AURELIA MERLAN (ed.), *Romanian in Migration Contexts*, in Edunt Andreas Dufter, Bernhard Teuber, *Orbis Romanicvs: Studia philologica Monacensia*, vol. 16, 2024, 336 p.

The volume entitled *Romanian in Migration Contexts* contains contributions that emerged from the international workshop on the topic of "Rumänisch im Migrationskontext", organized at the Institute of Romance Philology in 2020, at the Ludwig-Maximilian-University (Munich). It contains a collection of 11 chapters/extended articles, accompanied by the Preface and the List of authors and it focuses on the migration phenomenon in different contexts. All authors are known for their research and come from a variety of countries across the globe: Canada, Romania, Austria, France, Germany, etc.

The chapters are organised under four sections of different sizes. In the first two parts, there are two contributions that contain general aspects about migration and its consequences, and methods of migration research (i.e. linguistic biographies). In the last two parts of the volume, including 9 articles, various migratory contexts are presented (in Spain, Belgium, Canada, Italy, France, Germany, Portugal and Slovenia).

The first section, *Scenarios of migration*, includes the article of Georg Kremnitz named "La migration en tant que phénomène (souvent) de longue durée". It is a solid survey on the migration process, namely on cyclical (long-term) migration. The author begins through offering multiple and interesting examples of different isolated families and larger groups. Equally interesting is the description made in the last part of the article regarding the communication abilities of migrants and the socials consequences of this form of migration.

In the second section of the volume, *Methods of migration research*, it was included the article "*Homo migrans* en tant qu'*Homo narrans*, ou la *migraphie* en tant que récit de vie", written by Florin-Teodor Olariu. It is an in-depth analysis of one of the methods of migration research, i.e. the linguistic biographies. In his analysis, the author proposed the term *migraphy* for the migrant autobiographical narrative genre. This term expresses "le lien indissoluble, voire constitutif, entre l'expérience de la migration, telle qu'elle est vécue au niveau individuel, et sa valorisation (éventuellement sa capitalisation) au niveau social sous forme narrative" (p. 41).

The third section, *Romanian in migration contexts within Europe*, is made up of 7 chapters/articles that cover several empirical studies of Romanian in different migratory scenarios. The focus was mainly on the Romanian first and second generation of migrants, and on the analysis made from a sociolinguistic point of view.

The article "Appunti sul romeno e sull'italiano parlato della seconda generazione di migranti romeni in Italia" (Alexandru-Laurențiu Cohal) deals with the most recurrent phenomena of linguistic contact (e.g. the passive constructions with the auxiliary *a veni* "come" and *a rămâne* "remain" vs *a fi* "to be") that are present in the spoken language of four second-generation Romanian migrants in Italy. It also analyses linguistic behaviour, code-switching and calques by providing interesting examples resulting from the Italian (the majority language) and Romanian (the minority language) relationship.

In the article "Les Roumains de France: leur langue maternelle et leur pratique religieuse" (Felicia Dumas) it is displayed the role of religion in the use of Romanian by followers of the Orthodox faith in the host countries, i.e. France. The author displays an impressive mastery of the subject and shows remarkable clarity in expressing her own ideas on the topic.

In "Translanguaging Phenomena in the Communication of Romanian Children in Slovenia" (Ioana Jieanu), the author debates the phenomenon of *translanguaging* in oral communication of bilingual children living in Slovenia and born in families of Romanian immigrants. The author starts from mainstream literature on translanguaging, focusing on the manifestation of it, such as codeswitching, nonce borrowing, semantic calques and interference in word worder. The study presents

multiple concrete examples of the phenomena under discussion, and the analysis of this subject can open new perspectives in the field of discursive practices of migrant population.

The following article, "De la langue de la mère à la langue héritée: comment ne pas en perdre son roumain? Aspects sociolinguistiques et grammaticaux de la transmission du roumain langue d'héritage" (Timea Kádas Pickel, Elena Soare), provides information about the linguistic competence of migrants in their heritage language, from a sociolinguistic and grammatical point of view. It represents a case study in heritage languages, precisely referring to the linguistic policies adopted by a multilingual family from France that use Romanian as a heritage language. There are investigated a lot of valuable information regarding different grammatical aspects, i.e. gentive marking, differential object marking, etc.

The article "El rumano de los inmigrantes de segunda generación en Alemania entre conservadurismo e innovación" (Aurelia Merlan) presents a very detailed study and a complex analysis (regarding phonological, morphosyntactic, semantic and lexical domains) of the Romanian spoken by second-generation migrants in Germany. The author compares the Romanian spoken inside Romanian and that spoken in other host countries, and uses multiple methods, i.e. interviews, questionnaire and data collected through participatory observation in order to obtain the necessary data for the analysis.

An interesting study concerning contact language through internet communication is represented by "Contactos extraterritoriales recientes entre el rumano y otras lenguas románicas. Estudio de la comunicación por Internet" (Iulia Nica). This study covers the extraterritorial contacts between Romanian and Italy, France, Spain and Portugal, using online communication as corpus. At the beginning of the article, the author presents the main bibliography and the methodological considerations regarding the subject under examination. Afterwards, she offers a concise analysis of a selection of data resulting from contact language.

In the last article of this section, "Politiques linguistiques familiales: la transmission de la langue roumaine en contexte migratoire" (Danielle Omer), there are examined the strategies adopted by migrants from Romania and the Republic of Moldova living in a French-speaking context in order to transmit their language, i.e. Romanian, to their children. A noteworthy aspect revealed in this article is related to the description of the difficulties encountered in the process of transmitting language in a migration context.

The forth section, Romanian in migration contexts outside Europe, includes two articles: "Ten Years Later: Reflections on the Dynamics between Two Languages in Romanian Adult Migrants in Toronto" (Mirela Cherciov) and "Digital Pluriliteracies of Moldovans in Montréal" (Anna-Christine Weirich). In the first article, it is studied the impact of sociolinguistic factors on L1 attrition in Romanian migrants living in Toronto, Canada. It is interesting to discover the process used by the author to obtain the results: through comparison between the results and the information gathered now, in the present study, and the ones from ten years ago, obtained in a similar study. The author interviewed the same persons in both studies and pointed out how "the increasing mobility and communication afforded by technology and affordable travel opportunities" (p. 273) influenced language attrition. Interestingly, the conclusion drawn in this article is similar with the one from the previous study, from ten years ago. Also, a very useful aspect of this study is the fact that it brings forward potential research directions on the subject. In the second article of this section there are discussed the choice of language(s), linguistic forms and alphabets used by multilingual migrants from Moldovans in communication, as the author discusses "mediational repertoires as a theoretical and methodological approach to studying multilingual digital practices" (p. 297).

