The Hebrew Root *ʾ-m-n* and its Derivatives *hɛʾĕmīn* and *nɛʾĕman* in both Medieval Spanish and Ladino Translations of the Bible

La raíz hebrea *ʾ-m-n* y sus derivados *hɛʾĕmīn* y *nɛʾĕman* en las biblias españolas medievales y en las traducciones bíblicas al ladino

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Abstract

The Hebrew root *ʾ-m-n* is related to a number of different words found in the Hebrew Bible, for instance, *hɛʾĕmīn* 'believe, trust, confide, be sure', *nɛʾĕman* 'was trustworthy', *ʾemūn* 'trust', *ʾĕmūnā* 'faith, belief, trust', *ʾĕmɛṯ* 'truth', and *ʾāmen* 'amen'. The purpose of this paper is to examine, contrast and compare various translations of the derivatives of this root, *hɛʾĕmīn* and *nɛʾĕman/nɛʾĕmān*, which appear in both medieval Spanish and in Ladino versions of the Bible from the 16th century onwards, and to explore the extent to which these translations are diverse in their interpretations. This comparison enables us to establish the claim that Ladino versions of the Bible developed independently and are not based on earlier medieval Spanish translations.

Keywords: Hebrew; Ladino; Medieval Spanish; Bible translations.

Resumen

La raíz hebrea *ʾ-m-n* está relacionada con una serie de palabras presentes en la Biblia escrita en hebreo, por ejemplo, *hɛʾĕmīn* 'creer, confiar, estar seguro', *nɛʾĕman* 'ser confiable', *ʾemūn* 'confianza', *ʾĕmūnā* 'creencia, confianza', *ʾĕmɛṯ* 'verdad', y *ʾāmen* 'amen'. El propósito de este artículo es examinar, contrastar y comparar las diferentes traducciones de los derivados de la raíz, *hɛʾĕmīn*, *nɛʾĕman* y *nɛʾĕmān*, que aparecen tanto en las biblias en español medieval como en las versiones de la biblia en ladino a partir del siglo XVI, y explorar hasta qué punto estas traducciones intervienen en sus distintas interpretaciones. Esta comparación nos permitirá establecer y afirmar que las versiones de las biblias en ladino se desarrollaron en forma independiente a las escritas en español medieval y que estas no se basan en traducciones previas.

Palabras clave: hebreo; ladino; español medieval; traducciones bíblicas.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Hebrew root *ʾ-m-n* is extremely productive. The following list, presented in Hebrew alphabetical order, provides all of the words derived from this root that appear in the Bible along with their frequencies of occurrence[1]:

אוֹמֵן *ʾōmen* (×7) 'trainer, educator'

אָמוֹן *ʾāmōn* (×1) 'apprentice, educator'

אָמוּן *ʾemūn* (×1) 'confidence, loyalty, faithfulness, trust, security, fidelity, firmness'

אֱמוּנָה *ʾĕmūnā* (×51) 'confidence, honesty, faith, belief, trust'

אֱמוּנִים *ʾĕmūnīm* (×7+1) 'confidence, honesty, faith, belief, trust' + 'created'

אֹמֶן *ʾómεn* (×1) 'faith, confidence, trust, fidelity'

אָמֵן *ʾāmen* (×30) 'Amen, so be it, surely'

אֲמָנָה *ʾămānā* (×2) 'covenant, treaty, trust, faith, credit'

אָמְנָה *ʾåmnā* (×2+1) 'in trust, truly' + 'education'

אָמְנָם *ʾåmnām* (×9) 'indeed, truly, surely'

אֻמְנָם *ʾumnām* (×5) 'indeed, truly, surely'

אֱמֶת *ʾĕmεt* (×124) 'truth, certainty, honesty, faithfulness'

הֶאֱמִין *hεʾĕmīn* (×51) 'believe, trust, confide in'

נֶאֱמַן *nεʾĕman* (V) (×13+1) 'be found true, trustworthy, firm' + 'be nursed'

נֶאֱמָן *nεʾĕmān* (ADJ) (×31) 'faithful, trustworthy, loyal, reliable, trustee, sure'

