Clauses

13.1 Causal

Hasidic Hebrew causal clauses may be introduced by a variety of conjunctions, reflecting a typical fusion of biblical and post-biblical conventions. The different possibilities are shown below.

13.1.1 *Introduced by* כי

The most common Hasidic Hebrew causal subordinator is the characteristically biblical כי 'because', as below.

- 'And that man apologized to him because he trusted in the LORD' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 12)
- 'And the doctor wanted to go away from there, because he saw that the child was dead' (Seuss 1890: 4)
- 'And he couldn't drink it because it was (lit: they were) bitter' (Ehrmann 1911: 9a)
- 'And the official wanted to throw him out of the inn because he had not finished paying' (Kaidaner 1875: 45a)

13.1.2 *Introduced by* -ש

Less frequently, the authors may employ the characteristically post-biblical causal conjunction -ש, as below. The use of this conjunction in Hasidic Hebrew is identical to that of its rabbinic predecessor (see Pérez Fernández 1999: 222–223 for details).

- 'Only my deeds, for I have done evil [with] my deeds' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 26)
- 'And we have indeed seen that in your house there shines a great light, because your son, the child, will be the leader of the Jewish people' (Brandwein 1912: 2)
- 'And we don't know what that is, because we don't see any level[s]' (Laufbahn 1914: 51)

- The Grodzisker Rebbe ‘The Grodzisker Rebbe ordered that the rain stop because he had to travel to Radom’ (Gemen 1914: 94)

13.1.3 *Introduced by a Compound Conjunction*

The authors employ a variety of compound causal conjunctions. Most of these derive from post-Biblical Hebrew, e.g. בשביל ש-, כיוון ש-, מחמת ש-, as in the following examples.

- ‘Because you have taken it upon yourself to obey my words, I promise you that you will not have to travel all the way there’ (Bromberg 1899: 25)
- ‘Because she ate cakes with his sister the righteous woman Reyzele, the dybbuk left her’ (Gemen 1914: 69)
- ‘And many times he would ask a question because he was in doubt’ (Landau 1892: 57)
- ‘Because the holy Rebbe of Stratyn saw him and he was still in a dispute with him, he turned his face away’ (HaLevi 1909: 54)
- ‘And he had not blessed the [new] moon yet, because the moon had not shone until that night’ (Baruch of Medzhybizh 1880: 1)
- ‘Because as for Hasidim, they don’t have any connection with Hell’ (Brill 1909: 27)

The compound biblical conjunction *‘because’* *‘ען כי* is also employed. It is not as common as the conjunctions discussed above but is not rare. Examples include the following:

- ‘And because since then he was used to good meals, therefore a new spirit entered him’ (Ehrmann 1903: 29b)
- ‘Because the doctor had instructed him not to drink’ (Michelsohn 1912: 18)
- ‘Because the man had fallen into transgression [...] therefore he did not greet him’ (Sofer 1904: 10)
- ‘because his soul was impure’ (HaLevi 1907: 22a)

Sometimes the authors employ a compound based on a fusion of biblical and rabbinic components, as below. This construction is most likely based on its appearance in Alshich's commentary.

- יען שהוא הי' לו כתב רבנות משבעים עירות 'Because he had a rabbinic authorization from seventy cities' (Zak 1912: 22)
- יען שהוא בעצמו מארצות המערב הנהו 'Because he himself was from the western lands' (M. Walden 1914: 14)

13.2 Circumstantial

Concomitant circumstantial clauses are typically attested with introductory *waw*, as in the following examples. This usage is most likely based on Biblical Hebrew, which has the same construction (Williams 2007: 176).

- 'Where can I go at this time, being naked?' (Shenkel 1903b: 22)
- 'And he sat before an open window with the skullcap on his head' (Landau 1892: 18)
- 'A woman came with a child in her arms' (M. Walden 1914: 8)

Much more rarely, the *qotel* in a concomitant circumstantial clause is introduced by the post-biblical subordinator *-ש*, as below. This latter practice is noteworthy as it does not seem to derive from either Biblical Hebrew, in which neither *-ש* nor the more common equivalent *אשר* serves to introduce circumstantial clauses (see Williams 2007: 163–168 for a discussion of the uses of these particles in Biblical Hebrew), or from Rabbinic Hebrew, in which the compound subordinator *-כש* may be employed (Gordon 1982: 159), but not its simple counterpart.

- 'And I found him reading the week's Torah portion in floods of tears' (Kaidaner 1875: 15a)
- 'And when they arrived there, they saw him sitting before the Talmud like an angel of the LORD of Hosts' (M. Walden 1914: 54)

Antecedent circumstantial clauses containing *qatal* may more frequently be introduced by *-ש*, e.g.:

- מה הייתי יכול לעשות שכבר הכריז ע"ז מקודם 'What could I do, given that he had already announced it previously?' (M. Walden 1914: 53)
- אבל מה אעשה שאיני רוצה להפסיק אפי' רגע אחת מדביקות הקב"ה I do, given that I don't want to stop clinging to the Holy One blessed be He even for one moment' (Zak 1912: 14)

13.3 Comparative

Comparative clauses are typically formed by means of the characteristically biblical conjunction **כאשר** 'as', as below. This construction has a precise counterpart in Biblical Hebrew (Joüon-Muraoka 2006: 604).

- והלכתי עד מקום הכלבים ורצו כולם לקראתי **כאשר** ישמח הכלב עם אדוניו 'And I went to the place of the dogs, and they all ran towards me as a dog rejoices with its master' (Kaidaner 1875: 15a)
- מוטל עלי לבקש עבורך מנוח. **כאשר** אבקש עבורי 'I must seek a restful home (lit: rest) for you, just as I seek for myself' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 7)

In counterfactual settings comparative clauses are typically formed by means of the post-biblical conjunction **כאילו** 'as if', as in Rabbinic Hebrew (Pérez Fernández 1999: 217), e.g.:

- ונחשב לו כלומד בתורה בלי ספק וכאלו קיים כל התורה כלה 'And he was considered as one who studies the Torah without doubt, and as if he had fulfilled the entire Torah' (Bodek 1865a: 6)
- ועשה עצמו כאלו לא ידע כלום 'And he pretended (lit: made himself) as if he didn't know anything' (Laufbahn 1914: 45)
- ושתה המים כאילו הוא מרק 'And he drank the water as if it were soup' (M. Walden 1914: 11)

13.4 Complement

13.4.1 *Standard*

Most of the complement clauses appearing in Hasidic Hebrew are object clauses. Object clauses in narrative are usually introduced by either the biblical complementizer **כי** 'that' or its post-biblical counterpart **-ש** 'that', as in the two sets of examples below respectively. **-ש** is used somewhat more frequently than **כי**, though **כי** is not at all rare. The two particles are used in free distribution.

This practice thus constitutes another example of the widespread Hasidic Hebrew tendency to use biblical and post-biblical features interchangeably.

With כי

- And the woman cried in floods of tears that she had given a sum of eight hundred reinisch to a certain man' (Bodek 1865b: 3)
- And he said that he couldn't go' (Berger 1910b: 142)
- And he declared aloud that the Rebbe had said that the Sabbath had not begun yet' (Chikernik 1903b: 13)
- And she cried out in a weeping voice that she had lost a purse (lit: pocket) with three hundred roubles' (Sofer 1904: 17)

With ש-

- And he said that he and his workers were only eight [men]' (Kaidaner 1875: 10a)
- But I know with certainty that the beast was kosher' (M. Walden 1913, pt. 3: 9)
- You know they say about you that you have many silver vessels and golden vessels and clocks' (Chikernik 1903a: 27)
- After all, didn't you say that you were going to Lvov' (Berger 1910a: 38)
- And once an edict came out that a Jew was not permitted to own a pharmacy' (Berger 1910c: 115)

Somewhat more rarely the biblical particle אשר 'that' is used, as below. In Hasidic Hebrew, as in its biblical predecessor, אשר is more frequently employed as a relativizer (see 13.11 for details).

