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From Nordic to Hispanic - Shift in a Family's Given Names

De nórdico a hispano: cambio en los nombres de persona de una familia

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Abstract: This article examines historical changes in naming practices through given names in a region of Argentina with a history of migration from Northern Europe. Given names in a migrant family are used as a case study and different periods compared. The data show the use of Nordic given names in the first generations, with a drastic change towards Hispanic names from the third generation onwards. Also hybrid naming practices that combine both Nordic, Hispanic and other names are noted. The results show how given names in Misiones have shifted over time due to changes in the community and Argentinian policies, and how these practices reflect political and ideological stances.

Keywords: Nordic given names; migration; Argentina; cultural change

Resumen: Este artículo examina los cambios históricos en las prácticas de denominación a través de prenombres en una región de Argentina con una historia de migración desde el norte de Europa. Los prenombres de una familia migrante forman un estudio de caso para contrastar las prácticas de elegir y asignar nombres a lo largo de del tiempo. Los datos muestran el uso de nombres nórdicos en las primeras generaciones, con un cambio drástico hacia nombres hispánicos a partir de la tercera generación. También se observan nombres híbridos que combinan nombres nórdicos, hispanos y otros. Los resultados muestran cómo la onomástica en esta parte de Misiones ha cambiado a lo largo del tiempo, debido a la transformación de la comunidad y las políticas argentinas, así como cómo las prácticas de denominación reflejan políticas e ideologías.

Palabras clave: prenombres nórdicos; migración; Argentina; cambio cultural.

Introduction

This paper examines naming practices in a Nordic migrant family in Misiones, Argentina. The first settlers of the family, a middle-aged couple, migrated from Finland to Argentina in 1906. They came from Ostrobothnia, the Swedish-speaking coastal region in Western Finland, and settled in Misiones. In Finland, Ostrobothnia is known as the home region of many migrants, due to its agricultural character and life conditions at the 19th century, while

in Argentina, Misiones was one of the last regions to be settled by European-origin migrants in the 19th century, although the region has a long history of Jesuit settlements.

By looking at changes in naming practices in a family, the migration experience and cultural practices of the migrants can be placed into a social context, as individual names and categories of names are culturally and socially situated (Ainiala, 2008). The interactions between people, their communities, and the environment form the basis for the emergence of names and their use. As Ainiala (2008) writes "By giving names, people take control of their environment, leaving their imprint on it, as it were; thus making it part of their own culture." Similarly, García Gallarín (2012: 13) explains that the choice of a personal name has been and continues to be an opportunity to express the desire for integration, to declare affection or admiration for other with the same name, or simply the way to defend ideals. Therefore, examining names means researching into genealogies, communities, and their ideals. While outsiders may use naming strategies to impose new orders, for example, in colonial contexts where language contact and multilingualism are common (Makoni & Pennycook, 2005: 141–144), by naming themselves and their children, speakers also make sense of the multilingual realities they live in, creating order and affiliations to groups of people, places, and social standards.

The patterns and principles of naming can reveal interesting generalizations about discursive and ideological practices in different historical periods, as shown in mainly toponymic research in (post-)colonial contexts (Stolz & Warnke, 2016: 31–32). Therefore, in addition to offering a case study on naming practices in a migrant family, a second aim of this paper is to investigate whether different generations and time periods differ or present similarities or differences, and how the sociohistorical background and development of the community in question reflects in these patterns.

I have chosen to focus the analysis on six generations of a family that has roots in the Swedish-speaking Finland. Finland has two official languages, Finnish and Swedish, and while most of the population is Finnish-speaking, the Swedish-speaking minority's language rights are protected in the legal framework. It should be noted that the naming practices differ between Swedish-speaking and Finnish-speaking groups in Finland (Ainiala et al., 2017: 198). The motivation for focusing on this family tree is mainly practical and related to the availability of the material, but this case study allows us to gain concrete, in-depth knowledge about naming practices in a migrant context. Previous studies about naming have often had a more general focus with ample databases (e.g., García Gallarín, 2012; Nazar et al. 2021) or etymological and orthographic classifications (Seide 2020). Naturally, these also reflect general sociohistorical tendencies, but case studies can add to our understanding of the changes on a more detailed level.