Only two verbs appear in the list: *hεʾĕmīn* and *nεʾĕman*. Most of the words featured are nouns: *ʾāmōn*, *ʾemūn*, *ʾĕmūnā*, *ʾĕmūnīm*, *ʾómεn*, *ʾămānā*, and *ʾĕmεt*; three are restrictive adverbials, *ʾåmnā*, *ʾåmnām*, and *ʾumnām*; two are participial-adjectives *ʾōmen* and *nεʾĕmān*; and one is the confirmation word *ʾāmen*. As can be seen from the list, the root is ambiguous and some of its forms are polysemic. The majority of meanings are semantically related to trust and belief, while others suggest training and upbringing – *ʾōmen* (×7), and one occurrence each of *ʾāmōn*, *ʾåmnā*, *ʾĕmūnīm*, and *nεʾĕman*.

Is there a semantic connection between these two distinct meanings? I very much doubt that this is the case as it is akin to erroneously claiming that *creer* and *criar* in Spanish are connected etymologically and semantically because of their phonetic similarity.

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[1]   According to the Responsa Project 25 (2018), a total of 269 words which appear in the Bible are formed using this root. However, I have excluded 57 of these from the list: personal names such as *ʾamnōn* 'Amnon' and *ʾāmōn* 'Amon', place names such as *ʾămānā* 'Amana' (a river in 2 Kings 5:12, and a location in Song of Songs 4:16), the word *ʾomnōt* (2 Kings 18:16) that refers to pillars or to doorsills, Aramaic words, the word *hāʾāmōn* (Jeremiah 52:15) spelled with *aleph* instead of *he* referring to 'crowd', and *vəʾēymīnā* 'and I will turn right' (Genesis 13:9) which is derived from the root *y-m-n*. Of the remaining 212 words derived from the root *ʾ-m-n*, I have deducted a further eleven occurrences that relate to upbringing. In the following list some of the words take this meaning, too.

Other than the verb *hɛʾĕmīn*, the participial-adjective *nɛʾĕmān*, and the verb *nɛʾĕman*, which appear relatively frequently throughout the Bible, the most recurrent words derived from the root *ʾ-m-n* are *ʾĕmɛt* (×124), *ʾĕmūnā* (×51), and *ʾāmen* (×30). The translations of *ʾĕmɛt* and *ʾāmen* do not show as many varieties in translations as the words *hɛʾĕmīn*, *nɛʾĕmān*, and *nɛʾĕman*. *ʾĕmɛt* is nearly always translated as *verdad~verdat* or rarely as *verdadero/a*, while *ʾāmen* is copied in the translations exactly as it appears in Hebrew. It is only the word *ʾĕmūnā* which is translated in a variety of different ways ranging from *verdad*, *fe*, *fieldad* to *justicia*, *oración*, *seguranza*, *leal mientre* and more. However, an analysis of the translation of this word is beyond the scope of this article.

My interest in the root *ʾ-m-n* originally stemmed from an analysis of the verb *hɛʾĕmīn*, which in Modern Hebrew can mean 'believe', 'believe in' or 'trust', and occasionally also 'think'. Similar and more elaborate meanings (other than 'trust'), can be found in biblical Hebrew (BDB, 1907; Koehler & Baumgartner, 1967-1990; Kaddari, 2006). As a result of my interest, I started researching the instances in which this verb appears in a number of medieval and Ladino translations of the Bible, and was impressed by the variety of ways in which it and associated words including the verb *nɛʾĕman* and the adjective *nɛʾĕmān* were translated. The results of my research are presented below.

In this article I will contrast and compare various translations of the words *hɛʾĕmīn* and *nɛʾĕman-nɛʾĕmān*, both of which are derived from the root *ʾ-m-n*, as they appear in medieval Spanish manuscripts and Ladino translations of the Bible, and to subsequently explore the extent to which these translations are interpretive. The importance of comparing parallel texts for clarifying grammatical and lexical issues is a methodological issue which has previously been explored by Hispanic biblical researchers (e.g., Morreale, 1963; Enrique-Arias, 2012, 2013). Interest regarding the relationship between various medieval Spanish and Ladino biblical translations and the origins of the latter have been discussed at some length since the 18th century, and a number of approaches have been developed (e.g., Rodríguez de Castro, 1781; Llamas, 1944; Amigo 1983, 1990; Lazar 2000: ix-xxxiv; Pueyo Mena, 2008; among others). A comparison between medieval Spanish and Ladino biblical translations will enable us to add some insights into the connections, if any, between these translations.