The present study represents a comprehensive and a multidisciplinary survey on a very interesting linguistic phenomenon, namely migration. The importance of this contribution results from its twofold perspective: on the one hand, it highlights the intergenerational transmission of Romanian around migrants living in different countries of the world (within and outside Europe) and, on the other hand, the book brings into systematic discussion specific aspects of migration and various methods of migration research. Also, this book is well organized, the perspective of the authors is cross-linguistic, and the reader has access to a various number of examples and references. To sum up, the volume reviewed represents a useful tool for any linguist working on the effects of language contact between Romanian and Romance, Germanic and Slavic languages, multilingualism, heritage languages, or linguistic biography.

Adnana Boioc Apintei "Iorgu Iordan – Alexandru Rosetti" Institute of Linguistics, Romanian Academy

RACHEL SUTTON-SPENCE, FERNANDA DE ARAÚJO, *Creative sign language*, la a de gramaCambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2023, 102 p.

Let words become pictures (Peter Cook, in Natham Lemer, Feigel 2009, 00:08:58)

Rachel Sutton-Spence and Fernarda de Araújo's book is a well-elaborated short introduction on the creative use of Brazilian sign language (*libras*). Continuing and complementing previous similar research (Rocha 2008, Mourão 2016, Sutton-Spence et al. 2017, Sutton-Spence 2021), the authors analyze a corpus totaling 46 poems, stories and jokes from the Brazilian deaf community, recorded after 2010. The aim of the work is, on the one hand, to describe the ways in which *libras* can be used in complex literary contexts (storytelling, poetry, artistic performance), on the other hand, to signal the constitution of a new genre – sign language literature.

The paper consists of four chapters, preceded by an *Introduction* in which the mother-tongue status of Brazilian Sign Language, acquired in 2002, is clearly mentioned and Deaf literature is defined as an art form created through sign language. The research ends with the *Conclusion* section, in which the main ideas discussed are restated, highlighting the relevance of such a study.

In Chapter 1, *History and Social Context of Sign Language Literature* (pp. 3–15), the authors begin with an overview of the origins of the first short narratives with an aesthetic purpose rendered in sign language – the INES school, where deaf and deafblind children from all over Brazil were educated. The decision of the Milan Congress (1880)¹ affected the development of the new art form, but did not eradicate it. Although sign language was banned and oral communication imposed, the signs continued to exist in the deaf community, and at the end of the 20th century, their inventory increased with the recognition of this nonverbal language by law. The authors point out that the simple form of the first stories has evolved with technology. Today, platforms such as YouTube provide the perfect environment for the development of sign language literature, which is exclusively transmitted through visual means. Sutton-Spence and Araújo note that, in 2020, because of the pandemic, the number of creative products has increased, as people, forced to self-isolate, have used online as a medium to convey their feelings. In addition, easy access to information has enabled a kind of mediated linguistic contact between members of different communities, who have been able to discover new formats a message can take. Thus, the *libras* and the literature of the Brazilian deaf community were influenced by American sign language.

In the second chapter, Aesthetics of Creative Sign Language (pp. 15–50), it is established that unlike spoken languages, in sign language, the emphasis in any literary genre will fall on the visual imagery created for the purpose of arousing the emotions in the audience. Literary texts in libras will take the form of performances and video recordings, edited or unedited, in which, in addition to linguistic signs, classifiers are often used for their strong iconic character. While a linguistic sign will denote a reality without any necessarily resemblance to it, a classifier will render a reality based precisely on resemblance (Figure 1). Signs and classifiers acquire stylistic value in a given context through obvious parallelism/regularity (constant repetition) or obvious irregularity (an apparent mistake, intended to emphasize an idea or arouse an emotion – this could be a change in the shape of the hand or the place of articulation). An example where both techniques are actualized is the children's story Deaf Cow in Heels. The repetition of the same shape of the hand (the shape of the letter 'Y') is noticeable, but also the irregularity – the greeting sign is adapted to be rendered in the same shape in order to create a comic effect (Figure 2). Besides the repetition with stylistic value and obvious irregularity, the two authors also mention the metaphorical use of the sign language

¹ At the Milan Congress, sign languages were officially declared an inferior language in comparison to the spoken ones. One of the main consequences was a ban on the use of sign language and the impositioan of oral methods to teach the deaf how to speak.

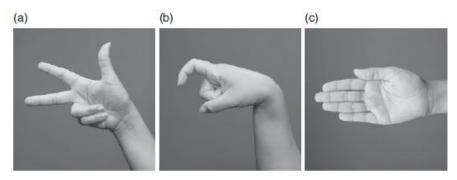


Figure 1. Whole entity classifier handscapes to show a bicycle in American Sign Language (a), Libras (b), and British Sign Language (c)

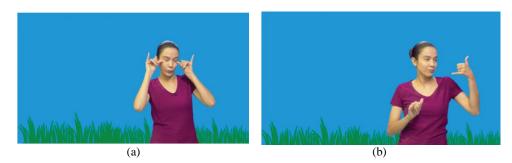


Figure 2. The deaf cow in heels, interpreted by Mariana Teles: (a) description of the cow, (b) the cow talking on the phone

In conveying the artistic message, the use of space and rhythm will be important. The authors note that, in contrast to ordinary communication, literary language tends to use as little space as possible, one of the central reasons being to concentrate the information conveyed. As for the rhythm, this depends on the emotion that is intended to be aroused in the audience. Gestures and mimicry are also relevant, which brings deaf literature closer to drama. R. Sutton-Spence and Fernanda Araújo, however, dispute this idea, invoking the theory proposed by Klima and Bellugi (1979: 140) that the art of signs is a distinct one, based both on the internal poetic structure (the choice of signs in the elaboration of the message, taking into account the possibility of altering the prototypical form, as exemplified above – Figure 3) and on the external poetic structure (the choice of how the signs will be articulated in front of the audience). It is clear that the artist who interprets a text in sign language enjoys greater freedom than an actor who has to bring a character to life according to a script.

The discussion on the use of space is relevant because it brings to the foreground the way in which spatial metaphors are constructed (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), an aspect little discussed so far in the context of sign language. For example, in the fable *The Frog and the Calf*, performed by Nelson Pimenta, we observe how the ox looks superiorly down at the frog. The perspective guides the audience to understand which of the characters is communicating in each dialogic sequence (Figure 3). In *Where Food Comes From*, staged by Fernarda Machado, people of high social status are represented by signs articulated above those that represent poor people (Figure 4).

