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THE "MYSTERIOUS" *KAZLAUSKAS*: EXPLORING LITHUANIA'S MOST FREQUENT SURNAME

K e y   w o r d s: surname frequency, Lithuanian surnames, surname loss, genetic drift

INTRODUCTION

The title of the present article constitutes a deliberate reference to the 2000 article "Tajemniczy *Lewandowski*: O etymologiach onomastycznych" [The mysterious *Lewandowski*: Onomastic etymologies] by K. Skowronek (2000), in which an attempt was made to account on historical and etymological grounds for the extremely high popularity of that seemingly unimposing surname in Poland. The surname, nevertheless, remained a mystery. In what follows, the Lithuanian surname *Kazlauskas* will be considered with a somewhat similar objective in mind. *Kazlauskas*[1] is unquestionably a Lithuanian cognate of *Kozłowski*, a fact which raises a number of questions regarding the exact nature of their mutual relationship. It has been topping surname frequency lists in Lithuania for many years now, with 13008 bearers (*Kazlauskas* 7710, *Kazlauskienė* 2232, *Kazlauskaitė* 3066) in the year 2014[2], yielding the percentage of 0.37 in the total population of Lithuania[3].

The surname in question is, beyond any doubt, of Slavic (most likely Polish) origin as are nearly two thirds of surnames in contemporary Lithuania. This alone makes it different from *Lewandowski*, whose etymology remains uncertain, despite a number of likely explanations. In K. Skowronek's (2000) article the implicit question permeating the whole discussion was: why should there be (of all the

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[1] Lithuanian surnames have different male and female forms, and the latter are traditionally divided into maritonymics that end with -*ienė* (e.g. *Kazlauskienė*) for wives, and patronymics ending with -*aitė*, -*utė*, -*iūtė*, -*ytė* (*Kazlauskaitė*) for daughters. Since 2003 it has also been legally permissible for women to use a surname form ending with -*ė*, which makes no reference to their marital status (*Kazlauskė*). Throughout the article, the male form is used in its generic sense.

[2] http://forebears.io/surnames (accessed Feb. 7, 2016).

[3] To this number one might add the 2014 data for a related name, *Kazlauskis*, with 177 bearers of the masculine form.

surnames, many of them more etymologically transparent and with better claims to high frequency historically) so many Lewandowskis in Poland? In the present study an analogous question will be asked. Why are there so many Kazlauskases in Lithuania?

However, this simple question will be broken down into three sub-questions to make it more operational and to render the attempted answers more precise:

— The general frequency question. Why should there at all be surnames whose frequencies make them stand out so markedly from the rest? More accurately, why should the distribution of surname frequencies plotted on a chart resemble so much an exponential distribution with a very long "tail" on the side of the low frequencies (cf. Skowronek, 2001, p. 82)?

— The question of the Slavic form. Given the fact that Lithuania is a Baltic country where a Baltic language is spoken as the state language, why is the most common surname in today's Lithuania of Polish (i.e. Slavic) and not of Lithuanian (i.e. Baltic) origin?

— The question of the etymological meaning. What made that particular surname, considering its appellative meaning, so popular?

KOZŁOWSKI/KAZLAUSKAS IN LITHUANIA — PAST AND PRESENT

An analysis of the attestations of the surname *Kozłowski* — in this form — in Lithuania reveals their considerable number. One of the earliest examples is Grand Duke Švitrigaila's chancellor, Fedko Kozłowski 1445–1446 (cf. Boniecki, 1887, p. X). In the guild documents from the city of Vilnius in the years 1495–1759 (cf. Łowmiański et al., 2006, p. 228) the name *Kozłowski* appears several times, refer-ring to eight individuals identifiable by their full names: Jan the shoemaker (1598), Jan the salt merchant (1666), Jakub the shoemaker (1595, 1598), Jerzy the servant (1666), Piotr the milliner (1666), Poskrobysz Piotr the milliner (1666), Stanisław the salt merchant (1648), and Walenty the haberdasher (1669).

