Moreover, Taiwanese international students think they can benefit tremendously from American education because advanced theories in their fields are provided and creative thinking is encouraged. Also, based on the enthusiastic recommendations of their friends, classmates, and/or relatives, studying in the United States seems to have positive effects on improving their future prosperity. Other reasons include the improvement of English skills and their preference to live with relatives residing in California.

Before I interviewed the Taiwanese American students, I notified them that I would ask them certain questions concerning their family background during the

interviews. Each participant asked his or her parents some questions, such as which country their parents and grandparents come from; what motivated their parents and/or grandparents to immigrate from Taiwan to the United States, and why they settled in California rather than other states. The ten Taiwanese American students provided the following six categories, and again more than one reason was provided.

Table 2. Taiwanese American students' family background information

Reasons for immigrating to California/U.S.	Frequency
To live with relatives	9
To pursue job opportunities	7
To acquire education	6
To live a better life	4
Weather	3
Ethnic diversity	2

As seen in Table 2, nine out of ten participants reported that their relatives predated their parents' immigration to the United States. The support of their relatives helped their parents settle more successfully. Furthermore, their parents deemed that Los Angeles, San Francisco, and San José were three optimal cities in which to seek opportunities and jobs. Thus, their families and relatives lived in these regions. Many of their parents believed that US education and quality of life were far better than that of Taiwanese; others held the view that the educational system in Taiwan was too rigid. They also chose to reside in California due to the temperate climate and diverse ethnicities.

4.2. Romanization Systems

In Table 3 below, I provide the participant profile of Taiwanese international students and Taiwanese American students. The romanization system of their Chinese names is presented in the category of Chinese Romanized Name. The duration of their residence in the United States is shown in the category of Time in the U.S.

Table 3. Participant profile (Taiwanese international students)

Chinese Name	Chinese Romanized Name	English Name	Gender	Time in the U.S.
曾釋惠	Shih-Hui Tseng	Shih	Female	8 years
王琬婷	Wan-Ting Wang	Claire	Female	6 months
陳映宇	Ying-Yu Chen	Andy	Male	1year 6 months
林艾莼	Ai-Chun Lin	Melody	Female	12 years
湯士緯	Shih-Wei Tang	Wayne	Male	1 year 8 months
李映萱	Ying-Hsuan Li	Ivy	Female	10 months
邱俞鈞	Yu-Chun Chiu	Berry	Female	4 months
林沚儀	Chih-Yi Lin	Ivy	Female	1 year
丁愛玲	Ai-Ling Ting	Cynthia	Female	1 years 6 months
曾士豪	Shih-Hao Tseng	Eddio	Male	7 years 6 months

It is interesting to note that many cultures, such as Taiwanese, Chinese, Korean, and Japanese, place surnames/family names before the given names. In contrast, English names are constructed by the ordering of the first, the middle, and the last

name. Therefore, in terms of the Chinese name 曾釋惠, 曾 is a surname; 釋惠 is a given name. 曾釋惠's first name, in regard to her Chinese romanized name, is Shih-Hui; her last name is Tseng.

The obvious pattern I found among Taiwanese international students' Chinese romanized names is that their Chinese names are all transliterated based on the Wade-Giles system. As stated earlier in the literature review, Wade-Giles, a romanization system used to transliterate personal names in Taiwan, signifies Taiwanese ideology and political connotation.

The Wade-Giles system is different from Hanyu Pinyin in three crucial representations: spelling variants, hyphens, and capitalization. 李映萱 and 邱俞鈞, for instance, are transliterated as Ying-Hsuan Li and Yu-Chun Chiu based on Wade-Giles and as Yingxuan Li and Yujun Qiu based on Hanyu Pinyin.

Table 4. The correspondence between Wade-Giles and Hanyu Pinyin

Chinese Name	Wade-Giles	Hanyu Pinyin
李映萱	Ying-**Hs**uan Li	Ying**x**uan Li
邱俞鈞	Yu-**Ch**un **Ch**iu	Yu**j**un **Q**iu

As seen in Table 4, one can readily observe that the transliteration of their names based on two different romanization systems falls into two counterparts: the digraphs "hs" and "ch" in Wade-Giles are superseded by "x" and "j/q" in Hanyu Pinyin. Moreover, the use of hyphens and capitalization are present in Wade-Giles but absent in Hanyu Pinyin. The purpose of hyphens and capitalizations is to separate bisyllabic Chinese given names. Hanyu Pinyin clearly does not employ

hyphens and capitalization, so the given name is thus integrated.

Table 5. Participant profile (Taiwanese American students)

Chinese Name	Chinese Romanized Name	English (Official) Name[3]	Gender	Time in the U.S.
周莞芸	Woan-Yun Chou	Woan-Yun Chou	Female	born in Dominican Republic; raised in Taiwan 10 years 11 months
黃正文	Cheng-Wen Huang	Jessica Cheng-Wen Huang	Female	born and raised in Taiwan 7 years
李御齊	Yu-Chi Li	Yu-Chi Li	Male	born and raised in Taiwan 4 years
唐民軒	Ming-Hsuan Tang	Mason Ming-Hsuan Tang	Male	born and raised in Taiwan 10 years
郭家豪	Chao-Hao Kuo	Carl Chia-Hao Kuo	Male	born and raised in Taiwan 11 years

[3] The English names of Woan-Yun Chou and Yu-Chi Li are Elena and Michael, respectively. Because they do not use English first names on their official documentation, I do not attempt to put their English names on the category of English (Official) Name. It should be noted, however, that their English names appear elsewhere to represent the names used on their quotes.

羅紹洋	(none)	Christopher Lo	Male	born in the US; raised in Taiwan 7 years
傅豪	(none)	James Fu	Male	born and raised in the US
魏運慈	(none)	Teresa Wei	Female	born and raised in the US
高章瑋	Jang-Woei Kao	David Jang-Woei Kao	Male	born and raised in the US
徐萍萍	Ping Shu[4]	Cindy Ping Shu	Female	born and raised in the US

As seen in Table 5, three Taiwanese American students, including 羅紹洋, 傅豪, and 魏運慈, do not have Chinese romanized names. According to these three students, there appeared to be no way of having Chinese romanized names since they were born in the United States. Nevertheless, 高章瑋 and 徐萍萍, who were also born in the United States, have their Chinese romanized names. They reported that their parents had their Chinese given name transliterated because those are the names used as their official English middle names.

Among seven Taiwanese American students who have Chinese romanized names, five of their Chinese names are transliterated based on Wade-Giles; the remaining students' given names, including 周莞芸 and 高章瑋, are transliterated

[4] Based on the Wade-Giles system, 徐 is translated as Hsu. Cindy's father changed the spelling from Hsu to Shu. He registered Cindy's official last name as Shu when she was born.

based on Gwoyeu Romatzyh. The romanization system of Gwoyeu Romatzy differs from two other systems in that its tonal distinctions vary with the spelling of syllables. That is, the same phoneme varies with four different tones correspond to four divergent spellings.

Table 6. The comparison among Gwoyeu Romatzyh, Wade-Giles, and Hanyu Pinyin

Chinese Romanized name	Gwoyeu Romatzyh	Wade-Giles	Hanyu Pinyin
Woan-Yun Chou	Woan-Yun Jou	Wan-Yun Chou	Wanyun Zhou
Jang-Woei Kao	Jang-Woei Gau	Chang-Wei Kao	Zhangwei Gao

Table 6 shows that both of their Chinese romanized names are a combination of Gwoyeu Romatzyh and Wade-Giles: their Chinese given names follow Gwoyeu Romatzyh, and their Chinese surnames abide by Wade-Giles. For example, 莞 is transliterated as uan, wan, woan, wann, corresponding with tone 1, 2, 3, and 4, respectively. Since 莞 is pronounced as a third tone, it is transliterated as “woan.” After identifying this fact, I emailed and sent messages to both participants to elicit further clarifications. They replied with the same reason: it was their parents who consulted dictionaries to transliterate their Chinese names:

> I checked with my mom. She said that the romanization of all our names was based on research in the dictionary, namely she identified the letters that have similar phonetic values as those in the Chinese character (**Elena**).
> When I asked her, my mom wasn't really aware of the different romanization systems (such as Wade-Giles and Romatzyh). She said they just used a

dictionary to transliterate my name (**David**).

Another pattern among Taiwanese American students is that the sequence of their official English names consists of three orderings: Chinese first name and Chinese last name (CF + CL); English first name and Chinese last name (EF + CL); and English first name, Chinese middle name, and Chinese last name (EF + CM + CL).

Table 7. Name orders of Taiwanese American students

CF + CL	EF + CL	EF + CM + CL
Woan-Yun Chou	Christopher Lo	Jessica Cheng-Wen Huang
Yu-Chi Li	James Fu	Mason Ming-Hsuan Tang
	Teresa Wei	Carl Chia-Hao Kuo
		David Jang-Woei Kao
		Cindy Ping Shu

Table 7 shows that their Chinese surnames are their official Chinese last names, and the similarity is revealed by their parents' origins. Eighty percent of them have English first names. This illustrates that each participant's parents registered an English name as their children's official English first names. In addition, half of them have middle names, and all of their middle names are their Chinese given names. For a further discussion of their first names and middle names, see Section 4.

4.3. Chinese Names

This section (Section 3) includes naming practices in Taiwan, gendered name and symbolic meaning, naming practices in the United States, and generation name.

4.3.1. Naming Practices in Taiwan

Chinese given names are different from English first names in certain ways. In English first names, thousands of people have the same ubiquitous name, such as David and Michael. Despite there being infinite combinations of Chinese characters to compose a person's given name, Taiwanese parents tend to choose propitious given names for their children. The auspiciousness of a given name, however, is determined by Taiwanese fortune tellers and/or the parents' enquiries into the effects of the proposed names.

It is fair to incorporate ten Taiwanese international students and six 1.5 generation Taiwanese American students in this section since all of them were born in Taiwan (except for Elena and Chris, who were born in the Dominican Republic and America, respectively). This means that their Chinese names were given by their parents when they were raised in Taiwan. The majority (81%) of the 16 participants reported that the characters of their Chinese given names were either chosen by their parents or by fortune tellers. Their Chinese names are often correlated with Chinese astrology, such as name divination, numerology, and onomancy. Taiwanese international students, Claire, Ivy Li, and Cynthia, as well as 1.5 generation Taiwanese American students, Elena, Jessica, and Carl, revealed how their Chinese names were given/chosen:

Claire: She (Claire's mother) wanted to name me 彥婷 (Yen-Ting) at first. A fortune teller said that the number of strokes was bad; it carried an ominous foreboding of fate. She (Claire's mother) later consulted the dictionary to search for a feminine name. She calculated the strokes and finally found 琬 (Wan).
Ivy Li: My father did some research on names, and it brought me, uh, he thought that the birth horoscope fitted my name well. So, he thought that this name would bring me something lucky, like good luck.
Cynthia: They went to see some fortune tellers firstly. They calculated the number of strokes, and then they flipped through those name books. Eventually, my name was chosen by my parents, my aunt, and my uncle; those four chose my name. Then, my Chinese name is 丁愛玲 (Ai-Ling Ting), they calculated the number of stokes which was decided by the fortune tellers. The number of strokes totaled 24.
Elena: But my Mom is the final, well they talked about it, and my Mom came with the opposite, even the stroke, something about the number of the strokes, but I don't quite remember what it is, it's something significant to, I don't know, but I don't know the number of the stroke has something to do with it.
Jessica: So my grandfather gave me the name 正文, but I don't know like, my dad told me that hmm, it was something about good fortune, and then to have a good life, and it was given by the fortune teller.
Carl: Many people, maybe those fortune tellers or someone, said that the character 肇 was not good. More than one said that; quite a few said so. So, there was no choice that I was given a new name when I was in the elementary school or kindergarten.

Taiwanese parents are very concerned about picking the ideal names for their children. That is, very few are totally devoid of superstitions; many Taiwanese people adhere to the traditional norms of naming practices by consulting fortune tellers and books that give the propitious nature of names. One of the fortune-telling techniques is the birth horoscope, which inspects homologous elements shared by the lunisolar calendar and one's birth date. Ivy Lin's account of a fortune teller's procedures provides a clear picture of her change of a new given name while she was

at college in Taiwan:

> **Ivy Lin:** He (Taiwanese fortune teller) had various steps. He asked me to draw lots in order to make me convinced…. He would show you a thin, A4-sized book that depicted a list of possible names that if chosen might lead you to some good or bad incidents or those stuff. Finally, he provided me with three or four options (given names). Of course, you chose your name, but each name he decided was the name he thought most suitable to you. That was based on what he said, but you still made the final decision on your own…. I showed my parents those options, and they basically thought these names were not unacceptable. They respected my own decision.

A large number of Taiwanese parents have a tendency to utilize fortune-telling methods, so we might be curious as to how prevalent this custom is among Taiwanese Americans. None of four American-born Taiwanese students, it was found, have their Chinese names derived from Chinese astrology. This shows that the parents of first generation Taiwanese Americans might not be very involved in this naming tradition.

4.3.2. Gendered Name and Symbolic Meaning

As mentioned earlier, gendered names in America are uncovered by word-final sounds and syllables. Female names, more often than male names, end in [i], whereas male names have the plosive sound ending. In addition, a gendered name often conveys an emotional meaning, such as pleasant/unpleasant and active/passive. In Chinese names, no clear pattern exists associating gendered names with particular phonemes, although female names in this research have a higher percentage (72%) of the nasal ending consonant. Nevertheless, an interrelationship between symbolic

meaning and gender denotation was found.

Unlike English unisex names, such as Avery, which can be used by either gender, there appear to be certain characters in Chinese names that are used to differentiate gender connotations, as Claire recalled:

> **Claire:** My mom chose my name. Chiungyao (romance novels) was very popular in her time. Some names of female protagonists in those novels contain 婷 (Ting). My mom felt that this character sounded good. She wanted to name her daughter 婷, which was selected as the second character of my given name.

Claire's Chinese given name is 琬婷 (Wan-Ting). Her name was based on her mother's idea that the character of 婷 (Ting) was so pervasively used owing to the abundance of romance novels during her mother's generation. The radicals of 婷 are composed of 女 and 亭. The equivalent translation of the former character, 女, equals female; the latter is a collocation that often appears in a Chinese idiomatic phrase 亭亭玉立, meaning "tall, graceful, and slender." This character absolutely makes it culturally inopportune for parents to give this name to their sons.

