

Strategies for giving combinations of two first names to children of Lithuanian emigrants in the Nordic countries (1991–2020)

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1. Introduction

Over the past thirty years, there has been a significant migration from Lithuania to the Nordic countries¹, primarily to Norway, but also to Sweden and Denmark. In 2020, 45,415 Lithuanian citizens resided in Norway, 14,688 in Denmark, 14,608 in Sweden, 4,138 in Iceland, and 1,759 in Finland (EMN 2024)². Many children born in Norway to Lithuanian emigrants are given a single name, but some are registered with two or more first names (Sinkevičiūtė 2025b). The choice of two first names may provide greater flexibility in expressing cultural, linguistic, and family identities than the choice of a single first name.

The names analysed in this study were given to the children of emigrants from Lithuania between 1991 and 2020. This period is particularly significant, as it corresponds to the time following Lithuania's restoration of independence, a period during which large-scale emigration from Lithuania increased.

This study examines parents' naming strategies when giving combinations of two first names to their children in Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, and Iceland, as well as the use of common and uncommon Lithuanian names in these combinations. A previous study of combinations of two first names given to Lithuanian citizens born in the United Kingdom demonstrated that pairings consisting of two components typical of other languages are the most common, e.g. (f.) *Maria Sofia*; (m.) *Anthony John*, while those combining one component typical of Lithuanian and one component typical of other languages are less frequent, e.g. (f.) *Aistė Chelsea*; (m.) *Benjamin Simas*. The least common are combinations in which both components are typical of Lithuanian, e.g. (f.) *Aistė Toma*; (m.) *Domantas Tomas* (Sinkevičiūtė 2025c). To date, combinations of two first names given to Lithu-

1 The article was written under the project 'Names of Lithuanian citizens born abroad in 1991–2020: integration while maintaining identity', funded by the State Commission of the Lithuanian Language.

2 The Nordic countries are not the principal destination of Lithuanian emigration. Nevertheless, the Lithuanian citizens residing in the Nordic countries accounted for more than one-sixth of all Lithuanian emigrants living abroad. In 2020, the largest Lithuanian emigrant communities were located in the United Kingdom, Ireland, Germany, and Norway. Altogether, 429,580 citizens who had emigrated from Lithuania were residing abroad (see <https://123.emn.lt/>).

anian citizens born in the Nordic countries have not been investigated; therefore, it remains unknown whether the naming patterns identified in the United Kingdom can also be observed in the Nordic countries.

More specifically, the combinations of two first names given to Lithuanian citizens born in the Nordic countries between 1991 and 2020 are examined from three perspectives: parental naming strategies, the role of common and uncommon Lithuanian names, and the different groups of names represented in these combinations. The findings contribute to a better understanding of parental naming strategies among Lithuanian emigrant families in the Nordic countries.

2. Research on Lithuanian first names in emigration

Personal names are important markers of ethnic identity in migrant communities. Studies have shown that Lithuanian names and surnames may distinguish emigrants from members of the host society. Lithuanians who have emigrated to the United States may appear exotic to others because of their uncommon names and surnames (Čiubrinskas 2014: 15), whereas inhabitants of Northern Ireland often find Lithuanian names difficult to pronounce and remember accurately (Liubinienė 2011: 149–151). Liubinienė (2011: 149–151) also observed that some Lithuanians in Northern Ireland use alternative first names when communicating with English speakers while continuing to use their Lithuanian names within their own community. At the same time, emigrants from Lithuania themselves acknowledge that the names given to them by their parents reflect their ethnic identity (Jakaitė-Bulbukienė 2015: 84). Similarly, Vilkieienė (2023: 114–117) showed that Lithuanian names and surnames remain important markers of ethnic identity among Lithuanians in Kazakhstan and may motivate later generations to explore their Lithuanian heritage and language.

Because first names result from deliberate parental choice, they provide a particularly suitable indicator for examining the interplay between the maintenance of ethnic identity and adaptation to the host society (Gerhards, Tuppatt 2020). Contemporary parents enjoy considerable freedom in choosing first names, yet their choices continue to be shaped by social, cultural, and linguistic factors (Bloothoof, Onland 2011). Daukšas (2018: 80; 2019: 234f.) has shown that personal names play an important role in the perception and identification of Lithuanians in Norwegian society. Names and surnames may signal membership in a different ethnic group because they are uncommon among Norwegians and often

sound non-Norwegian. As a result, Lithuanians in Norway are sometimes mistaken for Finns because of their surnames, language, and accent (Daukšas 2013: 58; 2016: 183).

Studies of Lithuanian naming practices in emigration have also examined parental choices of children's first names. Schiller (2024), who investigated parental naming choices among Lithuanian emigrant families in Germany, mixed families, and families with Lithuanian roots, found that parents considered the sound of names, their compatibility with both Lithuanian and German, their meaning, ease of pronunciation, and the avoidance of negative associations. Similarly, Sipavičius Seide (2020: 118–119) showed that the names of descendants of Lithuanian emigrants in Brazil are often not characteristic of Lithuanian because their parents identify more strongly with the host country, although in some cases descendants retain or restore their original identity.

Previous studies have examined several aspects of the first names given to children of Lithuanian emigrants, including the choice of Baltic names, the use of Lithuanian orthography, and the linguistic structure of first names. A study of Baltic names given to Lithuanian citizens in the United Kingdom between 1991 and 2020 showed that such names are more commonly given to girls and are not widespread (Sinkevičiūtė 2024a). A broader study of Baltic names in the major countries of Lithuanian emigration demonstrated that Norway has the highest proportion of Baltic names among them (Sinkevičiūtė 2025a). Furthermore, parents in Norway more frequently give their children, especially girls, names containing Lithuanian diacritics than parents in other major countries of Lithuanian emigration (Sinkevičiūtė 2024b).

The single names of Lithuanian citizens born in Norway between 1991 and 2020 have also been investigated. These names most often contain Lithuanian endings and are written using Lithuanian letters and letter combinations (Sinkevičiūtė 2025b). When naming girls, emigrants usually choose names with stems fully or partially shared across languages. When parents give their daughters names characteristic of Lithuanian, they tend to choose Baltic names. When naming boys, emigrants usually choose names whose stems are either partially shared across languages or characteristic of Lithuanian. When parents choose names characteristic of Lithuanian for boys, they often prefer borrowed names with stems characteristic of Lithuanian (Sinkevičiūtė 2025b).