An analysis of the registers of hearth tax (Pol. *podymne*) for the year 1690 in Lithuania yields several attestations of the surname *Kozłowski* and certain simi-lar surnames, whose inclusion seems justified insofar as surnames were not fully stabilized at the time and a person might go by a number of name variants even in the same document. The highest number of attestations is found in the Vilnius Voyvodeship (cf. Rachuba (oprac.), 1989, *passim*):

— Adam *Kozłowski* in the village of Jurgiszki (Jurgiškės) in powiat wiłkomierski (Ukmergė County);

— Franciszek *Kozłowski* in the village of Świła in the parish of Hoduciszki (Adutiškis);

— Jan *Kozłowski* and Matiasz *Kozłowski* in Vilnius "od Ostrej Bramy idąc na przedmieście" ['from the Gate of Dawn going to the suburb'];

— Piotr *Kozłowski* in Vilnius "za Bramą Wileńską" ['behind the Vilnius Gate'];

— "Dom *Kozłowskiego* ptasznika […] pominąwszy kościół ś. Nikodema na Rosę" [the house of Kozłowski the falconer ... past St Nikodem's church towards Rosa'[4]] in Vilnius;

— "Dom *Kozłowskiego* bednarza, sam mieszka, jeden" ['the house of Kozłowski the cooper, he lives alone'] in Sobacz/Subacz Street[5], Vilnius;

— Kazimierz *Kozłowski* in the village of Januszkowszczyzna in the parish of Wołożyn[6] and Pierszaje[7].

In the Vilnius Voivodeship there were also a number of occurrences of the surname *Kozłowicz* in the village of Miżany (Lith. Miežionys) and of Mieszkuciszki, both in Oszmiana (Lith. Ašmena) County. The surname *Koziołł* — with the geminate probably reflecting the so-called 'dark *l*' [ł] characteristic of the Northern Kresy dialect of Polish — was recorded in Skoduciszki (Ukmergė County). Finally, several occurrences of the compound family name *Kozieł Poklewski* were found in various villages of Vilnius County and Oszmiana County, with the likely family nest in Kozłowszczyzna Poklewo (Poklewie) in the parish of Olszany (Holszany), Oszmiana County[8].

The only attestation of the name *Kozłowski* in the 1690 registers of hearth tax in Navahrudak Voivodeship concerned "Michał Kozłowski, pleban repleński" — the vicar of a village of Repla[9] in Vawkavysk[10] County (Rachuba, Lulewicz (oprac.), 2002).

In the same year, in the Trakai Voivodeship there was Daniel Kozłowski in Worłowo in Kaunas County (Lulewicz (oprac.), 2000, p. 144), and in the Duchy of Samogitia there lived a Piotr Kozłowski close to Ryngowiany (Ringuvėnai) near Šiauliai (Błaszczyk (oprac.), 2009, p. 101).

Rachuba (oprac., 2001) also noted several occurences of this surname in the 17th century: "Pozwolenie dla urodzonej Jerzynej Kozłówny Jawgidowej" (Cracow 1657), "Jerzemu Kozłowskiemu, tow. wojskowemu włók 6 w Wołczyłowiczach, w pow. lidzkim" (Warsaw 1660), "Janowi z Kozłowa Kozłowskiemu..." (Warsaw 1661).

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[4] A district of Vilnius, Lith. Rasų seniūnija.

[5] So in two different copies; today's Lith. name is Subačiaus gatvė (Pol. ulica Subocz).

[6] Валожын in today's Belarus.

[7] Пяршаі in today's Belarus.

[8] Today Гальшаны, Ашмянскі раён, Belarus.

[9] Рэпля in today's Belarus.

[10] Ваўкавыск in today's Belarus.

