Verbs

In the following section the morphology and uses of each verbal form are discussed in turn. The morphology of Hasidic Hebrew verbs corresponds in many respects to the standard forms in other types of the language; as such, only non-standard or variant forms and other noteworthy morphological issues are presented here.

8.1 *Qaṭal*

8.1.1 *Morphology*

The morphology of the *qaṭal* in Hasidic Hebrew corresponds to that of other types of Hebrew, with the exception of certain phenomena relating to weak roots discussed in 8.10.

8.1.2 *Uses*

The *qaṭal* in the Hasidic Hebrew tales serves almost exclusively as a past tense marker. In this respect it differs from Biblical Hebrew, in which the *qaṭal* is found in present and future settings as well as punctive past ones (see Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 478–495 and Joüon-Muraoka 2006: 330–337 for details); rather, it more closely resembles Rabbinic Hebrew, in which the *qaṭal* serves primarily as a past tense (Pérez Fernández 1999: 115–116). However, Hasidic Hebrew usage diverges from the rabbinic model in that it employs the *qaṭal* in iterative past contexts in addition to punctive ones. This treatment of the *qaṭal* as an aspect-neutral past tense form does not seem to be rooted in earlier canonical forms of Hebrew, but rather mirrors contemporaneous Maskilic Hebrew literature and the authors' native Yiddish. Conversely, the Hasidic Hebrew authors regularly employ the *qaṭal* form of certain stative roots to convey present states; this usage differs strikingly from that of rabbinic and rabbinic-based forms of the language and from Yiddish, and is instead directly rooted in Biblical Hebrew. These various uses of the Hasidic Hebrew *qaṭal* are discussed below.

8.1.2.1 Preterite

The most common use of the Hasidic Hebrew *qaṭal* is as a preterite, as in the following examples. In this respect the language of the tales corresponds to earlier varieties of Hebrew, in which a preterite meaning is generally regarded to be a central function of this conjugation (see e.g. Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 486 and Joosten 2012: 193, 215–218 for Biblical Hebrew; Pérez Fernández 1999: 115–116 for Rabbinic Hebrew; Rand 2006: 324–325 for *piyyuṭim* from Byzantine Palestine; Kahn 2009: 87–89 for nineteenth-century Maskilic Hebrew).

- והדלת סגר הגביר בעצמו 'And (as for) the door, the rich man closed (it) himself' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 13)
- תיכף אחר הנשואין העמיד לו החדר המיוחד 'And straight after the wedding he set up the special room for him' (Brandwein 1912: 1)
- והתחילה לבכות 'And she started to cry' (Singer 1900b: 5)
- וקפצתי מתחת הקליידער 'And I jumped from under the clothes' (Ehrmann 1905: 52a)
- הלכתי ג"כ החוצה לראות אם עוד עת לסע מבאן 'I also went outside in order to see if it was time to travel from here' (Seuss 1890: 23)

Chains of *qaṭal* are often used to convey sequences of past action, as in the following examples; such chains are used in free variation with *wayyiqṭol* to convey past action sequences (see 8.3.2 for further discussion of this issue).

- הלך וחפש ומצא אותי ואמר לי ליתן לו אותו הסך 'He went and searched and found me and told me to give him that sum' (M. Walden 1914: 6)
- ואחזתני חיל ורעדה ופתחתי הדלת ונסתי 'And fear and trembling gripped me, and I opened the door and fled' (Teomim Fraenkel 1910: 4)
- אמר זאת בקול גדול ואחר כך שתה קאווע ולבש בתי ידיים (הענשטקיס) 'He said this in a loud (lit: big) voice and afterwards drank coffee and put on gloves' (Gemen 1914: 91)
- הלכה לשכנים וצוותה לה ששה גראשין וקנתה בעד שנים קמח שנים ביצים ובעד שני ג' חמאה והכינה סעודה כזאת 'She went to the neighbours and asked for six groschen for herself, and she bought flour for two, eggs for two, and butter for two groschen, and she prepared this kind of meal' (Michelson 1910a: 46)

Qaṭal forms with preterite value often appear prefixed by the conjunction *waw* following a temporal clause consisting of an infinitive construct, e.g.:

- ובבאי ונתתי לו הנייר 'And when I came I gave him the paper' (Teomim Fraenkel 1911a: 22)
- בבואו לבית הרה"ק ורצה לנכנס 'When he came to the house of the holy Rebbe, he wanted to enter' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 10)
- ובבואה לפני הרה"ק ונתנה לו הפתקא 'And when she came before the holy Rebbe she gave him the note' (N. Duner 1912: 28)
- והנה כאשר נסעו ותעו מהדרך הישרה 'And when they were travelling, they strayed from the right road' (Brandwein 1912: 21)
- ובבואה לפני הרה"ק ונתנה לו הפתקא עם שמו 'And when she came before the holy Rebbe she gave him the note with his name' (Michelsohn 1910a: 11)
- וכבואו לפרימישלאן וקיבל שלום מהר' 'And when he arrived in Premishlan he was greeted by the Rebbe' (Breitstein 1914: 43)
- ובהיותם בקאברין ונכנסו לאדמו"ר מקאברין 'And when they were in Kobrin they went in to [see] the Admor of Kobrin' (Moses of Kobrin 1910: 45)

This phenomenon lacks clear precedent in earlier forms of Hebrew. It partially resembles a rare biblical construction whereby a *qaṭal* with preterite value may appear in narrative prefixed by the conjunction *waw* (see Joosten 2012: 223–225 for details); however, the biblical construction is quite marginal and not linked to temporal clauses, whereas the Hasidic Hebrew construction is relatively common and found only following temporal clauses. These factors suggest that the Hasidic construction does not derive directly from the biblical one. Rather, it seems to constitute a fusion of the typical biblical construction composed of a temporal clause with infinitive construct followed by a *wayyiqṭol* combined with the post-biblical use of *qaṭal* rather than *wayyiqṭol* in preterite settings. As such, it fits in with the wider Hasidic Hebrew tendency to fuse biblical and post-biblical forms and constructions in innovative and productive ways.

8.1.2.2 Present Perfect

The *qaṭal* may also be used to convey the equivalent of English present perfect actions, i.e. actions that took place in the past but are seen to have an effect in the present. Present perfect contexts are often difficult to distinguish from preterite ones, but typically refer to an experience that the subject has had at some unspecified point prior to the present moment and possibly on more than one occasion, as in the examples below. This usage is particularly common in negative sentences, often in conjunction with the adverb עוד 'yet', as in the final example.

- 'A certain tailor has three virgin [daughters] who have come of age' (Sofer 1904: 8)
- 'I have brought you a sealed letter from the Ba'al Shem Tov' (Ehrmann 1903: 4a)
- 'For I have not eaten these past three days' (A. Walden 1860?: 29b)
- 'You've been speaking for three quarters of an hour, and you haven't yet mentioned spiritual matters (lit: the heavenly name) in your speech' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 36)

8.1.2.3 Pluperfect

The *qaṭal* can be used in pluperfect contexts, conveying that an action was already in a state of completion by the time that the mainline narrative action took place, as in the following example. Again, this corresponds to the canonical forms of Hebrew (see e.g. Joosten 2012: 219–220 for Biblical Hebrew and Pérez Fernández 1999: 116 for Rabbinic Hebrew).

- 'And he came (back) to the study house, and he had not yet finished the whispering prayer' (Teomim Fraenkel 1910: 4)

Qaṭal forms in this type of setting most commonly appear in complement clauses and are introduced by the typically biblical particles **כי** or **אשר** 'that' or their post-biblical equivalent **ש-** 'that', as in the examples below.

- 'Because the emperor knew from the rabbi, R. Asher from Stolin, that Avigdor had turned him in' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 16)
- 'And when they were travelling, they strayed from the correct road and travelled through mountains and hills that no man had passed through' (Brandwein 1912: 21)
- 'Afterwards a telegraph came [saying] that that R. Motele had won the court case' (Rapaport 1909: 43)
- 'At first the bishop thought that he had fainted, and he called the doctor to check his condition' (HaLevi 1909: 54)
- 'When the alcohol had worn off the guards, they awoke from their sleep and saw that the Jew had escaped' (Kaidaner 1875: 17a)

- 'And when the Rebbe felt that I had fallen asleep a bit, he immediately got out of the bed' (Berger 1907: 56)

They may also appear in causal clauses, introduced by a particle such as *כי* 'because', as in the examples below.

- 'The innkeeper wasn't in his house, because he had travelled to the city with his wife' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 4)
- 'And when he arrived at his house he said 'Congratulations' to the man, the messenger, because the woman had already given birth to a son' (Bodek 1865a: 71)
- 'הנה הרה"ק התולדות הנ"ל לא היה מכיר מקודם את הבעש"ט כי לא ראה אותו עדיין רק 'That holy Rebbe, the Toledot, didn't know the Ba'al Shem Tov from previously, because he hadn't seen him yet, only heard of him' (Chikernik 1902: 13)
- 'because his wife had bought them from the fishermen before' (A. Walden 1860?: 56a)

8.1.2.4 Past Progressive

Qatal forms in Hasidic Hebrew are not used solely to indicate punctive past actions; rather, they may also be used in durative past contexts. Thus, they are relatively frequently used to denote past progressive actions. Such *qatal* forms are typically found in subordinate clauses, as in the following examples:

- 'And when he opened the door, Reb Baruch was walking back and forth in his room' (Zak 1912: 153)
- 'And the Ba'al Shem Tov saw from afar that the old man was standing next to the wagon' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 12)
- 'And many merchants who were travelling to some fair were lodging there' (Teomim Fraenkel 1911a: 15)
- 'And when they were travelling, they strayed from the correct road and travelled through mountains and hills that no man had passed through' (Brandwein 1912: 21)
- 'And when they came to receive a greeting the Maggid was then sitting with his son' (Chikernik 1902: 7)
- 'And he heard the cry of a pauper who was standing with his wagon in a place of mud and muck' (Baruch of Medzhybizh 1880: 26)

However, they may additionally appear in main clauses, e.g.:

- [...] פ"א נסע בעש"ק ושמע קול צעקת עני אחד 'Once he was travelling on Friday afternoon and he heard the cry of a pauper' (Baruch of Medzhybizh 1880: 26)
- וירץ ויבא להבעש"ט והוא כבר התפלל מנחה ולא נתן לו הבעש"ט שלום 'And he ran and came to the Ba'al Shem Tov, and he was already praying the afternoon prayers, so the Ba'al Shem Tov did not greet him' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 21)
- ושם לנו הרבה סוחרים שנסעו על איזה יריד 'And many merchants who were travelling to some fair were lodging there' (Teomim Fraenkel 1911a: 15)

The Hasidic Hebrew use of the *qaṭal* in past progressive contexts differs from both Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew, in which the *qaṭal* is typically used only for punctive rather than durative past actions. In Biblical Hebrew, the *qoṭel* would most likely be used to convey past progressive actions (Joüon-Muraoka 2006: 383), while in Rabbinic Hebrew a periphrastic construction would commonly be used in such contexts (Pérez Fernández 1999: 137). The Hasidic Hebrew treatment of the *qaṭal* as an aspect-neutral past tense that can be used in progressive as well as habitual settings (see 8.1.2.5) does not seem to have clear precedent in the earlier canonical forms of Hebrew; rather, it resembles the *qaṭal* in contemporaneous Maskilic Hebrew and the past tense in the authors' native Yiddish, as these forms are used to convey punctive, progressive, and iterative past actions (see Kahn 2009: 77–83 and 2012b: 194–197 for Maskilic Hebrew; see U. Weinreich 1971: 328 and Estraiikh 1996: 88 for Yiddish). Moreover, this use of the *qaṭal* became a standard feature of Israeli Hebrew (see e.g. Glinert 1989: 125; Coffin and Bolozky 2005: 40; Boneh 2013).

8.1.2.5 Past Habitual

In addition to its use in past progressive contexts, the *qaṭal* frequently serves to denote past habitual actions. In such cases it is often accompanied by temporal adverbs like תמיד 'always' and בכל יום 'every day'. The following examples illustrate this usage:

- וכן קראוהו תמיד בשם אלטר 'And so they always called him by the name Alter' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 42)
- ואצל קידוש והבדלה בא תמיד תוך הבית פנימה 'And at kiddush and havdalah he always came into the house' (Ehrmann 1903: 19b)
- וזה הנוסח אמר תמיד בכל יום קודם השינה 'And this is the wording that he would always say every day before sleep' (Gemen 1914: 91)
- דרכו של המגיד זצ"ל שהתפלל בכל יום לפני העמוד בעצמו 'The way of the Maggid of

blessed memory was that every day he prayed before the pulpit by himself' (Greenwald 1899: 52b)

- וכשהיה צריך לילך בלילה בימי החורף לטבול א"ע בנהר כדרכו בקודש הלכה אשתו עמו 'And when he had to go at night in the winter days to immerse himself in the river, as was his way in holiness, his wife would go with him to guard him' (Chikernik 1903a: 7–8)
- 'And every time that he travelled to Lublin, they would give him (lit: into his hand) notes of petition' (M. Walden 1912: 123)
- 'At all of the big fairs, he would travel [there] and rent a shop, and he would stand there for all the days of the fair' (Rodkinsohn 1864a: 7)

As in the case of the past progressive *qaṭal* this usage is noteworthy in that it differs from both Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew, in which the *qaṭal* is used only to convey punctive past actions, with past habitual actions indicated by other means. However, in this respect as in that of the past progressive discussed above, the Hasidic Hebrew *qaṭal* corresponds to that of contemporaneous Maskilic Hebrew literature as well as to the aspect-neutral past tense of the authors' Yiddish vernacular. Furthermore, this usage became standard in Israeli Hebrew, in which the *qaṭal* is regularly employed in past habitual contexts (Glinert 1989: 126; Boneh 2013).

8.1.2.6 Present States

Although in general the *qaṭal* does not appear in present tense contexts in Hasidic Hebrew, there is one frequent exception whereby the *qal* root י.ד.ע. 'know' is employed in the *qaṭal* conjugation with present meaning. This convention is illustrated below:

- 'And he said to him, "Now I know that your Rebbe is in the heavens, and I am on the earth"' (Bromberg 1899: 30)
- 'Then the Ruzhiner Rebbe said to his attendant, "Do you know who this minister is?"' (Zak 1912: 15)
- 'Now I know that there is a God in Israel' (Rodkinsohn 1864a: 12)
- 'You know me' (Bodek? 1866: 23a)
- 'They asked, "Do you know Mendl?"' (Michelson 1910c: 70)
- 'I know that you are a weak man' (Seuss 1890: 5)

- ויען הבעש"ט ידעתי בני ידעתי 'And the Ba'al Shem Tov answered, "I know, my son, I know"' (Chikernik 1903b: 10)
- ידעתי שאתה איש צדיק 'I know that you are a righteous man' (A. Walden 1860?: 14b)

Although this phenomenon is typically restricted to the root י.ד.ע. 'know', it is rarely attested with the root א.ה.ב. 'love', e.g.:

- וכטוב לבו ביין אמר לרעהו אהבת אותי או לא. ויענהו אהבתך למאד 'And when his heart was merry with wine, he said to his companion, "Do you love me or not?" And he answered him, "I love you very much"' (Moses Leib of Sasov 1903: 21a)

The Hasidic Hebrew use of the stative *qal qaṭal* to convey present conditions directly mirrors that of its biblical predecessor (see Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 364–373). This Hasidic and biblical usage can be contrasted with Rabbinic Hebrew, in which the *qoṭel* is typically employed in similar cases (Pérez Fernández 1999: 133). However, the Hasidic Hebrew convention is smaller in scope than that of Biblical Hebrew, as the former is almost completely restricted to the root י.ד.ע. 'know' while the latter extends to a range of stative roots. This may constitute a case in which the Hasidic Hebrew authors (perhaps sub-consciously) partially adopted a characteristically biblical construction (but failed to replicate it in full) in order to give their writing a feeling of historical authenticity by grounding it within the linguistic tradition of biblical historical narrative.¹ This phenomenon of harnessing typically biblical features for stylistic effect is evident in various other aspects of the tales' grammar; see e.g. 8.2.1.4 and 8.3.3.1 for a fuller discussion of the issue in relation to 3fp *yiqṭol* forms and *wayyiqṭol* sequences respectively.

8.2 *Yiqṭol*

8.2.1 *Morphology*

8.2.1.1 Paragogic ך

Occasionally *yiqṭol* forms appear in the tales with a paragogic ך suffix. In many cases the Hasidic Hebrew form has a precise biblical parallel by which the authors were most likely inspired. This is illustrated in the examples below,

1 I am very grateful to Ada Rapoport-Albert for initially proposing this motivation.

each of which is based on an identical biblical form. These forms are not frequently attested in the Hebrew Bible (e.g. *יִשְׁאַבּוּן* is found only in Ruth 2:9), but they all appear in well-studied parts of the corpus (i.e. the Pentateuch, Psalms, Ruth) that would have been familiar to the authors. Moreover, the familiarity of these forms was probably reinforced by the citation of the verses in question in Rabbinic, Medieval, and Early Modern Hebrew writings.

- *והמה ירבון פצעי ומכותי* ‘And they will multiply my wounds and blows’ (Rodkinsohn 1865: 28); cf. *יִרְבּוֹן מְחוּל אֲסַפְרָם* ‘Were I to count them, they would outnumber [grains of] sand’ (Psalms 139:18)
- *כלם אך מבאר תורתן ישאבון* ‘But they all draw from the well of their Torah’ (Bodek 1865c: 1); cf. *וְשָׁתִית מֵאֶשֶׁר יִשְׁאַבּוּן הַנְּעָרִים* ‘And you shall drink from [the water] that the lads draw’ (Ruth 2:9)
- *ואת המעשה אשר יעשון ע"פ הדרך הקדש* ‘and the deed that they would do according to the holy way’ (Heilmann 1902: 24); cf. *וְאֵתִּהֶם־מַעֲשֵׂה אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשׂוּן* ‘and the deed[s] that they must do’ (Exod. 18:20)

In other cases, the Hasidic Hebrew forms lack biblical precedent but appear in medieval and early modern writings. For example, each *yiqtol* shown below appears in identical form in Moses Alshich's biblical commentary. This is in keeping with the widespread tendency of the Hasidic Hebrew authors discussed elsewhere in this volume to avail themselves of structures and phrases appearing in Hebrew texts from the medieval and early modern periods, with Alshich's commentary a particularly common source.

- *יעידון ויגידון כאשר רבים וכן שלימים* ‘as many, and indeed fine (lit: complete), ones will testify and say’ (Kaidaner 1875: 30a)
- *ומאז הסכים לדעתו כי תמיד יכתבון* ‘And from then on he agreed with his opinion that they should always write [their sermons down]’ (Ehrmann 1903: 17a)
- *להבין את אשר ירמזון אליו* ‘to understand what they were hinting to him’ (Bodek 1865a: 50)

However, other Hasidic Hebrew paragogic forms lack attestation in either the Hebrew Bible or post-biblical literature. The verb *תשלוחן* ‘you are sending’ below constitutes such a case. The only precedent for this form in earlier Jewish sources appears to be five appearances in Targum Onqelos. Since the Hasidic Hebrew authors are likely to have regularly studied and therefore been intimately familiar with Targum Onqelos, it is possible that their use of the form *תשלוחן* was inspired by its appearance in this text, despite the fact that the latter is in Aramaic. This phenomenon is part of a broader, though sporadic, tendency

on the part of the authors to incorporate certain Aramaic elements into their Hebrew writing (see 16.2 for details).

- הלֹא תדעוֹן לְמִי תשלוחוֹן אוֹתִי 'Do you not know to whom you are sending me' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 28)

Rarely, a *yiqtol* with paragogic ך seems to lack precedent altogether in earlier sources, suggesting that on these instances it was used productively by the Hasidic Hebrew authors. Such a case is illustrated below. This phenomenon is not common and therefore cannot be said to constitute an integral feature of Hasidic Hebrew grammar, but it nevertheless demonstrates that the authors were capable of adapting this variant independently rather than simply incorporating well-known biblical and rabbinic forms into their compositions.

- וּמִן הַשָּׁמַיִם יִסְיִיעוּן לוֹ: 'And from the heavens they will aid him' (Bodek 1865a: 49)

8.2.1.2 Shortened (Jussive) Forms

On very rare occasions in the tales a second or third person *hifil yiqtol* with clearly indicative or modal force appears in shortened form, identical to a jussive, as in the following examples:

- לְמַעַן תְּבוֹא וּתְגַדֵּל לִי סִבַּת הַדָּבָר 'So that you should come and tell me the reason for the matter' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 59)
- אוֹלֵי יוֹאֵל לָתֵת לִי בַהֲקֵפָה עֹגָה אַחַת 'Maybe he will agree to give me a cake with the coffee' (Michelsohn 1910c: 6)
- וּבִיקֵשׁ מִמֶּנּוּ הַנִּכְרִי שְׂיוֹסֵף לוֹ עוֹד 'And the non-Jew asked him to add more for him' (M. Walden 1914: 52)

This use of shortened forms in indicative contexts is noteworthy both because it stands in striking contrast to the almost complete avoidance in Hasidic Hebrew of the jussive in third person command settings (see 8.7.3) and because its historical origins are uncertain. While there is some biblical precedent for shortened *yiqtol* forms in indicative contexts, particularly in poetic and late texts (Qimron 1986–1987: 148, 158), it is doubtful whether this rather marginal phenomenon had any direct bearing on the (likewise marginal) Hasidic Hebrew usage. Similarly, shortened forms are found in the language of Palestinian *piyyuṭim* (Rand 2006: 140–141); however, the degree to which the tale authors would have been influenced by such forms is again uncertain.

Rather, the development is perhaps more likely to have been synchronic: the authors may have employed these forms based on analogy with the *hifil wayyiqtol*, which is frequently shortened in Hasidic Hebrew (see 8.3.1.1.2). This is particularly likely in cases wherein the shortened form is prefixed by the conjunction *waw*, which could easily have been confused with the *waw*-consecutive. The first example above constitutes such a case. Alternatively, it is possible that the authors did not make a clear distinction between shortened and unshortened forms and used them interchangeably in these cases, as they seem to have done in the case of the *wayyiqtol* (see 8.3.1.1). This trend may be linked to the identical phenomenon which is more commonly found in Maskilic Hebrew (see Kahn 2009: 18–20), and as such constitutes one of many features of a more widespread Eastern European form of Hebrew. However, only a few such forms are attested in the tales, and as such the practice is better regarded as an occasional aberration rather than an entrenched feature of Hasidic Hebrew grammar.

8.2.1.3 2/3mp with *holem*

The standard form of the 2mp and 3mp *yiqtol* in Hasidic Hebrew, as in other forms of the language, contains a shewa in the second syllable. However, occasionally a Hasidic Hebrew 2mp or 3mp *yiqtol* is found with a *holem* (represented by ו) in this position instead of the expected shewa. Such forms are not particularly commonly attested, but are distributed throughout the tale corpus.

Some of these forms have precise counterparts in the Hebrew Bible or rabbinic literature, and as such it is likely that the Hasidic Hebrew authors selected them on occasion because they were familiar with them from their appearance in these earlier texts. For example, the form in following example was selected because the whole clause is an adaptation of Genesis 8:22, which contains an identical *yiqtol* with *holem*.

- בן עשה הרבי ר' זישא פעמים רבות [...], קור וחום לא ישובו, עדי הרב מאוסטרא
 הזה 'Rebbe Zusha did so many times [...]—cold and heat shall not
 cease—until the rabbi from Ostroh felt it' (Ehrmann 1903: 15a); cf. יָרַע וְקָצִיר
 וְזָרַח וְחֹרֶף וְיוֹם וְלַיְלָה לֹא יִשָּׁבְתוּ: 'Seed and harvest, cold and heat, summer
 and winter, day and night, shall not cease' (Gen. 8:22)

Other forms seem to derive from rabbinic or medieval literature; for example, the following extract contains a form with a precise counterpart in Moses Alshich's commentary on 1 Samuel 16.

- כל אשר יחפצו 'everything that they might want' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 28)

However, other Hasidic Hebrew forms seem to be completely without precedent in earlier forms of Hebrew, including not only Biblical or Rabbinic but also medieval varieties of the language. The following example constitutes such a case. These unprecedented forms comprise part of a trend visible throughout the tales whereby the authors employed biblical and rabbinic morphological features productively, rather than limiting themselves to forms actually attested in the canonical literature.

- ואתם תגנוזו אותי 'And you will bury me' (Rodkinsohn 1864a: 40)

Moreover, the syntactic use of the Hasidic Hebrew form only partially resembles that of Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew. In Biblical Hebrew *yiqtol* with *holem* is restricted to pausal positions, i.e. marked by a disjunctive accent at the end of a clause or verse (König 1881–1897, 1:161; Lambert 1946: 280; Joüon-Muraoka 2006: 125); similarly, in Rabbinic Hebrew, such forms are almost always found in pausal positions (Segal 1927: 71–72; Haneman 1980: 41; Bar-Asher 1990: 69; Sharvit 2004: 54). By contrast, in Hasidic Hebrew they may appear in any syntactic position. Thus, while they are sometimes found at the end of a clause or sentence, as in the first example below, they often appear within a syntactic unit, as in the remaining examples. This discrepancy suggests that the Hasidic Hebrew authors were familiar with the long form and incorporated it into their writing without necessarily taking into account all of the syntactic properties of the biblical and rabbinic forms. In this respect the Hasidic Hebrew use corresponds to that of contemporaneous Maskilic Hebrew, in which 3mp *yiqtol* with *holem* is likewise employed in both the middle and end of clauses and sentences (see Kahn 2009: 22–24).

- והשר העמיד שומרים אצלם שלא יברוחו 'And the officer appointed guards next to them so that they wouldn't escape' (Kaidaner 1875: 16b)
 – בוודאי כי יגנובו הערלים מן היי"ש 'Certainly the non-Jews will steal some of the wine' (Bodek? 1866: 24b)
 – לבל יגנובו אותו 'lest they steal him' (Sofer 1904: 6)
 – שלא יחשבו ב"א כי הטמינוה שם 'so that people wouldn't think they had hidden it there' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 28)

8.2.1.4 3fp Form

Verbs associated with feminine plural subjects in the Hasidic Hebrew tales almost invariably appear in the 3fp form. This phenomenon applies equally to logically and grammatically feminine subjects, as in the following examples:

- והיה כבואם הביתה תבואנה אמותם להגיש מאכלים 'And when they came home, their mothers came to serve food' (Bodek 1865c: 21)
- בודאי כל עצמותי תשברנה 'Surely all of my bones would break' (Kaidaner 1875: 15a)
- ובהדרך ה' נזהרות הנקיבות שלא תתראנה בהדרך 'And on the way the females would be warned not to see each other on the way' (Lieberson 1913: 21)
- וב"ה אנחנו יודעים את אשר בקרב איש ואת אשר בליותיו תיעצנה 'And thank God we know what is inside a man, and what his insides (lit: kidneys) advise' (Ehrmann 1903: 9a)
- עצמותיו תאמרנה ה' מי כמוהו 'His bones say, "The LORD, who is like Him?"' (Heilmann 1902: 20)

This practice clearly follows the model of Biblical Hebrew, in which the feminine plural *yiqtol* forms are typically used in conjunction with feminine plural subjects, in contrast to Rabbinic Hebrew, in which the feminine plural *yiqtol* forms have with few exceptions been replaced by their masculine equivalents (see Schwarzwald 1981: 15; Pérez Fernández 1999: 106).

The Hasidic Hebrew authors' relatively consistent use of the 3fp form is striking and possibly surprising: given that references to plural female subjects are rare in the tales and that the authors often employ a masculine singular verb or adjective in conjunction with a feminine singular subject (see 8.13.2), one might expect them to use the extremely common 3mp instead of the 3fp on the relatively few occasions warranting this form. As in the case of the stative *qal* with present meaning discussed in 8.1.2.6, it is possible that the Hasidic Hebrew authors selected this form precisely because it had strong biblical associations for them: when composing historical narrative they are likely to have turned to the classic model of historical Hebrew narrative provided by the Hebrew Bible, and as such sometimes availed themselves of characteristically biblical features such as the 3fp *yiqtol* in order to lend a biblical, and thereby historical, feel to their writing. The same tendency can be seen in other aspects of Hasidic Hebrew grammar, for example the *wayyiqtol* (see 8.3.3.1). Conversely, or additionally, the 2/3fp *yiqtol* is a prominent feature of Rashi's biblical and Talmudic commentaries (Betzer 2001: 108), and it is likely that the presence of the form in these writings, with which the Hasidic Hebrew authors would have been familiar, reinforced their tendency to employ it.

Only on very rare occasions is the 3mp form employed in conjunction with a feminine plural subject, as below. In some of these cases, such as the first two examples below, it is possible that the plural suffix *-im*, which is regarded as masculine in Hasidic Hebrew even when the noun in question is feminine in the singular, may have triggered use of the masculine plural verb.

- 'ובסוף ימיו היה מקפיד שלא יכנסו נשים לביתו' 'And at the end of his days he used to insist that women not come into his house' (Landau 1892: 54)
- 'וכשיבואו הנשים לבקרך תאמר' 'And when the women come to visit you, say ...' (Sofer 1904: 16)
- 'נשמות גדולות הצריכים לבוא על זה העולם' 'Great souls who need to come to this world' (Michelsohn 1912: 86)

8.2.2 Uses

The *yiqṭol* in Hasidic Hebrew functions primarily as a marker of future tense, non-past modalities, and volitional senses, but it is also sometimes used in past and present contexts. In this regard Hasidic Hebrew follows the biblical model to some extent, as the *yiqṭol* can be used in all of these settings in that form of the language (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 502–514; Joosten 2012: 266–287), in contrast to rabbinic-based forms of Hebrew, in which it is not used in past or present indicative contexts (Pérez Fernández 1999: 108; Geiger 2013c). However, the Hasidic Hebrew *yiqṭol* differs from its biblical equivalent in that it is not used as frequently in past and present contexts; this is most likely rooted in influence from the post-biblical forms of the language. Indeed, the use of the *yiqṭol* in past and present contexts at all may reflect another (conscious or sub-conscious) attempt on the part of the authors to link their writings linguistically to the revered historical narratives of the Hebrew Bible and thereby highlight their status as serious documents worthy of attention and study. In this respect Hasidic Hebrew resembles contemporaneous Maskilic Hebrew prose fiction, in which the *yiqṭol* is found in past, present, future, modal, and volitional settings (see Kahn 2009: 104–154). Likewise, the motivation for this similarity may have the same ideological basis in both Hasidic and Maskilic Hebrew, as each set of authors had the biblical model in mind to some extent. However, the Maskilic Hebrew authors were explicit in their goal to follow biblical usage as closely as possible, while the Hasidic Hebrew authors had no such expressed aim. Moreover, the two forms of Hebrew differ in that the Hasidic Hebrew authors' use of the *yiqṭol* in past habitual contexts is much less frequent than that of their Maskilic counterparts.

8.2.2.1 Past

The *yiqṭol* does not typically serve as a past tense marker in Hasidic Hebrew. However, very rarely it appears in past tense contexts, where it may indicate past habitual, preterite, or pluperfect actions, as below.

8.2.2.1.1 *Past Habitual*

On very rare occasions the Hasidic Hebrew *yiqtol* is found in a context indicating that it refers to an iterative past action. Such a case is shown below. It is possible that this infrequent phenomenon is based on the very common biblical use of the *yiqtol* as an iterative past marker (see Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 502–503), though the fact that the Hasidic Hebrew usage appears so rarely suggests that the biblical influence was marginal in this case.

