

Our Names in the Computing Age

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

¿Cómo se llama? This first question that any language student learns to ask may not have such an easy answer as we imagine. Names can carry a whole array of social baggage (if we are proud of the baggage we call it heritage), be it religious, cultural, linguistic, national, etc. My own name Gaberiel is a good (albeit misspelled) Biblical name with Romantic flair. Never mind that I am neither a religious person nor particularly Romantic. We see that the semantic relation between a name and its bearer is not one-to-one; however, what assumptions do we make about someone named Wang Xiaojin?

Asking the *cómo-se-llama* in Western context presupposes a fixed answer. The taxman would be baffled if Walter informed him that he should be addressed as Jean-Pierre for the entirety of 2020. (It is, after all, a leap year.) The IRS would cease to function if it had to honor such naming practices for 320 million citizens.

Administrative convenience, as Scott, Tehranian, and Mathias [9] finds, has been the primary factor promoting the spread of fixed legal names and hereditary surnames. For example, in England, surnames were first adopted by the landed Norman élite. As the bureaucracy strengthened and middling types aspired to emulate their status. The practice spread down the social ladder and by the end of the 18th century had reached all parts of Great Britain. An accelerated programme as such occurred in Turkey, under the Westernising régime of Atatürk.

As we can see, fixed legal names are not a fact of life; they are a construction. In many non-industrialised societies, we find that naming is fluid and context-dependent. For example, the Giriama...

Fluid naming practices presuppose relative familiarity and the sharing of social context. Such practices cannot withstand a growing bureaucratic presence; governments need a “synoptic” view of their populations [9].

Today, computers are making the synoptic view ever more crystal clear for decision makers, providing precise and updated information from all parts of the Empire. On top of the requirement of a fixed legal name, it is now expected (if not mandated) that the name be compatible with institutional systems of digital record-keeping. This is the name that will go on your birth certificate, your passport, your driver’s licence, your social security card; it is the name that makes you You.

How are people affected when their name doesn’t “play nice” with the computer? We will look at several cases for people whose names could not be properly represented in digital form because of length, character limitations, etc. What are the effects of such a predicament? How do the persons feel about possibly changing their names for the convenience of administrative technology? How willing are governments or companies to rectify the situation? These are issues at the crux of the modern discourse around how to balance administrative efficiency with respect for individual expression and human dignity; in short, how to save ourselves from alienation in a digital world.

1.1.1 The Computer Age

Since the 1960s, computers have become central to financial, governance, and social infrastructures. This makes the computer essential to the functioning of modern society; its impact is felt across all endeavours and all regions of the world. Hence computing sits at the crossroads of pressing social discourses, including centralisation, globalisation, alienation, etc. While it would be simplistic to attribute broad processes solely to a change in technology (the centralisation of state power, for instance, is ongoing since at least the High Middle Ages in the case of Western Europe) the computer has accelerated the spread of such phenomena.

On the other hand, the victims of centralisation and globalisation find ways to harness technology to their own ends: facilitating niche communications, preserving dying languages, decentralizing currency controls, and other technologies that efface the traditional boundaries between ordinary people and power structures. The impact of computing on social structures is thus ambiguous; the computer is not just a technological artifact, but an institution whose analysis is intertwined with today’s cultural dialogue.

1.1.2 Plan

In this paper, we will explore how the computers are transforming the names we call ourselves and each other; naming practices are a facet of culture whose modern destiny is tied up with the Computing Age. By “naming practices”, we mean the patterns and expectations within a culture that govern the use of linguistic tokens for the identification of self and others. The forms and customs of naming exhibit vast variation across time and space; yet in a world powered by SQL queries, a fluid, context-dependent naming system is anathema to the desire of governments and organizations to accurately track individual persons on a massive scale.

