**Naming trends of Lithuanian emigrants in Ireland, Norway, and Germany (1991–2020), with focus on names of Baltic origin[1]**

**Tendencias en los nombres de hijos de emigrantes lituanos en Irlanda, Noruega y Alemania (1991–2020), con foco en nombres de origen báltico**

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**Abstract:** This article examines naming trends among Lithuanian emigrants who give their children Baltic names in Ireland, Norway, and Germany, in comparison to those in the United Kingdom (see Sinkevičiūtė 2024a). The aim is to highlight that the Baltic names given to children in the major countries of emigration from Lithuania between 1991 and 2020 reflect the ethnic identity attributed to them by their parents, and that the tendency among emigrants to choose Baltic names is a regular and stable phenomenon. The qualitative and quantitative analysis of names focuses on the origin and structure of Baltic names to identify their systemic characteristics. This analysis revealed that, across all countries, the most common names are derived from natural phenomena and objects, Lithuanian pagan goddesses and gods, as well as notable historical and legendary figures from Lithuania's past. Euphony also appears to play a role in naming. Furthermore, the same suffixes recur in names of different origins, and the same shortenings emerge from names sharing common initial elements. These findings complement previous studies on names given to children by emigrants during the same period. In particular, they demonstrate that the behavior of parents across the major countries of emigration from Lithuania is broadly similar when choosing Baltic names for their children (see Sinkevičiūtė 2024a). On the other hand, the study highlighted that Baltic names are more frequently given to girls. This indicates that, from the perspective of origin, girls' names are more Lithuanian than boys' names, as observed in the study of names with diacritic marks, which are more characteristic of girls (see Sinkevičiūtė 2024b).

**Keywords**: Lithuanian names; Baltic names; Names of emigrants; naming practices; emigration

**Resumen:** El artículo explora las tendencias de asignar nombres bálticos en Irlanda, Noruega y Alemania, que se comparan con las tendencias previamente estudiadas para dar nombres bálticos en el Reino Unido (Sinkevičiūtė 2024a). Se pretende destacar que los nombres bálticos dados a los niños en los principales países de emigración desde Lituania entre 1991 y 2020 reflejan la identidad étnica lituana que les atribuyen sus padres, y que la tendencia de los emigrantes a elegir nombres bálticos para sus hijos es un fenómeno regular y estable. El análisis cualitativo y cuantitativo de los nombres se centra en el origen y la estructura de los nombres bálticos, con el objetivo de identificar sus características sistémicas. Los resultados muestran que, en todos los países, los nombres más frecuentes provienen de fenómenos y objetos naturales, de diosas y dioses paganos lituanos, y de figuras históricas y legendarias de Lituania. La sonoridad parece jugar un papel importante, como se puede ver en las terminaciones

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comunes de nombres de diferentes orígenes. Además, los mismos sufijos se repiten, y los hipocorísticos aparecen a partir de nombres de diferentes orígenes con inicios homófonos. Estos resultados complementan los estudios previos sobre los nombres dados a los niños por emigrantes durante el mismo período, demostrando que el comportamiento de los padres en los principales países de emigración desde Lituania es ampliamente similar al elegir nombres bálticos para sus hijos (Sinkevičiūtė 2024a). Por otro lado, el estudio destaca que los nombres bálticos son más frecuentes en niñas. Esto indica que, desde la perspectiva del origen, los nombres de las niñas son más lituanos que los de los niños, como se observa también en el estudio de los nombres con diacríticos, que son más característicos de las niñas (Sinkevičiūtė 2024b).

**Palabras clave**: nombres lituanos, nombres bálticos, nombres de emigrantes, prácticas de nomenclatura, emigración

**Introduction**

In recent years, scholarly interest in migrant naming practices has been on the rise. These names are examined not only from a linguistic perspective but also through psychological and sociological lenses. Researchers seek to understand how migrant children are named and how their names may change over time, which names are chosen by their parents, how these names are used in various linguistic and cultural contexts, and how names relate to identity and gender[2]. In the host country, immigrants adopt various strategies when naming their children: they may choose names typical of the host country, retain culturally distinctive names from their country of origin, seek names that are common across cultures, or follow family traditions (Gerhards & Kämpfer, 2017 and references therein)[3].

Names are among the key indicators of Lithuanianness and play an important role in the study of Lithuanian identity. Emigrants from Lithuania recognise that their names and surnames reflect their ethnicity (Jakaitė–Bulbukienė, 2015: 84). Common Lithuanian names differ from those in other languages due to their endings, which are characteristic of the Lithuanian language and can be declined (Ambrazas, 1997: 93–133). They are also written using letters specific to Lithuanian orthography, some of which are not found in other languages (Vladarskienė & Zemlevičiūtė, 2022: 11–23). Some common Lithuanian names originate from Baltic words or have stems extended exclusively with Baltic suffixes. Baltic names most clearly express ethnic identity, being unique to Lithuanian and without equivalents in other languages (cf. Sue & Telles, 2007: 1392–1393, on ethnically distinctive Spanish names).

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[2] See Pilcher (2017: 813) for a review of literature on how names embody a person's gender.
[3] For a broader overview, see Sinkevičiūtė (2024a: 206–209).

When examining the names of children born to Lithuanian emigrants in the United Kingdom (hereinafter the UK) between 1991 and 2020, I observed that Baltic names account for approximately one-sixth of girls' names. Among boys, Baltic names are about half as common as among girls (Sinkevičiūtė, 2024a). In Norway, among children born to Lithuanian emigrants between 1991 and 2020, names of Baltic origin account for approximately one-fifth of girls' names and one-tenth of boys' names (Sinkevičiūtė, 2025). This raises the question of whether the higher incidence of Baltic names among girls compared to boys is also observed among Lithuanian emigrants naming their children in other major emigration countries, such as Ireland and Germany.