This paper is structured as follows. In section two, I provide information on the historical background of the Nordic migration to Misiones. Section three contextualizes the study in the onomastics of cultural change in migrant communities. In section four some methodological principles and the material used in the analysis are presented, while the analysis in section five gives an overview of the results and, more specifically, focuses on a number of selected categories that are central to the argument. Section six discusses the results, and section seven concludes the paper.

1. Historical background

The origins of Nordic and Finnish immigration to Argentina are connected to global mass migration at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Economic and political motivations pushed people to migrate from the Nordic countries, and in some countries of Latin America, such as Argentina, official migration policies facilitated European settlers' entrance to the region (Flodell 1974; Fogeler, 2007: 26, 37; Ingridsdotter 2021: 4).

Misiones was one such region, where the Argentinian government promoted migration in the name of national interests, in order to establish an Argentinian presence in a border region towards Brazil and Paraguay that was distant from the national centers. The Nordic immigration to Misiones is part of the migratory wave from Central and Eastern Europe in the years prior to the First World War, although its role was less important in numbers and in cultural imprint to the region than that of German, Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian migration of the same period. Besides direct newcomers from the Nordic countries, some Nordic immigrants, including Swedes and Finns, also entered the region through Brazil (for information on the Nordic migration and settling patterns, see e.g., Flodell, 2012; Fogeler 2007).

Migration from Finland to Argentina was originally linked to a nationalist project that sought to avoid Russian repression at the beginning of the 20th century in the autonomous Grand Duchy that Finland was at the time.[1] The migrants wanted to create a new Finland, an ideal community that built on their nationalistic ideology. Despite this, more individual aspirations should not be left aside, either towards economic enrichment or those about naturalistic ideologies related to a life far from the norms of modern societies (Lähteenmäki & Kero, 1989: 111). Through Argentine migration agents who represented their country in Sweden, and after an exploratory trip to Patagonia, the leaders of the Finnish migration project chose Misiones as their destination. Colonia Finlandesa "Finnish Colony" was established in Misiones in 1906 between Bonpland and Yerbal Viejo (also known as Picada Finlandesa), with the plan to build houses and farms for agricultural production. The land was donated by the Argentine government, in a rural forest area with no prior settlements. The first group of settlers consisted of about 140 people (Tessieri, 2008) and they included both Swedish-speakers and Finnish-speakers. Finland Swedes, or Swedish-speaking Finnish citizens, are Finland's largest

[1] To date, the history of the Finnish community has been studied mainly by historians and journalists (for example Lähteenmäki & Kero, 1989; Tessieri, 1986, 2008), who have collected material in the form of interviews between the members and descendants of Colonia Finlandesa, as well as in historical newspapers and notes written by the migrants.

linguistic minority, representing about 5 percent of the country's population. In the first decades, the Finnish, and in general Nordic, communities' members maintained tight connections and often married from their own reference group, but later on they first became more connected to other northern European groups and the national, Argentine culture. In 1928, the city of Oberá was founded close to Picada Finlandesa and Villa Svea, and it is today a town that celebrates its multicultural immigrant background (e.g., Fogeler 2007; Ingridsdotter, 2020, 2021).

Colonia Finlandesa was not the only migration project to Latin America; in total six Finnish colonies were established on the mainland in the first three decades of the 20th century (Aronen & Pakkasvirta, 1998). They all had their own specific character, with a charismatic leader, whose ideological motivations connected to the philosophical and political currents of the time. This ideological background is also reflected in the fact that the immigrants were often people of urban origin with a high level of education (Lähteenmäki & Kero, 1989: 138). Colonia Finlandesa in Misiones is one of the most important and most studied projects, along with the colony in Penedo, Brazil. They are the only Finnish colonies in the region that still exist and maintain a connection to the country of origin.

