

# Expression of Lithuanness in the names of children of Lithuanian emigrants in Norway, 1991–2020

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Daiva Sinkevičiūtė

**Abstract:** This article examines the Lithuanianness of the names of Lithuanian citizens born in Norway between 1991 and 2020. To do this, a scale was created to measure Lithuanianness that takes into account grammatical structure, origin, derivation, and orthography. From a grammatical point of view, the study shows that the names of most Lithuanian citizens born in Norway comply with the usual structure of Lithuanian names (86.3 per cent). More than two-thirds of the Lithuanian citizens born in Norway have borrowed names that coincide with those of other languages, including endings. As a result, it is clear that the endings of many names indicate Lithuanian ethnic identity, but the stems of the names conceal it. The naming trends for girls and boys differ. Lithuanian emigrants usually give girls and boys names that coincide with those of other languages. In addition, boys often receive names that only have the stems in common with other languages.

**Keywords:** personal names, Lithuanian names, names of emigrants, naming practices, emigration, Lithuania, Norway

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Daiva Sinkevičiūtė (Vilnius University, Lithuania). Expression of Lithuanness in the names of children of Lithuanian emigrants in Norway, 1991–2020.

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## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

Over the last thirty years, there has been significant emigration from Lithuania. In the decade from 2010 to 2020, over 482 000 Lithuanian citizens emigrated, although some later returned. Most emigrants were working-age individuals, with 71 per cent of those leaving Lithuania in 2020 aged 15–44 (*Migration in numbers*). Many of them had children. More precisely, the percentage of children born abroad to Lithuanian citizens was 12 per cent in 2019 and 7 per cent in 2020 (*Official Statistics Portal*).

According to official data from 2010 to 2020, most Lithuanian emigrants moved to the United Kingdom, Ireland, Germany, and Norway (*Migration in numbers*). Norway ranks third as the destination for Lithuanian emigrants, following the United Kingdom and Germany. According to data from 2021, the population of Lithuanian citizens in Norway was 47 304, in the United Kingdom 152 000, in Germany 57 990 (Migration Department under the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Lithuania).

It is also the largest country to which Lithuanian emigrants did not move until the end of the 20th century. Lithuanian citizens constitute the third-largest immigrant community in Norway after Polish and Ukrainian citizens. According to data from 2024, Norway's largest immigrant communities comprised citizens from Poland (109 654), Ukraine (65 566), Lithuania (42 733), Syria (38 429), Sweden (36 612), and Somalia (27 665). Data from 2020 to 2022 indicated that Ukraine was not among the largest immigrant communities; however, the number of Ukrainian citizens increased in 2023 and 2024 due to Russia's attack on Ukraine (*Statistics Norway* 1).

As is well known, personal names can establish a person's identity (Alford 1988:51; Aldrin 2016). Names also serve as a symbolic boundary separating the majority from minority migrant groups (Gerhards & Tuppatt 2018:4). Research on names in other languages suggests that boys' names carried by emigrants tend to be more tra-

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ditional and conservative, whereas girls' names are often more modern and adaptable to different cultures (Sue & Telles 2007:1388–1389; with literature).

Recent research has shown that some Lithuanian emigrants try to ensure that their children learn and use the Lithuanian language, whereas others do not make such efforts (Jakaitė-Bulbukienė 2015:91–126). Lithuanians who have moved to Northern Ireland give their children names of various origins. However, when choosing an English name, they tend to select one with an equivalent in Lithuania. When giving a Lithuanian name, they strive to make it easy to pronounce and avoid using letters with diacritics (Liubinienė 2011:150). In Norway, Lithuanian citizens are more inclined than those in other countries to give their children names with Lithuanian diacritics (Sinkevičiūtė 2024b).

The names derived from the Lithuanian lexicon indicate the ethnicity of Lithuanian children (e.g. (f.) *Meilė* from Lith. *meilė* 'love') more clearly than names with equivalents in other languages (e.g. (f.) *Lėja*), like other languages (Sue & Telles 2007: 1392). Children may also have names that do not signify their Lithuanian ethnicity, as they are common to both Lithuanian and other languages (e.g. (f.) *Daniela*; (m.) *Jonas*). Some names are typical of Lithuanian (e.g. (f.) *Lėja*, *Meilė*), while others are unusual for Lithuanian (e.g. (f.) *Aimi*, *Leah*). Thus, emigrants from Lithuania in Norway give their children different names in relation to the Lithuanian language.

Based on the variety of names, the aim is to study the Lithuanianness of the names of Lithuanian citizens born in Norway and to identify naming strategies used by expatriates. When studying the Lithuanianness of names, I consider the extent to which the names are characteristically Lithuanian, as well as their grammatical structure, origin, derivation, and orthography. Based on these criteria, I adapt a scale to assess the Lithuanianness of names based on the characteristics of the Lithuanian language.

The idea of exploring the Lithuanianness of the names of Lithuanian citizens born abroad has been inspired by the works of Sue & Telles (2007) and Parada (2013; 2016; 2019), who studied the influ-

ence of English on the names of children of Spanish-speaking emigrants. They created a scale to evaluate the Spanishness of the names and used it to explore how the form of a name relates to the parents' identity. I was unable to use this scale for analysing Lithuanian names due to differences in study intentions, data nature, the grammatical structure of Lithuanian names, and their origin.

## **2. Overview of behavioural studies of Lithuanian emigrants in Norway**

Previously, the level of emigration from Lithuania to Norway was minimal. However, since the 1970s, emigration from other non-European countries to Norway has increased (Gullestad 2002:47). Recent studies view emigrants as individuals who exist across national boundaries and navigate multiple national realities (Coutin 2003:326). This self-perception of emigrants from Lithuania is also evident in Norway (Daukšas 2011:219–139; 2016:173–194; Kuznecovienė 2011:89–104, etc.). From 2004 to 2010, the Lithuanian diaspora began to emerge in Norway (Taljūnaitė 2011:56), and second-generation emigrants appeared, with their behaviours differing from first-generation emigrants (Daukšas 2019:230–240; 2021:230–243).

Lithuanian citizens mainly migrate to Norway for economic reasons. The Norwegian authorities also encourage their migration by inviting specialists, especially medical professionals, from Lithuania. Those who come to the country often stay not only because of work and career opportunities but also due to the formation of mixed families and the reluctance to change their children's schools (Daukšas 2011:123–124). Emigrants find Norway attractive due to the imagined cultural similarity between Lithuanians and Norwegians. However, at the beginning of the 21st century, the Norwegian press portrayed Lithuanian emigrants negatively, prompting Norwegian-Lithuanians to work on changing this image (Daukšas 2011:129–131).

In Norway, emigrants from Lithuania maintain ties with their homeland (Daukšas 2011:219–139; 2016:173–194; Kuznecovienė

2011:89–104, etc.). First-generation emigrants adapt to the local customs and traditions but lack a national identity in common with the local community. They use the Lithuanian language in a limited context, teach it to their children, celebrate traditional Lithuanian holidays, and maintain an emotional connection with Lithuania as their home (Daukšas 2021:230–243; Kuznecovienė 2011:89–104; Kusaitė & Anglickienė 2022:216–231). Emigrants stay connected with Lithuania through the internet, Lithuanian television, and affordable air travel. Citizenship is a link to Lithuania that they are not eager to give up (Daukšas 2011:127–133).

In the Lithuanian press, there were reports about Lithuanian children being taken from their families by Norwegian social services. This prompted the return of women with children, or children alone, to Lithuania (Daukšas 2020:127–147), demonstrating the true concept of home.