Combinations of two first names given to Lithuanian citizens born in the United Kingdom between 1991 and 2020 have likewise been studied (Sinkevičiūtė 2025c). The results showed that, when choosing combinations of two first names,

parents most often do not combine Lithuanian names with names from other languages. Combinations consisting entirely of names uncharacteristic of Lithuanian are more common, particularly among boys (51.3% of boys' and 35.2% of girls' combinations of two first names). When combinations include one or two Lithuanian names, different naming strategies are followed for boys and girls. The most common combinations for girls consist of names with stems shared across languages. By contrast, boys are more often given names with stems shared across languages and Lithuanian endings. From this perspective, boys' names appear more Lithuanian in the context of names from other languages (Sinkevičiūtė 2025c).

Thus, previous research has shown that the first names given to children of Lithuanian emigrants reflect both the preservation of Lithuanian linguistic and cultural identity and adaptation to the linguistic environment of the host country. However, combinations of two first names given to children of Lithuanian emigrants in the Nordic countries have not been systematically investigated. The present study also follows the approach of Gerhards and Hans (2009), who regard first names as an indicator of the balance between ethnic maintenance and acculturation among immigrant communities.

3. Data

According to the Centre of Registers, between 1991 and 2020, 13,165 Lithuanian citizens were born in the Nordic countries, including 6,441 girls and 6,724 boys. Table 1 shows the number of Lithuanian citizens born in the Nordic countries during the study period.³ Most were born in Norway, followed by Denmark and Sweden, while the smallest numbers were recorded in Iceland and Finland.

	Norway	Denmark	Sweden	Iceland	Finland	Total
Girls	3 963	1 081	1 058	179	160	6 441
Boys	4 173	1 143	1 084	160	164	6 724

Tab. 1: Number of Lithuanian citizens born in the Nordic countries (1991–2020)

Figures 1 and 2 show the distribution of names given to Lithuanian citizens born in the Nordic countries between 1991 and 2020 according to the number of components. The columns represent the individual Nordic countries.

The figures show that most children were given a single name. Among girls, this pattern is most common in Norway (94%) and least common in Finland (70%), whereas among boys the corresponding proportions are 94.9% and 64%, respectively. Consequently, combinations of two first names are least common in Norway (5.3% of girls and 4.8% of boys) and most common in Finland (28.1% and 32.9%, respectively). Although rare, combinations of three or more first names and combinations consisting of a first name and a surname are also found in all Nordic countries.

3 The data analysed in this study were obtained from the Centre of Registers through the mediation of the State Commission of the Lithuanian Language.

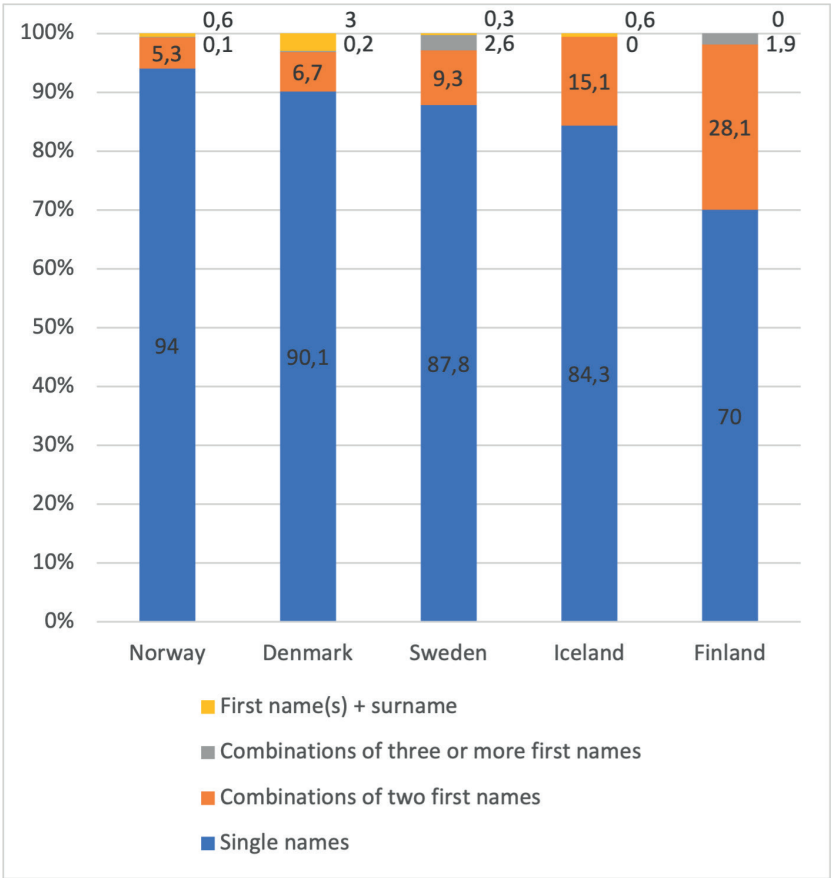


Fig. 1: Names of Lithuanian female citizens born in the Nordic countries (1991–2020) by number of components

Overall, Figures 1 and 2 show that single names clearly dominate across the Nordic countries, while combinations of two first names are considerably less common. Other types of name combinations are rare. The figures also reveal similar naming patterns for girls and boys in the Nordic countries.