- וכן בכל השבת ובכל פעם שאל ישאל לו הרב מה יאמר ד'. ויהי במוצש"ק באו לפני הרב
'And so it was for the whole Sabbath, and every time the Rebbe would ask him, "What does the LORD say?" And on Saturday night they came before the Rebbe' (Bodek 1866: 56)

8.2.2.1.2 *Preterite*

There are only two clear instances in the tales in which the *yiqtol* serves to denote a preterite action, both in the writings of a single author (Bodek), as follows:

- ויהי כבואם הביתה תבואנה אמותם להגיש מאכלים [...] ולא אבו הילדים לאכול
when they came home, their mothers came to serve food [...] but the children did not want to eat' (Bodek 1865c: 21)
- והנה פתאום תשמענה אזניו מאחוריו צלצל פעמון (שליטין)
'And all of a sudden his ears heard the ringing of a bell (a sleigh) behind him' (Bodek 1865b: 10)

This scarcity is in keeping with earlier forms of Hebrew, in which the *yiqtol* does not typically convey preterite actions. Nevertheless, there is historical precedent for this anomalous use: *yiqtol* with preterite value is occasionally attested in Biblical Hebrew (Joosten 2012: 287). Similarly, *yiqtol* sometimes has preterite value in nineteenth-century Maskilic Hebrew (Kahn 2009: 109–111). However, the marginal nature of this usage in all of these forms of Hebrew makes it difficult to make any definite associations between the Hasidic phenomenon and its biblical or Maskilic counterparts.

8.2.2.1.3 *Pluperfect*

Extremely rarely the *yiqtol* is attested in a seemingly pluperfect context, as below. This usage is hardly less marginal in earlier canonical forms of the language than it is in Hasidic Hebrew; as such, the few cases appearing in the tales are best regarded as anomalies.

- ‘Once he stayed in the holy community of Rashkov in the winter. And he had not blessed the [new] moon yet’ (Baruch of Medzhybizh 1880: 1)

8.2.2.2 Present

8.2.2.2.1 *General Present*

The *yiqtol* is most commonly employed in future, modal, and volitional contexts. However, very occasionally it appears in present settings. In such cases it most commonly denotes general present states, as in the following examples.

- ‘Everyone keeps united in the synagogues and study houses, and everyone loves his fellow’ (Bodek 1865c: 13)
- ‘Do you remember the day on which your Rebbe sent Leib after me?’ (Rodkinsohn 1864a: 12)
- ‘Do you know the melamed in your town?’ (Seuss 1890: 15)
- ‘What do you want from this man?’ (M. Walden 1913, pt. 3: 5)

The use of the *yiqtol* in general present contexts is occasionally attested with the stative root י.ד.ע. ‘know’, as below. As discussed in 8.1.2.6, this root more commonly appears in the *qatal* with present meaning; aside from the difference in frequency the two conjugations are employed in free variation in such contexts. In this respect the Hasidic Hebrew authors follow biblical precedent, as this root is sometimes attested in the *yiqtol* with present force in that form of the language (e.g. in 1 Kings 3:7).

- ‘And she asked him, “How do you know this?”’ (Michelson 1910a: 39)
- ‘And he said to him, “My beloved, don’t you know that the holy Sabbath is approaching?”’ (Zak 1912: 12)

Similarly, the root י.ב.ל. ‘be able’ is often used with present tense meaning. In this case, the tendency may be linked to the modal sense of the root, as the *yiqtol* is commonly employed in modal contexts in Hasidic Hebrew (see 8.2.2.4).

- ‘How much can one man drink?’ (Ehrmann 1905: 55a)
- ‘And from this story we can understand’ (? 1894: 26)

- ‘I am old and weak; I can’t take part in quarrels any more’ (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 28)

8.2.2.2.2 *Present Progressive*

In addition, on rare occasions the *yiqṭol* is used to denote present progressive actions, as below. This usage has a parallel in Biblical Hebrew, in which it is equally marginal and is restricted primarily to questions (see Joosten 2012: 61–62, 278–280). In some of these cases the Hasidic Hebrew form is based directly on a biblical model; for example, the *yiqṭol* in the first example below derives from a very similar phrase in Genesis 37:15.

- ‘Another wretched man, a destitute and impoverished tailor, LORD have mercy, met him and asked him, “What are you looking for?”’ (Ehrmann 1903: 2a); cf. וַיִּשְׁאַלְהוּ וַיִּשְׁאַלְהוּ ‘And the man asked him, “What are you looking for?”’ (Genesis 37:15)
- ‘Therefore a quarrel arose and they rebelled upon seeing that the Hebrews were (lit: are) rising higher and higher in trade’ (Bodek 1865c: 5)
- ‘I answered him, “I don’t see anything.” And he asked him, “Why don’t you see?”’ (Zak 1912: 40)

8.2.2.2.3 *Present Habitual*

Likewise, the *yiqṭol* very rarely serves to convey present habitual actions, as in the following examples. This usage most likely stems from Biblical Hebrew, in which it is a regular feature (Joosten 2012: 276–277); however, in this case the frequency of the Hasidic Hebrew usage does not correspond to that of the biblical model, as the former is quite marginal while the latter is widespread.

- ‘What is this, that you always go after me’ (Gemen 1914: 54)
- ‘Why do you hit me more than the other boys’ (Sofer 1904: 22)
- ‘It is told in his name that once he came in Hungary to a butcher who did not know him’ (Teomim Fraenkel 1911a: 24)

8.2.2.3 Future

8.2.2.3.4 *Absolute Future (Plans and Predictions)*

The *yiqṭol* is commonly used to indicate various types of future actions. Thus, it frequently denotes future plans, as below:

- נספר זאת לקמן א"ה 'We shall tell of this below, please God' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 17)
- ואמרו הצדיק מאפטא יבוא לכאן 'And they said, "The Tzaddik of Apta is going to come here"' (Hirsch 1900: 41)
- אספר לכם מעשה נפלאה 'I will tell you a wonderful story' (Rosenthal 1909: 17)
- ויאמר האיש כן אעשה 'And the man said, "I will do so"' (Seuss 1890: 5)
- אספר לכם סיבת לידתי 'I will tell you the reason of my birth' (Breitstein 1914: 8)
- מה לי לילך להבעש"ט אני אשבות בכאן 'What use is it to me going to the Ba'al Shem Tov? I'll rest here' (A. Walden 1860?: 15a)

Similarly, it is used to convey predictions, e.g.:

- עוד חמשה מאות רוסים יפלו 'Another five hundred Russians will fall' (Berger 1910b: 87)
- בליל ד' כחצות יבא בעלך לביתך 'On Wednesday night around midnight your husband will come to your house' (Rodkinsohn 1864a: 30)
- אולי נלמוד ממנו דרך השם 'Maybe we will learn the way of the LORD from him' (Michelsohn 1905: 85)
- אולי ירפא את בנינו 'Maybe he will heal our son' (Chikernik 1902: 12)
- הלא בשתי ירחים תוכל לאסוף כשלושים ר"כ 'After all, in two months you will be able to collect around thirty roubles' (A. Walden 1860?: 32b)

These uses of the *yiqṭol* in the Hasidic Hebrew tales are unremarkable given that they are found in the Hebrew Bible (see e.g. Gibson 1994: 76–78; Joosten 2012: 266–268) as well as in Rabbinic Hebrew (though mostly in subordinate clauses; see Pérez Fernández 1999: 108, 124) and later literature (see e.g. Rand 2006: 335–336; Gryczan 2013).

8.2.2.3.5 *Relative Future*

Sometimes the *yiqṭol* is used to denote the relative future in past contexts, as below. Such *yiqṭol* forms usually appear in subordinate clauses introduced by subordinators such as אשר, כי, or ש- 'that' or כאשר 'when', as in all except the last example. However, they are occasionally found in independent clauses, as in the last example. This usage has clear precedent in Biblical Hebrew (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 513; Williams 2007: 70), which may have influenced the

Hasidic Hebrew authors to some degree. Any such influence may have been compounded by the fact that the future tense is used in relative settings in Yiddish (Schachter 2003: 56). The possibility of Yiddish influence may be supported by the fact that an identical use is found in nineteenth-century Maskilic Hebrew (Kahn 2009: 121–122), which was composed by native Yiddish speakers, and subsequently became a standard feature of Israeli Hebrew (Tzivoni 1991: 84; Boneh 2013).

- ‘וישבו כל הלילי ויפרוט לו האיש כל מסעו דרך איזה עיירות אשר יצטרך לנסוע’ And they sat the whole night, and the man described in detail to him his whole journey, through which towns he would have to travel’ (Rodkinsohn 1865: 15)
- ‘ואמר להם כי אח”כ יחקור על עגלה ההוא ויכריחו אותם לשוב לו הכסף’ And he said to them that afterwards he would enquire about that wagon, and force them to return the money to him’ (Bromberg 1899: 24)
- ‘And the intention was that in the drunkenness they would rise up over him to strike him a fatal blow’ (J. Duner 1899: 96)
- ‘And the youth determined that early in the morning when they unlocked his room he would escape from there’ (Berger 1907: 25)
- ‘And that night, before the Maggid lay down on his bed he said, “Master of the Universe”’ (Hirsch 1900: 65)
- ‘ולבש בתי ידיים (הענטשקיס) כי ידע שהדאקטער יבוא ולא רצה ליגע בו בידיו הקדושים’ And he put on gloves because he knew that the doctor was going to come, and he didn’t want to touch him with his holy hands’ (Gemen 1914: 91)
- ‘And he promised her that he himself would come after his death’ (Brandwein 1912: 2)
- ‘And they watched after him in order to know the place where he was going to lodge’ (N. Duner 1912: 19)
- ‘And he said to them that they would dine at the Ba’al Shem Tov’s house on the holy Sabbath day’ (Munk 1898: 72)
- ‘The hours passed and went by, and soon another would arrive in his place’ (Bodek 1865c: 14)

8.2.2.4 Modal

The *yiqṭol* can be used to convey a range of deontic and epistemic modalities, most typically capability, obligation, desirability, and possibility, as in the examples below respectively. In this regard Hasidic Hebrew resembles both its

biblical and rabbinic antecedents, as the *yiqtol* can be used in similar modal contexts in both of these strata of the language (see Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 506–509 for Biblical Hebrew; see Mishor 2013 for Rabbinic Hebrew). However, Hasidic Hebrew is more closely aligned with post-biblical conventions in that it uses the *yiqtol* only in non-past modal contexts, in contrast to Biblical Hebrew, in which it may be used with reference to past modalities as well.

Capability

- ‘And there they saw from him marvels and wonders that cannot be comprehended by the physical brain’ (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 38)
- ‘And they all started to cry, and they said, “How can you leave us?” And he said, “What can I do?”’ (Bromberg 1899: 25)
- ‘I know that there are tzaddikim in Poland who can work wonders and miracles, but how can I go?’ (Singer 1900b: 2)

Obligation

- ‘And you must not tell your husband anything’ (Sofer 1904: 16)
- ‘And he will tell you what you must do’ (Rodkinsohn 1864a: 19)
- ‘The edict of the king was that the Hasidim must not travel to the Rebbes for the Days of Awe’ (Seuss 1890: 10)

Desirability

- ‘It is better that you should sit in your house’ (Zak 1912: 29)
- ‘What should I do with the child with whom I study?’ (Landau 1892: 29)
- ‘And our Rebbe replied that they should break all of their dishes or sell them to non-Jews, and buy new dishes’ (Michelsohn 1912: 106)
- ‘So why should I hate him for that?’ (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 5)

Possibility

- והוא רצה ליתן לו כל מבוקשו אשר יבקש 'And he wanted to give him anything that he might request' (Ehrmann 1903: 1b)
- תן לי עצה מה לעשות [...] ובמה אזכה גם אנכי 'Give me advice [about] what to do [...]; how may I also merit [it]?' (Zak 1912: 12)

8.2.2.5 Volitional

8.2.2.5.1 *1cp Mutual Encouragement*

1cp *yiqṭol* is occasionally used to convey mutual encouragement, equivalent to English 'let's', as in the following examples:

- עתה נניח מלספר מעשי האיש בוילנא 'Now let's leave off telling the story of the man in Vilna' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 7)
- עתה נשב נא בזה שבועות אחדים 'Now let's stay here a few weeks' (N. Duner 1912: 10)
- בוא עמי ונלך יחדו 'Come with me and let's go together' (M. Walden 1914: 124)
- ויאמרו זל"ז ויהי מה נשבות פה 'And they said to each other, "Come what may, let's stop here"' (Laufbahn 1914: 49)

In this type of setting the *yiqṭol* may be used interchangeably with the cohortative (see 8.7.1). This use of the *yiqṭol* has precedent in biblical and post-biblical forms of Hebrew. In Biblical Hebrew the *yiqṭol* can serve to convey mutual encouragement alongside the cohortative, though each form is employed in slightly different circumstances, with the cohortative thought to be used in more urgent and personal contexts than the *yiqṭol* (see Shulman 1996: 196–197). In Rabbinic Hebrew, by contrast, the *yiqṭol* is the only form used in such settings as the cohortative is not a productive feature (Bar-Asher 1999: 9; Pérez Fernández 1999: 105; Fassberg 2013). The Hasidic Hebrew authors follow biblical precedent in that they employ both the *yiqṭol* and the cohortative to denote mutual encouragement (and indeed exhibit something of a preference for the markedly biblical cohortative over the *yiqṭol*); however, unlike their biblical model they do not seem to use the two forms in distinct semantic settings.

8.2.2.5.2 *Second Person Commands*

The *yiqṭol* often serves to convey positive second person commands, as below. In such contexts the *yiqṭol* is used interchangeably with the imperative (see 8.7.2.2). This phenomenon has precedent in both Biblical and post-Biblical Hebrew. In Biblical Hebrew the *yiqṭol* and imperative are both employed in similar though not identical contexts; the *yiqṭol* is used in less personal and

urgent circumstances than the imperative (Shulman 2001). Similarly, in Rabbinic Hebrew the *yiqtol* is very frequently used with second person command reference, in contrast to the imperative, which is relatively rare (Pérez Fernández 1999: 124).

- תאמין לו כי אנוכי אינני רואה כ"א כח האלקי 'Believe him that I don't see anything except the Godly power' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 39)
- קח את מטבע זו ותקנה אתרוג 'Take this coin and buy a citron' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 25)
- תדעו שאין זה רוח הקדוש 'Know that this is not the holy spirit' (Rakats 1912, pt. 2: 19)
- תלמוד גם אתה עמו איזה פעם 'You learn with him as well some time' (Berger 1910c: 54)
- תאכל ותשתה הרבה כדי שתהא בריא 'Eat and drink a lot so that you will be healthy' (Chikernik 1903b: 20)

The *yiqtol* can also be employed in conjunction with the negator *אל* with all stems and root types to denote negative second person commands, as in the first example below, or alternatively with the negator *לא* in otherwise identical settings, as in the second. The Hasidic Hebrew convention of using the *yiqtol* following *אל* to convey negative commands differs from Biblical Hebrew in that it extends to stems and root types such as the *hifil* and hollow roots (as in the last example) which in Biblical Hebrew have a distinct shortened jussive form that would be used in such contexts. Conversely, the Hasidic usage mirrors Rabbinic Hebrew, in which negative commands are routinely conveyed by *אל* followed by the *yiqtol* (Pérez Fernández 1999: 124).

- אל תעמוד [...] אמר לבתו 'He said to his daughter, "[...] Don't stand still"' (Bodek? 1866: 14a)
- ואמר לו כבוד קדושתו מענין הוצאות הרשיון לא תדאג כלל איעצך ויהי' אלקים בעורך 'And His Holy Honour said to him regarding the matter of getting the permit, "Don't worry at all; I will advise you, and God will assist you"' (Kaidaner 1875: 41a)
- אשאל ממעלתכם אל נא תשיבו פני 'I will ask your honour one small question; please do not deny me' (Rodkinsohn 1864a: 5)
- אל תשיב לביתך 'Don't return to your house' (Bodek 1865b: 1)

Occasionally a 3ms *yiqtol* is used as an oblique way of issuing a polite request or suggestion to an interlocutor. The practice, illustrated below, serves as a way of conveying deference towards the interlocutor, who is invariably a Rebbe or

other highly esteemed figure. The verbs in question always have third person command force and are usually followed by the politeness marker **נא**. This usage most likely stems from Biblical Hebrew, in which third person singular *yiqṭol* and jussive forms followed by **נא** may be used with polite second person reference (Shulman 1999: 61–62).

- **וַאֲמַר לוֹ אִישׁ אֶחָד יֹאמַר נָא כְבוֹדוֹ אֵלָיו שִׁיקַח אִיזָה דָּבָר לִפְנֵי** ‘And one man said to him, “Let his Honour say to him that he should eat something (lit: take something into his mouth)”’ (Bromberg 1899: 32)
- **וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ הָאִישׁ יֹאמַר נָא רְבִינוּ מֶה אַתֶּם רּוֹאִים** ‘And the man said to him, “Let our Rebbe please tell us what you see”’ (Singer 1900b: 4)

8.2.2.5.3 *Third Person Commands*

The *yiqṭol* is the only form used in Hasidic Hebrew to convey third person commands, as shown below.

- **מִי שֶׁטָבַל בַּהֲמָקוּהָ יִכְנוֹס** ‘Let he who has immersed in the ritual bath enter’ (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 38)
- **וַיַּעַן הַבַּעַשׁ״ט וַאֲמַר וַאֲמַר אֲתִי יֹאכֵל** ‘And the Ba’al Shem Tov answered, saying, “Let him eat with me”’ (Sofer 1904: 9)
- **יָבֵא נָא הֵנָּה** ‘Let him come here’ (Laufbahn 1914: 49)
- **אַל יִשִּׂים אִשָּׁם עָלֵינוּ** ‘Let him not lay blame on us’ (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 40); cf. **אֶל־יִשָּׁם הַמֶּלֶךְ בְּעַבְדּוֹ דָּבָר** ‘Let not the king lay any [blame] on his servant’ (1Sam. 22:15)

In this respect Hasidic Hebrew differs from its biblical antecedent in that it never employs the jussive form to convey third person commands, even in the case of **י/ה-III**, hollow, and *hifil* roots from which a jussive could be formed on the basis of those attested in Biblical Hebrew. For example, in the final example above the *yiqṭol* is used to convey a negative third person command even though there is a shortened jussive form attested for the root in question in the Hebrew Bible. Instead, the language of the tales resembles Rabbinic Hebrew, in which the jussive is not a productive feature (Segal 1927: 72; Pérez Fernández 1999: 105). In this respect it also overlaps with nineteenth-century Maskilic Hebrew, in which the jussive is likewise unproductive (see Kahn 2009: 150–152).

8.3 *Wayyiqṭol*

The *wayyiqṭol* is a common feature of Hasidic Hebrew narrative. The centrality of this form to the verbal system exhibited in the tales is striking considering that the *wayyiqṭol* is a prominent characteristic of Biblical Hebrew as opposed to rabbinic or rabbinic-based varieties of the language. While the Hasidic Hebrew *wayyiqṭol* generally resembles its biblical predecessor, it has some idiosyncrasies of morphology and usage which will be discussed below.

8.3.1 *Morphology*

8.3.1.1 Shortening

Although the Hasidic Hebrew *wayyiqṭol* is modelled on that of its biblical antecedent, the authors' treatment of *wayyiqṭol* forms of *qal* 𐤒𐤓-𐤒, *qal* hollow, and *hifil* roots differs to a certain degree from their biblical counterparts in that the biblical *wayyiqṭol* forms typically undergo vowel shortening while in Hasidic Hebrew this convention is followed only sporadically.

8.3.1.1.1 *Unshortened wayyiqṭol*

In the Hasidic tales the *wayyiqṭol* forms of all root types in the *hifil*, of 𐤒𐤓-𐤒 verbs of all stems, and of hollow roots in the *qal* most commonly appear in unshortened form. This contrasts with Biblical Hebrew, in which these types of *wayyiqṭol* are usually shortened (Gesenius-Kautzsch 1910: 147; Joüon-Muraoka 2006: 128, 191, 196).

The following are some of the unshortened *qal* forms appearing in the tales:

- ויבנה 'and he built' (Rodkinsohn 1864a: 33)
- ויענה 'and he answered' (Breitstein 1914: 18)
- ויעשה 'and he did' (Singer 1900b: 19)
- ויסור 'and he turned aside' (Bodek 1865c: 3)

Unshortened *hifil wayyiqṭol* forms are particularly numerous in Hasidic Hebrew, e.g.:

- ויעביר 'and he passed' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 28)
- ויצג 'and he showed' (Berger 1907: 115)
- ויכה 'and he struck' (Teomim Fraenkel 1911a: 75)
- ויוסף 'and he continued' (Bodek 1865c: 3)
- ויעיד 'and he testified' (Sofer 1904: 32)
- וביא 'and he brought' (Laufbahn 1914: 48)
- ותושיט 'and she stretched out' (Michelsohn 1912: 21)
- ויבטיח 'and he promised' (Chikernik 1903b: 7)

Unapocopated *piel* *י/ה-III* is less common but is also occasionally attested, e.g.:

- *ויכסה* 'and he covered' (Zak 1912: 32)
- *וינסה* 'and he tried' (Bodek 1865a: 20)
- *ויצוה* 'and he commanded' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 16)

Most of these unshortened *wayyiqtol* forms are 3ms, but occasionally a 3fs form is attested, e.g.:

- *ותהיה* 'and there was' (Kaidaner 1875: 47a)
- *ותמתין* 'and she waited' (A. Walden 1860?: 48a)
- *ותגיד* 'and she told' (Laufbahn 1914: 46)

Some of these unshortened Hasidic Hebrew *wayyiqtol* forms lack biblical parallels. A striking example is the form shown below:

- *ויתחיל* 'and he started' (Teomim Fraenkel 1911a: 33)

This is a *wayyiqtol* from a post-biblical root *ת.ח.ל.* (a secondary root derived from *ח.ל.ל.*), and thus completely unattested in the Hebrew Bible. In this case the lack of shortening is attributable to the absence of a model in the Hebrew Bible: as the Hasidic Hebrew authors had no shortened biblical *wayyiqtol* from this root in mind, when composing their form their most immediately familiar model would have been the frequently attested post-biblical *yiqtol* *יתחיל*, and it is easy to see how when adapting this form into a *wayyiqtol* they left it unshortened. This phenomenon of taking a post-biblical root and using it to form a characteristically biblical *wayyiqtol*, with a resulting divergence from the biblical tendency towards shortening, is an example of the widespread Hasidic Hebrew tendency to create original forms representing a fusion of biblical and post-biblical convention.

Similarly, in other cases the Hasidic Hebrew authors employ a *wayyiqtol* based on a root that is attested in Biblical Hebrew, but does not appear as a *wayyiqtol* in that form of the language. In such cases, as in those discussed above, the Hasidic Hebrew authors would have had no clear biblical model on which to base their *wayyiqtol*, which may explain the forms' lack of shortening. The following two examples illustrate such *wayyiqtol* forms: the first is attested in the Hebrew Bible as a *qatal* and infinitive construct but not as a *wayyiqtol*, and the second appears as a *yiqtol* but not as a *wayyiqtol*.

- ויזהיר ‘and he warned’ (Rodkinsohn 1865: 11)
- ויכסה ‘and he covered’ (Zak 1912: 32)

However, in many other cases Hasidic Hebrew unshortened *wayyiqtol* forms do have shortened biblical equivalents. For example, each *wayyiqtol* shown below appears relatively frequently in the Hebrew Bible in shortened form. In these cases the reason for the lack of shortening is less clear than in those lacking biblical precedent. It is noteworthy that the Hasidic Hebrew use of unshortened *wayyiqtol* is closely mirrored in contemporaneous Maskilic Hebrew narrative literature (see Kahn 2009: 38–41). This similarity is one element of a much more large-scale correspondence between nineteenth-century Hasidic and Maskilic Hebrew reflected in morphological and syntactic issues discussed throughout this volume.

- ויענה ‘and he answered’ (Landau 1892: 101); cf. וַיַּעַן (Gen. 18:27)
- ויעשה ‘and he did’ (Singer 1900b: 19); cf. וַיַּעַשׂ (Exod. 9:6)
- ויצוה ‘and he commanded’ (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 16); cf. וַיִּצְוֶה (Num. 32:28)
- ויראה ‘and he showed’ (Breitstein 1914: 25); cf. וַיִּרְאֵהוּ (2 Kings 11:4)
- ויבכה ‘and he wept’ (Rosenthal 1909: 8); cf. וַיִּבְכֶּה (Gen. 27:38)
- ויסור ‘and he turned aside’ (Bodek 1865c: 3); cf. וַיִּסֹּר (Judges 14:8)

8.3.1.1.2 Shortened *wayyiqtol*

Although unshortened *wayyiqtol* is extremely common in Hasidic Hebrew, some shortened forms are attested. *Qal* III-ה/י roots sometimes appear in apocopated form, usually in the 3ms, as below. In most cases the apocopated and unapocopated variants are used in free variation; it is possible that the authors regarded them as interchangeable variants like, for example, the 3cp pronouns *המה*, *הם*, and *הן* discussed in 6.1.1.8.

- ויבך ‘and he cried’ (Michelson 1912: 50)
- ויען ‘and he answered’ (? 1894: 15)
- ויעש ‘and he did’ (Bromberg 1899: 26)
- וישת ‘and he drank’ (Hirsch 1900: 48)

Interestingly, *qal* hollow *wayyiqtol* is more frequently shortened than not, as in the following examples. This may be due to the fact that the authors would have pronounced the final syllable of such forms as [ə] whether they were shortened or not (in accordance with the typical pronunciation of unstressed final syllables in Ashkenazi Hebrew as [ə]; see U. Weinreich 1965: 43), which corresponds to the spelling of the shortened biblical form rather than to the unshortened version.

- וישם ‘and he placed’ (Bodek 1865a: 39)
- ויפג ‘and it sank/faded’ (Kaidaner 1875: 9b)
- וירץ ‘and he ran’ (Chikernik 1903b: 10)
- ויסר ‘and he turned aside’ (Teomim Fraenkel 1911a: 33)
- וינס ‘and he fled’ (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 4)
- ויקם ‘and he arose’ (Bodek 1865a: 36)
- וימת ‘and he died’ (A. Walden 1860?: 2a)

Apocopated *piel* III-ה/י forms are only rarely attested, e.g.:

- ויצו ‘and he commanded’ (J. Duner 1899: 19)

However, shortened *hifil* appears more frequently, e.g.:

- וילבש אותה ‘and he put [it] on her’ (Rodkinsohn 1865: 42)
- וישכם ‘and he rose early’ (Kaidaner 1875: 19b)
- ויגד ‘and he told’ (Chikernik 1903b: 10)
- ויבט ‘and he looked’ (Laufbahn 1914: 48)

Although most shortened *wayyiqtol* forms are 3ms, some 3fs forms are attested, e.g.:

- ותוסף ‘and she continued’ (Rodkinsohn 1865: 38)
- ותבך ‘and she wept’ (Teomim Fraenkel 1911a: 4)
- ותפן ‘and she turned’ (Kamelhar 1909: 26)

Apocopated 1cs *wayyiqtol* is attested only very rarely, e.g.:

- ואען ‘and I answered’ (Kaidaner 1875: 25b)

8.3.1.2 3mp with *holem*

The 3mp *wayyiqtol* of *qal* roots is occasionally attested with *holem* (represented by ו) instead of the expected shewa. This phenomenon is identical to that of *qal* 2mp and 3mp *yiqtol* with *holem* discussed in 8.2.1.3, though it is much less frequent. Some of these forms are most likely based on identical biblical models, as in the following example:

- ויעמודו שמה ‘And they stood there’ (Seuss 1890: 28); cf. וַיַּעֲמֻדוּ ‘And they stood still’ (2 Sam. 2:23)

By contrast, some of these forms appear to constitute original Hasidic Hebrew creations lacking precise biblical or post-biblical counterparts but drawing on and fusing elements of earlier strata of the language. For example, the construction *yiqtol* *yishtoku* shown in the example below is not attested in the Hebrew Bible; however, the corresponding *yiqtol* form *yishtaku* with *holem* in the second syllable is attested once, in Psalms 107:30, and this *yiqtol* is repeated several times in texts by medieval and early modern writers including Ibn Ezra and Alshich. It is possible that the existence of this particular *yiqtol* form in these texts, all of which would have been extremely familiar to Rodkinsohn, subconsciously prompted him to use this variant rather than its equivalent with *shewa* when creating his new *wayyiqtol*.

- וישתקו ואח"כ טענו עוד החי והמת וישתקו 'And afterwards the living and the dead argued further and fell silent' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 35)

8.3.1.3 3fp Forms

As discussed above, feminine plural subjects are relatively uncommon in the Hasidic Hebrew tales. However, when such subjects are attested, any associated *wayyiqtol* typically appears in the 3fp form, as below (like their *yiqtol* counterparts; see 8.2.1.4).

- ותשארה שתי נשים 'And two women remained' (Sofer 1904: 3)

8.3.1.4 *Wayyiqtol* with ה Suffix

The *wayyiqtol* with suffixed ה, which is sometimes found in Biblical Hebrew (Joüon-Muraoka 2006: 129–130), is almost unattested in the Hasidic Hebrew tales. The only clear example is shown below. Interestingly, this form does not have a biblical counterpart, but because the phenomenon is so marginal it cannot be considered a productive feature of Hasidic Hebrew.

- ותספרה האשה את המעשה 'And the woman told the story' (Seuss 1890: 32)

8.3.2 Uses

The Hasidic Hebrew *wayyiqtol* functions exclusively as a past tense marker. It appears in two different past tense contexts, as detailed below.

8.3.2.1 Preterite

The Hasidic Hebrew *wayyiqtol* most commonly serves to convey preterite actions in narrative, as below. As discussed in 8.1.2.1, *qatal* forms are also very frequently employed in preterite contexts in Hasidic Hebrew. In contrast to

Biblical Hebrew, in which there are syntactic and semantic differences governing the use of the *qatal* vs. *wayyiqtol* in preterite settings, in Hasidic Hebrew the two conjugations are employed in free variation. This treatment of the *qatal* and *wayyiqtol* as two interchangeable preterite forms closely resembles that of Maskilic literature (see Kahn 2009: 241–243).