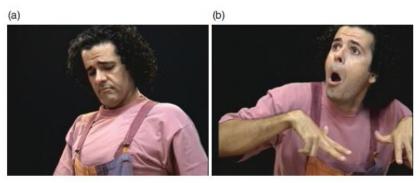


Figure 3. The frog and the calf by Nelson Pimenta

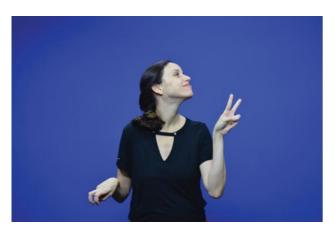


Figure 4. Where Food Comes From by Fernarda Machado

Last but not least, the costumes and props used in the performance contribute to the construction of meaning. The authors compare the narration in British Sign Language of Ben Bahan's *The Story of the Ball* from 1989 with the 2009 version in *libras*. The conclusion is that the more recent rendition is more cheerful, more dynamic, characteristics conferred by the choice of attire and the setting. However, costumes need to be chosen with care. Using *The Red Riding Hood* as an example, R. Stutton-Spence and Fernanda Araújo point out that a costume can also be confusing in a given context. The choice of a cape may be suggestive, for the character of Little Red Riding Hood, but it will be an obstacle for the audience, who should deduce when the grandmother, the wolf or the huntsman is speaking. There is no doubt that, in the contemporary context, many of the performances are videoed, sometimes using special effects that complement the means already discussed, in order to emphasize the message and emotions conveyed.

Chapter 3, Genres of Creative Sign Language (p. 50–75), contains a brief classification of sign language literary genres. Although rigorous classifications such as those by Compagnon (1999) and Bahan (2006) are also mentioned, in which form, origin, author, target audience, theme, and purpose are considered, the authors prefer a simple distinction between narrative and lyrical styles, which is more appropriate for the simplicity of sign language. Interestingly, the basis of the classification is not the script form of the texts (although there is also a written sign language – Figure 5), but the mime-gestual form. The species of narrative include the reproduction of famous texts (especially children's fairy tales), original storytelling, and self-imposed constrained narration (eg. the use of a single hand form, following a specific pattern: either the order of numbers or the order of letters in the alphabet). A famous example is Nelson Pimenta's Painter from A to Z, in which each frame captures a letter of the alphabet (Figure 6).

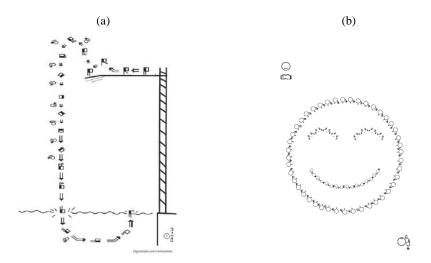


Figure 5. Script form of sign language: (a) *Swimming in the pool*, Mauricio Barretto, (b) *Community*, Kácio Lima



Figure 6. The painter from A to Z by Nelson Pimenta

Especially in the narrative text, the aesthetic category of the comic is present, which aims to emphasize the status of the deaf in society. It is realized through the imitation of people, animals; puns (Figure 7); movement (sudden jumps, for example) or by tackling taboo subjects. In this chapter, R. Stutton-Spence and Fernanda Araújo provide examples not only from the *libras*, but also from American sign language that influenced the evolution of Brazilian sign language, considering that there is a stylistic coherence, which is preserved in sign language but lost in translation. The grotesque can also be encountered through rhythm, mimicry and perspective, but it is a category that is less common in texts.



Figure 7. – *Poem* (in American Sign Language), part of *The Flying Word Project*, by Peter Cook and Kenny Lerner, in Nathan Lerner and Feigel 2009: 'I can play with my tongue'

As in spoken language, in sign language, poetry is considered the highest artistic form. It is from spoken language that the model for haiku, which has become a common genre in books, was taken. The first book of poetry in sign language was Dorothy Miles's 1976 *Gestures*, rendered using American Sign Language. It was a reference for the first DVD of poems recorded in *libras*, by Nelson Pimenta (1999). A specific poetic form mentioned by the authors is the *Garden Path Poems*. In Robert Fonseca's poem *Fooled*, the performer uses a classifier to designate a person in a great hurry to catch an airplane. The sign designating the airplane seems to suggest taking off, but at some point, the person starts talking by articulating the sign for *airplane* to his ear. It turns out that the vibration that the audience associated with the airplane was actually coming from a ringing telephone.

As a form of representation, similarly to the Beat Generation, contemporary to the era of sign language literature development, poetic performance, individually or in duet, is an important form of artistic expression. A memorable duet performance is that of Ana Luiza Maciel and Sara Amorim, *Libras Law*, on the occasion of the language recognition by law (Figure 8). The impact of a single performer would have had less of an impact, since as the authors emphasize, the idea of the importance of community is meant to be conveyed.

The last short chapter, *Themes and Content in Creative Sign Language* (p. 75–83) emphasizes that sign language literature is created by the deaf for the deaf, using sign language as a code. Thus, thematically, the authors mainly identify the problems faced by these people. For example,

discrimination is dealt with in texts such as *Así é la vida* (staged in 1993 at INES) and other texts tackle on the attempt of minorities to be accepted. There are also presented familiar scenes from their lives, showing the obstacles encountered day by day. Also, the importance of community is constantly evoked. The conclusion of this chapter is that by looking at and understanding sign language literature, we will better understand a group of people who have long been marginalised.



Figure 8. Libras Law by Anna Luiza Maciel and Sara Amorim

Thus, the work of Rachel Stutton-Spence and Fernande Araújo is the result of a research that combines linguistics, stylistics, anthropology and sociology, bringing to the attention of the specialised public, but also of the amateurs, a particularity of a language considered rudimentary: the Brasilian sign language. The authors demonstrate, without technicalities, the complexity of the communication system through examples in which language is used creatively to convey a complex message. This also testifies to the emergence of a new literature in sign language, which is already taking shape as a new research topic.

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Iulia-Andreea Anghel Faculty of Letters, University of Bucharest

ALESSANDRO DEL TOMBA, *The Tocharian Gender System. A Diachronic Study in Nominal Morphology*, Brill, Leiden/Boston, 2023, 457 p.