Maciejauskienė (2010), who analysed about 6 thousand historical anthroponyms in the 17th-, 18th- and 19th-century books of marriage registration in the parish of Gruzdžiai in Šiauliai County (northern Lithuania), found a *Petrus Kozłowski* and a *Teressia Kozłowska* in the 18th century, as well as a *Wincenty Kozłowski* in the 19th century. Interestingly, 18th-century Gruzdžiai was a locality where the structure of surnames, in comparison with other Lithuanian parishes of the time, was "rather Lithuanian" (*gana lietuviška*). Only some 30 per cent of surnames were morphologically Slavic; of those, the surnames with the Polish features seem — for the most part — Polish rather than Polonised Lithuanian: *Baranowski*, *Bielinski*, *Chmielewski*, *Bukowski*, *Tomaszewski*, *Zapolski*, *Żukowski*, though there are exceptions with evidently Lithuanian etymology (*Grużewski*, *Purwiński*). Most surnames, however, are both etymologically and morphologically recognisable as Lithuanian: *Adomaytis*, *Grigaytis*, *Stasiułaytys*, *Masiulis*, *Romutis*, *Wayciulis*, *Balczunas*, *Simuytis*, to name just a few. Incidentally, Maciejauskienė (1991, p. 205) considers the name *Kazlauskas* to be Polish.

The Polish Genealogical Society database contains nearly 1.5 thousand entries for the surname *Kozłowski*/*-a/Kozławski*/*-a* from Lithuania. The earliest ones, from the 1730s, come from Ławaryszki (Lith. Lavoriškės), and the most recent one (1934) — from Niemenczyn (Nemenčinė). The parishes with a mention of a *Kozłowski*/*-a*, listed in the decreasing order of the number of records, are the following: Korkożyszki (Lith. Karkažiškė) — 403 records, Bujwidze (Buivydžiai) — 285 records, Niemenczyn (Nemenčinė) — 216, Wilno (Vilnius) — 129, Wilno — Nowa Wilejka (Vilnius — Naujoji Vilnia) — 107, Giedrojcie (Giedraičiai) — 105, Dubinki (Dubingiai) — 87, Ławaryszki (Lavoriškės) — 79, Rukojnie (Rukainiai) — 26, Muśniki (Musninkai) — 18, Miedniki/Miedniki Królewskie (Medininkai) — 8, Dobejki gm. Onikszty (Debeikiai) — 8, Daugieliszki Nowe (Naujasis Daugėliškis) — 6, Kiernów (Kernavė) — 4, Wędziagoła (Vandžiogala) — 4, Bogusławiszki gm. Szyrwinty (Bagaslaviškis) — 2, Kielmy (Kelmė) — 1, Kowno (Kaunas) — 1. Overall, over 70 per cent of these records come from localities situated in today's Vilnius County (Lith. *Vilniaus apskritis*, Pol. *okręg wileński*), approximately coextensive with Wileńszczyzna (Vilnius Region), which in the interwar period constituted part of the Second Polish Republic.

The frequency of the surname *Kozłowski*/*-a* in Lithuania at the turn of the 20th century was quite high. In 1914 in Vilnius alone there were 25 inhabitants named *Козловский* or *Козловская*[11]. Also, interwar attestations of the name *Kozłowski* are extremely numerous[12], in the build-up to its contemporary popularity. In the resi-

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[11] Календарь вся Вильна 1914, p. 143–144, http://kresy.genealodzy.pl/gub_wil_87/wilno_1914.html (accessed Feb. 4, 2016).

[12] http://kresy.genealodzy.pl/zbior/pdf/spis_gosp_1928_38_wilenskie.pdf (accessed Feb. 4, 2016).

dential section of the 2003 Vilnius telephone directory, there are 152 men named *Kazlauskas* and 2 — *Kazlauskis*, as well as 170 women named *Kazlauskienė* and 45 — *Kazlauskaitė.* Apart from that, there are Polish or Russified forms: 5 men bear the name of *Kozlovski*, 53 — *Kozlovskij*, 18 — *Kozlovskis*; 10 women are named *Kozlovska*, 95 — *Kozlovskaja*, 6 — *Kozlovskienė*, 1 — *Kozlovskaitė.* Interestingly, the form of the surname (Lithuanised *Kazlauskas* versus Polish/Russified Polish *Kozlovski*/*Kozlovskij*) appears to match the given name of the surname bearer. For example the first names of women named *Kazlauskienė*, *Kazlauskaitė* are typically Lithuanian, such as *Audronė*, *Birutė*, *Daiva*, *Nijolė* or *Ona*, while the women named *Kozlovska*(*ja*) are more likely to bear such (Lithuanised Polish) names as *Bronislava*, *Vladislava*, *Vanda* or *Ana*. Jointly, the form of the full name to a large degree reflects ethnicity.