- I have clear knowledge that the matter is in a good condition' (Bromberg 1899: 30)
- Know that our emperor took the nation of Poland with such force' (Liebersohn 1913: 27)
- And he told the Jew that the duchess was calling him to her house' (Shenkel 1903a: 17)

- 'And that man was so weak that the doctors warned him not to observe any fast' (Seuss 1890: 5)

Finally, occasionally complement clauses may be introduced by the Aramaic complementizer -ד, as below. This usage is extremely rare; the prefix -ד in Hasidic Hebrew most typically serves as a possessive marker indicating geographical and temporal relationships (see 12.1.2).

- 'And he thought with certainty that when he sat in weekday clothes [...] our Rebbe would undoubtedly wonder' (Rosenthal 1909: 51)
- 'except that the bitter herb is also the beginning of the redemption' (Berger 1910c: 51)
- 'It is known that we the children of Israel do not have numbers in accounts' (M. Walden 1912: 40)
- 'and the interpretation of that holy Rebbe that your people stand upon the simple people' (Shenkel 1903b: 10)
- 'And he said to them what is mentioned in the Gemara, *Berakhot* 7, that a completely righteous man is permitted to be incited by wicked men' (Bromberg 1899: 31)

13.4.2 *Following Verbs of Desire and Command*

A common subcategory of object clause consists of constructions in which one subject wants another subject to perform a given action. In such cases the Hasidic Hebrew authors employ a syntagm composed of the first subject followed by the associated verb of desire or command and then one of the subordinating particles (usually כי or ש- but sometimes אשר) followed by a *yiqṭol*, as illustrated below. This type of construction corresponds to English infinitive constructions, as shown in the translations of the examples below. The usage may be partially rooted in post-Biblical Hebrew, in which ש- followed by a *yiqṭol* is sometimes used in a similar way (Segal 1927: 242). The Hasidic Hebrew employment of כי and אשר as well as ש- in this type of setting is one of many examples seen throughout the grammar of the tales whereby biblical and post-biblical features are combined.

With כי

- 'And he wanted the name of Hasidim not to be mentioned again' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 3)
- 'And he asked him to give a recommendation' (Teomim Fraenkel 1911b: 28)
- 'I order you to stay here' (? 1894: 5)

With ש-

- 'And then he spoke to the spirit and warned it to leave this woman' (Bromberg 1899: 22)
- 'And the holy Rebbe ordered him to buy a lottery ticket' (Yellin 1913: 50)
- 'And he asked him to dine with him' (Seuss 1890: 33)
- 'And he asked him to give him a charm' (Baruch of Medzhybizh 1880: 22)
- 'And he wanted him to stay with him' (Rosenthal 1909: 23)
- 'And he ordered the warden to bring a second cup' (Rapaport 1909: 33)

With אשר

- 'And the king wanted his only son to learn wisdom' (Seuss 1890: 35)

13.4.3 *Introducing Direct Speech*

The direct speech portions of the Hasidic Hebrew tales are not usually introduced by a specific marker. However, sometimes an utterance is preceded by the biblical complementizer **כי** or, more commonly, its post-biblical counterpart **ש-**, e.g.:

With כי

- 'And my teacher of blessed memory told me that "Once I was in Kozienice"' (Bromberg 1899: 7)
- 'And they told him that "We are travelling to the place which the LORD has said"' (Ehrmann 1903: 9b)
- 'She answered and said that "You don't know"' (Michelson 1910c: 68)

With -ש

- His daughter said to him that “I went into the wedding canopy with him” (Munk 1898: 25)
- And my father of blessed memory said that “The deceased father of that orphan came to me in complaint” (Zak 1912: 9)
- השיב לו הרב מבא”ד שאם הייתי יושב במנוחה בזאת כמו הרב דפ”ב [...] גם אני הייתי יכול ללמוד ‘And the rabbi of Barditchev answered him that “If I were sitting in peace here like the rabbi of Petersburg [...], I would also be able to study”’ (Teomim Fraenkel 1911a: 18)
- ואמר לו שבאם היה לך אמונה באמת לא היית צריך לשום דבר אך הנייר שנתתי לך ‘And he said to him that “If you really had faith, you wouldn’t need anything except the paper that I gave you”’ (Brandwein 1912: 17)
- סיפר כ”ק מרן זצללה”ה שבהיותי בפעם ראשונה בלובלין. שמעי שהרב הקדוש היהודי בא זצללה”ה ‘His holy honour our teacher of everlasting memory said (lit: said that) “When I was in Lublin for the first time, I heard that the Holy Jew, the Rebbe of everlasting memory, was coming”’ (Breitstein 1914: 5)
- ואמר לו שנשרף כל אשר לי ונשארת ריקם מכל ‘And he said to him that “Everything that belonged to me was burnt, and I was left with nothing”’ (Kaidaner 1875: 22a)

The use of **כי** has precedent in Biblical Hebrew, in which the particle can likewise be employed to introduce direct speech (Williams 2007: 159). Hasidic Hebrew usage may stem from this biblical *כי recitativum*, as it is not a feature of Rabbinic Hebrew (Segal 1927: 146) and does not seem to be a common element of the various medieval literatures with which the authors would have been familiar. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the authors selected this particle instead of **לאמר**, which is much more frequently employed in the biblical text introducing direct speech. Whatever the origins of the Hasidic Hebrew use of **כי** to introduce direct speech, it is likely that their use of **-ש** is based on analogy with that of **כי**, as they regarded the two particles as identical in other respects.

This type of construction is also attested once with the Aramaic complementizer **-ד**, as follows:

- ותמה ואמר דמה הוא הקושיא ‘And he wondered, and said that “What is the puzzle?”’ (Bromberg 1899: 48)

13.5 Concessive

Hasidic Hebrew concessive clauses are most commonly introduced by any of the compound conjunctions *כי* *אף* *ש-*, *אף* *ש-* or *הגם* *ש-*, as in the following examples respectively.

- *כמו* *שאומרים* *שנוסע* *ללייפציק* *אף* *כי* *יעברו* *כמה* *עירות* *קודם* 'As they say that one is going to Leipzig even though they may pass through several towns beforehand' (M. Walden 1914: 25)
- *קריאת* *המגילה* *אף* *שהית'* *רחוקה* *ג'* *מיל* *אעפ"כ* *נשמע* *קולו* 'The reading of the megillah, even if it was three miles away, nevertheless his voice was heard' (Bodek 1866: 5)
- *הכיור* *הי'* *יבש* *הגם* *שמקודם* *הי'* *מלא* *מים* 'The cistern was dry, even though previously it had been full of water' (Sofer 1904: 9)

Interestingly, none of these conjunctions has precise precedent in the canonical forms of Hebrew; rather, they all constitute a fusion of various similar biblical and post-biblical particles. Concessive clauses in Rabbinic Hebrew are introduced by a variety of compound conjunctions beginning with *אף*, e.g. *אף* *ש-*, *אף* *על* *פי* *ש-*, *אף* *אפילו* *ש-* (see Segal 1927: 232, Pérez Fernández 1999: 241–242, and Azar 2013a for details), but *אף* *ש-* or *הגם* *ש-* are not typically found in such settings. Similarly, in Biblical Hebrew concessive clauses may be introduced by a variety of particles including *כי* (Williams 2007: 188), but the combination *אף* *כי* is not employed in this way.