Today, the Nordic communities in Misiones have shifted nearly completely from the use of the Nordic languages to Spanish, although a few speakers and remembers remain (Sippola, 2022; Ingridsdotter, 2021). From a sociolinguistic and political point of view, language shift to Spanish and the loss of the Nordic languages is connected to several sociolinguistic factors, such as the low number of speakers, Argentine language policies, and the low institutional statuses of the language. Sippola & Vitikka (2022) show that external and internal sociolinguistic factors did not support the migrant language vitality or maintenance in Colonia Finlandesa. The prestige of Finnish and Swedish language was gradually lost due to demographic changes related to the small number of members of the colony, return migration,

the bilingualism of the founding group and marriages with people who did not speak Finnish or Swedish. In the same way, the lack of contacts with other speakers, due to the low population density and the low number of Nordic migrants, was a determining factor. Policies favoring the dominant language work in connection to the process of language shift that affects small communities in migratory contexts, which, even in two generations, leads to the loss of the heritage language.

2. Name changes in migrant communities

When cultures and groups of people from different origins and traditions meet, the changes are not easily predictable. This goes for the linguistic outcomes in general, and for the naming practices in particular. Ainiala et al. (2016: 135) explain that the changes in anthroponymic systems in contact have often been examined from the point of view of the acculturation theory. According to it, names that are first taken as new borrowings from one system to another, spread in the receiving culture in a certain order, both socially and geographically, and end up transforming the anthroponymic system of the receiving culture. These changes happen both at the level of the nomenclature and the structural composition of the naming system itself. For example, a surname can be adapted as a given name in the new system. In migrant contexts, the cultural contexts and practices are often even more dynamic and multifaceted than elsewhere. This is because migrant communities exist and function in transnational networks, connecting to and reproducing different cultural traditions. Amaral and Seide (2022: 194) call this in-betweenness constitutive ambivalence, which influences the choice of names and denotes changes in identity.

When studying changes, the original situation must first be attested. In this case, it is crucial to have an understanding of naming practices among the Swedish-speaking community in Finland. According to Ainiala et al. (2016: 198), the oldest Swedish-speaking population in Finland had Scandinavian names, such as Helga, Sigrid, Gudmund or Thorsten, but with

Cristianity, the nomenclature too became Christianised. As an example, most popular names in a town on the western coast of Finland in the 15th century were *Jöns* (< Greek *Iohannes*), *Per* (< Latin *Petrus*, Greek *Petros*), *Oluf* (< Scandinavian *Oluf*, also *St. Olof*), *Anders* (Greek *Andreas*) and *Lasse* (< Swedish *Lars* < Latin *Laurentius*). Historical trends in nomenclature followed models from Sweden, as Finland was part of Sweden. In addition, there were influences from other European centers of power, especially France and Germany. From the Grand Duchy of Finland, a period of Finnish autonomy under the Russian rule (1809–1917), onwards, the Swedish-speaking population preferred Scandinavian names, such as *Astrid* and *Ingrid* or *Gunnar* and *Sven*. Between 1881 and 1981 the most common Finland Swedish female names included *Maria, Margareta, Elisabet, Linnea, Helena, Anna, Sofia, Elisabet, Ingeborg* and *Alice*, while *Erik, Karl, Johan, Johannes, Mikael, Vilhelm, Anders, Henrik, Gunnar* and *Valdemar* were among the most common male names.

As to the receiving societies, many countries in Latin America represent a mix of different ethnic and national groups. In addition to the indigenous Americans, the population includes people of African, Asian, and European descent. In the colonial era, the Spanish legal, administrative, social, and cultural systems held highest positions, although naming practices among different groups probably reflected their respective traditions. Argentina, although a receiving country of European immigration from different origins, has largely followed Spanish naming practices in given names and legislation. However, the importance of other numerous groups, such as the Italians, cannot be overlooked. At the time of the foundation of Colonia Finlandesa, Misiones was relatively sparsely populated, with important numbers of recently arrived central and eastern European immigrants. Consequently, the receiving society was in a certain manner also in transformation at the time of the arrival of the first groups of Finnish settlers, making naming practices or anthroponymic systems difficult to attest with certainty. However, recent studies of communities with a migrant background in Brazil have shown

interesting developments and general patterns (cf. Amaral & Seide 2022: 193–208). For example, it has been shown that the descendants of both Japanese and Lithuanian immigrants in Brazil adopted the names and naming practices of the receiving country. The Japanese changed from Japanese names to Brazilian names partly through hybrid names with combinations of given names that reflected both traditions (Nabão, 2007). Due to the differences in the form and anthroponymic systems of the languages, only linguistic features of Lithuanian given names and last names resulted in other modes of adaptation. Nevertheless, very few Lithuanian names were retained until today in the Lithuanian community (Seide, 2017, 2020).

