Lexis

The lexis of the Hasidic Hebrew tales reflects the distinctive polyglossic environment of its authors. Yiddish was their native language and chief vernacular, while they had received intensive training in the reading and recitation of various biblical and post-biblical forms of written Hebrew from a very early age and employed it as a major vehicle of written composition (see Stampfer 1993 for a detailed discussion of understanding and use of Hebrew in Eastern Europe). Moreover, they possessed at least some familiarity with biblical, Talmudic, and kabbalistic Aramaic texts. Finally, they lived in a Slavic-speaking environment, typically Ukrainian, Polish, and Russian. The ways in which lexical elements from these diverse linguistic sources manifest themselves in the tales will be discussed below.

16.1 Hebrew

16.1.1 *Maskilic Hebrew Vocabulary*

As discussed throughout this volume, there are many instances of linguistic overlap between the Hasidic Hebrew tales and contemporaneous Maskilic Hebrew prose fiction. Perhaps one of the most striking of these instances concerns the Hasidic Hebrew use of lexical items typically considered to be Maskilic Hebrew coinages. These usually consist of compounds and collocations used to describe modern items and concepts lacking earlier Hebrew designations. Examples of these are shown below; the terms in question are all conventionally regarded as Maskilic creations (see the references following each lemma for details).

בית מִזְיָגָה 'Tavern' (Even-Shoshan 2003: 171)

- בית מִזְיָגָה 'tavern' (Michelson 1912: 116)
- לְבֵית מִזְיָגָה 'to a tavern' (Breitstein 1914: 58)
- בֵּית הַמִּזְיָגָה 'the tavern' (Teomim Fraenkel 1911b: 91)
- הַבֵּית הַמִּזְיָגָה 'the tavern' (Bodek 1866: 40)

- 'And they went to a big tavern, which is called a (*kretshme*)'¹ (Kaidaner 1875: 48b)

מרוז 'Tavern' (Even-Shoshan 2003: 171)

- 'to the tavern' (Michelsohn 1912: 49)
- 'in the tavern' (Berger 1910c: 51)

בתי עינים 'Glasses' (Even-Shoshan 2003: 172)

- 'glasses' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 32; Hirsch 1900: 86; Michelsohn 1910a: 137; Sofer 1904: 35)

חולי 'Cholera' (Even-Shoshan 2003: 532)

- 'cholera' (Michelsohn 1912: 24)
- 'and cholera' (Bodek 1865a: 72)

מורה שעות 'Watch'; 'Clock' (Agmon-Fruchtman and Allon 1994: 56; Even-Shoshan 2003: 917)

- 'watch'; 'clock' (Zak 1912: 23; Sobelman 1909/10, pt. 3: 11; Rakats 1912, pt. 1: 35; Breitstein 1914: 49; Berger 1910c: 132)
- 'the watch'; 'the clock' (Berger 1907: 91; Rapaport 1909: 51; Shenkel 1903a: 10)
- 'the watch, *zeygerl*,² of gold' (Munk 1898: 32)

מסילת ברזל 'Railroad' (Agmon-Fruchtman and Allon 1994: 53; Even-Shoshan 2003: 1021)

- 'the railroad' (Berger 1910b: 122; Michelsohn 1912: 24; M. Walden 1914: 55; Teomim Fraenkel 1910: 58)
- 'the railroads' (Zak 1912: 137)

¹ Yiddish gloss; see 16.3.5 for details.

² Yiddish gloss; see 16.3.5 for details.

רואה חשבונות 'Bookkeeper' (Even-Shoshan 2003: 1754)

– [בוכהאלטערס] 'bookkeepers [*bukhhalters*]³' (Ehrmann 1903: 5a)

תפוחי אדמה 'Potatoes' (Even-Shoshan 2003: 2026)

– 'potatoes' תפוחי אדמה (Berger 1906: 16; Michelsohn 1910c: 71; Rakats 1912, pt. 1: 14; Ehrmann 1903: 17b; Moses Leib of Sasov 1903: 27a)

These examples are noteworthy because they belie the mutual antagonism between the Hasidic and Maskilic authors and the common perception promulgated by the Maskilim that their Hebrew writings were linguistically extremely different from those of their Hasidic opponents. However, it is important to note that the motivation of the Hasidic Hebrew authors for employing these terms most likely differs from that of their Maskilic counterparts. The Maskilic authors had an ideological opposition to the use of loanwords from Yiddish or other languages; instead, they tended to create neologisms by calquing foreign terms, often by means of construct chains and circumlocutions so as to employ purely Hebrew vocabulary (Patterson 1988: 98–100; Kahn 2013b). By contrast, the Hasidic Hebrew authors had no agenda of creating Hebrew neologisms and no ideological opposition to the use of Yiddish loanwords in their writings; on the contrary, they made very frequent recourse to them (as discussed in 16.3). It is thus extremely significant that the Hasidic Hebrew authors seem to have been familiar enough with these Maskilic coinages to employ them instead of or in addition to the corresponding Yiddish loanwords. In fact, in several of the examples shown above, the authors did use the Yiddish equivalent as well as the Maskilic neologism. Perhaps even more significantly, it is possible that some of these terms are not in fact intentional Maskilic inventions but rather were in more widespread circulation among writers of Hebrew in Eastern Europe including Maskilim and Hasidim, and simply have not been documented in non-Maskilic texts. Alternatively, as these expressions almost all occur in texts published in the 1900s and 1910s, it may be that they were indeed Maskilic inventions but that by the time of these later tales' composition they had entered into general circulation among Hasidic and other non-Maskilic Hebrew writers.

3 Yiddish gloss; see 16.3.5 for details.

16.1.2 Common Abbreviations

Many Hebrew expressions and phrases typically appear in abbreviated form in the tales. The most commonly attested abbreviations are listed below.

- אדוני אבי מורי ורבי—אאמו"ר 'my master, father, teacher, and rabbi/Rebbe' (title)
- אדוני מורי ורבי—אדמו"ר 'my master, teacher, and rabbi/Rebbe' (title)
- אחר-כך—אח"כ 'afterwards'
- אם ירצה השם—אי"ה 'please God'
- אם כן—א"כ 'if so'
- את עצמ—א"ע 'self' (see 6.6)
- אף על פי כן—אעפ"כ 'nevertheless'
- בזה הלשון—בזו(ה)ל' 'in these words'
- בית הכנסת—ביהכנ"ס 'synagogue'
- בית המדרש—ביהמ"ד 'study house'
- בלשון אשכנז—בל"א 'in Yiddish'
- בעל עגלה—בע"ג 'wagon driver'
- בעל הבית—בעה"ב 'landlord'; 'owner'; 'innkeeper'
- בעונותינו הרבים—בעוה"ר 'for our many sins'
- גם כן—ג"כ 'also'
- דעת תורה; דברי תורה; דין תורה—ד"ת 'Torah authority'
- הרב הצדיק—הה"צ 'the righteous Rebbe'
- החכם הגדול רבי—הה"ר 'the great wise one, Rebbe __' (title)
- הקדוש ברוך הוא—הקב"ה 'The Holy One, blessed be He'
- הרב הצדיק—הרה"צ 'the righteous Rebbe'
- הרב הקדוש—הרה"ק 'the holy Rebbe'
- השם יתברך—השי"ת 'The Holy One (lit: Name), blessed be He'
- זה את זה—זא"ז 'each other (direct object)'
- זכרוננו לברכה—ז"ל 'of blessed memory'
- זכרוננו לחיי העולם הבא—זלה"ה 'May his memory live on in the World to Come'
- זה לזה—זל"ז 'each other (indirect object)'
- זכר צדיק וקדוש לברכה לחיי העולם הבא—זצוקלה"ה 'May the memory of a righteous and holy one be a blessing for life in the World to Come'
- חס ושלום—ח"ו 'God forbid'
- יום טוב—יו"ט 'holiday'
- יין שכר—י"ש 'alcohol'
- כי אם—כ"א 'but rather'
- כל כך—כ"כ 'so much'
- לשון הקודש—לה"ק 'the holy tongue'

- לא עלינו\עליכם—ל"ע 'May we/you never know of such a thing'
- מוצאי שבת קודש—מוצש"ק 'Saturday night'
- נזכר לעיל—נ"ל 'aforementioned', 'that'
- על דבר—ע"ד 'because of'
- עולם הבא—עוה"ב 'the World to Come'
- עולם הזה—עוה"ז 'this world'
- על זה—ע"ז 'because of this'
- על כן—ע"כ 'therefore'
- ערב שבת קודש—עש"ק 'Friday night'
- פעם אחד\אחת—פ"א 'once'
- קהילת קודש—ק"ק 'holy community'
- רבנו של עולם—רבש"ע 'Master of the Universe'
- רובל כסף—רו"כ 'roubles'
- ראש חודש—ר"ח 'new moon/new month'
- רחמנא ליצלן—ר"ל 'God have mercy'
- רב מגיד—ר"מ 'Maggid'
- שיחיה לאורך ימים ארוכים אמן—שליט"א 'May he live long days'
- שבת קודש—ש"ק 'the holy Sabbath'
- תלמיד חכם—ת"ח 'Torah scholar'

16.2 Aramaic

Given the prominence of Aramaic-language texts in the Hasidic tradition (particularly mystical compositions such as the Zohar but also the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmuds and Aramaic biblical portions), it is perhaps unsurprising that the tale authors would have drawn on Aramaic lexis in their own writing. However, the Aramaic lexical element within Hasidic Hebrew is relatively subtle and is reasonably narrow in scope, being generally restricted to nouns and noun phrases from a few particular semantic domains (as outlined below). These Aramaic lexical elements are typically ultimately traceable to the Babylonian Talmud (which, interestingly, contrasts with Rabin's assertion [1985: 20] that the Aramaic component of Hasidic compositions derives primarily from the Zohar), but many of them are also commonly attested in medieval forms of Hebrew and in Yiddish. Thus, Hasidic Hebrew authors' use of such elements is likely attributable to their familiarity not only from the original Aramaic sources but also from Hebrew texts as well as from their own vernacular. Indeed, the Hasidic Hebrew authors' use of Aramaic does not seem to have been disproportionately high when compared with Yiddish or with well-known written forms of Hebrew. Moreover, given the intimate perceived relationship

between Hebrew and Aramaic in the authors' native Yiddish (wherein both languages are referred to by the single designation לשון-קודש 'the holy tongue') and the close links between study of written Hebrew and Aramaic in Talmudic academies, it is possible that they did not really regard these Aramaisms as loanwords at all. Perhaps unsurprisingly, a similar use of Aramaic known from traditional texts and from Yiddish can be seen in contemporaneous Maskilic Hebrew prose (Dalmatzky-Fischler 2009: 78–79).

16.2.1 *Nouns and Noun Phrases*

Aramaic lexical items appearing in the Hasidic Hebrew tales consist primarily of nouns and, more specifically, noun phrases—typically possessive constructions, two nouns linked by the conjunction *waw*, and noun-adjective syntagms. These nouns and noun phrases are typically drawn from a very specific and restricted semantic range: they usually denote abstract notions rather than concrete objects and most commonly refer to Jewish religious, legal, philosophical, and mystical concepts, as detailed below. As mentioned above, most of these nouns and phrases are features of medieval varieties of Hebrew and of Yiddish, and significantly, many of them were subsequently absorbed into the lexis of Modern Hebrew, particularly in the higher registers (see Even-Shoshan 2003, which lists a large number of the Aramaisms discussed below).

16.2.1.1 Jewish Religious Culture

A large proportion of the Aramaic lexical items appearing in the tales belong to the specific domain of Jewish religious culture, including texts, rabbinic institutions, education, and theological concepts. In some cases the Aramaic form is employed due to the lack of a Hebrew equivalent, e.g. the first example below, טפחא 'tipcha'. In most others, the Aramaic terms are widespread and familiar features of rabbinic literature and therefore the authors' selection of them is not surprising despite the existence of Hebrew alternatives.