Alessandro Del Tomba's book constitutes a well-documented monograph concerning the morphology of the nominal system of Tocharian, with a special focus on the gender system of this language and its diachrony. Other aspects which are relevant to the Tocharian gender system are considered in order to provide a fuller and more comprehensive view on the morphology of this extinct language, attested from the 5th to the 10th century CE in the Tarim Basin in Chinese Turkestan. Del Tomba's work continues other linguists' studies concerning the Tocharian gender system (Igartua 2006, Kim 2009, Harmann 2013, Fellner 2014 among others) and reinforces his own previous studies on the nominal morphology of Tocharian (Del Tomba 2018, 2019). Despite acknowledging the similarities between the subject of his book and Hartmann's (2013) – *Das Genussystem des Tocharischen* –, Del Tomba takes the discussion further by providing new arguments in line with more recent views on the diachronic development from Proto-Indo-European (PIE) to (Proto-)Tocharian.

The study comprises five chapters and begins with an "Introduction" (Chapter 1). This first chapter clarifies both the generalities concerning the Tocharian language – placement in space and time, aspects concerning the evolution from PIE to Proto-Tocharian and the later Tocharian A (TA) and Tocharian B (TB), relevant preliminary observations about the nominal system of Tocharian with respect to gender –, followed by the aims and outline of the book. The introduction is useful especially because it provides a handy contextualisation for those who are not yet familiar with studies of this language, by explaining the major similarities and differences between TA and TB, while also clarifying the importance of both synchronic and diachronic data. Given the extensive research previously done by Hartmann (2013), the author states that he focuses on the diachronic aspects, in line with one of his main research questions: can the nominal system of Tocharian provide information for the debate concerning the early split of Tocharian from PIE (the Indo-Tocharian hypothesis)? The fifth and final chapter, "Retrospective and Conclusion", revisits the main points of the book and summarises what is new about his work, while also answering the main question – the diachronic evidence from PIE to Tocharian does not prove sufficient to support the Indo-Tocharian hypothesis.

The second chapter, "The Gender System of Tocharian. A Synchronic and Typological Overview" (p. 9–65) begins with a theoretical investigation of gender from the perspective of Canonical Gender Typology. Taking Hocket's (1958: 231) definition of *gender* as a starting point, Del Tomba clarifies some concepts such as *grammatical gender*, *agreement class*, *agreement*, *noun class*, *inflexional class*. He further stresses typological observations previously made by Corbett (2006: 8–27), Corbett & Fedden (2016: 499-517, 2018: 14-27) regarding the concepts of *canonical agreement* and *canonical morphosyntactic feature*, which are relevant to the study of Tocharian because of its problematic third gender – the *genus alternans*.

Using these typological data and theoretical views, he argues that the Tocharian *genus alternans* ought to be considered a third distinct gender, but emphasizes the fact that, for clarity, *neuter* is not the appropriate term, "because, from both a diachronic and a synchronic point of view, the neuter has disappeared" (p. 36); this does not mean that there are no traces of the PIE neuter in Tocharian, but rather that the Tocharian *genus alternans* has been reorganised and therefore is not a direct correlate of the source-category (p. 245). Consequently, the first part of this chapter is dedicated to the gender values

of Tocharian and to the status of the Tocharian genus alternans, considering that masculine and feminine are, with minor exceptions, canonical morphosyntactic features. Del Tomba also uses comparative data to make the issue of the alternating gender clearer; the comparisons drawn use Romanian and Italian (both standard and non-standard). The Romanian 'neuter' is very similar to the Tocharian genus alternans, because it is an open and productive class of nouns, which (almost) exclusively comprises inanimates and is defined by systematic agreement with the masculine in the singular and with the feminine in the plural. Considering the incongruencies between controllers and targets (characteristic of both Tocharian and Romanian), the author stresses that providing an answer to the question of the genus alternans is not only terminological: "The central problem here is not establishing whether nouns of this class are both masculine and feminine, or neither masculine nor feminine. Rather, we must establish whether we have to consider a controller gender like the Tocharian genus alternans as a real gender or not." (p. 24)

He then moves on to the gender assignment system of Tocharian, which is a formal assignment system based on phonological and morphological forms. However, exceptions are to be found, therefore contexts of agreement with a target are mandatory to disambiguate the gender of a noun, because the semantic core or the inflexional class do not always provide sufficient information. Inflexional (p. 37-45), derivational (p. 45-50), and semantic (p. 50-56) strategies are detailed as patterns which justify gender assignment. Inflexional means are to be considered in patterns, because the singular form of a noun does not straightforwardly predict its plural form. He classifies the nouns into two macroclasses (but also mentions that there are approximately thirty inflexional classes according to the singular and plural endings) and posits that genus alternans nouns are the most homogenous class, given that they cannot be found outside of the first macro-class (which does not distinguish nominative and oblique either in the singular, or in the plural in both TA and TB). The paradigms of masculine and feminine nouns however can overlap both in the singular and in the plural, which makes predicting gender judging by only one form outside any context difficult. Derivational means of gender assignment are relevant because some suffixes can predict nominal gender. Semantic patterns are not uncommon compared to the Indo-European domain - animates are sorted according to their biological sex, both humans and animals, with masculine being the unmarked gender; the assignment of inanimates continues some PIE trends (for instance, body parts, especially moving ones, are assigned to either masculine, or feminine), which makes masculine and feminine incoherent in this respect too, but genus alternans nouns are always inanimate. Finally, Del Tomba makes some observations concerning the PIE gender system, insisting on the fact that its initial state of a two-gendered system based on animacy was only later replaced with a further distinction between masculine and feminine.

The third chapter, "Gender in the Inflection of the Noun" (p. 66–245), represents a detailed investigation of the diachronic development of the nominal inflexion from PIE to (Proto-)Tocharian, with a focus on the inflexion of the feminine and the *genus alternans*. The chapter begins with some clarifications regarding the nominal system of Tocharian, positing that the alternating gender ought to be considered a distinct gender, while also announcing that the analysis mainly refers to the so-called "primary cases", which are fusional – nominative, oblique (equivalent of the PIE accusative), genitive-dative. Its aim is to address the evolution of the PIE feminine and neuter in the inflexion of the Tocharian noun and also to conclude whether the Tocharian *genus alternans* continues the PIE neuter.

Following the three introductory sections, the chapter is further divided into three sections concerning *nouns denoting female entities* (p. 76–100), some selected inflexional types (p. 100–185), and *the evolution of the PIE neuter* (p. 185–243). All three sections show Del Tomba's interest in the feminine and the alternating gender. For each of these sections, the author brings evidence and commentaries that either confirm, or propose new interpretations of previous hypotheses. This is his great contribution to the matter, given the detailed account he proposes; despite there being no new documents to examine, he brings well-researched arguments (or counterarguments), sometimes even proposing new readings of the documents at hand in order to make clearer and more precise observations (see, for instance, p. 104–105).