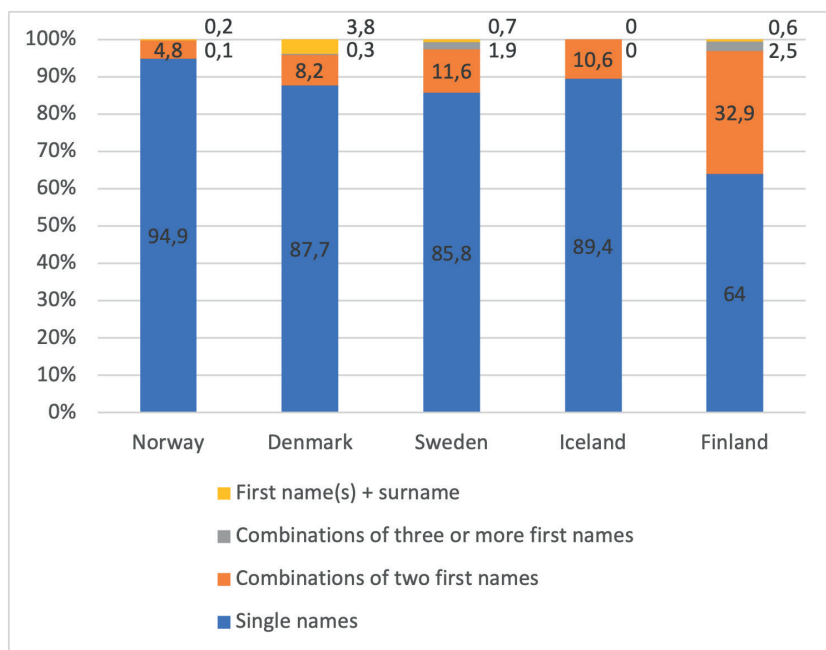


Fig. 2: Names of Lithuanian male citizens born in the Nordic countries (1991–2020) by number of components

Table 2 presents the number of combinations of two first names analysed in this study by country and gender. In total, 454 combinations of two first names for girls and 492 for boys were analysed. Norway has the highest number of such combinations, followed by Sweden and Denmark. Finland and Iceland have the fewest such combinations.

	Norway	Denmark	Sweden	Iceland	Finland	Total
Girls	211	72	99	27	45	454
Boys	201	94	126	17	54	492

Tab. 2: Number of combinations of two first names given to Lithuanian citizens born in the Nordic countries

The analysis of combinations of two first names also included data on gender, year of birth, and country of birth. Because information on parents' citizenship and education, as well as the children's birth order, was unavailable, the names could not be analysed according to these variables.

4. Research methodology

Personal names contribute to the establishment of a person's identity (Alford 1988: 51). The study focuses on the extent to which the names used in combinations of two first names are characteristic of the Lithuanian language and culture. As mentioned above, the study is based on data concerning names, gender, year of birth, and country of birth. No additional information about the children or their parents was available. Therefore, the analysis focuses on the linguistic characteristics of names. To assess the extent to which names are characteristic of the Lithuanian language and culture, they were classified according to their commonness in Lithuania and their origin. This classification also provided the basis for identifying parental naming strategies reflected in combinations of two first names. To identify these strategies, all names were divided into three groups according to their commonness in Lithuania.

Common Lithuanian names are those characteristic of the Lithuanian language. They have stems⁴ and endings characteristic of Lithuanian and are written in forms typical of Lithuanian, cf. (f.) *Miglė, Barbora, Adelė*; (m.) *Tautvydas, Jokūbas, Gabrielius*.

Universal names are names common in both Lithuanian and other languages, cf. (f.) *Augusta, Elena*; (m.) *Marius, Tomas*.

Uncommon Lithuanian names are names that are not characteristic of Lithuanian. They have stems characteristic of other languages, lack Lithuanian endings, are written in forms atypical of Lithuanian, or are culturally uncharacteristic of Lithuania, cf. (f.) *Ellen, Nathalie, Sol, Reyva*; (m.) *Carl, Thomas, Muhammad, Storm*.

The classification of names was based on linguistic criteria, primarily grammatical form, orthography, origin, and derivation.

Lithuanian, together with Latvian, belongs to the Baltic branch of the Indo-European language family and preserves a rich inflectional system. Since personal

⁴ In this study, the term *stem* refers to the part of a personal name that serves as the basis for its morphological adaptation and derivation in Lithuanian.

names, like other nouns, normally take endings that indicate gender, number, and case, inflectional morphology constitutes an important criterion for the classification of names in the present study.

Common Lithuanian names, therefore, have forms that conform to Lithuanian grammatical patterns. Typical female names end in *-a* or *-ė*, e.g. *Amadėja* and *Elzė*, whereas male names usually end in *-as*, *-is*, *-(i)us*, or *-ys*, e.g. *Erikas*, *Emilis*, *Vilius*, and *Audrys*. Less commonly, male names may also end in *-a* or *-ė*, e.g. *Nikita* and *Andrė*. Some names common in Lithuanian coincide with names used in other languages, e.g. (f.) *Ela* and (m.) *Jonas*. By contrast, names such as (f.) *Anielly*, *Louise*, and *Nathalie* or (m.) *Oscar* and *Martin* were classified as uncommon Lithuanian names because they do not conform to typical Lithuanian morphological patterns and lack Lithuanian endings.

Orthography was another important criterion in the classification of names. Names written according to Lithuanian orthographic conventions and containing letters and letter combinations characteristic of Lithuanian were classified as common Lithuanian names (Ambrasas 1997: 13–19, 24–52), e.g. (f.) *Rūta*, *Šarlotė*, *Tėja*, *Žaklina*; (m.) *Artūras*, *Ažuolas*, *Knutas*, *Rėjus*. Lithuanian orthography is characterised by specific letters (e.g. *q*, *č*, *ė*, *į*, *š*, *ų*, *ū*, *ž*) and letter combinations typical of the language.

By contrast, uncommon Lithuanian names are often written in forms that do not conform to Lithuanian orthographic conventions, e.g. (f.) *Amelia*, *Melani*, *Rebecca*; (m.) *Alex*, *Jacob*, *William*. Such names may contain letters not used in the Lithuanian alphabet (e.g. *x*, *w*, *q*), letter combinations uncommon in Lithuanian (e.g. *ay*, *ey*, *sz*, *cz*, *th*, *ll*, *mm*, *nn*), or spellings in which letters correspond to sounds differently from those in Lithuanian orthography.

The names were also classified according to their etymological origin and derivation. Some common Lithuanian names are derived from the Baltic lexicon, e.g. (f.) *Eglė* < Lith. *eglė* ‘spruce’, *Audrina* < Lith. *audra* ‘storm’; (m.) *Ugnius* < Lith. *ugnis* ‘fire’, *Tautvydas*: *taut-* < Lith. *tauta* ‘nation, people’ + *vyd-* < Lith. *išvysti* ‘to see’.