2. SAMPLE EXAMPLES

Initially, I will present three examples of verses which feature two instances of words related to the root *ʾ-m-n*. In the first two cases, the active verb *hɛʾĕmīn* and the passive-resultative *nɛʾĕman* appear close to one another. The third example features the nouns *ʾĕmūnā* and *ʾómɛn*. Abbreviations of the medieval translations are taken from the Corpus

Biblia Medieval (Enrique-Arias & Pueyo Mena, 2008-)[2]. The Ladino post medieval Jewish translations are taken from the Ferrara Bible published in Latin-script in 1553, abbreviated here as FR (Lazar, 1992a), and from the Bible printed using Hebrew-script published in Constantinople and Thessaloniki between 1540-1572 (Lazar, 2000) and subsequently in 1744 (Lazar, 1992b), abbreviated here as CS (this version does not include translations of Ezra, Nehemiah, Daniel or Chronicles). To facilitate comparison, I have used Lazar's Latin-script transliteration of CS.

(1) אִם לֹא תַאֲמִינוּ כִּי לֹא תֵאָמֵנוּ [ʾim lo *taʾămīnū* kī lo *teʾāmenū*] (Isaiah 7:9) 'If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established'[3]
Fazienda: si non *creyeredes* non *seredes creudos*
E8/E6: Si nolo *crouieredes*; non *duraredes*
GE: silo non *creyeredes* non *duraredes* uos
E3: sy non *creedes* non *seades creydos*
E7/E5: si non lo *creyeredes* non *seredes creidos*
E4: sy nonlo *creedes* non *seredes creydos*
BNM: sy non *creedes* ca non *soys creydos*
RAH: sy lo non *creyerdes* es por que non *ssoys creyentes*
Arragel: sy non lo *creyerdes* es por que non *soys creyentes* [non premanesçeredes]
FR: si no *creyerdes*, {es} por que no *sodes firmes*
CS: si non *creerdes*, que non *sodes firmes*

In example 1, all the translations, medieval Spanish and Ladino, use the verb *creer* 'believe' in various orthographic and grammatical forms in order to represent the verb *hɛʾĕmīn* (*taʾămīnū*) as appears in the Corpus medieval[4]. For the translation of the verb *nɛʾĕman* (*teʾāmenū*), most of the medieval Spanish Bibles use this same verb in its passive form, *ser + creído* 'be believed', except for GE and E8/E6 which utilize the verb *durar* (*duraredes*) 'last, survive, endure'. Contrarily, both Ladino translations opt to use the compound *ser firme* (*sodes firmes*) 'be steady, secure', which is closely related to GE and E8/E6 in meaning. These translations are based on the traditional Jewish homily as characterized by RaDaK (Rabbi David Kinḥi, 1160-ca. 1235) who says: תאמנו - ענין קיום כמו מימיו נאמנים [teʾāmenu -

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ʿinyan qiyum kemo memav neʾemanim]⁵ 'the word *teʾāmenū* – a matter of existence as in "its waters are sustained"'⁶.

(2) הַאֲמִינוּ בַּה׳ אֱלֹהֵיכֶם וְתֵאָמֵנוּ הַאֲמִינוּ בִנְבִיאָיו וְהַצְלִיחוּ [*haʾămīnū* byhvh (*baʾdonāy*) *ʾĕlohexɛm wəṯeʾāmenū haʾămīnū* binḇīʾāv vehaṣlīḥū] (2 Chronicles 20:20) 'Believe in the Lord your God; so shall ye be established. Believe His prophets; so shall ye prosper'
E8/E6: *Creet* en uuestro seynnor dios & *seredes segurados creet* alos sus prophetas & tornan vos todos bienes
GE: *creet* en Nuestro Señor Dios, e *seredes seguros* de nuestros enemigos que vos non podran mal fazer, e podredes vos con todos ellos, e *creet* a los profetas de Dios, ca todo bien vos verna
E3: *creed* enel señor vuestro dios & *seredes fieles creed* en sus profetas & averedes prouecho
E5/E7: & *confiad* enel señor vuestro dios & *sed confiantes confiad* enlos sus profetas & aprouesçeredes
EV: *confiad* enel Señor vuestro dios & *sed confiantes confiad* enlos sus profetas & aproueçeredes
E4: *creed* enel señor vuestro dios & *confirmar vos hedes creed* ensus profeçias & prosperaredes
BNM: *creed* enel señor vuestro dios & *confirmar vos hedes creed* ensus profectas & prosperaredes
Arragel: *creed* firme mente enel señor vuestro dios & *seredes seguros* & *creed* enlos sus prophetas & preualesçeredes
FR: *creed* en A. vuestro Dio y *seredes fieles*; *creed* ẽ sus prophetas, y prosperaredes
CS: ---⁷