As seen in this overview, naming and name change in contact settings and minority groups in postcolonial contexts have received some attention in recent decades, and these studies have provided important insights about complex and dynamic cultural identities and identity creation in different contexts. However, Aldrin (2016) calls attention to the fact that there is a lack of academic studies on name changes among recent immigrants and their consequences for cultural identity. Although difficult to respond with the material for this study in question, hopefully, our study will serve as an inspiration for further analyses on this topic.

3. Methods and materials

The material for this paper consists of a family tree of Johan Carl Sand and Lovisa Ahlberg, prepared in 1996 by their descendants. The family tree traces the family relations and names of six generations: the first generation being born in 1870 and 1864 respectively, and the latest generations representing the last decades of the last millennium. A total of 333 given names of individuals are recorded in the family tree, and the observations mainly concern them, although some references to the surnames are also made in support of the analysis. A member of the family generously granted the researcher access to this resource, which offers a window into the naming practices of one Misiones family with a migration background.

There are some limitations as to the method and the material. Most importantly, the names only reflect the official form and therefore do not tell us much about the actual naming practices and the use of bynames in the everyday life of the families. Sociolinguistic interviews from the region, collected in the 1970s, mention cases where families wished to retain Nordic names for their children, but the official policies did not allow them to be registered officially. In one instance, parents had to register their son with the Spanish name *Carlos* instead of the Finnish name *Kauko,* although they kept using the Finnish-origin name in the everyday interactions within the family (Sippola & Vitikka 2022: 12). Additional problems arise from the fact that many names are shared among the Germanic languages, and even taken as loans to Spanish. It is therefore difficult to conclude decisively if a name had a German or a Swedish reference to the people who chose it. Judging from the surnames of the parents, many people with a Swedish-origin surname married people with a Norwegian, Danish, or German background. It might even be possible that the overlap in names within these national traditions gave the parents more incentive to choose a name shared by both national cultures. Moreover, the family tree was most probably prepared by a Spanish speaker and some non-standard spellings of the Germanic names are found (e.g. *Gönnar* which seems to be an innovation and probably a mix of *Gunnar* and *Gönna*). It is difficult to establish with certainty if these are the original spellings or if they have been introduced at some point in the preparation of the family tree.

Some ethical considerations arise as well when having a closer look over the generations of a family. As personal names have their identifying function, it is relatively easy to identify the people whose names this article is discussing. To mitigate the problem and to keep the analysis on a general level, when referring to specific names, these are referred to with information about their generation, but not linking them with the immediate family. Each family, of course, has their own preferences for naming practices, and the aim of this article is

not to provide any judgements on those, but to extrapolate a more over-generational view of the changes within a family with a migrant background from the Nordic region to Argentina.

For the analysis, the names of the family tree are ordered by generation, number of items, and main type in the classification. For the classification, categorizations used in previous studies are relied on. First, formal observations are given about if given names are single (i.e. names consisting of given name that appears alone) or double (i.e., a combination of two given names used as a name of address, written with or without a connector), and second, observations about the etymologies, cultural references, and meanings of the names.

4. Given names in a Misiones family tree with Nordic roots

4.1 General observations

Table 1 shows that the family tree includes 333 given names of individuals, with the largest generations in numbers being the fourth and the fifth generation. The last, sixth, generation only includes 35 names, probably due to information that was not obtainable at the time of the collection of the data or because not all the family lines had reached that generation at the time of the preparation of the tree.