Nouns denoting female entities refer to two types of feminine nouns – the śana-type (NOM.SG. -a, OBL.SG. -o TB, with TA correspondents) and the aśiya-type (NOM.SG. -(y)a, OBL.SG. -(y)ai TB, with

TA correspondents), of which only the former can be traced back to PIE. The next inflexional types analysed are those from the synchronic Class VI – the *kantwo-type* (NOM.SG. -o, OBL.SG. -a TB, with TA correspondents), the *okso-type* and the *arṣāklo-type* (NOM.SG. -o, OBL.SG. -ai TB, with TA correspondents), and the *wertsiya-type* (NOM.SG. -ya, OBL.SG. -yai TB, with TA correspondents). The analysis then comes to *the evolution of the PIE neuter in the noun inflexion of Tocharian*, which mainly investigates the formal merger of the neuter and masculine singular, and that of the neuter plural with the feminine, while also dealing with some *pluralia tantum* nouns. The aim of this section is to argue that thematic neuters were inherited from PIE, undergoing a development that meant either continuing as *genus alternans*, or either one of the masculine or feminine genders, which is comparable with the evolution of the Latin neuter in the Romance languages, a frequent typological comparison with regard to the neuter/*genus alternans* in Del Tomba's work. Another great merit of his work is postulating a new sound law involving metathesis ("PIE *-ur > *-ru", p. 218), because it explains the evolution of the *genus alternans* plural endings TA -äm and TB -na.

The fourth chapter, "Gender in the Inflection of the Pronoun and Adjective" (p. 246–346), aims to investigate the gender of targets in Tocharian and its diachronic development, in order to investigate whether the neuter truly merged with the masculine in the singular and with the feminine in the plural (and consequently how the *genus alternans* came to be). This part of the book also aims to address the issue regarding the kind of gender system inherited by Tocharian from Proto-Tocharian, while also elucidating if this system is different from that of other non-Anatolian Indo-European languages.

Firstly, pronouns are taken into consideration. The author makes an inventory of all types of pronouns (personal, demonstrative, indefinite, interrogative and relative, and also pronominal adjectives), but particularly focuses on the evolution and paradigms of demonstratives and the pronominal adjective *allek* (TB), *ālak* (TA) 'other', which can all be traced back to PIE. As far as demonstratives are concerned, the masculine and the feminine are not problematic, in that they can be used both pronominally and adjectivally. The *neuter* demonstratives however – which he purposefully calls 'neutral forms', deeming 'neuter' to be a deceiving term – can only be used pronominally. This is used by Del Tomba as further evidence to support the claim that 'neuter' is not appropriate for the Tocharian nominal system, given that, despite being traceable back to PIE, it does not retain the same value it used to have, namely it has become only a controller gender. These neutral forms also confirm a typological perspective, which was one of the aims of the chapter – the fact that, "when gender distinctions are lost, traces of a former gender distinction are most likely to be preserved in the pronominal system, if anywhere in the language" (p. 255), as in English, for instance. Furthermore, the author brings new evidence to support already existing scenarios regarding (mainly) the evolution of plural inflexion from PIE to (Proto-)Tocharian.

Secondly, the study investigates adjectives from both TA and TB, which diachronically continue the PIE inflexion, either thematic or athematic. Some difficulties pointed out by the author are the fact that a schematical representation proves difficult because of independent changes in the two languages, and metrical constrains which can allow masculine plural to be replaced by feminine plural agreement in some contexts (due to feminine plural forms having one fewer syllable). The main goal of analysing the adjectives is to reconstruct the adjectival paradigms of Proto-Tocharian, which would then allow a more careful investigation of the evolution of the gender system from PIE to Tocharian more specifically, this revolves "around the evolution of the feminine, its merger with the neuter, and the functional loss of the neuter as a gender value." (p. 316). As far as adjectival targets are concerned, the masculine and neuter became homophonous in the singular. The second merger that took place was not between feminine and neuter plural, but between feminine singular and neuter plural, probably through an intermediate stage when neuter and feminine plural agreement markers coexisted. This is argued by typological comparison with the development of the Romanian genus alternans from the Latin neuter, which constitutes one of the focal points of the book. The analyses regarding the Romanian genus alternans are used by Del Tomba to find a coherent interpretation of the correspondent Tocharian gender, but, in the same time, his work proves useful for the debate regarding the Romanian 'neuter', in that he establishes this is not only a terminology issue (and even if it were, it would still be highly relevant to choose the right terms for the description of a different synchronic reality to that of the mother language).

Alessandro Del Tomba's book thus combines historical, comparative and typological means in order to bring to the attention of the specialist reader a comprehensive account of the Tocharian gender system and its diachrony, while also making some new observations regarding PIE. Apart from the many synchronic and diachronic aspects which are thoroughly analysed by the author, we must welcome his analytical distance from the arguments of other linguists' and for the relevance of his work in the broader field of Proto-Indo-European and Romance studies (namely in the debate about the so-called Romanian 'neuter').

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Vlad Jipa Faculty of Letters, University of Bucharest

ALEXANDER AVRAM, *Historical Implications of Jewish Surnames in the Old Kingdom of Romania*, Pennsylvania, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2021, XI + 196 p.

Although published in 2021, the book by Alexander Avram has been largely unknown in Romanian cultural-scientific milieus. This may be due to the fact that the volume was published in the USA. It would to the book a great injustice if it were overlooked in Romania, especially since it deals with family names of Romanian Jews and has caught the attention of researchers worldwide – see, e.g., the reviews published in the well-known journals *Names* (Simonson 2022: 57–59) and *Onoma* (Nissan 2022: 287–306). This comes as no surprise because the Jewish diaspora from Romania is numerous. There are about 250,000 Romanian Jews in the USA alone (Wertsman 2010: 14).

The book consists of nine chapters. It begins with an *Introduction* which describes the topic and the state of the research (most studies about Romanian Jews have been written by members of this ethnic group), as well as its aims and limitations. In this original approach, Alexander Avram "reviews,

analyzes, and explains the surnames and naming patterns used or adopted by Romanian Jews from the earliest available historical documentation until the World War II (WWII) period" (p. 4). The author (Director of the Hall of Names at Yad Vashem – The World Holocaust History Museum in Jerusalem) was born in Romania and graduated from the University of Bucharest, the Faculty of Foreign Languages. Thus, his in-depth knowledge of Romanian national history and the Jewish community in Romania favoured the clear delineation of the geographical territory and period investigated.