Second-generation emigrants see their future in Norway and consider it their home. Some may acquire Norwegian citizenship but maintain a dual identity (Daukšas 2019:230–240; 2021:230–243). A 2021 study revealed that Lithuanians in Norway increasingly adopt and positively accept Norwegian culture. They learn Norwegian, celebrate Norwegian holidays, and show interest in Norwegian culture and history. As the Lithuanian community in Norway expands, Lithuanians' self-esteem rises; they take pride in their Lithuanian identity (Kusaitė & Anglickienė 2022:216–231).

### **3. Research on the names of emigrants from Lithuania**

The personal names of Lithuanians born abroad have not been extensively studied. A study of Baltic names given to Lithuanian citizens in the United Kingdom from 1991 to 2020 (Sinkevičiūtė 2024a) showed that these names are more commonly given to girls and have yet to become widespread. They account for 16.4 per cent of the single names of female and 7.8 per cent of male Lithuanian citizens. These

names are names of natural phenomena and objects, Lithuanian pagan goddesses and gods, and famous and legendary personalities of Lithuania's past (Sinkevičiūtė 2024a). Between 1991 and 2020, emigrants in the United Kingdom, Ireland, Norway, and Germany mostly gave their children names without letters with specific Lithuanian diacritics. In cases in which children were given names with exclusively Lithuanian letters that were more characteristic of girls, they registered them in the normative forms. These names are most common in Norway (Sinkevičiūtė 2024b). These studies have shown that Lithuanians born abroad are also given names that are unique to Lithuanians.

In her 2024 study, Schiller examined the reasons behind the naming choices of Lithuanians living in Germany and those in mixed families or with Lithuanian roots. She found that parents considered the sound of names and their compatibility with Lithuanian and German, the meaning of the names, and ease of pronunciation. They also aimed to avoid any negative associations. Sipavicius Seide (2020:100–121) found that the names of descendants of emigrants who emigrated from Lithuania to Brazil at the beginning of the 20th century are often not typical of the Lithuanian language since their parents identify with the host country. However, there have been cases when the descendants of emigrants have retained or restored their original identity. These studies have shown that Lithuanians and emigrants of Lithuanian descent typically seek to integrate into the host country's community by choosing names.

Some Lithuanians in Northern Ireland choose different names when communicating with English speakers, even though they use their regular names with other Lithuanians. This issue is less common with short, easy-to-pronounce names, although some people revert to their Lithuanian names in non-Lithuanian environments (Liubinienė 2011:149–151).

Social science researchers have identified the unique nature of Lithuanian names. Lithuanians who have emigrated to the United States may seem exotic (Čiubrinskas 2014:15) to others due to their unfamiliar names and surnames (the structure of Lithuanian names

is discussed below). Inhabitants of Northern Ireland find it challenging to pronounce and remember these names accurately (Liubinienė 2011:149–151). For Lithuanians residing in Kazakhstan, names and surnames indicate their Lithuanian identity (Vilkienė 2023:117). However, challenges arise from the distinct forms of male and female surnames typical of the Lithuanian language and the Lithuanian names and surnames they possess serve as motivation for third-generation emigrants to explore their roots, Lithuania, and the Lithuanian language (Vilkienė 2023:114). In Lithuanian, traditional forms of male and female surnames differ. Male surnames generally end in *-as*, *-is*, *-ys*, *-(i)us*, *-(i)a*, and *-ė* (e.g. *Petrauskas*, *Jankauskis*, *Dainys*, *Saulevičius*, *Butkus*, *Juodka*, *Grybė*). Female surnames are derived from masculine surnames. Traditional female surnames, based on the father's surname, have the suffixes *-aitė*, *-ytė*, *-iūtė*, or *-utė* (e.g. *Petrauskaitė*, *Dainytė*, *Saulevičiūtė*, *Butkutė*) added to the stems of male surnames. Traditional female surnames, based on the male surname, feature the suffixes *-ienė* or *-uvienė* (e.g. *Jankauskienė*, *Butkienė*, *Butkuvienė*) appended to the stems of male surnames (Vanagas 2008:400). Some surnames do not indicate a woman's marital status and instead end in *-ė* (e.g. *Petrauskė*, *Butkė*), which is added to the stem of a man's surname (State Commission of the Lithuanian Language).

Emigrants from Lithuania themselves acknowledge that the names given to them by their parents show that they are Lithuanians (Jakaitė-Bulbukienė 2015:84). As a result, the previous generation of emigrants, who came to Canada from Lithuania after the war changed and shortened their surnames (Vilkienė 2019:38).

According to studies by Daukšas (2018:80; 2019:234–235), personal names play a significant role in identifying Lithuanians in Norway. Names and surnames can indicate that Lithuanians belong to a different ethnic group, as they are neither common nor typical for Norwegians and may sound non-Norwegian. This can lead to Lithuanians in Norway being mistakenly identified as Finnish due to their surnames, as well as their language and accent (Daukšas 2013:58; 2016:183). Norwegians do not consider Lithuanians as 'one of their own'; they

are betrayed by their names and surnames (Daukšas 2019:230–240; 2021:230–243). Furthermore, for some Lithuanians, their surnames hold importance in shaping their self-esteem and identity (Daukšas 2019:36).

4. Survey data

The survey data for the current study was obtained through the mediation of the State Commission of the Lithuanian Language from the Centre of Registers because, as Lithuanian law requires that its citizens born abroad be recorded in the general data of the Republic of Lithuania (Office of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania 1).

The investigation period was 1991–2020, as migration from Lithuania to Norway was fairly rare before 1991. According to the Centre of Registers, between 1991 and 2020, 8138 Lithuanian citizens were born in Norway – 3963 girls and 4173 boys. In addition to the names, I take into account gender, birth year, and country references. In the absence of information, names are not differentiated according to the place of birth of children, age, order of birth, and parents’ citizenship.

The majority of Lithuanian citizens in Norway have one given name, while some have two. Occasionally, children born abroad are given more than two names. To conduct this research, I focused on single names of Lithuanian citizens born in Norway. Having two or more names suggests different naming strategies. Lithuanian citizens born in Norway typically have one name, making up 94 per cent of girls’ and 94.9 per cent of boys’ names (see Table 1), whereas other cases are rare.

Table 1. Lithuanian citizens registered in Norway 1991–2020 by number of given names.

|       |            | Single names | Two names | Multiple names | Total |
|-------|------------|--------------|-----------|----------------|-------|
| Girls | Count      | 3 727        | 225       | 11             | 3 963 |
|       | Percentage | 94           | 5.7       | 0.3            | 100   |
| Boys  | Count      | 3 959        | 210       | 4              | 4 173 |
|       | Percentage | 94.9         | 5         | 0.1            | 100   |

Although it is not commendatory to record nationality in Lithuanian documents (Office of the Seimas of the Republic of Lithuania 2), most children registered with single names are recorded as Lithuanian (81.6 per cent of girls and 81.7 per cent of boys) or opt not to indicate nationality (17.4 per cent of girls and 17 per cent of boys), see Table 2. Nationality references were not included in the analysis, as some children of other or unspecified nationalities have Lithuanian names (see below). The tendency not to indicate nationality when registering children intensified in the second decade of the 21st century.