The way male names index masculinity is also correlated with parents' careful choice of characters. Andy's utterance shows how his given name is related to emotional attitude:

> **Andy:** 映 (Ying) means sunshine and vigor. Maybe he (Andy's father) hoped one day I would become an eminent figure. I think my Chinese name is not bad; I'd say it's very sunny.

In Chinese philosophy, the principle of yin (moon) and yang (sun) regulates a female-male dichotomy, and Chinese naming makes allowances for this ancient

custom. As a result, Taiwanese parents painstakingly take gender into consideration when choosing a name for their child. Andy's Chinese given name, 映宇, denotes a meaning of "sun and universe." This given name was considered to be a masculine name according to a fortune teller's advice.

Not only are Chinese gendered names manifested in certain gender-specific characters, but also gender names may be partitioned into several attributes, such as plants and various motions. Cindy mentioned that her Chinese given name contains 萍 (duckweed), while his brother's name contains 翔 (flying). While recalling the disparate attributes of their names, she said:

> **Cindy:** I think because he (Cindy's older brother) is a boy, and you know I'm the girl, and culturally, the girl isn't to like, it's not too important for me to travel the world (laugh), you know, so I can be a flower (laugh). It's different expectations, for gender.

Both Chinese and Taiwanese cultures are referred to as patriarchal societies, and traditionally it was male supremacy that influenced the parents showing favoritism toward sons over daughters. Even though Cindy was born and raised in the United States, her parents' choice of characters, 萍 (duckweed) and 翔 (flying), implies that her parents wished her daughter to be metaphorically as beautiful as a flower. As to their son, he was expected to be active and adventurous.

To the contrary, Berry and Chris reflected that their names may not be harmonious with their genders as the Taiwanese society expects. The incompatibility does not necessarily result in unpleasantness; it depends upon how each individual treats his or her name:

Berry: My name, 邱俞鈞 (Yu-Chun Chiu), was given by my dad. When I was born, my dad consulted a fortune teller. You know the list consists of 婷 (Ting), 芬 (Fen), and 美(Mei), some kind of cheesy and dreamy names, but my dad hated those names so badly. The characters he chose were very masculine. He hoped I could be as tough as him, as tough as men, and that's why I had this unique name… actually he expected us (Berry and her sister) to be more masculine than cute, such as 婷婷 (Ting-Ting).

Chris: I, to me I think that's a little girly, you know that's me, 紹洋. I think that's not a very masculine name (laugh), but like, I, I didn't really, that was not my concern you know. It's yeah, I'm ok, I'm fine with the name. Uh, how you say, it's like okay, Chien-Ming Wang 王建民, it sounds more like that's a guy! you know? I mean you wouldn't mistake 紹洋 for a girl, but I'm just saying it's, it's, that's just me, you know? It doesn't bother me.

Chinese gendered names at times could be ambiguous. Although the Taiwanese culture seems to institutionalize a fixed number of gender-based characters, many characters can be more neutral than others. Berry does agree that her Chinese name is "visibly" but not "audibly" masculine: when it is written on paper, it looks like a male's name. Meanwhile, Berry's statement indirectly confirms that the character, 婷 (Ting), is intrinsically feminine. Chris's description about his Chinese given name shows us that even though he would not associate his Chinese name with feminine traits, his Chinese name is not highly regarded from his perspective.

4.3.3. Naming Practices in the United Sates

Half (50%) of the ten Taiwanese American students, including Jessica, Mason, Carl, David, and Cindy, have middle names, and their middle names are unanimously their Chinese romanized given names. Unlike the Taiwanese naming practice in which middle names do not exist, the data show that the first generation Taiwanese

American parents do often give their children middle names. Their choice to use middle names may show their adherence to the naming custom in America. David revealed that Taiwanese parents have given their children Chinese middle names in America.

> **David**: Eh, I don't know, I think a lot of my (Taiwanese) friends were also born here like me have the same, middle name as their Chinese name.

In the United States, middle names are optional because there is no compulsory policy to request that one must have a middle name. If one does have any, his or her middle name is often abbreviated into the middle initial. Cindy, for instance, has her full name listed on some legal documents, such as passport, visa, and driver's license. Her middle name "Ping" is abbreviated to "P" in her credit card and her middle name is absent in her debit card and student ID card. More often than not, she leaves her middle name unwritten. Cindy, Jessica, and Carl explained their reasons for not using their middle names in classroom settings:

> **Cindy:** Uh, or it's just social norm, I, I don't think about it. I mean I grew up in school, learning to write my first and last, first and last. So, it's not really my personal choice, it's what I've been taught… or sometimes teachers would say last then first, but, that's different, that depends.
> **Jessica:** Well, cuz, when the professor take attendance, they always say oh, Jessica Huang, so like, I don't know it's not necessary for me to write my middle name, so I just, and then save time for me just write my first and last name.
> **Carl:** Middle names in fact are unnecessary. I will consider using my full name in the thesis. But if you just submit your assignments or projects, first and last names should be enough. Middle names are not that important and they're optional.

The Taiwanese American students' attitudes toward their middle names seem to be apathetic. They drop their middle names as other American students do. Though their parents choose their Chinese given names as their middle names, students do not see a need to use their middle names unless required. Cindy pointed out that it is the social norm rather than her personal choice that causes her not to use her middle name in informal circumstances, such as when she signs credit/debit cards and submits papers and assignments. For further exploration of the relationship between formalness/informalness (Wardhaugh, 2010) and the use of names, see Section 5.

4.3.4. Generation Name

Six students, including three Taiwanese international students and three Taiwanese American students, reported that their parents specifically chose the first characters for their Chinese given names for special reasons. For instance, David's Chinese name is 高章瑋, and his sister's name is 高章蝴. The first character of their given names is the same: 章. This is not a coincidence since other participants also revealed that their parents chose particular characters from each family's pedigree book. If a character is deliberately chosen from the pedigree book, siblings and cousins on the father's side all share the same character on their Chinese given names. David, Teresa, and Chris explained how the first characters of their Chinese names were chosen:

> **David:** Eh, I think my, kinda like my, grand, like my grandfather, on my father side, kinda helped pick it, eh, like the, the 章 like, all my cousins, and like my sister has this name.

Teresa: Well, it's (魏) my (Chinese) last name, and then this one (運) is used for my generation…. Also she also, I think because my mom said like there's a book, and then you look into your last name, and then they have all these generation names whatever, and then apparently we used this one (運), from my generation.
Chris: 紹 is for, it's for my generation, 那個紹字輩的 (that 紹-generation), so he (Chris's father) followed all the way back to the family line, so 這一代紹字輩的 (this 紹-generation), yeah that's for 紹.

Both of their statements share the same pattern in which their Chinese names are intertwined with their family's generations. Moreover, Wayne recounted the details of his generation name:

Wayne: We Tang families are Hakka. We have the habit of preserving our pedigree books.… The record of pedigree shows a certain character in one's given name that should be used by each generation, like grandchildren. Right. For example, in my generation, because I'm the twenty-third generation, the twenty-third generation in Tang families, the character that we use is 士字輩 (Shih-generation). Like my Chinese given name is 士瑋 (Shih-Wei), the first character is 士 (Shih). Yes, so we, I mean those who belong to our generation, use 士… 士 is used by cousins on our father's side but not our mother's side.… My older sister also has 士, so are the younger daughters of my father's brothers.

Wayne's illustration shows that for both genders, generation names can be carried by siblings and cousins on the father's side, just like Teresa and her older sister have generation names. However, some families do not give their daughters generation names. Taiwanese parents' high value on sons might contribute to the discontinued use of generation names among girls in some families, as Cynthia said:

> **Cynthia:** In our family, we actually have genealogy, but I'm a girl so my name was excluded. My parents gave me my name.… I remember the traditional naming by the pedigree book only includes males but not females, that's why I don't have that name. My parents pay more attention to their son, just like boys are more important than girls in this tradition.

Not only is the naming tradition of Chinese generation names adopted by Taiwanese parents, but some first generation Taiwanese American parents also extend this pattern to give their children English generation names. English generation names refer to the same phoneme occurring in the word-initial or word-final position on English first names. Mason offered a good example of a generation name used among his siblings:

> **Mason:** They (Mason's parents) made our English names rhymed. Like me, I'm Mason, Kevin (Mason's younger brother), and my younger sister is Sharon. Our names rhyme with n. Oh, by the way… my cousins' names are Tony, Johnny, and Roy. Right, they (Mason's parents and his cousins' parents) intentionally made the same final sounds.

The findings show that the first generation Taiwanese parents may give their children English generation names, as shown among Mason's family members. In Mason's family, his and his siblings' English generation names "n/[n]" occur word-finally, but his cousins' generation names do not end in "n/[n]"; instead, their names end in "y/[ɪ]." Table 8 below shows English generation of Mason's family:

Table 8. English generation name of Mason's family

The first-born son	The second-born daughter	The third-born son
Maso**n**	Sharo**n**	Kevi**n**
The first-born cousin	The second-born cousin	The third-born cousin
Ton**y**	Johnn**y**	Ro**y**

However, generation names can also be used among siblings and cousins. The English name of David's older sister is Doris. David noticed that he has a Chinese generation name, but he questioned if the identical alphabet "D" on his and his sister's English first names was a coincidence or their parents' purpose. After David was asked to clarify my doubt in the follow-up correspondence, he told me that his dad's older sister had three sons whose names all began with D. Consequently, his parents decided to given them names, Doris and David, starting with D as well, as shown in Table 9 below:

Table 9. Chinese and English generation names of David's family

Chinese generation name used by siblings	高**章**蝴		高**章**瑋
English generation name used by siblings	**D**oris		**D**avid
English generation name used by cousins	**D**ennis	**D**aniel	**D**avid

As seen in Table 9, in David's family, his and his sister's Chinese generation name "章" which occurs on the first character of their given names. Their English generation name, d/[d], is used by not only siblings but also cousins.

4.4. English Names

This section (Section 4) is comprised of English names of Taiwanese international students, English education in Taiwan, Chinese names of Taiwanese American students, and terms of address on American campuses.

4.4.1. English Names of Taiwanese International Students

All Taiwanese international students in this research have English names. Their illuminating stories help us gain a better understanding of their English names: who gave them English names, how their English names were given/chosen, and what motivated the use of English names. Table 10 below summarizes the story of each Taiwanese international student's English name. The following three patterns were found: names chosen by oneself, names given by others, and names given by others but changed by oneself.

Table 10. The summary of Taiwanese international students' English names

Names chosen by oneself
Shih-Hui Tseng's English name, *Shih*, derived from the first character in her Chinese given name. She went by *Shih* in a community college in the United States. She used only the single word *Shih* rather than Shih-Hui because she thought that the second word, Hui, is hard for native English speakers to pronounce.

Wan-Ting Wang adopted her English name, *Claire*, when she was a freshman in college. She adopted this name because the name Claire and an instrument, clarinet, which she played in high school, sound alike. She adopted an English name because her university English instructor demanded that each student should have an English name in an English class.
Names given by others
The English name of Ai-Chun Lin is *Melody*. This English name was given by an English teacher in kindergarten. The teacher thought that Ai-Chun Lin was gifted for art, so the teacher considered *Melody* would be a suitable English name for her. Shih-Wei Tang's English name, *Wayne*, was given by an English teacher while he attended a pre-school English class in kindergarten. When he reflected on the origin of his English name, he inferred that the second character of his Chinese given name, Wei, sounds phonetically similar to *Wayne*. Yu-Chun Chiu's English name, *Berry*, was given by her father. When she was in fourth grade, her father gave her a bracelet that had an English name, *Berry*, inscribed on it. When Chih-Yi Lin attended English language school in third grade, her English teacher assigned an English name, *Ivy*, to her.
Names given by others but changed by oneself
When Ying-Yu Chen attended English language school at elementary school, his English teacher gave him an English name, *Max*. When he is studying abroad in the United States, he uses *Andy*. *Andy* was originally a Chinese nickname 安迪 (an-di) which was given by his aunt when he was born, but he later accommodated

the sound into an English name, *Andy*.

Ying-Hsuan Li had her first English name, *Linda*, when she attended English language school in sixth grade. Her admiration for a graceful classmate whose name was *Ivy* motivated her to change her name from *Linda* to *Ivy* later in her life.

Ai-Ling Ting acquired her first English name, *Ellen*, before she attended English language school in fifth grade. This name was given by her aunt. Her English teacher kept criticizing her pronunciation of Ellen; as a result, she later personally chose *Cynthia* as her English name from a name list website before studying abroad.

Shih-Hao Tseng's former English name was *Eddie*, which was given by his junior high school English teacher. He changed it to *Eddio* in high school due to his friend's recommendation.

As seen in Table 10, among ten Taiwanese international students, two students chose their English names by themselves; four students' English names were given by others; and four students' first English names were given by others, but they chose new names by themselves later in their lives.

The participants tend to use English names at an early age. The mean and the median ages to use their first English names are at 11.8 and 11.5 years old, respectively. Figure 1 below shows in which country they first used their English names.

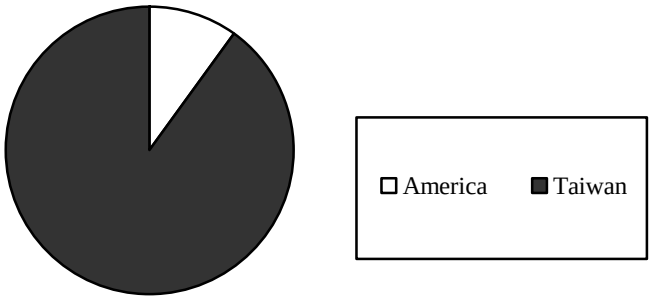

Figure 1. The country in which the Taiwanese international students first used their English names

As Figure 1 shows, 90% of the 10 participants used their English names before studying abroad in the United States. Nevertheless, it should be noted that although a high percentage of students have English names, it does not mean that they use their English names in their daily lives in Taiwan. Among the seven Taiwanese international students who studied abroad after 20, the majority of them did not use their English names outside EFL classrooms. Instead, they reported that they always used Chinese names and/or nicknames when socializing with their classmates and friends in Taiwan. The only two who used their English names at school and work were English teachers before studying in the United States.