In some cases concessive clauses are doubly marked, with *אף* *ש-* (or more rarely *הגם* 'even though') introducing the first term and *אבל* 'but' or *אמנם* 'however' introducing the second term, e.g.:

- *אף* *שאנו* *באמת* *מנגדים* *גדולים* *לדרך* *החסידים* *אבל* *מה* *שעינינו* *ראו* *ולא* *זר* *א"א* *להכחיש* 'Even though we really are big opponents of the way of the Hasidim, we (lit: but we) what our eyes saw, and not [those of] a stranger, it is impossible to deny' (Kaidaner 1875: 15b)
- *ואמרו* *אליו* *מיועדיו* *הגם* *שאתם* *אינכם* *מחזיקים* *מהבעש"ט* *אמנם* *שמענו* *שמספרים* *ממנו* *נפל'אות* 'And his acquaintances said to him, "Although you don't hold the Ba'al Shem Tov in high regard, nevertheless we have heard people tell wondrous things about him"' (Munk 1898: 17)
- *הגם* *אם* *לא* *היתה* *המעשה* *בפועל* *ממש* *אבל* *בכחו* *של* *הבעש"ט* *היה* *לפעול* *הכל* 'Even if the matter did not actually take place, it was in the power of the Ba'al Shem Tov to accomplish anything' (Landau 1892: 18)

This construction is noteworthy because it does not seem precisely to mirror any earlier canonical form of Hebrew. In part it is rooted in Rabbinic Hebrew, in that the conjunction **אבל** in the contrastive sense and **אף ש-** both derive from this stratum. However, the compound **אף ש-** seems to be relatively rare in Rabbinic Hebrew: while it is attested, e.g. in Tosefta *Tohorot* 6:16, it is used much less frequently than the other rabbinic concessive compounds based on **אף**, namely **אף על פי ש-**, **אפילו**, and **אף כש-**. Likewise, the particle **הגם** is not a feature of Rabbinic Hebrew, but rather a medieval development (Even-Shoshan 2003: 358). Moreover, the construction as a whole is not a standard feature of Rabbinic Hebrew, wherein the second term of a concessive clause does not typically have an introductory particle (see Segal 1927: 231–232 and Pérez Fernández 1999: 242 for discussion of Rabbinic Hebrew concessive clauses). Likewise, no parallel construction employing two concessive conjunctions is found in Biblical Hebrew (see Williams 2007: 187–189 for details).

13.6 Conditional

13.6.1 *Real Conditions*

Real conditions are an extremely common feature of Hasidic Hebrew. They are typically composed of a protasis followed by an apodosis. The protasis is invariably introduced by **אם** ‘if’ or, more rarely, its medieval variant **באם**. By contrast, the apodosis does not usually have an introductory particle; however, in some cases it is introduced by the particle **אז(י)** ‘then’. Most commonly, both the protasis and apodosis have a future tense setting denoted by *yiqtol* or imperative forms. These points are illustrated in the following examples.

- **אם תרצה, תתן לנו המכתב ונקרא לך** ‘If you want, give us the letter and we will read it for you’ (Ehrmann 1903: 4a)
- **השיב האיש כי הוא חושב שאם יפציר בו על עוד שבוע אחת יתן לו** ‘The man answered that he thought that if he asked him for one more week, he would give [it] to him’ (HaLevi 1909: 53)
- **ואם תשלמו לי אזי אנגוב אותו ואת אשתו ובניו** ‘And if you pay me, then I will steal him and his wife and his children’ (Kaidaner 1875: 16b)
- **אם יתן לי אדמו"ר רשות אענה גם אני חלקי** ‘If the Rebbe gives me permission, I will also answer my part’ (Moses Leib of Sasov 1903: 34a)
- **ובאם תבוא לכאן תלך עמי בחזרה בדרך הזה** ‘And if you come here, go back with me on this way’ (Brandwein 1912: 17)
- **אם עוד פעם אחת תעשה ככה דע כי לא אוכל עוד להציל את בנך** ‘If you do thus once more, know that I will not be able to save your son again’ (Bodek? 1866: 2b)

- 'If I want to tell my lord of the greatness of my father the tzaddik, there will not be enough papers and ink and pens' (Seuss 1890: 33)
- 'If you travel to Lublin, I will take away from you all of the perfection that you have received from me' (Michelsohn 1910a: 108)
- 'If you want, I'll show you something' (Chikernik 1902: 10)
- 'If you can bring to me by this evening all of your money that you have, then I will fulfil your desire' (A. Walden 1860?: 31a)

The use of **אם** to introduce real protases has precedent in both Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew (Williams 2007: 182; Pérez Fernández 1999: 215). The use of **אז** to introduce the protasis is ultimately traceable to Biblical Hebrew (Williams 2007: 181); it is not a feature of rabbinic literature (see Azar 1998 for details of Rabbinic Hebrew conditional clauses).

Occasionally the protasis and/or the apodosis has a present setting indicated by a *qoṭel* or a past setting indicated by a *qaṭal*, as below:

Qaṭal

- 'And if a pauper came and didn't have anything to give, he cut off a button and gave it to him to sell' (Yellin 1913: 5)
- 'And if I have sinned, may my lord answer me for this' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 2)
- 'If they gave him clothes or money, he would give everything to other paupers' (M. Walden 1914: 122)

Qoṭel

- 'If the Tzaddik of Belz has ruled that I should reveal myself, I am obliged to do as he says' (? 1894: 14)
- 'And if I don't feel that it is tasty, all of my work has been in vain' (Gemen 1914: 63–64)
- 'For man must be like a shofar; if one blows on it a sound comes from it' (Munk 1898: 24)

Rarely, the apodosis may precede the protasis, e.g.:

- 'Don't get angry at me if I tell you the words of the Rebbe' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 29) **אם** לא תתרעמו עלי **אם** אגיד לכם את דברי הרב
- 'He'll be able to help you if he wants to' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 5) **הוא** יכול לעזור לך **אם** ירצה
- 'I'll shoot this at you if you don't listen to me' (Shenkel 1903b: 5) **אני** מורה בך את זה **אם** לא תשמע לי
- 'What will you do if, God forbid, there is a fire in the town on the holy Sabbath?' (Hirsch 1900: 11) **מה** תעשו **אם** ח"ו יהיה שריפה בעיר בשבת קודש

Fronting the apodosis likely serves to highlight the salience of the information contained therein relative to that of the protasis; thus, in the first example above the fronting indicates that the speaker views the negative request 'don't get angry' as more important than the condition 'if I tell you'. Similarly, in the second example the fronting may function as a way of drawing attention to the outcome 'he will be able to help you', while in the third one it may serve to emphasize the outcome of 'shooting'. This type of construction has some precedent in Rabbinic Hebrew (Azar 2013b), in which it is likewise marginal. It is also sometimes attested in questions, as in the final example.

13.6.2 *Irreal Conditions*

Positive and negative irreal conditions appear frequently in Hasidic Hebrew in a variety of different forms.

The protasis of positive irreal conditions is typically introduced by the particle **אם** or its medieval variant **באם**, as below.

- 'If you had the place where my father of blessed memory is, you would also be very happy' (Zak 1912: 8) **אם** אתה הי' רואה את המקום של אבי זל"ה היכן הוא. היית ג"כ בשמחה רבה
- 'If I had the ability to go I would certainly go by myself' (M. Walden 1914: 93) **אם** הי' ביכולתי לילך בודאי הייתי הולך בעצמי
- 'If you knew where my place was above, you would certainly judge me favourably' (Michelson 1910a: 39) **אם** היית יודע באיזה מקום חלקי למעלה. בודאי היית דן אותי לכף זכות
- '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) **באם** היית רואה השמחה הגדולה שהיה בג"ע בביאת בנך הניק הק', לא היית בוכה
- 'And he said to him, "If you really had faith, you wouldn't need anything except the paper that I gave you"' (Brandwein 1912: 17) **ואמר לו שבאם** היה לך אמונה באמת לא היית צריך לשום דבר אך הנייר שנתתי לך

This construction has some precedent in Biblical Hebrew, in which the use of **אם** in irreal conditions is rarely attested (Williams 2007: 184). It also overlaps with a construction found in Rabbinic Hebrew, wherein **אם** can be used to introduce irreal conditions with pluperfect tense value (Pérez Fernández 1999: 216); however, it is doubtful whether the Hasidic Hebrew usage is directly or solely attributable to these biblical and rabbinic constructions, as irreal conditions are more typically introduced by **לו** in Biblical Hebrew (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 637–638) and **א(י)לו** in Rabbinic Hebrew (Azar 1995: 152; Pérez Fernández 1999: 216–217). By contrast, it may be at least partially traceable to various medieval sources such as Rashi and Spanish-Provençal Hebrew prose, in which **אם** is frequently used to introduce irreal conditions (Rabin 2000: 179–180). Any such influence was likely compounded by the fact that in Yiddish real and irreal conditions alike are introduced by the same conjunctions, **אויב**, **ווען**, or **אז** (Schachter 2003: 307–308).