First, we’ll review the worldwide diversity of naming customs and consider what sociological functions are played by a name’s contents. Then we will examine the impact of computing on personal names. This entails both “bizarre news” cases, in which people’s names do not “play nice” with a computer system, but also more serious questions, such as how computers are reshaping personal and cultural identities, and whether persons’ names in developing countries are adequately supported by dominant computer infrastructure. Finally, we evaluate strategies and efforts to ensure that computer systems can support as broad a spectrum of the world’s names as possible and that new technologies will preserve and protect a person’s unique identities. We will consider each of the following research questions:

1.1.3 Research Questions

- How do computers influence the form that personal names may take?
- How can computers impact personal and cultural identities?
- How can we protect the social content of names in developing countries and among minority-language speakers?

Chapter 2

What does my name mean to me?

2.1 Names

You see, to some people in the world, your name is everything. If I say my name to an elder Hawaiian (kupuna), they know everything about my husband's family going back many generations...just from the name. [11]

(Janice "Lokelani" Keihanaikukauakahihuliheekahaunaele)

Nearly all human beings have one or more names. Article Seven of the Convention on the Rights of the Child enshrines a person's fundamental right to a name: "The child shall be registered immediately after birth and shall have the right from birth to a name." [3]

2.1.1 A Survey of the World's Names

Besides the fact that names are given in all languages and scripts of the world, the form and significance of names varies immensely. Anglo-American practice entails two given names, the "first" and "middle" names, appended to a patrilineal surname. In many Hispanophone cultures, a child receives both a patrilineal and a matrilineal surname, with the father's surname taking precedence in terms of identification. An Icelandic surname consists of the father's given name with the attached suffix -son or -dottir, depending on gender. A similar practice occurs in Pakistan, without any suffixation on the father's given name. Finch [6] reports that many South Indian persons have three names, a personal name, a family name, and a village name.

The ordering of a name's elements also varies. East Asian and Hungarian names reverse the Western order, putting the given name after the family name. Standard Chinese given names consist of two characters, whose meanings may or may not be interconnected (Emma Woo). Wardhaugh [10] cites data from **evans-pritchard48** regarding Sudan's Nuer people: Nuers receive both a paternal and maternal given name, a ceremonial clan name, and take for themselves an "ox name" from a favorite domestic animal.

From a high-level survey it is clear that great diversity exists around names worldwide; but we should not view each one as a static system. Instead, a naming culture constitutes a space of social rules and expectations which allow for cultural expression thru individual acts. On one end, a name can be used to locate the individual within a subgroup of the society, due to the name's linguistic, cultural, or religious connotations. For example, religion has been an important influence on naming; bearing a Christian or Islamic name marks someone as a likely member of that religious group. The linguistic origin of a name may also convey information. People often ask the origin of my last name, DeFreitas, which comes from Portuguese, a language I do not speak or have any ancestral connection to. In other cases, a name's origin may alert you successfully to the bearer's ancestry. In Kenya, we find the Giriama group, whose clan name system identifies not only the bearer's clan, but also provides information about the bearer's generation and birth order within the clan **parkin89**.

2.1.2 Functions of a Name

Why do people have names? We will divide the functions of names into *reference* and *symbolic* functions, which categories we will further subdivide below.

Reference Functions

Consider a table that contains one row for every person with whom you are acquainted. We store everything we know about a person in their database entry: nationality, appearance, favorite foods, pet peeves, etc. But faced with this vast set of data, we need each row (person) to have one relatively unique identifier with which we can access their entry and retrieve the other fields. (Using hair color, for example, would be a poor choice. The datum "brown hair" does not narrow our search to a single individual.) A personal name is this token by which we single out a specific individual, a concise token which makes reference to the larger concept of a given human being.

The reference function of a name does not depend on the name's content; any unique or nearly unique token allows us to navigate the database. It is not clear that "John" is a more effective identifier than "12345678"; indeed the latter seems more likely to be unambiguous. Scott, Tehranian, and Mathias [9] argues

that this need for “legibility” is part of the explanation for the standardized use of patrilineal family surnames by modern states.

