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🔗 <https://doi.org/10.4467/K7446.46/22.23.17289>

Names in Contemporary Lithuanian: Valued Qualities and Their Changes

Abstract

Due to the diversity of bases and meanings, Lithuanian names of the 20th and 21st centuries derived from personal features form a separate group of onyms. Their bases are adjectives with the following meanings: Dimension (*aukštas* ‘tall’), Age (*jaunas* ‘young’), Value (*gražus* ‘beautiful’), Color (*margas* ‘motley’), Physical property (*garsus* ‘loud’), Human propensity (*drąsus* ‘bold’), Speed (*greitas* ‘fast’), and Qualification (*teisus* ‘right, righteous’). The variety of Physical property and especially Human propensity adjectives from which names were derived grew during the period under study. This indicates a tendency to give names related to features of human character. Nevertheless, by the end of the 20th century and in the 21st century the semantic aspect of a name is not the main factor in naming a child: tradition and other factors are more important.

The most common names came from features that reflect external and, more often, internal beauty. The features expressed in names can be considered as the parents’ wishes for their children, at least in part. Peace, beauty, mercy, simplicity, chastity (purity) are important for Lithuanians. The importance of dignity, nobility of mind and joy has been evident since the middle of the 20th century. However, the most popular onyms’ personal features do not reflect the qualities most valued by Lithuanians: diligence and hospitality. Both have been changing in the 21st century. Changes are also affecting the structure of names derived from personal features at the end of the 20th century and in the 21st century: an increase in the number of short names and a decrease in the number of suffixed ones. This shows that the names derived from personal features reflect the changes in the formation of Lithuanian names.

Keywords

Lithuanian names, adjectives, names from adjectives, name trends

1. Introduction

Like names in other Indo-European languages, pre-Christian Lithuanian names were of the following types: compound names (*Dau-gird-as*), shortenings (*Daug-is*), appellative names (*Balč-ius* < *balt-as* ‘white’, *Judr-is* < *judr-us* ‘active’), and some of them had suffixes (*Vaid-otas* < *Vaid-as* < *Vaid-min-as*). Part of the Lithuanian names before Christianization arose from designations of qualities (*Jaun-eika* < *jaun-as* ‘young’, *Pikč-ius* < *pikt-as* ‘angry’).

They were displaced by names of Christian origin after the Christianization of Lithuania. As in other European countries (Leibring, 2016, pp. 208–210), with the national revival at the beginning of the 20th century names of Lithuanian origin became popular again. These included names originating in designations of qualities as well as in abstract nouns and verbs associated with them. The names of the 20th and 21st centuries differ from personal names of the pre-Christian period, when names with a negative connotation were also common (*Myž-us* < *myž-ti* ‘piss’, *Šik-as* < *šik-ti* ‘shit’). In the literature of onomastics, Lithuanian appellative names derived from names of personal features are presented together with other names (Zinkevičius, 1977; 2008; Maciejauskienė, 1997). In these works, a large sample of Lithuanian historical personal names has been collected, with a focus on their bases.¹

Due to the diversity of bases and meanings, Lithuanian names derived from personal features form a separate group of onyms. Some of these names are included in the dictionary of the origin of Lithuanian names (Kuzavinis & Savukynas, 2009); other names have been published on the website of the project *Lietuvos Respublikos piliečių vardų sąvadas* (List of names of citizens of the Republic of Lithuania).² I have analyzed names derived from personal features together with other names made with diminutive suffixes (Sinkevičiūtė, 2020), and together with personal names from natural phenomena (Sinkevičiūtė, 2018). However, Lithuanian names derived from words for personal features have not been subject to a systematic study yet.

¹ Latvian also has names derived from names of personal features. According to data from 2011, the most popular ones are Latv. *Dzidra* (cf. *dzidrs* ‘clear, clean’) and *Maiga* (cf. *maigs* ‘mild’); see Balode, 2012, pp. 50–53.