4.4.2. English Education in Taiwan

The Taiwanese international students' English names that they used first were often given by others rather than chosen by themselves. Eight students reported that they had been given English names by others, and half adopted new English names later in their lives. Figure 2 below shows who gave students English names:

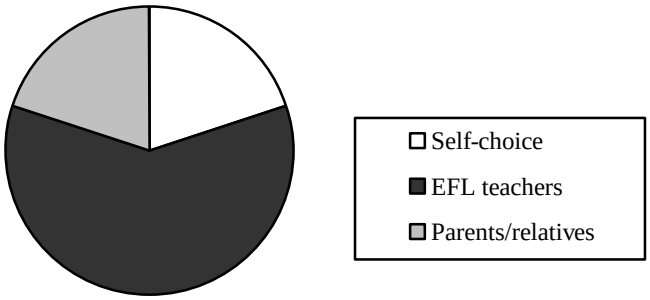

Figure 2. The person(s) who gave English names to the Taiwanese international students

Figure 2 illustrates that over half (60%) of students' first English names were given by English teachers, either native or non-native English speakers, and this may suggest that English teachers in Taiwan play a role in choosing and giving students English names. Interestingly, the participants hold the view that it is normal for English teachers in Taiwan to give students English names. If English teachers insisted on calling students by their Chinese names, students said they felt it was odd and something was wrong.

Many English teachers in Taiwan give students English names. According to the statements made by this study's participants, they do not challenge their teachers' power to give them English names, nor do they question the need to use English names in English classrooms. While they are studying in United States, they choose to use their English names rather than their ethnic names on campus. Some Americans are particularly interested in understanding the origin of Taiwanese international students' English names. They are curious as to why many Asian students, like Taiwanese people, have their own English names. Here is the

statement from Ivy Lin who explained to a U.S. professor how English teachers play a role in giving Taiwanese students English names in English classrooms:

> **Ivy Lin**: Uh, he was a professor of mine in the first semester. He was very curious about me. Perhaps since I was the only Asian in the program, he was curious about my original name. He definitely knew that Ivy wasn't my original name, so that's why he was curious. And then I said, "Oh you really wanna know?" After I told him my name is Chih-Yi, he tried to pronounce Chihyi, Chihyi several times. I said, "Correct! This is my original name." And then he asked if everyone had an English name. I said, "Basically yes." If you were in Taiwan, if you were learning English when you were little, typically you would be given an English name.

In addition to Ivy Lin, Melody, Cynthia, and Chris also expressed that English education in Taiwan has direct relevance to students' English names. When students are studying in the United States, they continue using their English names because most of them already had English names in Taiwan. Many of them considered that since they have the "off-the-shelf" names, they are not hesitant to use their English names on American campuses.

> **Melody**: I think it could be due to the educational system in Taiwan. When we attended English classes, our teachers would encourage us to adopt English names. So, I think when we were young, you knew they were elders, so your teachers encouraged you to have those names. You would feel English names were therefore legitimatized. You would start thinking that once we're in English contexts, like English classrooms and English cram schools, I should use my English name instead of my Chinese name, right?
> **Cynthia**: I don't know, maybe it's because almost every Taiwanese person adopts an English name. I think many people have English names when they attend English cram schools. Like me, I had an English name when I was little. That's why we get used to having another name.

Chris: I feel like their parents (Taiwanese parents in Taiwan) probably didn't think much for their (children's) English names, or probably didn't give them an English name, until they actually take an English class, you know, so it was not much concern, I feel like they're more concerned about their Chinese names more than their English names, a lot more.

Both Ivy Lin and Ivy Li were English teachers in Taiwan. When they talked about their past experiences of their careers, they revealed that they gave English names to their students. When they were asked the reasons as to why English names are pervasively used in English classrooms in Taiwan, they responded:

Ivy Lin: Since they (students) come here to learn English, you have to begin with your (English) names, because you have to let people know who you are. When people are calling you or talking to you, they do these by calling your name, and you'll know they are talking to you. So, since you come here to learn English, you need to have an environment, so I think names are, you know, introduction, first step.
Ivy Li: Taiwanese teachers, uh because we don't want to confuse students, so in this way, whenever he is in this classroom, classmates, Taiwanese teachers, foreign teachers, and the director all call him by his (English) name, and even when we communicate with their parents, we call out…. In fact, their parents somehow believe that they're participating in their children's growth. They hope that their children can be fully immersed in English. Their children will become intrinsically different, including their English names.

They have convergent opinions on this practice. To Ivy Lin and Ivy Li, not only can English names expand interpersonal relationships among peers in English learning environments, but also English names serve as a tool to maintain consistency and avoid confusion.

4.4.3. Chinese Names of Taiwanese American Students

Among the ten Taiwanese American students, only one reported that he uses his Chinese name most of the time in the United States. Michael's short duration of residence (four years), and presumably his lack of an official English name may cause him not to use his English name at home and on campus in the United States. The other nine participants revealed that their parents often call them by their English names and Chinese names interchangeably; however, siblings address one another by their English names instead of Chinese names and/or kinship terms.

Taiwanese American students' use of Chinese names is markedly constrained. The participants recalled the only two settings in which their Chinese names are used: Chinese schools and relatives' homes in Taiwan. Five students, who had been to Chinese schools and/or attended Chinese classes, recalled that Chinese teachers use Chinese names but not English names to address students. Furthermore, students said that speaking English during class is considered improper behavior.

Most importantly, the majority of the Taiwanese American students said that their relatives in Taiwan are more likely than their parents to use their Chinese names to address them. Their trips to Taiwan reminded them of their Chinese names because their relatives tend to call them by their Chinese names, as they said:

> **Elena**: And when I went back, it was, I was eighteen. I was more mature, more soft, so 貝貝 and 貝兒 (Elena's Chinese milk names) kind of coming again. Because I was sweet, and then cute, and softful, and I was, my job was like helping my grandma. So like my grandma 看看 Elena 好好,貝貝好乖喔 (look at Elena, look at 貝貝, she's so nice and kind), like that, you know. It was like, they feel connected with me again. Like I'm not a normal guy. And my aunt told my grandma like that, 貝貝這次回來有進步耶, like she improved a lot. She's just not like this arrogant little girl anymore.

Chris: Yeah, most of them (Chirs's relatives) would call me Chris… when they called me, they would be like Chris, dadadada, but like if they're talking about among themselves… especially for grandparents, they would definitely call me, they would definitely not call me Chris. They would call me 紹洋.
David: It's probably both also, the 章瑋 or David, I guess the, depends on the person like the older relatives would definitely just say…
Jason: 章瑋?
David: Yeah, eh, like my cousins, it's both, I think it kinda depends.
Cindy: I don't think they call me by Cindy, I think they call me by 萍, or they called me 小萍, yeah because I have an older brother.

It appears that their relatives from the elder generation specifically use Taiwanese American students' Chinese names to address them. It is also interesting to note that the students tend to use English first names to address their relatives from the same and younger generation like cousins, but they use kinship terms to address older relatives. In Jessica's instance, she was brought up under this tradition:

Jessica: Well, it just like, probably like, the way we greet, older people, and I'm used to do that, I was taught, ok, if you see someone older than you, ok call them 阿姨，阿伯，叔叔 (aunts and uncles).

Their use of kinship terms to address relatives and elders raises questions about the extent to which terms of address influence their maintenance and/or abandonment of Taiwanese cultures. What constitutes polite and appropriate terms of address in one culture may be shockingly contradictory to another culture. Even people from two cultures have similar social norms, for example, both Americans and Taiwanese people use titles to address elder relatives, but we cannot assume that people from two cultures have similar motives. The use of terms of address in addition to names is therefore examined to compare how the Taiwanese international students and

Taiwanese American students address their professors on campus.

4.4.4. Terms of Address on American Campuses

As stated in Chapter 2, *laoshi* (teacher) and *jiaoshio* (professor) are two common terms used to address professors at universities in Taiwan. Taiwanese students address professors either by titles, for example *laoshi* or *jiaoshio*, or by last names with titles, for instance Chen *laoshi* or *jiaoshio*. When the Taiwanese international students are studying in the United States, they are aware of terms of address on campus.

The Taiwanese international students in this research generally address professors by only titles (Dr. or Professor) and/or titles with last names (Dr. or Professor Chen). In contrast, Melody and Eddio address professors in their programs by only their first names without titles. The persistent use of titles is evident in Wayne's, Berry's, and Cynthia's utterances:

> **Wayne**: I think one of the reasons to call them by Professor is because we've been taught that teacher is a profession that deserves to be respected. You understand that teachers are very important through the doctrine of Confucius and Mencius you learned since you were young. This is part of my reason.
> **Berry**: I think it's out of respect. In our culture, we honor our teachers and respect their teachings, don't we? The way you get along better with your parents is because of your closeness to each other. Although you're very close to your teachers, you still use respectful titles… we even give professors nicknames, but whenever we have email correspondence or want to address them, we still call them by Professor. We address them by using respectful titles. I feel it's because of respect.
> **Cynthia**: I think your use of titles shows that you want to respect them (professors). I feel like Americans stress friendly relationships. Don't Americans address their aunts by their first names? That's my understanding….

> I think that's what we have been educated since we grew up. We would say teacher, which shows your respect to them. Yes, I think Americans stress that everyone is equal, and they call each other by their names.

The word "respect" occurs frequently in each interview with Taiwanese international students. When the participants were asked to compare how Taiwanese international students and American students address professors, they reported that they are more likely than their American counterparts to use titles and last names to address professors, although they are not very surprised when hearing American peers addressing professors by their first names.

On the other hand, Taiwanese American students, such as Cindy, often hold the view that there seems to be no rigid rule to address professors on campus. Moreover, Chris pointed out that the way students address professors in America depends mainly on the professors' preference instead of students' choices:

> **Cindy**: But Americans are also very you know, like independent, and very you know like I'm, I'm very competent on my own, so we don't really need to give someone else more high standard, I don't know that makes sense. It's an Asian culture for us to pay more respect to elders, or to people with higher status, but in America we're all the same.
> **Chris**: It really depends on how they want to be called, you know on the first day like you can call me this, you can call me that. But if not, definitely call them by Professor, just Professor, well Professor something with the last name, or if they do have a PhD degree, you know like biologist, they'll call like Dr. whoever. But you know sometimes they have a preference, it really depends on who the professor is.

In addition to the Taiwanese international students, all Taiwanese American students in this study prefer to use titles and/or titles with last names to address

professors. In other words, Taiwanese American students are reluctant to address professors by their first names as well. Two 1.5 generation Taiwanese American students, Elena and Jessica, are not convinced by the reciprocal teacher-student relationship. Consequently, they avoid addressing professors by their first names:

> **Elena**: I think they earned it (the title), and I think it's my, a way to show respect. Unless they really hate it, like one professor really hates it…. So, everything is like calling Professor. Professor, Professor, I just can't, I just don't want to call him by his first name.
> **Jessica**: Uh, I feel like it gives them like sense of honor, and then respect, and feel like, if I just call them by their first names, feel like oh, they're like the same level like, they're the same level like us like students too, but if call them Professor, uh I feel like, it made me want to respect them, and then just, do well in the class (laugh).

It is worth mentioning that the Taiwanese American students were accustomed to using titles, such as Mr. or Mrs., to address teachers in high school, and thus using titles, such as Dr. and Professor, to address professors might be a gradual extension from previous education. However, the question remains unanswered: does the Taiwanese American students' maintenance of titles and last names imply their awareness of the Taiwanese culture through the family upbringing? Or, is it because that is the habit which they adopt under American values? Here are two responses from James and Cindy:

> Jason: So, when you heard some people they, some of your classmates they just address their professors by their first names, what do you think?
> **James**: Well, I think that, students themselves are bad…. Not respectful, yeah not really respectful…. Uh, I don't know, just based on Chinese, I think, I don't know, I mean that's when people did when you think about Chinese culture.

Cindy: I'll say Professor with their last names. But it's very interesting because I feel like in America, the professors they don't care too much about how you, I, cuz my parents told me that in China and Taiwan, it's super important to address your professors in a very certain way. But here I have to just say oh, call me by my first name, so, I don't do that though, it's kind of weird (laugh).

Interestingly, James and Cindy associate the use of titles with Chinese/Taiwanese cultures. Therefore, we should be cautious about the motives behind their responses. That is, do they do it by inclination or by cultural influence?

4.5. Linguistic and Social Constraints

This section (Section 5) consists of speaking Chinese while using English names, legal name, nicknames, pronunciation, national identity and ethnic identity, and acculturation and cultural identity.

4.5.1. Speaking Chinese while Using English Names

The Taiwanese international students in this study spend a considerable length of time speaking English on campus. They are immersed in English: the professors give students lectures in English and students speak this target language with peers and professors in classrooms. Nevertheless, more than half of the Taiwanese international students in this study prefer speaking Mandarin Chinese than English with native Mandarin Chinese speakers, such as students from Taiwan and China, in casual conversations.

When students were asked what languages they speak with Taiwanese students or friends, their choice between Mandarin Chinese and English was remarkably dependent upon the setting. Indeed, over half of the students do not feel odd when

they hear two Taiwanese international students speaking English on campus. Ivy Lin thinks that Taiwanese people speaking English with each other is one of the ways to sharpen their language skills in academic settings. However, she thinks that students speaking English with each other in recreation settings is nothing more than pretentious:

> **Ivy Lin**: Well, it all depends on different places. Let's say we're on campus. I think it's nothing special [to speak English] on campus. They might think this is a good environment to practice speaking English, so they grasp their opportunities…. Let's say off campus, for example, you go clubbing. When you hear two Taiwanese people speaking English, and they talk like "HEY! HOW ARE YOU?" You would wonder if they were trying to show off or something (laugh).

In addition, Melody, Wayne, and Michael are not in favor of the notion that Taiwanese students insist on speaking English with each other. To them, it is rather redundant for people from the same linguistic background to communicate in the target language; on the contrary, speaking their native language to communicate is more comfortable and efficient.

> **Melody**: Basically, I think Taiwanese people speak English with Taiwanese people, I mean unless you're ABC (American-born Chinese), I think it's weird to hear that Taiwanese people speak English with each other…. Uh, obviously we have our own language to communicate, why do we have to speak another language?
> **Wayne**: If students are from Taiwan or China, and their mother tongue is Chinese, I don't think there is a need to speak English with each other here, that's how I feel. I think it's strange because if I know that both students are Taiwanese and they're international students, I can infer that Chinese is their mother tongue. I think that speaking Chinese, as their mother tongue, is the

most natural way when they communicate with each other.