The first chapter is based on archival research and depicts the historical background and Jewish presence in Moldavia and Wallachia from the sixteenth century until 1944. Although Jews have been documented in Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space since the Roman age, official records confirm the existence of waves of immigrants only since the sixteenth century. In that period, the Sephardim entered the Romanian territory from the south (via the Ottoman Empire), followed by the Ashkenazim from the north (via the Kingdom of Poland). Alexander Avram highlights the increasing presence of the Jews in the Romanian Principalities, their oppression, political activity, cultural life, and demographic changes, as well as several different and divergent historical narratives. The fact that waves of Jews settled in Romanian space testifies to the hospitality of the Romanians' ancestors and their openness towards welcoming people who were banished from other countries for being genetically, linguistically, culturally, and religiously different ("heretics"). The statement that "the attitude of the Romanian authorities toward Jews over the centuries was ambivalent" (p. 13) is reminiscent of similar statements made by frequently cited Romanian historians about Marshal Ion Antonescu: "Yes, marshal Antonescu saved Jews, and yes, marshal Antonescu sent Jews to their death", that is, "the anti-Semitic measures - applied somewhat chaotically - were not aimed at the extermination of the Jewish population. The Jews were humiliated and spoliated and for many years lived with the threat above their head, but at the same time they were allowed to carry out specific cultural activities and fund educational institutions" (Boia 2012: 62). The same opinion is expressed by Neagu Djuvara (2013: 330-331): "Between 1942 and 1943, despite the German government's repeated demands to turn in our Jews, Antonescu always refused to do so, and moreover favoured the rescue of Jews from the West or from Northern Transylvania, which was occupied by the Hungarians. [...] What Antonescu did in 1943 is little known in the West, and even when it is known, it does not erase his behaviour in 1941". Alexander Avram provides several examples of Romanian intellectuals, writers, and cultural figures (Titu Maiorescu, Mihai Eminescu, Nicolae Iorga) who professed a hostile attitude towards jidani ('Jews', offensive term). In addition to economic problems, this determined the mass emigration of Jews: "between 1881 and 1914 over 100,000 Jews left Romania" (p. 15)². The reasons are debatable and cannot be associated solely with the oppression of the Jews. On the one hand, over those decades there were also many Romanians who left their home country in pursuit of better livelihood. On the other, the figures mentioned by Demographic Changes do not confirm mass emigration: the census of 1859 "reported 135,000 Jews, or 3% of the total population" (p. 19), the census of 1899 – over 266,000 Jews, or 4.5% of the population; and the census of 1912 - nearly 240,000 Jews, namely 3.3% of the total population. The author also refers to data of the interwar censuses, following the Great Union, in which the research parameters consist of religion and mother tongue in addition to ethnicity. The more than 252,000 Jews (2.81%) corresponding to the Old Kingdom of Romania seems to indicate an accurate assessment of the age. The distribution of the Jews in various areas is interesting: "According to the 1930 census, the clear majority of the Jews population in Walachia resided in urban areas (98,4%), compared to 86,1% in Moldavia. Jews represented a moderate 8,4% of the total urban population of Walachia, but a significant 23.6% of that of Moldavia" (p. 20). The number of Jews in Bessarabia and Bukovina are mentioned as well, and they prove to be higher. According to Alexander Avram, the reasons for the Jews' urbanisation "reflect the results of a systematic policy of expulsion of Jews from rural areas initiated by the Romanian authorities in 1881" (p. 20).

² The number may be exaggerated, as other sources mention different values: "During the period 1880–1914, statistics recorded 75,000 immigrants to America" (Wertsman 2010: 14).

The last part of the historical chapter continues the analysis of *Different and Divergent Historical Narratives*. The hostility towards Jews in Romania tallied with the "political anti-Semitism appearing in Europe" (p. 21). Prominent figures of Romanian culture adopted this attitude, and among them one can mention Mihail Kogălniceanu, Ion Heliade-Rădulescu, and Bogdan Petriceicu-Hasdeu. Alexander Avram cites several observations that are illustrative of the ideas advocated by the members and partisans of the Romanian literary society Junimea. The author concludes that "the press and literature participated intensively, from the beginning, in the crystallization and consolidation of the anti-Semitic stereotype on the cultural level" (p. 23). Mihail Sadoveanu, Gala Galaction, and Tudor Arghezi are noted for being among those who saw beyond what the age identified as "negative qualities of the Jew: 'parasitism, dishonesty and hostility toward all other peoples'" (p. 24).

The need for this historical excursion is accounted for by the fact that the analysis of Jewish names, Romanianised names or names borrowed by Jews from other spaces depends on the historical context: "The analysis of surnames can illuminate historical aspects and processes of Romanian society, by either supporting or contradicting specific points of the different anti-Jewish historical narratives" (p. 29). This idea is further developed in Methodological Approach: "The practice of naming and the adoption of surnames are both, inevitably, influenced by historical processes, among them emigration and acculturation" (p. 30). Alexander Avram aims at analysing family names "in the light of existing historical documentation, including legislative decisions, periodicals, and traditional documents' (p. 31). The subchapter Jewish Names and Naming Patterns refers to the structure of Jewish names, their sources, and the means of their formation. The author provides examples from Eastern Europe, taken from official documents or headstones, and points out that these names were only recorded in the Romanian Principalities beginning with the nineteenth century, after the use of family names had become official. With respect to typology, there are many examples of Surnames indicating Kohen or Levite origin and Rabbinical surnames, while there are also family names derived from toponyms, patronymics, matronymics, occupational surnames, family names derived from personal characteristics (using Slavic, Germanic, or Hebrew suffixes), and artificial names, many of which were "invented by their bearers or by community administration" (p. 38). After an overview of the categories of family names, the author focuses on the typology of family names in Romanian space. The most frequently occurring affixes are mentioned, but their interpretation may sometimes be questioned. For instance, sin-/sân- (Sânion, Sântoma) is defined as an archaic prefix, without indicating the possibility of its being inherited from the Latin adjective sanctus. This situation is identical with that of certain Romanian oikonyms: "the element sânt (sân, sâm) ('saint') [is] inherited from Latin sanctus and preserved in constructions with saints' names" (Felecan, Felecan 2013: 92-96), cf. Sâ(m)nicoară < Sanctus Nicolaus ('Saint Nicholas'), Sântoader < Sanctus Theodorus ('Saint Theodore'), etc.