The distribution of these various translations is quite different in example 2, although the same verbs are used in the Hebrew verse, *heʾĕmīn* (*haʾămīnū* ×2) and *neʾĕman* (*teʾāmenū*). The verb *heʾĕmīn* in both instances is translated in most versions, medieval Spanish as well as in the Ferrara Bible, by the verb *creer*; however, E5/E7 and EV translate the verse using the verb *confiar* 'trust', which is a more accurate rendition of the Hebrew root *b-ṭ-ḥ*. The way in which the verb *neʾĕman* is translated is much more varied: *ser segurado* (×1), *ser seguro* 'be sure' (×2), *ser fiel* 'be faithful' (×2, including FR), *ser confiante* 'be trusted' (×2), *haber confirmar* 'will confirm' (×2). The choice of words used to translate this verse is relatively interpretive in the medieval Spanish translations.

Both verses in the examples postulate a request using the active verb *heʾĕmīn* and a passive result utilizing the verb *neʾĕman*. In spite of syntactic similarities, the translations are not consistent. The medieval Spanish translations demonstrate grammatical and lexical

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⁵ *Memāv neʾĕmānīm* is a citation from Isaiah 33:16, which is translated similarly in Ladino by (*sus aguas*) *firmes* (FR, CS), while the medieval translations opt for a variety of other translations: *fieles* (E8/E6, GE, BNA, RAH), *verdaderas* (E4, E5/E7), *çiertas* (E3).

⁶ RaDaK's explanation is based on the Aramaic translation (*Targum Jonathan* to the Prophets) which says: *la ṯiṯwayəmūn* 'will not be sustained'. A similar explanation of this verse which dates from the 17th century subsequently appears in Metsudat David and Metsudat Ṣiyon (Responsa Project 25, 2018).

⁷ In a translation from Izmir, 1838, one finds: *creed, seredeš firmes*, as in example 1 above.

variability showing a great degree of semantic interpretation. This is especially true for example 2. However, the Ferrara translation is inconsistent in the translation of the passive resultative verb: *sodes firmes* in example 1, but *seredes fieles* in example 2 (like E3) based on the traditional interpretations 'be faithful': *tihyu bene ʾĕmūna* by Rashi and *tihyū nɛʾĕmanim* by RaDaK.

The third example involves two nouns which derive from the same root *ʾ-m-n*.

(3) עֵצוֹת מֵרָחוֹק אֱמוּנָה אֹמֶן [ʿeṣōṯ merāḥōq *ʾĕmūnā ʾómɛn*] (Isaiah 25:1) 'Thy counsels of old are faithfulness and truth'
E8/E6: cuedamientos antigos *fieles amen*
GE: los cuydados antigos *fieles uerdadera mjentre*
E3: consejos de lexos *fialdat de verdat*
E5/E7: los conseios de lexos tuyos *son fieles & verdaderos*
E4: los consejos de lexos tuyos *son fieles & verdaderos*
BNM: consejos de lexos, *lealtad & firmeza*
RAH: conssejos de lueñe & *son certeficados ciertamente con fe de uerdat*
Arragel: conseios antigos de lueñe *ffe de verdat*
FR: consejos de lexos, *verdad firme*
CS: consejos de lešos, *verdad firme*

The traditional Jewish interpretation of the Hebrew expression *ʾĕmūnā ʾómɛn* is 'strongly confirmed'. The duplication of the root *ʾ-m-n* serves as a stylistic means of strengthening the notion of confirmation, and also occurs in the repetition of other roots[8].