Michael: Since there are so many foreigners here (in California), why do you have to practice speaking English with a Taiwanese person? If you really want to practice your English (speaking) skills, you can drop by any professor's office hour. That is, why the hell you Taiwanese people speak English with Taiwanese people?

As mentioned earlier, the majority of the Taiwanese international students do not use English names in a casual setting in Taiwan, but they use English names in the United States. It might be tempting to assume that the languages they speak with different addressees may influence their choice and use of names on campus; however, this argument is unwarranted. Although Taiwanese international students speak Chinese with Taiwanese friends in the United States, none address each other by Chinese names. Instead, all Taiwanese international students in this study revealed that they address their Taiwanese friends by English names, as Shih revealed:

Shih: Like you all (who come from Taiwan), I often call you by your English names, and then, when it comes to Mandy… the person who is from China, I call her by Mandy. And actually we're still speaking Chinese (laugh), it's so funny.

The American-born Taiwanese students reported that they speak English with Taiwanese international students if Taiwanese international students feel more comfortable speaking it. When twenty participants were asked their experience of attending social gatherings, such as Taiwanese Students Association activities, in which the group members are mainly comprised of Taiwanese international students and Taiwanese American students, none of the students use their Chinese names to introduce themselves. This indirectly confirms that Taiwanese American students as

well as Taiwanese international students use English names to address each other, as Chris said:

> **Chris:** I don't even think many of the Taiwanese students here know my actual Chinese name, cuz I even don't know theirs, cuz when we would introduce, we called each other, uh ourselves by our English names. I wouldn't ask people hey, your Chinese name is?

The participants are accustomed to addressing each other by English names, but it remains unclear what is the protocol that requires them to use their Chinese names in the United States, and how this protocol influences their uses of Chinese names on campus.

4.5.2. Legal Name

This study shows that the use of the Taiwanese international students' Chinese romanized names on their passports and visas is in accordance with the way these names appear on their legal documents, such as student ID card, driver's license, and bank account. In contrast, their English names are their unofficial names that never appear on identification documents. They are not permitted to use their English names on the legal documents since their English names have no legal effect.

In spite of the legal significance of their Chinese romanized names, the Taiwanese international students barely use their Chinese romanized names in social settings. Ivy Lin expressed that she uses her Chinese romanized names only when she is required to provide her identification; otherwise, she uses her English names in her daily life. Melody described that her Chinese romanized name is used in legal documents:

Ivy Li: If they need to prove my identity, I'll use Ying-Hsuan Li. For example, if I'm going to board a plane, study abroad, departure, and land, I'll be, ok, I'm Ying-Hsuan Li. If I use my passport and ID to verify who I am, I'll say I'm Ying-Hsuan Li. If other than that, a condition where they don't need to verify my identity, I'll say I'm Ivy.
Melody: Well, except those important documents, something like bank statements… and when I dealt with application for OPT, evaluations, those types of things…. I use the name in accordance with the name in my passport.

Eight Taiwanese American students in this study have official English first names. They can hardly think of any circumstances in which they use their Chinese names unless their parents and relatives use Chinese names to address them. Chris described his discontinued use of his Chinese name in the United States:

Chris: I don't think I've ever used that (Chinese) name here, because there's whenever a place on the documentation my name is Christopher Lo, so I wouldn't have any chance to put down my Chinese name here.

The Taiwanese international students do not use their English names on official documentation. Furthermore, they reported that their use of names in classrooms is dependent upon the addressees. The Taiwanese international students reported that their classmates often address them differently from their professors. In general, their classmates address them by their English names, but not all professors address them by their English names.

Unlike the students' classmates, these professors may address students by their Chinese romanized names rather than English names. If students are not given a chance to introduce themselves, or professors never ask students' preference to be called, especially in larger-size classrooms, professors generally call on students'

Chinese romanized names that are consistent with the roster sheet. Claire and Cynthia recalled that some of their professors address them by their Chinese romanized names in class:

> **Claire**: If a professor ever asks my name, I'll say I'm Claire… I'll use Claire in that entire class. If not, or some professors asked but seldom called on me, I guess they had no impression on me; I would use Wan-Ting Wang…. For example, in some undergraduate classes where more students attend than graduate classes, she didn't asked what your name was, and then she would call your name from the roster sheet.
> **Cynthia**: When they (professors) call attendance, since my official name is on the roster sheet, they call me by Ai-Ling. Usually I don't particularly tell him that my name is Cynthia because I worry that I could confuse him.

If the professors are not aware that students have English names, it is expected that students present their Chinese romanized names when submitting assignments, papers, and exam papers, as Wayne did:

> **Wayne**: The reason why I don't use Wayne on exam papers is simple. I do this because I want my professors to be able to recognize that these are exam papers written by me, because professors have a list of students' names from their class rosters, right? My name on the roster sheet is my Chinese romanized name. If I write Wayne on exam papers, professors will feel puzzled.

On the other hand, if the professors address students by their English names in class, the students are more likely to present both Chinese romanized names and English names on their assignments and papers. Nevertheless, whether to present their English names seems to be pertinent to the formality and weight of each assignment and paper as Berry described:

> **Berry:** When I make presentations or submit informal assignments, like I say "My name is Berry" when I'm making presentations. And my name cards, you know we are required to use name cards in some classes, I write Yu-Chun Chiu and Berry with parenthesis. As for informal assignments, I also use Berry with parenthesis. But if I submit my paper, like I have to submit a formal paper in a class this semester, I just write down, just spell Yu-Chun Chiu.

As a 1.5 generation Taiwanese American student, Elena, whose English name is not her official name, presents both her Chinese romanized name and English name on every assignment and paper to assure the professors that they associate her English name with her face:

> **Elena**: I care about my grade, teachers usually don't convert your, put your other name on, in your grade. So, what happen is the person who knows Elena Chou, so some teachers would give you a grade but never put that in a computer, and at the end of semester you get an F. So what you do is Woanyun and parenthesis Elena, and Chou. So they know, who's Woanyun because they can, input the grade, they know it's from me, they can match the name with the face, like that. So, I always use Woanyun, parenthesis Elena, and Chou.

The Taiwanese international students use English names in front of peers but not always professors because some of their professors only call them by their Chinese romanized names that appear on roster sheets. Moreover, the names they present on each assignment and paper are slightly different. The result suggests that Taiwanese international students' use of Chinese romanized names on campus is constrained by several factors, including addressee, legitimacy, and formality.

4.5.3. Nicknames

As stated earlier, both the Taiwanese international students and Taiwanese American students address one another by their English names. The Taiwanese international students, who share the same country of origin and student status, speak Mandarin Chinese with each other. However, the reasons as to why they choose to use English names instead of Chinese names to address one another remain unclear.

Six Taiwanese international students pointed out that they consider their English names as their "nicknames." The Taiwanese international students often introduced their Chinese names accompanied by their Chinese nicknames when they entered new classes in Taiwan. Taiwanese people's nicknames are often their Chinese homonyms; their nicknames can also be derived from their appearances or behaviors. It is found that the Taiwanese international students' close friends often call them by their Chinese nicknames rather than Chinese given names and/or Chinese full names in Taiwan.

When the students enter a new socio-cultural setting in the United States, they revealed that English names serve as their nicknames. The use of nicknames not only often shortens the distance between the speaker and addressee, but also nicknames are easier to remember. In other words, they think that the use of English names eases memorization, and their use of nicknames is liable to break the boundary among peers. Consequently, three of the participants in this study, Andy, Wayne and Berry, said:

> **Andy**: I think an English name is a nickname that can be called by intimate friends. When you see your confidants, they would directly call you by your nickname.
> **Wayne**: I think Wayne has become my nickname, just like my Chinese

nickname. In Taiwan, I used to be called by my Chinese nickname rather than Chinese full name while interacting with people. Yes, I would think that since my friends use Wayne as my nickname here, I'm Wayne.

Berry: This (Yu-Chun Chiu) is my real name; as for Berry, I feel like it's more like a nickname… I think I use Berry because it's convenient to introduce myself to others. By using this name, I'm more approachable and communicative.

The function of English names and nicknames is alike to half of the Taiwanese international students. Although the Taiwanese international students' native language is Mandarin Chinese, they address each other by English nicknames because they believe that English names after all are easy to remember. Their use of English "nicknames" may be an indication of the prestige that they share with each other. This might partially explain why they do not use Chinese names to address each other.

4.5.4. Pronunciation

The Taiwanese international students tend to use English names with native English speakers. They claim that since native English speakers fail to pronounce their Chinese romanized names in a proper manner, they use their English names with native English speakers. They believe that English names are relatively easier than Chinese romanized names to pronounce and remember. They are more likely to use their English names in the United States to prevent others from mispronouncing their names. The statements from Shih, Claire, Melody, and Eddio show that they prefer using English names to Chinese names in the United States:

Shih: When I was in community college, sometimes the teacher felt that Hui was hard to pronounce, perhaps her tone was off… yes, anyway, I thought it's easier for those people who are non-native speakers of Chinese to pronounce Shih, and

therefore I went by it.

Claire: I feel like it's a bit odd when I hear Wan-Ting Wang directly translated from my Chinese name. In addition, some foreigners cannot pronounce your name. I would rather adopt a name that they can recognize and it's easier for them to remember than a name that can't be pronounced.

Melody: Yeah, when it comes to (Chinese) romanized names, many people have weird pronunciations.… Anyway, sometimes I'm not even sure if they are calling my name in those awkward situations. To my understanding, our Chinese names could be a bit hard for foreigners to pronounce.

Eddio: A teacher asked me, why did you have an English name? Your name sounds good, why didn't you like your (Chinese) name? I said no, and I told her that I like my name, but I worry that you can't pronounce it, so I give you an alternative.

Strictly speaking, Shih-Hui Tseng's English name, Shih, is not a typical English name in that it is derived from the first word of her Chinese given name. Nevertheless, Shih deemed that Hui might be tough for others to pronounce and therefore she dropped Hui. In Claire's, Melody's, and Eddio's cases, they offer the use of English names to native speakers of English in order to avoid mispronunciation of their Chinese romanized names.

The mispronunciation of one's ethnic name poses a great number of problems that undermine Taiwanese international students' self-esteem. The mispronunciation of ethnic names by native English speakers causes unpleasant experiences for them; thus the students tend to use English names in the United States. Wayne's account of a negative experience triggered by mispronunciation is shown below:

Wayne: When you're teaching foreigners to pronounce your name, I mean it's not a problem when their pronunciation is ok, but when their pronunciation is not ok, and you're like gosh! what are they calling? and they're actually calling you, and you're like, my name doesn't sound like that, why are you insisting on

that? I feel uncomfortable.

Likewise, Elena, as a 1.5 generation Taiwanese American student, has negative emotions which are similar to Wayne's. Elena reproves those people who impertinently neglect the tonal distinction between English and Mandarin Chinese but insist on pronouncing her Chinese romanized name:

> **Elena**: Part of the thing is that I don't like people know my Chinese name, they never get a tone right, and they kinda sound really, either they sound stupid, or they make me look stupider. I think that'll tell you enough. Like the not so nice people, and try to mimic and make fun of it, and then really people would try so hard, you feel embarrassed. Sorry they never get it right, unless they're really good at tones.

The participants revealed that many native English speakers failed to accurately pronounce their Chinese romanized names. Incorrect pronunciation seems to be one of the contributing factors that cause students not to use their Chinese names in social settings in the United States. Repeated unsuccessful pronunciation by non-Chinese speakers often causes their negative feelings.

4.5.5. National Identity and Ethnic Identity

When the Taiwanese international students in this study interact with other Taiwanese students, Taiwanese sojourners, and Taiwanese American students, they are accustomed to addressing one another by their English names. In other words, Taiwanese international students do not choose to use their Chinese names to address one another.

The Taiwanese international students unanimously show a great concern as to how native English speakers pronounce their Chinese names. It would be interesting to see how the participants in this study judge the English names of other ethnicities. It was found that the Taiwanese international students have a higher inclination to use English names than do students of other East Asian ethnicities. During interviews, the participants were asked to describe the differences among Japanese, Korean, and Taiwanese people in the United States. They consistently reported a few key concepts, such as consciousness of nationality, ethnicity/ethnic consciousness, cultural pride, and self-esteem. The following are their statements in regard with the comparison among Japanese, Korean, and Taiwanese people:

> **Andy**: I think maybe they (Korean and Japanese) have stronger consciousnesses of their nationalities. I don't mean Taiwanese don't have a consciousness of nationality, I still think Taiwanese have a group consciousness, that's why we try to fit in a new environment when we come here.
> **Berry**: I think maybe there are differences. Some people have a very strong consciousness of nationality. They would think the use of their ethnic names shows their patriotism… I don't think I use Berry to ingratiate myself to this (American) culture… I'm not saying I don't love Taiwan, I'm just feeling that I don't take it (this name) too seriously.
> **Eddio**: Taiwan is a multicultural country. Since we get accustomed to receiving information from other countries, we seem to forget our roots. I wouldn't say forget, I would rather say we don't relatively respect our roots. I feel like I'm the same; I don't care for anything; at the same time, I can accept everything. On the one hand, we can accept many new things. On the other hand, I don't respect things our ancestors passed down…. It may sound disagreeable. Even though we dislike Chinese, Japanese, and Korean, these people are proud of their countries…. Some Korean and Chinese think that they absolutely can't abandon their ethnic names. As for Taiwanese, they might wonder if that's really serious. Names are merely names.
> **Ivy Lin**: I think Taiwanese, especially the younger generation, are willing to

accept foreign cultures, and they don't ponder over the issue of sacrificing self-esteem, you know, as if they devalue myself [themselves] and cater to other cultures. I don't think they may care what they are… but when it comes to Korea and Japan, they have strong consciousnesses in their nationalities and ethnicities, particularly Korean. So, this is my opinion. As a result, they may think they have strong senses of nationalities, and they are very confident about their ethnicities. They would question why they have to cater to, you know, American culture, and then you'll adopt an English name.

Carl: I think Taiwanese, Taiwanese probably have the least consciousness of ethnicity, I think. I don't know if it doesn't seem moral if I put in this way. I think Taiwanese, I can't say it's an advantage or disadvantage; Taiwanese people are quite adaptive. They are adaptive no matter where they are.