Table 1. Number of given names by generation in a Misiones family tree with Nordic roots

Generation	*Names*	*Percentage of double names*
1	2	50 %
2	5	80 %
3	32	25 %
4	79	42 %
5	180	17 %
6	35	17 %
Total	*333*	*25%*

When looking at the formal properties of the given names, these are in general single names that are composed of one part. Double names constitute 25 percent of the total and are

more common in the first generations. Although it is difficult to establish the etymology of each name or their pertinence to a particular nationally defined origin with firmness, some observations can be offered. Etymologically, the double names are of both Nordic and Hispanic origins as well as combinations of these. Some examples of the first include *Magnus Carl* and *Otto Erik* while the second is seen in *Juan Leonardo*. Etymological combinations are exemplified by names such as *Stig Rubén*. As for *Rubén*, we must rely on the orthographic signal in the family tree, as *Ruben* without the accent would be classified as Nordic, but do not know for certain if this indeed was the original name (for a similar discussion on classification choices, see Alhaug & Saarelma 2017: 78–80). It is worth noting that in the dataset there are many more double male names of Nordic origin than female names. Under the label of double names fall also Hispanic names formed with the genitive, such as *María del Carmen* and *María de los Ángeles*. However, these are rather marginal and only a handful of them can be found in the family tree.

When examining the origins of the names, two general patterns can be observed, complemented with additional categories of "shared" and "other". Ordered chronologically, the first are Nordic names, while the second category is represented by Hispanic names. Between these two categories are names that could belong to either cultural tradition, as many of the common European names are shared by Romance and Germanic cultures. The relevance of the "shared" category remains more or less similar over time after the first two generations with a low number of individuals, peaking up at generation three with 22 percent and then remaining between 3 and 6 percent of the total between the fourth and the sixth generation. Besides the names that can be classified in these three categories, there are names that have other cultural and etymological references. These are classified under "other". In the following, the categories and their development over time are described and discussed more in detail.

4.2 Nordic names

The family tree presents some names of Nordic origin, for both male and female members. Male names include, for example, the following: *Axel Arvid*, *Einar*, *Jan*, *Johan*, *Jonas*, *Mikael*, *Magnus Carl*, *Odd*, and *Otto Erik*. Similarly, Nordic female names can be observed in *Fanny*, *Ida*, *Hildur*, *Karin*, *Liv*, and *Strine*. As mentioned in 4.1, Nordic double names are more common for men than for women. Within this category, there are names with reference to the Nordic mythologies, such as *Odd* (from Old Norse "sharp end of an arrow" or "edge of a blade") or *Hildur* (from Old Norse "battle"), and Christian religion, such as in *Mikael* and *Johan*, but no conclusions can be drawn of the semantic-etymological categories due to the sample size.

A general tendency can be observed in the development over time in the use of names of Nordic origin. As is to be expected from migrant that originated from a Swedish-speaking coastal region, the first generation born in Finland that migrated to Argentina had Swedish names, but already in the second generation appears a Hispanic name as part of a double name (*Joel Ricardo*) and a shared name (*Amanda*) that can be applied to both Swedish and Spanish. By the third generation, the number of purely Nordic names has fallen quite drastically to less than 20 percent, and the following generations show even lower numbers equaling less than 10 percent of the total. Table 2 gives an overview of the percentages of the Nordic names over generations.

Table 2. Nordic names in a Misiones family tree with Nordic roots

Generation	*Names*	*Nordic names*	
1	2	2	100 %
2	5	3	60 %
3	32	6	19 %
4	79	5	6 %
5	180	16	9 %
6	*35*	2	6 %

Total	*333*	*34*	*10 %*

The data show that throughout the generations, a portion of families chooses a name with a Nordic reference to their children, even in the last cohorts. It might be purely coincidental, and they might not be aware of the Nordic connection, as shown for example by Lieberson (2000: 185) when examining ethnic origins of names in the United States. In the last two generations, the following names with a Nordic origin are observed: *Axel*, *Alexis*, *Analisa*[2], *Einar*, *Erik*, *Fanny*, *Ida*, *Ivart*, *Jan*, *Jonas*, *Johan*, *Karin*, *Mikael*, *Sigrid*, and *Strine*. Some of these are exclusive to Nordic languages, such as *Einar* and *Ivart*. But others are shared with a wider group of Germanic languages, including German and English, thus making the exact cultural reference blurred. Names that have initially been Swedish thus become partly "of Northern European and Anglo-American" reference through time.