The rise of the permanent patronym is inextricably associated with those aspects of state-making in which it was desirable to distinguish individual (male) subjects: tax collection (including tithes), conscription, land revenue, court judgements, witness records, and police work. ([9])

Symbolic Functions

The symbolic function of a name is played by the name’s content itself; the complex of information that the linguistic form conveys, be it genealogical, cultural, linguistic, religious, etc. This is the function that

We can further subdivide a name’s symbolic functions; they sit on a spectrum between what Finch [6] calls individualizing functions and connecting functions.

Individualizing functions are those aspects of a name which make a statement on the individual themselves. The clearest manifestation of this is the choice of a child’s forename; indeed this makes more of a statement on the parent than the child itself. “In selecting a name (especially for a first-born child) parents are not only determining the personhood of their child but are also taking a key step in defining their own new identity as parents.” [6, p. 718] Hence a parent can name their child something “beautiful” like “Isabella” or something “strong” like “Samson”.

“Call him Voldemort, Harry. Always use the proper name for things. Fear of a name increases fear of the thing itself.” [rowling97]
(Albus Dumbledore)

Connecting functions are facets that locate the individual within a larger milieu. Most basically this takes the form of surnames, which in Anglophone societies identify the paternal family unit to which the individual belongs. “The construction of a name, and its uses through a lifetime, also can embody a sense of connectedness with family - with the parents who gave the name, and with others in a domestic arrangement or a kin network with whom all or part of the name is shared.” [6, p. 711] We can find more subtle connecting functions, however. Choosing a first name after an older ancestor connects you to a more specific family relationship. And even the linguistic or religious connotations carried within the first or last name can connect a person to or set them apart from the dominant society in which they live.

2.1.3 Digital Names

This paper explores a modern tension between the name's reference and symbolic function: computers. As the world has become computerized and the world's information stored in databases, At the same time, a name cannot remain the sole property of its owner; it must facilitate interaction with the wider world as a means of address. If a name affirms your status as an individual, it no less affirms your status as a citizen of your country, resident of your city, customer of your electric service provider, holder of your credit card, employee of your company, and recipient of your parking ticket. A name is worth nothing if others people in the environs cannot pronounce it, write it, or remember it.

2.1.4 Computers

The “digital age” (to be fair, we should include the impact of typewriters as well) has changed writing from an analogue and freeform practice to one based on combinations of discrete and fixed glyphs. Since most early development of computers took place in the United States, English gained a natural ascendancy over other languages in the field of digital communication. English, perhaps as a coincidence, is also one of the easiest languages to represent in code, requiring at the bare minimum just the 26 non-accented characters of the English alphabet, perhaps with some punctuation and numbers. The ASCII standard encoding, with 127 available code points, is more than enough to represent the English language in digital form. Thus, organizations which deal only infrequently with non-English text have been slow to update their databases to Unicode standards.

2.2 Unicode

2.2.1 Computers and Writing Systems

The unfortunate truth is that your computer can only read, write, or think in 1s and 0s. That mean any text a computer deals with must somehow be stored as a number; encoding schemes describe how the computer should convert this number into a string of characters or vice versa. All computers on a network must adhere to the *same* encoding system, lest streams of text be interpreted incorrectly and communication failures ensue.

The American Standard Code for Information Interchange (ASCII), a 7-bit encoding scheme, was released in 1963 and quickly became the worldwide standard for digital text encoding. It was even endorsed by President Lyndon Johnson, who ordered in 1968 that all federal government computers must be ASCII-compatible. This was a easy decision for the US President, as the 128 (2^7) char-

acters in ASCII included all necessary symbols to represent modern English text.