Mason: And foreigners would ask, what's your name? and then [I] said Ming-Hsuan. Foreigners might not pronounce your name right, Taiwanese are like, oh never mind, roughly ok. But Korean might enthusiastically correct your pronunciation, and they might wish you can pronounce it right.

Cindy: I think Korean as a culture, it's very close-knit, they're very close-knit, and so I think they have a lot of Korean pride, and so they definitely you know, they want to keep their names.

The majority of them argue that Japanese and Korean people are considerably distinct from Taiwanese people. Unlike Taiwanese people, the participants were under the impression that Korean and Japanese people are more likely than Taiwanese people to maintain their ethnic names, and they do not compromise themselves to adopt English names.

4.5.6. Acculturation and Cultural Identity

The participants hold the view that Korean and Japanese people tend to use their ethnic names rather than adopt English names in the United States. They regard maintenance of ethnic names by Korean and Japanese as an indicator of patriotism, and this may be interwoven with their nationalism and ethnicities.

The Taiwanese international students use their English names in their social network with consistency: both American students and Taiwanese students address one another by their English names. The previous sections have shown that many Taiwanese students were given English names by English teachers in Taiwan, but how their use of English names in the United States is related to their desire to be accepted and/or rejected by American culture is nevertheless ambiguous.

The majority of the participants, when they contemplated whether English names influence their experience of cultural adaptation in the United States, treated their English names as a tool for acculturation. The following are statements from three Taiwanese international students, Berry, Melody, and Eddio, who recounted how English names help Taiwanese people assimilate into America. In addition, two Taiwanese American students, Jessica and David, gave their views on Taiwanese students' English names.

> **Berry**: To them (native English speakers), it (Chinese name) is just a sound, and sounds between Chinese and English, you know I watched a TV show, foreigners laugh at those people who speak Chinese. Foreigners think that they (Chinese speakers) choose names just like throwing chopsticks on the ground. The sound that it makes becomes one's name, like something, both sounds are the same. So, that's why we want to assimilate into this culture, we adopt nicknames (English names).
> **Melody**: Like we were taught that English is an international language, and then we were sent in this environment. You'd like, I also want to assimilate into this environment, so I have to begin with a name…. Yes, I think the point is about assimilation. If I want people to call me by my English name now, I hope that I can assimilate into that group, right.
> **Eddio**: It's convenient to assimilate [into different occasions]. It'll be appropriate that you have different names in different occasions. In Taiwanese people's mind, you'd have an English name. Everyone subconsciously has a

consensus that you probably have an English name. For example, a person didn't have an English name in our group, and when he said "I'm 大鈞," you'd say, "You don't have an English name, right?"

Jessica: It's probably it's like cultural assimilation, and probably like people from Taiwan want to assimilate in this society, that's why they use English names…. I guess because they (Japanese and Korean) have [know] where they come from, they have a strong uh, cultural identity, and they're really proud of themselves, it's like, oh I'm from Korea and, I'm, there's no shame about that, and same as Japan too. So, but Taiwan probably is kinda like, people want to assimilate here, that's why they use English names.

David: Yeah, must be because, I mean the reason is probably to fit in right? To fit in the society here, like if you gonna be living here, like interacting with other people, they can't pronounce your name, like they won't be able to pronounce my name, and it's my name (Jang-Woei Kao), right?

Their statements seem to suggest that Taiwanese people's use of English names improves their perception of cultural adaptation. However, we should be cautious about the relation between adopting an English name and facilitating cultural assimilation. During interviews, although it may seem contradictory to what has been stated previously, the participants stressed that the reason for using English names in the United States is not because they want to be ingratiated into the host culture. Moreover, in their opinion, their discontinued use of ethnic names is not associated with the sacrifice of their cultural pride. Indeed, none claimed that using an English name in the United States is synonymous with abandoning one's home culture. Rather, they felt that their use of English names helps them obtain more acceptance in all social settings.

Chapter 5: Discussion

In Chapter 4, I have shown how the Chinese names of Taiwanese international students and Taiwanese American students were chosen or given by their parents. The analysis of Taiwanese and Taiwanese American naming practices has been examined. Moreover, I have illustrated how the use and choice of English names and Chinese names by Taiwanese international students and Taiwanese American students are structured through social interaction and cultural context. Finally, I have shown how naming is interwoven with identities, including national identity, ethnic identity, and cultural identity. The findings I have discussed in the previous chapter may be further interpreted through the lens of several theoretical concepts, including Theory of Practice (Anheier, Gerhards, & Romo, 1995; Bourdieu, 1984, 1986; Ho, 2009), individual agency (Giddens, 1991), and communities of practice (see Lave, 1988; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998).

5.1. English Education and English Name as Social Practice

In the Theory of Practice, Bourdieu (1984, 1986) discusses economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital, all of which I interpret as having both visible and invisible means of accentuating one's social position and social mobility. Social position is not necessarily predetermined; rather, interaction between the specific rules of these forms of capital contributes to the position of each individual (Bourdieu, 1984).

Using Bourdieu's theoretical concept, the participants' English names can be regarded as examples of these three forms of capital. The Taiwanese international

students' acquisition of social position, social status, and capital, is achieved in part through attending private educational institutions and receiving English names from their English teachers. The findings show that eight of the ten Taiwanese international students, while living in Taiwan, had been sent to English language schools or cram schools by their parents. In addition, more than half of the Taiwanese international students' first English names were given by their English teachers, so the persons who participated in giving English names to the students are therefore examined. Because the interrelationship between Taiwanese students' English names and English education in Taiwan cannot be understood without recognizing the importance of private educational institutions, I provide a brief background on language schools and cram schools in Taiwan.

Language schools and cram schools are profitable private educational institutions that differ from compulsory education. Language schools train preschool, kindergarten, and elementary school students in oral English using pedagogy that is more flexible and interactive than the traditional methods used in compulsory education. Cram schools are designed to bolster the academic achievement of junior and senior high school students through relatively rigid discipline.

The ability to pay for and attend private educational intuitions is an example of economic capital. Many Taiwanese parents believe that learning English provides a head start in building children's intellectual foundations. The growing private education industry in Taiwan demonstrates that parents are not reluctant to invest in their children's English education at an early age. Advanced English skills enhance the likelihood of acceptance to top-notch schools and eventually better-paying jobs.

A higher level of education also increases the chance of accessing professional careers. However, it requires substantial financial resources because attending these private institutions is costly. Parental involvement (Ho, 2009) outside of class improves children's academic performance. Only if parents have higher economic resources to pay the tutoring fee can children attend these language schools and cram schools.

Therefore, parents' ability to send their children to receive additional English education is proportional to their children's future success. Children in wealthy families are more likely than underprivileged children to gain social mobility by attending private English institutions. Parents spend the money on these after-school classes to enhance the future achievement and income of their children. Nevertheless, this certainly does not suggest that students who do not have opportunities to attend private English institutions will ultimately become underachievers, nor can I claim that attending these educational institutions guarantees future prosperity.

Compulsory education teachers and cram school teachers pay significant attention to vocabulary memorization and grammar translation. In contrast, language school teachers are more adaptive to creative and interactive methods to educate students. Two participants in this study, Ivy Li and Ivy Lin, who had previous careers as language school teachers, both revealed that they gave students English names in order to create interactive learning environments. In comparison with compulsory education and cram school teachers, they believe that language school teachers give students English names to facilitate students' participation in the classrooms.

The students' possession of English names and their ability to speak English at

language schools are examples of cultural capital. As mentioned in Chapter 4, Ivy Li recounted that when children are given English names by language school teachers, the children's English names have thrilled their parents. Not only do the parents participate in their children's growth, but also they believe that their children become "intrinsically different" by using English names in classrooms. Taiwanese students attend private institutions to receive additional educational services and to acquire some knowledge of English. The goal of language schools is to train students to be able to efficiently communicate in English. Language schools provide more opportunities for the use of English. As a result, not only do the students gradually become immersed in English learning environments, but also the students who attend language schools speak English more fluently than those students who do not attend language schools. In the meanwhile, students acquire their English names which are given by their teachers. Therefore, a student's use of a foreign language and English name are "ancillary products" accompanied by attending language schools. This sharply differentiates those people who do not attend these language schools because they do not have English names, and they have less chance to practice speaking English.

Students' social capital is determined by their relationships with language school teachers and other students within the circle. As Ho (2009) notes, "[s]ocial capital consists of networks and connections with people with social prestige, and it may be institutionalized through the acquaintance in systems of noble title or recognition as a member of some social groups in higher social strata" (p. 104).

Parents send their children to private English institutions to achieve prestige, and part of the process of acquiring prestige involves teachers giving students to

English names. As a result, the language school teachers and the students reciprocally use English names to address one another, and this practice is exclusively adopted by the teachers and the students at language schools. This suggests that Taiwanese English teachers in formal education, including junior and senior high school, generally do not give English names to their students[5]. Furthermore, since no English name was given by cram school teachers, the differing pedagogy may play a role in assigning English names to students.

The students attend languages schools to consolidate their social positions. Once students gain the economic resources from their parents to attend language schools, they acquire educational mobility. The social capital enables them to produce the sense of belonging in a social network, which is shared by only the members who participate in this practice. As a result, students achieve social capital through attending language schools.

5.2. Individual Choice and Socially Structured Practice

In Chapter 2, I pointed out that there is a theoretical continuum in which the endpoints are individual agency and communities of practice. The former describes the ways in which individual identity is developed by personal choice, whereas the latter describes how the members within a community share similar practices and therefore construct their identities as members of the community by enacting these practices. For example, Internet users who participate in an Online Forum can form an online community. The community enables the members to share ideas and

[5] English became a compulsory academic subject taught at elementary schools in Taiwan in 2001, which is after all of the Taiwanese international students in this study had completed their basic educations. Based on my English teaching experience at an elementary school in Taiwan in 2008, I found that many of the elementary school students already had English names. Whether their English names were given by their elementary school teachers before me remains uncertain.

receive feedback and advice from others; meanwhile, they are able to gain knowledge and skills from the virtual community (Wenger, White, & Smith, 2009).

The participants' use of names can be a personal choice under certain circumstances. Although the Taiwanese international students' English names were often given by their English teachers rather than chosen by themselves, four participants later decided to adopt their new English names and use these names in the United States. The students' change of new English names validates that an English name initially is an authoritative order carried out by English teachers at English classrooms. Nevertheless, the students are able to make autonomous decisions to tell others what their names are and what names they prefer to be addressed by within their own social networks. In other words, they assert their personal identity later in their lives. However, the choice of names and how they are used by the Taiwanese international students in the United States are constrained by linguistic and social factors.

By and large, the Taiwanese international students' use of names is not a personal choice. With regard to linguistic constraints, pronunciation seems to be one of the contributing factors causing the participants in this study not to use their ethnic names in U.S. social settings. They would rather use English names than maintain their ethnic names, in terms of pronunciation, for two reasons: They are apprehensive that native English speakers are not able to appropriately pronounce their Chinese names, and as a result their names may not be remembered. Furthermore, they have an aversion to hearing their Chinese names mispronounced.

Whether to use ethnic names or English names in the United States is often not a personal choice. The findings show that although all of the Taiwanese

international students in this study use their English names within their own social networks, they are frequently coerced into using their ethnic names. They are asked to present their legal names (i.e., Chinese romanized names) to verify their identity. These mandatory policies are enforced in business transactions, legal documents, and personal profiles. Half of the students' professors only call them by their Chinese romanized names. In addition, the students often do not write their English names when they submit assignments and papers because those are not the names that appear on roster sheets. In other words, personal choice has dwindled away to nearly null when the settings become more formal and the relationship between the speaker and the addressee is asymmetric.

Asymmetric power between teacher-student relationships may cause students to use different names as well as terms of address. In this study, the majority of the Taiwanese international students address English speaking professors by titles and last names, except for Melody and Eddio. I have previously indicated that Taiwanese international students' reluctance to address professors by their first names is constrained by social norms and cultural values. In Taiwan, home education and school education instill in children respect for teachers. Moral values of Confucianism have always been taught to teens so that they will practice behaviors that reinforce social harmony and social order. Challenges to authorities, such as parents and teachers, are regarded as deviations from the norm.

One of the appropriate social behaviors to show deference to teachers in Taiwan is to address teachers by titles, such as *laoshi*. When addressing university professors, students address professors either by titles, for instance *laoshi* and *jiaoshou*, or by using last names with titles, as mentioned in Chapter 2. As a result,

this ingrained practice is resistant to change. The habitual terms of address adopted by the Taiwanese international students are therefore statically converted to the United States. The results suggest that Taiwanese international students generally do not address their professors by their first names. They employ the most secure and respectful terms to address English speaking professors. Even though some of the professors consider titles redundant and ask students to address them by their first names, Taiwanese international students have difficulty forcing themselves to switch to first-name address.

Nevertheless, the two exceptions, Melody and Eddio, address their professors by their first names only. When examining these students' duration of time in the United States, it was found that they came to study in the United States far earlier than other Taiwanese international students: Melody and Eddio have resided in the United States for twelve years and seven and a half years, respectively. It might seem reasonable that their personal choices and long residency in the United States have contributed to their change of terms of address, but other more salient social factors also play a role in the transformation.

The results suggest that classroom interaction may play a role in using dissimilar terms of address. Melody and Eddio were art majors, and both reported that students' more frequent negotiations with faculty built their intimacy with professors, and this helped break the professor-student boundary. They reflected that the more interactions students had with professors, the more readily first-name address was reciprocal. In addition, other participants paralleled Melody's and Eddio's statements by revealing that engineering students seldom directly address professors by their first names. Those participants majoring in engineering reflected

that they had little class discussion, so at times they did not feel close to their professors. Therefore, developing individual relationships between professors and students is difficult.

While the majority of the Taiwanese international students make their own personal choices to use the names they prefer and the terms of address they think most respectful, this practice is interestingly constrained by linguistic and socio-cultural factors. In contrast, classroom interaction augments group solidarity in that every member in that community is invited to participate in the same practice. This shows that the participants' behaviors are shaped by the community of practice. Intimate classroom setting contributes to mutually beneficial relationships between professors and students. Those students whose class experience includes dynamic interactions during class time, such as Eddio and Melody, behave as similarly as their peers do. They switch from the most respectful terms of address (titles with last names) to reciprocal first-name address. Eddio and Melody no longer consider first-name address rude; they eventually became accustomed to this practice as being accepted and approved by both peers and professors. The interaction between the students and the professors created the sense of membership for them, which reinforced their confidence in using first-name address.