4.3 The shift to Hispanic names

Hispanic names are present in the family tree from the second generation onwards. The youngest son of the migrant couple appears in the family tree with the name *Joel Ricardo*, thus giving a combination double name very early in the family's history. Although it is probable that *Joel Ricardo*'s original name was *Joel Rikhard,* as he was born before the family migrated to Argentina in 1906, in the tree he appears with a Hispanic name. From the third generation onwards, Hispanic names are the most common category in each generation. Typical male names include *Alejandro*, *Ángel Carlos*, *Enrique*, *Fernando*, *Martín*, *Miguel*, *Orlando*, *Raúl*, and *Sergio*, while the category of female names contains, for example, *María del Carmen*, *Florencia*, *Marina*, *Mirta*, *Noelia*, *Lidia*, and *Selva*. Religious names, such as Ángel or *María José* are common but do not stand out in number in contrast to other name types.

[2] In Swedish, a common spelling would be Anna-Lisa. The name could also be from Italian but does not exist in Spanish according to García Galladín's dictionary (2012).

Table 3 presents the ratios of Hispanic names according to the generation. From the data it becomes clear that the number of purely Hispanic names has increased drastically from the third generation onwards. Although Hispanic names appear already in the first two generations, they are part of combinations and names that are shared between the Germanic and the Romance traditions. The generation with the largest proportion of Hispanic names is the fourth, after which there is a slight decrease, due to the growth in the category of "other" which includes names mainly from English.

Table 3. Hispanic names in a Misiones family tree with Nordic roots

Generation	*Names*	*Hispanic names*	
1	2	0	0 %
2	5	0	0 %
3	32	16	50 %
4	79	62	79 %
5	180	128	71 %
6	35	24	69 %
Total	*333*	*229*	*69 %*

If the generations are placed on specific periods of time, the fourth generation would appear in the middle of the last century, corresponding with Argentinian name legislation (*decreto-ley* 11.609 of the military government) that required names in Spanish in the national registers and official settings (Delaney, 2014: 105–109).

4.4 Other cultural references

The category "others" includes names that have other cultural references. These include mainly English names such as *Carol*, *Cynthia*, *Harry*, *John*, *Nancy*, and *Richard*, and can be found from the third generation onwards, with the highest percentages (17 and 23 percent) in

the last generations.[3] Other names that are put in this category are *Anabella*, *Gastón*, *Ludmila*, and *Roselle*. Some of the names here classified as "other" could also be classified under shared names, as for example *Richard* could also be a Nordic name or *Anabella* a Hispanic name. As they are not standard spelled in the same way in Spanish, I have excluded them from the category of "shared" which is reserved merely to names that are shared between the Nordic and Hispanic traditions.

It is worth noting that no autochthonous names from the indigenous languages spoken in Misiones, mainly varieties of Guaraní, appear in the family tree. Today, the Argentinian name legislation in the *Código civil y comercial* from 2014 specifically mentions that indigenous names are allowed, though it seems that their use was not encouraged (or permitted) in previous legislations. However, probably more important than the legislation is the fact that the communities with a migrant background seem to have married mainly within similar communities. Many couples in the family tree are formed with people with Nordic and Germanic surnames, almost inclusively up to the third generation, although also Spanish, Italian, and other surnames appear, especially from the fourth generation onwards. Therefore, it seems more feasible that the naming practices are shared within a community with a (Northern) European migrant background.

5. Discussion

From the generational overview it has become clear that the first two generations have maintained a Nordic reference in their name-giving practices, with a drastic change taking place from the third generation onwards, as seen in the overview table 4 comparing the different categories.

Table 4. Origins of given names by generation in a Misiones family tree

[3] Note that if a name is shared between Swedish and English, it is classified here as Nordic.

with Nordic roots

Generation	*Nordic*	*Hispanic*	*Shared*	*Other*
1	100 %	0 %	0 %	0 %
2	60 %	0 %	40 %	0 %
3	19 %	50 %	22 %	9 %
4	6 %	79 %	6 %	9 %
5	9 %	71 %	3 %	17 %
6[4]	6 %	69 %	3 %	23 %
Total	*10 %*	*69%*	*6 %*	*15%*

This is very well in line with what is known of language shift in migrant communities in the Americas, where the shift takes place in the third generation. The dominant language and culture of the society take over all domains of language use, including naming practices, in settings where there are no specific ideological or political reasons for resisting the shift. It is common that children in migrant families are given names from the receiving culture and society when there is a wish for acculturation and adaptation (e.g., Finch, 2008; Nabão, 2007; Seide, 2017; Amit & Dolberg, 2023).