USASCII code chart																
								0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
b7	b6	b5	b4	b3	b2	b1	b0	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	NUL	DLE	SP	@	P	\	p		
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	SOH	DC1	!	1	A	Q	a	q	
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	STX	DC2	"	2	B	R	b	r	
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	ETX	DC3	#	3	C	S	c	s	
0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	EOT	DC4	\$	4	D	T	d	t	
0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	ENQ	NAK	%	5	E	U	e	u	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	ACK	SYN	&	6	F	V	f	v	
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	BEL	ETB	'	7	G	W	g	w	
0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	BS	CAN	(	8	H	X	h	x
0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	HT	EM	)	9	I	Y	i	y
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	LF	SUB	*	:	J	Z	j	z	
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	VT	ESC	+	;	K	[	k	(
0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	FF	FS	,	<	L	\	l	l	
0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	CR	GS	-	=	M	]	m)	
0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	SO	RS	.	>	N	^	n	~	
0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	SI	US	/	?	O	_	o	DEL	

The problem arose when computer technology spread beyond the labs of Silicon Valley and government offices in Washington. In other countries and languages, there was a vast array of linguistic forms, including diacritical marks, right-to-left scripts, and pictographic writing systems, which ASCII was unequipped to handle. In the 1990s, many national encoding schemes were created to represent languages other than English. Most of these were 8-bit “extensions” of ASCII of 256 characters (2^8), meaning the original 128-character ASCII set remained intact, and useful non-English characters were added in the remaining slots. The only problem here is that they were not intercompatible, meaning that documents might not “play nice” when transferred between countries or languages.

Unicode and its dominant encoding scheme UTF-8 intend to alleviate these problems by collecting all of the world’s glyphs into one system. The 127 characters in ASCII are represented using the same single-byte codes, which means that no conversion for existing ASCII files is necessary, and these will not become bloated in a new conversion scheme. But the encoding scheme takes advantage of modern computer’s greater storage capacities to represent 1,112,064 distinct characters.

Chapter 3

When names don't play nice

3.1 Birth Certificates

American law holds the naming of children to be the right and responsibility of parents, without shutting the door on regulating edge cases, like “Ghoul Nipple”, “Legend Belch”, “Brfxxcxxmnpccclllmmnprxvclmncckssqlbb11116”, and “” [7]. Many American state governments abridge this right with reference to diacritical marks letters, hardly an edge case in many languages around the world. Larson [7, p. 5] investigates this in his study of American naming law, finding California, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Kansas to be among the states with such rules. We will focus here on California, because of the sparsity of documentation in the other states and because California’s large Hispanophone population makes the situation there particularly glaring.

3.1.1 California

About 29% of California’s population are Spanish speakers. [4] Guidelines provided by the California Office of Vital Records (OVR) inform county agents that baby names may contain only “the 26 alphabetical characters of the English language with appropriate punctuation if necessary” and that “no pictographs, ideograms, diacritical marks (including ‘é,’ ‘ñ,’ and ‘ç’) are allowed” [7].

The OVR’s handbook cites Proposition 63, a 1986 ballot referendum which declared English the state’s official language, as legal rationale for the agency’s rule. Proposition 63 created Article III, Section 6 of the California Constitution,

which not only cemented in writing the status of English, but also granted broad powers of enforcement to the state government:

The Legislature shall enforce this section by appropriate legislation. The Legislature and officials of the State of California shall take all steps necessary to insure that the role of English as the common language of the State of California is preserved and enhanced. The Legislature shall make no law which diminishes or ignores the role of English as the common language of the State of California.

(California Constitution, Article III, Sec. 6(c))

California's Department of Public Health interprets this language as mandating the prohibition of "non-English" characters in Californian names; other government agencies interpret the law differently. Two California state parks, Año Nuevo State Park and Montaña de Oro State Park, manage to contain the Spanish ñ in their official names, which is reflected on the parks' official webpages. [1] [8] Likewise, the City of San José, California includes the accented é in its official name, and its Style Guide includes instructions on how to produce it digitally: "To create an accented é, hold down the alt key and type 'o233', on the numeric key pad." *City of San José style guide* [2] California's Department of Public Health likely disobeys the city's guidelines in birth certificates, though this needs to be verified.