- וילכו החבירים לראות את האיש 'So the friends went to see the man' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 46)
- ויקצוף המלך מאד ויתהפך על החסיד לאכזר ויצו את עבדו להרוג את החסיד 'The king became very angry and became cruel to the Hasid, and ordered his servant to kill the Hasid' (J. Duner 1899: 19)
- וגם כאדמו"ר עשה תיקון עם גיוועלב בביהכ"נ הנזכר בשנת תר"ך. ויעש גם מכסה 'And the honourable Rebbe made an improvement with a vault in that synagogue in the year 1860. And he also made a cover for the burial monument' (Landau 1892: 49)
- ונתבהלה וחזרה לביתה ותבא ותגיד לבעלה 'And she became agitated, and she returned to her house and she came and told her husband' (Laufbahn 1914: 46)
- ויסגור את הדלת ויקרא בקול ויאסוף כל עבדיו ויאסרו אותו בזיקים 'And he closed the door and called out (lit: with a voice) and gathered all his servants and they bound him with restraints' (Bodek? 1866: 20a)
- ויעזוב את החלה שלו והלך לביתו 'And he left the challah and went home' (Sofer 1904: 1)
- וישכימו בבקר ויסעו עם עוד הרבה אנשים סוחרים 'And they got up early in the morning and they travelled with many other men, merchants' (Kamelhar 1909: 29)
- ותשמע האשה לאישה ותלך אז בימי הגשם והשלג לבית הטבילה 'And the woman listened to her husband, and she went then, in the days of rain and snow, to the ritual bath' (Seuss 1890: 31)
- ויתעורר לבי מאד והתחלתי לבכות 'And my heart was greatly stirred, and I started to cry' (Breitstein 1914: 20)
- ויקצוף הרינדאר מאוד וישלח אחריו עבדו ערל וירכב על סוס לרוץ אחריו 'And the tenant farmer grew very angry, and he sent his non-Jewish servant after him, and he rode on a horse to run after him' (Michelsohn 1910a: 45)
- ותשמור הזקנה את הלילה ההוא ותדליק נרות הרבה ותבשל מאכלים טובים ותמתין 'And the old woman kept guard that night and lit many candles, and cooked good dishes and waited the whole night' (A. Walden 1860?: 48a)

8.3.2.2 Past Progressive

Although in the vast majority of cases the Hasidic Hebrew *wayyiqṭol* denotes preterite actions, on rare instances it has past progressive force, as below. In such cases the *wayyiqṭol* takes its tense/aspect value from a closely preceding *qatal*.

- ויראה הבעש"ט מרחוק כי עמד הזקן אצל העגלה וידבר עם האורח
Tov saw from afar that the old man was standing next to the wagon and was talking with the guest' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 12)

8.3.3 Syntax

While the syntax of the Hasidic Hebrew *wayyiqṭol* partially overlaps with that of its biblical counterpart, it has several noteworthy properties, to be discussed below.

8.3.3.1 Sequences with *qatal* and *wayyiqṭol*

Wayyiqṭol may appear at the end of a verbal sequence preceded by multiple *qatal* forms, as in the first two examples below, or conversely at the beginning of a sequence that is continued by *qatal* forms, as in the third example.

- והחיר רקע ברגלו וחרק בשיניו ויצעוק בקול מר
'The lame man stamped his foot and ground his teeth and cried out in a bitter voice' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 46)
- ואמר זה הוא בנו והוא מתלמידיו, ושמה מאד הה"ק ויקרב אותם מאד
'And he said, "This is his son, and he is one of his students," and the holy Rebbe was very happy and he brought them very close' (M. Walden 1914: 55)
- וישלח האיש הנ"ל את ידו ויפתח הדלת ותיכף רץ לקראתו הרב ולקח את הרב ר' בעריש
'And that man stretched out his hand and opened the door, and the Rebbe ran towards him and took Rabbi Berish' (Singer 1900b: 13)

These usages differ from Biblical Hebrew, in which past narrative sequences are typically conveyed by a series of *wayyiqṭol* forms rather than by a combination of *qatal* and *wayyiqṭol*. Thus, in contrast to its biblical counterpart, the Hasidic Hebrew *wayyiqṭol* is not an obligatory component of the verbal system but rather an optional element that can be selected as desired, possibly as a stylistic device serving to situate the tales as the linguistic heirs to the venerable tradition of biblical narrative. Significantly, this same approach to the *wayyiqṭol* is found in nineteenth-century Maskilic Hebrew literature, which often contains chains of *qatal* with a single *wayyiqṭol* at the end (see Kahn 2009: 188–189).

8.3.3.2 Temporal Clause + *wayyiqtol* without ויהי

Occasionally the Hasidic Hebrew authors employ a *wayyiqtol* as the first finite verb of a narrative unit following a temporal clause that lacks an introductory ויהי, as below; this diverges from biblical convention, according to which a sequence containing a *wayyiqtol* following a temporal clause would typically be introduced by ויהי, with only rare exceptions (van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999: 166–167).

- פ"א בדברו מצדיקים הראשונים וחסידים הראשונים ויאמר לו חסיד אחד 'Once when he was talking of the first Tzaddikim and the first Hasidim, a Hasid said to him ...' (Moses of Kobrin 1910: 75)
- וכשמעם דברי האיש ויאמרו זל"ז ויהי מה נשבות פה 'And when they heard the man's words, they said to each other, "Come what may, let's stop here"' (Laufbahn 1914: 49)
- הראש ישיבה כשמעו זה וידע בנפשו שהוא אינו במדריגה זו 'When the head of the yeshivah heard this, he knew in his soul that he was not on such a [spiritual] level' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 3)
- ולמחר כאשר נתודע הדבר בכל העיר ותהום העיר 'And the next day when the matter became known in the whole town, the whole town was abuzz' (N. Duner 1899: 42)

8.3.3.3 Adverb + *wayyiqtol*

Sometimes a *wayyiqtol* beginning a narrative sequence is immediately preceded by an adverb, as shown below. This practice is not standard in Biblical Hebrew, Maskilic Hebrew, or the Hasidic tale corpus itself. It is sometimes the result of *shibbuš*, i.e. the insertion of a biblical phrase into the narrative, without concern for syntactic compatibility with its immediate setting. The last example constitutes such a case. (See section 15 for further discussion of *shibbuš* in Hasidic Hebrew.)

- ופתאום וישתומם הדאקטאר 'And suddenly the doctor was astonished' (Seuss 1890: 4)
- ותיכף ויפקוד ד' אותה 'And the LORD immediately took notice of her' (Brandwein 1912: 40)
- מיד ותהום כל העיר 'Immediately (and) the whole town was astir' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 6); cf. ויהי כבאנה בית לָחֶם וְתָהָם כָּל־הָעִיר עָלֵיהֶן 'And when they arrived in Bethlehem the whole town was abuzz over them' (Ruth 1:9)

8.3.3-4 Extended *wayyiqṭol* Sequences

In contrast to Biblical Hebrew, in which *wayyiqṭol* sequences can continue for extended stretches of narrative, in Hasidic Hebrew it is rare to find more than three or four in close proximity. However, longer *wayyiqṭol* sequences do occasionally occur, as below.

- ויתאספו הרבה אומנים הבאים לראות את יקר ערך הפלטרין הזה. ובתוכם בא איש כפרי אחד. מדלת העם ויכנוס פנימה תוך היכלי הפלטרין וישא עינו וירא והנה על כותל אחד מצויר איש כפרי כדמותו וכצלמו אוחז בידו כוס יין ושותה שיכור. ויען ויאמר הכפרי הנ"ל. 'And many artists who were coming to see the great worth of this palace gathered together. And among them came a villager, from among the poor of the people. And he entered into the halls of the palace and raised his eyes and saw that on one wall was painted a villager just like him (lit: like his resemblance and his image), holding a cup of wine in his hand and drinking until he was drunk. And that villager answered and said ...' (Zak 1912: 7)

8.3.4 ויהי

Closely linked to the Hasidic Hebrew use of the *wayyiqṭol* is its employment of the related construction ויהי. ויהי is commonly used to introduce temporal phrases and clauses in past settings. This usage is a feature of Biblical Hebrew (see Gibson 1994: 157) but does not occur in rabbinic literature (Bendavid 1971: 577). In some cases, such as that shown in the following example, the temporal phrase or clause introduced by ויהי is followed by a *wayyiqṭol*. This type of construction precisely mirrors biblical usage.

- 'And when the king heard the priest's words, the king grew very angry' (Bodek 1865c: 16)
- 'And after the Sabbath they travelled together to the city of Lizhensk' (M. Walden 1912: 15)

However, more frequently Hasidic temporal phrases or clauses with ויהי are immediately followed by a *qatal*, as below. This is true even when the subsequent narrative is continued by *wayyiqṭol* forms, as in the final example. This usage contrasts with that of Standard Biblical Hebrew, in which temporal clauses introduced by ויהי are typically followed by a *wayyiqṭol* (Joüon-Muraoka 2006: 608). By contrast, it is attested in Late Biblical Hebrew (Cohen 2013: 70–71), and this may have contributed in some measure to the development of the Hasidic construction. Any such influence was probably compounded by the authors' lack of familiarity with the syntactic properties of the Standard Bib-

lical construction; they are likely to have employed *ויהי* simply because they perceived it (like the *wayyiqtol*) as a salient element of narrative Hebrew due to its frequent appearance in the Bible.

- *ויהי בלכתו פגע בכפר אחד לפנות ערב* ‘And as he was walking he encountered a village at evening time’ (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 4)
- *ויהי כאשר עמדו כולם בהכפר באו הערלים גם המה להכפר* ‘And when they were all standing in the village, the non-Jews also came to the village’ (Bromberg 1899: 24)
- *ויהי בליל שבת עמד הבחור בשעת הקידוש* ‘And on Friday evening the boy stood up at Kiddush time’ (? 1894: 3)
- *ויהי אחר הדברים האלה ערכו את השולחן כיד המלך* ‘And after these things they set the table in a manner fit for a king’ (Seuss 1890: 34)
- *ויהי בדרך באו למלון* ‘And on the way they came to an inn’ (Michelsohn 1910a: 48)
- *ויהי כאשר ראה אותו המלך נשא חן בעיניו וירץ לקראתו ויחבק וינשק להחסיד* ‘And when the king saw him, he found favour in his eyes, and he ran towards him and hugged and kissed the Hasid’ (Bodek 1865c: 15–16)

8.4 *Weqatal*

Just as the Hasidic Hebrew authors employ the *wayyiqtol* construction in past narrative contexts, so they use the *weqatal* in consecutive future settings. However, in contrast to the *wayyiqtol*, the *weqatal* is only a marginal feature in the tales. It usually occurs in instances of *shibbuṣ*, phrases directly taken or very closely adapted from biblical verses (see section 15 for a discussion of *shibbuṣ* in Hasidic Hebrew). This is illustrated in the following examples, which are close adaptations of biblical verses.

- *ואם תאבו ושמעתם טוב הארץ תאכלו. אולם אם תמאנו ומריתם חרב שנאת המחמ"ד* ‘And if you are willing and obey, you will eat of the good of the land. However, if you refuse and rebel, the sword of Mohammed’s hatred will burn you up, for his mouth has spoken’ (Bodek 1865c: 9); cf. *אם-תאבו ושמעתם טוב הארץ תאכלו: ואם-תמאנו ומריתם חרב תאכלו כי פי יהוה דבר:* ‘If you are willing and obey, you will eat of the good of the land; but if you refuse and rebel, you will be devoured by the sword, for the mouth of the LORD has spoken’ (Isa. 1:19–20)
- *אב"ל שרה אשתך ילדת בן וקראת שמו ישראל* ‘This time next year you will bear a son and call him Israel’ (Rodkinsohn 1865: 3); cf. *אב"ל שרה אשתך ילדת בן וקראת שמו ישראל*

- 'And twice a year she used to travel to the Tzaddik of Belz' (? 1894: 9)
- 'the queen, who was hiding her face' (Bodek 1865c: 9)
- 'And he saw that a soul had been reincarnated in it' (Shenkel 1903b: 15)
- 'And his wife used to light Sabbath candles' (Chikernik 1902: 24)
- 'And when he saw her entering his room he started to flee' (Berger 1910a: 32)
- 'And he found her unconscious' (Michelsohn 1910c: 6)

Much less frequently, feminine singular *qoṭel* forms of various stems are attested with the ending η -. Examples of this variant include the following:

- 'a vigorous blow' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 44)
- 'my daughter, who is in danger' (Kamelhar 1909: 29)
- 'the story which was received' (Michelsohn 1910c: 25)

Both of these forms have precedent in Biblical Hebrew, though the η - variant is more common in that stratum of the language (Joüon-Muraoka 2006: 137; Geiger 2013a). This preference is more pronounced in Rabbinic Hebrew, in which the η - variant is standard (Pérez Fernández 1999: 106, 129). In this respect the Hasidic Hebrew authors' position is somewhere between that of Biblical Hebrew and Rabbinic Hebrew, as they employ both variants like Biblical Hebrew but exhibit a marked preference for the η - variant, like Rabbinic Hebrew.

8.5.1.2 Masculine Plural

Like masculine plural nouns and pronouns, Hasidic Hebrew masculine plural *qoṭel* usually takes the suffix η - but sometimes instead appears with the variant η -, e.g.:

- 'take care' (Bodek 1865c: 17)
- 'seek' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 33)
- 'take' (Zak 1912: 161)
- 'ask' (Sofer 1904: 10)
- 'seem' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 36)
- 'write' (Bodek 1865a: 58)
- 'give' (Berger 1906: 61)
- 'can' (Seuss 1890: 12)

- שותין [...] ‘drink’ (Moses Leib of Sasov 1903: 37a)
- שומעין ‘hear’ (Gemen 1914: 55)
- מכירין ‘know’ (Shalom of Koidanov 1882: 13)
- נתגלין ‘are revealed’ (Munk 1898: 1)

The authors’ occasional selection of the ך- suffix does not reflect any particular syntactic or semantic patterns; rather, it is likely that they viewed this variant as interchangeable with the more typical ך- suffix. It is possible that their preference for the ך- suffix is, like other aspects of their writing such as the 3fp *yiqtol* form (see 8.2.1.4) due to their tendency to select forms and patterns that they associated (perhaps subconsciously) with the Hebrew Bible. Examples of the ך- suffix are distributed throughout the tale corpus but are in the minority among all writers.

Conversely, in some cases the ך- suffix may have been chosen because the form in question is part of a quote or paraphrase from an earlier source which itself contains the same form. For example, the selection of the ך- suffix on the *qoṭel* יכולין ‘can’ shown below is likely due to the fact that it is based on an almost identical phrase in Maimonides’ *Mishne Tora* (which is itself a paraphrase of a very similar phrase appearing in the Babylonian Talmud *Berakhot* 34b). However, despite their close resemblance, in the Hasidic Hebrew phrase only the second of the two plural *qoṭel* forms has the ך- suffix, whereas in *Mishne Tora* both do. The fact that the quote is reproduced precisely with the sole exception of the plural suffix supports the likelihood that the Hasidic Hebrew authors regarded the ך- and ך- variants as interchangeable.

- במקום שבעלי תשובה עומדים אין צדיקים גמורים יכולין לעמוד ‘In a place in which repentant sinners stand, completely righteous people cannot stand’ (Bodek 1865b: 22); cf. במקום שבעלי תשובה עומדין בו אין צדיקים גמורין יכולין לעמוד בו ‘Completely righteous people cannot stand in a place in which a reformed sinner stands’ (*Mishne Tora*, *Sefer haMadda*, *Hilkhot Teshuva* ch. 4)

8.5.1.3 Suffixed *qoṭel* and *qaṭul*

The Hasidic Hebrew authors occasionally employ a 1cs subject suffix in conjunction with a *qoṭel*. This practice is restricted to the few *qal* forms shown below. The convention of attaching a 1cs subject suffix to a *qoṭel* derives from Rabbinic Hebrew; however, in the Hasidic tales it is restricted and infrequent, whereas it is relatively commonplace in rabbinic literature (Pérez Fernández 1999: 130).

- כן זוכרני אני הכותב 'Indeed, I, the writer, remember' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 38)
- היא לא האמינתו ע"ז ואמרה חוששני שתברח and said, "I fear that you will flee" (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 4)
- ואמר לו הרב גוזרני עליך שתגלה לי 'And the Rebbe said to him, "I command you to reveal to me"' (A. Walden 1860?: 4a)

Similarly, *qaṭul* forms occasionally appear with a 1cs subject suffix. These forms always have an active sense despite their passive form. They are restricted to the root ז.כ.ר. 'remember' in the *qal*, as in the first example below, and the roots ב.ט.ח. 'be assured'; 'promise' and כ.ר.ח. 'be obliged' in the *hofal*, as in the remainder.

- 'And I remember that once there were three madmen on one day' (Bromberg 1899: 23)
- 'I promise in the name of my Rebbe that it is certainly kosher!' (Ehrmann 1903: 35b)
- 'And he said to him, "I am sure that by necessity [and] not by your will you will become a rabbi"' (J. Duner 1899: 90)
- 'And I am obliged to go from here' (Berger 1910c: 14)

The Hasidic Hebrew authors' use of this type of construction appears to stem from rabbinic and medieval literature, as the forms in question are all attested in e.g. the Babylonian Talmud and Alshich's commentaries. (These constructions seem in turn to stem from the mishnaic convention of using the *qal qaṭul* of the root ז.כ.ר. in an active sense; see Pérez Fernández 1999: 140.) The fact that this construction is limited to a very small number of roots indicates that it is an isolated lexicalized phenomenon rather than a productive grammatical feature.

8.5.2 Uses

The Hasidic Hebrew *qoṭel* is most commonly a tensed form that serves to mark present progressive and planned future actions. This usage differs from Biblical Hebrew, in which the *qoṭel* is a verbal adjective used to convey progressive or iterative action in any tense (Williams 2007: 88). Instead, it more closely resembles Rabbinic Hebrew, in which the *qoṭel* has been fully incorporated into the tense system and serves as a present/future marker (Pérez Fernández 1999: 108). However, the Hasidic Hebrew authors' treatment of the *qoṭel* is not identical to that of Rabbinic Hebrew; rather, they sometimes follow the biblical model, employing the form as an untensed marker of progressive

actions and states that may appear in past tense contexts. This fusion of biblical and post-biblical uses, to be discussed below, is part of a much more widespread trend visible throughout the morphology and syntax of the Hasidic Hebrew tale corpus.

8.5.2.1 Present Progressive

The *qoṭel* is used to convey actions in progress at the present moment (most typically in direct speech), e.g.:

- פה יהודי עומד אשר אין מעצור בעדו לגשת אל המלכה ‘A Jew is standing here, who cannot be prevented from going in to see the queen’ (Bodek 1865c: 6)
- וכעת ג"כ את בוכה ‘And now you are crying too’ (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 25)
- וא' לו הרבי הנ"ל מדוע אתה בוכה? ‘And that Rebbe said to him, “Why are you crying?”’ (Greenwald 1899: 53b)

This usage, which is illustrated in the following examples, overlaps with both biblical and post-biblical varieties of Hebrew (see Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 626 and Geiger 2013a for Biblical Hebrew; see Mishor 1983: 251; Azar 1995: 17; Geiger 2013b for Rabbinic Hebrew; Rand 2006: 240–241 for Hebrew poetry from Byzantine Palestine; Rabin 1968: 114–115 for medieval Ashkenazi Hebrew).

8.5.2.2 Present Habitual

The *qoṭel* serves as the main way of conveying present habitual actions in Hasidic Hebrew, as illustrated below. This usage is rooted in Rabbinic Hebrew, in which the *qoṭel* is primarily a present/future tense marker and is used for all types of present actions including habitual ones (Mishor 1983: 251, 263; Geiger 2013c). It differs from Biblical Hebrew, in which the *yiqṭol* is the chief form used to indicate present habitual actions (Joosten 2012: 276–277). As discussed in 8.2.2.2.3, the Hasidic Hebrew authors may also use the *yiqṭol* in this type of context and as such there is a degree of overlap between the two verbal forms; however, the use of the *qoṭel* to denote present habitual actions is much more common than that of the *yiqṭol*, which is quite rare.

- וכן עושים היום כל אנשי מדינת רייסין ‘And all of the people of eastern Galicia do so today’ (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 11)
- ושם המנהג עד היום הזה שהשמש דעיר מכה בכל יום בבוקר בהפטיש על כל דלתות וחלונ'י העיר ‘And there the custom until this day is that every day in the morning the beadle of the city strikes with a (lit: the) hammer on all of the doors and windows of the city’ (Teomim Fraenkel 1911a: 48)

- אני שותה יין שרף קודם אכילת הקאטלעט 'I drink wine before eating the cutlet' (Gemen 1914: 69)
- ועתה הצדיקים יושבים בדירות נאות ואוכלין ושותין כמו הנגידים 'And now the righteous men sit in nice apartments and eat and drink like the rich men' (Greenwald 1897: 100)

8.5.2.3 Future Plans

In addition to its frequent use in present contexts, the *qoṭel* is often attested in direct speech contexts indicating planned actions scheduled to take place in the near future. This usage is illustrated below. *Qoṭel* in this type of context is sometimes preceded by the particle הנה, as in the last two examples.

- ועוד לא תראני כי נוסע אני תיכף מכאן 'And you will not see me again, for I am leaving here straight away' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 38)
- ואח"כ אני נותן לך לאכול 'And afterwards I will give you [something] to eat' (Greenwald 1897: 94)
- ולסימן אני שולח לך את הטבעת שלך 'And as a sign I'm sending you your ring' (Breitstein 1914: 29–30)
- הנה אני נוסע כעת מחר לרבי 'Tomorrow at this time I am going to travel to my Rebbe' (Kaidaner 1875: 17a)
- ומעתה הנני מוכר לך העצים כמה שתרצה 'And from now on I will sell you the wood, as much as you like' (Ehrmann 1911: 11a)

The use of the *qoṭel* to convey imminent future plans has widespread precedent in previous forms of the language, being found in Biblical Hebrew (Williams 2007: 88) as well as tannaitic literature (Pérez Fernández 1999: 138) and in later writings including e.g. *piyyuṭim* from Byzantine Palestine (Rand 2006: 341). The use of the particle הנה in such contexts also has historical precedent, as it is common in Biblical Hebrew (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 627–628), though not a feature of Rabbinic Hebrew (Segal 1927: 149). Given its common appearance in earlier types of Hebrew, this Hasidic use of the *qoṭel* is not surprising; moreover, as in the case of other usages discussed in the present study, this tendency may have been strengthened by the fact that Yiddish also employs the present tense (which generally corresponds to the Hasidic Hebrew *qoṭel* in other ways) with reference to planned future actions (Mark 1978: 276).

8.5.2.4 Present Perfect Progressive

The *qoṭel* is also used with reference to present perfect progressive actions, i.e. actions that started at some point in the past and have continued uninterrupted until the present moment. This usage is typically found in direct

speech, with the present moment corresponding to the time of utterance, as below.

- 'ומאז והלאה אני עוסק במלאכתי באמונה' 'And since then I have been working at my trade with faith' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 16)
- 'והנה זה שמונה ימים שאני רואה אותו תמיד הולך אחרי' 'And so for the past eight days I have always been seeing him walking behind me' (Bromberg 1899: 26)
- 'זה ארבעה עשר שנים שאתה נוסע אלי' 'For fourteen years now you've been travelling to [see] me' (Berger 1910a: 40)
- 'ומעת הלו הנני עושה טובות לישראל' 'And from that moment I have been doing good things for the Jews' (Ehrmann 1903: 5b)
- 'זה כמה שנים אשר אנחנו יושבים בכפר הזה' 'We have been staying in this village for a few years now' (HaLevi 1907: 22b)

The use of the *qotel* in present perfect progressive contexts can be traced back to Rabbinic Hebrew (Mishor 1983: 258), but it does not seem to be a particularly common usage in that stratum of the language. It is likely that the Hasidic Hebrew authors' use of this construction is based not solely on rabbinic and rabbinic-based literature, but also reflects influence from Yiddish, in which the present tense (which frequently overlaps with the Hasidic Hebrew *qotel* in other respects, as mentioned in the previous section) is used to convey present perfect progressive actions (U. Weinreich 1971: 328).

8.5.2.5 Narrative Present

The *qotel* does not usually function as a narrative present in Hasidic Hebrew but is rarely attested in such settings, e.g.:

- 'ואני מוליך אותו לבית האסורים. והוא ביקש ממני שאניחהו לקבץ מעט מעות' 'I caught the thief, and I brought him to the jailhouse. And he asked me to let him beg for a few alms' (Sofer 1904: 35)
- 'ושתומם הדאקטאר [...] ועוד ברגעים אחדים מתחיל הילד פתאום לבכות' 'And the doctor was astonished [...] and in a few moments the child suddenly started to cry' (Seuss 1890: 4)
- 'ופתאום עמדה המרכבה ואיש זקן אחד נשוא פנים יוצא ממנה החוצה' 'And suddenly the carriage stopped, and a respectable old man got out of it' (Seuss 1890: 31)

As in the case of the *qotel* used in present perfect progressive contexts, this usage is likely the result of multiple influences: it is a feature of Rabbinic Hebrew (Mishor 1983: 255; Pérez Fernández 1999: 134) as well as the authors' native Yiddish (Mark 1978: 276). However, it is noteworthy that this is an ex-

tremely marginal feature of Hasidic Hebrew compared to Rabbinic Hebrew and Yiddish. This discrepancy is particularly striking considering that the Hasidic Hebrew tales have a high proportion of direct speech retelling past events, which one might expect to be the quintessential setting for the narrative present. Seuss (1890) uses it more often than any other author in the corpus, as evident from the examples above, though even he does not employ it very frequently.

8.5.2.6 Past Progressive

Although the *qoṭel* is not usually employed in past contexts in Hasidic Hebrew, it is sometimes found in past progressive settings. In such cases it most commonly appears following the particle *והנה*, as in the examples below.

- וירץ המוכסן לראות מה היה שם והנה היא שוכבת כמת 'And the tax-collector ran to see what was going on there, and there she was, lying like a dead person' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 8)
- וברגע זה באו בתוך הכפר והנה הסוס הולך כדרכו דרך הכפר ואינו עומד אצל שום בית 'And at that moment they entered the village, and there the horse was, going on its way through the village and not stopping at any house' (Kaidaner 1875: 9a)
- 'And when the Rebbe awoke from his sleep, he saw that they were travelling on the road that goes up to the town of Bar' (N. Duner 1912: 19)

This usage is most likely inspired by the frequent biblical use of *והנה* followed by a *qoṭel* with past progressive sense. However, the two forms of Hebrew differ in that the Hasidic use of the *qoṭel* in past progressive settings is largely restricted to this specific construction starting with *והנה*, while the biblical *qoṭel* is primarily an untensed form that is often used in a wide variety of past progressive contexts and need not be introduced by *והנה* (see Joüon-Muraoka 2006: 381–382 for details of the biblical uses of the *qoṭel* in past contexts).

Similarly, the *qoṭel* is sometimes used to convey past progressive actions in subordinate clauses introduced by a complementizer instead of *והנה*, e.g.:

- 'When they saw that a Jewish man was going along the road without shoes [...] they marvelled greatly at this' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 4)
- 'When I wanted to enter the prayer house I saw that my father of eternal memory was coming out' (Zak 1912: 37)

In addition, the *qoṭel* may be employed in past progressive contexts without an introductory והנה or temporal conjunction, as below. In this type of instance, only the wider context indicates that the *qoṭel* refers to a past action or state. This usage is very rare and is most commonly seen in the work of Kaidaner (1875), as below.

- והלך למרחץ ובא מן המרחץ וביקש ממנו שיספר לו מה והמשרת אינו זוכר כלל
went to the baths and came [back] from the baths, and he asked him to tell
him what [it was], and the servant didn't remember at all' (Kaidaner 1875:
11b)

Like the other past progressive uses of the *qoṭel*, this one most likely derives from Biblical Hebrew, in which the *qoṭel* is an untensed form that can likewise be used in independent past tense contexts to convey progressive action or states (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 624–625; Williams 2007: 88). This Hasidic Hebrew usage is noteworthy because it contrasts with the more common trend evident throughout the tales whereby the *qoṭel* serves primarily as a tensed form conveying present and future action, as it does in Rabbinic and many other post-biblical forms of Hebrew (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 624–625; Pérez Fernández 1999: 108). This treatment of the *qoṭel* as both a tensed and untensed form constitutes one of many cases discussed throughout this volume whereby the Hasidic Hebrew authors fuse elements of biblical and post-biblical convention. However, the use of the *qoṭel* in independent clauses with past progressive sense is very restricted in scope and as such cannot be considered a typical feature of Hasidic Hebrew.

8.5.2.7 Concurrent Action

The Hasidic Hebrew *qoṭel* may be used to denote an action in progress at the same time as that of the main verb in the clause. Such actions usually have past tense reference, as they are typically found in narrative or in direct speech recounting past events. In such cases the subject of the *qoṭel* is usually different from that of the main verb, as in the following examples:

- והעגלון נכנס וראה שם הרבה יהודים עומדים שם
The carriage driver came in and saw many Jews standing there' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 10)
- פ"א בא לבית מדרשו ומצא את החסידים יושבים ושותים יי"ש
One time he came to his study house and found the Hasidim sitting and drinking wine' (Zak 1912: 30)
- ובתוך הלימוד נרדם ושמע קול קורא אותו בשמו
And during the studies he fell asleep, and heard a voice calling him by name' (Kaidaner 1875: 28a)

- 'ומצא אותו יושב מעוטף בטי"ת ולומד גמרא עם מפרשים' 'And he found him sitting wrapped in a prayer-shawl and phylacteries and studying Talmud with commentators' (Munk 1898: 19)
- 'I saw a man standing in the study-house' 'הנה ראיתי איש אחד עומד בביהמ"ד' (Laufbahn 1914: 46)
- 'I, who myself see him every day putting on phylacteries and praying' 'אנכי הרואה אותו בעצמי בכל יום לובש תפילין ומתפלל' (Berger 1910b: 13)
- 'And he found the tax-collector standing and selling alcohol' 'ומצא את המוכסן עומד ומוכר יי"ש' (N. Duner 1912: 18)
- 'And all of a sudden he was seen from afar riding on a white horse' 'והנה לפתע נראה מרחוק רוכב על סוס לבן' (Singer 1900a, pt. 3: 7)
- 'When they came to the bridge they saw some non-Jews standing and throwing stones' 'כשבאו לגשר ראו כמה ערלים עומדים וזורקים אבנים' (Berger 1910c: 132)
- 'And when they arrived they found the Rebbe of Lublin standing outside' 'ובבואם מצאו את הרבי מלובלין עומד בחוץ' (M. Walden 1913, pt. 3: 10)
- 'And he immediately saw two emissaries carrying a book' 'ומיד ראה שני שליחים נושאים ספר' (A. Walden 1860?: 29a)

Occasionally both the main verb and the concurrent *qoṭel* may have the same subject, as in the following examples; such constructions usually contain a form of the root ע.מ.ד. 'stand' in the *qal* as either the main verb or the *qoṭel*.

- 'I was startled from seeing [it], and I stayed standing and trembling' 'נבהלתי מראות ונשארתי עומד ומרעיד' (Bodek 1866: 8)
- 'And when he saw the form of the holy Rebbe he stood marvelling' 'וכאשר ראה צורת הה"ק עמד משתומם' (Ehrmann 1911: 12b)

This usage has parallels in earlier forms of the language including Biblical Hebrew (König 1881–1897, pt. 3: 601; Davidson 1994: 168–169) and Rabbinic Hebrew (Segal 1908: 696). However, the canonical forms of the language often convey concurrent actions in other ways, e.g. conjunction *waw* + *qoṭel* in Biblical Hebrew and *כש* + *qoṭel* in Rabbinic Hebrew (Gordon 1982: 135, 159), whereas the Hasidic Hebrew authors employ only the unaccompanied *qoṭel*. An identical practice is found in contemporaneous Maskilic Hebrew prose (Kahn 2009: 175–178), suggesting that it may comprise a feature of a wider Eastern European variety of Hebrew.

This usage bears a partial resemblance to the employment of the *qoṭel* to convey past progressive actions (discussed in 8.5.2.6 above) in that in both cases the *qoṭel* refers to a past action ongoing at the same time as the main action(s) of the surrounding narrative; however, the two usages differ in that *qoṭel* forms

conveying concurrent action take their tense value from the preceding finite verb, while those in past progressive contexts do not necessarily do so.