I have observed that Lithuanian emigrants in the UK more frequently give Baltic appellative names[4] to girls, whereas boys are more often given compound and appellative names; other types of Baltic names are less common. Appellative names are often based on the Lithuanian lexicon related to nature and place names, particularly those from the Lithuanian seaside. Baltic names are associated with Lithuanian history, culture, and mythology. These names suggest that some Lithuanian emigrants have a positive attitude towards the Lithuanian language (Sinkevičiūtė, 2024a). As a result, I aimed to investigate whether the trends in giving Baltic names observed in the UK are also consistent across other major emigration countries from Lithuania.

The twenty most common girls' and boys' names in each of the major emigration countries from Lithuania illustrate differing naming trends by gender. Baltic names for girls do not predominate among the most commonly given names by Lithuanian emigrants; however, several appear among the top twenty. Of the four emigration countries studied, Baltic names for girls are most widespread in Ireland and least prevalent in Germany. Among the most common boys' names in these countries, no Baltic names appear, with the exception of *Joris* (from Lith. *jorė* 'foliage, spring greenery'). Many of the same names are repeated among the most popular choices across the countries examined. Germany stands out with a markedly different set of commonly given names. In Germany, names that are not typical of Lithuanian are also more common than in the other countries examined (Sinkevičiūtė, 2024c; 2024d).

Therefore, I intend to examine naming trends among the children of Lithuanian emigrants in Ireland, Norway, and Germany between 1991 and 2020, with a focus on Baltic names and a comparison to those of Lithuanians in the UK. I aim to identify the most common name groups in these countries and to determine the structural characteristics of Baltic names.

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[4] An appellative name is a type of name derived from a common word.

This study focuses solely on cases in which children were given a single name, as different naming strategies are employed when two or more names are assigned (Sinkevičiūtė, 2024a).

## 1. Studies on the names of Lithuanian emigrants in Ireland, Norway, and Germany

Scholars have traditionally distinguished three waves of Lithuanian emigration to the West (Krupickaitė, 2015: 19–26; Vaitiekūnas, 2008: 90–92). The first wave refers to individuals who left for economic reasons from the late 19th century until 1939. The second wave mainly consisted of those who left Lithuania for political reasons, were taken to Germany for forced labour, or emigrated during the Soviet era. The third wave includes individuals who left for economic reasons after Lithuania regained independence in 1990, when the borders opened (Krupickaitė, 2015: 19–26; Vaitiekūnas, 2008: 90–92).

Initially, emigrants of the third wave went to the United States. However, towards the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, emigration to European countries – particularly the UK, Ireland, and others – became more common as a result of improved employment opportunities. Following Lithuania's accession to the EU in 2004 and the subsequent opening of EU labour markets, many Lithuanian citizens also emigrated to Scandinavian countries and Germany (see more in Krupickaitė, 2015: 19–26).

The personal names of Lithuanian emigrants remain under-researched. However, research focusing on Lithuanian identity shows that emigrants from different waves relate to their names differently across various countries.

After the Second World War, Lithuanian emigrants who settled in Canada often altered or shortened their surnames to facilitate pronunciation (Vilkienė, 2019: 38). At the beginning of the 20th century, the names of descendants of Lithuanian emigrants to Brazil – identified via a Lithuanian community on Facebook – were often uncharacteristic of the Lithuanian language. However, there have also been instances in Brazil where descendants have preserved or restored their Lithuanian identity (Sipavičius Seide, 2020: 100–121). Meanwhile, some third-generation Lithuanians in Kazakhstan, descendants of those deported from Lithuania between 1941 and 1959 and who do not speak Lithuanian, have retained their Lithuanian names and surnames. These names have encouraged Kazakhstan Lithuanians to explore their roots, as well as Lithuanian culture and language (Vilkienė, 2023: 114).

Thus, names characteristic of the Lithuanian language stand out from those of other languages, which can lead to various challenges in their use. Nevertheless, emigrants not only reject or modify Lithuanian names but may also choose to reclaim them.

Among the studies that provide a systematic analysis of names given to children in the major countries of Lithuanian emigration, Sinkevičiūtė's (2024b) work is particularly noteworthy. In this study, Sinkevičiūtė conducted an analysis of the use of Lithuanian diacritic letters in all single names given to emigrants' children in the UK, Ireland, Norway, and Germany between 1991 and 2020 (25,960 girls' names and 27,189 boys' names, including tokens). The findings indicate that parents tend to avoid names containing Lithuanian diacritic letters, especially for boys. These names are most frequently found in Norway and least often in Germany. When diacritic letters are used, parents typically register the names in their standard Lithuanian forms[5].

Names play an important role in identifying Lithuanians in Norway (Daukšas, 2018: 80; 2019: 234–235). Because of their surnames, language, and accents, Lithuanians in Norway are sometimes mistaken for Finns (Daukšas, 2013: 58; 2016: 183). For some Lithuanians, surnames reflect their self-esteem and sense of identity (Daukšas, 2019: 236). Because of their distinctive names and surnames, Norwegians often do not consider Lithuanians as part of their own national community (Daukšas, 2019: 230–240; 2021: 230–243).

After examining the names of children of Lithuanian emigrants registered in Norway between 1991 and 2020 (3,726 single names for girls and 3,959 for boys, including tokens), it was found that over 86% of these names are typical of the Lithuanian language (Sinkevičiūtė, 2025). These names are mostly borrowed from other languages but have Lithuanian endings, and their stems are common across many European languages. Emigrants in Norway often combine Lithuanian with other languages when naming their children, choosing names that share the same or similar stems. This naming strategy is more commonly applied to boys. When choosing names for girls, parents tend to fully integrate Lithuanian and other languages, often giving names that fully coincide in both (Sinkevičiūtė, 2025).