2014-AB-2528

A 2014 bill in the California State Assembly sponsored by AM Nancy Skinner (AB-2528) sought to rectify the state's processing of birth certificates and driver's licenses by allowing diacritical marks in names. The bill "required the State Registrar to ensure that diacritical marks on English letters are properly recorded on birth certificates, death certificates, certificates of fetal death, and marriage licenses, including, but not limited to, accents, tildes, graves, umlauts, and cedillas". [ab-2528]

AB-2528 stalled in the Appropriations Committee once state agencies assigned multi-million dollar price tags relating to IT upgrades, noting that the DMV's software could not "even accept lower-case letters". For this same reason the bill was opposed by the County Recorder's Association of California.

2017-AB-82

In 2017, California AM Jose Medina revived the issue with AB-82, which ultimately passed both houses of the legislature before being vetoed by Governor Jerry Brown. Unlike the 2014 bill, this edition did not affect the issuance of driver's licenses, only birth certificates. Passing through many more stages

of the legislative process, the committee hearings gathered more detailed estimates for the cost of IT upgrades than they had in 2014:

- \$230,000 for IT upgrades at Department of Public Health
- \$2 million per year for Department of Public Health to correct existing records
- Loss of revenue of \$450,000 per year to Department of Public Health since they would not be able to electronically transmit names to SSA (at \$3 per name) containing diacritics
- Up to \$12 million for local governments to upgrade their systems
- \$1–3 million in upgrades to Department of Health Care Services
- Unknown administrative costs to Department of Social Services

The sticking point for Governor Brown was compatibility with federal databases, which do not accept diacritics. In his veto message, he argued that the risks to vital records outweighed the benefits of cultural openness:

“Mandating the use of diacritical marks on certain state and local vital records without a corresponding requirement for all state and federal government records is a difficult and expensive proposition. This bill would create inconsistencies in vital records and require significant state funds to replace or modify existing registration systems.”

The committee findings make clear that the state would incur nontrivial costs to update the name registration systems. Little discussion is included of the possible creative solutions to the problem. Even assuming that government systems cannot be made to support the full UTF-8 standard, there are ways of representing information using ASCII. For example, we will see later that the international specification for machine-readable passports has a variety of control sequences for representing subtle distinctions in the Latin, Cyrillic, and Arabic alphabets using only the 26 plain characters of the English alphabet. The original form can be recovered nearly losslessly using the transliteration table.

3.1.2 Massachusetts

In Massachusetts, the “characters have to be on the standard american keyboard. So dashes and apostrophes are fine, but not accent marks and the such” [7].

3.1.3 New Hampshire

“All special characters other than an apostrophe or dash” are prohibited [7]. Technical limitations of the state’s database systems prevent the inclusion of

any diacritical marks.

3.1.4 Kansas

Restrictions are similar to those in Massachusetts [7].

3.2 China

Chapter 4

Solutions and Recommendations

4.1 Passports

The protocol governing machine-readable travel documents (MRTD) is Document 9309, issued by the International Civil Aviation Organization [5]. These standards define the common form that all passports must take to ensure interoperability. Since all states must operate on a shared standard, the diplomatic community has forged a compromise between cultural diversity and international security; the 9309 standard provides sufficient flexibility to accommodate the diverse languages and scripts used worldwide.

A 9309-compliant MRTD data page is divided into two sections: the Visual Inspection Zone (VIZ) and the Machine Readable Zone (MRZ).

4.1.1 Visual Inspection Zone

The Visual Inspection Zone, consisting of the top two-thirds of the passport's data page is designed for inspection by border officials at the point of entry. States may populate the required VIZ fields in their official language provided a translation is provided into English, Spanish, or French. Modernized passports do not *per se* coax a country toward the adoption of standard alphabets; however, they do ensure efficient intercommunication in the world's *scripta franca*, the Latin alphabet.