8.5.2.8 Complement of Finite Verb התחיל 'Began'

Very occasionally the *qoṭel* serves as the complement of the *qaṭal* התחיל 'began'. This construction is extremely marginal in Hasidic Hebrew; rare examples are shown below. It is identical in meaning to the much more common construction composed of a finite verb followed by an infinitive construct (discussed in 8.8.2.2.1). It is most likely ultimately traceable to Rabbinic Hebrew, which possesses the same construction (Sharvit 1998: 337; Pérez Fernández 1999: 136).

- התחיל דופק על השער 'He started pounding on the gate' (Bodek 1865a: 70)
- התחילו בוכים במר נפש 'They started crying with bitter spirit' (Munk 1898: 36)

8.6 Periphrastic Constructions

Periphrastic constructions constitute a major component of the Hasidic Hebrew verbal system. These constructions are composed of an auxiliary consisting of a form of the root ה.י.ה. 'be' in conjunction with a main verb which can be a *qoṭel*, a *qaṭal*, or an infinitive construct. Hasidic Hebrew periphrastic forms serve to indicate a broad range of tense and aspect values, most of which can alternatively be conveyed using other verbal forms.

8.6.1 Qaṭal + qoṭel

By far the most common type of periphrastic construction in Hasidic Hebrew is composed of a *qaṭal* of the root ה.י.ה. 'be' followed by a *qoṭel*. This type of construction is used in a wide variety of past tense and irreal conditional settings, as detailed below. These periphrastic constructions overlap with the *qaṭal*, which is often used to convey exactly the same kinds of values; indeed, there seems to be no semantic difference in Hasidic Hebrew between the periphrastic construction on the one hand and the *qaṭal* on the other. This employment of two different constructions in free variation to designate the same tense and aspectual meanings comprises part of the broader tendency visible throughout Hasidic Hebrew grammar to incorporate a wide range of morphological and syntactic alternatives drawn from various earlier strata of the language rather than relying exclusively on one variant or another. However, the periphrastic forms are employed somewhat more commonly than the *qaṭal*, which may suggest that the Hasidic Hebrew verbal system was in the process of developing a formal distinction between punctive and progressive aspect.

8.6.1.1 Past Habitual

Periphrastic constructions consisting of the *qaṭal* of the root ה.י.ה. 'be' followed by a *qoṭel* are frequently used to convey a past habitual sense. Such actions are often accompanied by a temporal adverb indicating frequency. These periphrastic constructions may refer to both actions and states, as illustrated below. This usage has precedent in Rabbinic Hebrew (Pérez Fernández 1999: 108–109; Mishor 2013) as well as in medieval forms of the language such as the *piyyuṭim* (Sáenz-Badillos 1993: 210). The same sense may additionally be expressed by the *qaṭal*, as discussed in 8.1.2.5, but the periphrastic construction is more common.

- ור' יהודה ה"י אומר תמיד תהלים 'And R. Yehuda always used to recite Psalms' (Sofer 1904: 1)
- והיה א' מלבוב שותה בכל יום בביתו עד שנעשה שיכור 'And a certain [man] from Lvov used to drink in his house every day until he became drunk' (J. Duner 1899: 14)
- צוה להרים אותו ממטתו ולהושיבו על הכסא שהיה יושב תמיד עליה 'He ordered [them] to lift him from his bed and seat him on the chair that he always used to sit on' (Landau 1892: 66)
- הלא המלך נאפאליאן לא היה ישן מעולם ביום 'Indeed King Napoleon never used to sleep during the day' (Stamm 1905: 10)
- ובכל יום ויום היה האדון מתענג ביותר מהחלב 'And each and every day the gentleman would enjoy the milk very much' (Hirsch 1900: 18)
- בדורות הראשונים הגולן ה"י יושב ביער 'In the first generations, the robber used to live in the forest' (Greenwald 1897: 100)
- הרבי מלובלין זצלה"ה בכל יום קודם הלימוד ה"י אומר רבש"ע 'The Rebbe of Lublin of eternal memory used to say every day before study, "Master of the Universe!"' (Rapaport 1909: 10)
- ופעם אחת לשלש שנים היו נוסעים כל הדוכסים לווארשא 'And once in three years all of the dukes used to travel to Warsaw' (Shenkel 1903a: 17)
- בשנים קדמוניות היו לומדים הרבה במדינתנו 'In previous years they used to study a lot in our country' (Chikernik 1908: 4)
- אנכי אספר לך איך היה הולך אלי ערב ובוקר 'I will tell you how he used to come to me evening and morning' (A. Walden 1860?: 31b)

Very occasionally the word order is reversed, with the *qoṭel* preceding the *qaṭal*, as in the following example. This convention is not very common; the fronting of the *qoṭel* is perhaps intended to draw attention to that element of the construction, but it may simply be a rare stylistic variant.

- ויאמר לו הסוחר מכיר הייתי אותו היטב 'And the merchant said to him, "I used to know him well"' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 14)

8.6.1.2 Past Progressive

The periphrastic construction consisting of the *qaṭal* of the root ה.י.ה 'be' followed by a *qotel* is additionally used to convey past actions that were in progress at a point simultaneous with that of the main verb of the sentence (which is itself usually a *qaṭal*). Only context distinguishes this usage from its past habitual counterpart discussed in the previous section. This usage, which is illustrated below, has precedent in various forms of post-Biblical Hebrew ranging from mishnaic literature (see Pérez Fernández 1999: 108–109; Sharvit 2004: 50; Mishor 2013) to several types of medieval writings (Rabin 1968: 115; Sarfatti 2003: 87; Rand 2006: 341–342). Again, this usage may alternatively be conveyed by the *qaṭal*, as discussed in 8.1.2.4, though the periphrastic construction is more common.

- 'One time I was walking on the road with my teacher (the Ari), may his memory live on in the World to Come, and a Torah scholar came and walked in front of him' (J. Duner 1899: 57)
- 'When he was sleeping a messenger came' (Bodek 1865a: 70)
- הרב ר' יוסף מגיד דפולנאה היה ישן פעם אחד שינת צהרים וראה [בחלומו] מראה גדולה 'Rabbi Joseph the Maggid of Polonnaye was having an afternoon nap once when he saw (in his dream) a great sight' (N. Duner 1912: 35)
- 'And when I came to the inn the holy Rebbe, the [Holy] Jew of everlasting memory was eating breakfast' (Breitstein 1914: 5)
- 'When he came before the Rebbe he was crying very much' (Greenwald 1899: 53b)
- 'And at that time that holy Rebbe was sleeping' (Chikernik 1902: 26)

8.6.1.3 Preterite

This type of periphrastic construction can also be used to convey punctive past actions, as below. The punctive force of such constructions is particularly

² Sic; = הייתי

unmistakable in cases such as the first example, in which it clearly refers to a single incident and is immediately followed by a sequence of *qatal* forms with a similar preterite value, or the second example, in which the action in question (breaking) is explicitly telic. As in the case of the other uses discussed above, this meaning can alternatively be conveyed by the *qatal*, as discussed in 8.1.2.1. However, unlike for the other uses, the *qatal* is actually the default conjugation for preterite actions while the periphrastic construction is comparatively uncommon.

- פ"א היה מרן ז"ל נחלה מאד, ובא ההק' המפורסם ז"ל מווארקא לבקרו, והיה יוצא מחדרו
'Once our Teacher of blessed memory was very ill, and the famous Holy One of Warka of blessed memory came to visit him, and he came out of his room'
(Bromberg 1899: 32)
- ופ"א בסעודתו ה' נותן לו הרבה יין 'And once at his feast he gave him a lot of wine'
(Michelson 1910a: 62)

This usage does not have clear precedent in Rabbinic Hebrew, in which the periphrastic construction is typically reserved for progressive and habitual action. However, there may be some precedent in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Hebrew kabbalistic texts of Moses Cordovero, Isaac Luria, and Chaim Vital, who employ the periphrastic construction simply as a past marker (Betzer 2001: 120).

More frequently, the periphrastic construction is used to convey past states with stative roots; this is particularly common with the roots י.ד.ע. 'know' and י.ב.ל. 'be able'.

- ולא היה רוצה להאמין להם 'And he didn't want to believe them' (Brandwein 1912: 21)
- והרב המגיד ה' רוצה לילך להתפלל 'And the Maggid wanted to go pray' (Rapaport 1909: 34)
- מעשה בציד אחד שצד עוף אחד שהיה יודע את לשון בני האדם 'A story of a hunter who hunted a bird that knew the language of humans' (Shenkel 1883, pt. 1: 20)
- ובעיר הזאת עוד לא היו מכירים אותו 'And in that town they didn't know him yet' (A. Walden 1860?: 30a)
- בעת הברית של הילד הזה לא הייתי יודע איזה שמו שיקרא בישראל 'At the time of this child's circumcision I did not know what his name was that would be called in Israel' (Bromberg 1899: 40)
- ושום איש מבית אדמו"ר לא ה' מכיר אותו 'And no one from the Rebbe's household recognized him' (Zak 1912: 12)

- והמגיד הגדול ממעזריטש הי' רוצה שישן הרר"ש יותר [...] והיה ישן אח"כ ח' שעות 'And the great Maggid of Mezeritch wanted Rebbe Shmelke to sleep more [...] and after that he slept for eight hours' (Michelson 1910a: 62)

8.6.1.4 Pluperfect

Rarely, periphrastic constructions serve to denote pluperfect actions, as below. This usage is limited to the writings of a single author, Bromberg, and so is not representative of the Hasidic Hebrew corpus as a whole.

- והיה דרכו בקודש גם כשלא היה נתרפא לגמרי עוד 'And it was his way in holiness even when he had not completely recovered yet' (Bromberg 1899: 21)
- וסיפר אח"כ מה שהיה כועס בסעודת שבת 'And he told afterwards how he had been angry at the Sabbath meal' (Bromberg 1899: 41)

This usage is noteworthy because it is not clearly based on Rabbinic Hebrew precedent: in that form of the language, periphrastic forms are used to convey past habitual, past progressive, and irreal conditional actions (Sharvit 2004: 50), but not pluperfect ones. Moreover, it does not seem to be rooted in the *qaṭal* + *qoṭel* constructions used in Medieval Hebrew literature, which likewise tend to convey past habitual, progressive, and/or irreal conditional actions (see e.g. Rand 2006: 341–342 and Sarfatti 2003: 87). The origins of this innovation are thus unclear. It is possible that the construction is indirectly modelled on analogy with the Yiddish pluperfect, which is a periphrastic construction composed of the past tense of the verb הָאָבֵן 'to have' or זײַן 'to be' followed by the past participle (Jacobs 2005: 218), e.g. ער האָט געזאָגט 'he had said'. However, the relationship between the Hebrew and Yiddish constructions is uncertain because, while somewhat similar, they do not mirror each other precisely, and because the Yiddish pluperfect is chiefly a literary form that does not feature frequently in everyday language (Mark 1978: 281; Jacobs 2005: 218).

8.6.1.5 Irreal Conditions

Periphrastic constructions with היה + *qoṭel* are frequently employed in the protasis and apodosis of irreal conditions, as below.

- [אם] הייתי לומד הייתי זוכר 'If I studied, I would remember' (Zak 1912: 14)
- באם היית רואה השמחה הגדולה שהיה בג"ע בביאת בנך הניק הק', לא היית בוכה 'If you had seen the great joy that there was in Paradise when your holy infant son arrived, you wouldn't cry' (Bromberg 1899: 4)
- 'And if hadn't been for those who opened for him, he would have died of the cold' (Gemen 1914: 66)

- 'And if it were not so, he would have brought the redemption' (Shenkel 1883, pt. 2: 30)
- 'Maybe if I went to the Rebbe Elimelech one more time he would receive me' (Breitstein 1914: 12)
- 'If I had the ability to go I would certainly go by myself' (M. Walden 1914: 93)
- 'If you knew where my place was above, you would certainly judge me favourably' (Michelsohn 1910a: 39)

The Hasidic Hebrew authors' use of this construction in irreal conditional settings is unsurprising given that it is a feature of Rabbinic Hebrew (Mishor 2013), as well as of certain medieval writings (Sarfatti 2003: 87). In contrast to the other uses of this construction discussed above, in this case *qoṭel* + *hi* is the main form employed in such settings, in contrast to the *qaṭal*, which appears in such clauses only infrequently by comparison (see 13.6.2 for examples).

8.6.2 *Qaṭal* + *qoṭal*

Although the most frequently attested periphrastic construction in Hasidic Hebrew consists of a *qaṭal* followed by a *qoṭel*, there is also a rarer construction composed of a *qaṭal* of the root ה.י.ה. 'be' followed by another *qaṭal* of a different root. Such constructions are typically used to convey preterite actions, as in the following examples:

- 'ולאחר שני שנים [...] היתה האשה הנ"ל חשבה בלבה ליסע עם הילד להבעש"ט ז"ל' 'And after two years [...] that woman decided in her heart to travel with the child to the Ba'al Shem Tov of blessed memory' (Munk 1898: 18)
- 'וערכו קרב עם בעל העגלות שלנו עדי ה' הגיע הדבר עד סכנת מות' 'And they fought with our wagon drivers until the matter became life-threatening' (Ehrmann 1903: 16b)
- 'ובעבור זאת היה הוכרח לבוא לבית בעה"ב' 'And for this he had to go to the owner's house' (Bodek? 1866: 24a)
- 'שהרבי מלובלין בימי עלומו ה' גמר כל הש"ס' 'For the Rebbe of Lublin in the days of his youth finished all of the Talmud' (M. Walden 1913, pt. 3: 22)

They are also very rarely found in irreal conditional contexts:

- 'יתן ד' שאהיה עכ"פ בא"י שבת אחד ואתפלל לפני כותל המערבי אז בטח הייתי פעלתי' 'May the LORD grant that I be in any case in the Land of Israel one

Sabbath and pray before the Western Wall; then I would surely accomplish a lot' (Breitstein 1914: 19)

This type of construction is used in similar contexts to those in which *qaṭal* or *qaṭal* + *qoṭel* constructions are found, and there is no clear reason motivating the authors' selection of this relatively rare alternative on any given occasion. It may derive from medieval Hebrew translations of Arabic works, in which the same construction exists (Sarfatti 2003: 87); however, the Hasidic Hebrew version seems to have a different function than that of its medieval counterpart, as the latter is typically reserved for conveying pluperfects (G. Khan, personal communication).

8.6.3 *Yiqṭol* + *qoṭel*

The Hasidic Hebrew authors very rarely employ periphrastic constructions consisting of a *yiqṭol* of the root ה.י.ה. 'be' followed by a *qoṭel*. These constructions indicate absolute or relative future actions, which may be progressive, as in the first example below, or punctive, as in the second example.

- אך הזהירם באם יפול דבר בהשק אזי תיכף יסגירו את השק [...] ויעירו את הבעש"ט אם ישן 'But he warned them that if something were to fall in the bag, then they should immediately close the bag [...] and wake up the Ba'al Shem Tov if he were sleeping' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 10)
- אם יתן לו מרן יין מה יהיה עושה 'If our teacher gives him wine, what will he do?' (Bromberg 1899: 28)

This usage has precedent in Rabbinic Hebrew (Pérez Fernández 1999: 108–109), but the Hasidic Hebrew usage differs from its rabbinic antecedent in that the latter serves only to indicate progressive and habitual future actions. The construction also appears in medieval and early modern sources such as Abarbanel and Alshich's commentaries, which are likely to have exerted an influence on the emergence of the Hasidic Hebrew form (though the aspectual properties of these forms has not been examined in the secondary literature). Interestingly, it differs from medieval Ashkenazi Hebrew, in which periphrastic forms with the *yiqṭol* as their first member are not attested (Rosén 1995: 72–73). It is possible that the Hasidic Hebrew authors' blurring of aspectual boundaries may be attributable to some degree to influence from Yiddish, in which there is no morphological distinction between punctive and progressive aspect in the past or future (see Jacobs 2005: 217–220 for a description of the Yiddish tense system).

8.6.4 Yiqṭol + yiqṭol

A periphrastic form comprised of a *yiqṭol* of the root ה.י.ה. 'be' followed by a *yiqṭol* of another root is very rarely attested in the tales, as below. The construction indicates future tense in the same way as the simple *yiqṭol* more commonly does.

- יוכל לעזור לך 'The Rebbe will be able to help you' (Munk 1898: 52)

The origin of this extremely marginal construction is uncertain. It lacks exact precedent in Rabbinic Hebrew but is attested in medieval Hebrew translations of Arabic works (Sarfatti 2003: 87; Goshen-Gottstein 2006: 60–61); it is possible that the Hasidic Hebrew usage stems from this medieval phenomenon, though it is so rare that it is most likely better regarded simply as an anomaly.

8.6.5 Infinitive Construct + qoṭel

While Hasidic Hebrew periphrastic verbal constructions most frequently consist of a *qaṭal* followed by a *qoṭel*, they may be composed of an infinitive construct followed by a *qoṭel*. In such constructions the infinitive construct is often prefixed by ל-, as in the following examples:

- יושב לסעוד עד שהכני' עמו עני א' להיות סועד עמו 'And he never sat down to dine until he had brought a pauper in with him to dine with him' (Bodek 1865c: 18)
- כי יותר יפה לו להיות יושב בחדרו וללמוד בהתמדה 'because it was more pleasing for him to sit in his room and study with dedication' (Bromberg 1899: 29)

Alternatively, it frequently appears in temporal clauses prefixed by ב-, e.g.:

- 'Once when the holy Rebbe Shmelke was travelling on the road, he passed through a certain village' (M. Walden 1912: 109)
- 'Once, when he was studying Torah in the study house he saw how one of the youths cleaned his (lit: the) pipe' (J. Duner 1899: 81)
- 'while I was living in my father-in-law's house' (Sobelman 1909/10, pt. 3: 3)
- 'And while he was lodging in a village not far away [...] robbers came' (Teomim Fraenkel 1911b: 29)

Finally, it sometimes appears in unprefix form, e.g.:

- ‘And you ונתעוררת מתרדימת אפולת היות מתעסק בהתבוננות אלקות ואהבת הבורא have awoken from the stupor of stupidity to be engaged in pondering Godliness and love of the Creator’ (Kaidaner 1875: 18b)

Like most of the other periphrastic constructions discussed above, this form is ultimately traceable to Rabbinic Hebrew (Pérez Fernández 1999: 108–109). However, in that stratum of the language it is used specifically for progressive actions, whereas in Hasidic Hebrew the aspectual force is often unclear (as it is in some of the other periphrastic constructions examined previously). For example, the constructions above that appear within temporal clauses clearly denote ongoing activities, as illustrated in the English translations. By contrast, in cases such as *להיות סועד* ‘to dine’ in the first example there is no unambiguously progressive element in the activities, and indeed a punctive sense seems to be more natural than a progressive one, as shown in the translation. It is possible that in even such instances the authors selected the periphrastic construction intentionally in order to convey an ongoing event, and that the ongoing nature of these events simply cannot be readily translated into English with a progressive verbal form. Alternatively, however, the selection of the periphrastic construction in such cases may be a stylistic or even arbitrary choice with no aspectual significance.

8.6.6 *Periphrastic Constructions with nifal*

The use of the periphrastic constructions consisting of a form of the root *ה.י.ה.* and a *qoṭel* is particularly common with *nifal qoṭel*. The construction most commonly consists of a *qaṭal* + *qoṭel*, but may also be comprised of a *yiqṭol* + *qoṭel* or an infinitive construct + *qoṭel*. These possibilities are illustrated below.

Qaṭal + *qoṭel*

- ‘And the rabbi opened והרב פתח הקמיע והי' נכתב בתוכו היתכן? שאח אחותו the amulet and inside it was written, “Is it possible that a brother should marry his sister?”’ (Ehrmann 1903: 19b)
- ‘The brother of the honourable rabbi, אחיו של כאדומו"ר שהיה נקרא הרב מקאוולא who was called the Rebbe of Kovel’ (Landau 1892: 29)
- ‘And the letter was addressed הי' נערך, למשה בן חיים” והמכתב הי' נערך, למשה בן חיים”’ (Michelson 1912: 105)
- ‘And her husband had already died then’ (Bodek? 1866: 5a)

- 'And while he was in Poland and it was made known that Elijah of blessed memory had revealed himself to him' (N. Duner 1899: 62)
- 'The holy genius, the head of the holy court of Lublin, who was called Ironhead' (Jacob Isaac ben Asher of Przysucha 1908: 44)
- 'The leader of the Mitnaggedim was called R. Solomon Hasid' (Breitstein 1914: 17)
- 'They were chased very much from their homes' (M. Walden 1914: 10)
- 'as if his legs and ribs were broken' (Shenkel 1903a: 6)
- 'And I was almost repelled in horror' (Teomim Fraenkel 1910: 6)
- 'until his flesh could almost be seen there' (Chikernik 1903a: 8)

Yiqṭol + qoṭel

- 'And I will hope to God that she will immediately be blessed (lit: attended to in peace) with her child' (Lieberson 1913: 92)
- 'But from today onwards he must take care not to do such things' (Teomim Fraenkel 1911a: 5)
- 'I bless you [with the intention] that you should be careful about these two things' (J. Duner 1899: 15)

Infinitive Construct + qoṭel

- 'Know that you are fated (lit: your end is) to be killed by a pagan robber' (Lieberson 1913: 92)
- 'to surrender in the world' (Bodek 1865a: 34)
- 'to surrender before him' (HaLevi 1907: 20b)
- 'And it was his custom to hide in hiding places' (Singer 1900a, pt. 1: 6)
- 'to be careful of the tzaddikim' (M. Walden 1914: 20)
- 'to be buried near his rebbe' (Michelsohn 1905: 83)
- 'His way was always to be careful' (Yellin 1913: 31)
- 'And his time came to enter the wedding canopy' (J. Duner 1899: 15)

This type of periphrastic construction has some precedent in earlier Hebrew sources such as Rashi's commentaries, which may have contributed to its appearance in the tales. However, the Hasidic Hebrew authors' use of the form is noteworthy in that they employ it to the almost total exclusion of simple *nifal qatal*, *yiqtol*, and infinitives construct with passive meaning. Moreover, although *nifal* forms with active force may appear in the tales in their simple form (e.g. נחבאת 'you hid' [HaLevi 1909: 54]; ליזהר 'to be careful' [Rakats 1912, pt. 1: 3]; ליכנס 'to enter' [Landau 1892: 22]), they often appear in periphrastic form, as above. This suggests that the authors selected the periphrastic forms because they found it difficult to produce the full range of *nifal* conjugations.

However, the fact that the use of periphrastic constructions is particularly common in the case of *nifal* roots with passive meaning indicates that their popularity is not ascribable purely to such considerations. Rather, it is possible that the authors did not perceive the passive *nifal* as a true verbal form but instead understood it as an adjectival form. This may be due to influence from Yiddish, in which the passive is a periphrastic construction formed by means of the auxiliary ווערן 'become' (which correlates to the Hebrew root ה.ו.ה when serving as an auxiliary) followed by a past participle (Jacobs 2005: 220). Moreover, this tendency may reflect an ongoing process in Hasidic Hebrew whereby the *nifal* (and to some extent the other two passive stems) are losing much of their verbal function and becoming reanalyzed as adjectival forms. This parallels the process that took place between Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew whereby the *pual* was reanalyzed as an adjective rather than a verbal form (Pérez Fernández 1999: 95; Hilman 2013).

8.7 Volitives

8.7.1 Cohortative

The cohortative appears relatively frequently in the direct speech in the tales in both the singular and plural. This aspect of the Hasidic Hebrew verbal system is directly traceable to Biblical Hebrew, in which the cohortative is a central element (and perhaps to biblically-inspired medieval poetry, which likewise employs it; see Fassberg 2013), in contrast to Rabbinic Hebrew, in which it is not a productive feature (Bar-Asher 1999: 9; Pérez Fernández 1999: 105; Fassberg 2013).

8.7.1.1 Singular Cohortative

In Hasidic Hebrew the cohortative is somewhat more frequently attested in the singular than in the plural. Singular cohortatives may appear with a variety of roots, but the most commonly attested one is the form *אספרה* 'I shall tell', as in the first two examples below. The singular cohortative almost always indicates a planned future action; as such, it overlaps with the *yiqtol* when used with reference to future plans (as discussed in 8.2.2.3.4).

- *אספרה לכם סיבת הדבר* 'I will tell you the reason for the matter' (Berger 1910b: 23)
- *ואספרה לכם איזה מעשה* 'And I will tell you a certain story' (Chikernik 1902: 14)
- *חכו נא עוד מעט ואשובה אליכם* 'Please wait a bit more and I shall return to you' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 19)
- *לכן אציגה לכם סיפור ברור כסולת נקי* 'Therefore I shall present to you a story as clear as pure flour' (Kaidaner 1875: 6b)
- *אזכרה ואשפכה* 'I will remember and I will pour' (Bodek 1865a: 27)
- *אולי אכפרה בעד חטאתכם* 'Maybe I will atone for your sin' (Michelsohn 1910a: 41)

This usage corresponds to that of Biblical Hebrew, as in that stratum of the language the singular cohortative is sometimes used in planned future contexts (van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999: 152). However, the Biblical Hebrew singular cohortative differs from its Hasidic Hebrew counterpart in that it may appear in a wider variety of present and future contexts. Moreover, there is widespread agreement that despite its seeming interchangeability with the *yiqtol*, the Biblical Hebrew singular cohortative is a volitive form indicating a heightened element of desire or personal involvement in the action on the part of the speaker (see e.g. Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 573–574; Shulman 1996: 196–197; Joüon-Muraoka 2006: 345–346); by contrast, it is not certain that the Hasidic authors were conscious of or sought to emulate this volitive force. It is instead likely that, as in the case of other prominent biblical forms employed in the tales (such as e.g. the pronouns *אני* 'I' and *המה* 'they' discussed in 6.1.1 and the feminine plural *yiqtol* discussed in 8.2.1.4), they associated the singular cohortative with biblical style, and selected it on occasion as a variant of the *yiqtol* with future meaning in order to strengthen the linguistic similarity between their writing and biblical narrative.

Only very rarely is a singular cohortative found in purpose clauses, as in the following example. Such cases seem to be directly adapted from biblical sources (as below) rather than constituting a productive Hasidic Hebrew construction.

- הביאו נא אלי ואוכלה 'Please bring [it] to me so that I may eat' (Bodek 1865a: 43); cf. והביאה לי ואוכלה 'And bring it to me so that I may eat' (Gen. 27:4)

8.7.1.2 Plural Cohortative

The plural cohortative is likewise attested relatively commonly, but is somewhat less productive than its singular equivalent because it is typically restricted to two roots, ה.ל.ך 'go' and (less frequently) ש.ו.ב 'return', as illustrated below. It is used to indicate mutual encouragement, equivalent to the English 'let's'. As in the case of the singular cohortative, this has precedent in the Hebrew Bible (Joüon-Muraoka 2006: 346), but the Hasidic Hebrew authors utilize the form less frequently and with a much smaller range of roots than their biblical model.

- נלכה לשר העיר 'Let's go to the minister of the city' (Kaidaner 1875: 33b)
- נלכה נא אליו 'Let's go to him' (Michelsohn 1910b: 144)
- לבו ונלכה אל הרב הקדוש 'Come, let's go to the holy Rebbe' (N. Duner 1912: 28)
- נלכה נא ביחד לבית המשתה 'Let's go together to the banquet house' (Breitstein 1914: 52)
- בואו ונלכה לשמוע הדרשה 'Come, let's go hear the sermon' (Brandwein 1912: 3)
- ונשובה עתה לדבר בהעלם החתן 'And now we shall return to speaking about the young groom' (Bodek 1865b: 13)

8.7.2 Imperative

8.7.2.1 Morphology

8.7.2.1.1 Masculine Singular Imperatives

Masculine singular imperatives are widely distributed throughout the Hasidic Hebrew tales, but are most commonly restricted to the *qal*, e.g.:

- לך 'Go' (N. Duner 1912: 2)
- ראה 'Look' (Gemen 1914: 69)
- שמע 'Listen' (Berger 1910b: 24)
- דע 'Know' (Breitstein 1914: 40)
- תן 'Give' (Ehrmann 1903: 49a)
- אמור 'Say' (Teomim Fraenkel 1911a: 22)
- קח 'Take' (Baruch of Medzhybizh 1880: 26)
- שא 'Lift' (J. Duner 1899: 33)
- שמור 'Look after' (Kaidaner 1875: 16a)
- חמול 'Have mercy' (Hirsch 1900: 43)
- רון 'Run' (A. Walden 1860?: 23a)
- חטוב [...] 'Chop' (Greenwald 1897: 94)

By contrast, masculine singular imperatives in the *nifal* and *hitpael* are relatively uncommon. Examples include the following:

Nifal

- והכּוּן ‘And prepare yourself’ (Rodkinsohn 1865: 36)
- לִדְּרֹשׁ ‘Be careful’ (Sofer 1904: 7)
- וְהִזְהֵר ‘Be careful’ (Singer 1900b: 12)

Hitpael

- וְהִתְחַזֵּק ‘Become stronger’ (Rodkinsohn 1865: 14)
- וְהִתְבּוּן ‘Look’ (Baruch of Medzhybizh 1880: 25)

Masculine singular *piel* imperatives are somewhat more frequently attested, though still much rarer than the *qal*. Common forms include the following:

Piel

- בִּקֵּשׁ ‘Look for’ (Rodkinsohn 1865: 10)
- סַפֵּר ‘Tell’ (Kaidaner 1875: 15a)
- וְקַבֵּל ‘And receive’ (Michelsohn 1912: 77)
- וּצֵא וּבִקֵּשׁ ‘Go out and look for’ (Ehrmann 1905: 56a)

In contrast to the other derived stems, *hifil* imperatives are quite commonly attested in the tales. Such forms are almost always shortened, following biblical precedent (see Joüon-Muraoka 2006: 149), as below. (See 8.9.6.1 for exceptions to this trend.)

- הִבֵּט ‘Look’ (Kaidaner 1875: 23a)
- הִט ‘Turn’ ((Michelsohn 1910b: 133)
- וְהִבֵּא ‘And bring’ (M. Walden 1914: 39)
- וְהִבֵּן ‘And understand’ (Bromberg 1899: 14)
- וְהִעֲמֵד ‘And put’ (Rodkinsohn 1865: 54)
- וְהִשְׁכֵּם ‘Get up early’ (Bodek 1865a: 15)
- הִגֵּד ‘Tell’ (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 12)

8.7.2.1.2 *Masculine Singular Imperative with ה Suffix*

The Hasidic Hebrew masculine singular imperative is sometimes attested with a ה suffix, e.g.:

- הגידה לי מה מבוקשיך 'Tell me what you want' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 12)
- גשה הלום 'Come here' (Bodek 1865c: 14)
- תנה נא לי 'Please give [it] to me' (Michelson 1911: 24)
- תנה נא על ידי את בנך 'Give your son to me' (Seuss 1890: 54)
- לכן תנה לי איזה עצה 'Therefore give me some advice' (Breitstein 1914: 28)
- ויאמרו אליו לכה אתנו 'And they said to him, "Come with us"' (Laufbahn 1914: 49)

These Hasidic Hebrew forms all have precise equivalents in the Hebrew Bible and are therefore most likely inspired by their biblical antecedents. (While the suffixed imperative is not completely unknown in Rabbinic Hebrew, in that form of the language it is a very marginal phenomenon restricted to a few forms appearing in liturgical and intentionally biblicizing contexts [Pérez Fernández 1999: 151]; most of the Hasidic suffixed imperatives are not attested in Rabbinic Hebrew and cannot have been inspired by that form of the language.)