Names of non-Lithuanian origin differ in the degree of their formal adaptation in Lithuanian. Some names have stems shared across languages and Lithuanian endings, e.g. (f.) *Ingrida*, *Nora*, *Sofija*; (m.) *Augustas*, *Lukas*, *Vladas*. Other names have undergone greater formal adaptation in Lithuanian, including formal adaptation in their stems, e.g. (f.) *Gertrūda*, *Ieva*; (m.) *Adomas*, *Juozas*. Derivatives have also been formed in Lithuanian from stems of non-Lithuanian origin, e.g. (f.) *Faustėja* with the suffix *-ėja* (: *Fausta*, *Faustė*); (m.) *Arnetas* with the suffix *-etas* (: *Arnas*, *Arnis*, *Arnius*).

Uncommon Lithuanian names were also analysed according to their etymological origin and derivation. Within the group of uncommon Lithuanian names, a distinction was made between non-Lithuanian forms of names that also have traditional Lithuanian forms, e.g. (f.) *Anna, Victoria*; (m.) *Benjamin, Daniel*, and names with stems characteristic of other languages, e.g. (f.) *Sulimina, Summer*; (m.) *Preben, Tamir*.

For the purposes of the present study, the three groups of names were further subdivided. Common Lithuanian names were classified into three subgroups: (1) Baltic names, cf. (f.) *Gabija, Saulė*; (m.) *Mantas, Mindaugas*; (2) names of non-Lithuanian origin with stems characteristic of Lithuanian, cf. (f.) *Agota, Urtė*; (m.) *Dovydas, Herkus*; and (3) names of non-Lithuanian origin with stems shared across languages and Lithuanian endings, cf. (f.) *Emilė, Paulė*; (m.) *Eduardas, Ronaldas*.

Universal names were not subdivided because names in this group are of non-Lithuanian origin and are common in both Lithuanian and other languages.

Uncommon Lithuanian names were divided into two subgroups: (1) names with stems shared across languages but forms atypical of Lithuanian, cf. (f.) *Leah, Melissa, Olivia, Veronica*; (m.) *Marcus, Noah, Oscar, Teodor*; and (2) names with stems characteristic of other languages and forms atypical of Lithuanian, cf. (f.) *Amber, Blu, Radbe*; (m.) *Abdullah, Amirali, Areeb*.

The origin of Lithuanian personal names was established on the basis of the *Dictionary of Lithuanian Name Origins* by Kuzavinis and Savukynas (2009) and the personal name database available on the website vardai.vlkk.lt. The origin of names from other languages was determined with reference to the dictionaries compiled by Coghlan et al. (1990), Hanks et al. (2006), Faure (2008), Tanet and Hordé (2000), Kohlheim and Kohlheim (2007), Coleman and Veka (2010), Brylla and Leibring (2026), Grzenia (2006), Superanskaja (2003), and Trijnjak (2005). These sources were also consulted to verify the orthographic forms of names.

Each component of a combination of two first names was assigned to one of the six name subgroups distinguished above. This made it possible to examine not only the characteristics of individual names but also the ways in which different types of names were combined.

Based on the three groups of names distinguished according to their commonness in Lithuania, six subgroups of combinations of two first names were identified. These subgroups were subsequently grouped into three broader parental naming strategies: the use of combinations consisting exclusively of common Lithuanian and universal names, the use of combinations consisting exclusively of

uncommon Lithuanian names, and a mixed strategy combining names from different groups.

The analysis of these strategies makes it possible to investigate how Lithuanian emigrants balance names characteristic of the Lithuanian language and culture with names characteristic of other linguistic and cultural traditions when naming their children.

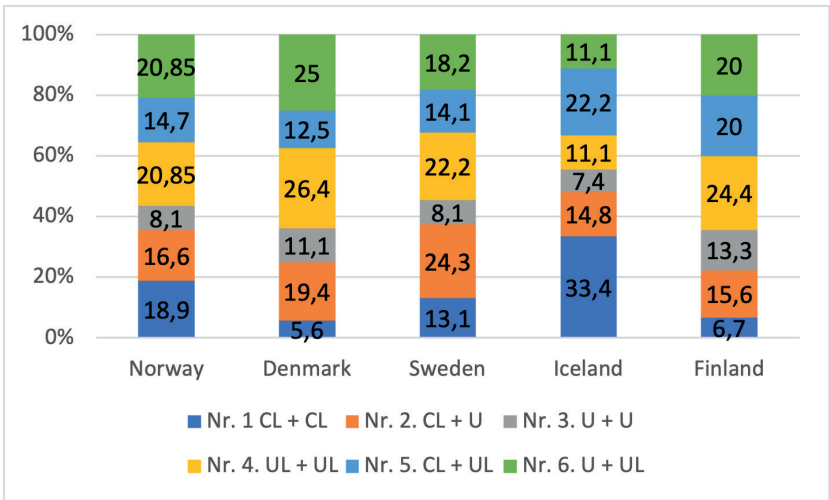
5. Results

5.1. Naming strategies based on name commonness in Lithuania

The analysis shows that none of the three naming strategies dominates across all Nordic countries. The prevalence of the strategies varies by country and gender.

Figures 3 and 4 show combinations of two first names for girls and boys, respectively, by combination subgroup. The figures present separate data for Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Iceland, and Finland. Six subgroups can be distinguished: combinations consisting exclusively of common Lithuanian and universal names (Subgroups 1–3), combinations consisting of two uncommon Lithuanian names (Subgroup 4), and mixed combinations consisting of common Lithuanian, universal, and uncommon Lithuanian names (Subgroups 5–6).

Girls



Abbreviations: CL = Common Lithuanian names; U = Universal names;
UL = Uncommon Lithuanian names.

Fig. 3: Combinations of two first names for girls by combination subgroup

Strategy 1. In Iceland (55.6%), Sweden (45.5%), and Norway (43.6%), the most common combinations of two first names for girls belong to Subgroups 1–3, i. e. combinations consisting exclusively of common Lithuanian and universal names. These include combinations of two common Lithuanian names, cf. *Izabelė Sofija* (N)⁵, combinations of a common Lithuanian and a universal name, cf. *Liepa Dina* (N), and combinations of two universal names, cf. *Eva Lina* (N). The proportion of such combinations is lower in Denmark (36.1%) and Finland (35.6%). In Norway and Iceland, parents typically give girls combinations of two first names consisting of two common Lithuanian names, cf. *Sofija Skaisė* (N) and *Emilija Ieva* (I). In Denmark and Sweden, they usually combine a common Lithuanian name with a universal name, cf. *Ugnė Laura* (D) and *Augusta Viktorija* (S). In Finland, parents typically choose either two universal names, cf. *Lina Dora* (F), or a universal name and a common Lithuanian name, cf. *Elena Janina* (F).