² <https://vardai.vlkk.lt/>

Research on the estimated value of personal features has shown that Lithuanians mostly appreciate diligence and hospitality, even though the younger, 21st century generation values them less than older generations (Akstinavičiūtė & Petraitytė, 2007, pp. 18–19) and different regions value other features, like persistence, economy and politeness (Papurėlytė & Župerka, 2010; Kalnius, 2012, pp. 245–281). However, in addition to diligence and hospitality the younger generation also appreciate moderation and love for nature, whereas older generations also valued curiosity, self-confidence, and courage (Antinienė & Lekavičienė, 2016, pp. 154–155). We can thus say that the 21st century is experiencing a change in valued features.

In this paper I will try to determine the personal features present in the stock of modern Lithuanian names and their changes, paying special attention to the change of stems and suffixes. The main purpose is to determine how the personal features, which became the basis of names, have changed. I will also compare how the features used to name children are related to the features valued by the Lithuanians in the 20th and 21st centuries, as revealed by recent sociological studies.

2. The evidence

The material was collected from the names given to the citizens of the Republic of Lithuania in the period from 1910 to 2020.³ The main problem with the evidence is that some of the names of the first half of the 20th century were obtained very late, as the people so named had died long ago. As a result, they have not been included in this study, and therefore the data presented here does not claim to be fully exhaustive.

The object of this research is the group of Lithuanian personal names derived from adjectives that designate human features. Verbs and abstract

³ The names were obtained from the State Enterprise Center of Registers through the State Commission of the Lithuanian Language (Valstybinė lietuvių kalbos komisija, VLKK) in 2006 and supplemented with names from later years. All statistical data are available at <http://vardai.vlkk.lt>

nouns derived from the adjectives are also included. Participles have also been included among the adjectives.

Names that have several possible origins have also been included. They can be related not only to names of personal features, but also to other words: Lithuanian appellatives of another origin (*Taur-ė* < *taur-us* ‘noble’ or *taur-as* ‘aurochs’), shortenings (*Gail-ė* < *gail-us* ‘sorrowful’ or *Vil-gail-ė*), borrowed names (*Agn-a* < *agn-us* ‘impetuous, active’ or Gk. *Agné*), or their shortenings (*Dor-a* < *dor-as* ‘virtuous’ or Gk. *Teodora*).

The association of other names with personal features is secondary, due to secondary alterations of their bases. These names have been altered because of secondary associations within Lithuanian: *Graž-ilda* < Gmc. *Grasilda* (cf. *graž-us* ‘beautiful’), *Gudr-ūnė* < Gmc. *Gudrun* (cf. *gudr-us* ‘clever’), *Mandr-ius* < Gk. *Andrius* (cf. *mandr-as* ‘proud’), *Vingr-ida* < Gmc. *Ingr-ida* (cf. *vingr-us* ‘sinuous’). They will also be included in this study.

The following names have been excluded from this study:

- Names borrowed from Latvian adjectives: *Dzidr-ė*, *Dzidr-ina*, *Ilg-a*, *Ilg-ama*, *Ilg-amas*, *Ilg-onis*, *Maig-a*, *Maig-onis*, *Modr-a*, *Modr-is*, *Mud-ytė*, *Rud-ytė*, *Spodr-a*, *Vair-onis*, from Latv. *dzidr-s* ‘clear, clean’, *ilg-s* ‘long-prolonged’, *maig-s* ‘mild’, *modr-s* ‘vigilant’, *mud-īgs* ‘agile’, *rud-s* ‘brown’, *spodr-s* ‘clean’, **vair-s* < *vair-ot* ‘multiply’. These adjectives are either not used in Lithuanian or have another meaning.
- Names derived from nouns denoting natural phenomena, which gave rise to adjectives that sometimes have acquired a meaning within the domain of personal features, cf. *aidas* ‘echo’, *aidus* ‘sonorous’, *bang-a* ‘wave’, *bangus* ‘wavy’, *giedra* ‘fine weather’, *giedras* ‘clear’, *kaitra* ‘heat’, *kaitrus* ‘hot’, *šviesa* ‘light’, *šviesus* ‘bright’. These names derive from natural phenomena, not from personal features (see Sinkevičiūtė, 2018).
- Names whose connection with the adjective is purely etymological. These are the names *Ald-ona*, *Kun-otas*, *Kern-ius*, *Šar-ūnas*, *Traid-enis* and derivatives, from the adjectives **ald-us* ‘screaming’, *ald-oti* ‘scream’, *kaun-us* ‘who likes to fight, fight’, ‘modest’, **kern-us* ‘small’, *kern-a* ‘does not grow, short’, *šar-us* ‘quick’, **traid-us* < *traidž-ioti* ‘suffer from diarrhea’. They came into use from literature and history.