**Table 2. Lithuanian citizens registered in Norway in 1991–2020 with a single name, categorized by their declared nationality.**

|              |            | Lithuanian | Russian | Polish | Other nationality | Unspecified nationality | Total |
|--------------|------------|------------|---------|--------|-------------------|-------------------------|-------|
| <b>Girls</b> | Count      | 3 040      | 15      | 14     | 7                 | 651                     | 3 727 |
|              | Percentage | 81.6       | 0.4     | 0.4    | 0.2               | 17.4                    | 100   |
| <b>Boys</b>  | Count      | 3 233      | 18      | 22     | 11                | 675                     | 3 959 |
|              | Percentage | 81.7       | 0.45    | 0.55   | 0.3               | 17                      | 100   |

The number of children born in Norway varied by year during the period covered in this study. Figure 1 illustrates the number of unique names given each year. The lowest number of Lithuanian citizens born in Norway was between 1991 and 2000. Since 2007, the number of Lithuanian citizens arriving in Norway, especially men, has increased. This trend is associated with a rising demand for workers in the construction sector and the need for service staff (Gudavičienė 2019:152). Since 2008, the number of births has increased, with the highest number of children being born during 2013–2018. Thus, the second decade of the 21st century stands out regarding the number of names. Due to this unevenness, the dynamics of names by year have not been studied.

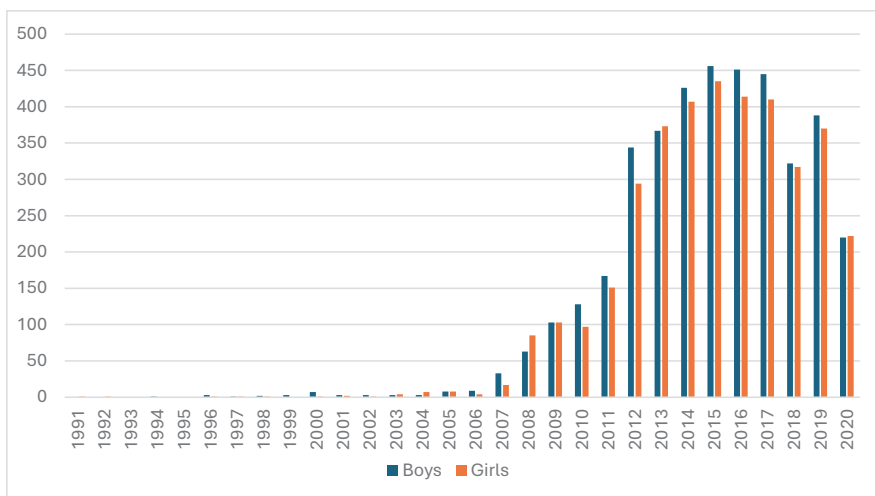


Figure 1: Lithuanian citizens registered under a single name born in Norway from 1991 to 2020, categorized by year of birth.

During the investigation, various graphically recorded personal names were considered separate, such as *Lėja* and *Leja*, *Estela* and *Estella*. From 1991 to 2020, 685 girls and 609 boys in Norway were registered with unique names. More than half of these names were given only once: 383 for girls and 309 for boys. This implies that there is a broader range of names available for girls. The origin of the names is available in dictionaries (see below) and will not be repeated here, except for Baltic names, which will be indicated in the article in order to demonstrate the diversity of Baltic names.

## 5. Research methodology

As previously mentioned, the scale to measure Lithuanianness is based on the framework for evaluating Spanishness of names in an American context outlined by Sue & Telles (2007) and Parada (2013; 2016; 2019), which includes five criteria. The first category includes names unique to English (*e.g. Ashley*), while the fifth category consists of names specific to Spanish (*e.g. Guadalupe*). The names in the third category are typical of both languages (*e.g. Andrea*). The second

category includes names that are characteristic of English but have equivalents in Spanish (e.g. *Michael*), whereas the fourth category features names typical of Spanish that also have English equivalents (e.g. *Miguel*) (Sue & Telles 2007; Parada 2013; 2016; 2019).

This scale was adopted to evaluate the Lithuanianness of the names of Lithuanian citizens living in Norway. On the new scale, group (1) indicates names least characteristic of Lithuanian, which have no equivalents in Lithuanian and are not used in this language, whereas group (5) represents the names most characteristic of Lithuanian, which have no equivalents in other languages. The neutral category (3) was assigned to names commonly used in both Lithuanian and other languages. Group (2) signifies names that are characteristic of different languages but have equivalents in Lithuanian, whereas (4) denotes names characteristic of Lithuanian that also have equivalents in other languages.

The categorization of individual names on the scale was guided by specific linguistic criteria: grammar, orthography, origin and derivation. The grammar criterion was utilized to evaluate the regularity of names in Lithuanian. Common Lithuanian names, like other words, have endings that change as the words are declined<sup>2</sup>. In Lithuanian, typical female names end in *-a* and *-ė* attached to the consonant, such as *Olivija* and *Akvilė*. Male names end in *-as*, *-is*, *-(i)us*, *-ys*, or *-a* after the consonant, for example, *Lukas*, *Tonis*, *Marius*, *Ajus*, *Merkys*, and *Jogaila*. These names were included in group (3), (4) or (5). Some names commonly used in Lithuanian coincide with names in other languages, for example, (f.) *Amanda*, *Estela*, *Oksana*; (m.) *Aris*, *Jonas*, *Midas*, and were thus categorized as (3). Other personal names include forms from different languages, such as (f.) *Amberly*, *Ani*, *Maria*; (m.) *Erik*, *Kaspar*, *Robin*. They are unusual for Lithuanian because they lack Lithuanian endings and were therefore included in group (1) or (2).

<sup>2</sup> Lithuanian, along with Latvian, belongs to the branch of the Baltic languages, a family of the Indo-European languages. An important feature of Lithuanian for this study is that noun endings indicating gender, number, and case are commendatory (Ambrasas 1997:93–133).

Orthography was also important in the classification of names and is used to identify altered names. The Lithuanian alphabet consists of 32 letters, 12 of which are vowels (*a, q, e, ę, ė, i, y, j, o, u, ū, ū*) and 20 are consonants (*b, c, č, f, g, h, j, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, š, t, v, z, ž*). Additionally, there are 8 diphthongs of various types (*ai, au, ei, ie, ui, uo, ie*, and in international words *eu, ou*), 3 digraphs (*ch, dz, dž*). The letter *i*, inserted between a consonant and a back vowel (*ia, iq, io, iu, iū, ių, iai, iau, iui, iuo*), signifies palatalization (see Ambrazas 1997:13–19; 24–52). Personal names written with Lithuanian letters and their characteristic combinations were considered to be common names in the Lithuanian language and therefore included in group (3), (4) or (5), e.g. (f.) *Aleksandra, Gundė, Gvena, Klara, Lėja, Mija*; (m.) *Ažuolas, Benjaminas, Henris, Jokūbas, Maksas, Odinas*. Names written in non-traditional orthography, e.g. (f.) *Leah, Milea, Victoria*; (m.) *Kristoffer, Nico, Younas*, were categorized as (1) or (2) and considered to be unusual in the Lithuanian language. These names include letters not found in the Lithuanian alphabet (*x, w, q*, etc.) or letter combinations that are uncommon in Lithuanian, including double consonants (*ay, ey, ya, iy, sz, cz, th, ll, mm, nn*, etc.). Also included are names in which the letters represent incorrect sounds in Lithuanian (*c* represents [k], *ch* represents [ʃ], *j* represents [dʒ], etc.).