5 Here and throughout the article, the abbreviations in parentheses denote the Nordic country of birth: N = Norway, D = Denmark, S = Sweden, I = Iceland, and F = Finland.

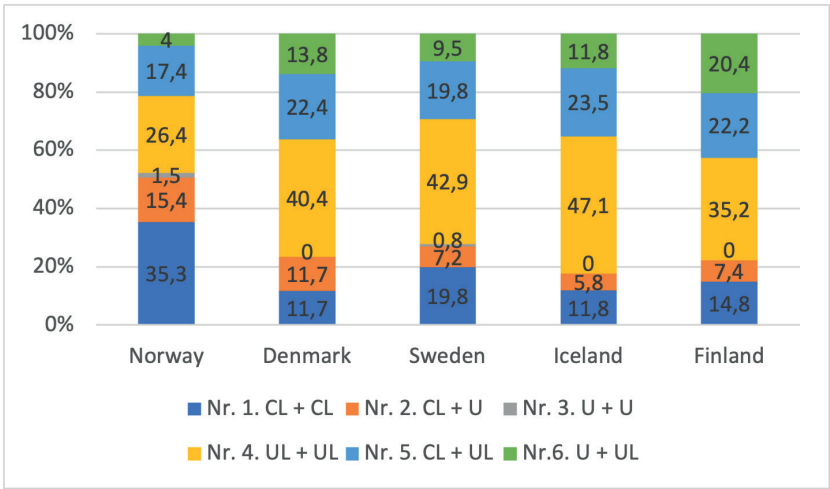
Strategy 2. The second naming strategy, consisting of combinations of two uncommon Lithuanian names, cf. *Patricia Solveig* (D), is the least common in all Nordic countries. It is most frequent in Denmark (26.4%) and Finland (24.4%), less frequent in Sweden (22.2%) and Norway (20.85%), and least frequent in Iceland (11.1%).

Strategy 3. The third naming strategy (Subgroups 5–6) is most common in Finland (40%) and Denmark (37.5%), where parents typically combine a common Lithuanian name or a universal name with an uncommon Lithuanian name, cf. *Aurora Melike* (F) and *Liepa Marie* (D). This strategy is less common in Norway (35.55%), Sweden (32.3%), and Iceland (33.3%). In all countries except Iceland, parents are more likely to combine a universal name with an uncommon Lithuanian name, cf. *Ada Maria* (N) and *Emily Elza* (S). In Iceland, however, parents typically combine a common Lithuanian name with an uncommon Lithuanian name, cf. *Barbora Karen* (I).

Thus, different naming strategies can be observed in the combinations of two first names given to girls across the Nordic countries. In Norway, Sweden, and Iceland, combinations consisting exclusively of common Lithuanian and universal names are the most common, whereas in Denmark and Finland mixed combinations predominate. Among mixed combinations, universal names are more often paired with uncommon Lithuanian names.

Within the first strategy, combinations of two common Lithuanian names predominate in Norway and Iceland, whereas combinations of a common Lithuanian and a universal name are most frequent in Denmark and Sweden. In Finland, combinations of two universal names are particularly common.

Boys



Abbreviations: CL = Common Lithuanian names; U = Universal names; UL = Uncommon Lithuanian names.

Fig. 4: Combinations of two first names for boys by combination subgroup

Strategy 1. In Norway (52.2%), parents most often give boys combinations of two first names consisting exclusively of common Lithuanian and universal names. Within this strategy, combinations consisting of two common Lithuanian names are the most frequent, cf. *Markas Karolis* (N). In the other Nordic countries, this strategy is less common. In Sweden (27.8%), Finland (22.2%), and Iceland (17.6%), parents who choose this strategy typically give boys two common Lithuanian names, cf. *Ipolitas Juozas* (S), *Jurgis Gustautas* (F), and *Ugnius Arūnas* (I). In Denmark (23.4%), parents often choose either two common Lithuanian names, cf. *Denas Motiejus* (D), or a combination of a common Lithuanian name and a universal name, cf. *Leonardas Jonas* (D).

Strategy 2. In Iceland (47.1%), Sweden (42.9%), and Denmark (40.4%), the most common combinations of two first names for boys consist of two uncommon Lithuanian names, cf. *Emil Benjamin* (I), *Holger Alexander* (S), and *Emil Jan* (D). In Norway (26.4%) and Finland (35.2%), this is the second most common naming strategy.

Strategy 3. In Finland (42.6%), the most common combinations of two first names for boys consist of a common Lithuanian or a universal name paired with an uncommon Lithuanian name, cf. *Arnas Mikael* (F). This strategy is the least common in Norway, while in Denmark, Sweden, and Iceland it is the second most common. In all countries, parents more often combine an uncommon Lithuanian name with a common Lithuanian name than with a universal name.

Thus, different naming strategies can also be observed in combinations of two first names for boys across the Nordic countries. In Norway, combinations consisting exclusively of common Lithuanian and universal names are the most common. In Sweden, Denmark, and Iceland, combinations consisting of two uncommon Lithuanian names predominate. In Finland, parents most often combine common Lithuanian or universal names with uncommon Lithuanian names.

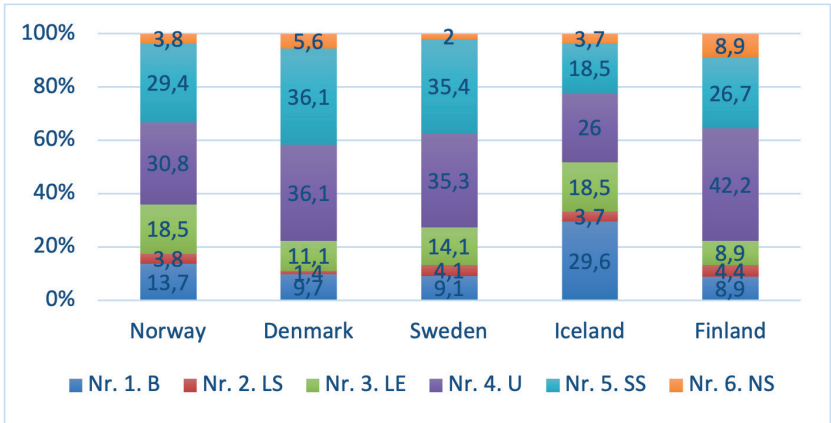
Within the first strategy, combinations of two common Lithuanian names are generally the most frequent. Within the mixed strategy, uncommon Lithuanian names are more often combined with common Lithuanian names than with universal names.