3. Introduction to the study

I have found 397 Lithuanian names derived from personal features. The corpus is made of 55,150 name tokens. 75 personal features were found, according to which groups of adjectives were distinguished. The meanings of adjectives are determined according to the Lithuanian language, focusing on the features that describe people. The adjectives are classified according to categories of general linguistics and cognition (Dixon, 1977, pp. 31–45; 2004, pp. 3–5). This classification has been expanded according to the classification of Russian, which is similar to that of Lithuanian (Corbett, 2004, pp. 213–222).

The following groups have been distinguished: Dimension (*aukštas* ‘tall’), Age (*jaunas* ‘young’), Value (*baugus* ‘scary’, *gražus* ‘beautiful’, etc.), Color (*margas* ‘motley’, *rustas* ‘light brown’, etc.), Physical property (*garsus* ‘loud’, *salduš* ‘sweet’, etc.), Human propensity (*drąsus* ‘bold’, *rūstus* ‘austere’, etc.), Speed (*greitas* ‘fast’), and Qualification (*teisus* ‘right’). Some of the adjectives are used metaphorically when naming children. The verbal adjectives *augus* ‘growing’, *gajus* ‘vital’, *judrus* ‘active’, **jund-us* < *jud-ėti* ‘move’, **tekn-us* < *tekn-oti* ‘run, trot’, *žvitrus* ‘quick’ are assigned to the Physical property group. In some cases, it is difficult to assign an adjective to a group. Thus, the classification cannot be considered conclusive.

According to the variety of adjectives that make up the groups, the groups of names that have the most influence on children are indicated. The number of individual names derived from the same adjective and the frequency of repeated names were examined in order to distinguish the most valued features. The most valued features were considered to be those from which most different names and most repeated names were derived.

The names derived from personal features were given at different times. For this reason, the names have also been studied according to periods. We distinguish three periods:

- Names of the period of independent Lithuania (1918–1939), when Lithuania was independent; these include names given before 1918 and during the years 1940–1943, which may be considered transitional.
- Names of the Soviet period (1944–1985) when Lithuania was occupied by the Soviet Union; the names of 1986–1989, when the spirit of independence dominated in Lithuania have not been included here (cf. Švedas, 2009).

- Names of the period of liberated Lithuania (1990–2020), including names from the time period 1986–1989.

These periods are used to highlight the development trends in the 20th and 21st centuries, as it is well known that changes in the name system are dependent on changes in the society taken as a whole, which in its turn depends on other factors, such as religion, nationality, family ties or social class (Gerhards, 2010).

4. Results and evaluation

4.1. Names of the period of independent Lithuania

We have found 45 personal features from which names are derived. Their bases are adjectives, with the following meanings: Dimension (*aukštas* ‘tall’), Age (*jaunas* ‘young’), Value (*baugus* ‘scary’, **bij-us* ‘one who is afraid’ < *bij-oti* ‘be afraid’, *brangus* ‘expensive’, *dailus* ‘beautiful’, *gailus* ‘sorrowful’, *gardus* ‘delicious’, *geras* ‘good’, *gražus* ‘beautiful’, *keistas* ‘strange’, *laisvas* ‘free’), Color (*raudonas* ‘red’, *žydras* ‘sky-blue’), Physical property (*aiškus* ‘clear’, *ašrus* ‘sharp’, *augus* ‘rank’, *gajus* ‘vital’, *garsus* ‘loud’, *judrus* ‘active’, **jund-us* < *jud-ėti* ‘move’, *mirgus* ‘sparkling’, *skaidrus* ‘transparent’, *skaistus* ‘chaste’, *švie-drus* ‘scrub’, *tyras* ‘pure’, *vingrus* ‘sinuous’), Human propensity (*doras* ‘virtuous’, *drąsus* ‘bold’, *džiugus* ‘cheerful’, **gild-us* ‘one who hurts’ < *gild-yti* ‘ache, wound’, *gudrus* ‘clever’, *jausmus* ‘sensual’, *jautrus* ‘sensitive’, *kilnus* ‘noble’, *linksmas* ‘merry’, *maldus* ‘devout’, *meilus* ‘affectionate’, *narsus* ‘brave’, *protus* ‘mind’, *ramus* ‘calm’, *rūstus* ‘austere’, *taurus* ‘noble’), Qualification (*teisus* ‘right’), and Speed (*greitas* ‘fast’).