The third criterion, origin and formation, was used to distinguish between names that are equivalent in terms of grammar. Some common Lithuanian names originate from the Baltic lexicon, e.g. (f.) *Aušra* from Lith. *aušra* [dawn]; *Mantė* from *Mantautė*, cf. *man-* from Lith. *manyti* [think] + *taut-* from Lith. *tauta* [nation]; (m.) *Vėjas* from Lith. *vėjas* [wind]; *Vytautas*, cf. *vy-* from Lith. *išvysti* [see] + *taut-* from Lith. *tauta* [nation]. Note also suffixal names like (f.) *Rugilė*, with the suffix *-ilė* from Lith. *rugys* [rye], and (m.) *Tauridas*, with the suffix *-idas* from Lith. *tauras* [taurus], *taurus* [noble]. These names are all categorized as (5).

In other cases, the stems of names are borrowed from different languages, e.g. (f.) *Grantė, Raketė, Solveiga*; (m.) *Aleksandras, Edgaras, Natanielis*. These names are therefore categorized as (3) or (4). Some derivatives were also formed from borrowed stems, e.g. (f.) *Simėja*,

with the suffix *-ėja* from *Sima*; (m.) *Airidas*, with the suffix *-idas* from *Airas*, *Airis*, *Airius*. These names are all categorized as (5).

In some cases, borrowed names have an alternative Baltic origin, e.g. (f.) *Armina*, *Gina*; (m.) *Darius*, *Marius*<sup>3</sup>. These names were included in group (5). In addition, names borrowed from other languages have been adapted to Lithuanian, e.g. (f.) *Barbora*, *Morta*; (m.) *Povilas*, *Rapolas*. These names are categorized as (5).

Names from other languages are also evaluated based on their origins and formation. Variants of traditional Lithuanian names were distinguished in group (2), e.g. (f.) *Emma*, *Sofia*; (m.) *Arnold*, *Bart*, from names with stems uncharacteristic of Lithuanian in group (1), e.g. (f.) *Amber*, *Skai*; (m.) *Aariz*, *Amirali*.

Various sources were used to trace the origin and formation of names. Lithuanian names have been described in the dictionary compiled by Kazimieras Kuzavinis & Bronys Savukynas (2009), as well as in online resources (*List of personal names of citizens of the Republic of Lithuania*). To identify names from various languages, dictionaries including Ronan Coghlan et al (1990), Patrick Hanks et al (2006), Roberto Faure (2008), Chantal Tanet & Tanet Hordé (2000), Rosa Kohlheim & Volker Kohlheim (2007), Nancy L. Coleman & Olav Veka (2010), Jan Grzenia (2006), Aleksandra Superanskaja (2003), and Ivan Ivanovič Trišnjak (2005), among others, were consulted. These dictionaries, along with websites such as *Monodomo* and *Behind the Name*, were also used to verify the orthography of names in different languages.

The grouping of personal names assessed the extent to which they are characteristic of Lithuanian and other languages that influenced emigrants in Norway. The names of Lithuanians living in Norway may be influenced by the names of Norway and the Nordic countries. As with Lithuania, names in English, Italian, Spanish, etc., could

<sup>3</sup> These names may also have a Baltic origin, e.g. (f.) *Armina*, cf. *ar-* from Lith. *ar* [also, too] + *min-* from Lith. *minti* [keep in mind], *minėti* [mention]; *Gina* from *Ginvyda*, cf. *gin-* from Lith. *ginti* [defend] + *vyd-* from Lith. *išvysti* [see]; (m.) *Darius* from *Dartautas*, cf. *dar-* from Lith. *daryti* [do] + *taut-* from Lith. *tauta* [nation]; *Marius* from Lith. *marios* [lagoon].

have influenced them (Sinkevičiūtė 2021). Polish, Russian, and other languages of Lithuanian national minorities were also significant.

The scale developed to measure Lithuanianness based on the grammar, orthography, origin, and formation of names consequently distinguishes five groups of names:

- **Group 1. Names of non-Lithuanian form:** Names characteristic of other languages that do not have Lithuanian endings. Their orthography is uncharacteristic of Lithuanian. They are not similar in stems to the usual Lithuanian names, and have no equivalents in Lithuanian: e.g. (f.) *Aimi, Amber, Blu, Domino*; (m.) *Abdullah, Areeb, Demir, Enes*.
- **Group 2. Names of a more non-Lithuanian than Lithuanian form:** Names characteristic of other languages that do not have Lithuanian endings, their orthography is uncharacteristic of Lithuanian. Still, their stems have corresponding variants in usual Lithuanian names: e.g. (f.) *Danielle, Gabriella, Lea, Maria, Nicole*; (m.) *Andreas, Elias, Lucas, Matheus, Marco*.
- **Group 3. Overlapping names of non-Lithuanian and Lithuanian forms:** Names characteristic of other languages, that are also common in Lithuanian: e.g. (f.) *Barbara, Kaja, Laura*; (m.) *Aris, Jonas, Marius*.
- **Group 4. Names of a more Lithuanian rather than non-Lithuanian form:** Names characteristic of the Lithuanian language with Lithuanian endings, but their stems are also used in other languages, e.g. (f.) *Benediktė, Inesa, Gretė*; (m.) *Armandas, Erikas, Gabrieliūs*. These names are often written according to Lithuanian orthography, e.g. (f.) *Vanesa, Otilija, Eiprilė, Dorotėja*; (m.) *Arijus, Ludvikas, Matėjas, Taironas*.
- **Group 5. Names with a Lithuanian form:** Names characterized by unique endings and stems exclusive of Lithuanian. Some names came from the lexicon of the Baltic languages, e.g. (f.) *Aistė, Aušra*; (m.) *Daumantas, Vainius*, or

are derivatives of such names, e.g. (f.) *Aist-ėja*, *Vėj-ūnė*; (m.) *Šar-ūnas*, *Vyt-enis*. Other names were originally borrowed from other languages, but their stems have taken on typical Lithuanian forms, e.g. (f.) *Gertrūda*, *Ignė*, *Kotryna*; (m.) *Agnius*, *Juozas*, *Kazimieras*. Yet other names are derivatives of borrowed personal names, e.g. (f.) *Air-ida*, *Sim-ėja*; (m.) *Air-idas*, *Dein-atas*.

Altered names registered with unusual orthography for Lithuanian or other languages, such as (f.) *Kamillė*, *Sarlote*; (m.) *Bėnas*, *Jokubas*, were excluded from consideration. Some names characteristic of Lithuanian are written without diacritics, like (f.) *Leja*, and Baltic names, like (f.) *Austeja* and *Saule*. Other names have a Lithuanian ending added to a stem characteristic of other languages, e.g. (f.) *Estellė*, *Nicolė*, or the ending of names of different languages attached to the usual Lithuanian stem, e.g. (f.) *Aristėja*, *Frėja*. They are very rare (see Table 3), and their analysis is the subject of another study. On the tendencies of giving the names of emigrant children with Lithuanian letters with diacritics in the United Kingdom, Ireland, Norway and Germany in 1991–2020, see Sinkevičiūtė 2024b.

It should also be added that after analysing the names' forms, spelling, origin, and derivation, names written in different ways are assigned to different groups. Some names vary in stem orthography, such as (f.) *Maria* (2)<sup>4</sup> and *Marija* (4), (m.) *Lucas* (2) and *Lukas* (3). In contrast, others differ in their endings or in how they are written, for example, (f.) *Milea* (2) and *Milėja* (4), (m.) *Deivid* (2) and *Deividas* (4). Names of the same origin but of a different type of formation have different stems, e.g. (f.) *Agata* (3) and *Agota* (5), (m.) *Adamas* (4) and *Adomas* (5), or extended by suffixes such as (f.) *Milė* (4) and *Milita* (5), (m.) *Vilius* (4) and *Vilandas* (5).