Similar to Example 1, there is a clear distinction between Ladino and medieval Spanish translations of the expression *ʾĕmūnā ʾómɛn*. Both Ladino translations use the words *verdad* 'truth' and *firme* 'firm, steady' in literal translation, meaning that the truth exists and is sustained, which is similar to the traditional accepted meaning of this expression, 'firm truth' (as in the interpretations by Ibn Ezra, RaDaK, Alshekh). Unlike the Ladino versions, the medieval Spanish translations vary greatly: *ʾĕmūnā* is translated as the adjectives *(son) fieles* 'faithful, reliable, trustworthy' and *son certeficados* 'certified', in addition to *fialdad* 'faith, trust', *lealtad* 'loyalty, trustworthiness', and *fe* 'faith' which are nouns. The word *ʾómɛn* is translated in an even greater variety of ways: *amen* (!), *verdadera mientre* 'truly', *de verdad/verdat* 'of truth, truely', *verdaderos* 'true', *firmeza* 'firmness', *ciertamente con fe de verdat* 'surely with true faith'. Although these translations denote the basic meaning of the original Hebrew expression, they prove to be free renditions incorporating a variety of lexical options.

Examples 1 and 3 show a resemblance between in both the Ladino FR and CS translations and demonstrate the degree to which these differ from medieval Spanish

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8   See for instance: Abraham Ibn Ezra (ca. 1090-ca. 1167) like *ʿuzzī umaʿuzzī* 'my strength and my stronghold' (Jeremiah 16:19), from the root *ʿ-z-z*.

versions. Example 2 shows inner lexical variation in the FR translation although this is nonetheless literal.

3. THE FINDINGS

I will concentrate now on the translations of the two verbs related to the root *ʾ-m-n*, *hɛʾĕmīn* and *nɛʾĕman*, in addition to the participial-adjectival forms *nɛʾĕmān*, and will then conclude by giving a summary of the findings.

3.1. *hɛʾĕmīn*

Besides the two instances of *hɛʾĕmīn* presented above in examples 1 and 2, I examined an additional 17 more verses[9]. Here is the distribution of their occurrences:

(4-6)

hɛʾĕmīn: הֶאֱמִין וְלֹא־הֶאֱמִין סִיחוֹן (4) כִּי לֹא־הֶאֱמִין לָהֶם (Genesis 45:26) 'for he believed them not'; (5) אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל (Judges 11:20) 'But Sihon trusted not Israel'; (6) מִי הֶאֱמִין לִשְׁמֻעָתֵנוּ (Isaiah 53:1) 'Who hath believed our report'

Fazienda: *creye* (4)
GE: *creye* (4); *quiso* (5); *crouo* (6)
E3: *qujso creer* (4); *creo* (6)
AJ: *quiso creer* (4)
E19: *creyo* (4); *quiso* (5)
E5/E7: *pudo creer* (4, 6); *quiso* (5)
E4: *creo* (4); *aseguro*(5); *pudo creer* (6)
Arragel: *qujso creer* (4); *consyntio* (5); *creyera* (6)
FR: *creya* (4); *creyo* (5, 6)
CS: *creyo* (4, 5); *creyera* (6)

(7-8)

hɛʾĕmantī: הֶאֱמַנְתִּי לוּלֵא הֶאֱמַנְתִּי לִרְאוֹת (7) (Psalms 27:13) 'unless I had believed that I would see'; (8) הֶאֱמַנְתִּי כִּי אֲדַבֵּר (Psalms 116:10) 'I believed, therefore have I spoken'

GE: *creo* (7); *crei* (8)
E3: *crey* (7); *creya* (8)
E5/E7: *toue confiança* (4); *confio* (8)
E4: *creo* (7); *crey* (7)
Arragel: *quiero & creo* (7); *creo* (5)
FR: *creyera* (7); *crey* (8)
CS: *creo* (7, 8)

9　For *hɛʾĕmīn* I sampled the 17 verses presented here in addition to examples 1 and 2 above in section 2 (out of 51), and 10 for the adjectival *nɛʾĕmān* presented in 3.3 below (out of 31).