The function of the suffixed imperative in the Hasidic Hebrew tales is uncertain, as is the precise relationship between the Hasidic and biblical understanding of the form. This uncertainty is in part attributable to the fact that the role of the suffix in Biblical Hebrew is itself disputed. For example, van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze (1999: 150) state that its role is unclear, while Waltke and O'Connor (1990: 571) argue that it is most likely no different in meaning from its unsuffixed counterpart, as both occur in similar settings. By contrast, Fassberg (1994: 33; 1999: 13) and Shulman (1996: 250) propose that the suffixed variant is usually employed when the command is directed towards or for the benefit of the speaker, whereas the unsuffixed form indicates action directed towards others. Interestingly, the use of the Hasidic Hebrew suffixed form seems to support Fassberg's and Shulman's analysis of the biblical form, as it is used in contexts indicating that the command will somehow affect the speaker. However, it is unlikely that the Hasidic authors consciously interpreted the biblical suffixed form in this way and that, as in the case of certain other elements of Hasidic Hebrew grammar discussed in this volume, they did not employ it in order to convey this type of semantic content but rather selected it simply because it was familiar to them and perhaps in order to lend a biblical flavour to their writing.

8.7.2.1.3 *Feminine Singular Imperatives*

Feminine singular imperatives are attested only sporadically in Hasidic Hebrew. Various stems are attested among those that do appear. This dearth of feminine singular imperatives is attributable to the relative paucity of female characters in the tales, compounded by the authors' tendency to employ masculine singular imperatives in conjunction with feminine subjects (see 8.13.2.1). Rare examples include the following:

- דעי 'Know' (Berger 1910b: 72)
- התבשרי 'Be informed' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 3)
- תני 'Give' (Kaidaner 1875: 23b)
- הגידי 'Tell' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 25)
- לכי 'Go' (? 1894: 11)

8.7.2.1.4 *Masculine Plural Imperatives*

Masculine plural imperatives are a relatively common feature of the tales. Like their masculine singular counterparts, they are most frequently attested in the *qal*, e.g.:

- ראו 'Look' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 12)
- עשו 'Do' (Landau 1892: 18)
- סעו 'Travel' (Munk 1898: 22)
- דעו 'Know' (Chikernik 1902: 17)
- לכו 'Go' (Michelsohn 1910a: 37)
- עבדו 'Serve' (Laufbahn 1914: 51)
- חקרו 'Investigate' (Kaidaner 1875: 19b)
- שמעו 'Listen' (Hirsch 1900: 32)

Masculine plural imperatives from the derived stems are only rarely attested. As in the case of the masculine singular, the *hifil* is more commonly employed than the other derived stems. Examples include the following:

Nifal

- השמרו לכם 'Look after yourselves' (Breitstein 1914: 38)
- האספו 'Gather yourselves' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 31)

Piel

- מהרו 'Hurry' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 19)
- ובקשוהו 'And look for him' (Laufbahn 1914: 49)

Hitpa'el

- השתדלו נא 'Please do all that you can' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 5)
- לכו והתפרנסו 'Go and make a living' (Shenkel 1903b: 10)

Hifil

- הביטו 'Please look outside' (Jacob Isaac ben Asher of Przysucha 1908: 47)
- לכו והביאו 'Go and bring' (Michelsohn 1910a: 37)
- הגידו 'Tell' (Rodkinsohn 1864a: 21)

8.7.2.2 Uses

The Hasidic Hebrew imperative may be used to convey a range of volitive senses, including urgent or immediate commands, polite requests, and durative commands and injunctions. These various uses are illustrated below. The *yiqtol* may alternatively be employed in all of these cases with the same meaning (see 8.2.2.5.2).

- פתאום קרא אותי הבעש"ט 'Suddenly the Ba'al Shem Tov called me, "Jacob, go and summon the bishop for me"' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 19)
- קבל נא מאתי האלף אדומים 'Please take the thousand ducats from me' (Bodek 1865c: 4)
- אתם בית ישראל הטו אזניכם ושמעו סיפורי התמימים 'You, House of Israel, lend me your ears and hear my innocent tales' (Kaidaner 1875: 19a)
- דעו לכם כי האיש הנ"ל הוא מהצדיקים הנסתרים 'Know that that man is one of the hidden righteous ones' (Chikernik 1902: 17)
- קח את מטבע זו ותקנה אתרוג 'Take this coin and buy a citron' (Sobelman 1909/10 pts. 1–2: 25)

The Hasidic Hebrew uses of the imperative and the interchangeability of the form with the *yiqtol* echo the canonical strata of the language, though there are some differences. In Biblical Hebrew the imperative can serve to convey immediate commands, polite requests, and wishes, but is not typically used in durative contexts, in which the *yiqtol* is employed instead (see van der Merwe,

Naudé, and Kroeze 1999: 149, 151). Conversely, in Rabbinic Hebrew the imperative is used in similar settings to those in which its Hasidic Hebrew counterparts are found, but the imperative form is itself much rarer than the *yiqṭol* (Pérez Fernandez 1999: 152), unlike Hasidic Hebrew in which the imperative and *yiqṭol* are both employed in volitive contexts with similar frequency. However, the Hasidic Hebrew usage corresponds precisely to nineteenth-century Maskilic Hebrew, in which the imperative and *yiqṭol* may be employed in free variation in the same range of settings (Kahn 2009: 145–147, 208–210). This is one of many areas in which both Hasidic and Maskilic Hebrew can perhaps be regarded as two components of a broader Eastern European form of Hebrew.

8.7.3 *Jussive*

The jussive is almost entirely unknown in Hasidic Hebrew, in which third person command force is nearly invariably conveyed by the *yiqṭol* (see 8.2.2.5.3). The only jussives attested in the tales are the 3ms and 3fs forms of the roots ה.י.ה. 'be' and ח.י.ה. 'live', as below. These often serve as fossilized components in a few set phrases such as יחי 'long live', as in the last two examples. This convention has a close parallel in Maskilic Hebrew, wherein the jussive is avoided except for the roots ה.י.ה. and ח.י.ה. (see Kahn 2009: 211). The avoidance of the jussive in both Hasidic and Maskilic Hebrew is most likely rooted in the fact that the form is largely unattested in rabbinic literature (Pérez Fernández 1999: 122). Interestingly, in this case the Hasidic Hebrew authors did not follow the tendency discussed elsewhere in this volume to adopt characteristically biblical forms in order to root their compositions within the biblical narrative tradition.

- יְהִי נָא מְטוֹבָךְ לְהַגִּיד לִי אִם אַתָּה לֵיב מְסוּוֹאֶלֶק 'Be so good (lit: may it be of your goodness) as to tell me whether you are Leib of Suwałki' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 39)
- הִטָּה אָזְנְךָ וּשְׁמַע וְתֵהִי אָזְנְךָ קְשׁוּבוֹת לְדִבְרֵי אֱלֹהִים 'Give ear and listen, and may your ear be attentive to these words' (Bodek 1865c: 3)
- יְחִי הַמֶּלֶךְ, יְחִי הַמֶּלֶךְ, יְחִי הַמֶּלֶךְ 'Long live the king, long live the king!' (Shenkel 1903b: 29)
- יְחִי אֲדוֹמוֹ"ר הַרֵב הַצַּדִּיק 'Long live our holy and righteous Rebbe' (Sofer 1904: 10)

8.8 Infinitives

Hasidic Hebrew possesses both an infinitive absolute and an infinitive construct, discussed below in turn.

8.8.1 *Infinitive Absolute*

The Hasidic Hebrew authors' use of the infinitive absolute is most likely inspired by Biblical rather than Rabbinic Hebrew, given that an analogous construction is relatively common in the former but extremely marginal in the latter (see Zohori 1990: 132–133 for details of the few attestations of the form in Rabbinic Hebrew). The Hasidic Hebrew infinitive absolute is used in a variety of different ways, as examined in the following sections.

8.8.1.1 Paranomastic Infinitive Absolute

The most common use of the infinitive absolute in Hasidic Hebrew is in paranomastic constructions consisting of a prepositive infinitive followed by a finite verb of the same root. The frequency of this construction is most likely due to the fact that it is the most common type of infinitive absolute in Biblical Hebrew (Joüon-Muraoka 2006: 391). Paranomastic infinitives absolute are most typically *qal*, but *nifal*, *piel*, and *hifil* forms are attested as well. In the *qal* the construction is most commonly attested with the root י.ד.ע 'know'. The following examples illustrate these points:

Qal

- וקרא אחריו נפול תפול. נאפאליען תפול 'And he called after him, "You will fall! Napoleon, you will fall!"' (Berger 1910b: 87)
- ידעתי כי בוש תבוש 'I know that you will be ashamed' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 30)
- מזה ידוע תדעו מה נורא מעשיו 'From this you will surely know how awesome his deeds are' (Sobelman 1909/10, pt. 3: 12)
- וראה ראינו אשר בביתך זורח אור גדול 'And we have indeed seen that in your house there shines a great light' (Brandwein 1912: 2)
- ידוע תדע כי סכנה גדולה מרחפת עליך 'Know that a great danger is hovering over you' (Teomim Fraenkel 1910: 58)
- ידוע תדע כי אתה הוא האיש 'Know that you are the man' (A. Walden 1860?: 7a)

Nifal

- נכסוף נכסוף לשמוע 'He yearned to hear' (Michelson 1911: 25)

Piel

- ואם תבטיחני כי אתה ברך תברך אבטיח 'And if you promise me that you will indeed bless, I will promise' (Bodek 1865c: 3)
- לא יהי לי מקום אצל חותני כי גרש יגרש אותי מביתי 'I will not have a place by my father-in-law, for he will surely expel me from my house' (Kaidaner 1875: 26a)
- אמר לו בני גרש תגרש אותה 'He said to him, "My son, divorce her"' (Ehrmann 1905: 58b)

Hifil

- הכרע הכרעתי את נפשי 'I have determined my life' (Singer 1900a, pt. 3: 8)

Although the infinitive absolute usually appears in the same stem as the associated finite verb, sometimes a *qal* infinitive absolute is attested in conjunction with a finite verb of a derived stem, as below:

- הנה מדבר זכור זכור מאיש חי רב פעלים 'Now while I am talking I shall make mention of a living man of many [amazing] deeds' (Kaidaner 1875: 7a)

More rarely, a paranomastic infinitive absolute may follow the associated finite verb, with no apparent difference in meaning. Such a case is shown below:

- וילך הלך עד גשתו אל הגביר 'And he went until he approached the rich man' (Bodek 1865a: 38)

The function of the Hasidic Hebrew paranomastic infinitive absolute is somewhat unclear. It sometimes appears in contexts suggesting that it may serve to draw added attention to the finite verb. However, this reading is not at all certain, and it is equally possible that the infinitive absolute in these constructions is devoid of clear semantic content and is instead best left untranslated. The examples above illustrate this uncertainty: all of the infinitives absolute in question could theoretically be interpreted as an emphatic marker drawing attention to the urgency or seriousness of the action conveyed by the root and could be given a translation value of 'indeed'; while alternatively, each of these forms may be understood as stylistic devices and omitted from the English translations.

This lack of clarity is in part attributable to a similar uncertainty as to the function of the corresponding form in Biblical Hebrew, which has been interpreted as a topicalization marker, an emphatic form, and a modal marker (see Callahan 2010 for details). It is likely that the Hasidic Hebrew authors did not perceive the construction as a meaningful semantic device but rather occasionally employed it because (like various other grammatical phenomena discussed elsewhere in this volume) it was immediately familiar to them from its appearance in the Hebrew Bible and lent a biblical flavour to their compositions, without giving deeper thought to its significance in that form of the language. This is supported by the fact that the infinitive absolute is relatively infrequent and is typically limited to a few roots, e.g. בִּרְךְ. 'bless', מוּת. 'die', יָדַע. 'know', which are commonly attested in the Hebrew Bible.

However, the Hasidic Hebrew infinitive absolute is not merely a fossilized form but can rather be used productively: for example, the phrase בּוֹשׁ תְּבוֹשׁ 'you will indeed be ashamed' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 30) shown above is found only twice in the Hebrew Bible, as בּוֹשׁ לֹא יָבוֹשׁ in Jeremiah 6:15 and Jeremiah 8:12, and these differ from the Hasidic Hebrew phrase in that they contain a negator and 3mp verb instead of a 2ms verb with no negator; similarly, the phrase זְכוּר אֶזְכֵּיר 'I shall make mention' (Kaidaner 1875: 7a) does not have a biblical parallel at all.

8.8.1.2 Postpositive Infinitive Absolute Expressing Concurrent Action

Although Hasidic Hebrew infinitives absolute consist predominantly of the prepositive paranomastic type, sometimes two infinitives absolute appear following a finite verb to convey continuous or iterative action. This construction is not productive, but rather is restricted to a set of fossilized phrases with verbs of motion known to the authors from the Hebrew Bible, as illustrated below.

- ויסע משם הלך ונסוע עד עיר ברעסלא 'And he went from there, travelling on to Breslau' (Michelsohn 1910b: 6); cf. ויסע אברהם הלך ונסוע הנגבה: 'And Abraham went on, travelling to the Negev' (Gen. 12:9)
- וילך הלך וגדל עד כי גדול מאד 'And he kept getting bigger until he was very big' (Laufbahn 1914: 45); cf. וילך הלך וגדל עד כי גדול מאד 'And he continued to grow in wealth until he was very wealthy' (Gen. 26:13)
- וילך הלך וקרוב 'And he came closer and closer' (Bodek? 1866: 9a); cf. וילך הלך וקרוב 'And he came closer and closer' (2 Sam. 18:25)
- וכחותיו הלכו הלך וחסור 'And his strength kept fading' (Kamelhar 1909: 64); cf. והמים היו הלך וחסור 'And the waters kept receding' (Gen. 8:5)
- ותלך הלך ובכה 'And she went along weeping' (Seuss 1890: 31); cf. ותלך הלך ובכה 'And her husband went after her, weeping as he went' (2 Sam. 3:16)

8.8.1.3 As Imperative

The Hasidic Hebrew authors typically employ the infinitive absolute only in paranomastic constructions and to indicate concurrent action; they do not generally use it to denote imperatives or other finite verbs, in contrast to Biblical Hebrew, in which it can sometimes serve these functions (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 593–597; Morrison 2013). However, on very rare occasions the Hasidic Hebrew infinitive absolute is attested with the sense of an imperative. This usage is not a productive feature of Hasidic Hebrew but rather is limited to a very small number of fossilized forms based directly on biblical precedent, as shown below.

- לִבֶּן זָכוֹר וְאַל תִּשְׁכַּח 'Therefore remember, and do not forget' (Seuss 1890: 67);
cf. זָכוֹר אֶת־יְיָ הַשַּׁבָּת 'Remember the Sabbath day' (Exod. 20:8)

8.8.2 *Infinitive Construct*

8.8.2.1 Morphology

The Hasidic Hebrew infinitive construct possesses a variety of forms; it may be unprefixed and unsuffixed or appear with a range of prefixes and suffixes. Each of these possibilities is discussed below.

8.8.2.1.5 *Unprefixed*

The infinitive construct frequently appears in the tales in unprefixed form, e.g.:

- צֵאת 'to go out' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 9)
- לֵכָה 'to go' (Bodek 1865c: 22)
- תֵּת 'to give' (Laufbahn 1914: 48)
- עֲשֹׂה 'to do' (Ehrmann 1903: 3b)

In this respect Hasidic Hebrew follows the model of the Hebrew Bible, in which the unprefixed infinitive construct is a common element (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 600–603; van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999: 72). This can be contrasted with rabbinic literature, in which the unprefixed infinitive construct is not a productive feature (Sharvit 1998: 336; Pérez Fernández 1999: 144). As in many other aspects of its morphosyntax, in this regard Hasidic Hebrew mirrors contemporaneous Maskilic Hebrew literature, in which the unprefixed infinitive construct is commonly attested (see Kahn 2009: 60–61).

8.8.2.1.6 *Prefixed by -ב-, -בּ-, and -בִּ-*

The Hasidic Hebrew infinitive construct frequently appears prefixed by the prepositions -בּ-, -בּ-, and -בִּ-. These forms of infinitive construct are modelled

on Biblical Hebrew, which frequently employs identical constructions (see Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 604), in contrast to Rabbinic Hebrew, in which the infinitive construct with these prefixes and without *ל־* is unknown except in rare biblicizing liturgical instances (Pérez Fernández 1999: 144). However, it is also widespread in medieval and early modern Hebrew texts such as responsa literature and Rashi's biblical and Talmudic commentaries (Betzer 2001: 55, 108), and these sources may have contributed to the Hasidic Hebrew usage. Moreover, as in the case of the unprefixed infinitive construct, these prefixed forms are also attested in contemporaneous Maskilic writings (see Kahn 2009: 60–61), suggesting that they comprise an element of a broader Eastern European form of Hebrew.

Examples of the infinitive construct prefixed by *ב־*, *כ־*, and *מ־* are shown below. Infinitives construct prefixed by *ב־* and *כ־* invariably serve as part of a temporal clause (see 13.14.2), while those prefixed by *מ־* are typically employed in separative clauses (see 8.8.2.2.5).

With *ב־*

- בעמדי לפני מלך ב"ו 'while I was standing before a king of flesh and blood' (J. Duner 1899: 19)
- בשבתו בביתו 'when he was sitting in his house' (Zak 1912: 28)
- בנסעם 'while they were travelling' (Sofer 1904: 6)
- בהיותו ילד [...] 'when he was a child' (Gemen 1914: 59)

With *כ־*

- כדברים 'as they were speaking' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 14)
- וכשמוע "הגביר" 'and when "the rich man" heard' (Ehrmann 1903: 2a)
- וככלותי לדבר 'and when I finished speaking' (HaLevi 1909: 52)
- כבואם לובלינה 'when they arrived in Lublin' (Berger 1910b: 108)

With *מ־*

- מהכיל 'from containing/to contain' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 15)
- מדבר 'from speaking' (Kaidaner 1875: 16a)
- מלכת 'from going' (Michelson 1910b: 9)

8.8.2.1.7 *Prefixed by ל־*

In addition to the prefixes *ב־*, *כ־*, and *מ־*, Hasidic Hebrew infinitives construct may be prefixed by *ל־*, e.g.:

- לשמוע 'to hear' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 20)
- ליתן 'to give' (Rosenthal 1909: 47)
- לנצח 'to conquer' (Hirsch 1900: 5)
- ללכת 'to go' (Rakats 1912, pt. 1: 7)
- לשנות 'to change' (Laufbahn 1914: 45)

The infinitive construct prefixed by -ל most typically functions as the complement of finite verbs (see 8.8.2.2.1) and in purpose clauses (see 8.8.2.2.3); in such cases it is generally employed in free variation with its unprefixed counterpart. The infinitive construct prefixed by -ל is attested in all previous types of Hebrew. However, the Hasidic Hebrew use of this variant most closely resembles that of biblical and Maskilic literature, in which the variant with -ל is only one of several infinitive construct forms, in contrast to Rabbinic, Israeli, and certain other post-biblical varieties of Hebrew, in which it is the only infinitive construct form in productive use.

8.8.2.1.8 *With Subject Suffixes*

Unprefixed infinitives construct and those prefixed by -ב , -כ , or -מ are frequently attested with a subject suffix, as shown below. Infinitives construct prefixed by -ל do not typically appear with subject suffixes (see 8.8.2.2.6 for the sole exception to this).

- עשותו 'his doing' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 9)
- בשומעו 'when he heard' (Bodek 1865c: 19)
- ובשובה 'and when she returned' (Teomim Fraenkel 1911a: 49)
- בראותינו 'when we saw' (Laufbahn 1914: 48)

8.8.2.1.9 *With Object Suffixes*

All types of infinitive construct may take object suffixes in Hasidic Hebrew. However, object suffixes are most commonly found attached to infinitives construct prefixed by -ל , in contrast to those that are unprefixed or prefixed by -ב , -כ , and -מ , which much more frequently appear in conjunction with subject suffixes. These trends are illustrated below.

Prefixed by -ל

- לסובלו 'to endure him/it' (Singer 1900a, pt. 1: 8)
- לטורדו 'to bother him' (Breitstein 1914: 7)
- למוכרו 'to sell it' (Yellin 1913: 5)
- לסותמו 'to block him' (Munk 1898: 35)

- למכרם 'to sell them' (Landau 1892: 49)
- ללוותו 'to accompany him' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 12)

Unprefixed

- למען המשיכו אליו 'in order to draw him to himself' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 25)

Note that when an object suffix is attached to a *qal* infinitive construct, the stem vowel of the infinitive becomes *qameš ḥaṭuf* (represented by ו), as above. This convention is traceable to Biblical Hebrew (see Joüon-Muraoka 2006: 165–166), but the orthography differs in that *qameš ḥaṭuf* is never represented by ו in the Hebrew Bible. The Hasidic Hebrew spelling convention is part of a widespread tendency to employ ו to indicate *qameš ḥaṭuf* (see 3.3.1).

8.8.2.2 Uses

The Hasidic Hebrew infinitive construct has a variety of uses, which, like its morphology, reflect a fusion of influence from biblical and post-biblical forms of the language.

8.8.2.2.1 Complement of Finite Verb

One of the most frequent uses of the Hasidic Hebrew infinitive construct is as the complement of a finite verb. In such cases both the unprefixed infinitive construct and the variant prefixed by ל- may be employed. These two possibilities are illustrated below in turn. The variant with ל- is slightly more commonly attested than its unprefixed counterpart, but both forms appear frequently and are used in free variation with no clear preference for one as opposed to the other with specific roots or collocations.

Unprefixed

- ויקח הנער את הכינור כי היה יודע נגן בכינור 'And the boy took the violin, because he knew how to play the violin' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 32)
- הבעש"ט זל"ה לא הניחו עשות ככה 'The Ba'al Shem Tov of eternal memory did not let him do so' (Ehrmann 1903: 3b)
- לא אביתי נסוע אליו 'I did not want to travel to him' (Laufbahn 1914: 47)

Prefixed by ל-

- אבל הגביר לא רצה ליתן רק מחצית סכום המבוקש 'But the rich man didn't want to give more than half the desired amount' (Ehrmann 1905: 137b)

- רבינו רצה לידע 'Our Rebbe wanted to know' (Heilmann 1902: 57)
- ולא רצה ליתן לו 'And he didn't want to give [it] to him' (Rosenthal 1909: 47)
- רק לא יכולתי לשאול זאת מאתו 'But I could not ask this of him' (Michelsohn 1910a: 112)
- לא יכולתי ללכת הלאה 'I could not go on' (Berger 1910a: 15)

This usage partially resembles Biblical Hebrew, in which both the prefixed and unprefixed infinitive construct can serve as the complement of a finite verb; however, in Biblical Hebrew certain finite verbs tend to be found in conjunction with infinitives prefixed by *ל־* while others can be found with either variant (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 606), whereas in Hasidic Hebrew no such distinction is made.

8.8.2.2.2 *Nominal*

The Hasidic Hebrew infinitive construct only rarely serves as a verbal noun, as this function is typically conveyed by gerunds (see 8.12). An unusual example of an infinitive construct in a nominal role is shown below.

- פה על מקום עמדינו 'Here at the place on which we are standing (lit: on the place of our standing)' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 28)

In this respect Hasidic Hebrew more closely resembles Rabbinic Hebrew, in which the gerund is used to convey nominal meanings (Pérez Fernández 1999: 57–58), rather than Biblical Hebrew, in which the infinitive construct is regularly found in such settings (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 600–601; Morrison 2013); however, as in many aspects of Hasidic Hebrew grammar this usage represents something of a fusion between the biblical and rabbinic models given that nominal infinitives construct are sometimes attested.

8.8.2.2.3 *Purpose Clauses*

The Hasidic Hebrew infinitive construct is frequently used in the construction of purpose clauses. Such infinitives construct are most commonly prefixed by *ל־*, as in the first set of examples below. Alternatively, they may be formed with an unprefixed infinitive following the particle *למען* 'in order to', as in the second set. Both of these constructions have precedent in Biblical Hebrew (Williams 2007: 83), but only the second one is a feature of Rabbinic Hebrew, in which the unprefixed infinitive construct is not attested (Pérez Fernández 1999: 144).

Prefixed by ל-

- ויוציאהו החוצה ויעמוד לקדש הלבנה 'And he took him outside and he stood in order to sanctify the New Moon' (Bodek 1865c: 14)
- ולקבץ מעות לקנות בשר 'and to gather funds in order to buy meat' (Berger 1910a: 45)
- 'What can I do in order to save you?' (Ehrmann 1905: 44b)
- 'That man went from town to town in order to collect alms' (Seuss 1890: 26)

Unprefixed

- למען הצדיק 'in order to justify' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 2)
- למען קחת בצע 'in order to take profit' (M. Walden 1914: 13)
- למען הפחיד לבני אדם 'in order to scare people' (Breitstein 1914: 26)
- למען היות להסוחרים נחת 'in order for the merchants to have pleasure' (Shenkel 1903b: 23)

8.8.2.2.4 Temporal

One of the most common uses of the Hasidic Hebrew infinitive construct is in the construction of temporal clauses. Infinitives construct in temporal clauses are typically preceded by the inseparable preposition ב- meaning 'when', 'while', or 'just after'. More rarely, they may be prefixed by כ- meaning 'when/just after', or preceded by an independent temporal preposition. Infinitives construct in temporal clauses usually have subject suffixes, though they may be followed by an independent subject. These possibilities are illustrated in the following examples.

Prefixed by ב-

- 'the deed that was done to me when I was standing before a flesh-and-blood king' (J. Duner 1899: 19)
- 'And when the righteous Rabbi Abraham had finished these words, he put his hand on the table and laid his head on it' (Zak 1912: 8)
- 'And as he looked at it he remembered everything that he had done thus far' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 40)
- אני הכרתי אותו בנסעינו על הנישואין של התחתנות הבארדיטשובר עם הליבאוויצר 'I got to know him while we were travelling to the wedding between the

Barditchever and Lubavitcher [Rebbes' families]' (Landau 1892: 6)

- ובפתחו הדלת ענה הגר"ש 'And as he opened the door Rebbe Shmelke answered' (Michelsohn 1910b: 36–37)
- ובראותו אותם נתפעל מאד 'And when he saw them he was greatly amazed' (Berger 1907: 37)

Prefixed by כ-

- ויהי כדברם זע"ז בדרך אנשים מעין אתה ויאמר האיש להסוחר מעיר פלוני 'And as they were speaking to each other as people do, [asking] where are you from, the man said to the merchant, "From such-and-such a town"' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 14)
- וככלותי לדבר נסע משם מיד 'And when I finished speaking, he immediately travelled away from there' (HaLevi 1909: 52)
- כבואם לובלינה נתפרדו איש מעל אחיו 'When they arrived in Lublin, they separated from each other' (Berger 1910b: 108)
- וכראות החכם אותו נתן לו שלום 'And when the wise man saw him, he greeted him' (Singer 1900b: 26)

Preceded by Independent Preposition

- ויתן לו הרב על הוצאות הדרך שיספיק לו הוצאות עד בואו שמה 'And the rabbi gave him [money] for the expenses of the road that would be sufficient for the expenses until his arrival there' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 12)
- בעת יושבי בסעודה 'while I was sitting at the feast' (M. Walden 1912: 29)
- לאחר צאתו מהתפיסה 'after he got out of prison' (Zak 1912: 16)

This use of the infinitive construct closely resembles Biblical Hebrew (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 604–605), in contrast to Rabbinic Hebrew, in which the infinitive is invariably prefixed by ל- and is not employed in temporal clauses (Pérez Fernández 1999: 109–110, 144). However, the Hasidic Hebrew usage differs from that of Biblical Hebrew in that the authors use both כ- and ב- in the sense of either 'while' or 'just after', whereas in Biblical Hebrew ב- typically means only 'while', with the sense of 'just after' reserved for כ- (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 604; Williams 2007: 179; see also Gropp 1995 for a detailed comparison of these two constructions). Moreover, the Hasidic Hebrew authors' use of temporal infinitives construct is not restricted to forms attested in the biblical corpus; rather, they employ the construction productively. In this respect Hasidic Hebrew resembles contemporaneous Maskilic Hebrew, in which such constructions are also a typical feature (Kahn 2009: 235–240).

8.8.2.2.5 *Separative*

The Hasidic Hebrew authors employ the infinitive construct prefixed by *מ-* in separative clauses, with reference to an action that the subject has been prevented from or ceased performing. The infinitive may be preceded by an adjective or adverb, with the construction indicating that the action of the infinitive cannot be carried out because of the excessive quality of the adjective. Alternatively, it may be preceded by a finite verb with a sense of delay or cessation. Infinitives construct prefixed by *מ-* in separative contexts are most commonly prefixed by *ל-*, as in the first set of examples below. However, they also appear on occasion without *ל-*, as in the second set.

Prefixed by *ל-*

- *וַיֹּאמֶר דִּי מַלְגָּנוֹב אֶצֶל יְהוּדִים* ‘And he said, “Enough stealing from Jews”’ (Sofer 1904: 7)
- *וְאַחֲרָיִם הִתְרַשַׁל מִלִּיתֵן עוֹד שׁוּחַד* ‘Once [...] he neglected to give another bribe’ (Ehrmann 1903: 1b)
- *וְאַחֲרָיִם הִתְרַשַׁל מִלִּיתֵן עוֹד שׁוּחַד* ‘And afterwards he stopped coming again’ (Bromberg 1899: 20)
- *עַד שְׁבִאֲחֲרוֹנָה פֶּסֶק לִגְמְרֵי מִלֵּאכּוֹל מֵאוֹמָה* ‘until in the end he entirely stopped eating anything’ (Landau 1892: 66)
- *הַגִּבּוֹר הִתְרַשַׁל מִלְּדַבֵּר בּוֹזָה* ‘The rich man stopped talking about it’ (Sobelman 1909/10, pt. 3: 16)
- *וַיִּחְדּוֹל מִלֵּיךְ עוֹד לְהַצּוֹרֵף* ‘And he stopped going to the silversmith any more’ (Singer 1900b: 5)
- *לֹא טוֹב עָשָׂה שְׂדָחָה אֶת הַרְבֵּי מְלוּבְלִין מִלְּהִתְאַכֵּסֶן אֶצְלוֹ* ‘He did not do well when he denied the Rebbe of Lublin from lodging with him’ (Jacob Isaac ben Asher of Przysucha 1908: 93)
- *וְהַתְּפִלָּה הַרְבֵּי רַ' בּוֹנֵעַם שִׁפְסִיק הַגֶּשֶׁם מִלִּירֵד* ‘And the Rebbe Bunem prayed that the rain would stop falling’ (Berger 1910c: 59)

Without *ל-*

- *אֶשְׁקוּט מִדְּבַר מֵהַאִישׁ הַקִּדּוּשׁ* ‘I shall not refrain (lit: be silent) from speaking of the holy man’ (Kaidaner 1875: 16a)
- *אֲךְ הָרוּחַ עָצָה בְּעַדִּי מִלֵּכֶת* ‘But the wind stopped me from going’ (Michelsohn 1910b: 9)
- *וְאַזְּלָה מִנְּעוּ אוֹתִי הַמַּלְאָכִים מֵהֵלֶךְ לְשִׁמּוֹעַ הַתְּפִלָּה שְׁחֲרִית* ‘And then the angels did not stop me from going to hear the morning prayer’ (Breitstein 1914: 41)

- תקצר היריעה מהכיל ‘The page is too short to contain [them]’ (Shalom of Koidanov 1882: 13)
- קצר הוא מקחת די נקם ‘But it is too short to take enough revenge’ (M. Walden 1914: 28)

This Hasidic Hebrew usage constitutes a fusion of biblical and rabbinic conventions: in Biblical Hebrew, separative constructions with the infinitive construct typically appear without *ל־* (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 603–605), while in Rabbinic Hebrew, infinitives construct are invariably prefixed by *ל־* (Pérez Fernández 1999: 106) and may be attested with *מ־* in separative contexts (Sharvit 1998: 336). This phenomenon is part of a widespread tendency in Hasidic Hebrew to combine biblical and post-biblical forms and constructions.