THE GENERAL FREQUENCY QUESTION

Taken from a strictly statistical point of view, surnames are subject to a number of patterns. As Skowronek 2001 aptly pointed out, as a system (onomasticon) they can be proven to follow Zipf's law. This means that the frequency of a surname is in inverse proportion to its rank in the frequency table. To put it differently, only a few surnames have a very high number of bearers; conversely, myriads of surnames have merely one or two bearers each. This law, first applied to frequency distributions of words in the corpora of natural languages, seems equally well borne out by evidence with regard to surnames.

Zipf's law is nevertheless only one aspect that characterizes the statistical distribution of surnames. Another one is the so-called genetic drift. A good step-by-step explanation of this phenomenon was offered by B. Sykes:

> We are in the imaginary Yorkshire village of Flockthwaite, where live eight couples. Their newly acquired names are Bubblefroth, Winkleweed, Redbelly, Oakenthigh, Jackersnipe, Silverspoon, Barraclough and Sykes. Each has two children. Purely by chance the Bubblefroths and Winkleweeds have two daughters each. That's the end for these two names. The Redbellys, Oakenthighs, Jackersnipes and Silverspoons each have a boy and a girl. But the Barracloughs and the Sykeses each have two boys. In a single generation two surnames have daughtered out. Now there is one male each of Redbelly, Oakenthigh, Jackersnipe and Silverspoon but two Barraclough boys and two Sykes lads. They all marry and have two children each. This time the Redbellys and Oakenthighs have two boys, the Jackersnipes and Silverspoons have two girls and the Barracloughs and Sykeses all have a boy and a girl. No more Jackersnipes and Silverspoons. In just two generations the population of Flockthwaite still has only eight couples but we have already lost four surnames. The Redbellys, Oakenthighs, Barracloughs and Sykeses are still battling it out. Pretty soon they will disappear one by one as the daughter out until there are only two surnames left. They will vie with each other for a few more generations until one vanishes and everyone ends up with the same surname. For a small village the size of Flockthwaite, with

only eight couples and a static population, this process takes, on average, eight generations to get down from the original eight surnames to just one (2003, pp. 238–239).

Even though Sykes does not explicitly mention it, genetic drift is evidently the chief reason why there are today as many as a hundred thousand different surnames in Japan and only about four thousand in China (with the most frequent one hundred surnames covering over 85% of the Chinese population). This difference is even more striking when one takes into account the disparity in the number of inhabitants of each state respectively. The reason for this difference is that while surnames are a relatively novel phenomenon in Japan — mostly acquired in the 19th century — China, by contrast, has probably the longest history in the world of obligatory surnames for all the citizens, dating back approximately to the times of Christ. Enough time for the lucky survivors to thrive, at the expense of a plethora of other unlucky surnames that have died out.

Needless to say, the above-mentioned long "tail" on the side of the low frequencies in the chart comprises moribund surnames. Sooner or later they are bound to "daughter out", in Sykes's wording, thus strengthening the stock of the (numerically) strongest ones. This phenomenon was discovered as early as the 19th century by two British researchers, Francis Galton and Henry William Watson, who found that the chance of a surname's survival decreases as successive generations elapse (cf. Galton and Watson, 1875). It is known today that after S generations, roughly 1/S of the original surnames will remain (cf. Shnerb et al., 2013). It seems decided merely by chance which surnames will be the lucky winners and which will lose the surname lottery (for a slight correction of this claim, irrelevant for the present discussion, see Walkowiak, 2016).

THE QUESTION OF THE SLAVIC FORM

In the present author's opinion, and not only in hers, personal names (including surnames) are much more than mere labels. As Hanks and Hodges (2006, p. vii) argue

> A person's given name is a badge of identity […] The names that people bear are determined in large part by the culture that they belong to. A woman called *Niamh* can be presumed to be Irish; at the very least, her parents, in choosing this name for her, were announcing some sort of cultural identification with Ireland and Irish culture. Even the commonest names are to some extent culture-specific in form. *John* is one of the commonest first names in Europe, but it is still a reasonable guess that a man called *John* is English-speaking. If he is German, we expect him to be called *Johann* or *Hans*: the choice of the form *John* for a German is unusual and suggestive of Anglophilia.