The greatest variety of adjectives was in the groups of Human propensity (17 adjectives) and Physical property (13 adjectives). Only during the period of independent Lithuania do we have names derived from the adjectives *ašrus* ‘sharp’, *aukštas* ‘tall’, *baugus* ‘scary’, *gardus* ‘delicious’, *raudonas* ‘red’, so these features are important only in this period. It can also be seen that in the later period the variety of adjectives in the groups Dimension, Color and Value disappeared or decreased.

All in all, we have 136 names associated with personal features, which mostly belong to the groups Human propensity (52 names, 38.2%), Physical property (37 names, 27.2%), and Value (29 names, 21.32%) (see Figure 1). According to name tokens, the most repeated names belong to the groups Value and Human propensity (49.1% and 45%, respectively, see Table 1). This suggests that the period of independent Lithuania is dominated by names belonging to Human propensity and Value. The diversity of names does not determine the frequency of the group.

Most names of the period of independent Lithuania are associated with the adjectives *ramus* ‘calm’ (11 names), *gražus* ‘beautiful’ (9 names), and *skaištus* ‘chaste’ (8 names). Also common are *gailus* ‘sorrowful’, *skaidrus* ‘transparent’. As for tokens, the most common names came from *gražus* ‘beautiful’ (*Graž-ina* 2152), *ramus* ‘calm’ (*Ram-utė* 1177, *Ram-utis* 419), *meilus* ‘affectionate’ (*Meil-utė* 194), *gailus* ‘sorrowful’ (*Gail-utė* 114). This shows that the most valued qualities of this period are calmness, beauty and, especially for girls, chastity, transparency, love and mercy.

Of course, the origin of some names can be interpreted in a different way. Personal names with *ram-*, *gail-* can be derived from shortenings of compound names, cf. *Ram-as* < *Ram-vyd-as*, *Gail-ė* < *Jo-gail-ė*. The name *Gražina* was popularized by the works of A. Mickevičius: it could be used according to the features of the character of the work, without paying attention to the meaning of the base, cf. *gražus* ‘beautiful’. This shows that several interpretations of the origin of a name can be an incentive to give a child a name, and this tendency is characteristic of Lithuanian names in the first half of the 20th century.

The possibility to interpret the origin in several ways may have led to the popularity of individual names derived from personal features. The popularity of these names also increased the proportion of names derived from adjectives denoting Human propensity and Value.

97 names are suffixed (70.6% of the names), but with the inclusion of name tokens, their number is even higher (96.4% of the name tokens). Thus, suffixes dominate in terms of diversity and frequency. Names of this period usually have a diminutive suffix *-utė*, *-utis* (48 names), rarer are derivatives with the suffix *-uolė*, *-uolis*. Female names also have the suffixes *-ina*, *-ytė*, *-onė*, and male names, *-ūnas*. From the point of view of word formation these names do not differ from names derived from natural phenomena during the same period (Sinkevičiūtė, 2018, pp. 247–248).

Thus, during the period of independent Lithuania names were mostly derived from adjectives of the Human propensity group. There was a greater variety of personal features, making names from more feature groups (Speed, Dimension). The most common names reflect the most important features for the Lithuanians of this period: calmness, beauty, chastity, transparency, love and mercy. It is reasonable to suppose that the names express the desire of the parents for their children to have those qualities rather than the features valued by the Lithuanian society. Since this period, names with the suffixes *-utis*, *-utė*, *-ina*, *-ūnas* have become common, as is the case of names of this period in general terms.