Irreal protases may alternatively begin with the rabbinic particle **א(י)לו** or, more rarely, its biblical counterpart **לו**, e.g.:

- **אלו הבנתם מעצמכם והייתם שואלים אותו מי היא הייתי מגלה אותו בפניכם** 'If you had understood by yourselves and had asked him who he was, I would have revealed him to you' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 26)
- **ואילו ידעתי מקומה כי אז עטרה לראשי שמתי עלי** 'And if I knew where she was (lit: her place), I would place her as the crown on my head' (Sofer 1904: 15)
- **לו הייתי אני נכד ר' יעקב קאפיל מצד זכר הייתי נראה באופן אחר** 'If I were the grandson of R. Jacob Koppel on the father's side, I would look different' (M. Walden 1913, pt. 3: 33)

The protasis of negative irreal conditions is often introduced by the biblical particle **לולא/לולי**, e.g.:

- **ולולא שנשכח ממנו הסרחון מהעולם הזה היה הפקיר אותו ואת כלם ולא היה הלך להצילם** 'And if he had not been forgotten, the sin[s] of this world would have led to his abandon and that of them all, and he would not have gone to rescue them' (Munk 1898: 46)
- **לולא אני ואתה הי' העולם כמעט עומד ליפול** 'If not for me and you, the whole world would be almost about to fall' (Michelsohn 1910b: 37)
- **ולולא הם שפתחו לו, היה מת וגוע מהקור** 'And if hadn't been for those who opened [the door] for him, he would have died of the cold' (Gemen 1914: 66)

1 Sic.

- 'ולולי כן הי' מביא הגאולה' 'And if it were not so, he would have brought the redemption' (Shenkel 1883, pt. 2: 30)

Alternatively, negative irreal protases are sometimes introduced by **אם לא**, as below.

- 'אם לא הייתי קונה ממני הייתי עושה תשובה' 'If you (lit: I) had not bought it from me, I would have repented' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 35)
- 'דאם לא הייתה מדת השכחה בעולם לא הייתה העולם יכולה להתקיים' 'that if the attribute of forgetfulness did not exist in the world, the world would not be able to exist' (Singer 1900b: 28)

This construction does not have clear precedent in biblical, rabbinic, or medieval forms of the language, in which the biblical **לולי/לולא** or the post-biblical **אלמלא/א(י)לולי** are typically employed in negative irreal protases (see e.g. Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 637–638; Pérez Fernández 1999: 217–218; Rabin 2000: 180–181; Goshen-Gottstein 2006: 245–246). However, the authors' utilization of this construction is unsurprising given that it is a logical way of negating the positive particle **אם**; moreover, as in the case of the positive irreal conditions discussed above it resembles the Yiddish construction used to introduce negative irreal conditions, **אויב נישט** 'if not' (see Mark 1978: 290 for examples).

The apodosis does not usually have an introductory particle, though rarely the predominantly post-biblical **אזי** is used, e.g.:

- 'אמר מרן זצוקלה"ה שאלמלי² היה יכול להתפלל בבוקר אזי היה טוב לכל העולם' 'Our sage of everlasting memory said that if he could pray in the morning, then all would be well with the whole world' (Landau 1892: 22)

The verbs in both the protasis and apodosis of irreal conditions are typically periphrastic constructions composed of the *qatal* of the root **ה.י.ה.** 'be' + *qotel*, e.g.:

- 'אם אנכי הייתי הולך בגולה כמוכם כ"כ שנים הייתי בא למדריגה יותר גדולה מכם' 'If I had wandered in exile as many years as you, I would have reached a higher level than you' (Michelson 1910c: 52)

2 Landau (1892) uses the post-biblical particle **אלמלי** to introduce the protasis of positive irreal conditions. This usage deviates markedly from that of the other Hasidic Hebrew authors, who employ it only in the protasis of negative irreal conditions. Landau's usage is traceable to Amoraic Hebrew (see Breuer 1998: 132–134 for details of the Amoraic construction).

- 'Maybe if I went to the Rebbe Elimelech one more time he would receive me' (Breitstein 1914: 12)
- 'that if I studied, I would remember' (Zak 1912: 14)

More rarely, a *qaṭal* or *yiqṭol* may appear in the protasis, as in the following two examples respectively:

- 'If you had understood by yourselves and had asked he who he was, I would have revealed him to you' (A. Walden 1860?: 14a)
- 'For if I looked at the bad part [of the person], I would not let the man come into my house' (Landau 1892: 19)

As in the case of real conditions, the order of the clauses is very rarely reversed so that the apodosis precedes the protasis, e.g.:

- 'And what would you have done if the emperor had raised the curtain?' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 9)

13.7 Contrast

Contrast clauses in the tales are most commonly introduced by the conjunction אבל, as below.

- 'It is possible that you will recover, but I can't promise you' (Ehrmann 1903: 16a)
- 'Go to shops of rich people and take everything that you need for sustenance from there, but not more' (Sofer 1904: 7)
- 'I fulfilled what I had said, but he did not stand by his word' (Berger 1910b: 23)
- 'I drink wine before eating the cutlet, but you eat just the cutlet by itself' (Gemen 1914: 69)
- 'And he called to him that he should sit with him on the wagon, but the pauper didn't want to' (N. Duner 1912: 2)

In this respect Hasidic Hebrew differs from its biblical antecedent, in which **אבל** is typically an asseverative particle and does not serve to introduce contrast clauses except in certain texts typically regarded as belonging to the late biblical linguistic stratum (Williams 2007: 195–196). Conversely, it mirrors rabbinic literature, in which the conjunction **אבל** is commonly used to introduce contrast clauses (see Pérez Fernández 1999: 246).

Somewhat less frequently, contrast clauses may be introduced by the particle **אך** 'but', e.g.:

- **אך אתה תכין עצמך לביאתו** 'But you must prepare yourself for his arrival' (Rodkinsohn 1864a: 30)
- **אך אנכי נשארתי על מקומו** 'But I stayed in my (lit: his) place' (Seuss 1890: 10)
- **אך לשוב לבית חותנו לוויטעבסק לא רצה** 'But as for returning to the house of his father in law in Vitebsk, he didn't want [that]' (Heilmann 1902: 23)

In contrast to **אבל**, the use of **אך** in contrast clauses is traceable to Biblical Hebrew (Koehler and Baumgartner 2001: 45), whereas it is not a feature of Rabbinic Hebrew (Pérez Fernández 1999: 172).

13.8 Exceptive

Exceptive clauses are most commonly introduced by the adverb **רק**, which otherwise means 'only'. Such cases are illustrated below. This usage has precedent in Biblical Hebrew (Williams 2007: 142).

- **ולא היה אוכל רק מעט מזער לזאת לא היו רוצים הבעלי עגלות לאכול אצלו** 'And there was no food, except for a very little bit; therefore, the wagon drivers did not want to eat at his place' (Munk 1898: 4)
- **ודיבר עמו כשיבא לביתו לא ילך אל השטיבל רק לעתים רחוקים** 'And he said to him that when he went home, he shouldn't go to the prayer house except on rare occasions' (Bromberg 1899: 29)
- **אין להם לחיות רק היום הזה** 'They have no [time] to live except for today' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 7)
- **אני אינו לוקח רק זהב אחד מחנות** 'I don't take [anything] except one gold [piece] from a shop' (Kaidaner 1875: 33b)

Alternatively and somewhat less frequently, they may be introduced by the post-biblical particle **אלא** 'except', e.g.:

- אלאי רוצה את זה המלצר 'I don't want [anyone] except this attendant' (Shenkel 1903b: 12)
- אלאי דגם המרור הוא אתחלתא דגאולה 'except that the bitter herb is also the beginning of the redemption' (Berger 1910c: 51)

The compound **כי אם** 'except'; 'other than' may be used following a negative, as below. This construction is traceable to Biblical Hebrew (Williams 2007: 197).

- אין כוונתו כ"א להרבות כבוד שמים 'His intention is nothing except to multiply the honour of the heavens' (Zak 1912: 10)
- אין זה כי אם חלום 'This is nothing other than a dream' (Sofer 1904: 7)

13.9 Interrogative

Content questions are typically introduced by an interrogative adverb, as in the examples below. (See 10.1 for a list of Hasidic Hebrew interrogative adverbs).