These results reveal clear differences in naming strategies for girls and boys across the Nordic countries. Combinations consisting exclusively of common Lithuanian and universal names predominate among girls in three countries (Norway, Sweden, and Iceland), whereas combinations of two uncommon Lithuanian names predominate among boys in three countries (Sweden, Denmark, and Iceland).

5.2. Naming strategies based on name origin and commonness in Lithuania

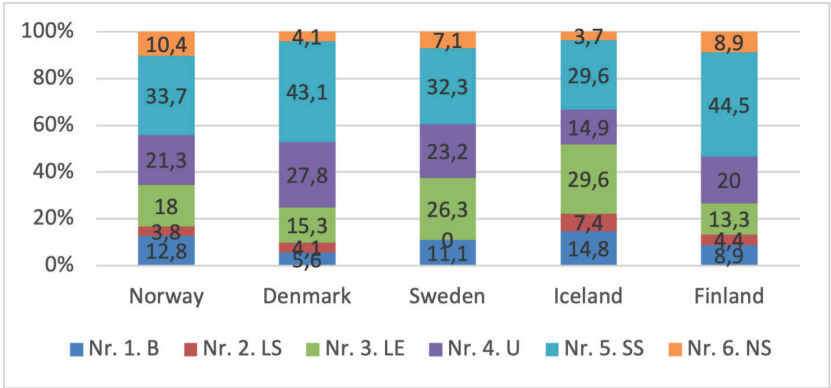
Figures 5–8 present the components of combinations of two first names, grouped into six name subgroups based on their origin and commonness in Lithuania. The figures include separate data for Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Iceland, and Finland. Figures 5 and 6 show the first and second components of combinations of two first names for girls, whereas Figures 7 and 8 present the corresponding data for boys.

Girls



Abbreviations: B = Baltic names; LS = names of non-Lithuanian origin with stems characteristic of Lithuanian; LE = names of non-Lithuanian origin with stems shared across languages and Lithuanian endings; U = universal names; SS = names with stems shared across languages but forms atypical of Lithuanian; NS = names with stems characteristic of other languages and forms atypical of Lithuanian.

Fig. 5: First components of combinations of two first names for girls by name subgroup



Abbreviations: B = Baltic names; LS = names of non-Lithuanian origin with stems characteristic of Lithuanian; LE = names of non-Lithuanian origin with stems shared across languages and Lithuanian endings; U = universal names; SS = names with stems shared across languages but forms atypical of Lithuanian; NS = names with stems characteristic of other languages and forms atypical of Lithuanian.

Fig. 6: Second components of combinations of two first names for girls by name subgroup

Many components of combinations of two first names given to girls have stems shared across languages. Many of the names concerned are Christian names with different forms in various languages, while others are widely used across Europe. These names belong to Subgroups 3 (LE)⁶, 4 (U), and 5 (SS), cf. *Tėja Gabriella* (S)⁷, *Svajonė Viktorija* (S), *Maja Marija* (D), *Liucija Daniela* (D), *Tėja Maria* (N), and *Sofia Anne* (N).

Across the Nordic countries, combinations of two first names frequently include names from Subgroups 3 (LE), 4 (U), and 5 (SS). Among these, names with forms atypical of Lithuanian and stems shared across languages (Subgroup 5, SS), cf. *Sofia* and *Maria*, are the most common. In Sweden (35.4%) and Norway (29.4%), they are the most frequent first components of combinations of two first names, cf. *Lea Auksė* (S) and *Emma Maria* (N). In Denmark (36.1%), they occur with the same frequency as universal names (Subgroup 4, U), cf. *Sofia Patricija* (D). As second components, they are the most frequent in Finland (44.5%), Denmark (43.1%), Norway (33.7%), and Sweden (32.3%), cf. *Sofia Lilia* (F), *Ela Maria* (D), *Vakarė Lea* (N), and *Adrija Ella* (S). In Iceland (29.6%), they occur with the same frequency as names with stems shared across languages and Lithuanian endings (Subgroup 3, LE), cf. *Saulė Viktorija* (I).

In Finland (42.2%), universal names (Subgroup 4, U) are the most frequent first components, cf. *Greta Sofia* (F), while in Denmark (36.1%) they occur with the same frequency as names from Subgroup 5 (SS), cf. *Emā Julija* (D). In Iceland and Sweden, however, names from Subgroup 3 (LE) are more common than universal names.

These results indicate that, in girls' combinations of two first names containing at least one name with a stem shared across languages, names with stems shared across languages and forms atypical of Lithuanian (Subgroup 5, SS) are the most frequent components. Universal names (Subgroup 4, U) are also frequently used, whereas names with stems shared across languages and Lithuanian endings (Subgroup 3, LE) occur less often.

The remaining name subgroups are less common in combinations of two first names for girls. Among them, Baltic names (Subgroup 1, B) are the most frequent in each of the Nordic countries, cf. *Eglė Maria* (N) and *Kaja Meilė* (N). In Iceland (29.6%), Norway (13.7%) and Denmark (9.7%), Baltic names occur more frequently as the first component of combinations of two first names, cf. *Gabija Sol* (I),

6 The abbreviations are explained in the legends to Figures 5–8.

7 In the examples, the names belonging to the subgroup under discussion are shown in bold.

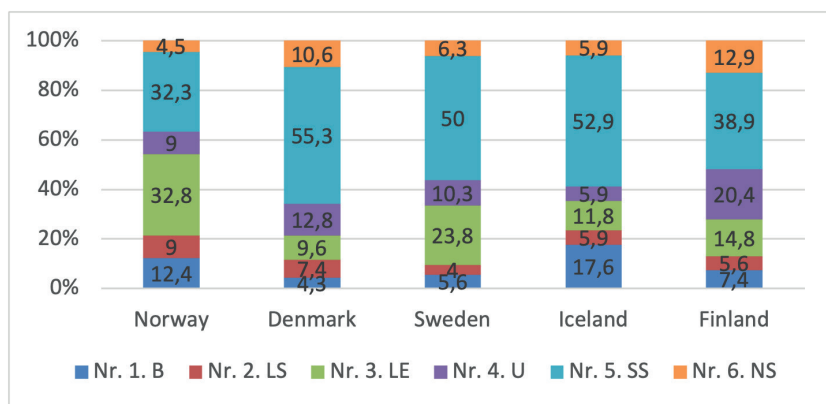
Luknė Gertrūda (N), and *Liepa Marie* (D). In Sweden (11.1%), they occur more often as the second component, cf. *Vanessa Deimantė* (S). In Finland (8.9%), their distribution is identical in both positions, cf. *Smiltė Elisabeth* (F) and *Agota Upė* (F). The highest proportion of Baltic names is found in Iceland, particularly in the first component position.