(9-11)

וְהָיָה אִם־לֹא יַאֲמִינוּ *yaʾamīnū*: (9) אִם־לֹא יַאֲמִינוּ לָךְ (Exodus 4:3) 'if they will not believe thee'; (10) יַאֲמִינוּ (Exodus 4:9) 'if they will not believe'; (11) וְגַם־בְּךָ יַאֲמִינוּ (Exodus 19:9) 'and believe thee for ever'

Fazienda: *crouieren* (9, 10), *creeran* (11)

E3, E4, FR: *creyeren* (9, 10), *creeran* (11)

E19: *creyeren* (9, 10), *creeran* (11)

E5/E7: *qujsieren creer* (9), *quisieren creer* (10), *creeran* (11)

Arragel: *crean* (9), *qujsieren escuchar* (10), *creeran* (11)

CS: *creeran×3*

(12-13)

פֶּתִי יַאֲמִין *yaʾămīn*: (12) פֶּתִי יַאֲמִין לְכָל־דָּבָר (Proverbs 14:15) 'The simple believeth every word'; (13) הֵן בַּעֲבָדָיו לֹא יַאֲמִין (Job 4:18) 'He put no trust in His servants'

E8/E6: *cree* (12)

GE: *cree* (12); *son estable* (13)

E3: *cree* (12); *crehe* (13)

E5/E7: *se enfia* (12); *fia* (13)

E4: *cree* (12); *confia* (13)

Arragel: *cree* (12); *son estabiles* (13)

FR, CS: *cree* (12, 13)

(14) וְהֶאֱמִינוּ (*wə*)*hɛʾĕmīnū*: וְהֶאֱמִינוּ לְקֹל הָאֹת הָאַחֲרוֹן (Exodus 4:8) 'that they will believe the voice of the latter sign'

Fazienda: *creerã*

E3, E4, E5/E7, Arragel, CS: *creeran*

E19: *creran*

FR: *creyeran*

(15) הֶאֱמַנְתֶּם *hɛʾĕmantɛm* יַעַן לֹא־הֶאֱמַנְתֶּם בִּי (Numbers 20:12) 'Because ye believed Me not'

Fazienda: *creyestes*

E8/E6: *creyestes*

GE: *crouiestes*

E3, E19: *creystes*

E4: *crestes*

Arragel: *qujsiestes creer*

FR, CS: *creistes*

(16) מַאֲמִינִם *maʾămīnīm* וּבַדָּבָר הַזֶּה אֵינְכֶם מַאֲמִינִם בַּה׳ אֱלֹהֵיכֶם (Deuteronomy 1:32) 'Yet in this thing ye did not believe the Lord your God'

E8/E6: *creyestes*

GE: *quisistes creer*

E3, E4: *creedes*

E19: *quesistes creer*

E5/E7: *creystes*

Arragel: *credolos*

FR, CS: *creyentes*

(17) וַיַּאֲמֵן *(way)yaʾămen* וַיַּאֲמֵן אָכִישׁ בְּדָוִד (1 Samuel 27:12) 'And Achish believed David'
E8/E6: *tenie*
GE: *creo*
E3: *enfiose*
E19: *enfiosse*
E4: *fiaua*
Arragel: *creya*
FR, CS: *creyo*

(18) תַּאֲמֵן *taʾămen* אַל־תַּאֲמֵן בָּם (Jeremiah 12: 6) 'believe them not'
E8/E6, GE, E3, E5/E7, E4, Arragel, FR, CS: *creas*

(19) וַיַּאֲמִינוּ *(way)yaʾămīnū* וַיַּאֲמִינוּ אַנְשֵׁי נִינְוֵה בֵּאלֹהִים (Jonas 3:5) 'So the people of Nineveh believed God'
GE, E8/E6: *crovieron*
E3, E5/E7, E4, Arragel, FR, CS: *creyeron*

(20) הֶאֱמִינוּ *heʾĕmīnū* וְלֹא־הֶאֱמִינוּ בְּנִפְלְאוֹתָיו (Psalms 78:32) 'and believed not in His wondrous works'
GE, E3, E4, Arragel, FR: *creyeron*
E5/E7: *confiaron*
CS: se *enfeuziaron*