8.8.2.2.6 *Epexegetical*

The infinitive construct is sometimes used in contexts indicating the conditions under which the action of an associated finite verb took place. Such infinitives construct are most commonly preceded by *ל־*, as below.

- ואנכי להיותי הצעיר בין כולכם ידעתי ‘And I, being the youngest of all of you, know’ (Bodek 1865c: 4)
- איך סיכנת בעצמך לעבור על גזירת המלכות ‘How did you endanger yourself by transgressing the decree of the kingdom?’ (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 13)
- אפשר שירחם עלינו ברחמי המרובים להראינו מקום האמת ‘Perhaps he will bestow his abundant mercy upon us by showing us the place of truth’ (Kaidaner 1875: 19b)

The use of the *ל־* prefix in conjunction with an infinitive construct in epexegetical settings is rooted in Biblical Hebrew (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 608–609; Williams 2007: 82). However, the Hasidic authors sometimes employ a subject suffix in these cases, which is unknown in the biblical corpus. Similarly, it does not seem to stem from Rabbinic Hebrew, in which infinitives construct do not appear with subject suffixes (Sharvit 1998: 336). Like many other Hasidic Hebrew features, this seems to be traceable to Medieval Hebrew literature, in which identical forms are attested. For example, the construction *לְהִיְוִי* ‘my being’ shown in the first example appears in Ibn Ezra’s commentary on Psalms 38:17.

A related construction consists of an infinitive construct with prefixed inseparable preposition *ב־* and a subject suffix serving to convey an action that is concurrent with, and provides the motivation for, the action of a nearby finite verb. This usage does not have clear precedent in Biblical Hebrew; rather, it may

be a calque of one of the functions of the Yiddish present participle, which can be used to indicate simultaneous action (U. Weinreich 1971: 329).

- אַבֿל העני לאַ רצה באַמרוּ כּי הוא רוצה לילך רגלי 'But the pauper didn't want to, saying that he wanted to go on foot' (N. Duner 1912: 2)
- שױטנים הסיתהו לזה בהוכיחם לו רעת עדת החסידים 'Adversaries incited him to this by proving to him the evil of the community of Hasidim' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 19)

8.9 Stems

The stems in use in Hasidic Hebrew are shown in the following table. Noteworthy morphological, syntactic, and semantic aspects of each stem will be discussed in turn below.

Active	Passive	Reflexive
<i>Qal</i>	<i>Nifal</i> <i>Qal</i> passive (very rare)	—
<i>Piel</i>	<i>Pual</i>	<i>Hitpael/Nitpael</i>
<i>Hitpael/Nitpael</i> (intransitive)	<i>Hitpael/Nitpael</i>	
<i>Polel, pilpel</i>	<i>Polal, polpal</i>	<i>Hitpolel, Hitpalpel</i>
<i>Hifil</i>	<i>Hofal</i>	—

8.9.1 Qal

The morphology and syntax of the *qal* typically conforms to earlier varieties of Hebrew. Exceptions and other noteworthy phenomena are discussed below.

8.9.1.1 Qal Passive

The *qal* passive is attested in the Hasidic Hebrew tale corpus but is rare. It is restricted to a small number of *yiqtol* and *wayyiqtol* forms, shown below. Theoretically such cases may stem directly from the biblical corpus; however, the forms יִתֵּן 'it will be given' and יֵלֵד 'he/it will be born' appear relatively frequently in the works of medieval writers including Ibn Ezra and Abarbanel, and since the Hasidic authors often drew on this type of medieval literature, their occasional use of *qal* passives is more likely to constitute one such case.

- יותן 'It will be given' (Bodek 1865c: 8)
- יולד 'He/it will be born' (J. Duner 1899: 36)
- ויולד להם בן 'And a son was born to them' (Heilmann 1902: 1)

8.9.1.2 Stative *qal*

Qal verbs formed according to the stative pattern are sometimes attested in Hasidic Hebrew, most typically of the following roots. (Some of these *qal* forms have active rather than stative meaning, as in Biblical Hebrew; see Joüon-Muraoka 2006: 118–120 for details.)

- ג.ב.ר. 'grow strong'
- ח.ב.ם. 'be wise'
- ל.ב.ש. 'wear'
- ל.מ.ד. 'learn'
- ק.ט.ן. 'be small'
- ק.צ.ר. 'be short'
- ש.ב.ב. 'lie (down)'

As in many other aspects of Hasidic Hebrew grammar, the use of *qal* stative forms seems to reflect a mixture of conventions from different earlier strata of the language. Some of the stative roots in the tales, e.g. ש.ב.ב. 'lie (down)', are common features of many historical types of Hebrew, while others, e.g. ג.ב.ר. 'grow strong', ק.ט.ן. 'be small', ק.צ.ר. 'be short', and ח.ב.ם. 'be wise' are attested in the biblical corpus but uncommon in Rabbinic Hebrew, having been replaced by adjectival constructions (Segal 1927: 55; Pérez Fernández 1999: 98). However, these types of stative *qal* forms are sometimes found in the writings of Abarbanel and Alshich; this suggests that, as in many other cases discussed in this study, the Hasidic Hebrew authors' use of seemingly biblical elements may actually be partially attributable to the forms' appearance in these post-biblical texts.

Stative *qal* verbs can be attested as 3ms or 3fs *yiqṭol* and *wayyiqṭol* forms, as in the following sets of examples respectively.

Yiqṭol

- תקצר היריעה מהכיל 'The page is too short to contain [them]' (Shalom Koidanov 1882: 13)
- כי אם אגלה כל העולם יקטן לפניכם 'Because if I reveal [it] the whole world will become small before you' (Zak 1912: 19)

- תיקר נא נפש עבדך בעיני אדוני 'May the life of your servant be valued in your eyes, my lord' (Kaidaner 1875: 10b)

Wayyiqṭol

- ותקטן בעיניו כבוד זולתו 'Respect for his fellow was a small matter in his eyes' (Bodek 1865c: 12)
- הנער ש"ז הפליא מאוד בלימוד על כל בני דורו ויחכם מכל האדם בדורו 'The youth Shneur Zalman excelled greatly in studies, more so than all of his generation, and he was wiser than any man in his generation' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 1)

The stative roots most commonly attested in the *qaṭal* are ש.ב.ב. 'lie (down)' and ג.ב.ר. 'grow strong', as below.

- אח"כ שכבו התלמידים לישן 'Afterwards the students lay down to sleep' (Heilmann 1902: 9)
- וראה שהחולי גברה מאוד 'And he saw that the illness had intensified greatly' (M. Walden 1914: 125)

Stative infinitives construct are generally avoided with the exception of roots such as ש.ב.ש. 'wear', ל.מ.ד. 'study', and ש.ב.ב. 'lie (down)' that have an active sense, e.g.:

- באין בגד ללבוש 'without clothes to wear' (Ehrmann 1903: 17b)
- וישב ללמוד 'And he sat down to study' (Yellin 1913: 5)
- לשכב על המטה 'to lie on the bed' (J. Duner 1899: 72)

In the *yiqṭol*, *wayyiqṭol*, and infinitive construct statives typically have *pataḥ* (represented by lack of *mater lectionis*) instead of *holem* as their stem vowel, as in Biblical Hebrew (see Joüon-Muraoka 2006: 117, 125; Pat-El 2013). However, forms that would have *pataḥ* in Biblical Hebrew are sometimes attested with *holem*, represented by ו, e.g.:

- תקצור היריעה 'The page would be [too] short' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 47)
- שילבוש את הקלף 'that he should wear the card' (Kaidaner 1875: 17b)
- כשילמוד 'when he studies' (Bodek 1865a: 5)
- וירכוב 'And he rode' (Michelsohn 1912: 49)
- לשכוב 'to lie down' (M. Walden 1914: 8)

The above pattern has occasional precedent in the Mishnah (Haneman 1980: 107) and also appears in other rabbinic sources such as the Talmud and midrashim. This overlaps with a related phenomenon in Hasidic Hebrew whereby *qal yiqtol*, *wayyiqtol*, and infinitives construct of II-guttural roots appear with *holem* as their stem vowel (see 8.10.1.2).

8.9.1.3 Non-Standard Transitive *qal*

The Hasidic Hebrew authors often employ *qal* forms with transitive or causative force, in contrast to other forms of the language in which they would be intransitive. In most such cases one would expect to find a verb of the same root in the *hifil* instead of a *qal*. This phenomenon is illustrated in the following examples:

- ויהי באמצע הדרך באיזה כפר העמיד הבע"ג הסוסים לרעות אותם 'And in the middle of the journey, in some village, the wagon-driver stopped the horses in order to graze them' (Bromberg 1899: 29)
- ויחבק וינשק אותו ואמר לחזור לה הילד 'And he hugged and kissed him, and he told [them] to return the child to her' (Munk 1898: 18)
- ותיכף לקח אותו אביו הנ"ל ויעמוד אותו בתוך הספינה של הרב 'And his aforementioned father immediately took him and stood him in the Rebbe's boat' (Bodek 1866: 18)
- וירדתי אותו לעוה"ז 'And I brought him down to this world' (Lieberson 1913: 22)
- 'I will be able to stand her before you' (Ehrmann 1903: 8b)
- ואמרו לו שאני מצוה שיחזור לכם הדרוש 'And tell him that I command that he repeat the sermon for you' (Kaidaner 1875: 36a)
- והשיב אדמו"ר זלל"ה יעמדו לו באנקיס ועלוקות 'And the Rebbe of blessed memory said, "Let them put cups and leeches on him"' (Zak 1912: 21)
- 'The LORD, blessed be He, will remove that woe from you' (Singer 1900b: 25)
- 'he who returns the ring to him' (Breitstein 1914: 29)
- ועיניו בולטות לחוץ ויורדות מים 'And his eyes were sticking out and dripping water' (A. Walden 1860?: 5a)
- 'Look, the gentleman will stab me with his sword or kill me' (Seuss 1890: 15)

In a significant minority of these cases the object of the *qal* is a form of the reflexive pronoun -עצמ 'self' (discussed in 6.6), e.g.:

- 'And she asked of him that our Rebbe lay himself on it' (Rosenthal 1909: 23)
- 'Then he sat himself on the bed' (Bodek 1865a: 16)
- 'And when he wanted to move himself from there, suddenly he heard the prayer of our Teacher of Mogielnica' (Bromberg 1899: 34)
- 'Afterwards I lay myself down to sleep' (Chikernik 1903a: 30)
- 'And he dressed himself in a garment covered in mirrors' (Munk 1898: 74)
- 'And he hired himself out as a teacher to a rich man' (Shenkel 1903b: 16)

The origins of this non-standard causative use of the *qal* are not completely clear. In some cases it may be attributable to phonological considerations. The final unstressed ו in *qal* forms such as יחזור and יעמוד would have been pronounced as [פ] according to the conventions of the authors' Ashkenazi Hebrew (see U. Weinreich 1965: 43); the *qal* forms would thus have been aurally identical to their *hifil* counterparts, which may have caused the authors to perceive the two stems as identical. This confusion may have been extended by analogy to other *qal* forms that did not correspond in sound to their *hifil* equivalents. More generally, this widespread extension of causative function from the *hifil* to the *qal* suggests that the Hasidic Hebrew may have been in a process of development whereby a causative function was evolving as part of the *qal* stem. This may in turn point to a certain erosion of the stem system in favour of one in which the same verb may be used in both a transitive and intransitive sense, as in e.g. English.

Note that this unexpected use of *qal* instead of *hifil* is not universal; in some cases the authors do follow historical Hebrew precedent in the case of these roots, as below; however, this is less common than the non-standard usage.

- 'And he gave him nice mended clothes to dress himself in' (Ehrmann 1903: 29b)

A separate but related phenomenon is commonly attested whereby the *qal* appears instead of its expected *piel* counterpart. This is confined to the root ל.מ.ד., which in other forms of Hebrew is typically used in the *qal* to mean 'learn' and in the *piel* to mean 'teach' (Even-Shoshan 2003: 843), but which in the Hasidic tales is used in the *qal* to mean 'teach', as below. In contrast to the more widespread causative use of the *qal* instead of the *hifil* discussed above,

this phenomenon is most likely a calque from Yiddish, in which the verb לערנען can mean either 'learn' or 'teach'.

- ותבקש ממנו שלא ילמוד אותו המלאכה ההוא 'And she asked him not to teach him that craft' (Singer 1900b: 5)
- ובכל לילה היו לומדים אותי מלאכה אחרת 'And every night they would teach me a different skill' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 44)
- תלמידי בעש"ט ביקשו אותו פ"א כי ילמוד אותם מדת מדריגו 'The students of the Ba'al Shem Tov asked him once to teach them the attribute of [spiritual] levels' (Ehrmann 1903: 3b)

8.9.2 Nifal

As in the case of the *qal*, the morphology and syntax of the Hasidic Hebrew *nifal* typically follow historical standards. The only noteworthy issue relating to this stem concerns the form of the infinitive construct prefixed by ל-: it has two variants, both of which are more or less equally common and are employed interchangeably. The variants reflect a fusion of biblical and rabbinic precedent. The first one has לה- preceding the first radical, i.e. it is spelt defectively, with the standard ה- prefix of the *nifal* following the ל-. This convention resembles that typically found in the biblical corpus (van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999: 77–78).

- להשאר 'to remain' (? 1894: 5)
- להפרד 'to be separated, take leave' (Sobelman 1909/10, pt. 3: 18)
- להכנע 'to give in' (Heilmann 1902: 88)
- ולהכנס 'and to enter' (Sofer 1904: 13)
- לזהר 'to be careful' (Kaidaner 1875: 18b)

The second variant has לי- preceding the first radical, i.e. it is spelt plene and there is no ה prefix. This form resembles Rabbinic Hebrew and later rabbinic-based varieties of the language (see Pérez Fernández 1999: 96 for a discussion of this phenomenon in Rabbinic Hebrew; see Betzer 2001: 58 for examples of the same feature in medieval and early modern responsa literature).

- ליבטל 'to be annulled' (Zak 1912: 142)
- ליפטר 'to pass away'; 'to part' (Michelson 1905: 85)
- ליכנס 'to enter' (Sofer 1904: 28)
- ליזהר 'to be careful' (Rakats 1912, pt. 1: 3)
- לישבע 'to swear' (Bodek 1865b: 30)
- ליפטר 'to get rid of' (J. Duner 1899: 14)

Very rarely a *nifal* infinitive construct appears with both י and ה, representing a fusion of the two other variants:

- להיפרד ‘to separate’ (Rosenthal 1909: 45)

Below are unusual examples of a converse phenomenon whereby both י and ה are omitted:

- לכנס לגן עדן ‘to enter Paradise’ (Gemen 1914: 63)
- לכנס להרב ‘to enter in to [see] the Rebbe’ (Munk 1898: 28)
- מוכרח הייתי לשאר בביתי ‘I was forced to stay in my house’ (Ehrmann 1903: 17b)

8.9.3 Piel

The Hasidic Hebrew *piel* in Hasidic Hebrew corresponds in form and usage to that of other varieties of the language.

8.9.4 Pual

The *pual* serves as a full verbal form in Hasidic Hebrew, appearing as a *qaṭal*, *yiqṭol*, and *wayyiqṭol* as well as a *qoṭel*, as illustrated below.

In the *qaṭal* Hasidic Hebrew *pual* forms are most commonly 3ms, e.g.:

- בוקש ‘He was sought’ (Kaidaner 1875: 46a)
- גורש ‘He was banished’ (Berger 1906: 16)
- גודל ‘He was raised’ (Kamelhar 1909: 24)
- אורסה ‘She got engaged’ (Bodek 1865c: 10)

The *pual* appears in the *yiqṭol* quite frequently. As in the *qaṭal*, such forms are usually 3ms, e.g.:

- יבואר ‘It will be explained’ (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 26)
- ויבוקש ‘And [someone] will be searched for’ (Bodek 1865c: 4)
- יגונב ‘It (here: they) will be stolen’ (Kaidaner 1875: 16b)
- יבוטל ‘It will be cancelled out’ (Liebersohn 1913: 42)
- ידובר ‘It will be spoken’ (Ehrmann 1903: 3a)
- יקובל ‘It is/will be accepted’ (Sofer 1904: 28)
- יסופר ‘It is told’ (Rakats 1912, pt. 1: 54)
- בזאת יכופר עונך ‘With this your sin will be atoned for’ (Berger 1910c: 12)
- הדבר יבורר ‘The matter will be clarified’ (A. Walden 1860?: 21a)

In addition, it occasionally appears as a 3mp, e.g.:

- יתורצו 'They will be explained' (Kaidaner 1875: 13b)

3fs is also rarely attested, e.g.:

- תבושל 'It will be cooked' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 23)
- אשמתנו תכופר 'Our guilt will be atoned' (Ehrmann 1903: 9b)

Pual wayyiqtol is also sometimes attested, again typically in the 3ms, e.g.:

- וישולם 'And it was repaid' (Bodek 1866: 33)
- ויסופר 'And it was told' (Berger 1910b: 87)

Finally, as in other types of Hebrew the *pual* is commonly attested in the *qotel*, e.g.:

- מקורב 'closely linked' (HaLevi 1907: 22a)
- מסוגלת 'able' (Michelsohn 1910c: 22)
- משודכת 'matched (in marriage)' (Sofer 1904: 11)
- משועבדים 'enslaved' (Zak 1912: 35)

The Hasidic Hebrew use of the *pual* mirrors Biblical Hebrew, in which the stem appears in the same conjugations (see van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999: 81–82). By contrast, it differs from Rabbinic Hebrew, in which the *pual* is almost entirely restricted to adjectival *qotel* forms (Bar-Asher 1999: 66; Pérez Fernández 1999: 95). Interestingly, it also contrasts with Eastern European Hebrew responsa literature, in which non-participial *pual* forms are rarely attested (Betzer 2001: 60). However, the fact that the Hasidic Hebrew verbal *pual* is restricted to the third person suggests a somewhat more limited role than verbs in other stems which are more widely represented in all persons. While this resembles Biblical Hebrew to some degree, as the *pual* is relatively rare in that form of the language as well (Joüon-Muraoka 2006: 153), the Hasidic usage is more restricted than that of its biblical predecessor, in which the *pual* is sometimes attested in the first and second person.

8.9.5 Hitpael/Nitpael

The Hasidic Hebrew *hitpael* and *nitpael* exhibit a somewhat higher number of divergences from other forms of the language and other noteworthy morphological and syntactic characteristics than the other stems. These will be examined below.

8.9.5.1 Metathesis and Assimilation of Sibilants and Dentals

Hasidic Hebrew *hitpa'el* and *nitpa'el* forms whose first radical is a sibilant or dental usually exhibit metathesis and assimilation in accordance with standard historical Hebrew precedent. This is illustrated below.

- ונסתכל 'And we looked' (Landau 1892: 37)
- יזדרז 'He hurries' (Zak 1912: 9)
- להצטדק 'to justify himself' (Sofer 1904: 3)
- להשתעשע 'to amuse oneself' (Laufbahn 1914: 46)

However, in certain cases Hasidic Hebrew *hitpa'el/nitpa'el* forms do not undergo the expected assimilation. This phenomenon is most commonly seen in the case of the root *ב.ק.ד* 'be/stay close to', in which the infix *ת* is uniformly retained before the first radical *ד*. This non-assimilation occurs in the *qaṭal*, infinitive construct, and *qoṭel*. The following examples illustrate these points. As in the case of many other non-canonical elements of Hasidic Hebrew grammar, this variant is attested in, and may therefore have been inspired by, the writings of medieval commentators such as Abarbanel and Ibn Ezra.

- עד שנתדבקו ביותר 'until they became extremely connected' (Teomim Fraenkel 1911a: 51)
- להתדבק בחכמים 'to stay close to the wise ones' (J. Duner 1899: 95)
- להתדבק ולהתקשר א"ע בהש"י 'to stay close and connecting himself to the Holy One blessed be He' (Landau 1892: 43)
- חולי המתדבק 'a contagious sick person' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 12)
- המתדבק בהם 'one who cleaves to them' (Bodek 1865a: 10)
- אחד שנתדבק בו 'one who clove to him' (Hirsch 1900: 46)
- להתדבק לו 'to stay close to him' (Brandwein 1912: 8)
- להתדבק במלך מלכי המלכים 'to cleave to the King of Kings' (N. Duner 1912: 12)
- להתדבק באיש 'to cleave to a/the man' (? 1894: 24)

Although this phenomenon is most commonly restricted to the root *ב.ק.ד*, it also appears rarely with other roots, as below. In the case of the final example, a 3ms *nitpa'el* of the same root appears without assimilation in a Hebrew sentence in the Zohar (*Megillat Shir haShirim*), though it is unclear whether Shenkel was influenced by this sole earlier attestation of the form. It is alternatively possible that the Hasidic Hebrew forms are independent developments based on analogy with the standard *nitpa'el*.

- וְאוּלַי עַל הַדֶּרֶךְ נִתְתַּקֵּן 'And maybe on the way we will become improved' (Gemen 1914: 52)
- נִתְדַמָּה לוֹ 'it seemed to him' (Breitstein 1914: 60)
- וְנִתְתַּקְנָה נִשְׁמָתוֹ 'And his soul was perfected' (Shenkel 1903b: 8)

8.9.5.2 *Hitpael* versus *nitpael*

The tale authors make frequent use of both the characteristically biblical *hitpael* and its typically post-biblical equivalent *nitpael*. Their motivations for selecting one form instead of the other on any given occasion are varied.

In some cases, they may have chosen one of the variants because the verb in question was familiar to them in that particular form from a well-known earlier source. Thus, in some cases the selection of a *hitpael* may be due to the fact that the form in question is particularly well-attested in familiar portions of the Hebrew Bible, while conversely it does not appear frequently as a *nitpael* in rabbinic and medieval literature. The following example may constitute such a case:

- וְאֲנִי הִתְהַלַּכְתִּי 'I walked before him' (M. Walden 1914: 27); cf. הִתְהַלַּכְתִּי 'And I have walked before you' (1 Sam. 12:2)

Similarly, in some cases the authors' selection of the *nitpael* may have been modelled on rabbinic or rabbinic-based literature. This explanation is likely when the root in question is rare or unattested in the biblical corpus as a *hitpael* but conversely is well-attested in post-biblical literature as a *nitpael*. The following example illustrates such a case:

- נִתְגַּלָּה 'it was revealed' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 22); cf. e.g. *Bereshit Rabba Miqqeṣ*; Abarbanel on Gen. 31

However, in most cases no such motivations are apparent, and instead the authors seem to regard these two variants as synonymous and interchangeable, employing them in free variation in the same way as e.g. the variants of certain personal pronouns (as discussed in 6.1.1). Thus, they may select a *hitpael* even when the corresponding *nitpael* is frequently attested in post-biblical literature, and conversely a *nitpael* despite the existence of a biblical *hitpael*. There do not usually seem to be semantic factors such as difference in register motivating the selection of one form instead of the other on any given occasion. This is illustrated in the following examples, which contain *hitpael* forms on the left and their *nitpael* counterparts on the right, often within close proximity to each other in the work of a single author. In this respect Hasidic Hebrew resembles

the language of contemporaneous Maskilic prose fiction, which employs both *hitpa'el* and *nitpa'el* forms in similar contexts (Kahn 2009: 13–17).

<i>Hitpa'el</i>	<i>Nitpa'el</i>
– התחזק 'He became more resolute' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 37)	– נתחזק 'He became more resolute' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 37)
– התקבצו 'They gathered together' (Bodek 1865a: 61)	– נתקבצו 'They gathered together' (Bodek 1865a: 39)
– והתפלל 'And he prayed' (Hirsch 1900: 55)	– נתפלל מערב 'He prayed the evening prayer' (Jacob Isaac ben Asher of Przysucha 1908: 49)
– והתאכסן 'And he lodged' (M. Walden 1914: 38)	– נתאכסן 'He lodged' (Kaidaner 1875: 13a)

8.9.5.3 *Nitpa'el* in *qoṭel*

In Hasidic Hebrew the difference between the *nitpa'el* and *hitpa'el* is typically visible only in the *qaṭal*, given that in the *yiqṭol* the *-נ* prefix is replaced by preformative suffixes, while in the imperative and infinitives it is replaced by a *-ה* prefix and in the *qoṭel* it is replaced by the standard *-מ* prefix characteristic of the derived stems. This division is identical to that of the standard rabbinic *nitpa'el* (Segal 1927: 64; Pérez Fernández 1999: 95). However, the *-נ* prefix of the *nitpa'el* sometimes appears in the *qoṭel*. This phenomenon is quite rare but appears in various different *qoṭel* forms, e.g.:

- ולא הייתי נתפתה אליו 'But I was not tempted by him' (Bromberg 1899: 26)
- זאת הרשימה נתעוררת בעת שמספרין מהצדיק 'This description comes to life (lit: is awoken) when one tells of the Tzaddik' (Munk 1898: 1)
- איזה כוונה נתכוונת בדפיקות שלך 'What is the meaning of your knocking?' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 33)
- הענין של אנטיקין שנתהווים בעולם 'the matter of ancient things that manifest themselves in the world' (Zak 1912: 138)

This practice is noteworthy because it is not commonly recognized as a standard feature of Rabbinic Hebrew, though certain mishnaic manuscripts exhibit an identical practice (see Bar-Asher 1977: 88–95; Qimron 1977); these may constitute a vernacular variant of the standard version (Bar-Asher 1999: 56). It seems unlikely that the Hasidic Hebrew phenomenon is based directly on these

forms, since it is doubtful that the printed Mishnahs available to the authors would have reproduced them. However, the phenomenon is attested in Rashi's biblical and Talmudic commentaries (Betzer 2001: 106), as well as in Ashkenazi responsa literature (Kaddari 1991: 358–382) and these writings are conversely very likely to have influenced the Hasidic Hebrew authors. Nevertheless, the precise *nitpa'el qoṭel* forms with -נ prefix appearing in the Hasidic Hebrew corpus seem to be somewhat productive (though rare), as they do not always have much precedent in earlier writings that are likely to have informed the tales directly. Qimron (1977: 145–146) notes a widespread presence of *nitpa'el qoṭel* forms in the non-narrative early nineteenth-century Hasidic writings *Liqqute Moharan* and *Degel Maḥane Efrayim*. Interestingly, the tale authors do not follow this precedent, employing such forms only very infrequently; this lack of correspondence may be due to the difference in genre.

8.9.5.4 Uses of the *hitpa'el/nitpa'el*

The Hasidic Hebrew *hitpa'el/nitpa'el* most typically conveys intransitive, inchoative, and passive actions, but may also convey reflexive and reciprocal ones. The meaning of each given *hitpa'el/nitpa'el* is lexically conditioned, and in this respect the Hasidic Hebrew authors do not generally display innovation in their use of the stem but rather follow established biblical and/or post-biblical precedent in their use of any given *hitpa'el/nitpa'el* form. A notable exception to this trend concerns their employment of the *hitpa'el/nitpa'el* in conjunction with a reflexive pronoun as direct object, to be discussed below.

8.9.5.4.1 *Passive*

The Hasidic Hebrew *hitpa'el/nitpa'el* sometimes functions as a passive stem. The passive function of this stem is traceable to Rabbinic Hebrew (Halevy 2013), in contrast to Biblical Hebrew wherein it is typically reflexive or reciprocal (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 429; Williams 2007: 63; Blau 2010: 232). Some *hitpa'el/nitpa'el* forms with a passive sense are shown below:

- ישתלם לך החוב 'Indeed the debt will not be paid for you with this' (Ehrmann 1903: 21b)
- בראותו שנתרפה מחליו 'when he saw that he had been healed from his illness' (Breitstein 1914: 61)
- נתגלה על הש"ץ הנ"ל דברים מכוערים 'Unpleasant things were discovered about that cantor' (Kaidaner 1875: 20b)
- נתקבלו תפלתם 'Their prayer was (lit: were) accepted' (Bodek 1865c: 19)

8.9.5.4.2 *Intransitive and Inchoative*

The *hitpael/nitpael* frequently conveys intransitive and inchoative actions, as below. Like other Hasidic Hebrew uses of the *hitpael/nitpael*, this usage is lexically conditioned and the roots in question are typically found with similar meaning in earlier forms of the language.

- התהלכתי לפניו 'I walked before him' (M. Walden 1914: 27)
- הלא אנכי התפללתי אצלכם 'Didn't I pray with you?' (Laufbahn 1914: 50)
- נתהווה אש מתלקחת 'A great consuming fire started' (Ehrmann 1903: 1b)
- ואז נתקררה דעתו 'And then his mind calmed down (lit: cooled)' (Bromberg 1899: 35)

8.9.5.4.3 *Reflexive*

The Hasidic Hebrew *hitpael/nitpael* can also be used to denote reflexive or reciprocal actions, as below. This usage is unsurprising given that the expression of reflexivity is the chief function of the stem in Biblical Hebrew (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 429; Williams 2007: 63; Blau 2010: 232) and is also one of its uses in Rabbinic Hebrew (Pérez Fernández 1999: 100).