<sup>4</sup> The name group is indicated in parentheses.

## 6. Results of the study

The names of Lithuanian citizens born in Norway are categorized into the groups detailed above, including name tokens. The resulting numbers and percentages are presented in Table 3, which differentiates between names of females and males.

**Table 3. Names of Lithuanian citizens born in Norway, categorized by Lithuanianness.**

|                                                                             | Girls                       |                                | Boys                        |                                |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
|                                                                             | Count<br>( <i>n</i> =3 727) | Percentage<br>( <i>n</i> =100) | Count<br>( <i>n</i> =3 959) | Percentage<br>( <i>n</i> =100) |
| Group 1. Names of non-Lithuanian form                                       | 23                          | 0.6                            | 35                          | 0.9                            |
| Group 2. Names of more non-Lithuanian than Lithuanian form                  | 457                         | 12.3                           | 505                         | 12.8                           |
| Group 3. Names of overlapping Lithuanian and non-Lithuanian forms           | 1 183                       | 31.7                           | 523                         | 13.2                           |
| Group 4. Names of more Lithuanian than non-Lithuanian form                  | 1 170                       | 31.4                           | 1 917                       | 48.4                           |
| Group 5. Names with a Lithuanian form                                       | 864                         | 23.2                           | 975                         | 24.6                           |
| Names registered with unusual orthography for Lithuanian or other languages | 30                          | 0.8                            | 4                           | 0.1                            |

Table 3 indicates that parents usually select names conforming to Lithuanian grammar conventions for Lithuanian citizens born in Norway. This is indicated by the Names of overlapping Lithuanian and non-Lithuanian forms (Group 3), the Names of more Lithuanian than non-Lithuanian forms (Group 4), and the Names with Lithuanian forms (Group 5). They cover 86.3 per cent of the names given to girls and boys in Norway. Names written in an orthography that is not typical of Lithuanian and other languages, usually for girls, are rare.

## 6.1 The most commonly used Lithuanian names are similar to names in other languages

Table 3 shows that girls most often have Lithuanian names coinciding with the names of other languages (Group 3, amounting to 31.7 per cent). Names of a more Lithuanian than non-Lithuanian form are also common (Group 4, amounting to 31.4 per cent). They have stems taken over from other names to which Lithuanian endings are attached. Thus, parents often choose universal names for girls, which are shared across different languages.

Girls born in Norway are often given names that are common to many different languages. The data in Table 4 show that the most common names are overlapping Lithuanian and non-Lithuanian forms, such as *Ema* (75)<sup>5</sup>, *Eva* (60), *Goda* (46), or names that are more Lithuanian than non-Lithuanian such as *Emilija* (103), *Lėja* (90), *Kamilė* (82), *Gabrielė* (72), *Tėja* (71), *Amelija* (59), *Sofija* (56). They account for 17 of the 25 most common names given to girls by emigrants in Norway (see Table 4).

Girls' names associated with specific languages are less common. Scandinavian names include *Bentė* (1), *Elina* (5), *Frėja* (3), *Pernilė* (1), *Ronja* (1), *Steina* (1), *Stina* (1), and others. English names include *Briana* (1), *Charisė* (1), *Grantė* (1), *Tija* (1), etc. There are also Romance names such as *Dileta* (1), *Noela* (1), and *Solita* (1). Additionally, there are Slavic names like *Ksenija* (2), *Polina* (1), *Uliana* (1), and *Vasilisa* (1), and Arabic names such as *Amna* (1) and *Isra* (1). Many rare names, such as *Benedikta* (1), *Glorija* (2), *Paulė* (1), *Teresė* (1), are also characteristic of several languages.

For boys, parents usually give names of more Lithuanian than non-Lithuanian forms (Group 4, which amounts to 48,4 per cent) by attaching the usual Lithuanian endings to borrowed stems. Few personal names coincide with the name forms of other languages (i.e. Group 3, amounting to 13.2 per cent). Emigrants in Norway mostly give boys borrowed names that are common in different languages

<sup>5</sup> The number of Lithuanian citizens born in Norway with that name is indicated in parentheses.

(i.e. Group 4). Due to the specific endings of Lithuanian boys' names, they coincide much less often than girls' names with those of other languages. Boys are often given names with stems that are spread across many languages. Table 4 illustrates that the most common names are also names of the more Lithuanian than non-Lithuanian group, e.g. *Matas* (130), *Kajus* (104), *Emilis* (96), *Benas* (84), *Aronas* (82) etc. Names with overlapping Lithuanian and non-Lithuanian forms, like *Lukas* (177) or *Jonas* (122), are also very common, even though they are less prevalent. Together these two groups account for 18 of the 25 most popular boys' names given by emigrants in Norway.

Some less common boy names have stems found in many languages, such as *Edmundas* (2), *Fabijus* (1), *Maksas* (3), *Osvaldas* (1), *Ronaldas* (1), *Silvestras* (1), and *Viktoras* (1). Other uncommon names are specific to individual languages, such as *Erlandas* (2), *Odinas* (1), *Ragnaras* (1), and *Toras* (2) from the Scandinavian languages. English examples include *Aidanas* (1), *Bendžiaminas* (1), *Devinas* (1), *Konoras* (1), *Taironas* (1), and *Timotis* (1).

Thus, Lithuanian citizens born in Norway most often have borrowed names with Lithuanian endings – they account for 63.1 per cent of the girls' and 61.4 per cent of the boys' names. This implies that parents usually choose names similar to those of other languages for both girls and boys. Children often have names with stems that are repeated in many languages. Individual names typical of specific languages, mainly Scandinavian and English, are uncommon. The variety of names for girls is more significant.

## 6.2 The most common names of emigrants coincide with the most common Lithuanian names

The most common names of emigrants from Lithuania will now be compared with those from Norway and Lithuania during the same period. This comparison focuses on the years 2008–2020, as few children were born to Lithuanian emigrants in Norway between 1991 and 2007 (see Figure 1). Consequently, comparing names from 1991 to

2020 would not be representative. The most common names of Lithuanian emigrants are presented in Table 4.

Table 4 displays the 25 most common names given to Lithuanian citizens in Norway from 2008 to 2020, indicating Lithuanianness group, numbers, and percentages. These conform a larger percentage for boys (44.02 per cent) than for girls (35.92 per cent). Thus, Lithuanian emigrants are more inclined to choose repetitive names for boys than for girls.