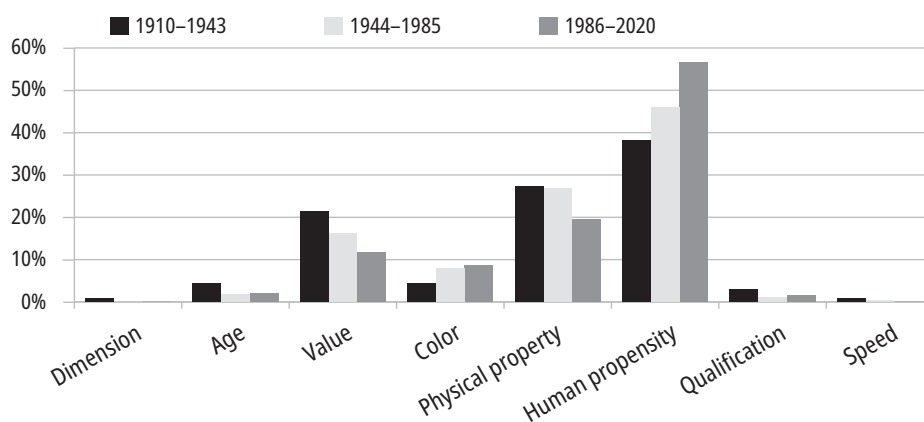


Figure 1. Names according to semantic groups in the 20th–21st centuries⁴

Source: own work.

4.2. Names of the Soviet period

Names are derived from 57 personal features. In addition to the adjectives mentioned above, they are derived from adjectives meaning: Value (*naujas* ‘new’, *žavus* ‘charming’), Color (*rustas* ‘light brown’), Physical property (*gairus* ‘inflatable; wind guided’, *gaivus* ‘refreshing’, *saldus* ‘sweet’, *skaistrus* ‘chaste’,

⁴ The numbers indicate percentages, not number of names.

vingus ‘winging’, *žėrus* ‘sparkling’, *žvitrus* ‘quick’), Human propensity (*agnus* ‘impetuous, active’, *aistrus* ‘passions’, *blaivus* ‘sober’, *guodus* ‘comforting, sympathetic’, *jėgus* ‘powerful’, *migdus* ‘sleep’, *orus* ‘dignified’, *taikus* ‘peaceful’). Most adjectives belong to the groups of Human propensity (25 adjectives) and Physical property (18 adjectives) in which the diversity of members increased compared to the period of independent Lithuania. Thus, the importance of these groups continues in the Soviet period.

Names that are only found in this period are: *naujas* ‘new’, *skaistrus* ‘chaste’, *žėrus* ‘sparkling’, *žvitrus* ‘quick’, *blaivus* ‘sober’, *jėgus* ‘powerful’ and *taikus* ‘peaceful’. If we include here the names **bij-us* ‘one who is afraid’ < *bij-oti* ‘be afraid’, *brangus* ‘expensive’, *keistas* ‘strange’, *aiškus* ‘clear’, **jund-us* < *jud-ėti* ‘move’, *šviedrus* ‘scrub’, *jausmus* ‘sensual’, *kilnus* ‘noble’, *protus* ‘mind’, *greitas* ‘fast’, used in the period of independent Lithuania, we see that small groups of adjectives (Speed, Value) disappear or decrease after the Soviet period. We also see that in the large groups of features there is a change of valued features.

In this period, we have 291 names associated with personal features. Like in the period of independent Lithuania, they belong to the same groups of Human propensity (134 names, 46.1%), Physical property (78 names, 26.8%), and *Value* (47 names, 16.2%) (see Figure 1). Thus, the variety of names in the Human propensity group strongly increases.

According to name tokens, it can be seen (see Table 1) that the names of the Human propensity group (48.2% of name tokens) remain the most common in the Soviet period, whereas names of the Physical property group (4.3% of name tokens) became even rarer than in the period of independent Lithuania. *Value* decreases (28.8% of name tokens), whereas *Color* increases (17.1% of name tokens). Thus, in the Soviet period Human propensity and *Value* dominate, but the influence of names derived from *Value* decreases.