Lithuanians who have emigrated to Northern Ireland give their children various names. When giving English names, they tend to select ones that resemble Lithuanian names. When choosing Lithuanian names, they favour names that are easy to pronounce and free of diacritical marks (Liubinienė, 2011: 150). Northern Irish residents often find it challenging to pronounce and remember Lithuanian names, prompting some Lithuanians to choose more common names that are easier for English speakers to pronounce. Nonetheless, they continue to use their Lithuanian names when communicating with other Lithuanians. Later on, some individuals

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[5] The most common names given by Lithuanian emigrants in the UK, Ireland, Norway, and Germany have also been analysed (Sinkevičiūtė, 2024c; 2024d). In addition, a separate study examined the Baltic names given to children by Lithuanian emigrants in the UK (Sinkevičiūtė, 2024a). See above.

even revert to their original Lithuanian names while living in a non-Lithuanian environment (Liubinienė, 2011: 149–151).

Children born in Germany to two Lithuanian parents are more likely to receive Lithuanian or potentially Lithuanian names than those born into mixed families, particularly when the other parent is not German. When choosing a name for their child, parents consider factors such as sound, meaning, equivalents in other languages, and the desire to protect the child from potential discrimination (Schiller, 2024)[6]. A preliminary study of the names of Lithuanian emigrants in Germany between 1991 and 2020 (2,293 single names for girls and 2,387 for boys, including tokens) revealed that Lithuanian names frequently compete with cognate forms from other languages (Sinkevičiūtė, 2024d).

Thus, research on the names of Lithuanian emigrants in Norway, Ireland, and Germany has highlighted several distinct tendencies. Studies show that Lithuanian emigrants in Norway often give their children names that are typically Lithuanian. These names usually feature Lithuanian endings, although their stems are common across various European languages. Among the major emigration countries, Germany stands out for the higher frequency of names uncharacteristic of Lithuanian. Meanwhile, the names given by Lithuanian emigrants in Ireland – beyond the aforementioned studies – have not been analysed separately.

## 2. Survey data and methodology

Baltic names were obtained from data provided by the Registry Centre through the State Commission of the Lithuanian Language. The survey data included the names of Lithuanian citizens, along with their gender, birth year, and country of birth. As the dataset only covered Lithuanian citizens, children born abroad without Lithuanian citizenship were not included. The dataset did not include information on families' linguistic preferences, the number of children per family, their birth order, and so on (see Sinkevičiūtė, 2024a: 207 for further details).

The names given to citizens of the Republic of Lithuania, along with their statistics, are available on the website vardai.vlkk.lt. A total of 10,841 girls' names and 11,253 boys' names (including tokens) from selected emigration countries between 1991 and 2020 were extracted for analysis. Table 1 presents the number and percentage of names given to Lithuanian emigrants born in Ireland, Norway, and Germany between 1991 and 2020. It includes all names

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[6] Butkuvienė et al. (2021), based on an analysis of 122 cases, found that in Lithuania, mothers are usually the ones who choose children's names, and no single naming motive clearly dominates. Names are most often chosen for aesthetic reasons. This suggests that in Lithuania, when naming children, personal taste and fashion tend to take precedence over tradition.

registered for Lithuanian citizens in the emigration countries and highlights cases where children were given a single name. The table also presents the number and proportion of Baltic names in each emigration country (see below).

Table 1 shows that the number of names registered for Lithuanian citizens born in Ireland and Norway is similar, while in Germany it is almost one-third lower. Furthermore, the number of names in these three countries is considerably lower than in the UK, where 17,965 names were recorded for girls and 18,969 for boys (Sinkevičiūtė, 2024a: 209).

Table 1. *Number and percentage of names given to children of Lithuanian citizens born in Ireland, Norway, and Germany (1991–2020)*

| Country | Gender | All names | % | Registered single name | % | Registered Baltic single name | % (include % of single names) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Ireland** (total 8314) | Girls | n=4141 | 100% | n=3875 | 93.6% | 788 | 20.3% |
| | Boys | n=4173 | 100% | n=3861 | 92.5% | 398 | 10.3% |
| **Norway** (total 8138) | Girls | n=3963 | 100% | n=3727 | 94% | 710 | 19.1% |
| | Boys | n=4173 | 100% | n=3959 | 94.9% | 412 | 10.4% |
| **Germany** (total 5644) | Girls | n=2737 | 100% | n=2293 | 83.8% | 253 | 11% |
| | Boys | n=2907 | 100% | n=2387 | 82.1% | 172 | 7.2% |

According to Table 1, the numbers and percentages of children registered with a single name are similar in Ireland and Norway. In comparison, the proportion is slightly lower in the UK, where 89.4% of girls and 89.5% of boys were registered with a single name (Sinkevičiūtė, 2024a: 209). Germany has the lowest share of children with a single registered name; nonetheless, as in the other countries, single name registration remains relatively common (83.8% for girls and 82.1% for boys).

The study employed qualitative and quantitative approaches to name analysis. First, I examined the origin of all singular names in order to identify those of Baltic origin. Baltic names were defined as those originating from Lithuanian or other Baltic languages, e.g., (f.) *Upė* from Lith. *upė* 'river'; (m.) *Ugnius* from Lith. *ugnis* 'fire'. I also included several names of multiple origin where a Baltic etymology is broadly accepted, e.g., (f.) *Goda* from Lith. *goda* 'thought, dream'; (m.) *Linas* from Lith. *linas* 'linen'. The origin of all relevant Baltic names was determined using the *Dictionary of the Origin of Lithuanian Names* (Kuzavinis & Savukynas, 2009) and the website *vardai.vlkk.lt*.

As shown in Table 1 (see above), a total of 1,910 Baltic names for girls and 982 for boys were analysed (including tokens). The highest proportion of Baltic names is found in Ireland (20.3% for girls and 10.3% for boys) and Norway (19.1% for girls and 10.4% for boys). In contrast, the proportion of Baltic names in the UK is lower, accounting for 16.4% of girls' names and 7.8% of boys' names (see Sinkevičiūtė, 2024a: 209). In Germany, Baltic names represent 11% of girls' names – almost half the rate observed in Ireland. Among all countries

studied, Baltic names for boys are least common in Germany (7.2%). However, unlike in the other countries, the proportion of Baltic names given to boys in Germany is not half that of the names given to girls (see Table 1 for full statistics).