**Table 4. Most common given names for children of Lithuanian emigrants born in Norway between 2008 and 2020.**

|     | Girl's |           |            |       |            | Boy's     |            |       |            |
|-----|--------|-----------|------------|-------|------------|-----------|------------|-------|------------|
|     | Place  | Name      | Name group | Count | Percentage | Name      | Name group | Count | Percentage |
| 1.  |        | Emilija   | 4          | 98    | 2.66       | Lukas     | 3          | 171   | 4.40       |
| 2.  |        | Lėja      | 4          | 90    | 2.44       | Matas     | 4          | 126   | 3.24       |
| 3.  |        | Kamilė    | 4          | 81    | 2.20       | Jonas     | 3          | 122   | 3.14       |
| 4.  |        | Ema       | 3          | 75    | 2.03       | Nojus     | 5          | 107   | 2.75       |
| 5.  |        | Tėja      | 4          | 71    | 1.93       | Kajus     | 4          | 102   | 2.62       |
| 6.  |        | Gabrielė  | 4          | 70    | 1.90       | Emilis    | 4          | 95    | 2.44       |
| 7.  |        | Gabija    | 5          | 65    | 1.76       | Benas     | 4          | 83    | 2.13       |
| 8.  |        | Eva       | 3          | 60    | 1.63       | Aronas    | 4          | 82    | 2.11       |
| 9.  |        | Amelija   | 4          | 59    | 1.60       | Markas    | 4          | 71    | 1.82       |
| 10. |        | Sofija    | 4          | 56    | 1.52       | Dominykas | 5          | 70    | 1.80       |
| 11. |        | Liepa     | 5          | 49    | 1.33       | Herkus    | 5          | 62    | 1.59       |
| 12. |        | Sofia     | 2          | 47    | 1.27       | Jokūbas   | 5          | 59    | 1.52       |
| 13. |        | Goda      | 3          | 46    | 1.25       | Arnas     | 4          | 55    | 1.41       |
| 14. |        | Austėja   | 5          | 45    | 1.22       | Domas     | 4          | 55    | 1.41       |
| 15. |        | Viltė     | 5          | 45    | 1.22       | Gustas    | 4          | 51    | 1.31       |
| 16. |        | Elija     | 4          | 44    | 1.19       | Joris     | 3          | 46    | 1.18       |
| 17. |        | Luka      | 3          | 41    | 1.11       | Danielius | 4          | 45    | 1.15       |
| 18. |        | Patricija | 4          | 41    | 1.11       | Kristupas | 5          | 44    | 1.13       |
| 19. |        | Gustė     | 4          | 39    | 1.06       | Tajus     | 5          | 42    | 1.08       |
| 20. |        | Smiltė    | 5          | 36    | 0.97       | Arijus    | 4          | 39    | 1.00       |
| 21. |        | Ugnė      | 5          | 36    | 0.97       | Augustas  | 4          | 39    | 1.00       |
| 22. |        | Urtė      | 5          | 34    | 0.92       | Majus     | 4          | 39    | 1.00       |
| 23. |        | Augustė   | 4          | 33    | 0.89       | Armandas  | 4          | 37    | 0.95       |

| Girl's |        |            |       |             | Boy's   |            |       |             |       |
|--------|--------|------------|-------|-------------|---------|------------|-------|-------------|-------|
| Place  | Name   | Name group | Count | Per-centage | Name    | Name group | Count | Per-centage |       |
| 24.    | Kamila | 3          | 32    | 0.87        | Dovydas | 5          | 36    | 0.92        |       |
| 25.    | Maja   | 3          | 32    | 0.87        | Oskaras | 4          | 36    | 0.92        |       |
| Total  |        |            | 1325  | 35.92       |         |            |       | 1714        | 44.02 |

The most common names for girls in Norway from 2008 to 2020 are: 1. *Emma*, 2. *Nora*, 3. *Emilie*, 4. *Sofie*, 5. *Ingrid*, 6. *Anna*, 7. *Ella*, 8. *Thea*, 9. *Ida*, 10. *Linnea*, 11. *Amalie*, 12. *Sara*, 13. *Olivia*, 14. *Mia*, 15. *Julie*, 16. *Frida*, 17. *Vilde*, 18. *Leah*, 19. *Maria*, 20. *Maja*, 21. *Sofia*, 22. *Aurora*, 23. *Tuva*, 24. *Hedda*, 25. *Jenny* (name statistics sourced from *Statistics Norway* 2). When the most common girls' names in Norway are compared with those of Lithuanian emigrants, it emerges that only two names overlap. One name is *Sofia*, which is uncommon in Lithuanian; the other is *Maja*, which is found in many languages (including Lithuanian). Among the most common names for Lithuanian emigrant girls, some coincide with Norwegian names by origin, though with different forms in each language: *Ema*, *Emilija*, *Sofija*, *Tėja*, and *Lėja* (cf. *Emma*, *Emilie*, *Sofie*, *Thea*, *Leah*).

The most common names for boys in Norway from 2008 to 2020 are: 1. *Emil*, 2. *William*, 3. *Oliver*, 4. *Magnus*, 5. *Mathias*, 6. *Noah*, 7. *Jonas*, 8. *Henrik*, 9. *Elias*, 10. *Tobias*, 11. *Sebastian*, 12. *Sander*, 13. *Daniel*, 14. *Liam*, 15. *Adrian*, 16. *Lucas*, 17. *Benjamin*, 18. *Isak*, 19. *Aksel*, 20. *Martin*, 21. *Jakob*, 22. *Leon*, 23. *Johannes*, 24. *Alexander*, 25. *Andres* (name statistics sourced from *Statistics Norway* 2). When the most common names for Norwegian boys are compared to those of Lithuanian emigrants, it emerges that one of the most frequent names is *Jonas*, which is typical of many languages. As in the case of girls, emigrants from Lithuania sometimes give boys names coinciding with Norwegian names by origin, though with different forms in each language: *Emilis*, *Nojus*, *Danielius*, *Lukas*, *Jokūbas* (cf. *Emil*, *Noah*, *Daniel*, *Lucas*, *Jakob*).

The most common names for girls in Lithuania from 2008 to 2020 are: 1. *Emilija*, 2. *Gabija*, 3. *Austėja*, 4. *Kamilė*, 5. *Gabrielė*, 6. *Ugnė*,

7. *Viltė*, 8. *Urtė*, 9. *Lėja*, 10. *Liepa*, 11. *Goda*, 12. *Ieva*, 13. *Ema*, 14. *Amelija*, 15. *Sofija*, 16. *Rugilė*, 17. *Augustė*, 18. *Smiltė*, 19. *Miglė*, 20. *Luknė*, 21. *Saulė*, 22. *Patricija*, 23. *Viktorija*, 24. *Gustė*, 25. *Kotryna* (name statistics sourced from *List of personal names of citizens of the Republic of Lithuania*). The girls' names from 2008 to 2020 show that 18 of the 25 most common names among emigrants are the same as those of Lithuania: *Amelija*, *Augustė*, *Austėja*, *Ema*, *Emilija*, *Gabija*, *Gabrielė*, *Goda*, *Gustė*, *Kamilė*, *Lėja*, *Liepa*, *Patricija*, *Smiltė*, *Sofija*, *Ugnė*, *Urtė*, *Viltė*. Emigrants are more inclined to choose the universal name *Eva* than its variant *Ieva*, which is more common in Lithuania. *Eva*, *Elija*, *Kamila*, *Luka*, *Maja*, and *Tėja* are also common in Lithuania, even though they did not make it into the top 25 names in Lithuania for the period studied. The name *Sofia* is uncommon in Lithuania and is most frequently given to girls born abroad or in families of foreign citizens (see *Sofia* in *List of personal names of citizens of the Republic of Lithuania*).

The most common names for boys in Lithuania from 2008 to 2020 are: 1. *Matas*, 2. *Lukas*, 3. *Nojus*, 4. *Dominykas*, 5. *Kajus*, 6. *Jokūbas*, 7. *Jonas*, 8. *Dovydas*, 9. *Benas*, 10. *Emilis*, 11. *Domas*, 12. *Danielius*, 13. *Augustas*, 14. *Rokas*, 15. *Adomas*, 16. *Gabrielius*, 17. *Ignas*, 18. *Arnas*, 19. *Joris*, 20. *Kristupas*, 21. *Gustas*, 22. *Mantas*, 23. *Martynas*, 24. *Domantas*, 25. *Aronas* (name statistics sourced from *List of personal names of citizens of the Republic of Lithuania*). A comparison of the most common Lithuanian names with those of emigrants reveals that 18 out of the 25 boys' names coincide: *Aronas*, *Arnas*, *Augustas*, *Benas*, *Danielius*, *Domas*, *Dominykas*, *Dovydas*, *Emilis*, *Gustas*, *Jokūbas*, *Jonas*, *Joris*, *Kajus*, *Kristupas*, *Lukas*, *Matas*, and *Nojus*. Other common expatriate names such as *Arijus*, *Armandas*, *Herkus*, *Majus*, *Markas*, *Oskaras*, and *Tajus* are also popular in Lithuania but did not make it to the Top 25 for the period studied (see *Tajus* in *List of personal names of citizens of the Republic of Lithuania*).