On the other hand, when the culture of origin is reflected in the naming practices, we must look for ideological motivations behind these strategies that connect to the postvernacular connections to the family history and country of origin or social identity funcions. Although Hispanic naming practices gain prominence over time, Nordic names are retained to some degree even in the last generations. This is probably connected to social identity and the importance of family history to the descendants of the migrants. In immigrant contexts and in

[4] Due to rounding up, the total percentage of Generation 6 equals 101.

families of 'mixed' cultural background children are often named using international names or through mixing names or components of them from different cultural spheres in order to create a complex and flexible identity (Aldrin, 2016).

Previous studies (Sippola 2022; Sippola & Vitikka 2022) show that language shift was already at an advanced stage by the third generation in Colonia Finlandesa. However, metalinguistic and identity comments from the descendants of the Nordic communities point in a different direction, at least in some cases. For some descendants of the communities, there still exists a postvernacular connection to the culture and region of origin in the Nordic countries, creating an interesting mismatch between the pragmatic and metapragmatic actions of community members regarding their language use and representation of their identity. In certain places of Misiones, such as the town of Oberá, the migrant culture and history is appreciated and cherished, which is probably also reflected in the naming practices. In Oberá and surroundings, there are several places and place names that relate to a Nordic community or origin (e.g., Swedish cemetery, *Instituto Carlos Linneo* – high school named after a Swedish scientist, *Casa Nórdica* – a cultural house for the Nordic collectivity, Swedish monument, Finnish monument, *Picada Finlandesa* 'Finnish path', *Villa Svea* – residential area referring to the female symbol of Sweden, etc.). In addition, people are aware of their cultural background and often refer to their grandparents who were the first settlers in the region or their *chacras*, farmlands established in the first settlement (Ingridsdotter 2021; Sippola 2022). Consequently, for a part of the community with a migration background from the Nordic countries, there exists a connection to the country of origin, even though the language is lost. This mismatch of a valued connection but a lost language is not surprising, given that cultural ideologies and social practices often diverge: cultural beliefs about how people from different social backgrounds should, have to, or actually speak and act are generally reductive and inflexible, while linguistic and social practices in which that the speakers participate are highly complex and strategic, as

Bucholtz and Hall (2004: 381–382) have shown.[5] Even though in our nationalistic imaginary (cf. Anderson 1983), a nation is tightly connected to a land and a language, migrant settings and histories transform these premises. It is possible to feel connection to a heritage community and identity, although the language is lost.

6. Conclusions

This look into a family tree of a family in the province of Misiones, Argentina, has provided us with some insight into naming practices in a migrant context over the past century. Naming practices reflect general tendencies of language use and are affected by the language shift in the community and the connections to the receiving society. Over time and by the third generation, the use of Hispanic names becomes the mainstream solution, while Nordic names are maintained by some members of the family. Whether this is purely coincidental, has identity connections or is motivated by other trends in naming of children in Argentina, is a question that is left to be addressed in future studies. Comparisons of different regions, cultural backgrounds, and participants perceptions on the naming practices are needed. Misiones, or Argentina, are by no means isolated from the global cultural connections and tendencies. This is reflected in the growing category of names from a diversity of backgrounds and English names that can be found especially in the last generations, reflecting the multicultural origins of the Argentine population.

This case study of a family with migrant roots as allowed us to gain in-depth knowledge about naming practices in a migrant context, showing how given names in Misiones shifted over the past century due to changes in the community's make-up and Argentinian policies, and shedding light into possible political and ideological stances that guide these practices.

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[5] However, one aspect to take into account is that most of the material that served as the basis of the previous studies was collected by Nordic researchers. This has probably influenced the acts of performativity of the people interviewed, who reproduced ideologies or practices presupposed in the interview context.

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