- מדוע אתה בוכה 'Why are you crying?' (Singer 1900b: 6)
- איה האיש העני 'Where is the poor man?' (Sofer 1904: 44)
- ואיך אוכל להשאיר על שבת? 'And how can I stay for the Sabbath?' (? 1894: 5)
- אנה תפנה מכאן 'Where will you go from here?' (Laufbahn 1914: 49)
- מה אתם אומרים 'What do you (have to) say?' (Munk 1898: 20)

Polar questions are usually introduced by the interrogative prefix **ה-**, as in Biblical Hebrew (Moshavi 2013a) or the interrogative particle **האם** (which seems to have become widespread first in the medieval period, in the writings of e.g. Abarbanel) as in the following sets of examples respectively. See 12.8 for further details.

ה-

- שאלו הידעת את מענדיל 'They asked, "Do you know Mendl?"' (Michelsohn 1910c: 70)
- האכלת מה היום 'Have you eaten anything today?' (Breitstein 1914: 33)

האם

- האם יש לך יין טוב 'Do you have good wine?' (Munk 1898: 17)
- האם למד? 'Did he study?' (Ehrmann 1911: 10b)

Rarely polar questions may be introduced by the rabbinic particle **כי**, e.g.:

- **וכי אפשר לסבול כזאת?** 'And is it possible to suffer such a thing?' (Michelssohn 1912: 104)

Indirect polar questions in complement clauses are introduced by the conjunction **אם** 'if', as below. This usage has direct precedent in Rabbinic Hebrew (Stadel 2013). Moreover, it is attested in Biblical Hebrew, though embedded polar questions are more commonly introduced by the interrogative particle in that form of the language (Moshavi 2013a).

- **ואיני זוכר אם ראה זאת כתוב בספר או אם מקובל בידו פה אל פה** 'And I don't remember whether he saw it written in a book, or whether it came to him (lit: it was received in his hand) by word of mouth (lit: mouth to mouth)' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 59)
- **אבל זאת אנו רוצים לדעת לידע אם מעלתו יודע ספר** 'But this [is what] we want to know, whether Sir knows how to read (lit: knows book)' (Kaidaner 1875: 20a)

13.10 Purpose

13.10.1 *Positive*

Positive purpose clauses may be formed in several ways, reflecting a typical Hasidic Hebrew fusion of biblical and post-biblical elements.

They are sometimes introduced by the particle **ש-** 'in order to' followed by a *yiqtol*, as in the following examples. This usage is traceable to Mishnaic Hebrew, which has an identical construction (Fassberg 1998: 154–155; Pérez Fernández 1999: 231).

- **וביקש אותו שיתן לו את העגלה שלו שישע למעזיבוז** 'And he asked him to give him his wagon so that he could travel to Medzhybizh' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 42)
- **בעבור זה אני מבקש מכם להראות לי את הסידור שאראה בעצמי** 'That's why I am asking you to show me the prayer book, so that I can see for myself' (Hirsch 1900: 8)
- **התענה כו"כ תעניות שיזכה לראות את ההקוה"ט** 'He fasted thus so that he would merit seeing the holy and pure Rebbe' (Moses Leib of Sasov 1903: 26b)

Similarly, they are sometimes introduced by **כי**, the biblical counterpart of **ש-**, followed by a *yiqtol*, as below.

- והראה לו הקוויטל אשר נתנו לו כי יתנהו להרב ול"ה 'And he showed him the note that they had given him in order for him to give it to the Rebbe of eternal memory' (Ehrmann 1903: 36b)
- ושלה ביום ה' את משרתו עם תרנגול כי ילך להשוטט 'And on Thursday he sent his servant with a chicken in order for him to go to the ritual slaughterer' (Sofer 1904: 5)

Interestingly, this construction appears to lack a direct parallel in the canonical forms of Hebrew: although the particle is biblical in origin, it does not typically serve to introduce purpose clauses in that stratum of the language (see Williams 2007: 156–159 for the uses of biblical *כי*); conversely, *כי* is not a feature of Rabbinic Hebrew except as an interrogative particle (Segal 1927: 146). The Hasidic Hebrew construction therefore appears to constitute a calque whereby the biblical *כי* has acquired the function of a purpose marker like its post-biblical counterpart *ש-*. This phenomenon is logical given that the Hasidic Hebrew authors treat the two particles as interchangeable in other respects.

Purpose clauses are also frequently formed by the particle *למען* 'in order to' followed by a *yiqtol* or an unprefix infinitive construct, as below. These two structures mirror Biblical Hebrew purpose clauses (Fassberg 1994: 82, 98; Williams 2007: 185). Sometimes the particle appears in conjunction with *ש-*, as in the last example, exemplifying a mix of biblical and post-biblical elements within a single construction.

- למען תשכיל 'so that you may understand' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 26)
- הלכו אחריו למען יראו המקום 'They went after him in order to see the place' (Brandwein 1912: 3)
- למען יזכה לראות פני הה"ק 'so that he would merit to see the face of the holy Rebbe' (Ehrmann 1911: 43b)
- למען הפחיד לבני אדם 'in order to scare people' (Breitstein 1914: 26)
- למען שיסע על עגלה 'so that he might travel on a wagon' (Seuss 1890: 13)

Similarly, they are often introduced by the rabbinic compound *כדי ש-* 'in order to' followed by a *yiqtol* or *כדי* 'in order to' followed by an infinitive construct, as below. These constructions derive from Rabbinic Hebrew (Fassberg 1998: 151, 155).

- כדי שיקבץ נדבות 'He wanted to go on foot so that he could collect alms' (N. Duner 1912: 2)
- בעלי הלא המטה מוצעת לכבוד האורח כדי שינפש 'My husband, is not the bed made in honour of the guest, so that he may rest?' (Michelsohn 1910a: 132)

- כדי להביאו לחיי העולם הבא 'in order to bring him to the life of the World to Come' (? 1894: 21)

Somewhat less frequently they are found in conjunction with the compound -ש בכדי 'in order to' followed by a *yiqtol*, as below; these constructions are attested in the Babylonian Talmud as well as in medieval writings.

- 'And וצוה עלי אבי שאני אפסיק מלומר ואצא לחוץ בכדי שהיתום הנ"ל יאמר קדיש שלו my father ordered me to stop saying [it] and go outside so that that orphan could say his kaddish' (Zak 1912: 9)
- 'so that he could come to his place in the World on High' (Hirsch 1900: 27) בכדי שיבוא על מקומו בעולם העליון

Finally, sometimes purpose clauses may be conveyed simply by an infinitive construct with -ל, as below. This convention is attested in the canonical forms of the language (see e.g. Williams 2007: 83; Pérez Fernández 1999: 232).

- 'He went to him to make peace' (Ehrmann 1911: 10b) הלך אצלו לעשות שלום
- 'And he sent a third time two men to collect that sum' (Chikernik 1902: 29) וישלח פעם שלישית שני אנשים לקבץ הסך הנ"ל

The Aramaic prefix ד- is attested only once in this capacity, shown below:

- ובקשה הרבנית את הציידים שישתדלו לצוד איזה דג בשבילה דהיא תתן להם כל אשר יחפצו 'And the rebbetzin asked the fishermen to catch a fish for her, so that she would give them anything they wanted' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 28)

13.10.2 Negative

Like their positive counterparts, Hasidic Hebrew negative purpose clauses may be formed in a variety of ways reflecting a mixture of biblical and post-biblical convention. As in many other aspects of Hasidic Hebrew grammar, the authors seem to have regarded these different negative purpose particles as interchangeable, employing them in similar syntactic and semantic contexts.

Negative purpose clauses are most frequently composed of a *yiqtol* preceded by the particle שלא 'in order not to', the synonymous בדי שלא (ב), or more rarely בשביל שלא, as below. These constructions have identical parallels in Mishnaic Hebrew (Fassberg 1998: 158–159; Pérez Fernández 1999: 231), except those with the variant בכדי, which is however attested in the Babylonian Talmud.