Thus, all of the most common names given in Norway by Lithuanian emigrants are also common in Lithuania, with the only exception of *Sofia*. The most common names for emigrants in Norway differ from those most frequently found in Lithuania in frequency

alone. This suggests that the trends of Lithuanian names influence emigrants in Norway. Among the most common names of Lithuanian emigrants, several reflect Christian cultural heritage, just as in Norway. However, they appear in forms typical of the Lithuanian language. This suggests that when Lithuanian emigrants name their children, the trends of Norwegian names have relatively little influence.

6.3 Names of stems characteristic of Lithuanian cover almost a quarter of the names

Personal names specific to the Lithuanian language make up 23.2 per cent of girls’ and 24.6 per cent of boys’ names (Group 5). Table 5 provides the names with Lithuanian forms, divided into Baltic forms and borrowings from other languages that have taken on typical Lithuanian forms. Baltic names are more characteristic of girls (73.7 per cent of names), while borrowed names with Lithuanian stems are more typical of boys (66.9 per cent). This may be a regular tendency for Lithuanian expatriates because a study of the names of children of Lithuanian emigrants in the United Kingdom shows that Baltic names are more characteristic of girls (Sinkevičiūtė 2024a).

Table 5. Names of the Lithuanian forms by origin.

|                | Girls            |                       | Boys             |                       |
|----------------|------------------|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------------|
|                | Count<br>(n=864) | Percentage<br>(n=100) | Count<br>(n=975) | Percentage<br>(n=100) |
| Baltic names   | 637              | 73.7 per cent         | 323              | 33.1 per cent         |
| Borrowed names | 227              | 26.3 per cent         | 652              | 66.9 per cent         |

Emigrants from Lithuania in Norway often give girls Baltic names, which are among the most popular names for emigrants (see Table 4). Among the most popular names for boys there are no names of Baltic origin, with the possible exception of *Joris* (46) from Lith. *jorė* [foliage, spring greenery], which has two etymologies as is the case of the girl’s name *Goda* (46) from Lith. *goda* [thought, dream].

The most common Baltic names for girls are appellative names. They originated in names of nature, cf. *Liepa* (49) from Lith. *liepa* [linden], *Smiltė* (36) from Lith. *smiltis* [sandstone], *Ugnė* (36) from Lith. *ugnis* [fire], *Miglė* (30) from Lith. *migla* [fog; haze], *Rugilė* (27) from Lith. *rugys* [rye], *Saulė* (27) from Lith. *saulė* [sun], etc., or in appellatives of a positive meaning, cf. *Viltė* (45) from Lith. *vil-tis* [hope]. Other names based on appellatives are *Gabija* (69) from Lith. *gobti* [cover], *Austėja* (46) from Lith. *austi* [weave], and *Milda* (11) from Lith. *mildingai* [friendly], which are names of Lithuanian deities. Less common compound personal names include *Jogailė* (5), cf. *jo-* from Lith. *joti* [travel on horseback] + *gail-* from Lith. *gailas* [strong, powerful], *Mingailė* (3), cf. *min-* from Lith. *minti* [keep in mind], *minėti* [mention] + *gail-* from Lith. *gailas* [strong; powerful], as well as hypocoristics and their derivatives such as *Kar-ilė* (6), cf. *Kara* from *Karigailė*, cf. *kar-* from Lith. *karas* [war] + *gail-* from Lith. *gailas* [strong; powerful], *Mantė* (6) from *Mantvydė*, cf. *mant-* from Lith. *manta* [wealth] + *vyd-* from Lith. *išvysti* [see], and names derived from place names like *Rusnė* (18) from *Rusnė* [river], *Iglė* (8) from *Iglė* [lake], and *Ūla* (3) from *Ūla* [river]. Names may have suffixes, e.g. *-ėja*, cf. *Saulėja* (2) from Lith. *saulė* [sun], *-ūnė*, cf. *Jorūnė* (2) from Lith. *lorė* [foliage; spring greenery].

Baltic names for boys are less varied. There are different types: appellative names like *Vakaris* (28) from Lith. *vakaras* [evening], *Tauras* (18) from Lith. *tauras* [taurus]; *taurus* [noble], *Ažuolas* (17) from Lith. *qžuolas* [oak], *Ugnius* (12) from Lith. *ugnis* [fire], *Vėjas* (12) from Lith. *vėjas* [wind]; compound personal names like *Domantas* (25), cf. *do-* from Lith. *duoti* [give] + *mant-* from Lith. *manta* [wealth], *Arminas* (18), cf. *ar-* from Lith. *ar* [also, too] + *min-* from Lith. *minti* [keep in mind], *minėti* [mention], *Eimantas* (6), cf. *ei-* from Lith. *eiti* [go] + *mant-* from Lith. *manta* [wealth]; hypocoristics and their derivatives like *Mantas* (25) from *Mantautas*, cf. *man(t)-* from Lith. *manta* [wealth] + *taut-* from Lith. *tauta* [nation], *Vytis* (6) from *Vytautas*, cf. *vy(d)-* from Lith. *išvysti* [see] + *taut-* from Lith. *tauta* [nation]; and names derived from place names like *Naglis* (5) from *Naglis* [dune], *Raigardas* (3) from *Raigardas* [valley]. Names may have suffixes, e.g.

*-ijus*, cf. *Dovijus* (1), cf. *Dovas* from *Dovilas*, cf. *do-* from Lith. *duoti* [give] + *vil-* from Lith. *viltis* [hope], *-utis*, cf. *Kęstutis* (1), cf. *Kęstas*, from *Kęstautas*, cf. *kęs(t)-* from Lith. *kęsti* [endure] + *taut-* from Lith. *tauta* [nation].

Borrowed names of boys with exclusive Lithuanian stems are among the most commonly given names of emigrants in Norway. Such names for girls are few (see Table 4). Some boys' names are exclusive Lithuanian variants of borrowed names used in other languages, such as *Nojus* (108), *Dominykas* (72), *Jokūbas* (59), *Kristupas* (44), *Dovydas* (37), *Adomas* (29), *Motiejus* (20), *Mykolas* (10). Other names are hypocoristics formed in the Lithuanian language: *Herkus* (62), *Adas* (34), *Ignas* (26), *Kipras* (8), etc. Borrowed names with exclusive Lithuanian stems are less common for girls, such as *Kotryna* (30), *Ieva* (26), *Barbora* (25), *Agota* (13), *Dominyka* (11). The same holds true for hypocoristics, cf. *Gustė* (39), *Urtė* (35), *Elzė* (14), *Ignė* (2), etc.

Thus, names with a Lithuanian form (Group 5) reflect different tendencies for girls and boys. Girls more often have Baltic names, which in addition are more diverse than in the case of names for boys. Boys are usually given borrowed names, though their stems are characteristic of Lithuanian alone. However, the names of this group are not widespread.