Clearly, it appears only natural that also one's surname should match one's ethnicity or nationality. The failure to do so might result in some sort of cognitive dissonance. This conviction was probably in the background of many campaigns

of encouraged or all-encompassing administrative name-changing, known from the post-Herderian history of numerous European states. Lithuania in the 1930s was no exception:

> Surnames were the most problematic [...] Often in a given family group some would have a Lithuanian, others a Polonized or Slavicized surname […]. There was a desire to restore the original forms of these altered Lithuanian surnames. To this end [the linguists] accurately recorded the surnames as used by the people and created an index (about 260,000 entries) for them. Preparations were made to publish a dictionary of original Lithuanian surnames, but time ran out. The onset of World War II and the occupation of Lithuania interrupted the work. (Zinkevičius, 1998, pp. 308–309)

Despite the campaigns similar to the one mentioned by Zinkevičius, there are paradoxical facts that show how arbitrary names can be. Nearly all the ten highest-frequency surnames in Slovakia are not only of Hungarian origin but also Hungarian in form, with the surname *Horváth* ('Croat') topping the list, and *Tóth* (meaning 'Slav, Slovak' in Hungarian) ranking fourth. *Horvat*, the commonest Croatian name, is also the second most common surname in Slovenia, with *Turk* ('Turk') ranking twelfth on the Slovenian list. In Moldova the most common surname is *Rusu* ('Russian'), with *Sîrbu* 'Serb' ranking seventh. The second most common Greek surname is Βλάχος 'Vlach'. In Hungary *Horváth* ('Croat') ranks second, *Tóth* ('Slav, Slovak') — fourth, *Németh* ('German') — ninth. *Němec* ('German') ranks tenth in the Czech Republic. One of the best known Czech writers linked with the Czech national revival was called *Němcová*, while the surname of one of the most famous Polish Romantic poets was *Słowacki* ('from Slovakia').

It is usually assumed in Lithuanian onomastic literature that the surname *Kazlauskas* was frequently a translation of the Lithuanian surname *Ožys*, motivated by the appellative *ožys* meaning 'billy-goat' (cf. e.g. Zinkevičius, 2010, p. 70 and 2012, p. 28). This does not imply that there are no Ožyses in today's Lithuania. The onomastic research done both before and after WWII (cf. LPŽ II, p. 357) revealed 14 families by the surname *Ožys*: five in Taujėnai (District Municipality of Ukmergė), four in Kupiškis, two in Vabalninkas (District Municipality of Biržai), as well as one family in each of the following: Ukmergė, Viešintos (District Municipality of Anykščiai) and Žemaitkiemis (District Municipality of Ukmergė). It would seem from these data that the family nest of the bearers of the surname *Ožys* (assuming its mono- rather than polygenesis) might have been the area of Ukmergė in central Lithuania. Also, *oželis*, a diminutive of *ožys*, gave rise to the primary surname *Oželis*, noted in LPŽ as borne by 62 families. According to LPŽ, secondary surnames motivated by the appellatives *ožys* or *oželis* are: *Oželaitis*, *Oželas*, *Oželenis*, *Oževičius*, *Oženas*, *Ožiūnas*, and some more are probably Slavicised forms with the same Lithuanian root: *Ožalinskas*, *Oželskas*, *Ožinskas*.

The existence in Lithuanian and Polish of many pairs of cognate surnames makes translation an enticing hypothesis:

> One is struck by the correspondence between many surnames of Polish origin and identical, but Lithuanized ones used in Lithuania, e.g. *Dmuchowski* — *Dmukauskas*. This fact suggests that both in this [i.e. Suwałki and Augustów — J. W.] region of Poland and in Lithuania the local population, even if it could not speak Polish, had Polish surnames 'bestowed' on it — all the more so because we have documented examples of such activities (Zinkevičius, 2010, p. 79).