- טפחא 'tipcha' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 22)
- אורייתא 'Torah' (Kaidaner 1875: 37b)
- יצרא בישא 'the evil inclination' (Bodek 1865a: 69)
- מרא דאתרא 'local rabbinic authority' (Lieberson 1913: 44)
- יומא דהלולא 'holiday' (Shenkel 1903b: 3)
- פלפולא דאורייתא [...] 'Torah debate' (Zak 1912: 13)
- ריש דוכנא 'teaching assistant in cheder' (Chikernik 1903b: 4)

16.2.1.2 Jewish Legal Concepts

Within the general category of Jewish religious culture, Aramaic nouns sometimes refer to specific Jewish legal concepts. These are typically terms appearing in the Babylonian Talmud, e.g.:

- איסורא [...] ‘prohibition [in Jewish law]’ (Ehrmann 1903: 15b)
- דייקא ‘evidence by implication’ (Bromberg 1899: 298)
- דינא ‘law’ (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 15)
- חומרא ‘strictness [in Jewish law]’ (Landau 1892: 15)
- ספיקא ‘suspicion [in Jewish law]’ (Bodek 1866: 56)

16.2.1.3 Eschatology and Messianism

Aramaisms likewise frequently denote Jewish eschatological and messianic themes, as below. This is most likely due to the frequent discussion of such topics in the Babylonian Talmud and in medieval Jewish literature (as well as to their independent existence in Yiddish).

- במתיבתא דרקי ‘in the heavenly academy’ (Bodek 1866: 28)
- מלכותא דרקי ‘the heavenly kingdom’ (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 7)
- עלמה דשקרא ‘this world (lit: the world of lies)’ (Ehrmann 1903: 22b)
- [עלמא דקשוט] [...] ‘the World to Come (lit: the world of truth)’ (Stamm 1905: 35)
- עקבתא דמשיחא ‘sign (lit: footsteps) of the Messiah’ (Walden 1912: 46)
- שכינתא בגלותא ‘the Divine Presence in exile’ (Breitstein 1914: 51)

16.2.1.4 Mysticism and Hasidism

Similarly, many Aramaic borrowings belong specifically to the domains of Jewish mysticism and Hasidism, as below. This is logical considering the prominence of Aramaic-language mystical writings such as *The Zohar* in Hasidic philosophy.

- בוצינא קדישא ‘holy illuminated one’ (Kaidaner 1875: 18b)
- גושפנקא דמלכה ‘the seal of the king’⁴ (Munk 1898: 6)
- חסידא ופרישא ‘Hasid and excellent one’ (Berger 1906: 22)
- קדישא חסידא ‘holy Hasid’ (Kaidaner 1875: 47a)
- מילי דחסידותא ‘words of Hasidism’ (Gemen 1914: 57)

4 A concept in gematria (Jewish numerology).

- מלכא דשידי 'king of demons' (Shenkel 1903b: 11)
- סטרא דקדושה 'the side of holiness'⁵ (J. Duner 1899: 63)

16.2.1.5 Body Parts

The Hasidic Hebrew authors very occasionally employ Aramaic lexical items and phrases in order to describe the bodies and specific body parts of the rebbes. In these cases it is possible that the authors selected the Aramaisms intentionally, or perhaps subconsciously, in order to convey a heightened sense of respect or importance when referring to the physical properties of the holy men (given the high status of Aramaic in Ashkenazi society as a language of advanced and esoteric learning; see Myhill 2004: 112–114). However, this tendency is not at all well-developed or systematically employed throughout the Hasidic Hebrew tales.

- חוטמא קדישא דיליה 'his holy nose' (Landau 1892: 63)
- הדיקנא קדישא שלו 'his holy beard' (Zak 1912: 144)
- בדיקנא קדישא 'with the holy beard' (Berger 1906: 87; N. Duner 1899: 64)

Sometimes these terms are used in metaphorical expressions, as below:

- מעימקא דלבא 'from the depths of the heart' (Bodek 1865a: 47)
- עינא בישא 'an evil eye' (Michelson 1910c: 64)
- בעינא פקחא 'with a sharp eye' (Teomim Fraenkel 1911a: 6)

16.2.1.6 Uncategorized

While many of the Aramaic lexical borrowings appearing in the tales clearly belong to the specialized semantic fields discussed above, some uncategorized nouns and noun phrases do appear, as shown below. In keeping with the rest of the Hasidic Hebrew Aramaisms, such elements typically denote abstract concepts rather than tangible objects. Again, they are typically ultimately traceable to the Babylonian Talmud. These nouns and noun phrases generally have Hebrew equivalents and are not used in particular semantic or syntactic contexts. As discussed above, the authors may not have regarded them as loanwords but rather simply as variants and fixed expressions synonymous with their Hebrew equivalents.

⁵ A concept in Jewish mysticism.

- בצוותא 'together' (Kaidaner 1875: 28b)
- צפרא טבא 'good morning' (Singer 1900: 11)
- גמירא 'end' (J. Duner 1899: 32)
- יומא דשוקא 'market day' (Greenwald 1899: 51a)
- ריהטא 'hurry' (Bodek 1866: 60)
- רבوتא 'advantage' (Landau 1892: 39)
- אמתלא 'excuse' (Bromberg 1899: 19)
- מאמצעותא 'from the middle' (Kaidaner 1875: 19a)
- בבדיחותא 'in jest' (Sofer 1904: 35)
- סגי נהור 'blind man' (Ehrmann 1903: 34b)
- נהמא דכסופא 'bread of poverty'⁶ (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 7)
- דשמושא רבא 'of great service' (Berger 1906: 76)
- קוסטא דחיותא 'remote corner of life' (Hirsch 1900: 67)
- שבתא טבא 'Good Sabbath' (Shenkel 1883, pt. 1: 18)
- בצילא דמהימנותא 'in the shade of trust' (Shalom of Koidanov 1882: 14)
- חובא וטלילא 'scorn and mockery' (Singer 1900b: 3)

Only very occasionally do such Aramaic collocations lack precedent in rabbinic or medieval literature. For example, the phrase shown below seems to be unattested before the early modern period; however, it appears in a few late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ashkenazi commentaries and was most likely familiar to the Hasidic Hebrew authors from its appearance in these or similar Eastern European Hebrew sources.

- יומי דפגרי 'holiday days' (Landau 1892: 32)

16.2.2 *Demonstrative Adjectives*

Aramaic adjectives are not a regular feature of Hasidic Hebrew. However, the singular demonstrative האי 'this/that' is sometimes attested in the tales. This form is typically restricted to syntagms containing an Aramaic noun or noun-adjective phrase. The demonstrative always precedes the rest of the syntagm, as in Talmudic and other forms of Late Aramaic (see Pat-El 2012: 95–96 for discussion of Late Aramaic demonstrative constructions; see also Bar-Asher Siegal 2013: 83). Like other Aramaic noun phrases in Hasidic Hebrew, those containing demonstrative adjectives are relatively limited and derive from the Babylonian Talmud and/or medieval writings rather than constituting a widely entrenched and productive feature intrinsic to Hasidic Hebrew linguistic structure. In this

6 Bread given through charity (Even-Shoshan 2003: 1170).

respect Aramaic can be contrasted with Yiddish, whose influence is visible in a broad range of Hasidic Hebrew grammatical features seen throughout this volume.

- מהאי סבא קדישא 'of this Holy Grandfather' (Bromberg 1899: 24)
- האי ינוקא 'this infant' (Bromberg 1899: 4)
- דהאי עלמא 'of this world' (Kaidaner 1875: 18a)
- דהאי שתא 'from this year' (Michelson 1910c: 26)
- ובכהאי גוונא 'and in (lit: in as) this manner' (Liebersohn 1913: 68)

16.2.3 *Suffixed Nouns, Prepositions, and Particles*

On very sporadic occasions a Hebrew or Aramaic noun, particle, or preposition is attested in conjunction with an Aramaic 3ms possessive suffix, as shown below. Such suffixes are not a standard element of Hasidic Hebrew grammar and there do not seem to be clear patterns governing their selection on these relatively rare instances.

- יחוד קוב"ה ושכינתיה 'the unity of the Holy One blessed be He and His divine presence' (J. Duner 1899: 34)
- חברי דיליה 'friends of his' (Zak 1912: 22)
- לא היה איכפת ליה 'They were of no concern to him' (Bromberg 1899: 21)

16.2.4 *Numerals*

Aramaic numerals are not a typical feature of the Hasidic Hebrew tale, but are attested in a few rare cases. They are limited to the numbers חדא 'one', תרי 'two', and שית(א) 'six', as below. In a few cases the authors' selection of an Aramaic numeral may be attributable to their predilection for phonological suffix concord: in the first two examples below the Hebrew noun is feminine ending in [פ], and the א- suffix of the Aramaic numeral would have been pronounced identically. Nevertheless, the use of Aramaic in this type of setting is so rare that it must be considered an anomaly rather than a trend.

- פרוטה חדא 'one penny' (Munk 1898: 57)
- רגע חדא 'one moment' (Ehrmann 1903: 47b)
- תרי חסידים 'two Hasidim' (J. Duner 1899: 39)
- שית שנין 'six years [old]' (Zak 1912: 9)
- שית שנים 'six years [old]' (Sofer 1904: 27)
- שיתא סידרי משנה 'the six orders of the Mishnah' (Kaidaner 1875: 43a)

16.2.5 *Verbs*

Aramaic verbs are not a common feature of the tales, but do occasionally appear embedded within the Hebrew text. These sorts of isolated Aramaic verbs are typically participles, either active or passive, as below. Such forms are generally restricted to the masculine singular passive participle כתיב 'written' and a few other common roots. These are typically attested in identical form in earlier Aramaic literature that would have been familiar to the authors such as the Talmuds, Zohar, Talmudic commentaries, and responsa, but the authors' motivation for selecting them on these relatively rare occasions is unclear.

- וענה להם כתיב בית והון נחלת אבות 'And he answered them, "It is written, 'House and riches are the inheritance of fathers (Prov. 19:14)'"' (J. Duner 1899: 22)
- בכתבי האריז"ל כתיב הכוונת באופן אחר 'In the writings of the Arizal the intentions are written in a different manner' (Kaidaner 1875: 8a)
- המחבר אזיל לשיטתו 'The author goes according to his method' (Bromberg 1899: 10)
- דעמד קאי על פשוטי העם 'that your people stand upon the simple people' (Shenkel 1903b: 10)

These Aramaic participles are almost always unsuffixed; the following is a very unusual example with a 1cp subject suffix:

- ודכירנא כי גם אנכי אמרתי 'And we remembered that I had also said ...' (Bromberg 1899: 10)

Aramaic verbs from the derived stems are almost never attested as individual words within a Hebrew sentence, but rather are restricted to full Aramaic phrases or sentences (see 16.2.7 below). A rare example of an isolated Aramaic verb from a derived stem is the *itpeil* shown below.

- ואישתיק הרב 'And the Rebbe was silent' (Bodek 1866: 55)

16.2.6 *Particles*

The only Aramaic particle attested in Hasidic Hebrew with any regularity is -ד, which most commonly serves as a possessive marker in specific contexts (see 12.1.2) but occasionally functions as a complementizer (see 13.4.1) and as a relative pronoun (see 13.11.1).

16.2.7 Expressions

Sometimes Aramaic expressions consisting of clauses or entire sentences appear embedded in the Hebrew text of the tales. Such expressions typically derive from Amoraic and/or medieval and early modern literature, as indicated in the following examples.

- והוא התחיל לשמוע בעיר קלא דלא פסיק שהוא ממזר 'And he started to hear a persistent rumour (lit: a voice that didn't stop) in town that he was a mamzer' (Shenkel 1903b: 19); cf. קלא דלא פסיק 'a voice that doesn't stop' (Babylonian Talmud *Mo'ed Qatan* 18b)
- שבתין ושביקין מסאבין דרחיקין '[When] one stops and ceases, impurities retreat from him' (Bromberg 1899: 46); cf. שבתין ושביקין מסאבין דרחיקין '[When] one stops and ceases, impurities retreat from him' (*Hon Ashir* on Mishnah *Nidda* 4, Amsterdam 1731)
- ודחיקא לי מילתא 'And the matter bothered me' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 16); cf. ודחיקא ליה מילתא 'And the matter bothered him' (Babylonian Talmud *Bava Batra* 174b)
- מאגרא רם לבירא 'from a tall roof into a deep pit' (referring to someone who fell from greatness) (Bodek 1866: 61); cf. מאגרא רם לבירא 'from a tall roof into a deep pit' (Babylonian Talmud 5a)
- ולא אסתייעא מילתא 'And the matter was unsuccessful' (Landau 1892: 49); cf. לא אסתייעא מילתא 'The matter was unsuccessful' (Alshich on Exod. 12)
- ענה לו החכם הנ"ל ראיתי אותו ונהירין ליה שבילין דשמיא כשבילין דארעיה: 'That wise man answered him, "I have seen him, and the paths of the heavens are as clear to him as the paths of the earth."' (Bodek 1866: 38); cf. כבי נהירין ליה שבילי 'Because the paths of the heavens are clear to him' (Alshich on Exod. 36)

The Hasidic Hebrew authors most likely inserted these elements in their original form due to their familiarity from the earlier writings in which they appear. They sometimes make grammatical alterations to the Aramaic, which indicates a degree of familiarity with the language and an ability to adapt it (whether intentionally or otherwise); however, the fact that these elements are not original compositions but rather are drawn from established source texts indicates that Aramaic expressions are perhaps not as productive a component of Hasidic Hebrew as their Yiddish counterparts, which are much more prevalent and dynamic (see 16.3 for details).