- להתענות ולומר תהלים 'to afflict themselves and recite Psalms' (Munk 1898: 18)
- מה זה שנתאספו כל העיר יחדיו 'What is this, that the whole city has gathered together?' (Sofer 1904: 1)

However, the Hasidic Hebrew treatment of the *hitpael/nitpael* in reflexive contexts often differs strikingly from that of earlier (and later) forms of the language in that it is relatively commonly found in conjunction with direct objects conveyed explicitly by the reflexive pronoun *עצמו* '-self' (discussed in 6.6), e.g.:

- לא כן הוא שכשנכנסים יחד באהבה מתחברים עצמם ביניהם 'Is it not so that when they gather together in love they join themselves together amongst themselves' (J. Duner 1899: 41)
- ומי שזוכה להתדבק ולהתקשר א"ע בהש"י 'and one who merits staying close and connecting himself to the Holy One blessed be He' (Landau 1892: 43)
- 'And it was told that the Emperor Napoleon disguised himself as a private citizen' (Berger 1910b: 87)
- 'And he made himself strong' (Rosenthal 1909: 24)
- 'He said to me that he glorified himself' (M. Walden 1914: 9)
- 'He behaves extravagantly' (Chikernik 1903a: 27)

- והתלבש עצמו בדמות אשה שכנה – ‘And he dressed himself up as a neighbour woman’ (Brandwein 1912: 2)

This usage deviates from the standard in other forms of Hebrew whereby the *hitpael/nitpael* is strictly intransitive and does not appear in conjunction with a direct object, whether reflexive or not. Instead, it closely resembles the authors’ native Yiddish, in which transitive verbs can be made reflexive by the addition of the pronoun זיך ‘oneself’ following the verb. Thus, ער האָט אָנגעטאָן means ‘he put on (an item of clothing)’, while its reflexive counterpart ער האָט זיך אָנגעטאָן means ‘he dressed himself’. It is possible that in the cases in question, the authors instinctively made recourse to this Yiddish model because there were no prominent earlier Hebrew constructions of which they could avail themselves in order to convey their desired meaning. For example, in the final example above the root ל.ב.ש. is not attested in the *hitpael* in the Hebrew Bible at all and is not a common feature of rabbinic literature (though it does appear occasionally in the Talmud and in medieval and early modern works by e.g. Moses Alshich, which may explain their selection of this stem in the first place). The lack of a well-known Hebrew equivalent for the concept of ‘dressing oneself’, which would have been familiar to the authors from their native language, may have prompted them to adopt that mode of expression in their Hebrew writing. This phenomenon is attested in Eastern European responsa, likewise under Yiddish influence (Betzer 1997: 26–29), and indeed appears much earlier in the twelfth/thirteenth-century Ashkenazi Hebrew work *Sefer Hasidim*, where it is again traceable to Yiddish (Nobel 1958: 172).

8.9.6 Hifil

Like the *qal* and the *nifal*, the Hasidic Hebrew *hifil* corresponds to that of earlier varieties of the language. Exceptions are discussed below.

8.9.6.1 Unshortened Imperatives

Hasidic Hebrew *hifil* masculine singular imperatives typically appear in shortened form, as is standard in other varieties of the language. However, occasionally a *hifil* is attested in unshortened form, with י in the second syllable, e.g.:

- הביא נא אותו לפני – ‘Please bring him before me’ (Bodek 1865a: 70)
- קח לך העגלה והסוסים והעמיד אותם באכסניא שלך – ‘Take the wagon and the horses, and station them at your inn’ (N. Duner 1912: 24)

This convention deviates from historical standard, according to which *hifil* masculine singular imperatives typically appear without *hireq-yod* following the

second radical (Joüon-Muraoka 2006: 149). However, like many other aspects of Hasidic Hebrew grammar it corresponds to nineteenth-century Maskilic Hebrew (see Kahn 2009: 49–52). Interestingly, it is more marginal in Hasidic than in Maskilic Hebrew, which goes against the common perception first propagated by Maskilic authors that Hasidic Hebrew grammar is much less in keeping with historical standards than their own writing.

8.9.6.2 Shortened Infinitive Construct

The form of the Hasidic Hebrew *hifil* infinitive construct usually corresponds to that of other historical varieties of the language. However, occasionally a *hifil* infinitive construct prefixed by *-ל* appears in shortened form, without the *י* before the final radical, as shown below.

- *כי היה דרכו להולך עמו כסא* ‘for it was his way to bring a chair with him’ (Munk 1898: 24)
- *אין לה כלום להכין על שבת* [...] ‘She didn’t have anything to prepare for the Sabbath’ (HaLevi 1909: 53)
- *ולחסר מעליהם את החתיכות עצים* ‘and to remove the pieces of wood from on top of them’ (M. Walden 1914: 124)

This phenomenon lacks clear precedent in the canonical forms of Hebrew. Similar forms are attested in the language of Palestinian *piyyuṭim* (Rand 2006: 101–102), but the precise forms do not seem to overlap and are unlikely to have exerted a strong influence on the Hasidic Hebrew authors, who may not have been familiar with these forms at all. It is instead more likely that the authors formed their anomalous *hifil* infinitives construct on analogy with *hifil* infinitive absolute, which has *šere* in the final syllable. Interestingly, the same phenomenon is attested in contemporaneous Maskilic Hebrew literature (Kahn 2009: 53–55); this seems to be one of many unprecedented and non-standard features shared by nineteenth-century Hasidic and Maskilic Hebrew authors (see Kahn 2012b for a detailed discussion of such correspondences) and may constitute a feature of a more widespread Eastern European form of Hebrew, as noted throughout this volume.

8.9.6.3 *Hifil* with Two Direct Objects

Some Hasidic Hebrew *hifil* verbs may govern two direct objects despite the fact that logically one of the objects is direct and the other is indirect. This type of construction is limited to a few roots such as *ר.א.ה.* ‘show’ and *ל.ב.ש.* ‘dress’ that can theoretically take both a direct and indirect object in the *hifil*, as illustrated below. The practice has precedent in earlier forms of Hebrew (see

Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 441–442 for details of this type of construction in Biblical Hebrew).

- וַאֲמַר כִּי לָמָּה הָיוּ מְרַאֲיָן אוֹתוֹ זֶאת 'And he said, "Why did they show him this"' (Bromberg 1899: 16)
- וַהֲלִבִּישׁ אוֹתוֹ אֶת בְּגָדָיו 'And he dressed him [in] his clothes' (Ehrmann 1903: 8b)
- וַיִּרְאֶהוּ הָאֲגֶרֶת 'And he showed him the letter' (Singer 1900b: 3)
- וַרְצָא לְהַבְטִיחוֹ אוֹ עוֹשֶׁר, אוֹ בָנִים טוֹבִים 'And he wanted to promise him either wealth or good sons' (M. Walden 1914: 59)
- וּבִיקֵשׁ הַבַּעַשׁ"ט לְהִרְאוֹתוֹ אֶת הַתְּרַנְגוֹל 'And the Ba'al Shem Tov asked him to show him the chicken' (Sofer 1904: 5)

8.9.6.4 Non-Standard Intransitive *hifil*

Just as the Hasidic Hebrew authors often use the *qal* in a sense that would traditionally be conveyed by a *hifil* of the same root (discussed in 8.9.1.3), so they conversely often utilize a *hifil* where one might expect to find a *qal*, or sometimes a *hitpa'el/nitpa'el* or *nifal*, of the same root.

Most frequently, a traditionally causative *hifil* appears in Hasidic Hebrew with an intransitive sense instead of an expected *qal*. This is most common with the root ש.ו.ב., which may be used in the tales with the meaning 'go back' rather than the expected 'bring back', e.g.:

- אַל תָּשִׁיב לְבֵיתְךָ 'Don't return to your house' (Bodek 1865c: 1)
- אֵין אֲנַחְנוּ יְכוּלִים לְהִשָּׁיב בְּתִשׁוּבָה שְׂאִין לָנוּ שׁוּם כַּח 'We can't repent, because we have no power' (Lieberson 1913: 53)

Less commonly, a *hifil* with a traditionally transitive sense may be used intransitively instead of an expected *hitpa'el/nitpa'el*. For example, in the following extract the *hifil* הִכִּינוּ is used in the intransitive/reflexive sense of 'prepare oneself' that one would expect to be conveyed by its *hitpo'el* equivalent הִתְכַּנְּנוּ.

- עַד שֶׁהִכִּינוּ כּוֹלָם לְנִסּוּעַ הָעִיר 'Until they all prepared to travel [to] the city' (Kaidaner 1875: 32b)

Likewise, a traditionally causative or transitive *hifil* may be used with the intransitive sense of a *nifal* of the same root. Thus, in the following example the *hifil* הִכְנַסְתִּי is used with the intransitive force of 'I entered' instead of the expected *nifal* נִכְנַסְתִּי.

- בתו שהכנסתי עמו לחופה 'His daughter said to him, "I entered the wedding canopy with him"' (Munk 1898: 25)

In other cases, the *hifil* may have a completely different meaning than the *qal*, and the former is employed with the sense of the latter. This phenomenon (shown below) is restricted to the *hifil* המשך, which is sometimes used in the sense of 'pull' like its *qal* counterpart משך, instead of in the more usual sense of 'continue'. This particular case is almost certainly a calque from Yiddish, in which the verb ציען can mean both 'pull' and 'continue' (Beinfeld and Bochner 2013: 577). This is clearly illustrated in the last example, which is a direct translation of the Yiddish idiom קניפלעך ציען 'draw (lit: pull) lots' (Beinfeld and Bochner 2013: 626).

- וירא לכנוס בהם כי אין מי שימשיך אותו שוב משם 'And he was afraid to enter them because there was no one who would pull him back from there' (Bromberg 1899: 35)
- ועל ידי הכאות שלו עם הקאנטשעק המשך אותו מן המים! 'And by his striking with the whip he pulled him out of the water!' (Ehrmann 1903: 35b)
- ובאיזה שנים היה רגיל להמשיך קניפליך באיזה לילה מלילות חנוכה 'And in some years he had the habit of drawing lots on one of the nights of Hanukkah' (Landau 1892: 35)

With the exception of the Yiddish-inspired use of the *hifil* of מ.ש.ך. in the sense of 'pull', this non-standard usage (like the converse phenomenon affecting the *qal*) does not have clear historical precedent. Again, in some cases it may be rooted in phonological considerations: *hifil* forms containing י in their final syllable such as ימית 'he will kill' and ישיב 'he will return' would have been realized as [פ] in the authors' Ashkenazi Hebrew pronunciation (U. Weinreich 1965: 43), rendering them aurally identical to their *qal* counterparts ימות 'he will die' and ישוב 'he will return'. This resemblance may have led the authors to regard the two stems as interchangeable in such cases. This phenomenon, like many others discussed in this volume, indicates the key role of oral as opposed to written forms in the shaping of Hasidic Hebrew grammar. In cases wherein no such factor is present, the development may likewise have been based on analogy with the phonologically triggered overlap. Again as in the case of the non-standard transitive *qal* forms, this may suggest that the system of stems was in the process of levelling in Hasidic Hebrew whereby the boundary between the *hifil* and the *qal* was merging with regard to causative function.

8.9.7 Hofal

Like the *pual*, the Hasidic Hebrew *hofal* is a verbal form rather than solely an adjectival *qotel*. In contrast to the *pual*, the verbal nature of the *hofal* has remained relatively constant in post-biblical forms of Hebrew and so its use in Hasidic Hebrew does not demand special comment; however, the use of the stem in the tales exhibits several noteworthy characteristics, as detailed below.

Verbal *hofal* forms are most commonly found in the *qaṭal* and may appear in a variety of persons, though they are predominantly limited to a few roots, e.g.:

- הוכרח 'He was forced' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 20)
- והוחלט 'And it was decided' (Rakats 1912, pt. 1: 16)
- הובא 'It was brought' (M. Walden 1914: 123)
- הוכרחו 'They were forced' (Laufbahn 1914: 50)
- הוכרחתי [...] 'I was forced' (Bromberg 1899: 26)
- הוצרכתי 'I needed' (Sofer 1904: 3)
- הורגלנו 'We were made to be accustomed' (Bodek 1866: 7)
- הוצרכתם 'You (p) needed' (Munk 1898: 25)

In contrast to the *pual*, the *hofal* is only relatively rarely attested in the *yiqṭol* compared to the *qaṭal*. In such cases it is usually a 3ms or 3mp, e.g.:

- יובן 'It should be understood' (Kaidaner 1875: 21b)
- יובטח 'He is promised' (Sofer 1904: 4)
- ויוכרו 'And they will be recognized' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 24)

Like its *pual* counterpart, the Hasidic Hebrew *hofal* most commonly appears as an adjectival *qotel* (as in other forms of Hebrew).

- מובטח לו 'It is promised to him' (Laufbahn 1914: 46)
- השעה המובטלת 'the designated hour' (Bodek 1866: 43)
- מוכרחים 'obligated' (Landau 1892: 8)

8.9.8 Minor Stems

Minor stems such as the *polel*, *hitpolel*, and *pilpel* appear relatively often in the Hasidic Hebrew tales and are attested in a range of persons and conjugations, as illustrated below.

8.9.8.1 *Hitpolel*

The *hitpolel* is the most common of the minor stems, e.g.:

- הסתופף [...] 'He found shelter' (Zak 1912: 7)
- ונשתוממתי 'And I was astonished' (Teomim Fraenkel 1911a: 22)
- להתבונן 'to understand' (J. Duner 1899: 18)
- להשתוקק 'to yearn' (Rakats 1912, pt. 2:16)
- נתרשש 'He became poor' (Gemen 1914: 71)

8.9.8.2 *Polel*

The *polel* is also attested, e.g.:

- נוססה 'It (f) stirred' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 41)
- לעורר 'to awaken' (Michelson 1910b: 41)
- ויעוררם 'And he woke them up' (Rakats 1912, pt. 1: 14ii³)
- וישוטטו 'And they wandered' (Laufbahn 1914: 51)

8.9.8.3 *Pilpel*

The *pilpel* is likewise attested, e.g.:

- לשפף 'to polish' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 32)
- ויפפש 'And he checked' (Laufbahn 1914: 48)
- לסבב 'to turn (something) around' (Landau 1892: 17)
- קלקלו 'They ruined' (Sofer 1904: 17)

8.9.8.4 Others

Other minor stems are occasionally attested, such as the *polpal* and the *hitpalpel* in the following examples:

- מקולקל 'ruined' (M. Walden 1914: 52)
- ומשתעשע 'and amuse himself' (Gemen 1914: 60)

8.10 Root Classes

The Hasidic Hebrew tales exhibit some noteworthy and unprecedented morphological features relating to the various root classes, as detailed below.

3 Two consecutive pages in this text are both numbered 14.

8.10.1 *II-Guttural*

Qal yiqṭol and *wayyiqṭol* of II-guttural roots may follow one of two different patterns in Hasidic Hebrew, reflecting conflicting influences from various historical forms of the language.

8.10.1.1 With *pataḥ*

The first pattern consists of *pataḥ* (represented by lack of *mater lectionis*) as the stem vowel. This practice resembles the standard precedent set by Biblical Hebrew (Joüon-Muraoka 2006: 169–170; Weingreen 1959: 255, 263, 265). The following sets of examples illustrate this convention with the *yiqṭol* and *wayyiqṭol* respectively.

Yiqṭol

- אשאל אותך 'I ask you' (Ehrmann 1903: 15b)
- שלא תדאג 'for her not to worry' (Brandwein 1912: 1)
- איזה שיבחר 'which one he would choose' (Baruch of Medzhybizh 1880: 26)
- וישמח 'And he was happy' (Sofer 1904: 5)
- שימחל לה 'for him to forgive her' (M. Walden 1914: 117)

Wayyiqṭol

- וישאל לשלום חבריו 'He greeted his companion' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 55)
- ויגער בו 'And he rebuked him' (Breitstein 1914: 7)
- ויצעק רבי 'And he cried, "Rebbe!"' (Chikernik 1902: 23)

8.10.1.2 With *holem*

Conversely, the second pattern is modelled on that of strong roots, with *holem* (represented by ו) as the stem vowel. This pattern is illustrated in the following sets of examples with the *yiqṭol*, *wayyiqṭol*, and infinitive construct in turn.

Yiqṭol

- אשחוט 'I will slaughter' (Munk 1898: 42)
- יסעוד 'He dines' (Ehrmann 1903: 26a)
- אדחוק 'I will push' (Zak 1912: 163)
- יפעול 'He will act' (Singer 1900b: 12)
- שיבחר לו 'that he should choose for himself' (Sofer 1904: 2)
- כי ימחול לך 'that he forgive you' (? 1894: 5)
- יטעום 'He tastes' (Rapaport 1909: 29)

- ואדוני יסעוד אצלי 'And my lord will dine with me' (Seuss 1890: 33)
- ותשאוב לנו מים 'And draw water for us' (Kaidaner 1875: 9a)
- שאמחול לו 'that I should forgive him' (Bromberg 1899: 9)
- עד שארחוץ הידים שלי 'until I wash my hands' (Chikernik 1903b: 6)

Wayyiqṭol

- ויכעס 'And he became angry' (Bodek 1865c: 15)
- ויצחק 'And he laughed' (? 1894: 6)
- ושאוב מים 'And he drew water' (Seuss 1890: 27)
- ויצעוק עליו 'And he shouted at him' (Breitstein 1914: 43)
- וירחוץ בהנהר 'And he washed in the river' (Shenkel 1903a: 10)

This practice differs from that of Biblical Hebrew, in which the second syllable of this type of *qal* root in the *yiqṭol* and *wayyiqṭol* is almost invariably pointed with *pataḥ* (see König 1881–1897, 1:261 and Gesenius-Kautzsch 1910: 169–170 for details and for the very few exceptions to this convention). In the case of the *yiqṭol* it has some basis in Rabbinic Hebrew, in which *qal yiqṭol* forms of 11-guttural roots often have *holem* instead of *pataḥ* as their stem vowel (see Haneman 1980: 104–105 for details). The extension of this type of form to the *wayyiqṭol* seems to constitute a fusion of biblical and post-biblical features, as seen in many other aspects of Hasidic Hebrew grammar. Moreover, any rabbinic influence was most likely reinforced by medieval sources by authors such as Ibn Ezra and Abarbanel, in which some of the same *yiqṭol* forms are attested. Finally, similar *yiqṭol* and *wayyiqṭol* forms appear frequently in contemporaneous Maskilic texts, and this phenomenon can therefore be regarded as one of many illustrations of the close linguistic relationship between these two types of nineteenth-century Hebrew (see Kahn 2009: 26–29 for details of this convention in Maskilic literature).

8.10.2 י/ה-III

8.10.2.1 Feminine Singular *qoṭel*

The feminine singular *qoṭel* of י/ה-III roots in Hasidic Hebrew typically ends in ה in all stems, as below. This follows the standard pattern of Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew (Joüon-Muraoka 2006: 190; Pérez Fernández 1999: 130–131).

- וכעת ג"כ את בוכה 'And now you are crying too' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 25)
- [...] היא היתה רואה 'She saw' (Gemen 1914: 63)

However, in the *nifal* the feminine singular *qoṭel* typically ends in ית-, as shown below. The Hasidic Hebrew use of this variant is most likely derived from Rabbinic Hebrew, in which it is the usual form in the *nifal* (Pérez Fernández 1999: 131).

- והאיש אשר אצלו נעשית הגניבה 'and the man at whose house the theft was done' (M. Walden 1914: 63)
- בת המוכסן נחלית מאוד 'The tax collector's daughter is very ill' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 5)

The ית- is additionally found in the *qal*, in which it is typically attested with the form רוצית 'wants' but is sometimes attested with other roots as well, e.g.:

- ולא היתה רוצית 'And she did not want' (Brandwein 1912: 1)
- גם עתה אינה רוצית 'Even now she doesn't want to' (Michelsohn 1912: 29)
- איך שאשתו אינה רוצית 'how his wife doesn't want to' (Jacob Isaac ben Asher of Przysucha 1908: 99)
- [...] אשה כשרה עושית רצון בעלה 'a good wife, doing the will of her husband' (Shenkel 1903b: 25)
- קול אשה בוכית 'the sound of a woman crying' (Ehrmann 1911: 20b)

In the *qal* the ית- variant is not a standard element of Biblical or Rabbinic Hebrew. Nevertheless, the form רוצית 'wants' does appear occasionally in certain rabbinic texts, e.g. *Midrash Zuṭa* on Ruth. The appearance of this variant in Hasidic Hebrew may be at least partly inspired by these rabbinic forms. This is likely to have been reinforced by analogy with the corresponding *nifal* forms and possibly with the feminine singular *qoṭel* form of III-א roots, i.e. -את, with which it is identical in pronunciation. This possibility is supported by the fact that the authors sometimes confuse the infinitive construct forms of these two root classes (see 8.10.2.3). Moreover, it is noteworthy that the forms רוצית 'wanting', עושית 'doing', and בוכית 'crying' appear in contemporaneous non-narrative Ashkenazi writings, namely the responsa of Shalom Mordechai Schwadron (Maharsham) and the Talmudic commentary *Hiddushe haRim* by the first Rebbe of the Ger Hasidic dynasty, Isaac Meir Alter. This suggests that the ית- variant is one of many shared features distributed throughout various genres of Eastern European Hebrew compositions from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

8.10.2.2 *Yiqtol* of Root ה.י.ה.

The *yiqtol* of the root ה.י.ה. 'be' may be formed according to two variant patterns in Hasidic Hebrew, based on the biblical and rabbinic models respectively. These variants are employed in free variation and are both attested relatively frequently. *Yiqtol* forms based on the first pattern are unapocopated, ending in ה-, as standard in Biblical Hebrew, e.g.:

- מצוה רבה יהיה לו 'It would be a big mitzvah for him' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 13)
- הסכמה שהחתונה תהיה במקום הכלה 'an agreement that the wedding would be in the place of the bride' (Breitstein 1914: 40)
- בני תהיה בכל יום בשעת תפילתי 'My son, be [there] every day during my prayer' (Bromberg 1899: 8)
- תהיה לרב 'You will become a rabbi' (J. Duner 1899: 90)
- אני מקבל עלי שאהי טוב 'I accept upon myself that I will be good' (Rapaport 1909: 10)

Yiqtol forms based on the second pattern are apocopated with final א or י, as is common in Rabbinic Hebrew (Pérez Fernández 1999: 122–123), e.g.:

- לא יהא לך בנים 'You will not have sons' (Munk 1898: 18)
- מה תהא בשבוע שאחריה 'what would be the week after it' (HaLevi 1909: 53)
- כדי שתהא בריא 'so that you will be healthy' (Chikernik 1903b: 20)
- אני ואתה נהי הראשונים 'We will be the first' (Bodek? 1866: 20a)

8.10.2.3 Infinitive Construct

While infinitive constructs prefixed by ל- of ה.י.ה. roots in Hasidic Hebrew are typically formed with the suffix וית-, when such infinitives appear in conjunction with an object suffix, they are occasionally attested without וית- and instead with a י linking the stem of the infinitive to the suffix, e.g.:

- להראינו 'to show us' (Kaidaner 1875: 19b)
- ולנסהו 'and to test him' (Rakats 1912, pt. 1: 19)

This phenomenon does not seem to have clear precedent in earlier canonical forms of Hebrew. It is attested in the language of *piyyuṭim* from Palestine (Yeivin 1996: 112), though it is unclear whether such forms can be considered solely responsible for the emergence of the Hasidic Hebrew phenomenon. Interestingly, precisely the same form as that shown in the first example above appears in the 1798 Hasidic biblical commentary *Or haMe'ir* by Ze'ev Wolf of Zhitomir (Leviticus, *Behuqqotay*), which suggests that either a) the tale authors

had this form in mind or b) this phenomenon was an element shared by writers of various types of Eastern European Hebrew. In any case, this type of form is quite marginal in Hasidic Hebrew.

8.10.2.4 *Qaṭal* Formed on Analogy with III-א

Very rarely a III-ה/י *qaṭal* form is formed on analogy with III-א roots, e.g.:

- עשאו 'They did/made' (Munk 1898: 20)
- קנאה 'She bought' (Bodek 1866: 39)

This is the converse of the more common practice whereby the *qaṭal* of III-א roots is formed on analogy with that of III-ה/י roots (see 8.10.3.1). Both phenomena may indicate that the authors perceived the two root classes as somewhat interchangeable due to fact that א and ה would have been pronounced identically in many forms of such verbs.

8.10.3 III-א

8.10.3.1 *Qaṭal* and *qoṭel* Formed on Analogy with III-ה/י

Certain *qal qaṭal* and *qoṭel* verbs of the III-א roots .א.ק.ר 'read'; 'call' and .א.צ.מ 'find' are sometimes formed on analogy with III-ה/י roots, e.g.:

Qaṭal

- מצאתה שם בעלה 'She found her husband there' (Kaidaner 1875: 46a)
- מצינו 'We found' (Greenwald 1897: 92)
- שמצינו 'that we found' (Shalom of Koidanov 1882: 21)
- וקריתי 'And I read' (Heilmann 1902: 79)
- בראותו שנתרפה מחליו 'when he saw that he had been healed from his illness' (Breitstein 1914: 61)
- היום קרינו 'Today we read' (Berger 1910c: 35)

Qoṭel

- הדוכסה קוראה אותו 'The duchess was calling him' (Shenkel 1903a: 17)

This practice is traceable to Rabbinic Hebrew, in which similar forms are attested (Pérez Fernández 1999: 114–115). Moreover, it may have been influenced by the existence of an identical phenomenon in the language of the Palestinian *piyyuṭ* (Yeivin 1996: 107–108), as it is possible that the Hasidic Hebrew authors were familiar with at least some of these writings. In addition, these

historical influences are likely to have been compounded by synchronic issues of phonology and frequency: in many forms the authors would have pronounced III-ה/י roots identically to their III-א counterparts, and since verbs of the former root class are much more numerous than those of the latter, the authors are likely to have been more instinctively familiar with their conjugation and therefore sometimes unintentionally constructed III-א forms on analogy with their III-ה/י equivalents. Finally, note that in the case of the 3fs, this resembles the converse phenomenon whereby the 3fs *qaṭal* form of III-ה/י *qal* roots is formed on analogy with III-א roots (8.10.2.4).

This tendency extends to infinitives construct, which sometimes appear with a ה- suffix like III-ה/י roots. This is most commonly seen with the roots .א.פ.ר 'heal' and .א.ל.ל 'fill', as in the first three examples below.

- לרפאות 'to heal' (Chikernik 1902: 12)
- להתרפאות 'to recover' (Landau 1892: 52)
- למלאות 'to fill' (Kamelhar 1909: 63)
- לבראות 'to create' (Munk 1898: 23)

In some cases involving the root .א.ק.ר 'read'; 'call', the א is elided as well:

- לקרות 'to read' (Shenkel 1903b: 3)

The variant with א- is considered standard in Biblical Hebrew, though the variant with ה- is sometimes attested (see Joüon-Muraoka 2006: 186–187 for details); by contrast, the variant with ה- is extremely common in Rabbinic Hebrew (see Segal 1936: 150 for details), and this widespread rabbinic tendency is likely to be the primary inspiration for the Hasidic Hebrew convention.

8.10.3.2 Feminine Singular *qoṭel*

The feminine singular *qoṭel* of III-א roots usually ends in ה- but is very rarely attested ending in ה-, as below.

- כת אחת יוצאה לתרבות רעה 'one group associated with bad company' (Zak 1912: 23)

This tendency to select the ה- ending is in keeping with the more general Hasidic Hebrew preference for ה- over ה- as a feminine singular *qoṭel* marker. It also corresponds to Biblical Hebrew, which typically employs the ה- suffix (Joüon-Muraoka 2006: 187), in contrast to Rabbinic Hebrew, in which both variants may be employed with III-א roots (Pérez Fernández 1999: 131).

8.10.4 I-א

8.10.4.1 1cs *yiqtol*

1cs *yiqtol* forms of I-א roots are not very commonly attested in Hasidic Hebrew, but those that occur are typically spelt with two א symbols, e.g.:

- ואאכול ‘And I will eat’ (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 6)
- אאזור ‘I will gird’ (Shenkel 1903b: 31)

8.10.4.2 *Qal* Infinitive Construct

The I-א root א.מ.ר. ‘say’ has two variants in Hasidic Hebrew, based on the biblical and rabbinic models respectively, as illustrated below. Like many other Hasidic Hebrew grammatical elements with two variants, these forms are both used frequently and are employed interchangeably.

Biblical Model

- לאמר לו הנה מת אדוננו הפאפסט ‘to say to him, “Our lord the Pope is dead”’ (Bodek 1865c: 4)
- לאמור זה האיש ‘to say, “This is the man”’ (Rodkinsohn 1865: 9)

Rabbinic Model

- יכול לומר בדביקות ‘And he could not say [it] with devotion’ (Hirsch 1900: 15)
- להתענות ולומר תהילים ‘to afflict themselves and recite Psalms’ (Munk 1898: 18)

8.10.5 I-י and I-נ

8.10.5.1 *Qal* Infinitives Construct

Hasidic Hebrew *qal* infinitives construct prefixed by ל- of I-י and I-נ roots have two variant forms, one based on the biblical model and the other on the rabbinic one. The first variant lacks the initial radical and has a final ת-, as in Biblical Hebrew (van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999: 115). The second pattern has an initial י and no final ת-, in keeping with the rabbinic model according to which such forms are based on the 3ms *yiqtol* form (Pérez Fernández 1999: 145). The two variants, which are illustrated below, are employed in free variation; this is highlighted by the fact that both forms may appear in the work of a single author.

Biblical model	Rabbinic model
– לגשת 'to approach' (Brandwein 1912: 43)	– לידע 'to know' (Zak 1912: 137)
– לדעת 'to know' (N. Duner 1912: 19)	– ליטע 'to plant' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 26)
– ללכת 'to go' (Zak 1912: 21)	– לילך 'to go' (Singer 1900b: 4)
	– ליסע 'to travel' (Yellin 1913: 26)
– ליצא 'to go out' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 32)	– ליצא 'to go out' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 36)
– לקחת 'to take' (HaLevi 1909: 52)	– ליקח 'to take' (Sofer 1904: 1)
– לרדת 'to go down' (Sofer 1904: 20)	– לירד 'to go down' (Bromberg 1899: 23)
	– לירש 'to inherit' (Hirsch 1900: 53)
– לשאת 'to carry' (Bodek 1865c: 2)	– לישא 'to marry' (Zak 1912: 22)
– לשבת 'to dwell'; 'to sit' (Zak 1912: 154)	– לישב 'to sit' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 33)
– לישון 'to sleep' (Brandwein 1912: 1)	– לישן 'to sleep' (Liebersohn 1913: 91)
– לתת 'to give' (Michelson 1910c: 6)	– ליתן 'to give' (Berger 1906: 87)

In addition, the root נ.ש.א. 'lift'; 'carry'; 'marry' is sometimes attested with the infinitive construct form לנשוא, as below. This form is not characteristic of either biblical or rabbinic literature but rather most likely derives from Medieval Hebrew writings by Ibn Ezra and Abarbanel, in which it is attested (see e.g. Ibn Ezra on Deuteronomy 34 and Abarbanel on Genesis 18).

- לנשוא אותו לבראד 'to carry him to Brod' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 5)
- לנשוא ולסבול 'to bear and endure' (M. Walden 1914: 125)

The alternative tannaitic infinitive construct of the root ה.ל.ך. 'walk'; 'go' להלוך is hardly attested in the Hasidic Hebrew corpus; a rare example is shown below:

- לא יכול להלוך יותר 'He couldn't go any further' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 4)

Like many other Hasidic Hebrew grammatical features with biblical and rabbinic variants, both of these forms are widely distributed (though the rabbinic variant is perhaps slightly more common) and are usually employed in free variation. However, in some cases there are certain patterns relating to the use of the two variants. Firstly, the authors have a marked preference for the rabbinic-based infinitive construct of the root י.ש.ן. 'sleep', with the biblical variant לישון 'to sleep' attested only very rarely; some of the few examples are shown

below. The reason for this partiality is uncertain, though the authors may have selected the rabbinic form simply because it is shorter, given that they would have pronounced both variants identically as [lišən].

- באיזה בית הלכה לישון 'which house she went to sleep in' (Brandwein 1912: 1)
- והלך לישון 'And he went to sleep' (N. Duner 1912: 23)
- לישון שם 'to sleep there' (M. Walden 1914: 121)

Secondly, when infinitives construct without ל- of 1-נ and 1-י roots are used in temporal clauses, the biblical variant is consistently selected instead of the rabbinic one, as shown below. This stands to reason given that such constructions are themselves based on biblical rather than rabbinic models. The only exception to this involves a variant construction lacking canonical precedent typically seen with the roots י.ד.ע. 'know' and י.ש.ב. 'sit'; see 8.10.5.2 for details.