שלא

- 'And they were afraid to ask him, so as not to confuse his thoughts' (Brandwein 1912: 21)
- 'because the doctor had instructed him not to drink' (Michelson 1912: 18)
- 'Go in peace; just look after your possessions, so that they don't get stolen from you on the road' (Kaidaner 1875: 16a)
- 'And she asked him not to teach him that craft' (Singer 1900b: 5)
- 'And the king advised that the treasure be hidden from the people so that the people would not think that he (lit: they) had hidden it there' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 28)

(ב) כדי שלא

- 'so that he would not remain even for a moment dressed without his outer hat' (Yellin 1913: 31)
- 'And he was afraid to lie on the bed lest he fall asleep' (Shenkel 1904: 15)
- 'And he was afraid to lie on the bed lest he fall asleep a lot' (J. Duner 1899: 72)
- 'And he didn't know what to do, whether to leave the money with the tax-collector, so as not to violate the Sabbath' (Chikernik 1903a: 31)

בשביל שלא

- 'So that the righteous man should not suffer the misery' (Zak 1912: 33)

Somewhat less frequently, they may be introduced by the particle *פן* 'lest' followed by a *yiqṭol*, as below. This construction is traceable to Biblical Hebrew (Fassberg 1998: 107; Williams 2007: 163).

- 'And I don't want to take them with me to the place of battle lest I die there' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 14)

- זה האיש משה ירא לנפשו ליסע בעצמו פן יפגעהו על הדרך 'This man Moses feared for his life to travel by himself lest he meet him on the road' (Ehrmann 1903: 20b)
- ותירא לנפשה מאוד פן יודע הדבר 'And she feared greatly for her life lest the matter be made known' (Sofer 1904: 16)
- אני חושש פן ח"ו יבוא האויב 'I am afraid lest, God forbid, the enemy might come' (Landau 1892: 10)
- על כן היה ירא הה"ק פן יבוא גם השטן 'Therefore the holy Rebbe was afraid lest the Satan might also come' (M. Walden 1914: 14)

Finally, they may be composed of a *yiqtol* preceded by לבל 'so as not', as below. The variant שבִּל is occasionally attested, as in the final example. These constructions do not have precedent in Biblical or Mishnaic Hebrew, but are relatively widely attested in and therefore may derive from the medieval and early modern biblical commentaries of Abarbanel and Alshich.

- לכן לווה עליו כי ישיב מהר לבל ימות 'Therefore he accompanied him so that he would return quickly, so that he would not die' (Bodek 1865c: 2)
- וגם צוה לבל יכתבו על המצבה שום שבח 'And he also ordered [them] not to write any praise on the tombstone' (Brandwein 1912: 42)
- ורמזו הרב לבל ישתה 'And the Rebbe hinted for him not to drink' (Michelson 1912: 18)
- ויבקש מהעני לבל יבכה 'And he asked the pauper not to cry' (Seuss 1890: 26)
- להמתין בבהכ"נ בקבלת שבת עד לדתה לבל יחולל [= יחלל] ש"ק 'to wait in the synagogue at the beginning of the Sabbath until her birth, so as not to violate the holy Sabbath' (Yellin 1913: 5)
- בלילה ההוא הזהירו אותו ב"ב שבל יישן בחדר ההוא 'On that night the members of the household warned him not to sleep in that room' (Kamelhar 1909: 59)

13.11 Relative

13.11.1 With Relative Pronoun

Relative clauses are most commonly introduced by either the biblical relative pronoun אשר or its rabbinic equivalent -ש, as in the two sets of examples below in turn. As common in Hasidic Hebrew, each variant is used with similar frequency and in free distribution.

With אשר

- ‘and his wonders that the Ba'al Shem Tov of blessed memory performed’ (Bodek 1865c: 1)
- ‘like a man who is sleeping’ (Zak 1912: 8)
- ‘these things which his eyes had seen’ (Berger 1907: 90)
- ‘the days of youth, which he spent in his parents’ house’ (Kamelhar 1909: 24)
- ‘the thing which I am asking of you’ (Singer 1900a, pt. 3: 2)
- ‘the man that you are looking for’ (A. Walden 1860?: 29a)

With -ש

- ‘the laugh that our Rebbe laughed last night’ (Rodkinsohn 1865: 1)
- ‘wealthy men, who buy all of the merchandise that they need’ (Zak 1912: 9)
- ‘in the prison house that is in the town’ (Heilmann 1902: 74)

While relative clauses consisting of a *qoṭel* are often introduced by the definite article (see 13.11.2), they are sometimes attested with the relative particle -ש, as below.

- ‘There are people who ask me in what way I am a Hasidic rebbe’ (J. Duner 1899: 39)
- ‘And today he is prepared to give a sermon here at the lectern which stands by (lit: to) the window’ (Kaidaner 1875: 12a)

This usage differs from the standard in Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew, in which the *qoṭel* is typically found in conjunction with the definite article in relative clauses (Williams 2007: 38; Segal 1936: 54; Pérez Fernández 1999: 26). However, it is occasionally attested in certain historical varieties of the language, e.g. Palestinian *pyyutim* from the Byzantine period (Rand 2006: 437) and medieval Spanish-Provençal Hebrew (Rabin 2000: 173); moreover, it is a common feature of present-day colloquial registers of Israeli Hebrew (Berman 1978: 146–147) in addition to the definite article, which is considered ‘preferable’ (Krohn 2011: 28).

Finally, the Aramaic relative pronoun -ד is rarely attested in relative contexts. It appears only sporadically in comparison with its Hebrew counterparts, and is limited to a very small number of collocations:

- כל מה דאפשר 'as much as possible' (Berger 1906: 73; Rakats 1912, pt. 1: 3)
- דין מפורש דנקרא הדיוט 'an interpreted judgement which is called popular' (Michelson 1912: 110)
- תניא דמסייע לך 'a baraita that helps (i.e. supports) you[r argument]' (Bromberg 1899: 11)

13.11.2 *With Definite Article*

Qoṭel in relative clauses is usually introduced by the definite article, as below.

- הרבה אנשים הנוסעים מעבר לגבול 'many people there who were travelling over the border' (Bromberg 1899: 25)
- 'to the guest who was asking him a question' (Landau 1892: 54)
- מעשה נפלאה הנודעת בפי כל החסידים 'an awesome story which is known in the mouths of all the Hasidim' (A. Walden 1860?: 49b)
- 'a book [...] located in the library of the capital city Vienna' (Bodek 1866: 5)
- 'a man knowing the German language well' (M. Walden 1914: 15)
- 'a contagious sick person' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 12)

This convention, which mirrors the standard in other historical forms of Hebrew (see e.g. Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 621–623; Rabin 2000: 172–173), is rooted in the nominal origins of the *qoṭel* whereby its role in relative clauses is an extension of its role as a definite noun.

Similarly, non-verbal relative clauses containing adjectives are usually introduced by the definite article, as below. The relative force of such clauses may not be visible in the English translation. This type of construction has an identical counterpart in both Biblical Hebrew (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 247–248) and Rabbinic Hebrew (Segal 1927: 182).

- בעיר קטנה הסמוך לק"ק קאוונא נסע איש א' אצל ביהמ"ד 'In a small town near the holy community of Kaunas a man went to the study-house' (Kaidaner 1875: 20a)

13.11.3 *With Resumptive Pronoun*

Hasidic Hebrew relative clauses containing a subject or direct object are only occasionally attested with a resumptive pronoun, e.g.:

Subject

- בני אתה רוצה להתחכם יותר מן הקדמונים שלנו שהם החמירו בפסח 'My son, you want to be cleverer than our ancient ones, who were strict regarding Passover' (Landau 1892: 36)
- אותו האיש שהוא מגולגל בדג זה 'that man who was reincarnated as this fish' (Chikernik 1903a: 32)

Direct Object

- פלאים אשר לא שמע אותן 'wonders which he had not heard' (Teomim Fraenkel 191b: 10)

By contrast, relative clauses containing an indirect object invariably include a preposition and resumptive pronominal suffix, as below. This convention has parallels in e.g. Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew (Williams 2007: 190–191; Holmstedt 2013b; Segal 1927: 204; Azar 2013d).