16.2.8 *Morphosyntax of Aramaic Borrowings*

16.2.8.1 Morphology of Aramaic Nouns

As seen in the examples in 16.2.1 above, Aramaic singular nouns in Hasidic Hebrew almost invariably appear in the emphatic state, with the suffix **־**. This suffix is completely lexicalized and does not serve as a definiteness marker (Aramaic nouns in the tales are made definite by prefixing the Hebrew definite article to them; see 16.2.8.3). This lexicalized Hasidic Hebrew treatment of the Aramaic **־** suffix can be contrasted with early strata of Aramaic, in which the suffix served as the definiteness marker; however, in later forms of the language it came to be used for indefinite and definite nouns alike (Creason 2008: 120; Bar-Asher Siegal 2013: 53), and the widespread presence of this suffix on a large variety of indefinite nouns in key Jewish Aramaic sources such as the Talmuds, targumim, and Zohar, is most likely the reason for its ubiquitous attestation in the Hasidic Hebrew tale on indefinite nouns.

16.2.8.2 Gender of Aramaic Nouns

Aramaic nouns ending in **־** are treated as grammatically feminine in the tales and modified by feminine adjectives, as below.

- לדיוטא התחתונה ‘to the utmost degree of damnation’⁷ (Sofer 1904: 11)
- פתקא קטנה ‘a small note’ (Heilmann 1902: 115)
- עובדא נוראה ‘an awesome deed’ (Ehrmann 1903: 9b)
- סברא רחוקה ‘a distant speculation/opinion’ (Hirsch 1900: 90)

In some cases this follows historical precedent, as in the case of the first collocation, which is attested in the Palestinian Talmud in the same form. However, in many cases the noun phrases are not based on earlier precedent: thus, the remaining examples above are not considered feminine in Aramaic, as the **־**-ending is not a feminine marker. Like many aspects of Hasidic Hebrew morphosyntax, this is most likely due to phonological considerations: as the final **־** in Hasidic Hebrew is pronounced as [ə], the authors would have perceived it as feminine (see 4.1.2 for discussion of this issue). Interestingly, the phrases shown in all but the first example above are also attested in other Eastern European Hebrew sources such as responsa literature, suggesting that these specific collocations comprise part of a selection of stock Aramaisms common in Ashkenazi Hebrew.

7 Lit. ‘to the nethermost room of the netherworld’ (Jastrow 1903: 298).

On rare occasions an Aramaic noun ends in the Aramaic feminine suffix **-תא**, and the associated adjective takes the same suffix as the head noun, e.g.:

- מלתא זוטרתא ‘a small matter’ (Bodek 1866: 30)
- הלכתא רבתא ‘a great law’ (Ehrmann 1903: 16b)

16.2.8.3 Definiteness of Aramaic Nouns

Aramaic nouns in Hasidic Hebrew are made definite by means of the Hebrew definite article prefix **-ה**, as below:

- הנוסחא ‘the format’ (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 7)
- העובדא השלישית ‘the third deed’ (Ehrmann 1903: 25b)
- הדיקנא קדישא שלו ‘his holy beard’ (Zak 1912: 144)

This practice is followed even when the noun in question ends in **-א**, which was the definiteness marker in Biblical Aramaic. However, as discussed in 16.2.8.1 above, the authors are unlikely to have associated the **-א**-suffix with definiteness because in post-Biblical Aramaic, including very well-known sources such as the targumim and the Talmuds, this suffix had lost any such connotations and was instead used for definite and indefinite nouns alike (Creason 2008: 120; Bar-Asher Siegal 2013: 53).

16.2.8.4 Plural of Aramaic Nouns

Aramaic plural nouns in Hasidic Hebrew are formed with one of the following three suffixes:

- **-ין**
- **-י**
- **-תא**

As the Aramaisms appearing in Hasidic Hebrew are generally based directly on earlier texts such as the Babylonian Talmud and Zohar, the use of these suffixes is not really a productive element of the authors' writing; rather, the plural forms in question are usually fixed expressions in the tales.

The most common of the plural suffixes is **-ין**, as illustrated below. In Aramaic this suffix is used to mark absolute masculine plural nouns (Kaufman 1997: 123; Creason 2008: 120).

- רזין דאורייתא [...] ‘secrets of the Torah’ (Kaidaner 1875: 25a)
- אודנין ‘ears’ (Landau 1892: 63)

- מוחין 'mind/brains' (Bromberg 1899: 9)
- בגוונן נהירין 'in light shades' (J. Duner 1899: 40)

A few nouns appear with the suffix י-, as below. This is a variant of the emphatic masculine plural suffix יא- found in eastern Middle and Late Aramaic dialects (Creason 2008: 120), in which it is typically used as an unmarked masculine plural suffix (Kaufman 1997: 123).

- מילי דעלמא 'everyday/secular matters' (J. Duner 1899: 30)
- מלכא דשידי 'king of demons' (Shenkel 1903b: 11)

Finally, there are some rare attestations of plural nouns ending in תא-, the feminine emphatic state plural suffix (Kaufman 1997: 123; Creason 2008: 120). Such a case is shown below. Interestingly, this form deviates from the usual trend concerning Aramaic elements in Hasidic Hebrew in that it is not attested in the Talmuds or medieval mystical literature in Aramaic, but rather first appears in nineteenth-century Eastern European Hasidic Hebrew writings, e.g. David Solomon Eibenschutz' 1835 commentary on the Pentateuch *Arve Nahal*.

- עקבתא דמשיחא 'sign (lit: footsteps) of the Messiah' (Walden 1912: 46)

16.2.8.5 Possessive Constructions

Aramaic possessive phrases are overwhelmingly composed of two nouns linked by the particle ד- 'of' (as seen in many of the examples in 16.2.1). The construct chain is almost never attested; a rare example is shown below.

- ריש בריוני 'chief outlaw' (Landau 1892: 20); cf. Babylonian Talmud *Gittin* 56a

The tendency to avoid the construct chain where Aramaic is concerned contrasts markedly with the Hebrew of the tales, in which the authors tend to employ the construct chain more commonly than the possessive particle של 'of' (see 12.1.1). This discrepancy is likely rooted in the diachronic decline in use of the Aramaic construct chain so that it was largely unproductive by the Late Aramaic period (Creason 2008: 137), and therefore did not appear frequently in the Talmuds and other sources familiar to the Hasidic Hebrew authors.

16.3 Yiddish

The Yiddish component of Hasidic Hebrew lexis is much more extensive and diverse than the Aramaic component. As in the case of Aramaic, Yiddish lexical borrowings are primarily nouns, but they are distributed over a much wider range of semantic fields. Interestingly, the Aramaic and Yiddish loanwords fill two complementary positions within Hasidic Hebrew, in keeping with their sociolinguistic positions as vehicle of legal and mystical composition and vernacular respectively: while the Aramaic vocabulary typically refers to abstract concepts relating to theology and Jewish law, the Yiddish elements generally denote tangible objects, usually with practical everyday associations. These issues will be examined in more detail below.

16.3.1 *Nouns*

Yiddish loanwords in Hasidic Hebrew consist almost entirely of nouns as opposed to other content or function words. This trend conforms to general cross-linguistic tendencies concerning lexical borrowing in multilingual environments, in which nouns are typically the most common type of content word to be borrowed (Matras 2009: 167). In contrast to Aramaic borrowings, which are composed primarily of noun phrases, Yiddish loanwords are typically individual nouns. These nouns are usually embedded directly into the Hebrew texts, often taking Hebrew prefixes such as the definite article (see 16.3.4.1 for details). Note that the spelling of Yiddish words in the Hasidic Hebrew tales often differs from the standardized Yiddish orthography established in subsequent decades; moreover, the same Yiddish word may be spelt in various ways within the Hasidic Hebrew corpus and even within the same text. In the following sections Yiddish nouns are presented as they appear in the texts cited, but where these spellings deviate significantly from Standard Yiddish (YIVO) orthography the latter is provided as well for reference.

As mentioned above, the Yiddish lexical component of Hasidic Hebrew extends over a very wide range of semantic fields, but typically designates items and concepts referring to various aspects of contemporary Jewish life in Eastern Europe for which there were no precise Hebrew equivalents. This same phenomenon is also found in Ashkenazi responsa literature (Betzer 2001: 102) and in the exceedingly popular 1864 halakhic handbook *Kışur Shulḥan Arukh* (Glinert 1987: 47–51) and may therefore constitute another feature of a more widespread Eastern European Hebrew idiom. Yiddish lexical items appearing in the Hasidic Hebrew tales can be divided into the following typical categories, which are illustrated with representative (though, due to space considerations, not exhaustive) examples.

16.3.1.1 Administration and Law

Yiddish lexical items often serve to designate administrative and bureaucratic positions and structures common in the Eastern European setting of the tales, as there were no established Hebrew labels for many of these concepts. Similarly, while Hebrew terms are typically employed in reference to specifically Jewish legal concepts, e.g. בית דין 'Jewish law court', Yiddish vocabulary is used to denote non-Jewish forms of policing and law enforcement. The following are examples of these types of borrowings:

- גובערנאטור 'governor' (Michelson 1912: 102)
- גיבערני [...] 'gubernia' (Brandwein 1912: 43)
- גרעניץ 'border' (Munk 1898: 20)
- מניסטער 'minister' (HaLevi 1909: 54)
- מניסטערי [...] 'ministry' (Kaidaner 1875: 41a)
- נאשטאלניק [...] 'high official' (Breitstein 1914: 27)
- פאליצ' [...] 'police' (Heilmann 1902: 73)
- פראצעס [...] 'court case' (Michelson 1912: 102)
- קיסר [...] 'emperor' (J. Duner 1899: 35)
- קלוצוויט [...] 'rural police commissioner' (Kaidaner 1875: 16b)
- רייזפאס 'travel permit' (Rakats 1912, pt. 1: 15)

16.3.1.2 Buildings

Yiddish vocabulary is sometimes used to describe architectural features and specific parts of houses or other buildings. Some such concepts, e.g. 'door-knob', lacked an established Hebrew label at the time of composition, in which case the authors' motivation for selecting the Yiddish term is straightforward. However, other concepts, e.g. 'room', did have Hebrew equivalents. In the latter cases it is not as clear why the authors selected the Yiddish words, though it is possible that they subconsciously associated these words with the Eastern European settings which they were describing, whereas the Hebrew labels may have lacked any such associations and therefore may have been perceived (again, most likely subconsciously) as inappropriate to the context.

- גאניק 'balcony' (Michelson 1905: 62)
- לאדן [...] 'shutters' (Singer 1900b: 17)
- סטעלי [...] 'ceiling' (Munk 1898: 28)
- קאמער [...] 'room' (Sofer 1904: 37)
- קייליר 'cellar' (Landau 1892: 51)
- קעך 'kitchen' (J. Duner 1899: 73)
- רויכפאן [...] 'chimney' (Ehrmann 1903: 29a)

- שבין 'windowpanes' (Breitstein 1914: 26)
- שטאקעטן [...] 'railings' (Landau 1892: 39)
- שטאק 'storey' (Teomim Fraenkel 1911b: 14)
- שינדלן [...] 'roof shingles' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 20)

16.3.1.3 Business

Yiddish terms are frequently used with reference to business transactions and activities, as below. Again, this is most likely due to the strong associations between these lexical items and the tales' immediate cultural context, despite the existence of Hebrew equivalents in some cases.