Names of non-Lithuanian origin with stems characteristic of Lithuanian (Subgroup 2, LS) are rare in combinations of two first names for girls, cf. *Urtė Darija* (N) and *Reyva Ona* (N). Names with stems characteristic of other languages and forms atypical of Lithuanian (Subgroup 6, NS) are also uncommon, cf. *Haleema Anaan* (N). These names originate from a variety of linguistic traditions. Some are of Germanic or Finnish origin, cf. *Siri Melissa* (N), *Emilie Pernille* (N), *Kornelia Svea* (S), *Adriana Lykke* (D), and *Milda Usva* (F). Others are of Arabic origin, cf. *Haleema Anaan* (N) and *Sadia Nadir* (N), Turkish origin, cf. *Aurora Melike* (F) and *Jolene Havin* (S), or African origin, cf. *Arabella Aderinsola* (N) and *Temilola Victoria* (D)⁸.

Thus, among the less common name subgroups, Baltic names (Subgroup 1, B) predominate in combinations of two first names for girls. Names of non-Lithuanian origin with stems characteristic of Lithuanian (Subgroup 2, LS) and names with stems characteristic of other languages and forms atypical of Lithuanian (Subgroup 6, NS) are comparatively rare.

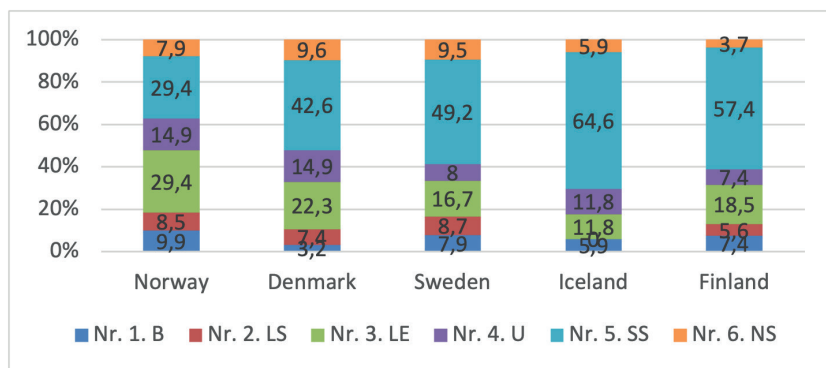
8 Information on the parents' origin or citizenship was not available in the dataset. It is therefore not possible to determine whether both parents were of Lithuanian origin or whether one parent was of non-Lithuanian origin. The presence of names characteristic of other linguistic traditions may reflect the linguistic or cultural background of one of the parents, but this cannot be established from the available data.

Boys



Abbreviations: B = Baltic names; LS = names of non-Lithuanian origin with stems characteristic of Lithuanian; LE = names of non-Lithuanian origin with stems shared across languages and Lithuanian endings; U = universal names; SS = names with stems shared across languages but forms atypical of Lithuanian; NS = names with stems characteristic of other languages and forms atypical of Lithuanian.

Fig. 7: First components of combinations of two first names for boys by name subgroup



Abbreviations: B = Baltic names; LS = names of non-Lithuanian origin with stems characteristic of Lithuanian; LE = names of non-Lithuanian origin with stems shared across languages and Lithuanian endings; U = universal names; SS = names with stems shared across languages but forms atypical of Lithuanian; NS = names with stems characteristic of other languages and forms atypical of Lithuanian.

Fig. 8: Second components of combinations of two first names for boys by name subgroup

Many components of combinations of two first names given to boys have stems shared across languages. These names belong to Subgroups 3 (LE), 4 (U), and 5 (SS), cf. *Pijus Richard* (S), *Aksel Karolis* (S), *Adam Jonas* (D), *Lukas Simonas* (D), *Emil Oskaras* (N), and *Gabrielius Daniel* (N).

Of the names belonging to these three subgroups, names with stems shared across languages and forms atypical of Lithuanian (Subgroup 5, SS), cf. *Gabriel* and *Leonard*, are the most common. In Denmark (55.3%), Iceland (52.9%), Sweden (50%), and Finland (38.9%), they are the most frequent first components of combinations of two first names, cf. *Michael Storm* (D), *Stefan Karolis* (I), *Adam Lauras* (S), and *Martin Tomas* (F). In Norway (32.3%), they are the second most frequent first components, cf. *Kaspar Pijus* (N). As second components, they are the most common in Iceland (64.6%), Finland (57.4%), Sweden (49.2%), and Denmark (42.6%), cf. *Modestas Elias* (I), *Arnas Mikael* (F), *Lukas Henrik* (S), and *Jonas Leonard* (D). In Norway (29.4%), they occur with the same frequency as names with stems shared across languages and Lithuanian endings (Subgroup 3, LE), cf. *Vakaris Vilhelm* (N).

As first components of combinations of two first names, names with stems shared across languages and Lithuanian endings (Subgroup 3, LE) are the second most common in Sweden (23.8%), cf. *Kasparas Adomas* (S), and the most common in Norway (32.8%), cf. *Rokas Mykolas* (N). As second components, they rank second in Denmark (22.3%), Finland (18.5%), and Sweden (16.7%), cf. *Tobias Pijus* (D), *Matias Augustas* (F), and *Martynas Donatas* (S). In Norway (29.4%), they occur with the same frequency as names with stems shared across languages and forms atypical of Lithuanian (Subgroup 5, SS), cf. *Daimontas Danielius* (N).