Following the approach used in the UK name study (Sinkevičiūtė 2024a: 210–212), I categorised Baltic names based on the origin of their stems. These include:

- Compound names, e.g. (f.) *Eimantė*, cf. *ei-* from Lith. *eiti* 'go' + *mant-* from Lith. *manta* 'wealth'; (m.) *Eimantas*, cf. *ei-* from Lith. *eiti* 'go' + *mant-* from Lith. *manta* 'wealth';

- Hypocoristics, e.g. (f.) *Mantė* from *Eimantė*, cf. *ei-* from Lith. *eiti* 'go' + *mant-* < Lith. *manta* 'wealth'; (m.) *Mantas* from *Eimantas*, cf. *ei-* from Lith. *eiti* 'go' + *mant-* from Lith. *manta* 'wealth';

- Appellative names, e.g. (f.) *Gilė* from Lit. *gilė* 'acorn'; (m.) *Girius* from Lith. *giria* 'forest';

- Names derived from place names, cf. (f.) *Deimena* from *Deimena* [river]; (m.) *Vilnius* from *Vilnia* [river].

I also analysed the structure of Baltic names, as new names can be formed from the same stems using different suffixes and endings, e.g., (f.) *Saulėja* from Lith. *saulė* 'sun' and *Saulina* from Lith. *saulė* 'sun'; (m.) *Ainis* from Lith. *ainis* 'descendant' and *Ainius* from Lith. *ainis* 'descendant'. Moreover, certain stems or suffixes recur across different names, e.g., (f.) *-ūnė*: *Vėjūnė* from Lith. *vėjas* 'wind' and *Nerūnė* from Lith. *nerti* 'dive'; (m.) *mant-*: *Domantas*, cf. *do-* from Lith. *duoti* 'give' + *mant-* from Lith. *manta* 'wealth' and *Eimantas*, cf. *ei-* from Lith. *eiti* 'go' + *mant-* from Lith. *manta* 'wealth').

The study of the origin of Baltic names helped identify the most characteristic origin groups among emigrant names. The analysis of name structure was important for recognizing recurring features in these names. As a result, the most common name groups were identified, revealing the characteristic origin and structural features of names given to emigrant children.

## 3. Results of the study

The trends in giving Baltic names to emigrant children in Ireland, Norway, and Germany are similar to those observed in the UK. However, differences emerge within specific name groups or in the frequency of particular names.

## 3.1. The greatest variety of appellative and compound names

Figure 1 presents the percentages of unique Baltic names in Ireland, Norway, and Germany. As in the UK, in these countries the diversity of Baltic names is greater for girls than for boys. The greatest variety is found in Ireland, followed by Norway, and the smallest variety is observed in Germany, where the fewest Lithuanian citizens were born.

Figure 1. *Variety of unique Baltic names for girls and boys in different countries by origin group*
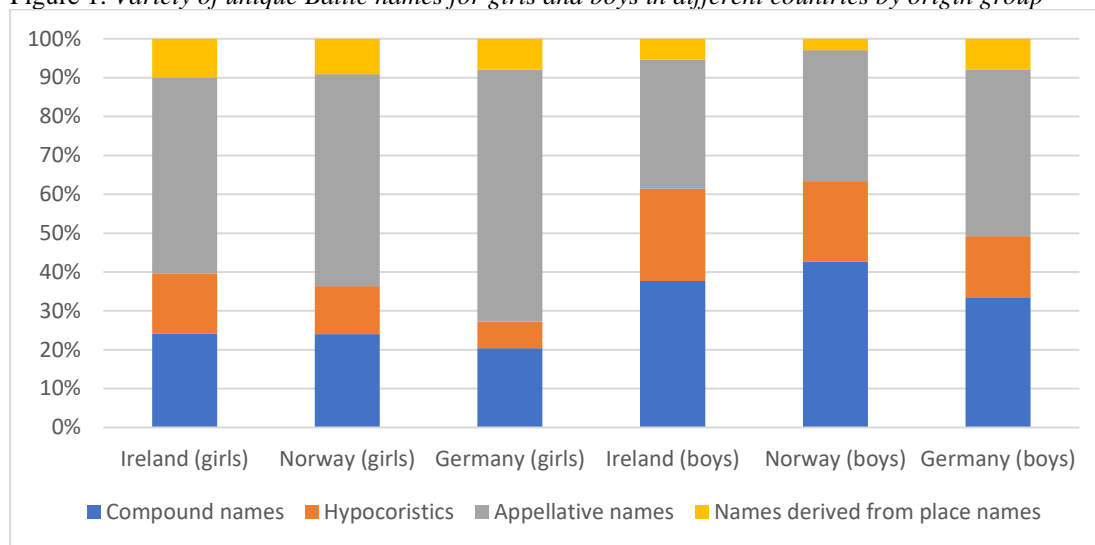


Figure 1 shows that the greatest variety of appellative names is found among girls across all examined countries. The proportion of girls' appellative names is highest in Germany (64.8%), followed by Ireland (50.4%), and lower still in the UK (46.1%; see Sinkevičiūtė 2024a: 212). In both Norway and Ireland, as in the UK, a greater variety of compound names, especially for boys, is observed (see below). In contrast, Germany shows a greater variety of appellative names among boys (42.9%).