4.1.2 Machine Readable Zone

In contrast, the content of the Machine Readable Zone is highly controlled. The only characters allowed in the two lines of the MRZ are those belonging to a defined ASCII subset: (0-9, A-Z, and <). Moreover, these characters must be printed in the typeface OCR-B (OCR=Optical Character Recognition) using character and line spacings strictly defined in the 9309 standard. The adherence to these guidelines allows for unambiguous machine recognition.

Top of the MRP data page

Code for issuing State or organization/
Code de l'État émetteur ou de l'organisation émettrice

01 (Name of issuing State or organization/Nom de l'État émetteur ou de l'organisation émettrice)			
02 "Passport/ Passeport"	03 Type/ Type	04	05 Passport No./ N° de passeport
19 (Holder's portrait/ Portrait du titulaire)	06 Primary identifier/Nom		
	07 Secondary identifiers/Prénoms		
	08 Nationality/Nationalité		
	09 Date of birth/ Date de naissance		10 Personal No./ N° personnel
	11 Sex/ Sexe	12 Place of birth/Lieu de naissance	
	14 Date of issue/ Date de délivrance		15 Issuing authority or office/ Autorité ou bureau émetteur
	16 Date of expiry/ Date d'expiration		18 Holder's signature/ Signature du titulaire

(Machine readable zone/Zone de lecture automatique)

Not to scale

In the Latin alphabet, most characters with diacritical marks simply have the mark dropped; some characters, however, do have special encodings to losslessly transliterate the character. The document provides a more extensive scheme for the Cyrillic and Arabic scripts, which allows nearly lossless recovery of the original form from the MRZ content. They even provide a sample Python program for converting from the MRZ name to Unicode Arabic ([5] (3.B.7.1).

Latin

The ICAO tries to account for the varying importance of diacritical marks in Latin-based scripts. Those such as the acute or grave accents, which appear over vowels mainly for the purpose of clarifying pronunciation, are simply eliminated in the MRZ. However, other characters receive recommended encoding methods. These are the more “salient” diacritic characters, such as the German umlauts (ä, ö, ü) or the Spanish ñ, which in their respective languages are considered separate letters, rather than a variation on the unaccented form. The

following table shows the special encodings recommended for European diacritics; all other characters simply have the mark dropped:

Unicode	Character	Description	Transliteration
00C4	Ä	A diaeresis	AE or A
00C5	Å	A ring above	AA or A
00C6	Æ	ligature AE	AE
00D1	Ñ	N tilde	N or NXX
00D6	Ö	O diaeresis	OE or O
00D8	Ø	O stroke	OE
00DC	Ü	U diaeresis	UE or UXX or U
00DE	Þ	Thorn (Iceland)	TH
00DF	ß	double S (Germany)	SS
0132	IJ	ligature IJ (Netherlands)	IJ
0152	Œ	ligature OE	OE

3.6.A)

The name “Térèsa Cañón” would become CANXXON«TERESA in the MRZ. The ñ is encoded in the MRZ, while no distinction is made of the é or è. Likewise, the German name “Wilhelm Furtwängler” would become FURTWÄENGLER«WILHELM (ä becomes AE). (b.4.2) Although it leaves a large set of European characters unrepresented, it would not be difficult to expand the escape sequence system to represent additional diacritical marks. (An interesting edge case would be a Spanish traveller named José Nuñenxx.)

Cyrillic

The ICAO transcription system for Cyrillic characters permits a nearly one-to-one transliteration between the MRZ and the name in the original language. The system recognizes the different values that a Cyrillic glyph might take in various languages. For example the letter IO is transliterated as “IU”, unless it is the first character of a Ukrainian name, in which case “YU” is permitted. Likewise for III; this is SHCH, except in Bulgarian, where it is SHT.

Arabic

For example, the Arabic name **الرازي زكريا بن محمد بكر ابو** would be rendered in the MRZ as ABW<BKR<MXHMD«BN<ZKRYA<ÄLRÄZY.

While the name looks incomprehensible to a human, the encoding permits a one-to-one mapping between the MRZ and the original Arabic name. See more examples in the figure below:

B.5.9 Further examples

[illegible]

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