There are only three case in which exactly the same translation is used for all the versions that I examined: *creerán* (11, 14) in Exodus 19:9 (H: *yaʾamīnū*) and with some orthographic varieties, in Exodus 4:8 (H: *(wə)heʾĕmīnū*), and *creas* (18) in Jeremiah 12:6 (H: *taʾămen*). Although the verb *creer* is predominantly used in all translations, several spelling and morphological varieties are utilized depending on the morphological form of the original Hebrew: *crehe, creer, creerã, creeran, creran, creyeran, creyestes, creystes, crestes, creistes, creedes, credolos, creyentes, creo, creya, creyo, creas, creyeron, poder creer, quesistes creer*, as well as *crouo, crouieren~crovieron, crouiestes*[10].

Some other verbs are occasionally used in some instances: *asegurar* (5) in E4: *confiar* (8, 20) in E5/E7 and (13) in E4, and *tener confianza* (7) in E5/E7; *tener* (17) in E8/E6; *querer* (5) in GE, E19, E5/E7; *consentir* (5) in Arragel; *enfeuziar* (20) in CS; *fiar* (13, 17) in E5/E7, E4; *enfiar* (12) E5/E7, (17) in E3, E19; *sere stable* (13) in GE; *querer escuchar* in (10) in Arragel); *querer & creer* (7) Arragel, all of which accord with the diversity of meanings that *creer* conveys[11]. It appears

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[10]   The form *crovo* attested in Old Spanish (Cejador y Frauca, 1929: 29, 117; Corominas & Pascual, 1981-1991, vol. 2: 235) is analyzed as the preterit form *crovo* of the verb *creer*. It occurs in CICA (Catalan Corpus) as the verb *croure* attested to in the 13th Century. The form *crovo* and other derivatives appear in E8/E6 in example 1 above (in section 2), as well as in GE in the examples cited here in (6, 15), in Fazienda (9, 10) above, and again in GE and E8/E6 in (19). I found 58 equivalent instances of these verb forms in CORDE, all of which date from ca. 1200 to ca. 1275, (most of these appear in the biblical translation E6). I would like to thank Dr. Ilil Baum for her assistance in this matter. According to Prof. Cyril Aslanov (personal communication), the forms *creeire/creoire/creire/croire* were attested to in Old French as well.

[11]   See the various meanings in *DLE* (2014: s.v. *creer*).

that E5/E7, and to a lesser degree E4 and Arragel, do not always opt for the verb *creer* for the translation of *hɛʾĕmīn* and use other verbs to convey the meanings of the Hebrew verb.

It is clear that the lexical variety is greater in the medieval Spanish translations of the Bible than in their Ladino equivalents. The Ladino versions employ identical translations which are slightly different from the medieval Spanish translations in seven of the 17 examples (5, 12-13, 15-18). These versions all use the verb *creer*, except for in one instance (20) in which CS uniquely utilizes the verb *enfeuziar*. In other cases, each of the Ladino translations concords morphologically with at least some of the medieval Spanish translations, usually with E3 and E4, and occasionally also with Arragel.

3.2. *nɛʾĕman* (v)

Two translations of the verb *nɛʾĕman* have already been presented in examples 1 and 2 in section 2 above where the medieval Spanish translations show greater diversity than the Ladino equivalents. Both examples above also demonstrate inconsistencies between the medieval translations of the similar form (*teʾāmenū*). As the translations of *nɛʾĕman* are so varied, I am going to describe them here in more detail.

(21) *wəyeʾāmənū* וְיֵאָמְנוּ דִּבְרֵיכֶם (Genesis 42:20) 'so shall your words be verified'
     Fazienda: *E ouo esto a seer*
     GE: *si me dezides uerdad*
     E3, E19, FR: *seran creydas*
     E4: *& averiguar se han*
     E5/E7: *creeremos*
     Arragel: *seran bien creydas*
     CS: *seran creidas*

(22) *wənɛʾĕman* וְנֶאְמַן בֵּיתְךָ (2 Samuel 7:16) 'And thine house [and thy kingdom] shall be established [for ever]'
     Fazienda: *e fiel sera*
     GE: *e [la tu compaña] sera fiel*
     E8/E6, Arragel: *& fiel sera*
     E3, E19: *E firme sera*
     E5/E7: *E seras tu firme*
     E4: *E sera firme*
     FR: *Y firme [tu casa]*
     CS: *Y fiel [tu caza]*