Most appellative names given to children in the countries studied, similar to trends observed in the UK, are derived from the natural lexicon[7]. These include names associated with trees and plants, e.g., (f.) *Liepa* (A35[8], N49, G11) from Lith. *liepa* 'linden', *Luknė* (A24, N24, G10) from Lith. *luknė* 'an aquatic plant', *Mėta* (A11, N21) from Lith. *mėta* 'mint', *Rugilė* (A21, N27) from Lith. *rugys* 'rye'; and (m.) *Ąžuolas* (N17) from Lith. *ąžuolas* 'oak'. Some names are derived from animals and birds, e.g., (m.) *Aras* (N14) from Lith. *aras* 'eagle', *Tauras* (N18) from Lith. *tauras* 'aurochs'; also *taurus* 'noble'. Additionally, some names are based on natural objects, e.g., (f.) *Saulė* (A35, N28) from Lith. *saulė* 'sun', *Smiltė* (A29, N36, G10) from Lith. *smiltis* 'sand'; and (m.) *Marius* (N34, G10) from Lith. *marios* 'lagoon'. Other names reflect natural phenomena, e.g., (f.) *Miglė* (A23, N31) from Lith. *migla* 'haze', *Ugnė* (A50, N36, G10) from Lith. *ugnis* 'fire'; and (m.) *Ugnius* (A19, N12) from Lith. *ugnis* 'fire', *Vėjas* (N12) from Lith. *vėjas* 'wind'. Furthermore, some names are derived from metals and precious stones, e.g., (f.) *Auksė* (A12) from Lith. *auksas* 'gold', *Deimantė* (A29) from Lith. *deimantas* 'diamond',

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[7] The variety of names is demonstrated by names that were given ten or more times in Ireland, Norway, and Germany.
[8] The number of names given in Ireland (A), Norway (N), and Germany (G) is indicated.

*Perla* (A7, N8) from Lith. *perlas* 'pearl'; and (m.) *Deimantas* (A11) from Lith. *deimantas* 'diamond'. Lastly, several names originate from references to time or festivals, e.g., (f.) *Vakarė* (A16, N16) from Lith. *vakaras* 'evening'; and (m.) *Joris* (A22, G35) from Lith. *jorė* 'foliage, spring greenery'[9], *Vakaris* (A20, N28) from Lith. *vakaras* 'evening'.

Other appellative names reflect values cherished by parents, spiritual aspects, and Baltic identity, e.g., (f.) *Goda* (46) from Lith. *goda* 'thought, dream', *Viltė* (A62, N48, G14) from Lith. *viltis* 'hope', *Aistė* (A12, N11) from Lith. *aistė* 'representative of the Baltic tribe'; and (m.) *Džiugas* (A12) from Lith. *džiugus* 'joyous'. Names associated with Lithuanian appellatives also include those of Lithuanian goddesses, e.g., (f.) *Austėja* (A56, N48, G20) from Lith. *austi* 'weave', *Gabija* (A88, N71, G24) from Lith. *gobti* 'cover', and *Milda* (N11) from Lith. *mildingai* 'friendly'[10].

In Norway and Ireland, as in the UK, the greatest variety is found in the compound names of boys. Compound names account for 42.6% of boys' names in Norway and 37.7% in Ireland. In contrast, in Germany, the variety of compound names is lower than that of appellative names. Unlike appellative names, compound names are often rare, especially for girls. Exceptions include *Arminas* (A31, N18), cf. *ar-* from Lith. *ar* 'also, too' + *min-* from Lith. *minti* 'keep in mind', *minėti* 'mention', *Domantas* (A32, N25) from *do-* from Lith. *duoti* 'give' + *mant-* from Lith. *manta* 'wealth', and *Eimantas* (A14), cf. *ei-* from Lith. *eiti* 'go' + *mant-* from Lith. *manta* 'wealth'.

The range of Lithuanian hypocoristic names in the countries under consideration, as in the UK, is smaller than that of appellative and compound names. Many hypocoristics are derived from compound names, such as (m.) *Mantas* (A30, N25, G14) from *Eimantas*, cf. *ei-* from Lith. *eiti* 'go' + *mant-* from Lith. *manta* 'wealth'. The smallest variety is found among names derived from place names. These names originate from place names on or near the Lithuanian seashore, cf. (f.) *Rusnė* (A18, N18) from *Rusnė* [river].

In short, in Ireland and Norway, as in the UK, there is a wide variety of appellative names for girls and compound names for boys. In contrast, Germany has a greater proportion of appellative names for boys than the other countries. Many of the most common names – particularly appellative ones – used in major emigration countries from Lithuania are the same and are also popular in Lithuania itself (Sinkevičiūtė 2025). This suggests that the main naming

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[9] For the origin of names with the stem *jor-* see Sinkevičiūtė 2024a: 211[14].

[10] The appellative names given to children of emigrants born in Ireland, Norway, and Germany originate from the same lexical groups as those in the UK, where the variety of such names is greater due to a larger overall number (Sinkevičiūtė 2024a: 212–214).

trends in the countries of emigration largely reflect those observed in Lithuania. The comparatively small number of Lithuanian citizens born in Germany has resulted in fewer Baltic names being recorded there, which in turn limits name variety.

In Ireland, Norway, and Germany, as in the UK, children – especially girls – are given names derived from the natural lexicon, including those related to plants, animals, natural objects, and phenomena. In addition, parents often choose names associated with valued concepts, precious metals, and stones. Lithuanian mythology and the country's cultural heritage and mythology play a significant role in naming practices. Parents, particularly of daughters, frequently choose names derived from goddesses, gods, ethnonyms of the Balts, or appellatives that reflect an honoured past[11].

## 3.2. Appellative names dominate among Baltic names

Figure 2 illustrates the percentages of name tokens by origin group in Ireland, Norway, and Germany. In all three countries, name tokens for girls are more frequent than for boys, similar to the trends observed in the UK (Sinkevičiūtė 2024a). In Ireland, as in the UK and Norway, the number of name tokens for girls is roughly half that of boys. In Germany, however, no such proportion exists between girls' and boys' names. This indicates that the trends in giving Baltic names in Germany differ from those in the other countries.