On the other hand, the American-born Taiwanese students have a higher tendency to have English first names and ethnic middle names, and it is also not uncommon to observe that the 1.5 generation Taiwanese American students exhibit similar practices. However, their use of ethnic names continues to be limited. They do not use ethnic names to socialize with others, even those who belong to the same ethnic group.

Some Americans have stereotypes that Asians, even those who are born and raised in America, speak substandard English and achieve excellence in math. In some English speaking countries, names become a discriminator which can determine one's ability to work and study. According to *The New Zealand Herald*, unemployed Asians in New Zealand changed their ethnic surnames to English last names in an attempt to get job interviews. New Zealand employers tend to eliminate Asian applicants at a very early stage especially in small and medium-sized businesses; the process of elimination is through surname discrimination (Tan, 2010). The *AsianWeek* also reported that in the United States, Asian Americans must achieve higher scores, 1550, on SAT in comparison with Whites and African-Americans who score 1410 and 1100, respectively, to have the same chance to get accepted into prestigious universities. Some Asian American students deny revealing their ethnicities in school applications, despite the fact that their surnames often disclose their ethnic background (Hu, 2011).

Despite the possibility of such unpleasant experiences or reactions to one's name, all of the Taiwanese American students in this study kept their ethnic last names. In other words, the first generation Taiwanese parents do not adopt English last names, casting aside their children's ethnic family names. The parents still wish to preserve their roots by using their family names, which reveal and maintain the connection to ancestry and country of origin. Although the parents keep their children's family names unchanged, they give children English first names instead of Chinese-sounding names because they worry that an ethnic first name may hinder their child's interpersonal relationships. The American-born Taiwanese students revealed that they seldom use their ethnic first names, let alone ask their American

peers to pronounce and remember their ethnic names. Therefore, parents' choosing English first names for their children may serve as a way to discard the stereotypes and avoid pronunciation problems.

Taiwanese international students and Taiwanese American students can be considered one homogenous group, or two distinct groups, based on their use of English names. On the one hand, as a cohesive group with both English and ethnic identity, both Taiwanese international students and Taiwanese American students use their English names in social environments. On the other hand, the motivation to do so by each sub-group is slightly different. The Taiwanese American students have no desire to use their ethnic names because they do not associate those names with their identities in social environments. Meanwhile, when they meet Taiwanese international students in social gatherings, such as "Tea Time" held by the Taiwanese Students Association, the Taiwanese American students are aware that Taiwanese international students are accustomed to using their own English names to introduce themselves. As a result, they do not think there is a need to offer their ethnic names to the Taiwanese international students.

At the same time, the Taiwanese international students respect the social order and mainstream culture since English language is a dominant language and English names are predominately used by other Taiwanese international students. They consciously choose to use English names to produce social relations with other members. Therefore, members of the same group behave more similarly within their community. The Taiwanese international students have made inroads into the social network through the practice of using English names. As a result, they develop group identity with the members who also participate in the same practice. Through

the use of English names, they create conditions to become insiders and ingroups (Tajfel, 1978) and gain acceptance in the host culture.

The size of the community can be relatively small and large. If almost all of Taiwanese international students in the United States participate in the same practice by using English names to address each other, the community includes the whole Taiwanese international student population. If only the Taiwanese international students in this study or Taiwanese international students at SJSU have the similar practice, this turns out to be a narrow community.

The Taiwanese international students' insistence on using ethnic names can be an impediment if they wish to become part of the group in their social networks. Thompson (2006) argues that when Korean Americans use ethnic names in the Korean community and the American community, they can encounter more challenges in social networks and face a struggle to be accepted. This current study shows that the Taiwanese American students revealed that almost all the Taiwanese students whom they have met only use English names. Two participants said that if they happen to meet Taiwanese students who use ethnic names to introduce themselves, both of them might consider offering their own ethnic names. In contrast, the Taiwanese international students tend to have negative attitudes toward those Taiwanese students who insist on using their ethnic names. Even though these individuals are not censured for using ethnic names, other group members who use English names often question and even gently scoff at those Taiwanese students who do not have and who do not use their English names. Therefore, the use of English names is treated positively and considered as prestige.

5.3. The Interface between Naming and Identity

The Taiwanese international students and Taiwanese American students reported that Korean and Japanese people have a higher tendency than Taiwanese people to use their ethnic names rather than English names in the United States. The participants considered that many Taiwanese people are not seriously concerned with the maintenance of their ethnic names in the United States, and this may be influenced by Taiwanese people's national identity and ethnic identity.

Taiwan's development of national identity and complex relations between Mainland China and Taiwan have been broadly discussed in history, politics, and sociology literature. The impact of globalization has led more and more nations, such as Taiwan, to become "emboldened to seek autonomous status" (Kumaravadivelu, 2008, p. 151). Many scholars have concluded that Taiwan continues to be excluded from the United Nations mainly because of China's intense opposition (see Christensen, 2002). At the 2012 London Olympics, not only was the Taiwan national flag removed, but also the failure to use "Taiwan" rather than "Chinese Taipei" to represent the country frustrated and infuriated Taiwanese people. The innumerable incidents of oppression do not come singly but in pairs. Moreover, disputes over nationalism and patriotism have long been raised by opposing political parties in Taiwan.

The majority of the participants in this study revealed that in comparison with Taiwanese people, it is not unusual for Korean and Japanese people to maintain their ethnic names in the United States. They felt that the Korean and Japanese people had little concern about the pronunciation of their ethnic names; particularly, Korean names are also difficult for English speakers to pronounce and remember. The

participants hold the view that there is no doubt about these two countries' sovereignty. These two countries' expression of patriotic sentiments is manifested in both consciousness of nationality and ethnic consciousness. On the contrary, some Taiwanese people are apprehensive about Taiwan's international status, and this may complicate the construction of national identity.

Less than half of the participants in this study reported that Taiwanese people tend to worship and have blind faith in American cultures. Not only have commercial products been effortlessly imported from America to Taiwan due to the influence of globalization, but also the influx of English names penetrates into Taiwanese people's daily lives. The participants felt that Taiwanese people are very obliging; they are willing to adjust their attitudes and manners in order to make others content. This characteristic may influence their use of English names in the United States.

The results suggest that one's pride in his or her nation, ethnicity, and culture may contribute to his or her continued use of an ethnic name in a foreign country. In addition, Taiwan's ambiguous international status and Taiwanese people's accommodating characteristic may be contributing factors that shape students' identities and therefore their use of English names. It should be noted that the Taiwanese international students use English names in the United States, but they do not question or deny Taiwanese people's unity. The majority of them revealed that even though their consciousness of nationality and ethnicity may not be as strong as the Korean or Japanese, it does not mean that discontinuing use of one's ethnic name or adopting an English name is renouncing one's belief in his or her country and ethnicity. On the other hand, four students claimed that they would not ponder over

the issues between names and ethnicities. They did not insist on using their ethnic names for the sake of acculturation.

While addressing how English names influence Taiwanese international students' cultural adaptation in the United States, I used two terms "assimilation" and "acculturation" interchangeably in Chapter 4. I used both because when it refers to 融入 (rongru), I do not think Mandarin Chinese makes a distinction between assimilation and acculturation. Even though the definition is not always clear-cut, many scholars claim that acculturation refers to immigrants' adoption of the host culture as additive, while they simultaneously preserve their own cultures, such as languages, customs, values, and rules. In comparison to acculturation, immigrants' desire to adopt mainstream culture and abandon their home culture is often categorized as assimilation (Kumaravadivelu, 2008, p. 68). Although scholars' contrasting views toward the assimilation/acculturation dichotomy are fuzzy, the Taiwanese international students' choice and use of English names may represent both the processes of assimilation and acculturation.

When the international students in this study were in Taiwan, they addressed their friends by Chinese names and Chinese nicknames. When interacting with American peers and friends in the United States, Taiwanese international students chose to use their English names. The participants revealed that English speakers often had a difficult time pronouncing their Chinese romanized names. An alternative English name was offered to relieve pressure and embarrassment between the speaker and addressee. The results suggest that Chinese names foment feelings of estrangement, whereas English names break the linguistic and social barriers. Consequently, American students may have more contact with Taiwanese

international students because Americans are able to pronounce and remember their English names. Taiwanese international students thereby gain acceptance by Americans through using English names, which suggests that they may have a higher chance of assimilating into the mainstream culture.

On the other hand, even though the Taiwanese international students use their English names instead of Chinese names with other Taiwanese students, Taiwanese American students, and American students, they do not abandon their roots and heritage. None of the Taiwanese international students identify themselves as Americans. They preserve their Taiwanese identities and cultures by means of daily practice. They acculturate themselves by speaking the target language and celebrating American festivals. Meanwhile, they speak the native language, celebrate Taiwanese traditional festivals, and pay attention to the current political and economical situations in Taiwan. The Taiwanese international students maintain their ethnic culture and at the same time appreciate the dominant culture. Cultural identity is often fluid, and it can only be developed through the interaction with insiders and outsiders as well as host culture and home culture.

5.4. Recommendation for English Speakers (e.g., American Professors)

A handful of people, like Internet user "JamesJ" who posted a message on an Online Forum named Topix, publicly denounce Chinese people's use of Western first names:

> Why do many Chinese people like to have Western first names? Many Chinese people I met have Western first names. And if they live or born in the West, chances are, they automatically have their Western first names stamped on their head. Do Western names make them proud and power among your people? Do

you want an honest opinion from me? It does make me think that you are kissing and wanna be like us (JamesJ, 2007).

These judgments conclude that Chinese people often behave in a servile or obsequious manner. Such individuals object to the use of Western names by non-Westerners in English speaking countries. Adopting a Western name, to these Westerners, is losing one's pride in his or her root and identity. However, this perception fails to account for the practicality of English names used by non-Westerners.

The present study contributes more nuances to the discussion about Taiwanese international students' and Taiwanese American students' use of English names. An interwoven dimension with regard to social interaction and cultural context showed that using English names helps the participants construct their cultural identity. Using English names on campus is treated positively by the Taiwanese international students in this study, and their use of titles with last names to address professors is an indicator of preserving their cultures, traditions, and customs.

The study also provides the grounding for me to offer some recommendations to native English speakers. First, Americans should not treat Asians' adoption and use of English names negatively or reprimand Asians for not maintaining their ethnic names. This recommendation by no means entails that most Americans do not respect Asians' choices to use English names. Rather, based on my experience, many of my American friends are interested in understanding my motivations to adopt and use an English name.

Many American professors have their own preferences regarding terms of address. Some of them consider titles superfluous and ask students to drop titles but

address them by first names. Presumably, some professors do this to show they are very approachable and others think that the titles are too formal to get close to students. However, this is not compatible to how Asian students think and behave. The students more often consider first-name address impolite and haughty based on their own cultures. Therefore, I would recommend that American professors be aware of these cultural differences in terms of address. If American professors make an effort to preserve each student's individuality, this will help students' construction of self-esteem.

Even though this research focuses mainly on Taiwanese international students and Taiwanese American students, Westerners working with students form other East Asian countries may be able to benefit from this research. As English name usage increases among East Asian countries, Westerners will gain a better understanding of East Asian students' attitudes toward English name adoption.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Personal names are a part of human culture. Opinions are commonly divided on whether names are merely arbitrary "symbols" of each entity or whether they are closely connected with our identities. Interviewing the participants makes me recognize the gap between people's everyday experiences and people's reflective understanding of those practices. The participants were readily able to provide me with rich and interesting stories about individual experiences of their names, but how much choice they had in their names bewildered them at times. In other words, they are not accustomed to reflecting on what the experience means and how the experience makes a difference in their daily practices.

Before conducting interviews, I assumed that every individual in a society can be his or her own "Commander-in-Chief:" people have the choice to determine how they want to be addressed. However, the findings contradicted my initial assumption; using a name may not be based on a personal preference. The findings show that people have little choice in their use of names. People all over the world use their names to distinguish themselves from others. In the meantime, the complicated nature of a chosen name involves emotional, interpersonal, linguistic, and social factors. Names, therefore, can be conceptualized as a balance scale with two sides—an individual side and social side. The reality is that in my study, social structures appear to outweigh individual choice.

Social rules govern the way we interact with others. We learn the rules from institutions, such as family and school, and behave in accordance with what our society expects. There are certain "unwritten rules" within each community, large or

small, regarding what practices can or cannot be done, and these rules have never been explicitly taught. One of the unwritten rules for Taiwanese students living in the United States is their use of names. The Taiwanese international students do not state whether they are able to use their names to associate or distance themselves from the community, but their use of ethnic names seems to be discouraged. They find those Taiwanese students who do not use English names in the United States special and even peculiar. The students who use ethnic names within their social networks do not become socially marginalized; nevertheless, their use of ethnic names brings about negative confrontations, such as questioning and even scoffing.

Before this study, I assumed that the Taiwanese international students' use of ethnic names could help them signify ethnic identity with other Taiwanese international students and Taiwanese American students. The findings challenged my assumption because ethnic names are perceived as undesirable and unnecessary. Interestingly, the use of ethnic names does not produce a sense of membership within the Taiwanese student community, nor does it help the students construct identity with other Taiwanese students. Rather, the use of English names creates positive prestige in social networks. Their positive attitudes toward their English names highly influence their relations with others. The participants use English names to address one another. Those who participate in the same practice not only have a higher chance of being able to transform themselves from outsiders to insiders, but also the practice increases the likelihood of better cultural adjustment and adaptation.

In the end, even though this study shows that individuals tend to have little choice in their names, on no account should this study be treated as advice for international students, sojourners, and immigrants to adopt and use English names in

the United States. Names are the very first introduction to make people know who we are. A memorable name may make a good first impression and break the boundaries between ourselves and others. Nevertheless, we do not necessarily use our names to show what we are. How we are able to get along well with people is based on more than our names. Our sincerity and how much concern we show to others should also be taken into consideration.

6.1. Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research

The results of this study are subject to at least three limitations. Firstly, the most important limitation lies in the fact that I may be partial to the analysis of Taiwanese international students. As a Taiwanese international student, my experience of using an English name in the United States may have biased me both positively and negatively in conducting parts of this research, including creating an interview guide, interviewing the participants, and interpreting the data. I presumed that our thoughts and behaviors were often similar, so I occasionally took things for granted without understanding minor issues that could be significant for outsiders.