In Finland (20.4%) and Denmark (12.8%), universal names (Subgroup 4, U) are the second most common first components of combinations of two first names, cf. *Tomas Jubani* (F) and *Jonas Leonard* (D). In Iceland (11.8%), they occur with the same frequency as names with stems shared across languages and forms atypical of Lithuanian (Subgroup 5, SS), cf. *Neithon Lukas* (I).

These results indicate that, in boys' combinations of two first names containing at least one name with a stem shared across languages, names with stems shared across languages and forms atypical of Lithuanian (Subgroup 5, SS) are the most frequent components. Names with stems shared across languages and Lithuanian endings (Subgroup 3, LE) are also frequently used, whereas universal names (Subgroup 4, U) occur less often. Similar tendencies can be observed among girls; however, boys are less often given universal names.

The remaining name subgroups are less common in combinations of two first names for boys. Among them, Baltic names (Subgroup 1, B) are the most frequent in each of the Nordic countries.

The highest proportions of Baltic names as first components are found in Iceland (17.6%) and Norway (12.4%), cf. *Ažuolas Thor* (I) and *Aistis Marius* (N). As second components, the highest proportions are found in Norway (9.9%) and Finland (7.4%), cf. *Paulius Vytautas* (N) and *Ilmari Radvilas* (F).

The highest proportions of names from Subgroup 6 (NS) as first components are found in Finland (12.9%), Denmark (10.6%), and Sweden (9.5%), cf. *Leevi Topilis* (F), *Ravn Linas* (D), and *Seydou Christer* (S). As second components, the highest proportions are found in Denmark (9.6%) and Sweden (9.5%), cf. *Daniel Ugochukvuu* (D) and *Noah Thando* (S). In Iceland, Baltic names and names from Subgroup 6 (NS) occur with the same frequency as second components of combinations of two first names. Names belonging to Subgroup 6 represent a variety of linguistic traditions. Some are of Germanic or Finnish origin, cf. *David Jalmari* (F) and *Theodor Broder* (F). Others are of Arabic origin, cf. *Elias Jamil* (D) and *Ibrahim Ibro* (D), or of African origin, cf. *Hugo Obi* (S) and *Noah Thando* (S).

Thus, among the less common name subgroups, Baltic names (Subgroup 1, B) predominate in combinations of two first names for boys. Names of non-Lithuanian origin with stems characteristic of Lithuanian (Subgroup 2, LS) and names with stems characteristic of other languages and forms atypical of Lithuanian (Subgroup 6, NS) are comparatively rare.

6. Conclusions and discussion

Parental naming strategies for combinations of two first names differ both across the Nordic countries and according to the child's gender. Emigrants in Norway, Sweden, and Iceland typically give girls combinations consisting exclusively of common Lithuanian and universal names. In Denmark and Finland, parents typically combine a common Lithuanian or universal name with an uncommon Lithuanian name. When parents combine names from different groups for girls, they usually choose a universal name paired with an uncommon Lithuanian name. Combinations of two first names for boys are formed differently. Emigrants in Norway typically give boys combinations of two first names, both components of which are common Lithuanian names. In Sweden, Denmark, and Iceland, parents usually give boys two names, both of which are uncommon Lithuanian names. Lithu-

anian emigrants in Finland typically combine a common Lithuanian name with an uncommon one. These findings extend previous research by showing that variation occurs not only in individual first names but also in parental naming strategies (Sinkevičiūtė 2025b; 2025c).

Among Lithuanian emigrants in the Nordic countries, those in Norway are the most likely to choose combinations of two first names that include one or two common Lithuanian names. Combinations in which both components are common Lithuanian names are more characteristic of girls than of boys. By contrast, except in Norway, combinations in which both components are uncommon Lithuanian names are more characteristic of boys than of girls. The preference for combinations containing one or two common Lithuanian names among Lithuanian emigrants in Norway is consistent with previous studies showing that Lithuanian linguistic features are preserved more strongly in Norway than in other major countries of Lithuanian emigration (Sinkevičiūtė 2024a; 2024b; 2025a; 2025b).

Many components of girls' and boys' combinations of two first names have stems shared across languages. These include Christian names occurring in different forms across languages, while others are widely used across many European languages. The most common type consists of names with stems shared across languages and forms atypical of Lithuanian, cf. (f.) *Sofia, Maria*; (m.) *Adam, Daniel*. In this regard, the names of girls and boys are similar. However, the second most common type differs for girls and boys. For girls, parents more often choose universal names, cf. *Amanda*, while parents of boys more often choose names with stems shared across languages and Lithuanian endings, cf. *Danielius*. The predominance of names with stems shared across languages is consistent with Schiller's (2024: 231–232) findings that parents take into account the compatibility of names with Lithuanian and the language of the host country. This pattern may also be considered in the light of Gerhards and Tuppatt's (2021: 29) distinction between names associated with the country of origin and those associated with the host society.

The remaining name subgroups are less frequent in girls' and boys' combinations of two first names. Among these subgroups, Baltic names are the most common in all Nordic countries, cf. (f.) *Eglė, Meilė*; (m.) *Ažuolas, Vytautas*. In addition to names of non-Lithuanian origin with stems characteristic of Lithuanian, there are also names with stems characteristic of other languages and forms atypical of Lithuanian, including names of Germanic, Finnish, Arabic, Turkish, and African origin. The presence of names characteristic of diverse linguistic traditions is consistent with previous research showing that, in migration contexts, naming choices

may reflect adaptation to the linguistic and cultural environment of the host country (Sipavicius Seide 2020: 102–104; 119).

Differences in naming practices across the Nordic countries may also provide a broader context for the cross-country variation observed in the present study; however, the available data do not allow their influence on individual naming choices to be established.

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[**Abstract:** This study examines combinations of two first names given to Lithuanian citizens born in the Nordic countries between 1991 and 2020. It aims to identify parental naming strategies reflected in these combinations. The results show that parental naming strategies vary across the Nordic countries and according to the child's gender. Lithuanian emigrants in Norway most frequently choose com-

binations containing one or two common Lithuanian names, whereas in the other Nordic countries combinations containing uncommon Lithuanian names are more characteristic, especially for boys. The largest group consists of names with stems shared across languages, while Baltic names and names with stems characteristic of particular languages occur less frequently.]