Alexander Avram rightly notes that Jews (the Ashkenazim and Sephardim alike) borrowed family names from the peoples alongside whom they lived in Western, Central, and Eastern Europe, and even in Romanian space. "Linguistic loans can occur at different levels: orthographic; phonetic and phonologic, including accent and tonality; lexical; morphologic; semantic; and syntactic" (p. 42). There are various levels of onomastic adaptation. For example, the name forms *Ambramowicz*, *Schneider*, and *Schwartz* resulted in partial adaptations (*Abramovici*, *Ṣnaider*, *Ṣvarţ*) or full adaptations (*Avramescu*, *Croitor* 'tailor', *Negru* 'black').

The book indicates the sources from which the names analysed were collected. These were internal, historical sources and external ones, found in the Yad Vashem archives. The book by Ioana Gafton, *Repertoriu al schimbărilor de nume (1893-1946)* [Directory of name changes (1893–1946)] (2 vols., Iași, Editura Universității Alexandru Ioan Cuza), would have been extremely useful to Alexander Avram in the context of his onomastic research. However, Ioana Gafton's study was published in 2021, the same year as Alexander Avram's book. Thus, it would have been impossible for Alexander Avram to refer to it. In the future, a synthesis of the two perspectives would provide a more faithful overview of the phenomenon of surname change/preservation.

The subchapter on *Statistical Analysis* is specifically interesting. It provides significant figures and data regarding the Jewish anthroponymic landscape in the Old Kingdom of Romania. The most

frequent ethnic names were *Grinberg, Schwartz, Katz, Shekhter*, and *Segal*. At the same time, the most recurrent Romanian or Romanianised family names borne by Jews were *Croitoru, Ciubotaru, Cojocaru, Avram*, and *Iancu*. Depending on the formation and etymology of the names, Alexander Avram gives examples of descriptive names (formed by means of suffixation), names derived from patronyms and matronyms, as well as simple translations or calque formations.

The third chapter deals with the Antiquity of Early Jewish Settlement Through the Prism of Surnames. The existence of Jews in Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space dates from much earlier than the officialization of family names in the Romanian Principalities. In addition to official surnames, there appeared family names derived from nicknames or from foreign anthroponyms by means of translation or calque formation. Many Jewish names were Romanianised by imitating local patterns (Bujor, Cristea, Istrate, Manole, Pascu). Thus, it would be impossible to establish their ethnic belonging without the analysis of historical documents. The adoption of Christian names (Botezatu, Creştinu) occurred as a result of converting to the religion professed by the majority. Other family names refer to objects (Cântar 'scales'), animals (Tapul 'the goat'), plants (Urzică 'nettle'), and occupations (Cojocaru 'the skinner'). They can be considered to be "reminiscent of earlier times when surnames emphasized individual qualities or defects rather than pedigree and other social status designators" (p. 63).

The chapter Demographic Aspects: Rural and Urban Settlement; Internal Migration begins with an observation: "Through the ages, toponyms have been one of the most productive sources for the creation of surnames" (p. 65). The examples provided by the author illustrate various categories of anthroponyms: Avram de la Ocna Mare (< Ocna Mare, 1594), Leiba jidov din Suceava (< Suceava, 1764), Avram jidovul sîn Iosăp dascăl din Botoșani (< Botoșani, 1779), Gălățeanu (< Galați), Munteanu (< Munteni/Muntenia), etc. The chapter examines the geographical distribution of Jews in the historical provinces (Moldavia, Bukovina, Bessarabia, and Wallachia) and in urban/rural areas. Many family names derived with the suffix -(e)an(u) are related to the bearers' geographical belonging: e.g., Brănișteanu < Braniștea, Codreanu < Codreni, Şipoteanu < Şipote/Şipoteni/Şipotele. The Jews' internal migration mainly consisted of the population's movement from rural to urban areas, especially to towns and cities such as Bucharest, Iași, Cernăuți, Chișinău, and Galați. The migration was carried out freely, for economic reasons, or at the request of the authorities of the time. At the beginning of the twentieth century most Jews were living in urban areas. Nevertheless, many surnames derived from toponyms are based on oikonyms related especially to the northern part of Moldavia and Bessarabia. Alexander Avram concludes that "It is tangible proof that Jews were deeply rooted also in the rural areas and were indeed present in a large number of small villages whose names were preserved in their surnames after they left" (p. 77).

The largest part of the book deals with the Socio-economic Profile of the Jewish Population. It starts from the assertion that "Jews in the Diaspora were historically involved in all economic activities, without exception" (p. 78). Jews were known as hardworking and as having a favourable genetic inheritance, and they were particularly known for being craftspeople and tradespeople. However, these characteristics also led to the Jew being associated with a negative image in the eyes of other people, "a typical image [...] as an idle exploiter and moneylender" (p. 78). The consequences were horrible: waves of persecutions and exterminations, and deportations from various areas. An overview of Central and Eastern European spaces is provided, then the analysis returns to the Romanian territories. The professions commonly taken up by the Jews were connected with the settlements in which the members of this ethnic community could normally be found. This kind of information is necessary for understanding the correlation with occupational surnames even before the officialization of the system of family names: Solomon Crășmar ('tavern keeper'), Israel Croitoriu ('tailor'), Șmil Stoleru ('carpernter'), Leib Spiter ('apothecary') (all recorded in Iași in 1833). Over time, there appeared surnames related to most domains of activity, including financial and liberal professions in the fields of law, medicine, education, architecture, art, and science. Like in the previous chapters, the author illustrates the situation in the Old Kingdom of Romania by means of representative tables. Most family names refer to physical activities. Of the numerous examples, Croitoru ('tailor') and Ciubotaru ('shoemaker') display the biggest number of occurrences. Alexander Avram analyses surnames derived

from names of various occupations (shepherd, coachman, furrier, innkeeper, tavern keeper, etc.) and how these names are perceived by the majority, the society of the age. The interpretation of occupational family names refutes the stereotypes according to which Jews worked mainly in banking and trading: more than 65% of the occurrences recorded and 47% of the family names refer to physical activities. "The 'productive' occupations (agriculture, industry and crafts, transportation) represented 47.8% and the tertiary sector (trading and banking, public officials and liberal professions) 40.4%, respectively, of the active Jewish population" (p. 129). These values were larger in Romania (in the year 1913) than those in Hungary and Poland (in the years 1920 and 1921).