Nevertheless, as a researcher, my previous experience as an international student was more useful than hurtful in this research because I was sympathetic with the participants. I understood what their utterances really meant and why they said what they did because their experience and the situations I encountered were very much alike. The mutual understanding between the interviewer and interviewee helped narrow the gap that often exists between researcher and researched. I firmly believe that the participants were more open to divulge personal stories and voice their opinions mainly because of our shared country of origin and ethnicity. Even

though I had familiarity with the participants, their responses were often unexpected. As a result, I re-examined the patterns I previously identified, and I believe that my results drew eclectic perspectives from the participants.

The second limitation is that the participants answered interview questions by choice. They were able to articulate their thoughts and ideas depending on how expressively they spoke Mandarin Chinese and English. Thirteen participants chose to answer questions in Mandarin Chinese. I found some of their word choice and Taiwanese cultural concepts difficult to translate. The quotes that appear on the results may not be as identical as what they intended to express. The translation I provided could be misleading due to direct translation and/or semantic mistranslation. An efficient method to solve this problem was that the participants were asked to clarify my doubts and review whether I had misrepresented their meanings in the follow-up correspondence.

Last but not least, the results could be biased based on how I recruited the participants and the sampling strategy I employed. As stated in Chapter 3, I recruited some participants from my own social network and others through the Taiwanese Students Association. The rest of the participants were recruited via snowball sampling. This purposive strategy has certain risks, and one of them is that the participants may be too homogenous to give the researcher differing perspectives (Esterberg, 2002). Despite a paucity of large-scale data, the participant demographics show nearly an even split in their gender and majors.

Although this research has some limitations, I believe that it encourages further investigation of the interrelationship between naming and identity. I hope I have provided evidence of how onomastics can be analyzed using theoretical works from

sociolinguistics, sociology, and anthropology. It is recommended that further research be conducted in the following topics: Chinese names and English names of Taiwanese people, English names of Taiwanese returnees, and Chinese names of Westerners.

A freelance writer, Man, published an insightful article on Hong Konger's English names on *The Atlantic*. This article shows that some English names of Hong Kongers were given by their parents at birth. Man suggests that cultural, linguistic, and historical factors have contributed to Hong Konger's weird-sounding and arbitrary English names. But on the contrary, its cultural idiosyncrasy helps Hong Kongers assert their Hong Kong identity (Man, 2012).

Man's article prompted me to reflect on how common or unique Taiwanese students' English names are. My research shows that the majority of the English names of Taiwanese international students and Taiwanese American students in this study are very frequent: their English names are commonly used by native English speakers. In addition, the majority of the participants were born in the 1980s, which implies that their Chinese names may embody more or less a spatio-temporal background during the 80s, for instance romance novels as mentioned in Chapter 4. More research is needed to explore whether Taiwanese parents' choice of Chinese names changes diachronically and whether more and more educated parents will give children English names at birth.

Some issues that need to be further explored are whether Westerners also adopt Chinese/Korean/Japanese names when they reside in these countries. In addition, another issue is to investigate whether Taiwanese returnees who had resided in English speaking countries for a period of time maintain or abandon English names.

A future study investigating how one's choice of name is influenced by the contact of Western and Eastern cultures would be also interesting. Whether China's emerging power and economics and the trend of learning Mandarin Chinese will be an allure for Westerners to adopt Chinese names in the next decade is worth exploring.

6.2. Finale

A few days before submitting this thesis to the Graduate Admissions and Program Evaluations (GAPE) at SJSU, I found that my personal experience interestingly yet regretfully echoed the results of my study. I intended to present my name as "Yi-An Jason Chen" on the thesis, but unfortunately the idea of using my English name, Jason, was rejected. Because the name on my thesis needs to be my legal name, which is Yi-An Chen, I was required to remove "Jason" from my original manuscript's title page, which I reluctantly did. Although the authority has power to ask me to erase my English name from my thesis, this anecdote has become indelibly imprinted on my mind and underlines once again the importance of social structures in shaping and sometimes determining the uses of Chinese and English names.

References

Anderson, J. P. (2009). Cultural attitudes and learning perceptions of Taiwanese graduates from a Midwestern Educational Administration doctoral program (Doctoral dissertation, University of South Dakota, 2008). *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 69(10), 3808.

Anheier, H. K., Gerhards, J., & Romo, F. P. (1995). Forms of capital and social structure in cultural fields: Examining Bourdieu's social topography. *American Journal of Sociology*, 100(4), 859-903.

Babb, J. Y. (2008). Multicultural identity formation through the eyes of first generation Taiwanese-American immigrants: An explorative study (Doctoral dissertation, The Claremont Graduate University and San Diego State University, 2008). *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 69(03), 1036.

Block, D. (2007). The rise of identity in SLA research, post Firth and Wagner (1997). *The Modern Language Journal*, 91, 863-876.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste* (R. Nice, Trans.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In A. H. Halsey (Ed.), *Education: Culture, economy, and society* (pp. 46-58). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Chang, C., & Wu, M. M. (2009). Address form shifts in interpreted Q&A sessions. *Interpreting*, 11(2), 164-189.

Chee, M. (2005). *Taiwanese American transitional families: Women and kin work.* New York: Routledge Press.

Chen, J. (1988). Culture capsule from China; naming taboo. *Language Association Bulletin*, 40(1), 5-6.

Chen, J. (2006, May 8). *The ubiquity of Chen and Lin.* Retrieved from National Statistics, R.O.C. (Taiwan): http://www1.stat.gov.tw/public/Data/512614335471.doc

Chiang, S. (2009). The assessment experiences of four Taiwanese students in an American graduate business school (Doctoral dissertation, Fordham University, 2008). *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 69(10), 3842.

Christensen, T. J. (2002). The contemporary security dilemma: Deterring a Taiwan conflict. *The Washington Quarterly*, 25(4), 7-21.

Creswell, J. (2002). Educational research: Planning, conducting, and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill Prentice Hall.

Crystal, D. (1995). *The Cambridge encyclopedia of the English language*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Curtin, M. L. (2009). Languages on display: Indexical signs, identities and the linguistic landscape of Taipei. In E. Shohamy, & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic landscape* (pp. 221-237). New York, NY: Routledge.

Edwards, R. (2006). What's in a name? Chinese learners and the practice of adopting 'English' names. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 19(1), 90-103.

Esterberg, K. G. (2002). *Qualitative methods in social research.* New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Fang, H., & Heng, J. H. (1983). Social changes and changing address norms in China. *Language in Society*, 12(4), 495-507.

Farley, R., & Alba, R. (2002). The new second generation in the United States. *International Migration Review*, 36, 669-701.

Figlio, D. N. (2005). Names, expectations and the black-white test score gap (NBER Working Paper 11195). Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.

Gao, Y., Xiu, L., & Kuang, W. (2010). "I want to be a captain of my own heart"—English names and identity construction by English majors in a comprehensive university. *Chinese Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 33(2), 3-17.

Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age*. Cambridge: Polity.

Gu, Y. (1990). Politeness phenomena in modern Chinese. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 14, 237-257.

Hall, S. (2003). Cultural identity and diaspora. In J. E. Braziel, & A. Mannur (Eds.), *Theorizing diaspora: A reader* (pp. 233-246). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

He, Z. (2002). A brief discussion of "bi hui" —"avoiding a taboo." *Journal of Zhejiang University (Humanities and Social Sciences)*, 32(1), 82-88.

Ho, E. S. (2009). Educational leadership for parental involvement in an Asian context: Insights from Bourdieu's theory of practice. *The School Community Journal*, 19(2), 101-122.

Hough, C. (2000). Towards an explanation of phonetic differentiation in masculine and feminine personal names. *Journal of Linguistics*, 36, 1-11.

Hu, A. (2011, December 31). Don't tell colleges you're Asian? Or ultimate quotas? *AsianWeek*. Retrieved from http://www.asianweek.com/2011/12/31/dont-tell-colleges-youre-asian-or-ultimate-quotas/

Huang, C. (2007). Language planning for naming and its socio-cultural connotations: A case study in Taiwan. *Current issues in language planning*, 8(3), 305-323.

Huang, Y. (2010). Listening to their voices: An in-depth study of language anxiety and cultural adjustment among Taiwanese graduate students in the United States (Doctoral dissertation, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, 2009). *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 70(12), 4583.

IIE (Institute of International Education). (2011). *International student enrollment increased by 5 percent in 2010/11*. Retrieved from http://www.iie.org/Who-We-Are/News-and-Events/Press-Center/Press-Releases/2011/2011-11-14-Open-Doors-International-Students/

JamesJ. (2007, September 6). Why do many Chinese people like to have Western first names? [Msg 1]. Message posted to http://www.topix.com/forum/world/hong-kong/TAPPR63I5NKEP0DHF/

Kang, Y., & Yang, K. C. C. (2011). The rhetoric of ethnic identity construction among Taiwanese immigrants in the United States. *The Howard Journal of Communication*, 22, 163-182.

Kim, T. (2007). The dynamics of ethnic name maintenance and change: Cases of Korean ESL immigrants in Toronto. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 28(2), 117-133.

King, N., & Horrocks, C. (2010). *Interviews in qualitative research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kumaravadivelu, B. (2008). *Cultural globalization and language education.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Lambert, E., & Pei, M. (1960). *Our names: Where they came from and what they really mean*. New York: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co.

Lave, J. (1988). *Cognition in practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

LeCompte, M. D., & Schensul, J. J. (1999). *Analyzing and interpreting ethnographic data*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira.

Leung, G. Y. (2011). Disambiguating the term "Chinese": An analysis of Chinese American surname naming practices. *Names*, 59(4), 204-213.

Li, B., & Jhang, J. (2006, January 10). New “baijiaxing” is “released.” “Li” is still the top one surname. *Xinhuanet.* Retrieved from http://news.xinhuanet.com/st/2006-01/10/content_4032643.htm

Li, D. C. S. (1997). Borrowed identity: Signaling involvement with a Western name. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 28, 489-513.

Li, L. (2002). English polymorphs of Chinese personal names. *English Today*, 18(2), 51-57.

Lin, C. (2003). Taiwanese parental expectations and involvement in their young children's English language learning. *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 63(7), 2436A. (UMI No. DA3059169)

Liu, Y. (2010). Identity issues in Asian-American children's and adolescent literature (1999-2007) (Doctoral dissertation, University of North Texas, 2009). *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 71(03), 0894.

Louie, E. W. (2006). Remarkable similarities between traditional Chinese and Anglo-Saxon England's naming customs. *Names*, 54(3), 211-220.

Louie, E. W. (1998). *Chinese American names: Tradition and transition*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company.

Lowther, W. (2012, May 2). US Representative wants fairness for Taiwanese voters. *Taipei Times.* Retrieved from http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2012/05/02/2003531791

Mackey, A., & Gass, S. M. (2005). *Second language research: Methodology and design.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Man, J. (2012, October 1). Hong Kong loves weird English names. *The Atlantic.* Retrieved from http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2012/10/hong-kong-loves-weird-english-names/263103/

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Mukhopadhyay, C. C., Henze, R., & Moses, Y. T. (2007). *How real is race? A sourcebook on race, culture, and biology.* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Education.

Ng, F. (1998). *The Taiwanese Americans (the new Americans)*. New York, NY: Greenwood Press.

Okamura, A. (2009). Do English speakers address their Japanese colleagues by their first name, while talking in English in Japan? *Multilingua*, 28(4), 355-377.

Oyserman, D., & Sakamoto, I. (1997). Being Asian American: Identity, cultural constructs and stereotype perception. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 33, 435-453.

Patton, M. Q. (1980). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ramos, H. (2001). It was always there? Looking for identity in all the (not) so obvious places. In J. E. Carl, & A. Shadd (Eds.), *Talking about identity: Encounters in race, ethnicity, and language* (pp. 104-114). Toronto, Canada: Between The Lines.

Rubin, R. B. (1981). Ideal traits and terms of address for male and female college professors. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 41(5), 966-974.

Shih, H. (2008, September 18). Hanyu Pinyin to be standard system in 2009. *Taipei Times*. Retrieved from http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2008/09/18/2003423528

SlideshowPics. (2010, March 2). Write in "Taiwanese" - US Census 2010 [Video file]. Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mcFLfw73O30

Suleiman, Y. (2006). Constructing languages, constructing national identities. In T. Omoniyi, & G. White (Eds.), *The sociolinguistics of identity* (pp. 50-71). London: Continuum.

Sung, C. (2001). Investigating rounded academic success: The influence of English language proficiency, academic performance, and socio-academic interaction for Taiwanese doctoral students in the United States. *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 61(7), 2627A. (UMI No. DA9977270)

Sunstein, B. S., & Chiseri-Strater, E. (2007). *Fieldworking: Reading and writing research* (3rd ed.). Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's.

Tajfel, H. (1978). *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations.* London: Academic Press.

Tan, L. (2010, April 3). Asians ditch identities in hunt for jobs. *The New Zealand Herald*. Retrieved from http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10636001

Tan, P. K. W. (2001). Englishised names? An analysis of naming patterns among ethnic Chinese Singaporeans. *English Today*, 17(4), 45-53.

The China Post news staff. (2008, September 18). Gov't to improve English-friendly environment. *The China Post*. Retrieved from http://www.chinapost.com.tw/taiwan/national/national%20news/2008/09/18/175155/Gov%27t-to.htm/

Thomas, D. R. (2006). A general inductive approach for analyzing qualitative evaluation data. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 27(2), 237-246.

Thompson, R. (2006). Bilingual, bicultural, and binominal identities: Personal name investment and the imagination in the lives of Korean Americans. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, 5(3), 179-208.

Tibbals, C. A. (2007). Doing gender as resistance. Waitresses and servers in contemporary table service. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 36(6), 731-751.

Tsai, C. (2006, January 10). Taiwan baijiaxing [web log comment]. Retrieved from http://taiwan.chtsai.org/2006/01/10/taiwan_baijiaxing/

Tsao, N. (2011, August 27). US census shows Taiwanese figures almost doubled. *Taipei Times*. Retrieved from http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/front/archives/2011/08/27/2003511761

Tse, L. (2001). *"Why don't they learn English?" Separating fact from fallacy in the U.S. language debate.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Tuan, M. (1999). Neither real Americans nor real Asians? Multigeneration Asian ethnics navigating the terrain of authenticity. *Qualitative Sociology*, 22(2), 105-125.