- והנה כאשר נסעו ותעו מהדרך הישרה ונסעו דרך הרים וגבעות אשר לא עבר בה איש 'And when they were travelling, they strayed from the right road and travelled through mountains and hills that no man had passed through' (Brandwein 1912: 21)
- ויגד לו את שם אחיו ושם הכפר אשר הוא שוכן בו 'And he told him the name of his brother and the name of the village in which he lived' (Michelsohn 1912: 22)
- וירץ אחר העגלה שבה ישב הרבי מלובלין 'And he ran after the wagon in which the Rebbe of Lublin was sitting' (Breitstein 1914: 10)
- מה אעשה עם הילד שאני לומד עמו 'What should I do with the child with whom I study?' (Landau 1892: 29)

In relative clauses with locative force the adverb שם 'there' is often used instead of a suffixed preposition, as below. Again, this phenomenon has precedent in the canonical varieties of Hebrew (see e.g. Joüon-Muraoka 2006: 562; Azar 2013d).

- המשרת הראה להם חדר מיוחד ששם היה התנור 'The servant showed them a special room where the oven was' (Munk 1898: 49)

- 'And he reached a cellar in which a Jew was sitting bound with handcuffs' (M. Walden 1912: 107)
- 'On that day he entered the place in which his horse was' (Shenkel 1883, pt. 1: 7)
- 'the town in which he lived' (N. Duner 1912: 21)
- 'in that city in which his holy body is buried' (Michelson 1912: 42)
- 'the table where the rabbinical court was sitting' (Chikernik 1908: 10)

13.12 Result

Hasidic Hebrew result clauses may take a variety of forms. They are commonly introduced by *ע"כ*, an abbreviation of the biblical conjunction *על כן* 'therefore', or the synonymous biblical conjunction *לכן*, as in the following two sets of examples respectively.

ע"כ

- 'And he answered that he [had done it] on purpose because the child was very dear to his parents; therefore he made a mark on him' (Shenkel 1903b: 19)
- 'Because this man had a truthful intention, therefore I received him with honour' (Zak 1912: 12)
- 'Therefore I wondered' (Ehrmann 1911: 1b)

לכן

- 'He couldn't go further because the sun was setting, and moreover he was not dressed well. Therefore he went into the inn in order to lodge there' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 4)
- 'You eat only the cutlet; that's why it harms you' (Gemen 1914: 69)
- 'And therefore I am gathering Israelite men' (Seuss 1890: 63)
- 'Therefore they resolved amongst themselves to go to him in order to inform him' (M. Walden 1913, pt. 3: 8)

They are also commonly introduced by *לִזְאוֹת* 'for this [reason]', as below. This form is noteworthy as it does not seem to have clear precedent in earlier forms of Hebrew. It may be a calque of the Yiddish result particle *דערפֿאַר* 'therefore', whose component morphemes resemble those of *לִזְאוֹת*, though this is likewise uncertain.

- 'And they ועוד רצו לשתות, אולם לא הי' שם עוד כלום לִזְאוֹת נתרגזו ועשו שם הזיקות' (Kaidaner 1875: 48b)
- 'Therefore I spoke to his heart' (M. Walden 1912: 26) *לִזְאוֹת* דברתי על לבו
- 'Therefore I am warning you' (Berger 1910a: 40) *לִזְאוֹת* הנני מזהיר אותך
- 'Therefore my son (the son of the rich man) asked this guest to forgive that' (Ehrmann 1903: 1b) *לִזְאוֹת* ביקש בני (בן הגביר) את האורח הלז כי ימחול על ככה
- 'That's why they thought that he didn't immerse in the ritual bath' (Jacob Isaac ben Asher of Przysucha 1908: 54) *לִזְאוֹת* חשבו שאינו טובל בהמקוה

Less frequently, they may be introduced by a variety of other result conjunctions including the rabbinic *מַחֲמַת זֶה* 'because of this' and the biblical *בַּעֲבוּר זֶה* 'because of this'. These possibilities are illustrated below.

- 'And because of this the Ba'al Shem Tov had even greater suffering' (Bodek 1866: 45) *מַחֲמַת זֶה* היה להבעש"ט יסורים גדולים עוד יותר
- 'And for this he had to go to the owner's house' (Bodek? 1866: 24a) *בַּעֲבוּר זֶה* ובעבור זאת היה הוכרח לבוא לבית בעה"ב

13.13 Separative

Hasidic Hebrew separative clauses are formed with the infinitive construct; see 8.8.2.2.5 for details.

13.14 Temporal

13.14.1 *With Finite Verb*

Temporal clauses are often formed by means of a temporal conjunction followed by a finite verb. The verb may be in any conjugation depending on the tense value appropriate to the context. Like many other aspects of Hasidic Hebrew grammar, temporal conjunctions reflect a combination of biblical, post-biblical, and Yiddish forms. The most common conjunctions indicating

contemporaneous action are the biblical **כאשר** 'when' and its post-biblical counterpart **כש**. Somewhat less frequently one finds **בשעת ש** 'while', which derives from Yiddish, in which it is used with identical meaning (Beinfeld and Bochner 2013: 190). More rarely, the biblical particle **כי** or post-biblical conjunctions such as **(ל)אחר ש** 'after' may be employed. These possibilities are illustrated below in turn.

כאשר With

- כאשר שלחת לי את השדכן הייתי כמשוגעת 'When you sent the matchmaker to me, I was like a crazy woman' (Rodkinsohn 1864a: 17)
- פ"א כאשר בא אצלו הביט בפניו 'Once when he came to him he looked in his face' (Ehrmann 1905: 53b)
- כאשר עבר שעה קטנה נכנס העני להגביר 'When a short while had gone by, the pauper went in to the rich man' (Rosenthal 1909: 70)
- וכאשר שמע הרוזינער את השמועה הליו ויאנח מאוד 'And when the Ruzhiner heard this report he sighed greatly' (Seuss 1890: 5)
- וכאשר נתרפא הגאון הנ"ל סיפרה לו אמו את המעשה הנ"ל 'And when that Gaon recovered, his mother told that story' (Michelson 1910a: 80)
- וכאשר בא לביהכ"נ וימצא עומד ומסתכל כלפי מעלה 'And when he came to the synagogue he found him standing and looking upwards' (Shenkel 1903a: 15)
- וכאשר שמעו זאת כן עשו 'And when they heard this they did so' (M. Walden 1913, pt. 3: 28)

כש With

- כשהייתי קם ממשכבי היתה רטובה עלי הכתונת שלי 'When I would get up from bed my nightshirt would be drenched' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 44)
- וכשנפטר הבעש"ט זי"ע נסע הרב הנ"ל על הציון למעוזבו ערב ר"ח Ba'al Shem Tov of eternal memory died, that rabbi travelled to the memorial marker, to Medzhybizh, on the eve of the New Moon' (Lieberson 1913: 21)
- וכשסיים הסיפור צוה להם שילכו לשלום 'And when he finished the story, he ordered them to go in peace' (Berger 1907: 27)
- וכשבא חזרה להאכסניא שאל על האברך 'And when he came back to the inn, he asked about the yeshivah student' (Gemen 1914: 68)
- כשהייתי בילדותי ראיתי אז יותר מכם 'When I was a child I saw more [visions] than you' (Singer 1900a, pt. 1: 3)
- וכשנסע לביתו תיכף פתאום נפל למחלה כבדה 'And when he went home, immediately he suddenly fell gravely ill' (Breitstein 1914: 18)

- 'And when he heard this, he was very startled' (M. Walden 1914: 126)
- 'And when he came close to the animals, all of the animals raised their front legs' (Chikernik 1902: 11)

בשעת ש- With

- 'while they were making a siyyum before him' (Landau 1892: 20)
- 'Know for certain that you were worthy of death when you did not answer amen' (Bodek 1865b: 15)

With Other Conjunctions

- 'And when he arrived at the inn he stood at the threshold of the building' (Singer 1900a, pt. 1: 3)
- 'And after he went back to his house the winds and snow and rains came back' (Landau 1892: 38)
- 'And after a year had gone by he determined in his heart that he would not take up a rabbinic position' (Singer 1900b: 5)

This type of temporal clause is often preceded by *ויהי* in past settings, or more rarely, by *והיה* in future ones. This type of construction derives from Biblical Hebrew (van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 2013: 331–332). Temporal clauses with *ויהי* may be followed by a *wayyiqtol*, as in Biblical Hebrew; this is shown in the first set of examples. However, they are often followed by a *qatal*, as in the second set. Similarly, temporal clauses with *והיה* are often followed by a *yiqtol*, as in the third set. This deviates from biblical convention, according to which temporal clauses introduced by *ויהי* and *והיה* must be followed by a *wayyiqtol* or *weqatal*. This is an example of the Hasidic authors' relatively common tendency to take biblical constructions and adapt them, possibly unintentionally.