Zinkevičius gives a number of such pairs (2008, pp. 53–55). Nevertheless, even though one family by the name of *Ožỹs-Kazlaũskas* in Svėdasai (District Municipality of Anykščiai), and one *Oželis-Kazlaũskas* family in Alanta (District Municipality of Molėtai) were registered in LPŽ, in view of the previous data the hypothesis of the surname *Kozłowski* being a translation of *Ožỹs* or *Oželis* would require specific documentary evidence to be proven or falsified. It is worth bearing in mind that the 1690 hearth tax registers contain a plethora of morphologically[13] polonised surnames of appellative Lithuanian origin from the same period which were left untranslated. Instances include *Kuprel* (< *Kuprẽlis*, *Kuprỹs*, cf. Lith. *kùpris*, *kuprỹs*, *kùprius* 'a hunchback', Pol. *garbus*), *Koreywo* (< *Karéiva*, *Kareivà*, cf. Lith. *karéiva* 'soldier', Pol. *żołnierz*), or *Kirkiło* (< *Kirkilà*, *Kirkylà*, *Kìrkilas*, cf. Lith. *kir̃kilas* 'shouter, bawler', Pol. *krzykacz*), to mention just a few. Also, the eighteenth-century data from the parish of Gruzdžiai, in which the surname *Kozłowski* remains in its intact Polish form vis-à-vis a plethora of surnames in Lithuanian form, diminish the viability of the hypothesis that this particular surname emerged as a massive and almost ubiquitous translation of *Ožỹs*.

THE QUESTION OF ETYMOLOGICAL MEANING

It might be surprising that a humble billy-goat (*kozioł*) might provide semantic motivation for the commonest Lithuanian surname and for one of the commonest Polish ones. Still, at closer inspection this does not seem anything out of the ordinary. In Biblical tradition a billy-goat was a symbol of sacrifice, but also of Satan, sin and lasciviousness. A scape-goat had symbolic meaning for a community whose sins it embodied (Kopaliński, 1985, p. 532). Among the oldest Polish surnames, about forty were motivated by the name of that domestic animal (cf. Kowalik-Kaleta et al., 2007, pp. 75–76). One of them is the name *Kozieł* (*Kozioł*), first attested 1385 and immortalized in an epigram[14] by Jan Kochanowski, one of the greatest Polish poets:

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[13] Considering the fact that Lithuanian spelling stabilized decidedly later, it has been deemed best not to refer to orthographic Polonization at this point.

[14] First published 1584.

O Koźle

Kozieł, kto go zna, piwszy do północy,
Nie mógł do domu trafić o swej mocy;
Ujźrzawszy kogoś: "Słuchaj, panie młody,
Proszę cię, nie wiesz ty mojej gospody?"
A ten: "Niech cię znam, tedy się dowiewa".
"Jam — pry — jest Kozieł". "Idźże spać do chlewa!"

About Kozieł

Kozieł, whoever knows him, had been drinking till midnight
and couldn't find his way home by himself;
Seeing someone [he asked]: "I say, young man,
If you please, don't you know by chance where I'm living?"
Came the reply: "If I know you by name, I'll find out".
Quoth he: "I'm Kozieł [a billy-goat]". "Go sleep in a sty!"[15]

Several Old Polish personal names motivated by the appellative *kozieł* have been included in SEMot 1 (p. 125). Some are primary, i.e. equal to the appellatives that motivated them (*Kozieł*, *Kozioł*, *Koziełek*, *Kozłek*, *Koziełk*, *Koziołek*, *Kozielec*, *Koźlak*, *Koźlarz*, *Koźlec*, *Koźlę*, *Koźlik*). Others are secondary, derived from appellatives (*Kozło*, *Koźlatycz*, *Koźlarogi*, *Kozieł Biały*) or constituting patronymic and maritonymic forms (*Koziełkowic*, *Koziołowic*, *Kozłow*, *Kozłowa*, *Kozłowic*(*z*), *Koźlik*(*owa*)).