- ארנדע געלד [...] 'rent money' (Teomim Fraenkel 1911a: 21)
- גיטער [...] 'property' (Munk 1898: 20)
- גישעפט 'business' (Bromberg 1899: 58)
- זלאג⁸ 'security'; 'deposit' (Kaidaner 1875: 42a)
- פידראד⁹ 'contract' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 15)
- פרייז 'price' (Munk 1898: 65)
- קאנטראקט 'contract' (Hirsch 1900: 11)
- קרעדיט 'credit' (Sofer 1904: 30)
- ראטע [...] 'monthly payment' (Zak 1912: 21)

16.3.1.4 Christian Religious Terms

Yiddish terms are often used to designate positions within the Christian religious hierarchy, as below. The third term illustrates a phenomenon whereby the authors may use a Yiddish term in addition to its Hebrew equivalent.

- בישאף [...] 'bishop' (HaLevi 1909: 54)
- גייסטליכער [...] 'minister'; 'clergyman' (Ehrmann 1903: 33a)
- פאפסט [...] 'Pope' (Singer 1900a, pt. 3: 2); cf. Hebrew האפופיור 'the Pope' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 53)
- קאטאלין [...] 'Catholics' (Lieberson 1913: 92)
- קארדינאל [...] 'cardinal' (Bodek 1865c: 3)
- קלזסטער [...] 'church' (Munk 1898: 52)

8 Standard Yiddish זאלאג.

9 Standard Yiddish פאדראד.

16.3.1.5 Clothes

Yiddish words are very frequently used to denote various items of clothing. As above, in many cases the authors most likely selected the Yiddish terms due to the lack of accepted Hebrew equivalents. However, some of the items do have a Hebrew counterpart; for example, פאטשיילע 'handkerchief' is comparable in meaning to the Hebrew מטפחת, which appears in Ruth 3:15 and in the Mishnah (e.g. *Kilayim*, *Hullin*) with similar meaning. Again, the authors may have selected the Yiddish forms because they strongly associated these garments with the Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazi cultural milieu, while the Hebrew terms familiar from biblical and rabbinic literature would have lacked these connotations. The likelihood of this is underscored by the fact that the terms in question all refer to clothes that were very commonly worn by Eastern European Jews at the time of composition and are frequently attested in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Yiddish literature.

- אונטער שלאק [...] '[coat] lining' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 23)
- ארבל 'sleeve' (Teomim Fraenkel 1911a: 38)
- ברילין [...] 'eyeglasses' (Kaidaner 1875: 15b)
- גאדקיס [...] 'underwear' (Zak 1912: 153)
- גארטעל 'belt' (Breitstein 1914: 20)
- הויזן 'trousers' (Sobelman 1909/10, pt. 3: 11)
- יארמילקע [...] 'skullcap' (Liebersohn 1913: 46)
- לייביל 'short jacket' (Ehrmann 1903: 48a)
- ספאדיק 'fur hat' (Berger 1910a: 45)
- פאטשיילע 'shawl'; 'kerchief' (Bodek 1865c: 21)
- פאנטאפיל [...] 'slippers' (Zak 1912: 153)
- קאלנער [...] 'collar' (Munk 1898: 61)
- קאפאטע 'caftan' (Chikernik 1903a: 8)
- קאפלוש [...] 'hat' (Michelsohn 1910a: 71)
- קליידער [...] 'clothes' (Ehrmann 1905: 52a)
- קעשענע 'pocket' (M. Walden 1913, pt. 3: 15)
- ראק [...] 'short jacket' (Singer 1900b: 2)
- שטערין טיכעל [...] 'headscarf' (Sofer 1904: 36)
- שטריימל 'shtreimel' (Bodek? 1866: 5a)

16.3.1.6 Currency

Yiddish loanwords are used to denote types of currency common in Eastern Europe at the time of the tales' composition. These are employed in addition to a few Hebrew terms, namely זלוטי 'złoty'; 'guilders', אדומים 'ducats', and דינר 'dinar'.

- גילדען 'guilders' (Moses Leib of Sasov 1903: 21a)
- דוקאטין 'ducats' (Sofer 1904: 32)
- טאלער 'thaler' (Shenkel 1903b: 5)
- פערציקיר 'forty-groschen piece' (Munk 1898: 64)
- צוואנציגערס 'twenty-[groschen] pieces' (Ehrmann 1903: 17b)
- קאפקיס 'kopecks' (Chikernik 1903a: 14)
- קערביל 'rouble' (Sobelman 1909/10, pt. 3: 5)
- ריביל 'rouble' (Sofer 1904: 7)
- רייניש 'reinisch' (Munk 1898: 58)
- רענדל 'ducat' (Ehrmann 1903: 8a)
- שטערלינג '[pounds] sterling' (Kaidaner 1875: 34a)

16.3.1.7 Eastern European Jewish Cultural and Religious Concepts

The Hasidic Hebrew authors refer to certain Ashkenazi lifecycle rituals and cultural practices by their Yiddish labels, as shown below. The majority of these are concepts and folk customs that evolved in Eastern Europe and would have been most familiar to the authors and audience by their Yiddish names; indeed, many of them lacked established Hebrew equivalents.

- אונטער פירר 'usher/best man at wedding' (Sobelman 1909/10, pt. 3: 16)
- באדעקונס 'veiling of the bride' (Munk 1898: 36)
- גוטער יוד 'Hasidic rebbe' (J. Duner 1899: 39)
- גלאט כשר 'glatt kosher' (Rapaport 1909: 29)
- דריידיל 'dreidel' (Landau 1892: 35)
- גישאנק 'wedding gift' (Bodek? 1866: 5a)
- וואכטנאכט 'vachnacht' (Brandwein 1912: 2)
- חב"ד ניקיש 'Habadniks' (Bodek 1866: 53)
- [אידיש] 'Yiddish Bible translation/interpretation' (Landau 1892: 49)
- יארצייט 'anniversary of a death' (Gemen 1914: 87); often abbreviated to י"צ (e.g. Bromberg 1899: 5)
- יודישקייט 'Jewishness' (Rakats 1912, pt. 1: 31)
- ערליכער יוד 'an observant (lit: honest) Jew' (Ehrmann 1903: 35a)
- פאָר-שפּיל 'pre-wedding dance party' (Zak 1912: 136)
- פרום 'religiously observant' (Heilmann 1902: 87)
- קוויטל 'note [of petition for the Rebbe]' (Moses Leib of Sasov 1903: 32a)
- קיטל [...] 'kittel' (Shenkel 1903b: 24)
- קלויז [...] 'synagogue/study house' (Lieberson 1913: 40)

- קלעזמער¹⁰ 'travelling [klezmer] musician' (M. Walden 1912: 30)
- שטענד(ע)ר [...] 'lectern' (Hirsch 1900: 24)
- קפיטיל תהלים 'a chapter of Psalms' (J. Duner 1899: 102)
- שטיבל [...] 'small prayer-house' (Bromberg 1899: 29)
- שלעמיזאלינצע [...] 'unfortunate woman' (Munk 1898: 30)

16.3.1.8 Food, Drink, Etc.

One of the richest spheres of Yiddish lexical influence on Hasidic Hebrew is that of food, drink, and other consumable products, as illustrated below. In most cases these terms refer to items lacking established Hebrew equivalents because they did not exist until the medieval or early modern period or because they are not well-known outside of Eastern Europe. Some of these words are attested in the mid-nineteenth-century halakhic handbook *Kiṣur Shulḥan Arukh* (Glinert 1987: 47–48, 51), though the Yiddish vocabulary in the tales is much more extensive.

- איינגעמאחץ 'preserves' (Heilmann 1902: 59)
- אינדיק 'turkey' (Berger 1910b: 125)
- בארשט [...] 'borscht' (J. Duner 1899: 82)
- בייגל [...] 'bagel' (Greenwald 1899: 54a)
- ווארעניקס 'stuffed dumplings' (Chikernik 1903a: 10)
- וועטשערע 'supper' (Ehrmann 1903: 5b)
- זויע מילך 'sour milk' (Brandwein 1912: 22)
- טאביק 'tobacco' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 26)
- טייא 'tea' (Kaidaner 1875: 27a)
- טשאלענט [...] 'cholent' (Gemen 1914: 63)
- ייחיל 'clear chicken soup' (Landau 1892: 12)
- לאקשין 'noodles' (Gemen 1914: 85)
- לעקד 'honeycake' (Hirsch 1900: 42)
- לימינאדע 'lemonade' (Baruch of Medzhybizh 1880: 29)
- מעד 'mead' (M. Walden 1914: 8)
- מעהרען [...] 'carrots' (Michelsohn 1912: 84)
- סאלאט 'lettuce' (Michelsohn 1912: 11)
- פאמיראנצען 'oranges' (Gemen 1914: 66)
- פארטר 'porter' (M. Walden 1914: 8)

10 This term actually derives ultimately from the Hebrew כלי זמר 'instruments', but has been fully integrated into Yiddish and appears here in the phonetic spelling typically used in that language.

- פארציא 'portion' (Ehrmann 1903: 8a)
- פיסאליס¹¹ 'beans' (Teomim Fraenkel 1911b: 85)
- פלאמין 'plums' (Brandwein 1912: 40)
- צוקר 'sugar' (Sofer 1904: 23)
- צימיס 'tzimmes' (M. Walden 1914: 122)
- ציגאר 'cigar' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 19)
- קאווע 'coffee' (N. Duner 1912: 11)
- קאטלעטין 'cutlets' (M. Walden 1914: 122)
- קאשי 'porridge' (Rapaport 1909: 22)
- קוגל 'kugel' (Stamm 1905: 20)
- קערשען 'cherries' (Ehrmann 1903: 35b)
- קרויט 'cabbage' (Hirsch 1900: 60)
- קרעפלד 'stuffed dumplings' (Berger 1910c: 60)
- ראָקעס 'crabs'¹² (Bodek 1865a: 42)

16.3.1.9 Furniture and Household Objects

Yiddish vocabulary is frequently used to designate furniture and household items that were commonplace in the authors' Eastern European setting. As above, these terms generally lacked established Hebrew labels at the time of writing. However, some of these Yiddish loanwords do have well-known Hebrew counterparts, as in the last two examples below. In these cases the authors may have chosen the Yiddish terms because the Hebrew equivalents are themselves used in Yiddish and have very specific religious connotations in that language ('[God's] throne' and 'seven-branched Temple candelabra' or 'oil lamp used in the Hanukkah festival' respectively); the selection of the much more everyday Yiddish words may reflect a conscious or subconscious wish to avoid these elevated associations in the mundane settings wherein they appear.

- הענגלאַחטער [...] 'chandelier' (Lieberson 1913: 46)
- וויעגע 'cradle' (Ehrmann 1903: 33b)
- לאַחטיר 'candleholder' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 45)
- באַרעט 'board for making noodles' (M. Walden 1914: 60)
- לולקי [...] 'pipe' (Rakats 1912, pt. 1: 8)
- קאלדראַ 'bedspread' (Landau 1892: 21)
- קלאַמק"ע 'doorknob' (Bromberg 1899: 42)
- שאַפּע 'closet'; 'cupboard' (Munk 1898: 60)

¹¹ Standard Yiddish פֿאַסאָליעס.

¹² In context of discussion of non-kosher food.