- עד גשתו אל הגביר 'until he approached the rich man' (Bodek 1865a: 38)
- בשבתו על הסעודה 'while he was sitting at the meal' (Berger 1907: 128)
- ויהי בלכתו פגע בכפר אחד 'And as he was walking he encountered a village' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 4)
- פ"א בשבתו במאסר עמד לבוש בטו"ת כל היום 'Once when he was living in prison he stood wearing his prayer-shawl and phylacteries the whole day' (Zak 1912: 15)

Thirdly, in the case of the root נ.ש.א. 'lift'; 'carry'; 'marry' the authors sometimes employ each variant in different semantic contexts. Thus, when used in the sense of 'lift' or 'carry' the infinitive construct can appear as either לישא or לשאת, as it has this meaning in both biblical and post-biblical literature. Conversely, when used in the sense of 'marry' it appears only as לישא, as this meaning is very commonly found in this form in rabbinic literature.

8.10.5.2 *Qal* Infinitive Construct with Subject Suffixes

The Hasidic Hebrew authors commonly employ a construction consisting of an infinitive construct of 1-י and 1-נ roots without ל- in conjunction with a subject suffix and with the first radical intact. The phenomenon is most typically attested with the roots י.ש.ב. 'sit' and י.ד.ע. 'know', as in the first seven examples below, but is also sometimes found with other roots such as ה.ל.ך. 'go' and ל.ק.ח. 'take', as in the last two examples.

- בעת ישבו על השולחן 'while he was sitting at the table' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 29–30)

- בעת ישבם במסיבה ‘when they were sitting at the gathering’ (Bodek 1866: 53)
- בישובם על העגלה ‘while they were sitting on the wagon’ (Teomim Fraenkel 1911a: 76)
- ביושבו על שלחנו הק’ ‘while he was sitting at his holy table’ (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 24)
- ובישבם על השלחן ‘and while they were sitting at the table’ (Michelson 1912: 57–58)
- ‘And knowing that his rebbe was in a dispute with our rebbe, he did not want to travel to [see] him’ (HaLevi 1909: 53)
- בידעני חלקי השפל ‘as I know my lowly lot’ (Moses Leib of Sasov 1903: 30b)
- פ”א בהלכו לקאברין פגע בהילוכו בע”ג ‘Once when he was going to Kobrin he met a wagon-driver while walking’ (Moses of Kobrin 1910: 50)
- ואין שום איש ראה בלקחו כל זאת ‘And no-one saw when he took all of this’ (Sofer 1904: 6)

Like many other aspects of Hasidic Hebrew morphosyntax, such forms represent a fusion of biblical and rabbinic constructions. They resemble biblical infinitives construct in that the latter commonly appear unprefixes and with a subject suffix, but they differ from them in that biblical infinitives construct of 1-י and 1-נ roots appear without the first radical and with final 1-ת (as discussed in 8.10.5.1), as e.g. בְּשִׁבְתָּם ‘when they live’ (Ezek. 39:26). Conversely, they resemble Rabbinic Hebrew infinitives construct in their retention of the initial radical and lack of final 1-ת, but in that stratum of the language the infinitive construct is invariably prefixed by 1-ל and does not take subject suffixes.

Significantly, the same construction is occasionally attested in certain medieval and early modern Hebrew texts including the commentaries of Rashi, Abarbanel, and Moses Alshich. These medieval forms may have been the source of the Hasidic Hebrew ones. However, in the earlier texts the phenomenon is relatively marginal, whereas in the Hasidic tales it is comparatively widespread and productive; this suggests that the Hasidic authors were initially inspired by the somewhat rare medieval form and then transformed it into a more central feature of their own writing.

An identical phenomenon is widely attested in contemporaneous Maskilic literature (see Kahn 2009: 71–76 and 2012b: 270–271 for details); this feature is thus one of many points of linguistic overlap between nineteenth-century Hasidic and Maskilic Hebrew narrative literatures suggesting the existence of a more widespread Eastern European form of Hebrew.

8.10.6 *Hollow and Geminatē*

8.10.6.1 3fs *qal qatāl*

Sometimes the 3fs *qatāl* form of *qal* hollow roots is formed on analogy with III-ה/י roots, ending in -תה, instead of the expected form ending in -ה. This phenomenon is usually restricted to the root ב.ו.א. 'come', as illustrated below, but is occasionally attested with other roots, as in the last example.

- כאשר פנה היום באתה עוד הפעם 'When the day was at an end she came again' (HaLevi 1909: 53)
- פעם אחת באתה אליו 'Once she came to him' (Munk 1898: 18)
- ובאתה לפני הגאבד"ק 'And she came before the Gaon, the holy head of the rabbinical court' (Michelson 1910b: 27)
- פ"א באתה אשה לחדרו 'Once a woman came to his chamber' (Berger 1910a: 32)
- אח"כ באתה אשה אחת 'Afterwards a woman came' (Singer 1900a, pt. 1: 3)
- ומעולם לא לנתה פרוטה אצלי 'And never did [even] a penny rested with me' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 13)

There is also a less common defective variant of this pattern ending in -ת:

- ולא באת בחזרה 'And she had not come back' (Brandwein 1912: 27)
- פעם באת לכ"ק עגונה 'Once an agunah came to his Holy Honour' (Kaidaner 1875: 46a)
- ופ"א באת אשה אחת ממקורביו 'And one time a woman from among his followers came' (Ehrmann 1903: 14a)

In some cases the forms in question may be inspired by an occasional attestation in earlier varieties of Hebrew. For example, the form באתה appears in the Mishnah (e.g. *Avoda Zara* 3:4) and in medieval and early modern literature such as Rashi's commentary and Moses Sofer's eighteenth/nineteenth-century work *Ḥaṭam Sofer*. By contrast, some of these forms lack precedent in earlier canonical forms of Hebrew but appear in contemporaneous Eastern European Hebrew writings. For example, the form לנתה 'she lodged' does not seem to be a feature of Biblical, Rabbinic, or Medieval Hebrew literature, but is found on 14 occasions in contemporaneous halakhic and responsa literature in Hebrew, e.g. *Sha'are Teshuva*, a commentary on the *Shulḥan Arukh* by Chaim Mordechai Margalioṭ, *Avne Ezer*, responsa by Avraham Bornstein, and *Bet She'arim*, responsa by Amram Blum. Thus the form in question appears to have been a recognized variant employed in the nineteenth century, though it is not clear exactly when and in which circles it first came into use.

8.10.6.2 *Hifil qatal*

The 1cs, 2ms, and 2fs *qatal hifil* forms of hollow and geminate roots have two variants in Hasidic Hebrew. Firstly, they are often attested with a linking vowel *holem* (represented by ו) before the affirmative, as in the following examples. This variant is associated with Biblical Hebrew as it is usually (though not always) present in that form of the language (see van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999: 121–122; Joüon-Muraoka 2006: 199).

- ואז הקיצותי 'And then I awoke' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 46)
- הנה החילותי 'Now I have begun' (Kaidaner 1875: 18a)
- כל המלבושים אשר הכינתי 'all of the clothes that I had prepared' (Sofer 1904: 11)
- שאני הרעותי את מעשי 'for I have done evil [with] my deeds' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 26)
- הסבותי את כל זאת 'I turned all of this around' (Laufbahn 1914: 50)
- כל הסעודה הזאת הכינתי 'I prepared all of this feast' (Bodek? 1866: 21a)
- על העץ אשר הכינתי עבורו 'the tree which I prepared for him' (Seuss 1890: 36)
- אתם החילותם להיות חוזה 'You have started to see visions' (Singer 1900a, pt. 1: 3)
- כאשר החילותי לנוח 'when I started to rest' (Rakats 1912, pt. 1: 15)
- וכאשר הרימותי קולי 'and when I raised my voice' (Breitstein 1914: 54)
- הסירותי התפילין של ראש 'I removed the head phylacteries' (A. Walden 1860?: 23b)

Conversely, and slightly less frequently, they may be found without the linking vowel, as below. This variant is regarded as typical of Rabbinic Hebrew (Segal 1936: 146; Haneman 1980: 290).

- האם הבאת את זה 'Did you bring this?' (Bodek 1865c: 7)
- אלו הבנתם 'if you had understood' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 26)
- איך העזת 'How did you dare' (Kaidaner 1875: 18a)
- לא הכרתם אותו 'You did not know him' (Breitstein 1914: 13)
- והשבתי 'And I replied' (Zak 1912: 37)
- מהסכום שהנחתי 'from the sum that I had left' (Sofer 1904: 7)
- מכתב חתום הבאתי לך מבעש"ט 'I have brought you a sealed letter from the Ba'al Shem Tov' (Ehrmann 1903: 4a)
- לכן הבנתי 'Therefore I understood' (Laufbahn 1914: 48)
- והשבתי לו 'And I answered him' (Moses Leib of Sasov 1903: 30a)

In contrast to many other Hasidic Hebrew grammatical features possessing biblical and rabbinic variants, in this case the authors did not usually employ both of these forms in free variation. Rather, in many cases their selection of a

particular variant may be based on its appearance in a familiar biblical text. The above examples illustrate this: the form *הקיצותי* has a precise counterpart in Psalms 3:6; similarly, *החילותי* is attested in Deuteronomy 2:31 and 1 Samuel 22:15, while *הבאת* is attested in e.g. Exodus 32:21. Conversely, some of the forms without a linking vowel are unattested in the biblical corpus and instead seem to be rooted in rabbinic or medieval literature. For example, the form *הבנתם* lacks precedent in both Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew but appears frequently in the medieval commentary of Abarbanel and the sixteenth-century commentary of Moses Alshich; similarly, the form *העזת* is attested in the Babylonian Talmud and the commentary of Moses Alshich.

8.11 Suffixed Verbs

Hasidic Hebrew verbs typically undergo the same types of consonant and vowel changes when object suffixes are attached as other forms of the language. Noteworthy features are discussed below.

8.11.1 *ʔs qatal*

The final *ה-* of the *ʔs qatal* form is replaced by *ת-* when object suffixes are attached. This convention resembles earlier forms of Hebrew. Such forms are quite rare due to the relative dearth of feminine verbal forms in the tales, but examples include the following:

- *הזהירתי* ‘She warned him’ (Bromberg 1899: 55)
- *אחזתו* ‘It (f) seized him’ (Ehrmann 1903: 9a)
- *לא האמינתו* ‘She didn’t believe him’ (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 4)
- *זכות התורה מנעתו* ‘The merit of the Torah stopped him’ (Rodkinsohn 1865: 22)

8.12 Gerunds

Gerunds are a common feature of Hasidic Hebrew and are formed in the same way as in rabbinic literature (see Pérez Fernández 1999: 57–58 and Sharvit 2008: 117 for details of gerund formation in Rabbinic Hebrew). Note that in Hasidic Hebrew gerunds coexist alongside infinitives construct (though the latter are employed much more rarely in nominal capacities; see 8.8.2.2.2). This contrasts with Rabbinic Hebrew, in which the gerund is employed to the exclusion of the infinitive construct (Pérez Fernández 1999: 57–58). *Qal* and *piel* gerunds are more commonly attested than those of the other stems.

Qal gerunds follow the pattern *qeṭila*, e.g.:

- הליכה 'walking' (Bodek? 1866: 24a)
- פסיעה 'footstep' (Ehrmann 1905: 48b)
- הקניה 'this purchase' (Rosenthal 1909: 7)
- וחזירתו 'and his return' (M. Walden 1914: 24)
- בעמידה 'standing' (Kaidaner 1875: 20a)
- פליאה 'wonder' (Landau 1892: 30)
- אפיה 'baking' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 7)
- בבכייה 'with weeping' (Bodek 1865a: 31)
- העבירה 'the transgression' (HaLevi 1907: 23b)
- אכילה ושתיה ושינה 'eating and drinking and sleeping' (Gemen 1914: 83)

There is a slight tendency towards regularization of irregular *qal* gerunds, with forms such as *ובחזירתה* 'and upon her return' (Berger 1907: 78), in contrast to the standard but irregular form in other types of Hebrew *חזרה*.

Piel gerunds follow the pattern *qiṭṭul*, e.g.:

- שיעול ופיהוק 'coughing and yawning' (Jacob Isaac ben Asher of Przysucha 1908: 52)
- הילוכו 'his walking' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 45)
- שינוי 'change' (Kaidaner 1875: 20a)
- שידוך 'marriage match' (Ehrmann 1903: 40a)
- בישול [...] 'cooking' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 7)

Hitpael gerunds follow the pattern *hitqaṭṭelut*, e.g.:

- בהתפעלות 'with amazement' (Kaidaner 1875: 20a)
- הצטדקות 'justification' (Sofer 1904: 3)
- התגלות 'manifestation' (Laufbahn 1914: 51)
- הסתלקותו 'his disappearance' (Landau 1892: 15)

Hifil gerunds follow the pattern *haqṭala*, e.g.:

- בהבטחתי 'in my promise' (Bodek 1865c: 9)
- מהרווחת עסקים 'from business earnings' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 13)
- הדלקת הנר 'the candle lighting' (Laufbahn 1914: 49)
- הבנה 'understanding' (Landau 1892: 9)

8.13 Subject-Verb Concord

8.13.1 *Number*

8.13.1.1 Number Discord

Hasidic Hebrew verbal clauses often exhibit number discord. This phenomenon is generally restricted to third person subjects and verbs. It is most frequent with the verb *ה'י.ה' be'*, but is relatively widely attested with other verbs as well, particularly others of *III-ה'י* roots. The high concentration of *III-ה'י* roots in such instances suggests that in most cases the discord is likely due to phonological considerations: because the ending of *III-ה'י* singular verbs and their plural counterparts were both pronounced identically as [ə], as typical of unstressed final syllables in Ashkenazi Hebrew and Yiddish (U. Weinreich 1965: 43), the authors could easily have confused the written singular and plural forms. This tendency can be seen in the examples below.

The most common type of number discord consists of a singular verb used in conjunction with a plural subject. This is most frequently found in clauses wherein the verb precedes the subject, e.g.:

- היה שם חכמים מלומדים 'There were learned sages there' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 10)
- מה יעשה לי השדים 'What can the demons do to me?' (Kaidaner 1875: 44a)
- משל לאחד שהיה לו מעות הרבה 'a parable of someone who had a lot of money' (Greenwald 1899: 56a)
- נתגלה על הש"ץ הנ"ל דברים מכוערים 'Unpleasant things were discovered about that cantor' (Kaidaner 1875: 20b)

Similarly, a singular verb may be used preceding a series of multiple singular subjects, e.g.:

- ולכן נסע היא ואשתו אח"כ שוב לראדשיץ 'And therefore he and his wife travelled again afterwards to Radoszyce' (Bromberg 1899: 26)

Conversely, it may occur when the verb follows the subject, e.g.:

- הסוסים תעקר והעגלה תשבר 'The horses will be torn away and the wagon will break' (Bromberg 1899: 27)
- ובנים לא היה לו 'And he had no children' (Shenkel 1903b: 19)
- המחשבות הנופלת לאדם פתאום אינו לחנם 'The thoughts that fall upon a person suddenly—it is not for nothing' (Kaidaner 1875: 27a)
- וחדרי הגביר הזה היה מהודרים 'And the chambers of this rich man were elegant' (Breitstein 1914: 36)

- עלוקות מוצצת דם ‘blood-sucking leeches’ (Zak 1912: 21)

More rarely, a plural verb may be used in conjunction with a following singular noun, as below.

- נתקבלו תפלתם ‘Their prayer was (lit: were) accepted’ (Bodek 1865c: 19)
- והיו לו מוח גדול וחזק מאוד ‘And he had a very big, strong brain’ (Munk 1898: 19)
- והנה המחשבה הזאת עוכרת אותו מאוד ‘Now this thought troubled him greatly’ (Shenkel 1903b: 30)

Again, on rare occasions the order may be reversed, with a singular noun followed by a plural verb, e.g.:

- הקור הגיעו ‘The cold arrived’ (Ehrmann 1903: 15a)

Sometimes this type of discord seems to be triggered by attraction, as in the following case where the plural verb appears in close proximity to a plural suffixed preposition:

- ולא יהיו לכם הפסד ‘And you will not have a loss’ (Munk 1898: 26)

Similarly, periphrastic verbs sometimes exhibit number discord between the two members. The first member is typically singular while the second is plural, with the entire construction referring to a plural subject, as in the following examples, in which the *qaṭal* is 3ms while the *qoṭel* and subject are masculine plural.

- ‘And likewise, when they needed to get a bishop they could not get one without the permission of the city’s rabbi’ (Rodkinsohn 1865: 51)
- ‘And all of the sages used to give in to him’ (J. Duner 1899: 55)

Number discord in equational sentences is also occasionally attested, as follows. In this case the discord is likely based on the fact that the authors would have pronounced both the singular feminine singular construct form ת- and its plural counterpart ו- identically, as [əs].

- זהו מסילות הברזל: ‘This is the railroads’ (Zak 1912: 137)

8.13.1.2 Logical vs. Grammatical Number Concord

In general the Hasidic Hebrew authors employ plural verbs in conjunction with grammatically singular nouns referring to collectives. This proclivity for logical rather than grammatical number concord has precedent in Biblical Hebrew, in which *ad sensum* plural verbs are often attested (Williams 2007: 92–93). However, in Biblical Hebrew this is only a tendency whereas in Hasidic Hebrew it is almost invariable.

- 'because the audience do not take care with them' (J. Duner 1899: 19) הם נזהרים בהם
- 'What is this, that the whole city has gathered together?' (Sofer 1904: 1) מה זה שנתאספו כל העיר יחדיו
- 'The Heavenly Court asked my father' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 24) הב"ד של מעלה שאלו את אבי
- 'And the whole city marvelled greatly' (Hirsch 1900: 33) וכל העיר תמהו מאד
- 'Everyone says that the alcohol porter is bitter' (Michelson 1912: 22) העולם אומרים כי שכר פארטער הוא מר
- 'And the Ba'al Shem Tov ordered all of the group that was sitting with him' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 1) ויצו הבעש"ט לכל החבורה שישבו עמו
- 'And the new couple went on their way' (Michelson 1912: 49) והזוג החדש נסעו לדרכם
- 'It is as everyone says' (Berger 1910c: 60) הוא כמו שאומרים העולם
- '[...] 'Once the crowd was jostling in order to hear Torah from the mouth of the Rebbe' (Yellin 1913: 31) פ"א הי' העולם דוחקים א"ע לשמוע תורה מפי הרב
- 'Indeed everyone is travelling to the Ba'al Shem Tov' (Chikernik 1902: 12) הלא כל העולם נוסעים להבעש"ט
- 'when the whole city came' (A. Walden 1860?: 8a) כשבאו כל העיר

Grammatical number concord is attested only very infrequently in Hasidic Hebrew; a rare case is shown below. This extract is an example of *shibbuš* from a biblical text, which underscores the unproductiveness of this type of concord in the tales.

- 'And the whole people rushed towards him' (Singer 1900a, pt. 3: 7); cf. ויַּחַרְדּוּ כָּל־הָעָם אֲשֶׁר בַּמַּחֲנֶה 'And all of the people in the camp trembled' (Exod. 19:16)

8.13.1.3 2cp Verb as Polite 2cs Marker

The Hasidic Hebrew authors frequently employ 2cp verbs as polite or formal 2cs markers, as shown below.

- ‘And she came to him crying intensely [and said], “You killed my son!”’ (Munk 1898: 18)
- קרא את הנגיד הנ"ל ואמר לו שאלה אחת קטנה אשאל ממעלתכם אל נא תשיבו פני ‘He called that rich man and said to him, “I will ask your honour one small question; please do not deny me”’ (Rodkinsohn 1864a: 5)
- ‘Holy Rebbe, give me an answer’ (Breitstein 1914: 21)
- ‘And he said to him, “Take your money”’ (Chikernik 1903a: 31)
- ‘Open [the door], my Rebbe, my teacher, and give me advice about what to do’ (A. Walden 1860?: 27b)

This convention resembles the phenomenon whereby 2cp subject pronouns are used as polite 2cs forms (see 6.1.1.3). As in the case of the pronoun, the use of a plural verb in conjunction with a singular subject usually signals politeness; however in some cases it is used simply as a marker of formality when the interlocutor is a stranger of inferior status. As in the case of the polite 2cs pronoun, the use of 2cp verbs referring to 2cs subjects is most likely directly traceable to the authors’ native Yiddish, in which the polite second person singular verbal form is identical to the second person plural form (Katz 1987: 103).

8.13.2 Gender

There is a high incidence of gender discord between Hasidic Hebrew verbs and their subjects. The phenomenon is attested with third, second, and first person singular subjects of both genders, but is most common with feminine subjects. The discord is ascribable to a variety of considerations, discussed below.

8.13.2.1 Masculine Singular Verbs with Feminine Referents

Hasidic Hebrew feminine singular subjects frequently appear in conjunction with masculine verbs. This phenomenon is attested with a range of conjugations including *qaṭal*, *yiqṭol*, and *qoṭel*, and occurs with logically and grammatically feminine subjects. It is commonly found with 3ms *qaṭal* and *yiqṭol* and masculine singular *qoṭel* forms, as in the following:

3ms *qaṭal*

- ‘And afterwards, when the girl was healed, I said that that this must have been in the merit of the righteous man’ (Kaidaner 1875: 31b)
- ‘And a daughter was born to him’ (Zak 1912: 147)

- 'And afterwards the woman confessed all her sins' (Ehrmann 1903: 15a)
- 'And he knew that his wife had conceived adulterously' (Shenkel 1903b: 18)
- 'The rumour arrived' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 40)
- 'He had one daughter' (Bodek 1865a: 2)
- 'And he had an only daughter' (A. Walden 1860?: 4b)

3ms *yiqṭol*

- 'And they showed him that it would be a big mitzvah' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 13)
- 'The decree will be annulled' (Munk 1898: 63)

Masculine Singular *qoṭel*

- 'Many agunahs are saved by the prayer of our Rebbe' (Hirsch 1900: 49)
- 'And afterwards she asked her again whether the potion-making women could cook well' (Teomim Fraenkel 1911a: 15)
- 'And his wife the rebbetzin was also travelling with him then' (Bromberg 1899: 44)
- 'The agunah travelled to her house, and she believed and did not believe' (Munk 1898: 33)

This type of discord is also very frequently found with 2ms *qatāl* and *yiqṭol* and masculine singular imperatives in conjunction with female addressees, and with masculine singular *qoṭel* in conjunction with female speakers, as illustrated below.

2ms *yiqṭol*

- 'And he said to her, "What do you want? Do you want to live the rest of your days in wealth?"' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 3)
- 'And he told her, "Know that my teacher and Rebbe came"' (Bromberg 1899: 5)
- 'My daughter! [...] Who do you want for a husband?' (Ehrmann 1911: 1b)

- ‘Once the pauper said to his wife, “Please go and see what my brother is eating, and make such delicacies for me too”’ (Gemen 1914: 69)
- ‘He said to his daughter, “[...] Don’t stand still”’ (Bodek? 1866: 14a)
- ‘My daughter, why are you crying?’ (Seuss 1890: 33)

Masculine Singular Imperatives

- ‘The Rebbe said to her, “Listen!”’ (Munk 1898: 41)
- ‘The Rebbe said to the woman, “Please look at the heavens,” and the woman did so’ (Kaidaner 1875: 23a)
- ‘And he said, “Know, my daughter”’ (Zak 1912: 39)
- ‘He said to her—“Give me the headscarf!”’ (Ehrmann 1903: 49a)
- ‘Once the pauper said to his wife, “Please go and see what my brother is eating”’ (Gemen 1914: 69)
- ‘Be silent, my daughter, be silent’ (Michelsohn 1912: 146)
- ‘Know that you will regret [it]’ (Bodek? 1866: 2a)
- ‘And he said to her [...] “Come to me with him”’ (Kamelhar 1909: 31)
- ‘The wagon-driver said to the innkeeper’s wife, “Sell me alcohol”’ (Chikernik 1902: 10)

Masculine Singular *qotēl*

- ‘And the woman continued speaking to him, and said “[...] And you will not see me again, for I am going away from here right away”’ (Rodkinsohn 1865: 38)
- ‘And afterwards, it occurred to the woman, “Why do I need his permission for this? I can do the thing by myself too!”’ (Kaidaner 1875: 31b)
- ‘And she said to him, “I am going the way of all flesh!”’ (Sofer 1904: 14)
- ‘And the fiancée said to him, “I worry [that] maybe with the passage of time you will forget me”’ (Teomim Fraenkel 1911a: 41)

In general, this phenomenon suggests a tendency towards paradigm levelling with respect to gender, most likely triggered by the fact that Yiddish does not

possess distinct masculine and feminine verb forms. The fact that the drive is towards replacement of feminine verbal forms with their masculine counterparts may indicate that the authors were more familiar with the masculine forms due to the relative paucity of female characters in the tales.

Moreover, in some cases the trend towards paradigm levelling is likely to have been compounded by phonological factors. Thus, in the case of 3ms *qaṭal* forms whose final radical is א or ע, such as נתרפא 'he (here: she) was healed' and הגיע 'he (here: she) arrived', the discord may be attributable to the fact that in the authors' pronunciation 3ms *qaṭal* forms ending in א- or ע- would have been pronounced similarly to their 3fs counterparts, as [ə] (U. Weinreich 1965: 43). Conversely, in the case of 3ms *qaṭal* forms of ה-ה roots such as הודה 'he (here: she) confessed' and הרה 'she had conceived' in the first set of examples above, the discord may be due to the fact that the ending ה- is an iconic feminine singular marker in other areas of the language, which may have reinforced the authors' subconscious tendency to avoid 3fs forms (ending in the less frequently attested תה-) in favour of their more common and familiar 3ms counterparts. These phenomena, like many other aspects of Hasidic Hebrew grammar, underscore the important role that aural and oral factors played relative to orthographic ones in the shaping of Hasidic Hebrew morphosyntax.

8.13.2.2 Feminine Singular Verbs with Masculine Referents

In contrast to their feminine counterparts, masculine subjects typically correspond in gender to their associated verbs. However, in rare cases a masculine singular subject appears in conjunction with a 3fs verb. This is ascribable to various factors depending on the form in question. When the verb is a *qaṭal* whose final radical is א or ע, the discord is most likely due to the fact that the authors would have pronounced the masculine and feminine variants identically (as in the case of the converse phenomenon discussed above in 8.13.2.1). The following example illustrates this point:

– נתמלאה הבית 'The house was filled' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 44)

In other cases, there is no such phonological motivation and instead the discord may indicate that the authors had the 3fs verbal form in mind because the associated agent or indirect object is feminine. This resembles the tendency to employ third person singular verbs in conjunction with plural subjects comprised of multiple singular entities (see 8.13.1.1). With respect to gender, this tendency is not systematic but rather is a relatively haphazard phenomenon stemming from a spontaneous association that the authors made between the

verb and a constituent other than the grammatical subject in the particular instance in question. Such cases are shown below:

- ותשאג בקול בוכים כי נאבדה לה כִּס עם שלש מאות ר"ב 'And she cried out in a weeping voice that she had lost a purse (lit: pocket) with three hundred roubles' (Sofer 1904: 17)
- והבטיח לה הבעש"ט ז"ל שתהיה לה באותה שנה בן זכר 'And the Ba'al Shem Tov of blessed memory promised her that she would have a son in that year' (Munk 1898: 18)

Finally, sometimes this type of gender discord lacks a phonological or other motivation. This phenomenon, exemplified below, is relatively marginal, but may reflect a degree of fluctuation and confusion stemming from the ongoing paradigm levelling process whereby feminine singular verbal forms were being replaced by their masculine equivalents (discussed in the preceding section).

- כי אני מבטיחך אשר ביום מחר תוולד לך בן זכר 'For I promise you that tomorrow a male child will be born to you' (Bromberg 1899: 5)
- 'And suddenly a word was uttered by (lit: thrown from the mouth of) the Rebbe' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 36)
- 'The bread was gone from his plate' (Bodek 1866: 16)
- 'until the cold left him completely' (N. Duner 1912: 18)

Similarly, 2ms subjects are sometimes found in conjunction with 2fs *yiqtol* or with feminine singular imperative forms, e.g.:

- אמרו לו אל תדמי בנפשך שאתה מיוחס 'They said to him, "Do not imagine that you are of good pedigree"' (Kaidaner 1875: 17a)
- אמר לו הרב ז"ל אל תיראו ואל תבכי 'The Rebbe, of blessed memory, said to him, "Do not fear and do not cry"' (Munk 1898: 69)

In contrast to the phenomenon involving 3fs verbal forms, this type of discord seems to be due purely to phonological factors. (Given the aforementioned scarcity of 2fs subjects and verbs in the tales and the fact that such forms are often substituted by their masculine counterparts, it is very unlikely that the authors actually intended to select the 2fs verbs.) The forms in question are all of III-ה/י roots, and in standard forms of Hebrew the 2ms *yiqtol* of such forms ends in ה־, which the Hasidic Hebrew authors would have pronounced as [ə]. Given that they sometimes employed י to represent this vowel in word-final

position (e.g. in the Yiddish loanword 'קרעטשמי' 'inn'), it is likely that they viewed י and ה as somewhat interchangeable and occasionally substituted the former for the latter. Again, this type of phenomenon highlights the importance of aural and oral factors in the development of Hasidic Hebrew grammar.

8.14 Sequence of Tense

Hasidic Hebrew does not have sequence of tense. As such, verbs in subordinate clauses following the particles *כי* 'that' or *ש-אשר* 'if/whether' do not shift their tense; rather, the same tense is used as it would be in independent clauses. This contrasts with e.g. English, in which sequence of tense is a standard feature (see e.g. Comrie 1985: 104–112). The lack of sequence of tense in Hasidic Hebrew is most visible with *qoṭel* with present reference and *yiqṭol* with future reference, as shown below in turn. Comparison of the verbs in the Hasidic Hebrew examples with their counterparts in their English translations illustrates the difference between the two languages in this respect.

Qoṭel

- 'And he saw that he was crying floods of tears and hitting his head against the wall and praying to the LORD, blessed be He' (Kaidaner 1875: 20b)
- 'And then his mind calmed down (lit: cooled), and he knew that he was going on the right way' (Bromberg 1899: 35)
- 'And he said to his rabbi, the head of the yeshivah, that he didn't want to marry the bride' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 3)
- 'And the student went in and saw that she was sitting on her own' (Shenkel 1883, pt. 1: 19)

Yiqṭol

- 'And he also asked the rabbi whether he could know who they were' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 17)
- 'And in the middle of that the servant came in to ask him what he would eat that day (lit: today)' (M. Walden 1912: 90)

It is unclear whether this Hasidic Hebrew convention is rooted to any extent in earlier forms of Hebrew, and comparison is made difficult due to two inter-linked factors: firstly, the Hasidic Hebrew use of the verbal conjugations does not precisely overlap with those of Biblical or post-Biblical Hebrew, and secondly, the phenomenon of sequence of tenses in these forms of the language remains largely unaddressed in the secondary literature. By contrast, Yiddish functions in precisely the same way (Jacobs, Prince, and van der Auwera 1994: 409), and this resemblance suggests that the authors' Hebrew usage was reinforced by influence from their vernacular. Note that the same construction is standard in present-day Israeli Hebrew (Coffin and Bolozky 2005: 374; Sharvit 2008).