Jewish Identity as Reflected in Romanian Surnames: From Traditional Separation to Integration starts from the hypothesis that "due to historical circumstances, the Jewish population in the Old Kingdom was not homogenous and, as such, was not without internal tensions and conflicts" (p. 130). The differences refer to the Ashkenazim/Sephardim (in 1930, there were about 10,000 Sephardim of the more than 750,000 Jews), Hasidic and Orthodox Jews, as well as to the Jews who had been living on Romanian territories for a long time and were speakers of Romanian, and those who migrated from the Hapsburg and Russian Empires due to the persecutions which they had faced there. From a sociological perspective, Alexander Avram considers the Jewish minority a subculture, as it differs from the majority in matters of language, religion, lifestyle, and tradition. Three main orientations for the advocates of modernisation are delineated: integrationism, assimilationism, and the nationalistic circle who supported emigration. From the viewpoint of onomastics, the first trend can also be seen in surnames in the graphical adaptation to the phonetic Romanian spelling (Barasch > Baraş, Herszkowitz > Herşcovici), phonetic changes determined by Romanian tradition and pronunciation (Lazar > Lazăr, Samuel > Samuilă), and the use of Romanian suffixes (Frima > Afrimei, Naum > Naumescu, Schein > Şăineanu). The coinage of novel local family names was achieved by means of calque formation (Roth > Rosu), transposition (Melamed > Dascălu 'the teacher'), and partial translation followed by suffixation (Weinberg > Vianu).

The adoption of Romanian family names based on toponyms (*Suceveanu* < *Suceava*), occupations (*Moraru* 'the miller'), and personal characteristics (*Surdu*, from *surd* 'deaf') can be accounted for by means of numerous reasons. Among these, Alexander Avram mentions the wish for social, economic, and political integration, for obtaining equal rights with the dominant majority, avoiding stigma and humiliation, as well as the tendency for secularisation and modernisation. In addition, there were also personal reasons, such as the adoption of certain pseudonyms by writers and artists. Nevertheless, "many have accused the Jews of trying to conceal their identity under common Romanian names and surnames" (p. 140), especially in the context of rising nationalistic attitudes before World War II. Alexander Avram objectively illustrates the situation by comparing data from several Central and Eastern European languages: "A comparison of occupation-name based Jewish Romanian surnames with Jewish Hungarian, Polish, and Russian surnames suggests that the process of linguistic integration of the Romanian Jews seems to have been at least as extensive as in the neighboring countries but perhaps less limited to the middle and upper socioeconomic strata" (p. 144).

The chapter on *The Romanian Authorities' Attitude: From Invited Settlers to Undesired Subjects* starts from the idea that over the centuries the relationships between the Jews and the Romanians have been contradictory. They have been based on mutual benefits, as well as on disadvantages and stereotypes: for instance, the identification of Jews as heretics from a Christian-Orthodox perspective. The author indicates several laws which regulated the status of Jews in the Romanian Lands/Principalities and in the Kingdom of Romania. The most unfavourable laws were passed during the Holocaust. For example, the decrees no. 2650 and 2651 of 1940 did not allow Jews to bear or take on Romanian names. Marriages between Romanians and those of *Jewish blood* were also forbidden. Similar laws were noted at the time in Nazi Germany, Horthyst Hungary, and Bulgaria. In addition to the authors' literary pseudonyms, the list also mentioned their Jewish names, including their fathers' first names, to clearly indicate their "undesirable" descent: *Fundoianu B. = Benjamin Barbu Wecsler, Tzara Tristan = Rozinstoch Samueli, Voronca Ilarie = Eduard Isidor Marcus*. Thus, the Romanian authorities appear "to have always been ambivalent, oscillating between nationalist and ideological pressures and down-to-earth practical needs" (p. 161).

The following chapter, A Case Study: Jewish Intellectuals and Romanian and Romanized Surnames, draws attention to the fact that once the Romanian language was adopted, its use spread more and more in intellectual milieus. Some members of the Jewish community made significant contributions to Romanian lexicography, grammar, and folklore: M. Gaster, H. Tiktin, L. Ṣăineanu. In the list compiled by Alexander Avram, most of the 664 Jewish intellectuals were active in the fields of medicine, journalism, and literature. "Many of those Romanian Jews active in the field of literature, journalism, and publishing adopted Romanian or Romanized surnames (and given names) and pseudonyms in order not so much to conceal their Jewish origin as, it can be argued, to escape the constraints, internal and external, of being defined within a minority group – in cultural, ethnic, and religious terms – and to aim at a higher sphere of expression" (p. 168).

A special chapter is reserved to a *Different Group: The Sephardim in the Old Kingdom*. Although the presence of the Sephardim has been documented since the sixteenth century, the members of this group have preserved their traditions, even when living together with the Ashkenazim. As Alexander Avram points out, "Romanian society was obviously more open to their integration, [...] and considered the Sephardim 'good' Jews" (p. 171). From the viewpoint of anthroponymy, the Ashkenazic community (based around Bucharest and Ploieşti) continued to use specific family names, with few exceptions. The names display a Jewish-Spanish legacy (*Alcalay, Baruch, Catalan, Medina, Sabetay*), which dates to the Sephardim's emigration from the Iberian Peninsula.

In *General Conclusions* the author reveals the new method of historical analysis proposed in his book: "a linguistic and semantic analysis of surnames to verify and/or clarify various aspects, trends, and processes in the social history of a specific ethnic/cultural group in a designated area" (p. 174). Most Jewish family names (92%) are of German, Yiddish, Polish, and Russian origin. This feature clearly indicates the route of the Jews' migration. Examples and percentages are used in an overview of the Romanianisation of certain anthroponyms and the adoption of surnames specific to the majority together with the corresponding typology: "The detailed morphological, statistical, and semantic analysis of the Romanian and Romanized surnames used by Jews in the extended Old Kingdom does attest to a long, continued, and voluntary process of integration into the surrounding Romanian society. [...] Initiated by the native Jews and gradually joined by later arrivals, it was a process not imposed, but certainly not facilitated, and sometimes even opposed, by the Romanian authorities" (p. 179).

The volume ends with three appendices: List of Jewish Intellectuals and Artists Active in Romania Prior to WWII, List of Surnames Used by Sephardic Jews in the Kingdom of Romania, and A Dictionary of Jewish Romanian and Romanized Surnames. These addenda are useful for the correct interpretation and analysis of the Jewish presence in Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space.

Alexander Avram's book is highly important to Romanian culture. It provides an inside perspective (the author pertains to the ethnic community investigated) and an outside perspective (Alexander Avram lives in Israel and has studied many foreign archives) to the Jewish issue in the Romanian lands to the east and south of the Carpathian Mountains. The analysis is carried out from the viewpoint of onomastics. Anthroponyms, and surnames in particular, are diagnostic markers in the research of a community. The intersection of this field with history, sociology, and anthropology offers a true picture of the phenomenon. The publication of the book in the USA testifies to the significance of the subject and the international interest in Jews from Romania.

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Oliviu Felecan Technical University of Cluj-Napoca, North University Centre of Baia Mare