- שאַנק [...] 'wardrobe' (Rapaport 1909: 22)
- שיפלעדיל 'little drawer' (Sofer 1904: 26)
- שפיגל 'mirror' (Munk 1898: 74)
- שראַנק 'closet'; 'cupboard' (Brandwein 1912: 23)
- לאַמפּן 'lamps' (N. Duner 1912: 37); cf. Hebrew מנורות
- בענקיל 'chair' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 15); cf. Hebrew כסא

16.3.1.10 Geographic, Ethnic, and Linguistic Labels

The names of countries and regions without well-established or familiar Hebrew equivalents typically appear in the Hasidic tales in their Yiddish form. Such labels include the following:

- אונגאַרין 'Hungary' (Leichter 1901: 10a)
- אוקריינאַ [...] 'Ukraine' (Teomim Fraenkel 1911a: 23)
- איטאַלי [...] 'Italy' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 17)
- דייטשינלאַנד [...] 'Germany' (Zak 1912: 35)
- ענגלאַנד [...] 'England' (Rakats 1912, pt. 1: 18)
- עסטרייך 'Austria' (Kaidaner 1875: 47a)
- פּוילן 'Poland' (Landau 1892: 13)
- פּרייסן 'Prussia' (Teomim Fraenkel 1911a: 34)
- רוסלאַנד [...] 'Russia' (Sofer 1904: 18)
- שוויידין [...] 'Sweden' (Teomim Fraenkel 1911a: 34)
- שפּאַניען 'Spain' (Ehrmann 1903: 7b)

Similarly, ethnic labels without well-established Hebrew equivalents usually appear in Yiddish. Moreover, the Yiddish versions of labels that do have Hebrew designations are also occasionally employed. As above, in some instances their choice may have been motivated by semantic considerations. For example, in the case of the word גרעקין 'Greeks' below, Sofer may have employed the Yiddish term with reference to the Greek people of his era because he associated that nation with its label in his vernacular, in contrast to the ancient Greeks, which he would have associated with the Hebrew term יוונים familiar from rabbinic literature.

- גרעק [...] 'Greek' (Sofer 1904: 3)
- דייטש 'German Jew/Maskil' (Singer 1900b: 2)
- ציגאַנערס [...] 'Romani' (Munk 1898: 68)

16.3.1.11 Institutions

Yiddish terms are often used to denote specific types of institutions and locales such as factories and inns of relevance in the tales' contemporary Eastern European setting. As in the categories discussed above, some of these institutions lacked established Hebrew labels at the time of composition, while others, e.g. שענק 'inn', did have Hebrew equivalents (i.e. בית מרזח, בית מזיגה, as discussed in 16.1.1), which were used in the tales as well. In these cases the authors seem to have regarded the Yiddish and Hebrew terms as synonymous. Betzer (2001: 102) has observed the existence of the same phenomenon in nineteenth-century Ashkenazi responsa literature, whereby Yiddish loanwords are used seemingly interchangeably with their Hebrew equivalents.

- ביבליטעק [...] 'library' (Bodek 1866: 5)
- גאסטהויז 'guesthouse' (Ehrmann 1903: 8a)
- מאגאזין [...] 'store' (Sofer 1904: 37)
- פאבריק [...] 'factory' (Brandwein 1912: 9)
- פאסט [...] 'post office' (Michelsohn 1912: 6)
- קרעטשמע [...] 'inn' (Zak 1912: 21)
- שענק 'inn' (N. Duner 1912: 34)

16.3.1.12 Materials

Yiddish terms are often used to designate various types of materials, typically those without established Hebrew labels, e.g.:

- בערשטיין 'amber' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 34)
- בגיוואנט [...] 'fabric' (Gemen 1914: 60)
- דימענט [...] 'diamond' (Zak 1912: 12)
- וואט 'cotton' (Landau 1892: 21)
- זילבער גלוייט [...] 'silver solder' (Kaidaner 1875: 41a)
- לייווינט 'canvas' (Sofer 1904: 12)
- מאגנעט 'magnet' (Heilmann 1902: 36)
- פעלצען 'furs' (Liebersohn 1913: 42)
- קאחיל 'tile' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 9)
- קרייד 'chalk' (J. Duner 1899: 48)

16.3.1.13 Measurements

Yiddish loanwords are very frequently employed to indicate measurements of space and time in common use in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Eastern Europe, e.g.:

- ווערסט 'verst' (HaLevi 1907: 22b)
- ליטער 'litre' (Ehrmann 1903: 6a)
- מיל 'mile' (Bodek 1866: 5)
- מינוט 'minute' (Kaidaner 1875: 40b)
- קלאפטער 'fathom' (Heilmann 1902: 2)
- קווארט 'quart' (J. Duner 1899: 96)
- לויט 'half-ounce' (Kaidaner 1875: 41a)

16.3.1.14 Medicine

Yiddish is frequently used to designate everyday medical concepts and practices. Again, this tendency is often due to a lack of standard Hebrew equivalents. However, in some cases, such as דאקט(ע)ר 'doctor' and מדיצין 'medicine', there were accepted Hebrew terms in use at the time of writing (תרופה and רופא respectively). As above, it is possible that the authors selected the Yiddish terms for these concepts because they strongly associated them with their vernacular labels. However, these tendencies are not consistent: thus, one author may employ a Yiddish term while another selects the Hebrew equivalent, as shown in the example for דאקטער below. This may suggest that, as in the case of labels for concepts such as 'inn' (discussed in 16.3.1.11), the authors did not make a sharp distinction between the Hebrew and Yiddish terms.

- אפטייק [...] 'chemist', 'pharmacy' (Hirsch 1900: 46)
- אפעראציע 'operation' (Landau 1892: 56; Michelsohn 1910b: 190)
- באנקיס 'cupping' (Zak 1912: 21)
- געשוויר 'a swelling' (Gemen 1914: 93)
- דאקטער 'doctor' (Sofer 1904: 12); cf. רופא [...] 'doctor' (Lieberson 1913: 39)
- דאקטרייא 'practice of medicine' (Shalom of Koidanov 1882: 17)
- מדיצין 'medicine' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 44)
- פיאוקיס [...] 'leeches' (Zak 1912: 21)
- קליניק [...] 'clinic' (Ehrmann 1903: 6b)
- רעצעפט 'prescription' (Berger 1910c: 20)
- שפיטאל [...] 'hospital' (Munk 1898: 36)

16.3.1.15 Military

Yiddish loanwords are used with reference to military positions, institutions, and activities, which typically lacked established Hebrew labels at the time of writing, e.g.:

- גענעראל 'general' (Bromberg 1899: 58)
- מנעוורי 'manoeuvre' (Kaidaner 1875: 48a)

- פיסטועל [...] 'pistol' (Munk 1898: 43)
- פרישיצטווע¹³ [...] 'recruitment office' (Kaidaner 1875: 45a)
- קאפיטאן 'captain' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 7, 13)
- קאפראל 'corporal' (Sofer 1904: 4)
- ריגעמענט [...] 'regiment' (Michelsohn 1912: 34)
- רעקרועטען [...] 'recruits' (Berger 1910b: 122)

16.3.1.16 Occupations

Yiddish terms are very frequently used to designate occupations and professions common in the tales' settings. As above, most of these labels had no established Hebrew equivalents. However, a few of them do have counterparts in well-known earlier Hebrew texts, as indicated below. Again, the authors may have selected the Yiddish terms because they strongly associated the occupations in question with their Yiddish-speaking Eastern European context, in contrast to the Hebrew equivalents which may have felt more remote from this setting.

- אדוויקאט 'lawyer' (Munk 1898: 21)
- אפטייקער 'chemist', 'pharmacist' (Hirsch 1900: 81)
- אקסען סוחר 'ox merchant' (Sofer 1904: 29)
- ארענדר 'tenant farmer' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 15)
- בוכהאלטער 'bookkeeper' (Ehrmann 1905: 107b)
- בעטלער 'beggar' (Breitstein 1914: 24)
- גוארד 'guard' (Bodek 1865c: 8)
- וואנער¹⁴ 'wine merchant' (Munk 1898: 40)
- זייגער מאכער 'watchmaker' (Rakats 1912, pt. 2: 20)
- טרעגער 'porter' (Liebersohn 1913: 43)
- ליבראנט¹⁵ 'merchant'; 'retailer' (Bromberg 1899: 58)
- מוירער 'bricklayer' (Ehrmann 1903: 21a)
- מילנער [...] 'miller' (Berger 1910b: 50)
- מילנערין 'miller's wife' (Munk 1898: 41)
- פאָדראטשיק 'entrepreneur' (Bromberg 1899: 58)
- קאמדיאנטן 'comedians' (Sofer 1904: 38)
- קעך [...] 'cook' (Singer 1900b: 16)
- קעמס מאכער 'comb maker' (Teomim Fraenkel 1911a: 33)

¹³ Standard Yiddish פרישטווע.

¹⁴ Standard Yiddish ווינער.

¹⁵ Standard Yiddish ליבראנט.

- קרעטשמער 'innkeeper' (Ehrmann 1903: 7b)
- ריכטער 'judge' (Sofer 1904: 26)
- שווייגער 'milkman' (Bromberg 1899: 32)
- שטיפעט 'messenger' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 18)
- שיפסקאפיטאן 'ship's captain' (Sofer 1904: 29)
- שענקיר [...] 'innkeeper' (Munk 1898: 36)
- שפיץ [...] 'spy' (Ehrmann 1905: 50a)

16.3.1.17 Technology

Unsurprisingly, Yiddish loanwords are typically employed in the expression of technological innovations lacking standard Hebrew equivalents, e.g.:

- דעפעשא 'dispatch', 'telegram' (Landau 1892: 15)
- טלגראף [...] 'telegraph' (Zak 1912: 137)
- טעלעגראמי 'telegram' (Gemen 1914: 77)
- פאָטאָגראַפֿיע 'photograph(y)' (Michelson 1910b: 185)

16.3.1.18 Transport

Yiddish borrowings are often used to designate modes of transport and specific components of vehicles, usually due to the absence of established Hebrew terms.

- אַקס 'axle' (Kaidaner 1875: 29a)
- באָהן 'train' (Chikernik 1903a: 13)
- בריקעס 'wagons' (Ehrmann 1903: 6a)
- וואָגאָן 'train carriage' (Michelson 1910b: 190)
- טראַנזפּורט [...] 'transport(ation)' (M. Walden 1914: 57)
- קאָראַטע¹⁶ [...] 'coach' (Ehrmann 1903: 2b)
- שליטן [...] 'sleigh' (HaLevi 1909: 53)

16.3.2 *Adjectives and Participles*

Yiddish lexical borrowings in Hasidic Hebrew are almost exclusively nouns; other parts of speech are attested only infrequently. This is logical given that a major role of Yiddish loanwords in the tales is the designation of concrete objects. However, very rarely an adjectival form is attested in the corpus. As in the case of the nouns, the majority of these Yiddish adjectives and participles were most likely selected because there was no widely accepted Hebrew

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equivalent or because they strongly associated the concepts in question with their vernacular labels. Of the few adjectival forms appearing in the tales, none serves to modify Hebrew nouns: one is substantivized, two are past participles provided as glosses (see 16.3.5 for more information about Yiddish glosses in the tales), several modify Yiddish nouns, and one is predicative. These are illustrated in turn below. This trend indicates that, in contrast to the nouns, Yiddish adjectives are not a common or well-integrated component of Hasidic Hebrew.

Substantivized

- הלכו אצל הגלחים גייסטליכע 'Some spiritual people went to the priests' (Ehrmann 1903: 5b)

Past Participles

- על משכבותם (שקורין גליינט) 'lying down (which is called leaning)' (Munk 1898: 5)
- בחולשה שקורין געלעמט 'with a weakness that they call paralyzed' (Michelson 1910b: 16)

Attributive Modifying Yiddish Noun

- ובפרט ליונגע לייט 'and particularly young people' (J. Duner 1899: 17)
- והלכו מלובשים בווייסע יובעזעס 'And they went dressed in white skirts' (Breitstein 1914: 32)
- ואמר היא מילכדיקע יאך 'And he said, "It is milky broth"' (Gemen 1914: 83)
- גם הזילבערין פישקלי מטאביקי נתן לעני 'And he also gave the silver tobacco box to the pauper' (Michelson 1912: 40)

Predicative

- לא נהירין ולא בהירין טינקיל לגמרי 'not light and not clear; completely dark' (Teomim Fraenkel 1911a: 50)

16.3.3 Verbs

Like adjectives, Yiddish verbs are not a common feature of Hasidic Hebrew. However, rarely a Yiddish verb appears embedded within a Hebrew sentence.

Such verbs are almost invariably infinitives, which appear exactly as they would in Yiddish, i.e. with the Yiddish infinitive ending ך(י)-. These infinitives

sometimes denote actions for which there was no clearly established Hebrew equivalent, or serve as glosses clarifying possibly confusing Hebrew terms.