Most names of the Soviet period are associated with the adjectives *ramus* ‘calm’ (23 names), *žydras* ‘sky-blue’ (20 names), *orus* ‘dignified’ (16 names), *skaidrus* ‘transparent’ (16 names), *taurus* ‘noble’ (14 names), *gailus* ‘sorrowful’ (12 names). As for tokens, the most common names came from the adjectives *gražus* ‘beautiful’ (*Graž-ina* 9644), *ramus* ‘calm’ (*Ram-ūnas* 8499, *Ram-utė* 4424, *Ram-inta* 938, *Ram-utis* 657), *žydras* ‘sky-blue’ (*Žydr-ūnas* 4421, *Žydr-ūnė* 649).

In the Soviet period, like in the period of independent Lithuania, the most valued qualities are serenity, beauty, transparency, and mercy. Dignity and

nobility become important during this period, as well as the color sky-blue. It was precisely the spread of *žydras* ‘sky-blue’ which determined the growth of the number of names from colors in the Soviet period. This can be related to the ideal of beauty in Lithuania in the 20th century, a defining feature of which was blue eyes (Venskienė, 2012). Names derived from other adjectives resulted in a large proportion of names derived from Human propensity and Value. In the Soviet period chastity and affection are valued less than before.

The names derived from *ramus* ‘calm’, *gražus* ‘beautiful’ (see above, 4.1), and *žydras* ‘sky-blue’ can also be associated with appellatives, cf. *žydrė* ‘grape hyacinth’, *žydruolė* ‘forget-me-not’, *žydrūnė* ‘cornflower’. This implies that diversity and frequency also depend on the possibility to interpret the origin of names in different ways.

In this period, we have 201 names with suffixes (69.1% of names). When we include name tokens, they amount to the 91.1% of the name tokens, which indicates that suffixes continue to dominate. Most often names still have the suffix *-utis*, *-utė* (61 names). The suffix *-ūn-* is characteristic not only of male, but also of female names. The suffixes *-ina*, *-inta* become common. Female names with *-ija*, *-ita*, *-ida*, *-eta* begin to appear also with *-uolė*, *-ytė*. From the point of view of derivation, names with *-utė*, *-utis* remain common, derivatives with *-ūna*, *-ūnė*, *-ūnas* continue to spread, and derivatives with *-uolė*, *-ytė*, frequent in the period of independent Lithuania, are replaced by derivatives with the suffixes *-ija*, *-ita*, *-ida*, *-eta*. The same word formation tendencies can be seen in Lithuanian names derived from natural phenomena (Sinkevičiūtė, 2018, pp. 250–252).

Thus, fewer names are made from different groups of adjectives and more names are made from the main group of Human propensity, indicating its importance. Names of this period continue the values from the period of independent Lithuania: calmness, beauty, transparency and mercy. Also valued are dignity, nobility, and sky-blue. The last quality is strongly highlighted. This shows that in the process of name giving the qualities parents desire for their children slowly change, but, as before, they do not directly reflect the qualities valued by the Lithuanian society. As for derivation, the most common suffix remains *-utė*, *-utis*, but the suffix *-ūna*, *-ūnė* spreads to women’s names, and the suffixes *-ija*, *-ita*, *-ida*, *-eta* also spread, as in other derived Lithuanian names.

Table 1. Name tokens from personal features by their base and frequency

Period	Dimension		Age	Value	Color	Physical property	Human propensity	Qualification	Speed	Total
1910–	Names	1	74	2343	8	182	2150	15	1	4774
1943	%	0	1.6	49.1	0.2	3.8	45	0.3	0	100
1944–	Names	0	424	10,306	6116	1557	17,275	129	1	35,808
1985	%	0	1.2↓	28.8↓	17.1↑	4.3↑	48.2↑	0.4↑	0	100
1986–	Names	0	437	703	1492	2477	9446	13	0	14,568
2020	%	0	3↑	4.8↓	10.2↓	17↑	64.8↑	0.1↓	0	100

Source: own work.