Figure 2. *Variety of Baltic name tokens for girls and boys in different countries by origin group*
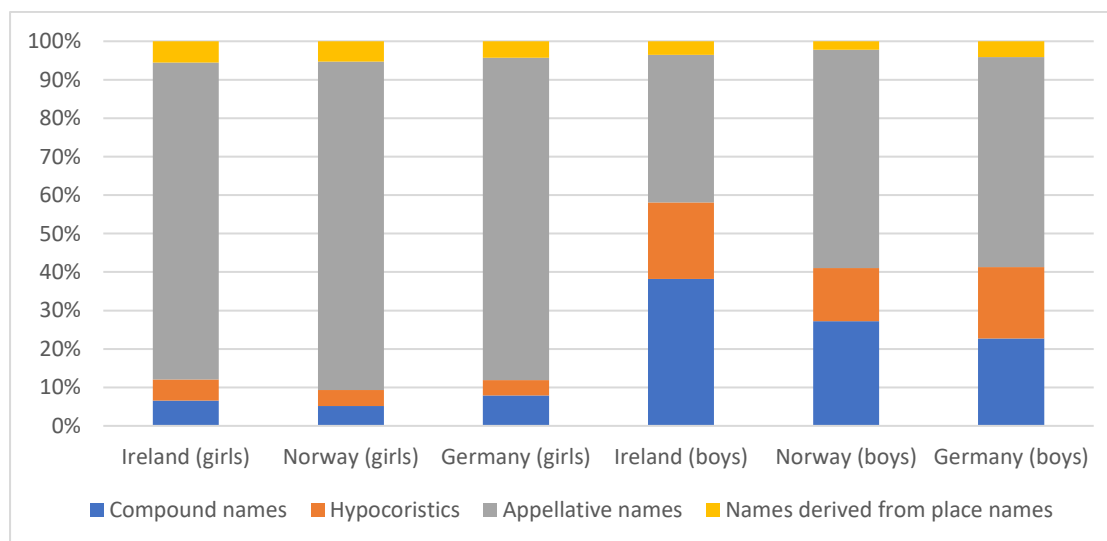


Figure 2 shows that appellative names for girls are the most common in Ireland, Norway, and Germany. These names account for over 82% of all cases. The situation in the

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[11] National culture, history, and values play an important role in how Lithuanians name their children, as shown by Butkuvienė et al. (2021), who studied the motives behind name selection.

UK is similar, with appellative names representing 78.2% of girls' names (Sinkevičiūtė 2024a: 210). As in the UK, groups of names for girls of other origins are less common in these countries. Among these, compound names are the most common in Ireland and Germany, while names derived from place names are most frequent in Norway. This differs from the UK, where the second most common names are hypocoristic.

In Ireland, Norway, and Germany, emigrants usually give boys appellative and compound names, while names derived from place names are the rarest (see Figure 2), as is also the case in the UK (Sinkevičiūtė 2024a: 210). The highest proportion of appellative names for boys is found in Norway (56.8%) and Germany (54.6%), while these names are less frequent in the UK (44%; see Sinkevičiūtė 2024a: 210) and Ireland (38.4%). Among the countries studied, compound names in Ireland are almost as common as appellative names (38.2%).

Thus, regardless of the total number of Baltic names, the main naming trends for emigrants' children in Ireland, Norway, and Germany are similar to those observed in the UK. Appellative names are the most common. Girls are more frequently assigned names of Baltic origin, whereas boys are more commonly given compound names. Among the countries studied, Norway stands out for having the lowest frequency of compound names.

### 3.3 Baltic names are euphonic

As in the UK, euphony plays a significant role in the choice of Baltic names for children. In compound names, the same second stems are commonly reused. One example is names with the second stem *mant-*. Some of these names are popular, e.g., (f.) *Domantė* (A5, V1), cf. *do-* from Lith. *duoti* 'give' + *mant-* from Lith. *manta* 'wealth'; (m.) *Domantas* (A32, N25, V7), cf. *do-* from Lith. *duoti* 'give' + *mant-* from Lith. *manta* 'wealth'. Others are rarer, such as (f.) *Eimantė* (A3, N1, V1), cf. *ei-* from Lith. *eiti* 'go' + *mant-* from Lith. *manta* 'wealth'; (m.) *Irmantas* (A3, V1), cf. *ir-* from Lith. *ir* 'and' + *mant-* from Lith. *manta* 'wealth'. Parents also create new names with the *mant-* stem, e.g., (f.) *Artmantė* (A1), cf. *art-* from *Artė*, cf. *Artūra* + *mant-* from Lith. *manta* 'wealth' (see Sinkevičiūtė 2022: 318); (m.) *Heimantas* (V1), cf. *hei-* from *Heidė*, *Heinė* + *mant-* from Lith. *manta* 'wealth' (see Sinkevičiūtė 2022: 318).

Common girls' names with the second stem *mil-*, such as *Eimilė* (A1, N1, V1), cf. *ei-* from Lith. *eiti* 'go' + *mil-* from Lith. *pamilti* 'take to love', and *vil-*, as in *Tautvilė* (A1, N1), cf. *taut-* from Lith. *tauta* 'nation' + *vil-* from Lith. *viltis* 'hope', are prevalent. Parents often give girls euphonic names of different origin that phonetically resemble these, formed with the suffix *-ilė*, cf. *Rug-ilė* (A19, N27, V4) from Lith. *rugys* 'rye'; *Kar-ilė* (A4, N6, V2) from *Kara*, cf. *Kar-i-gailė*, cf. *kar-* from Lith. *karas* 'war' + *gail-* from Lith. *gailas* 'strong, powerful'.

Likewise, compound boys' names with the second stem *min-* are common, e.g. *Arminas* (A31, N18, V8), cf. *ar-* from Lith. *ar* 'also, too' + *min-* from Lith. *minti* 'keep in mind', *minėti* 'mention'. Euphonic with these are names formed with the suffix *-inas*, cf. *Žilvinas* (A1) from Lith. *žilvis* 'offspring').