Wardhaugh, R. (2010). *An introduction to sociolinguistics* (6th ed.). Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wenger, E., White, N., & Smith, J. D. (2009). *Digital habitats: Stewarding technology for communities*. Portland, OR: CPsquare.

Whissell, C. (2001). Sound and emotion in given names. *Names*, 49(2), 97-120.

Wu, W. (1999). A study of the process of cross-cultural adjustment and second language acquisition of Taiwanese students on an American university campus. *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 59(7), 2313A. (UMI No. DA9842385)

Appendix A: Interview Transcription

The following is a partial transcription of my interview with Elena, a 1.5 generation Taiwanese American student. This excerpt exemplifies how Elena addresses her professors on campus.

J: Jason, the interviewer

E: Elena, the interviewee

J: …. Right, the very formal setting. And how do you address professors?

E: Isn't it obvious?

J: I don't know!

E: Title, oh you know it, title, last name.

J: Title plus last name. Can you talk about why don't you use maybe title plus first name, or just, without title?

E: Ok. Let's go with title with first name, just sounds very weird. That's it.

J: Why weird? I mean a lot of students they just you know, they just use first name, or…

E: Dr. Stef? Sounds… weird. Well, I guess based on the idea of hmm, like when you talk to someone, it's like this is when you're little, this is Chou, this is Mr. blah in textbook, like Mr. Thompson, Mr. this. So you kinda associate with title or some kinda address with the last name, so therefore the title with the first name just doesn't make that much sense.

J: Title plus first name?

E: It doesn't make much sense when you read a lot of literature, it's usually there are literature who goes title with first name, but usually title and then last name.

J: But that's still literature, but…

E: Right, but then when you are in kindergarten, or when you grew up here, you'll be usually Mr. Saxpeare or something. So, you're used to that, and so you kind of, when you go to college, you kind of, ok, based on the same convention I guess the safest way would be Dr., you know the title, and last name. Like, Professor that.

J: So it's always title plus last name?

E: Or Professor, if I don't want to… well, Dr. Swathi is different, because I never said his last name. And he's like call me Dr. Swathi, so I thought it was [inaudible]. And I'm comfortable with it. What I care the most is the Dr., I want it there.

J: Hmm, ok…

E: I think they earned it, and I think it's my, a way to show respect. Unless they really

hate it, like one professor really hates it, I'm not mentioning about who he is. So, everything is like calling professor. Professor, Professor, I just can't, I just don't want to call him by his first name.
J: Ok, and when you hear some students they just call their professors by their first names only, what do you think? Like, impolite, or… any negative connotation?
E: No, they just, I just think they're doing, in a, they're seeing this professor-student relationship more informal manner, and I think as the informal manner, so you cannot just judge how they use it if they view in a two different situations. You can only judge as in the same situation like that, but a lot of people just view that as informal relationship, so you can understand that.
J: Do you think that it might be influenced by your parents, maybe your parents have said that, oh you have to address people as their titles with last names.
E: Well, they never specify it but they also know that you have to show respect, then part of the respect is, like a name, like we talk about name, name means a lot, the way if people purposely pronounce your name right, wrong, it's like an insult. So as a child, you know, oh this person is older than you, therefore you don't say their full name, like your dad, you can't call him by his name, you address him as father, or something…
J: Kinship term?
E: Right, kinship term, you'll sound replacement over there to kind of cover that name to show, you know, you honor or respect to that person. So basically, I like thinking it's good, it actually shows the boundary too, it's a reminder for me, like he's a professor. And what kind of help, what kind of thing you can help with.
J: Ok.
E: If I really like the person, I really wanna honor that person I use by like last name. For example my mentor, I go by Mrs. dadada, even she's in America and everyone call her by her first name, but I just like the idea like, she's authority, and she's my mentor, and I thought it's really nice to call her by her last name, her title, Mrs. and then last name.
J: I probably know the professor you're talking about…. No I mean like, at first I kinda felt uncomfortable, and first I just said Dr. blahblahblah, and then he said call me, blah.
E: Err, yeah, that! I thought it was so weird, because his thinking was really like imposed on everyone…
J: Why don't you think that he didn't have to, like for people to call his first name…
E: I don't think… because there's nothing inherently wrong. Ok, so, let's just look at

the conservative manner, there's no inherently wrong to recognize someone's title, in this case PhD, Doctor, and last name. There's noting wrong with it, pretty formal and everyone knows it. But, if you are going to had someone, so, there's nothing uncomfortable about it. Ok, but if you make someone talk about, call that person's first name, and some students see, like I mentioned the relationship as more formal or they think it's really honorable to call you Doctor something. It puts people more uncomfortable situation, and, you know, kind of go against like adequate, kind of those, kind of rules.

J: Cuz I think maybe the professor just wanna, you know, show the intimate relationship with students…

E: For me, intimate relationship can be established, no matter… I don't see calling someone Doctor something makes distance. It just like, I view you as, it just a recognition of your role. It doesn't mean it would be really distant, then you would be scared off. Actually, having to call him by his first name made me more scared of him.

J: Uh (laugh), why?

E: Because I don't want to call him by his first name, pretty like somehow I'll say, Dr. dalala, and then he would feel offended, so I always have to be careful, just Professor. But then, you don't want to repeat Professor too much because, and so, then he would get the point, you are not going to call him by his first name. So I kind of adopt it, in a way it kind of make it more distant.

J: That's interesting. And, if you maybe go to Jamba Juice or you know, this random people, how would the people address you? Let's say, the Jamba Juice guy said what's your name? and cuz you just order a juice and they have to call you later.

E: Right!

J: So, how would you…

E: It would be Elena.

J: Ok, still use Elena.

E: But, if I help people or serve people, and then if someone's older than me, I say, what's your… uh, Mrs. like, if I know, and get the last name…

J: I see. So I kinda wanna talk about move to name and identity, yeah. So, cuz I think some people think that names are part of who they are, so can you talk about any interesting, or special, or any uncomfortable experience or stories regarding to your Chinese name or English name?

E: Part of the thing is that I don't like people know my Chinese name, they never get a tone right, and they kinda sound really, either they sound stupid, or they make me look stupider. I think that'll tell you enough. Like the not so nice people, and try to

mimic and make fun of it, and then really people would try so hard, you feel embarrassed. Sorry they never get it right, unless they're really good at tones.
J: Cuz sometimes you know some Americans are really aggressive, they would really challenge so, they would say, why do you use an English name? Why don't you use your Chinese name? How would you tell them?
E: Ok, my question is, say a hundred times, can you get it?
J: And they say, well if I can't, I can still try to pronounce your Chinese name…
E: It sounds horrible.
J: No, I'm like just imitate their responses.
E: Yeah! I think you sound horrible.
J: And, you'll say you sound horrible?
E: I say, well people can't get it right, and it's an insult to me when you don't get my name right. Just like it's an insult to you if I don't…. Yeah, I mean you're not talking to me anymore then. If you get it wrong, you're not talking to me (laugh), you're talking someone else. But, since you cannot pronounce it right, I have to nice enough to respond to that name which is not mine.
J: I see, so you said that, if…
E: Be a nice way, I'm saying that in a more aggressive way.
J: So if people kind of mispronounce your name, or maybe, they miss the, they're not able to capture the tone, so you're kinda think that they're insulting you?
E: No, I mean, an insult is if you insist on using someone's name when you cannot say it. Like if I give you other options, if today I didn't give you any options, but you have to use my Chinese name. Oh, if you mess up, OK! it doesn't matter.
J: I see. I just kinda wanna understand, what kind of, so maybe when you go to church or maybe other contexts, how do others address you?
J: Still, Elena, right?
E: Hmm.
J: Cuz you told me that you took a Chinese lesson, like two semesters ago?
E: Yeah.
J: What kind of name…
E: 莞芸. Sounds pretty.
J: So, why don't you use Elena in that class?
E: Why do you use your English name in English class?
J: (pause) No, I'm talking about cuz you're in America, and you just…
E: You were in Taiwan. You got used to your Chinese name for a long time, your teacher required you to use.

J: Ok, so you're saying that the teacher forced you to use your Chinese name in the classroom?
E: Um, yeah. Because they, in a way they it reminds students that you're in Chinese class, like you know sometimes I mention that if you start speaking Chinese the first word, like people if someone who fully in Chinese totally turn on their, I don't believe that languages are stored in different part of brain, but it turns on their brain like, Oh! Chinese language, they respond in Chinese. You know what I mean? But, if you're using Chinese, English in the Chinese class, oh, like Jason! Jason 你覺得怎樣, isn't it sound kinda awkward? Because you kinda wanna remind them of the identity in the classroom, like you're trying to learn Chinese, try to... that's why they have Chinese names. And just like, what your teacher want you to use your English name too.
J: Ok, I see. So basically teachers are really significant to decide your name on the classroom? I mean, Chinese classroom…
E: Right, teachers have the preference.
J: And also, just like a hypothetical question. If you're going to attend a Taiwanese gathering, it's just like, and all of the people are Taiwanese, they're no Americans. If you have a chance to do that, how would you introduce yourself to the people, in front of other people? And they're all Taiwanese.
E: If they know English?
J: They're like international students anyway.
E: You introduce yourself as…
J: I, I'm asking you, not myself.
E: No, think of your situation, why would you use English? It just properly… it just [inaudible], I don't know.
J: The situation?
E: The situation like, you're so used to introducing yourself as your, like you're in America, you're so used to using Elena. You know what I mean? kind of cuz Chinese name becomes a more personal enclosed circle, so you don't know these people, you're meeting them the first time, you don't want, you don't need to get that intimate with them, you just use your English name. And that's the name you respond to most of the time. It just kinda like a habit, like someone goes to the wrong department they say 莞芸, I probably won't respond because I don't expect to be there. And, so, it's easier I respond to Elena faster becuase I'm kinda thinking not a lot of people's gonna call me 莞芸 anyway. So, in the Chinese gathering, probably going to be Elena.
J: So, even they're all Taiwanese, they speak Mandarin, they speak English, you still use Elena instead of your Chinese name?

E: Because, it just, it just, it just like that. You're not used, it doesn't harm anything, and then it's more convenient for me.

Appendix B: IRB Approval Letter

SAN JOSÉ STATE
UNIVERSITY

Division of Academic Affairs
Associate Vice President
Graduate Studies & Research
www.sjsu.edu/gradstudies

One Washington Square
San José, California 95192-0025
Voice: 408-924-2427
Fax: 408-924-2612

www.sjsu.edu

To: Yi-An Chen

From: Pamela Stacks, Ph.D.
Associate Vice President
Graduate Studies and Research

Date: October 26, 2011

The Human Subjects-Institutional Review Board has approved your request to use human subjects in the study entitled:

"A Comparison between English Names of Taiwanese International Students and Taiwanese American Students"

This approval is contingent upon the subjects participating in your research project being appropriately protected from risk. The approval includes continued monitoring of your research by the Board to assure that the subjects are being adequately and properly protected from any such risks. If at any time a subject becomes injured or complains of injury, you must notify Dr. Pamela Stacks, Ph.D. immediately. Injury includes but is not limited to bodily harm, psychological trauma, and release of potentially damaging personal information. This approval for the human subject's portion of your project is in effect for one year, and data collection beyond October 26, 2012 requires an extension request.

Please also be advised that all subjects need to be fully informed and aware that their participation in your research project is voluntary, and that he or she may withdraw from the project at any time. Further, a subject's participation, refusal to participate, or withdrawal will not affect any services that the subject is receiving or will receive at the institution in which the research is being conducted.

If you have any questions, please contact me at (408) 924-2427.

Protocol #S1104088

cc. Rosemary Henze 0093

The California State University:
Chancellor's Office
Bakersfield, Channel Islands, Chico, Dominguez Hills, East Bay, Fresno, Fullerton, Humboldt, Long Beach, Los Angeles, Maritime Academy, Monterey Bay, Northridge, Pomona, Sacramento, San Bernardino, San Diego, San Francisco, San José, San Luis Obispo, San Marcos, Sonoma, Stanislaus

Appendix C: Interview Questions

(The interview questions below are designed for Taiwanese international students)

Background

1. Where were you born and raised?
2. How long have you resided in the U.S.?
3. Can you describe your family background?
4. Can you describe why you chose to study abroad in the U.S.?

Languages

5. How many language(s) do you speak?
6. How long have you learned English?
7. What do you think about your language skills?
8. What language(s) do you use at home?
9. What language(s) do you use at school?

Names

A. Chinese Name

10. Who gave you your Chinese name?
11. Are there any symbolic meanings to your Chinese names?
12. Are there any stories about your Chinese name adoption?
13. Have you changed your Chinese name?
14. How do you like/dislike your Chinese name?

B. English Name

15. When did you adopt your English name?
16. Can you describe what motivated you to adopt an English name?
17. Can you describe the processes how you chose your English name or how you were given your English name by others?
18. Are there any associations between your English name and your Chinese name?
19. Have you ever changed your English name?
20. How do you like/dislike your English name?
21. Do your parents and/or friends in Taiwan know your English name? If so, how have they reacted to your English name?

Name and Social Context

22. Are there any mandatory policies that require you to possess both on official Chinese and English name? If so, what are they?
23. In what circumstances do you use your Chinese/English name rather than the other?

(a) Business transactions: bank account, signature signed on debit/credit card
(b) Legal documents: Passport, Visa, Student ID, driver's license
(c) Campus: submission of assignments and papers, exams, name(s) used on school website
(d) Chat room

24. Please talk about, on a typical day, how classmates address you on campus. Also, how do you address classmates?
25. Please talk about, on a typical day, how professors address you on campus. Also, how do you address professors?
26. Please talk about, on a typical day, how people address you off campus. Also, how do you address others?

Name and Identity

27. Some people believe that personal names are part of who they are. Please talk about any interesting/special/uncomfortable experiences or stories regarding your English name and Chinese name.
28. If you are going to attend the Taiwanese dinner gathering, how would you introduce yourself to those people who you do not know?
29. There are different ethnicities, such as American, Britain, German, Korean, Vietnamese, Japanese, and Japanese American. How would you identify yourself?
30. How would your friends who share the same cultural background with you identify themselves?
31. If you were asked to describe similarities or differences between Chinese and Taiwanese, what would you say? How about Asian Americans, Chinese Americans, and Taiwanese Americans?