Some of these infinitives function as gerunds, and as such their selection can be considered an extension of the authors' proclivity for the use of Yiddish nominal forms. The following examples illustrate this point:

- והוא ענין אטאקירן 'And that is the matter of attacking' (Heilmann 1902: 88)
- באמצע הפראוויץ 'in the midst of the celebrating' (M. Walden 1912: 68)
- למנוע את הבחורים מהעלאת עשן שקורין (רייכערען) 'to prevent the boys from sending up smoke, which is called (smoking)' (J. Duner 1899: 80)

In only a few cases do the infinitives function verbally, e.g.:

- ה' הולך להקעך זיך גיזעגנין עם הרבנית שלו 'He would go to the kitchen to say goodbye to his rebbetzin' (Teomim Fraenkel 1911a: 69)
- ואמר לי שלא נכון לעשות כן. אפ ניצין זכות אבות 'And he said to me that it is not right to do such a thing, to use the merit of one's ancestors' (Sobelman 1909/10, pt. 3: 18)

The following is a rare example of a Yiddish periphrastic infinitive phrase:

- רק אם ירצה איש יהודי א קנייטש טאהן זיך לפני הבורא עולם 'only if a Jewish man wants to hesitate before the Creator of the Universe' (Zak 1912: 36)

Similarly, there is one example of a Yiddish imperative, appearing as a gloss of the equivalent Hebrew imperative:

- מרח (מיש) עם הכף ותראה דבר פלא 'Mix (*mish*) with the spoon, and you will see an amazing thing' (Sofer 1904: 23)

16.3.4 *Morphosyntax of Yiddish Borrowings*

16.3.4.1 Yiddish Nouns with Hebrew Prefixes

Yiddish lexical borrowings in Hasidic tales have been absorbed into Hebrew morphosyntactic structure to the extent that they take Hebrew prefixes when the context so requires. The same practice is attested in the mid-nineteenth-century halakhic compendium *Kiṣur Shulḥan Arukh* (Glinert 1987: 48), and therefore likely constitutes an element of a broader Eastern European form of Hebrew. This integration of Yiddish vocabulary into Hebrew grammatical structure is in keeping with general cross-linguistic trends whereby languages tend to apply their inherited morphosyntactic processes to loanwords (see

Matras 2009: 173). Yiddish nouns may be prefixed by the definite article, by inseparable and separable prepositions, and by conjunctions, or by a combination of these, as illustrated in the following sets of examples.

With Definite Article

- הקלאמקע 'the doorknob' (Baruch of Medzhybizh 1880: 28)
- הארמקע 'the skullcap' (Landau 1892: 18)
- האקטורן 'the doctors' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 43)
- האשטענדער 'the lectern' (Hirsch 1900: 24)

With Prepositions and Conjunctions

- אין א באגאן 'in a carriage' (Gemen 1914: 91)
- אפ טאבאק 'of tobacco' (Sofer 1904: 34)
- און האנעקע 'and honeycake' (Breitstein 1914: 36)
- און בארשט 'and borscht' (Landau 1892: 8)

With Combination

- פון אן אינ 'from the inn' (Brandwein 1912: 9)
- אזא האקטורן 'that the doctors' (Shalom of Koidanov 1882: 9)
- אין אן אט 'in the note' (Heilmann 1902: 63)
- אן און 'to the prayer-house' (Rapaport 1909: 22)
- אין אן אט 'in the shtreimel' (Breitstein 1914: 17)
- אן און 'to the church' (M. Walden 1914: 63)
- אזאן אט 'that the sleeves' (Berger 1910c: 116)

16.3.4.2 Yiddish Nouns in Construct Chains

The Hasidic Hebrew authors often employ Yiddish loanwords in the formation of construct chains. In such settings the Yiddish word is most commonly found in the absolute position, while the construct noun is Hebrew, as in the following examples. In these cases the absolute loanword is occasionally indefinite, as in the first two examples, but is more commonly prefixed by the definite article, as in the remainder.

- דרך מלכי גרעקין 'the ways of Greek kings (lit: kings of Greeks)' (Bodek 1866: 2)
- שק רענדלעך הלז 'this bag of ducats' (Ehrmann 1903: 32b)
- בעת שתיית הקאוווע 'at the time of drinking coffee' (Kaidaner 1875: 21b)
- בכתיבת הצעטל 'in the writing of the note' (Landau 1892: 55)

- אל בית הגרעק 'to the Greek's house' (Sofer 1904: 3)
- לקחת הקאנטראקט 'the taking of the contract' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 15)
- אכילת הפערפיל צימעס 'the eating of the farfel tzimmes' (Gemen 1914: 85)
- השגחת הפאליצ' 'the police supervision' (Heilmann 1902: 73)

Like other Hasidic Hebrew construct chains, chains containing a Yiddish loanword may be doubly marked for definiteness, with the definite article prefixed to both the Yiddish and the Hebrew noun e.g.:

- העישון הציגאר 'on the matter of smoking cigars' (Zak 1912: 154)

More rarely, the Yiddish loanword may appear in the construct position preceding a Hebrew absolute noun, e.g.:

- שלשים פוטעלקיס היין 'thirty containers of the wine' (Munk 1898: 18)

The Hasidic Hebrew authors' readiness to employ Yiddish words in construct chains underscores their ability to employ this construction freely and productively (discussed in 4.3.2 and 12.1.1) rather than limiting it to set expressions. Interestingly, the practice deviates markedly from the Rabbinic Hebrew tendency to avoid the construct chain with loanwords in favour of the possessive particle של (see Pérez Fernández 1999: 32 for a discussion of this convention), thereby undermining the received understanding of Hasidic Hebrew usage as primarily modelled on that of rabbinic literature.

16.3.4.3 Gender of Yiddish Nouns

Yiddish nouns used in Hasidic Hebrew typically exhibit the same gender as in Yiddish. Thus, nouns that are masculine in Yiddish are likewise treated as masculine in the tales, appearing in conjunction with masculine adjectives and verbs. This applies equally to animate nouns that are logically as well as grammatically masculine and to inanimate nouns whose masculine gender is solely grammatical. The following examples illustrate these points.

- ריצעפט אחר [...] 'another prescription' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 44)
- הפאפסט הראשון 'the first Pope' (Singer 1900a, pt. 3: 2)
- פערעגראף חדש 'a new paragraph' (Sofer 1904: 26)
- בוואגאן מיוחד 'in a special carriage' (Gemen 1914: 91)

Similarly, nouns that are logically and/or grammatically feminine in Yiddish retain this gender when employed in Hasidic Hebrew. This is most likely reinforced by the fact that there is a high degree of convergence between Yiddish and Hebrew feminine nouns, which often end in [ə]. See Matras (2009: 174) for a similar development in Modern Hebrew.

- חזקה טיי ‘strong tea’ (Landau 1892: 58)
- והלולקע נפלה מידו ‘And the pipe fell from his hand’ (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 45)
- והפאטשילא שלו היתה מונחת לו על כתפיו ‘And his shawl was on his shoulders’ (Sobelman 1909/10, pt. 3: 7)
- קרעטשמע קטנה ‘a small inn’ (Berger 1907: 55)
- ומיד נפלה הקלאמקע ‘And the doorknob immediately fell off’ (Baruch of Medzhybizh 1880: 28)
- קאווי שחורה ‘black coffee’ (Berger 1910c: 38)

The same applies in the rare instances when a Yiddish noun that is feminine despite lacking an obviously feminine ending appears in the tales conjunction with an adjective or verb, e.g.:

- קאחיל אחת מהתנור רועדת ‘an oven tile was shaking’ (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 9)

As Hebrew, unlike Yiddish, has no neuter gender, the tale authors reassign neuter Yiddish nouns as either masculine or feminine. There are not many examples of neuter Yiddish nouns in conjunction with adjectives or verbs in the tales and therefore it is difficult to detect any underlying patterns. However, there seems to be a slight preference for masculine gender, as the following sets of examples illustrate.

Masculine

- צעטל גדול מאוד ‘a very long note [of petition]’ (Landau 1892: 57)
- צעטיל קטן ‘a small note [of petition]’ (Heilmann 1902: 59)
- באלאטיל דק ‘a thin robe’ (Breitstein 1914: 10)

Feminine

- הפישקעלע הזאת היתה שוה בעיניו כל חללי דעלמא ‘This little box was worth all the world in his eyes’ (Gemen 1914: 81)

Similarly, on the (infrequent) occasions when nouns ending in the Yiddish feminine plural suffix *עס*- appear in the tales in conjunction with an attributive adjective they retain their feminine gender, as below. Again, this is unsurprising as it fits in with the general Hasidic Hebrew tendency to treat all plural nouns ending in [əs] as feminine.

- הסטרינגס 'the necessary strings' (Ehrmann 1903: 21b)

16.3.4.4 Yiddish Plural Suffixes

Yiddish-derived nouns employed in the Hasidic Hebrew tales frequently appear in the plural. Yiddish has multiple plural suffixes, and the Hasidic Hebrew authors use these same suffixes to pluralize Yiddish loanwords appearing in their writings. Yiddish-derived plural suffixes attested in the tales consist of the following:

a) ין-

This is by far the most common plural ending for Yiddish loanwords, e.g.:

- אדוואקאטן [...] 'lawyers' (Michelsohn 1912: 102)
- אפטייקן [...] 'chemists', 'pharmacies' (Landau 1892: 11)
- בירלאנטן [...] 'diamonds' (Sofer 1904: 30)
- דייטשן 'German/Maskilic Jews' (Zak 1912: 28)
- מינוטן 'minutes' (Rapaport 1909: 51)
- פאספארטן 'passports' (Heilmann 1902: 98)
- ציגארין [...] 'cigars' (J. Duner 1899: 80)
- קאנטראקטן 'contracts' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 15)
- קרדינאלן [...] 'cardinals' (Sofer 1904: 36)
- ראטן 'monthly payments' (Munk 1898: 29)

b) ס(י)-

This suffix is also relatively common, e.g.:

- דירעקטורס 'directors' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 12)
- זייגערס [...] 'clocks'; 'watches' (Landau 1892: 60)
- סטרינגס [...] 'strings' (Ehrmann 1903: 21b)
- ספאדקס 'fur hats' (Gemen 1914: 54)
- פוטעלקס 'bottles' (Munk 1898: 18)
- קארטאפליס [...] 'potatoes' (Rakats 1912, pt. 1: 14)
- קעשינס 'pockets' (Michelsohn 1912: 79)

- ראטעס[...] ‘monthly payments’¹⁷ (Teomim Fraenkel 1911a: 22)
- שילארוס[...] ‘pupils’ (Kaidaner 1875: 9b)

c) ער-/יר-

This is attested only relatively infrequently, e.g.:

- גיטער[...] ‘property’ (Munk 1898: 20)
- קארדינעליר[...] ‘cardinals’ (Bodek 1865c: 3)

d) יד-

This is the standard Yiddish plural suffix for diminutive nouns (as well as some non-diminutives) and appears relatively frequently in the tales, e.g.:

- גארטעלעך ‘belts’ (Heilmann 1902: 58)
- ציקערלעך ‘sweets’ (Yellin 1913: 36)
- קוויטלעך ‘notes of petition’ (Breitstein 1914: 22)
- קיפּטליך תלים[...] ‘chapters of Psalms’ (Bodek 1866: 17)
- קערבלעך ‘roubles’ (Munk 1898: 47)
- רענדלעך ‘ducats’ (Ehrmann 1903: 32b)
- שטריימלעך ‘shtreimels’ (Chikernik 1908: 9)

e) ים-

This suffix appears only rarely on Yiddish nouns not derived from the Semitic component of the language. The only common example is the following:

- דוקטורים[...] ‘doctors’ (Sofer 1904: 2)

In most cases these plural suffixes are identical to those used for the nouns in question in Standard Yiddish. However, in a few cases the precise plural form attested in the tales does not correspond to that used with the same noun in current Standard Yiddish, even though the suffix itself derives from Yiddish. For example, דעפעשיס ‘dispatches’; ‘telegrams’ (Landau 1892: 15) differs from Standard Yiddish דעפעשן. These non-standard forms may have been local variants, or the nouns in question may not have had fixed plural forms in the authors’ spoken Yiddish. The latter possibility is supported by the fact that in some cases the same Yiddish-derived noun may appear with more than one plural suffix in the work of a single author, as below:

17 Note that this noun is also attested with the plural suffix ין-, as shown in point a) above.

- קארדינאלין 'cardinals' (Bodek 1865c: 4); cf. קארדינאליר 'cardinals' (Bodek 1865c: 4)

16.3.4.5 Diminutives

Yiddish nouns often appear in the tales in diminutive form. In the singular the diminutive is marked by the suffix ל- or יל-, while in the plural it is marked by the suffix לייך, as illustrated in the following two sets of examples respectively. These diminutive suffixes are reserved solely for Yiddish loanwords and do not appear attached to Hebrew nouns. The Yiddish diminutive thus functions as a lexicalized form imported wholesale together with certain loanwords, rather than as a productive element of Hasidic Hebrew grammar.