There are more cases where the final elements of appellative names and compound names coincide. For example, girls' appellative names with the suffix *-ina*, such as *Meilina* (A1) from Lith. *meilė* 'love', share their final elements with compound names that have the second stems *-gin-*, as in *Algina* (V1), cf. *al-* from Lith. *aliai vienas* 'each' + *gin-* from Lith. *ginti* 'defend', *-min-*, as in *Armina* (A1, N1), cf. *ar-* from Lith. *ar* 'also, too' + *min-* from Lith. *minti* 'keep in mind', *minėti* 'mention', and *-vin-*, as in *Deivina* (N1), cf. *dei-* from Lith. *deivė* 'goddess' + *vin-* from Lith. *vaina* 'guilt, cause'.

Some girls' names end with the suffix *-inta*, such as *Raminta* (A5, N1, V1) from Lith. *ramus* 'calm'. The final elements of these names coincide with those of compound names formed with the second stem *gint-*, cf. *Arginta* (V1), cf. *ar-* from Lith. *ar* 'also, too' + *gint-* from Lith. *ginti* 'defend', and *mint-*, cf. *Erminta* (N1), cf. *er-* from *ar-* from Lith. *ar* 'also, too' + *mint-* from Lith. *minti* 'keep in mind'. Euphony is also evident in names of various origins ending in *-arė*, such as *Geistarė* (A1), cf. *geis-* from Lith. *geisti* 'desire' + *tar-* from Lith. *tarti* 'pronounce', *Gintarė* (N3, V2) from Lith. *gintaras* 'amber', and *Vakarė* (A15, N16, V1) from Lith. *vakaras* 'evening'.

Euphonic preferences are also evident in boys' names featuring recurring final elements. Boys' compound names often include a second stem, *vyd-*, as seen in *Arvydas* (A3, N1), cf. *ar-* from Lith. *ar* 'also, too' + *vyd-* from Lith. *išvysti* 'see'. Moreover, there are compound names with the variant *vid-* of the stem *vyd-*, such as *Arvidas* (N1), cf. *ar-* from Lith. *ar* 'also, too' + *vid-* from *vyd-* from Lith. *išvysti* 'see'. The use of compound names with the second stem *vid-* has increased due to the frequent formation of derivatives with the suffix *-idas*, e.g., *Tauridas* (N1) from Lith. *tauras* 'taurus'; *taurus* 'noble' (see also Sinkevičiūtė 2024a: 218).

The number of names in the examined emigration countries is significantly lower than in the UK, resulting in fewer derivatives with certain suffixes. Girls' names with suffixes such as **-ėja**, e.g., *Austėja* (A53, N46, V19) from Lith. *austi* 'weave', **-ija**, e.g., *Gabija* (A84, N69, V24) from Lith. *gobti* 'cover', and **-ūnė**, e.g., *Jorūnė* (A3, N2, V1), cf. *Jorė* from Lith. *jorė* 'foliage, spring greenery', are common. Likewise, frequent boys' names include those with suffixes such as **-enis**, cf. *Vytenis* (A2, N2), cf. *Vytas* from *Vytautas*, cf. *vyd-* from Lith. *išvysti* 'see' + Lith. *taut-* from *tauta* 'nation', **-ijus**, cf. *Dovijus* (A1, N2), cf. *Dovas* from *Dovilas*, cf.

*do-* from Lith. *duoti* 'give' + *vil-* from Lith. *viltis* 'hope', and **-ūnas**, cf. *Jorūnas* (N1, V1), cf. *Joris* from Lith. *jorė* 'foliage, spring greenery'. Names with these suffixes are also common in Lithuania (see Sinkevičiūtė 2011: 222) and in the UK (Sinkevičiūtė 2024a: 218).

Therefore, Baltic names in Ireland, Norway, and Germany exhibit the same structural features as those in the UK. These structural tendencies are particularly salient in Ireland and Norway, where a greater diversity of name forms is observed compared to Germany. Euphony in final name elements – particularly characteristic of girls' names – plays a significant role in name choice. This is reflected in the frequent use of compound names containing the second stems *mant-*, *mil-*, *vyd-*, and *vil-*, as well as in common names of diverse origins ending in *-arė*, *-idas*, *-ilė*, *-ina*, *-inas*, *-inta*, and in derivatives with the suffixes *-enis*, *-ija*, *-ijus*, *-ūnė*, and *-ūnas*. These structural features are common in the names of current Lithuanian emigrants.

### 3.4. Names with the same root form name nests

Baltic personal names often form what is known as an anthroponymic nest – groups of names that share the same root but differ in their suffixes or endings. This phenomenon is also characteristic of Baltic names given by emigrants in foreign countries. Several types of anthroponymic nests can be identified as typical of Baltic names:

### 3.4.1. Variation in Endings

Names that share the same root but differ in their endings. For example, cf. (f.) *Domila* (N1), cf. *do-* from Lith. *duoti* 'give' + *mil-* from Lith. *pamilti* 'take to love' and *Domilė* (N2), cf. *do-* from Lith. *duoti* 'give' + *mil-* from Lith. *pamilti* 'take to love'; *Goda* (N46) from Lith. *goda* 'thought, dream' and *Godė* (N1) from Lith. *goda* 'thought, dream'; *Manta* (A1, N1) from *Mantvydė*, cf. *mant-* from Lith. *manta* 'wealth' + *vyd-* from Lith. *išvysti* 'see' and *Mantė* (A6, N6) from *Mantvydė*, cf. *mant-* from Lith. *manta* 'wealth' + *vyd-* from Lith. *išvysti* 'see'. Among boys' names: *Arminas* (A31, V8), cf. *ar-* from Lith. *ar* 'also, too' + *min-* from Lith. *minti* 'keep in mind', *minėti* 'mention' and *Armin* (N2, V3), cf. *ar-* from Lith. *ar* 'also, too' + *min-* from Lith. *minti* 'keep in mind', *minėti* 'mention'; *Vėjas* (A1, N12) from Lith. *vėjas* 'wind' and *Vėjus* (A1, N1) from Lith. *vėjas* 'wind'; *Vytas* (N1) from *Vytautas*, cf. *vy(d)-* from Lith. *išvysti* 'see' + *taut-* from Lith. *tauta* 'nation' and *Vytis* (N6) from *Vytautas*, cf. *vy(d)-* from Lith. *išvysti* 'see' + *taut-* from Lith. *tauta* 'nation'. The frequency of these names depends on the tradition of their use in Lithuanian and the semantic appeal of their base.