ויהי + *wayyiqtol*

- 'And when they harassed him greatly, he said, "Maybe it is divinely ordained (lit: from the heavens)"' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 43)

- '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)
- 'And when he arrived at the inn he stood at the threshold of the building' (Singer 1900a, pt. 1: 3)

qatol + והיה

- 'And when I came to this market, I heard the sound of instruments' (Teomim Fraenkel 1911a: 46–47)
- 'And when he came to the house of the Holy Jew he greeted him with great joy' (Rakats 1912, pt. 1: 16)
- 'And when the Rebbe took the goblet for kiddush, he became startled' (Breitstein 1914: 7)

yiqtol + והיה

- והיה בעת יבוקר בין כולנו השנים עשר לבחור אחד לפאפסט תאמר עתה כי לדעתך ישר 'And when the twelve of us are examined in order to choose one for Pope, you will say that you think it is right to pick me' (Bodek 1865c: 4)

Very rarely, temporal clauses with a finite verb are introduced by a preposition instead of a conjunction, as in the following examples.

- 'And in his merit, may the Holy One blessed be He grant us peace of the body and soul until the righteous redeemer comes' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 41)
- 'Once he prayed very much for a sick person, and did not want to turn away from him until he recovered' (J. Duner 1899: 39)
- 'And after the designated hour had passed, the man came again' (Bodek 1866: 43)

This phenomenon is noteworthy because it does not seem to be rooted in Biblical or Rabbinic Hebrew, in which a subordinator would be expected. However, as in many other areas of Hasidic Hebrew grammar, a similar usage is sometimes attested in medieval and early modern texts: for example, the expression *עד יבא* (shown in the first example) appears in the medieval commentaries of Rashi as well as in those of Moses Alshich. Similarly, the phrase *עד יתרפא* (shown in the second example) appears in Alshich's commentary. As these texts would

have been familiar to the authors, it is possible that they are the direct source of this phrase. In other cases the Hasidic Hebrew expression lacks an exact parallel in earlier literature, suggesting that the authors may have been inspired by the construction found in medieval and early modern texts and (most likely inadvertently) extended it to original phrases as well. Moreover, the use of עד 'until' may reflect some degree of influence from Yiddish, as that language employs the preposition ביז 'until' to introduce temporal causes directly (Beinfeld and Bochner 2013: 166).

13.14.2 *With Infinitive Construct*

Temporal clauses are also commonly formed with the infinitive construct preceded by one of the inseparable prepositions ב- or כ- with the sense of 'while', 'when', 'as', 'just after', or by an independent preposition, as below. The inseparable prepositions are employed almost interchangeably, except that כ- is only relatively rarely attested in the sense of 'while'.

With ב- in Sense of 'While'

- יצא המגיד מחדרו לחוץ 'And while they were standing there, the Maggid came out of his room' (Zak 1912: 148)
- [...] סיפר שבהיותו ילד, אכל חתיכת בשר 'The Rebbe [...] said that when he was a child, he ate a piece of meat' (Gemen 1914: 59)
- 'ובהיותו בפולין היה נודע שנתגלה אליו אליהו זכור לטוב it was made known that Elijah of blessed memory had revealed himself to him' (N. Duner 1899: 62)
- 'ויהי בנסעם וייראו שלא ימות בדרך ברעב 'And while they were travelling they feared lest he die of hunger on the way' (Sofer 1904: 6)

With כ- in Sense of 'While'

- 'מי ומי הי' ביכולתו לבקר את הקדוש הזה כשבתו שמה 'Who was able to visit this holy man while he was sitting there?' (Bodek 1865c: 13)
- '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)

With -ב in Sense of 'As', 'Just After'

- 'And when this call reached the ear of the Rebbe, he immediately approached the Holy Jew' (Breitstein 1914: 8)
- 'When he heard this he became very excited' (Rosen-thal 1909: 14)
- 'And joy gripped him as he found a thousand ducats' (Bodek 1865b: 9)
- בהכנסו אל החדר שישב שם הה"ק, קדם את פני הרבי בלשונו המגומגם, „צ-צ-צ-צפרא” 'When he entered the room in which the holy Rebbe was sitting, he greeted the Rebbe with a stuttering “G-g-g-good morning”' (M. Walden 1913, pt. 2: 29)
- 'And when they arrived he greeted his sister' (A. Walden 1860?: 3b)

With -כ in Sense of 'Just After'

- 'And when he arrived at his house he said “Congratulations” to the man, the messenger' (Bodek 1865a: 71)
- 'When the head of the yeshivah heard this, he knew in his soul that he was not of such a spiritual level' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 3)
- 'And when all of the members of the house heard his word, they were all worried' (A. Walden 1860?: 10a)
- 'And when the king heard their words he commanded [them] to bring that man before him' (Singer 1900a, pt. 1: 7)
- 'And when they came to the city of Lublin the wagon-driver asked them ...' (M. Walden 1912: 16)
- 'And when they heard thus, they immediately went to his house' (Teomim Fraenkel 1911b: 4)

With Independent Preposition

- 'While I was in Mezeritch there was a widow' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 31)
- 'while I was sitting at the feast' (M. Walden 1912: 29)
- 'after he got out of prison' (Zak 1912: 16)

This usage derives from Biblical Hebrew, which commonly forms temporal clauses in the same way (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 604); this can be contrasted with rabbinic and rabbinic-based literature, in which the infinitive construct is not used in such constructions (Pérez Fernández 1999: 144). However, there is a slight difference between the Hasidic Hebrew and biblical constructions. In Hasidic Hebrew there is no semantic distinction between the two prepositions *-ב* and *-כ*, with each meaning either 'when', 'while', 'as', or 'just after' (though *-כ* is found only infrequently in the sense of 'while'); by contrast, in Biblical Hebrew *-ב* means 'while' and lends a durative sense to the associated infinitive construct, while *-כ* means 'as' or 'just after' and lends a preterite sense to the infinitive (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 604; see also Gropp 1995 for further details). As in many other aspects of Hasidic Hebrew grammar, the authors made some (most likely unintentional) modifications to the syntactic and semantic properties of this biblical construction when they incorporated it into their writing.

A noteworthy phenomenon is the formation of temporal clauses with infinitives construct preceded by the particle *מדי* with the meaning 'while', as below:

- הנה *מדי* דברי זכור אזכיר מאיש חי רב פעלים 'Now while I am talking I shall make mention of a living man of many [amazing] deeds' (Kaidaner 1875: 7a)
- אבל *מדי* לכתו לבית השחיטה דפק את הסכין בהסטרקעס של הקאפטין שלו 'But while he was going to the slaughterhouse, he struck the knife on his captain's reins' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 24)
- *מדי* דברם באו העכו"ם אלו השלשה 'While they were talking, these three idol-worshippers came' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 41)
- ומדי דברי ארשום לכם לזכרון דברי פי חכם 'And while I am talking, I shall record for you the words of a wise man' (M. Walden 1914: 13)

This use of *מדי* is unattested in earlier forms of Hebrew: in Biblical Hebrew the particle has a translation value of 'whenever' and does not appear in temporal clauses, nor is it used in this way in Rabbinic Hebrew. Significantly, like many other phenomena lacking precedent in previous historical strata of the language, this construction is a common feature of Maskilic Hebrew (see Kahn 2009: 236–239 for details).