Singular Diminutives

- דייטשיל 'a little Maskil' (Sofer 1904: 23)
- זייגערל 'little clock'; 'little watch' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 28)
- לעקעכעל 'bit of honeycake' (Zak 1912: 19)
- ספאדיקל [...] 'little fur hat' (Munk 1898: 49)
- פישקעלע 'little tin' (Gemen 1914: 81)
- פעלצי 'little fur coat' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 42)
- קלייזל [...] 'little prayer house' (Rakats 1912, pt. 1: 14ⁱⁱ¹⁸)

Plural Diminutives

- זייגערליך [...] 'little watches' (Landau 1892: 59)
- לייכטירליך 'little candleholders' (Hirsch 1900: 32)
- פוטעלקיליך 'little bottles' (Munk 1898: 17)
- קוויטליך [...] 'notes (of petition)' (Zak 1912: 21)

16.3.5 Yiddish Glosses

While many of the Yiddish lexical items appearing in the tales are inserted directly into the Hebrew text, sometimes Yiddish glosses are added following a synonymous or related Hebrew term. These glosses generally serve to clarify Hebrew vocabulary that the authors regarded as insufficiently precise, ambiguous, or potentially confusing for the readers. In terms of meaning, the glosses fall into roughly the same categories as the Yiddish loanwords discussed in 16.3.1, referring chiefly to concrete objects with practical, quotidian

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

associations. There are several conventions regarding the presentation of glosses, as shown below.

Glosses are often enclosed in round or (more rarely) square brackets, e.g.:

- (ביבליטעק) 'in the king's treasury (*biblyotek* 'library')' (Sofer 1904: 2)
- (יארמעלקע) 'his skullcap (*yarmelke* 'skullcap')' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 22)
- 'and only to go dressed nicely, according to the way of the world (*orntlekh* 'properly')' (Bromberg 1899: 7)
- 'In his youth he served as a helper (*belfer* 'helper') for the melamed' (Zak 1912: 159)
- 'in the inn (*gasthoyz* 'guesthouse')' (Berger 1910b: 47)
- 'the town minister (*prezident* 'president')' (Teomim Fraenkel 1911b: 28)
- 'gloves (*hentshkes* 'gloves')' (Gemen 1914: 91)
- 'and short of sight (*kurtszikhtik* 'short-sighted')' (Singer 1900a, pt. 2: 1)
- 'glasses (*briln* 'glasses')' (Michelson 1910a: 137)
- 'the hat (*ha-spodek* 'the fur hat')' (Bodek 1865b: 10)
- 'ten packages (*peklekh* 'packages')' (Chikernik 1903a: 30)
- 'the sleeves (*ha-arbl* 'the sleeves')' (M. Walden 1912: 64)
- 'one barrel of (lit: with) pickled cabbage [*kroyt* 'cabbage']' (Ehrmann 1903: 33b)

Often they are introduced by the phrase שקורין 'which is called', as below; the same phrase is often used to introduce Yiddish loanwords in Ashkenazi responsa literature (Bezter 2001: 102) and is also attested in the contemporaneous *Kišur Shulḥan Arukh* (Glinert 1987: 48–49).

- (שקורין איינגימאכטש מרעטעד) 'radish preserved in honey (which is called *ayngemakhts* 'preserves' of *retekh* 'radish')' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 6)
- 'And inside the wall there was jammed an iron nail that is called a *tshvok* 'nail'' (Bromberg 1899: 7)
- 'the doors of the windows, which are called *lodns* 'shutters'' (Landau 1892: 62)
- 'a tower (which is called a *shafe* 'closet')' (Chikernik 1903a: 26)
- 'And they went to a big tavern, which is called a (*kretshme* 'tavern')' (Kaidaner 1875: 48b)

While the Yiddish elements typically consist of verbal clauses, in a few cases they are restricted to sequences of individual nouns or noun phrases:

- ואח"כ נמצא השליסלע ונתן הצוקער מהשאנק ושתה הקאווי עם הצוקער 'And afterwards the key was found, and he took (lit: gave) the sugar from the closet, and he drank the coffee with the sugar' (Rapaport 1909: 29)
- והלכו מלובשים בוויסע יובעצעס 'And they went dressed in white skirts' (Breitstein 1914: 32)
- ואמר 'It is milky broth' (Gemen 1914: 83)

While the Yiddish inserts often constitute independent utterances, as above, the codeswitching may begin or end in the middle of a clause or sentence, e.g.:

- איני יודע וואס פאהרט מען ציא דעם טשערנאבלער 'I don't know why people travel to the Chernobyler [Rebbe]' (Lieberson 1913: 61)
- ורגליו הקדושים זענען גיוועהן צוגיפרורין להארץ 'And his holy feet were frozen to the ground' (Sobelman 1909/10, pt. 3: 11)
- וכעת יש לך עטליכע ערליכע יודין אין האסט גאר ניט מורא פאר זייא 'And now you have several observant Jews, and you aren't afraid of (or: for) them at all' (Zak 1912: 138)
- איך וואלט האבן אמתי גוטע פריינד וואלטן זייא מיך גינומען אין מקוה להטביל אותי 'If I had true good friends, they would take me to the ritual bath to immerse me' (Shalom of Koidanov 1882: 19)
- אבל צריכין יותר צי וועלין לערנין 'But more, one must want to study' (M. Walden 1914: 92)
- ואמר מיר איז ער א זיידע גם בעולם העליון 'And he said, "He is a grandfather to me in the World Above as well"' (Berger 1910a: 72)
- זה הילד איז דעם ריזונערס קונד 'This child is the Ruzhiner Rebbe's child' (Seuss 1890: 4)

In the following extreme case, Yiddish and Hebrew elements are completely intertwined through a sequence of several clauses. This degree of codeswitching is rare in the tales.

- והושיט לי בכל ערב א פאר בייגיל עם גריטץ אין לי חרטה ע"ז ווארין איך בין שטארק 'And every evening he gave me a couple of bagels with groats. I don't regret that, because I became extremely miserable and afterwards I saw that this wasn't what they meant' (Rakats 1912, pt. 1: 48)

While these Yiddish elements often appear without introduction, they are sometimes preceded by the abbreviation בזה"ל 'in these words' or בל"א 'in Yiddish':

- (ווי קומט אפגס צו אנשמה) ובררך הילוכו צעק בזה"ל 'And while walking, he cried as follows: "How can a soul get a blemish?"' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 45)
- (וואס ער פארמיינט מיט דאס ווארט) וואס ער פארמיינט מיט דאס ווארט 'And he said in Yiddish, "I don't mean *him*"' (Bromberg 1899: 7)

Sometimes a Yiddish clause or sentence is quoted in full and then a single element from it is referred back to from within the following Hebrew text; for example, in the following example the Rebbe's speech is presented in Hebrew except for a single Yiddish clause, the most salient word of which is then cited again in the next (Hebrew) part of the utterance.

- (וואס ער פארמיינט מיט דאס ווארט) וואס ער פארמיינט מיט דאס ווארט 'He is full of "wife", and in all of his actions and deeds and thoughts there is only "wife"' (Moses of Kobrin 1910: 75)

These instances of Hebrew-Yiddish codeswitching are noteworthy because most of the direct speech in the tales is in Hebrew, even though it is actually all translated from the Yiddish that the speakers would have uttered in reality. The motivation for preserving the original Yiddish in these instances when the most of the conversations in the tales are presented in Hebrew is unclear. These occasional deviations from the standard Hebrew dialogue may be unconscious slips on the part of the authors. Alternatively, they may indicate that in these particular cases the authors consciously desired to render the speakers' utterances exactly as they had heard them, without translating them from Yiddish into Hebrew, in order to lend them extra vividness and therefore a heightened impact. This explanation is particularly likely when the quoted speaker is a rebbe, whose words the authors would have treated with special reverence. However, the authors' use of Yiddish in this respect is not systematic: for example, Ehrmann (1903) often renders the direct speech of the Ba'al Shem Tov in Yiddish; nevertheless, in some cases he instead presents it in Hebrew, while conversely he sometimes cites the speech of other characters in Yiddish. Other authors exhibit a similarly unsystematic approach. Moreover, there is some variation between individual authors in this respect; for example, many authors including Ehrmann (1903), Teomim Fraenkel (1911), Landau (1892), and Sobelman (1909/10) render a relatively high proportion of direct speech in general in Yiddish, while others, e.g. Rodkinsohn (1864, 1865), Bodek (1865, 1866),

and Kaidaner (1875) tend to avoid it. It is therefore unclear the degree to which the use of Yiddish in such cases is the result of any such intentional consideration on their part.

16.3.7 *Yiddish Calques in Hebrew*

Hebrew calques of Yiddish content and function words are very commonly attested in the tales.

Thus, words existing in both Hebrew and Yiddish but with different meanings in each are commonly employed in their Yiddish sense, e.g.:

עולם standard Hebrew 'world'; 'eternity'; Yiddish/Hasidic Hebrew 'audience', e.g.:

- היה תקוה שישאר העולם אצל בן הרבי 'There was hope that the audience would stay with the Rebbe's son' (Breitstein 1914: 48)

אפשר standard Hebrew 'it is possible'; Yiddish/Hasidic Hebrew 'maybe', e.g.:

- ואפשר יעשה תשובה ע"כ נסע עמו תיכף 'And maybe he would repent; therefore, he immediately went with him' (Bodek 1866: 56)
- אפשר יהיה המוהל בעל עבירה 'Maybe the mohel will be a sinner' (J. Duner 1899: 23)

Similarly, the Hebrew adjective גדול 'big'; 'great' can be used in the sense of 'extreme', as in Yiddish, e.g.:

- שיכור גדול 'an extreme (lit: great) drunkard' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 18); cf. Yiddish גרויסער שיכור 'an extreme (lit: great) drunkard'
- עני גדול 'an extreme pauper' (Bodek 1866: 38); cf. Yiddish אַן עקערמאַן 'an extreme (lit: great) pauper'

This type of overt calquing extends to certain verbal constructions. Thus, the Hasidic Hebrew authors treat the *qal* of the root ח.ל.ם 'dream' as an impersonal verb, putting it in the 3ms with an indirect object denoting the dreamer, as below. This usage stems directly from Yiddish, in which the partial cognate חלומען 'to dream' typically functions as an impersonal 3s form accompanied by an indirect object, e.g. עס האָט זיך מיר געחלומט 'I dreamed (lit: it dreamed itself to me)', in contrast to other forms of Hebrew, in which the verb corresponds in person, gender, and number to its subject (i.e. the dreamer).

- 'Look, I dreamed that I was giving (lit: saying) Torah insights' (Bodek 1866: 57)
- 'because I had a dream' (Landau 1892: 11)

Similarly, the verb מחזיק 'hold' followed by the preposition ל- is used in the sense of 'consider', as in the first example below; this is a direct translation of the Yiddish האַלטן פֿאַר 'consider' (Beinfeld and Bochner 2013: 249), literally 'hold for'. The same verb followed by the preposition מ- is used in the sense of 'think highly of', as in the second example; this is a calque of the Yiddish האַלטן פֿון (Beinfeld and Bochner 2013: 249), literally 'hold from'.