### 3.4.2 Suffixal vs. Unsuffixed Forms

These anthroponymic nests consist of unsuffixed names and their suffixed variants formed from the same root. For example, cf. (f.) *Eiva* (A4), from *Eivilė*, cf. *ei-* from Lith. *eiti* 'go' + *vil-* from Lith. *viltis* 'hope', *Eiveta* (A1), cf. *Eiva* from *Eivilė*, cf. *ei-* from Lith. *eiti* 'go'

+ *vil-* from Lith. *viltis* 'hope', *Eivita* (A2), cf. *Eiva* from *Eivilė*, cf. *ei-* from Lith. *eiti* 'go' + *vil-* from Lith. *viltis* 'hope'; *Saulė* (A24) from Lith. *saulė* 'sun', *Saulena* (A1) from Lith. *saulė* 'sun', *Saulina* (A2) from Lith. *saulė* 'sun'; (m.) *Joris* (N46) from Lith. *jorė* 'foliage, spring greenery', *Jorius* (N1) from Lith. *jorė* 'foliage, spring greenery', *Jorūnas* (N1) from Lith. *jorė* 'foliage, spring greenery'; *Tauras* (N18) from Lith. *tauras* 'taurus'; *taurus* 'noble', *Tauris* (N2) from Lith. *tauras* 'taurus'; *taurus* 'noble', *Tauridas* (N1) from Lith. *tauras* 'taurus'; *taurus* 'noble'. Girls' names without suffixes are more prevalent than derivative forms with suffixes of the same root. In such nests, there is often more than one suffix derivative. For boys, a variety of unsuffixed names exists, whereas derivatives with suffixes are less diverse.

### 3.4.3 Full Names and Hypocoristics

This type consists of full names alongside their hypocoristics. For example, cf. (f.) *Deimantė* (A26, N9) from Lith. *deimantas* 'diamond', *Deimilė* (A2, N1), cf. *dei-* from Lith. *deivė* 'goddess' + *mil-* from Lith. *pamilti* 'take to love', *Deimena* (A2) from *Deimena* [river] and *Deima* (A1, N1) from *Deimantė*, *Deimilė*, or *Deimena*; (m.) *Rimvydas* (A1, N1), cf. *rim-* from Lith. *rimti* 'calm down' + *vyd-* from Lith. *išvysti* 'see', *Rimantas* (N1), cf. *rim-* from Lith. *rimti* 'calm down' + *mant-* from Lith. *manta* 'wealth' and *Rimas* (A1) from *Rimantas*, *Rimvydas*. Hypocoristics typically derive from the initial segments of longer names. Since several names share the same initial element – particularly compound names – numerous distinct names can have the same hypocoristic form

Anthroponymic nests are more characteristic of girls' names. More such nests are found among the names of Lithuanian emigrants in Ireland and Norway. This can be explained by the greater number and variety of names in these countries. Anthroponymic nests reflect a developed Lithuanian name formation system and the use of diverse formative elements. New names are created from common roots by adding different endings or suffixes, thus preserving the shared stems across variants. Hypocoristics formed from longer names are universal and commonly shared by several names.

### Conclusions

The Baltic names of emigrants from Lithuania are relatively rare in the examined countries. The trend observed in the UK – where Baltic names for girls are nearly twice as common as those for boys – is also evident in children's names in Ireland and Norway. The trends of giving Baltic names in Germany differ from those in the other three major emigration countries. On the one hand, this situation results from the smaller number of emigrant names in Germany compared to other countries. On the other hand, it may reflect a different attitude towards Baltic names among emigrants in Germany.

Regardless of the number of Baltic names, naming trends in the studied countries are similar to those observed in the UK. In every country, girls are typically given appellative names, while boys receive both appellative and compound names, with Baltic names from other categories being less common. The UK shows the greatest variety of Baltic names, followed by Ireland and Norway, with Germany displaying the least diversity. This supports the general trend that a greater number of names correlates with greater variety[12].

In Ireland and Norway, as in the UK, the greatest variety of names is found among appellative names for girls and compound names for boys. Germany shows a greater variety of appellative names for boys than of compound names. This also indicates a different naming tendency among Lithuanian expatriates in Germany. The same Baltic names are generally given in Ireland, Norway, and Germany as in the UK, but their frequency is lower due to the smaller overall number of names.

As in the UK, appellative names derived from the natural lexicon dominate in the countries studied. A significant number of names given to children in Ireland, Norway, and Germany overlap with those used in the UK. These names are derived from plant and animal names, as well as from natural objects and phenomena. Also, when choosing names for their children, parents value Lithuanian mythology and the country's historical heritage. Many children of emigrants are named after goddesses, gods, and appellatives reflecting a noble past.

Euphony plays a significant role in name selection among expatriates. The overlapping final elements of names from different origins indicate euphony. Suffixes such as *-enis*, *-ija*, *-ijus*, *-ūnė*, *-ūnas* are frequent. New names are often created by retaining the roots of well-known names and adding various endings or suffixes, resulting in the formation of anthroponymic nests. Hypocoristics built from recurring initial elements of different names also show the importance of these stems in name formation. These phenomena are more characteristic of girls' names and are more frequently observed in Norway and Ireland, which can be attributed to the greater number and diversity of girls' names in these countries.

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[12] An analysis of borrowed names with the ending *-ij-* showed that greater diversity is found among those occurring more frequently (Sinkevičiūtė 2021).

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