As the data in AntrPol indicate, as early as the years 1501–1800 the surname *Kozłowski* was represented in practically all major regions of pre-war or of contemporary Poland: Greater Poland (Wielkopolska), Lesser Poland (Małopolska), Masovia (Mazowsze), Silesia (Śląsk), Ermland (Warmia) and Northeastern Borderlands[16] (Kresy Północno-Wschodnie). Its earliest 16th-century attestation comes from 1508 (AntrPol, p. 293). In the above-mentioned period, there were well over a hundred separate surname forms and variants unquestionably motivated by the appellatives *koza* 'goat', *kózka* 'little goat', *kozieł*/*kozioł* 'billy-goat' or by related common nouns (cf. AntrPol, pp. 292–293).

The oldest attestations of the surname *Kozłowski* in Poland found in the database of the Polish Genealogical Society[17] come from the year 1600 (the parish of Świętomarz in Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), of *Koziel* — from 1595 (the parish

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[15] Translation by the present author.

[16] The term *Borderlands*, sometimes also called *Kresy* in English, refers to the eastern lands that in the interwar period belonged to the Second Polish Republic, or before 1772 — to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Now their northern part belongs to Lithuania and Belarus, and their southern part — to Ukraine.

[17] http://geneteka.genealodzy.pl/index.php?lang=eng (accessed Jan. 4, 2016). The database, as of Jan. 2016, contains over 17.5 million entries coming from indexed parish records of births, marriages and deaths. Nearly 160 thousand of these come from the archives of Lithuania.

of Tuszyn, Łódź Voivodeship), of *Kozieł* — 1594 (Płock), of *Kozioł* — 1600 (Końskie, Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship). *Kozłowski* was a popular surname, attested for instance in Ermland 1684, 1694 (cf. Naruszewicz-Duchlińska, 2007, p. 150). As of January 2016, the joint number of individual entries of the surname *Kozłowski/-a* indexed in the database exceeds 62 thousand. A wealth of historical and genealogical information is also contained on websites devoted to the Kozłowski families[18].

The primary surname *Kozieł* has more than 16 thousand bearers in contemporary Poland, and *Kozioł* — over 25 thousand, whereas the secondary *Kozłowski*, ranking 12th in 2015[19], is borne by nearly 77 thousand Poles. All in all, there are about a hundred contemporary Polish surnames motivated directly or indirectly by the appellatives *kozioł/kozieł* 'billy-goat' and *koza* '(she-)goat', or by their derivatives. However, the direct motivation for the surname *Kozłowski* is *Kozłów* or *Kozłowo*. These are placenames derived from the names of their owners (and only those — from the same-sounding appellatives such as *kozieł*). It must be borne in mind, though, that treating *-ski*-ending surnames as typical of landed gentry is an oversimplification because peasants used to bear such names too. SG lists 14 villages and settlements going by the name of *Kozłów* and 17 — *Kozłowo*. Today there are at least ten villages named *Kozłowo* and twelve named *Kozłów*, scattered relatively evenly all over Poland, rather similarly to the bearers of the surname *Kozłowski*. This fact, coupled with the semantic motivation for the name, seems to support the hypothesis of the polygenetic character of this surname, whose evolutionary success both in Lithuania and Poland was so impressive.

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SUMMARY

THE "MYSTERIOUS" *KAZLAUSKAS*: EXPLORING LITHUANIA'S MOST FREQUENT SURNAME

The article presents the most frequent surname in Lithuania — *Kazlauskas*. Referring to the article "Mysterious Lewandowski" by K. Skowronek (2000), an attempt has been made to account for this frequency in three various ways. First, the principles behind the quantitative structure of anthroponomasticons (Zipf's law) and the loss of surnames (genetic drift) are discussed. Then the Slavic origin of the surname under consideration has been highlighted as a typical trait of the majority of surnames in Lithuania. In connection with this fact, it has been stressed that caution must be exercised in proposing a thesis on its origin as a translation from Lithuanian on a mass scale, since this thesis requires plentiful empirical evidence. Finally, the etymology of the name is analyzed. Morphologically it is a typical surname derived from a toponym. This supposition is additionally supported by the existence in Poland of numerous localities called *Kozłów*, *Kozłowo* or similar name; these in turn are most likely to have been derived from appellative-based personal names of their owners or inhabitants, such as *Kozieł*.