4.3. Names of the period of Independent Lithuania

Names are derived from 54 personal features. In addition to those already mentioned, they are derived from adjectives related to Value (*mudras* ‘cool; spry’), Color (*margas* ‘motley’), Physical property (*skaidus* ‘decomposing’, **teknus* < *teknoti* ‘run, trot’), Human propensity (*budrus* ‘vigilant’, **gus-nus* < *gusti* ‘get used to’, *jaudrus* ‘excitable’, **jaus-tus* < *jaus-ti* ‘sense’, *kantrus* ‘patient’, *laimingas* ‘happy’, *mandras* ‘proud, clever’). The greatest diversity is in Human propensity (26 adjectives) and other groups are also expanded. The importance of the Human propensity group in creating names continues to grow, with other features becoming the basis of the names.

We have 196 names associated with personal features. As before, many of them belong to the groups of Human propensity (111 names, 56.6%), Physical property (38 names, 19.4%), and Value (23 names, 11.7%), but during this period we have a great diversity of names derived from Human propensity (see Figure 1). Name tokens show that the Human propensity group continues to grow (64.8% of name tokens), whereas the influence of other groups decreased, with the exception of the small group of Age (see Table 1). Names derived from rarer groups lose their importance, especially names derived from adjectives in the Value group. This testifies to the great dominance of the names of the Human propensity group.

Many of the names derived from adjectives are associated with *orus* ‘dignified’ (19 names), *taurus* ‘noble’ (16 names), *ramus* ‘calm’ (13 names), *žydras* ‘sky-blue’ (10 names), *meilus* ‘affectionate’ (9 names). As for tokens, the most common names came from *ramus* ‘calm’ (*Ram-inta* 2629, *Ram-ūnas* 1697), *skaištus* ‘chaste’ (*Skaist-ė* 2073), *džiugus* ‘cheerful’ (*Džiug-as* 1591), *taurus* ‘noble’ (*Taur-as* 1162), *orus* ‘dignified’ (*Or-inta* 952), *žydras* ‘sky-blue’ (*Žydr-ūnas* 752, *Žydr-ūnė* 524). They show that this period continues to value calmness, chastity, affection, dignity, the color sky-blue, but nobility and joy also become important. The most important features valued by the Lithuanians remain the same, but new aspects emerge over time.

Names derived from the adjectives *džiugus* ‘cheerful’, *taurus* ‘noble’ began to be interpreted differently. The name *Džiugas* can be considered a cultural name and can be associated with the legend about the giant *Džiugas* and the cheese named after him, propagated by a Lithuanian Dairy Factory.⁵ The adjective *taurus* ‘noble’ can be associated not only with *taurus* but also with *tauras* ‘aurochs’.⁶ This shows that the dual possibility of interpreting the base is important and can be an incentive to give the child a name. Names from *žydras* ‘sky-blue’ have become less common, almost certainly because in modern Lithuanian it has acquired a secondary meaning: ‘homosexual’.

However, most names from this period are rare. This can be related to the tendency to give children uncommon names, clearly seen in the second half of the 20th century (Gerhards & Hackenbroch, 2000, pp. 514–517). Common names have the following characteristics:

- they are carried over from the previous period;
- there are two possible (synchronic) interpretations of their origin;
- they are cultural names.

This shows that the semantics of names originating in designations of qualities has faded away and does not reflect the qualities valued by the Lithuanians. Words that have acquired negative connotations, like *žydr-*, are avoided as the basis of names.

⁵ The dairy factory *Žemaitijos pienas* promised 400 euros and other prizes for children born in 2021 if they are given the name *Džiugas*.

⁶ The popularity of this name has probably been scattered by the Lithuanian NBA basketball player Jonas Valančiūnas, who gave the name *Taurus* to his son, born in 2017. Since 2017 this name has clearly increased in popularity (see <http://vardai.vlkk.lt/statistika/Taurus>).