- 'And the people used to consider him to be an upright and observant person' (Bromberg 1899: 22)
- 'And in the town there was a rich man who did not think highly of the Ba'al Shem Tov' (Munk 1898: 17)

Likewise, in Hasidic Hebrew the preposition על 'on' is used in several non-standard ways, namely with the sense of 'for the purpose/duration of', 'to/at' (with reference to events), and with the verbs לחכות and להמתין 'to wait' in the sense of 'to wait for', as illustrated below. These uses map directly to those of the corresponding Yiddish preposition אויף 'on' (see Joffe and Mark 1961: 393–395; Mark 1978: 255–256; Beinfeld and Bochner 2013: 31, 275). The same uses of על are found in other types of Ashkenazi Hebrew, e.g. the writings of M.L. Lilienblum and Yosef Rivlin (Wertheimer 1975: 153–154) and Ashkenazi responsa literature, again under influence from Yiddish (Betzer 2001: 95); thus, like many other grammatical elements of the Hasidic tales, this can be regarded as a feature of a wider Eastern European form of Hebrew.

For the Purpose/Duration Of

- 'We will have something (lit: what) to prepare for the holy Sabbath' (HaLevi 1909: 54)
- 'when the holy Maggid was [staying] with the Lubliner for a circumcision ceremony' (Gemen 1914: 60)
- 'And he travelled to him for the holy Sabbath' (Ehrmann 1905: 85a)
- 'Once he travelled to his Rebbe, our holy Rebbe, for the holy Sabbath' (Michelson 1910c: 31)
- 'And the rich man travelled to the Rebbe for Rosh haShanah' (Seuss 1890: 10)

- And indeed I see my father's house close by; why should I not be in his house for the Sabbath?' (Kaidaner 1875: 9b)

To/At (with reference to events)

- And anyone who had a son or daughter to be married travelled to the fair' (J. Duner 1899: 56)
- And many merchants who were travelling to some fair were lodging there' (Teomim Fraenkel 1911a: 15)
- The head of the yeshivah travelled with the groom and with some of his students to the wedding' (Sobelman 1909/10, pts. 1–2: 3)
- 'to invite him to the circumcision ceremony' (Bodek? 1866: 13a)
- 'to travel to the wedding' (Chikernik 1902: 29)
- 'to be at that wedding' (Breitstein 1914: 39)

With the Verbs לחכות and להמתין 'to Wait' in the Sense of 'to Wait For'

- And their custom was that before they took the Torah scroll out of the ark they would wait for the rabbi' (Rodkinsohn 1865: 30)
- 'When it got to be ten o'clock [...] he would send [word] to his prayer-house that the congregation should not wait for him' (Bromberg 1899: 32)

Calques of Yiddish constructions almost never violate Hebrew syntactic rules. There are only very few clear exceptions to this, shown below. In the first, a noun phrase appears with the adjective preceding the noun as in the Yiddish version that directly follows it; similarly, in the second, the compound noun 'yeshivah students' appears in exactly the same form as it is employed in Yiddish, with the head noun in final position.

- 'Hasidic rebbe (lit: good Jew)' (Singer 1900b: 4)
- 'Greetings, yeshivah students' (Munk 1898: 40)

16.4 Slavic Languages (Russian, Polish, Ukrainian)

16.4.1 *Individual Words*

While the lexis of Hasidic Hebrew is composed of a significant proportion of Yiddish vocabulary, and a not insignificant amount of Aramaic, it is almost entirely devoid of loanwords deriving from the Slavic languages in whose territory the authors lived. The tales contain only the smallest handful of borrowings stemming directly from a Slavic language (rather than via the Slavic component of Yiddish). Slavic borrowings in the tales are invariably written in the Hebrew alphabet; however, in contrast to Yiddish and Aramaic loanwords they are usually overtly marked as foreign elements through labels and orthographic techniques, as will be seen below.

The following example is a gloss that is explicitly designated by the author as a Russian term and appears with vocalization. This is unusual because vocalization is not usually employed in Hasidic Hebrew narrative literature, and as such its use here serves to highlight the word as a foreign term that may not otherwise be immediately recognizable to readers. The gloss is presented as synonymous with the Yiddish word פֿרטקאלין 'official minutes'; 'record' but derives from the Russian noun вопрос 'question'; 'enquiry'. Interestingly, it appears with the Yiddish plural suffix -ן commonly employed in Hasidic Hebrew instead of with the Russian plural suffix -ы, despite the fact that this word is not employed in Yiddish. This may point to the author's unfamiliarity with Russian grammatical patterns.

- ואח"כ קבלו בכל פעם פֿורטקאלין הניקרא בלשון רוסי וואָפֿראַסן 'And afterwards every time they would receive records, which are called in the Russian language *vaproshn*' (Rodkinsohn 1864b: 7)
Russian вопрос 'question'; 'enquiry'

Similarly, the following example contains two Ukrainian or Polish pronouns that are used in combination with Hebrew nouns to form a rhyming phrase. As in the preceding example, the fact that they are vocalized serves to highlight their foreign status. Note that this case deviates from the tendency seen in the Yiddish and Aramaic sections above for the authors to borrow nouns and noun phrases rather than function words.

- יאָקי פורים, טאָקי ליל שמורים 'As Purim is, so the first night of Passover will be' (Michelson 1912: 139)
Ukrainian який; Polish jaki 'which'; 'what kind of'
Ukrainian такий, Polish taki 'such a'

Likewise, the following extract contains a Russian (or theoretically possibly Ukrainian or Polish) noun phrase referring to an official institution. Unlike the Slavisms illustrated previously, this borrowing is unvocalized. However, like the Russian loanword shown above, it refers to a bureaucratic term associated with government administration.

- ליקח רשיון על מלאכת האפטייק מהראדע ליקארסטווי 'to take a licence for the pharmacy trade from the medical council' (Hirsch 1900: 46)
 Russian рада лекарства 'medical council'
 Ukrainian рада лікарства 'medical council'
 Polish rada lekarstwa 'medical council'

16.4.2 *Phrases and Sentences*

Very occasionally a fragment of direct speech in a Slavic language is presented untranslated in the tales, transliterated into the Hebrew alphabet. Though infrequent, this is more common than the use of individual Slavic loanwords, which are almost completely unattested in the tales. These phrases may be in Russian, Ukrainian, or Polish. In some cases the authors specifically indicate the language of the citation with an introductory phrase such as בלשון פו(י)ליש 'in the Polish language' or בלשון רוסיא 'in the language of Russia'; however, in other cases they refer to them by the general label בלשון הגוים 'in the language of the Gentiles' or do not introduce them at all. Because the extracts are always written in Hebrew characters and the spelling is not standardized, when the language is not named explicitly it is sometimes difficult to distinguish which of the three is intended because the phrases in question are often very similar (particularly in the case of Russian and Ukrainian). This uncertainty is compounded by the fact that the authors were recording oral, and usually very colloquial, language as they heard it, possibly in a non-standard dialect form and in regions where there was a dialect continuum and high degree of language contact between Russian, Ukrainian, and Polish. The examples below illustrate this point, as the phrases and sentences all appear in direct speech and their content is highly conversational.

These Slavic phrases are usually accompanied by a Hebrew translation, which serves to underscore their foreign status (in contrast to the numerous Yiddish loanwords attested in the tales, which conversely often serve to explain unfamiliar Hebrew words). They are often vocalized and/or enclosed in brackets. These phrases sometimes exhibit non-standard grammatical constructions, perhaps reflecting the Hasidic Hebrew authors' relative lack of familiarity with the languages in question. For example, the first extract below lacks the

personal pronoun ты 'you' which would be expected in standard Russian in conjunction with a past-tense verb such as делал 'did/have done'.

- ויתן עליו קולו בצעקה בקול עז (בלשון רוסיא) זשיד טשטא דיעלאל אי טשטא האטשעש 'And he shouted at him in a fierce voice (in the Russian language), "Жид что делал и что хочешь (Jew, what have you done, and what do you want)?"' (Breitstein 1914: 26)

The following example contains two relatively extended vocalized extracts in Ukrainian, followed by Hebrew translations.

- ויאמר לה בלשון גויש פאדאנוע מניע פאטענקע טא באדעש מאטע דאטינקע המובן מזה כאשר תתן לי סנדל אז יהיה לך בן [...] ויאמר דווא פאטענקי טא באדיש מאטי דווא דאטינקע 'And he said to her in the language of the non-Jews, "Поддавай мені ботинки—то будеш мати дитинка", which means "When you give me a sandal you'll have a son" [...] And he said, "Два ботинки—то будеш мати два дитинки", which means "two sandals [and] you'll have two sons"' (Bodek? 1866: 14a–b)

The following examples contain colloquial expressions in Russian and/or Ukrainian. The expression in the first example is identical in both languages, while the other two exhibit a mix of Ukrainian and Russian that may reflect a spoken dialect. In the third example, the whole expression seems to be Ukrainian except for the word кто 'who', which is Russian. The authors supplement each of these extracts with a Hebrew translation.

- 'Ах, мама ваша' (פ' בלשון הגוים אמר להם אוי לאם שלכם) (Which means, in the language of the Gentiles he said to them "Woe to your mother")' (Singer 1900a, pt. 1: 3)
- 'And a voice was heard, "Who is travelling [Russian: Кто ездит; Ukrainian: Хто їздить]"' (Berger 1910c: 22)
- באה דאי טאה זשיו קטאה מעני ווינען. (הפירוש הוא יתן השי"ת שיחיה מי שהוא חייב לי) 'Бог дай то жив кто [standard Ukrainian хто] мені винен (which means, may the blessed LORD let live the one who owes me)' (Chikernik 1903a: 20)

The following examples illustrate Polish phrases and sentences:

- “That each one should have a look (lit: for himself¹⁹) (in the Polish language he said “Patrzcie sobie [Have a look]”)” (M. Walden 1914: 21)
- ‘Jak się masz (How is it going?)’ (Bodek? 1866: 15a)
- ‘And he said to them in the Polish language, “Możesz ale nie chcesz (You can, but you don’t want to)”’ (Breitstein 1914: 9)
- ‘And he said to that gentleman, “I skąd Pan (Where are you from?)” The gentleman answered him, “Z Tornis ja niegdaj²¹ (I came from Toruń previously)”’ (Munk 1898: 66)

16.5 Other Languages

As mentioned above, the Hasidic Hebrew tales are almost completely devoid of lexical borrowings from languages other than Aramaic and Yiddish, with even Slavic loanwords constituting a negligible element. Likewise, loanwords from other languages are almost non-existent. However, very occasionally a gloss in another language is given for a particular word. Such glosses appear in Hebrew script and are limited to a small number of German and Romance terms.

16.5.1 German

Only one clear example of a German lexical item appears in the tales, shown below. The German element serves as a gloss, immediately following the corresponding Hebrew noun phrase. The authors’ motivation for inserting this gloss is unclear, particularly since the characters in question are not speaking German.

- “to cook even a bit of potatoes “*ein bißchen Erdäpfel*” to revive you’ (Ehrmann 1903: 17b)
German *ein bißchen Erdäpfel* ‘a bit of potatoes’

19 Interestingly, this Hebrew phrase is a calque of the Polish version, containing a lexicalized reflexive pronoun which frequently appears in conjunction with the verb ‘to look’ in Polish but is not usually a feature of Hasidic Hebrew.

20 Sic; = האדון.

21 Standard Polish: *onegdaj*.

There is also a single example of a German interjection in the tales. Like the Slavic phrases and sentences discussed above, it appears in direct speech and is cited in the original language of utterance.

- וּבֹא כְּנִגְדּוֹ אֲשַׁכְנִי אֶחָד וְאָמַר לוֹ גּוֹט נֶאֱבַעְנִט! 'And a German came up to him and said to him, "Guten Abend!"' (Greenwald 1899: 56)

16.5.2 *Romance*

A single Romance gloss, possibly a variant of Italian, Spanish, or Judeo-Spanish, appears in the tales, shown below. The gloss is designated with the label בִּלְעִז 'in La'az' (often used in the sense of 'in a foreign language'). As in the case of the German gloss cited above, the author's motivation for including this single Romance lexical item is unclear.

- וְלִבֵּשׁ עֲצָמוֹ בִּלְבוּשׁ מְכוּסָה בְּמִרְאוֹת (שְׁפִיגֵל) אֲסַפִּיגוֹ בִּלְעִז 'And he dressed himself in a garment covered in mirrors (*shpigl*), *espejo* in La'az/the foreign tongue' (Munk 1898: 74); cf. Italian *specchio* and Spanish or Judeo-Spanish *espejo* 'mirror'