## 6.4 Names characteristic of other languages are not widespread

Emigrant children in Norway are also given names from other languages (see Table 3, Groups 1 and 2). Of these names, the children of emigrants are more likely to have names that are more non-Lithuanian than Lithuanian. They account for 11.6 per cent of girls' and 12.6 per cent of boys' names (Group 2). Names of non-Lithuanian forms are rare. They make up 1.3 per cent of girls' and 1 per cent of boys' names (Group 1). Thus, emigrants who have chosen name forms from other languages give their children variants of names that are common or known to Lithuanians.

Many girls' names in Norway are variants of names borrowed from other languages, written in forms characteristic of different languages, cf. *Sofia* (47)<sup>6</sup>, *Emma* (31), *Amelia* (27), *Emilia* (20), *Andrea* (19), *Mia* (17), *Olivia* (16), *Maria* (13), *Thea* (12), *Patricia* (10). These names are rarer than the corresponding variants used in Lithuanian.

Some of the boys' names, typical of other languages, are also rarer variants of those used in Lithuanian. For example, *Daniel* (35), *Elias* (20), *Adam* (14), *Aron* (12), *Gabriel* (11), *Emil* (10), *Martin* (10), *Oskar* (10), etc. In other cases, variants such as *Matias* (19), *Denis* (14), *Kevin* (14), *Adrian* (11), *Aleksander* (11), and *David* (10), are more common than the corresponding names of the same stems used in Lithuanian.

The names in Group 1, which have non-Lithuanian forms, are neither widespread nor varied. Among these names are Scandinavian names, such as (f.) *Gitte* (1), *Svea* (1); (m.) *Eirik* (1), *Viggo* (1), as well as Arabic names, such as (f.) *Aisha* (1), *Layla* (1); (m.) *Aariz* (1), *Salim* (1). There are also English names like (f.) *Elinor* (1), *Molly* (1); (m.) *Devon* (1), and *Ross* (1), along with names from other languages.

Thus, Lithuanian citizens born in Norway usually receive names of other languages that, however, are variants of Lithuanian names. Girls' atypical Lithuanian names are less common than their typical variants. Boys' names not typical of Lithuanian are more common than traditional Lithuanian variants. Names with non-Lithuanian forms that are not similar to common Lithuanian names are rare.

## 7. Conclusions

Emigrants from Lithuania usually give their children in Norway names that are normal in terms of Lithuanian grammar. These names have endings and are written in the usual ways for Lithuanian. Parents use them to express their children's ethnic affiliation with Lithuania. These names dominate in relation to personal names that are atypical for Lithuanians. When parents give their children names of

<sup>6</sup> This form is among the most common names given in Norway to emigrants from Lithuania (see above).

other languages, they are usually variants of names used in Lithuanian. Emigrants from Lithuania in Norway name children according to the following strategies:

- partially combining Lithuanian and other languages in giving names of the same stems. Boys are most often named according to this strategy (61.2 per cent of boys and 43.7 per cent of girls). Emigrants usually give their children typical Lithuanian names, which are more characteristic of boys (Group 4). Names of other languages are less common, with similar proportions in the case of girls' and boys' names (Group 2).
- fully combining Lithuanian and other languages to give children names that coincide in both languages. Girls are most often named according to this strategy (31.7 per cent of girls and 13.2 per cent of boys; Group 3).
- not combining Lithuanian and other languages, naming children by the names of either Lithuanian or other languages (23.8 per cent of girls and 25.5 per cent of boys). Parents are more likely to choose names unique to Lithuanians (Group 5). Baltic names are more characteristic of girls, and borrowed names with stems formed in the Lithuanian language are more characteristic of boys. Names characteristic of other languages alone are rare (Group 1).

These strategies show that the parents' attitudes when choosing names for girls and boys differ. When naming girls, emigrants usually fully or partially reconcile Lithuanian names with those of other languages. When parents give their daughters names characteristic of Lithuanian, they choose Baltic names. When naming boys, emigrants usually either partially combine or do not at all combine Lithuanian names with those of other languages. When parents give their sons characteristic Lithuanian names, they choose borrowed names whose stems are characteristic only of Lithuanian. Thus, from the point of view of grammar, boys' names are more Lithuanian than those of girls, and their conservatism can be seen from their endings.

Regardless of the strategy by which parents give names to their children, almost two-thirds of the children of Lithuanian emigrants in Norway have names with stems taken over from other languages. The most common are borrowed names with stems characteristic of many European languages. Names specific to individual languages or their families are not common; in addition to names characteristic of Scandinavian languages, personal names characteristic of English and other languages are sometimes given.

## 8. Discussion

The study shows that the names of Lithuanian citizens born in Norway are usually typical Lithuanian names, which means that parents assume Lithuanian ethnic identity for their children born in emigration. This supports Jakaitė-Bulbukienė's (2015: 84) observation that children's names serve as markers of Lithuanian identity. The most common names among emigrants in Norway also align with those of Lithuanian children born in the same period. This indicates the Lithuanianness of the names of the emigrants.

The study broadens the understanding of the names given to children of Lithuanian emigrants in Norway. It found that the majority of the names (86.3 per cent) are typical Lithuanian names given to both girls and boys. These results build on Daukšas' (2011:127–133) findings that Lithuanians who emigrated to Norway stay connected with Lithuania through the internet, Lithuanian television, affordable air travel, and citizenship, as well as by name. This study helps explain why the names of Lithuanian emigrants do not seem Norwegian to Norwegians or do not sound Norwegian, as observed by Daukšas (2018:80; 2019:234–235). This is because many of the names have endings and stems unique to the Lithuanian language, distinguishing them from other names.

This study also confirmed the previous observation that Baltic names are more common among girls, as this trend was also noted in the study of Baltic names in the United Kingdom (Sinkevičiūtė 2024a). As in the United Kingdom, Baltic names are derived from

natural phenomena and objects, Lithuanian pagan goddesses and gods, and famous and legendary personalities from Lithuania's past (Sinkevičiūtė 2024a). As previously mentioned, names with exclusively Lithuanian letters are more frequent in Norway than in other major emigration countries (Sinkevičiūtė 2024b). As a result, it is possible that Norway has the largest number of names typical of Lithuanian, which should be verified through further studies of common names in other major emigration countries, such as the United Kingdom, Ireland and Germany.

These results were obtained by evaluating the names based on their registered forms. Still, the results could be altered after conducting direct surveys of parents or choosing other criteria for measuring the Lithuanianness of names. Parents usually choose names with stems shared with other languages. Such names, which sound similar in different languages, indicate that parents try to adapt the names to the non-native environment and hide their Lithuanian identity in this way. On the other hand, without a study of the tendencies of giving names in Lithuania, it is impossible to assess whether these results do not reflect the fashions for giving names to Lithuanian children. This interpretation is supported by findings in this study, which show that many of the most common names given to Lithuanian citizens and children of Lithuanian emigrants in Norway between 2008 and 2020 are the same.

It should be added that Baltic names and borrowed names whose stems are characteristic only of Lithuanian were both considered names with a Lithuanian form (Group 5). They are widespread in Lithuania and perceived as 'Lithuanian'. Still, if we only consider the names derived from the Baltic lexicon to be Lithuanian, these personal names would complement the widespread group of names of more Lithuanian than non-Lithuanian form (Group 4). Consequently, the proportion of names with a more Lithuanian than non-Lithuanian form (Group 4) would be higher, especially for boys (64.5 per cent of names instead of 48 per cent). However, the main result – normal Lithuanian names dominate – would not change.

The study results were primarily based on the names of children born in Norway during the second decade of the 21st century (see Figure 1). However, the results of this study do not include the names of children born in Norway to Lithuanian or mixed families without Lithuanian citizenship. Including such families' names could alter this study's results.

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