We have 105 names with suffixes (53.6% of names), which make the 53.5% of name tokens. This shows that their number has decreased during this period and non-suffixed names are becoming more diverse and common. The increase of non-suffixed names reflects an increase in short names (Sinkevičiūtė, 2014, pp. 3–8), which are common (*Džiugas, Skaistė*), diverse and characteristic of both genders. The most common suffixes of the names of this period are *-ūnas*, *-ūnė*, feminine *-inta*. Names with the suffixes *-utė*, *-utis* (see Sinkevičiūtė, 2020, pp. 252–257) and *-ina* become rarer. The suffix *-ėja* begins to be found. The suffix *-ita* is also used. The same tendencies are to be seen in names from natural phenomena (Sinkevičiūtė, 2018, pp. 253–255).

The main group of Human propensity continues to expand, whereas names of other groups appear less and less. This suggests that the features of the Human propensity group are becoming increasingly important in giving children a name. As in all periods, the period of Independent Lithuania continues to value calmness, dignity, chastity and affection. Nobility and joy grow in importance. This indicates a real change, but, just as before, the qualities of the names do not reflect the qualities valued by the Lithuanians. The structure of names is changing; short names are spreading, and their frequency and variety is increasing. Although the suffixes remain more common, only the derivatives with the suffixes *-ūnas*, *-ūnė*, *-inta* continue to be common. The derivatives with *-utė*, *-utis*, *-ina* are losing popularity. New derivatives with *-ėja* are appearing, as overall in the Lithuanian name system.

5. Conclusions

1. In all three periods, children were called by names derived from 30 personal features. Their bases are adjectives, which have been gathered into groups, and which have the following meanings: Age (*jaunas* ‘young’), Value (*dailus* ‘beautiful’, *gailus* ‘sorrowful’, *geras* ‘good’, *gražus* ‘beautiful’, *laisvas* ‘free’), Color (*žydras* ‘sky-blue’), Physical property (*augus* ‘rank’, *gajus* ‘vital’, *garsus* ‘loud’, *judrus* ‘active’, *mirgus* ‘sparkling’, *skaidrus* ‘transparent’, *skaistus* ‘chaste’, *tyras* ‘pure’, *vingrus* ‘sinuous’), Human propensity (*doras* ‘virtuous’, *drąsus* ‘bold’, *džiugus* ‘cheerful’, **gild-us* ‘one who gels, hurts’ < *gild-yti* ‘ache, wound’,

gudrus ‘clever’, *jautrus* ‘sensitive’, *linksmas* ‘merry’, *maldus* ‘devout’, *meilus* ‘affectionate’, *narsus* ‘brave’, *ramus* ‘calm’, *rūstus* ‘austere’, *taurus* ‘noble’), and Qualification (*teisus* ‘right’).

2. The variety of Physical property and especially Human propensity adjectives from which names were derived grew during the period under study. This indicates a tendency to give names related to features of human character and positive external characteristics. By the end of the 20th century and beginning of the 21st century the names that remained were etymologically ambiguous, had become popular before and were not analyzable anymore. Some of them belonged to literature or culture. The meaning of a name is not the main factor in naming a child: tradition is also important, as well as the etymological ambiguity of the name.

3. The most common names came from features that reflect external and, more often, internal beauty. The features expressed in names can be considered as the parents’ wishes for their children, at least in part. Peace, beauty, mercy, simplicity, chastity (purity) are important for the Lithuanians. The importance of dignity, the color sky-blue, and later nobility and joy has been evident since the middle of the 20th century.

4. When one compares the qualities valued by the Lithuanians in the 20th and 21st centuries with the actual names derived from personal features, it seems evident that the major factor in the giving of names has been the qualities that the parents desire for their children, not the nationally valued qualities as such. On the other hand, the most popular names derived from personal features of the end of the 20th century and of the 21st century show that there is a general change of valued qualities in the Lithuanian society.

5. The names derived from personal features reflect the changes of the formation of Lithuanian names. Suffixes dominate in the 20th century, whereas since the end of the 20th century shorter names become increasingly more popular and suffixed names decrease in popularity. This can also be seen in the most common Lithuanian names. In the first half and middle of the 20th century, the suffixes *-utė*, *-utis*, *-ina*, *-ūnas*, *-ūnė* are common. Later spread the suffixes *-ija*, *-ita*, *-ida*, *-eta*, and, since the end of the 20th century, *-ėja*. These tendencies can also be seen among Lithuanian names derived from natural phenomena.

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