(23) *yeʾāmɛn* יֵאָמֶן נָא דְּבָרְךָ (1 Kings 8:26) 'let thy Word, I pray thee, be verified'
     Fazienda, FR: *sea afirmada*
     E5/E7: *cunpla se*
     E3, E19: *afirmense*
     E4: *confirmese*

GE: *firmeste*
Arragel: *confirma*
CS: *sea fiel*

(24) *nɛʾĕmānū* מַיִם לֹא נֶאֱמָנוּ (Jeremiah 15:18) 'wand as waters that fail'
GE: *desleales*
E3: *non son fieles*
E5/E7, E4: *non son verdaderas*
Arragel: *non çiertas*
FR: *no fueron fieles*
CS: *non firmes*

(25) *nɛʾɛmnā* וְלֹא־נֶאֶמְנָה אֶת־אֵל רוּחוֹ (Psalms 78:8) 'whose spirit was not stedfast with God'
E3: *se enfio*
E4: *creyeron,*
GE, Arragel: *creyo*
E5/E7, FR: *fue fiel*
CS: *se afirmo*

(26) *nɛʾɛmnū* וְלֹא נֶאֶמְנוּ בִּבְרִיתוֹ (Psalms 78:37) 'neither were they steadfast in his covenant'
E5/E7: *confiaron*
GE: *son avidos fieles*
E3: *creyan*
Arragel: *eran bien creyentes*
FR: *creyeron*
CS: *se afirmaron*

(27) *nɛʾɛmnū* עֵדֹתֶיךָ נֶאֶמְנוּ מְאֹד (Psalms 93:5) 'thy testimonies are very <u>sure</u>'
GE: *son creibles,*
E3: *son verdaderos*
E5/E7: *son fieles*
E4: *son de creer*
Arragel: *creybles*
FR: *son fieles*
CS: *se afirmaron*

(28) *yeʾāmen* וְעַל־בֵּיתוֹ יֵאָמֵן עַד־עוֹלָם (1 Chronicles 17:23) 'and concerning his house be established for ever'
E8/E6: *sea confirmado*
GE: *firmese*
E3, E5/E7, E4, FR: *sea firme*
Arragel: *la confirmes*

(29) *wəyeʾāmen* וְיֵאָמֵן וְיִגְדַּל שִׁמְךָ עַד־עוֹלָם (1 Chronicles 17:24) 'that thy name may be magnified for ever'
E8/E6: *Et dure*
GE: *por que dure*
E3, E4: *& sea firme*

E5/E7: *E afirmese*
Arragel: *& permanesca*
FR: *Y sea firme*

(30) *yeʾāmen* יֵאָמֵן דְּבָרְךָ עִם דָּוִיד (2 Chronicles 1:9) 'let thy promise unto David my father be established'
E5/E7: *sea acabada*
GE: *cumplasse*
E3: *afirmese*
E5/E7: *aberiguaste*
E4, FR: *sea firme*
Arragel: *plegate çerteficar*

(31) *yeʾāmen* יֵאָמֵן דְּבָרְךָ אֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתָּ לְעַבְדְּךָ לְדָוִיד (2 Chronicles 6:17) 'let thy word be verified, which thou hast spoken unto thy servant David'
E8/E6: *afirmada sea*
GE, FR: *sea firme*
E5/E7: *verdadera*
E4: *confirme se*
Arragel: *plegate çierta fazer*

The translations are not the same, although some of the Hebrew forms are identical in all of the various biblical verses, e.g., *yeʾāmen* (23, 28, 29, 30, 31), *nɛʾĕmānū~nɛʾɛmnū* (24, 26, 27). Unlike the frequent use of the Spanish verb *creer* in the translation of *hɛʾĕmīn* above (section 3.1), the use of the verb *creer* in the translation of *nɛʾĕman* is quite rare. Only in one of the verses does the verb *creer* occur in several of translations of Genesis 42:20 (21), although three of the translations utilize different expressions which relate to truth and verification: *si me dezides uerdad* 'if you told me the truth' (GE), *& averiguar se han* 'and will be verified' (E4), and *E ouo esto a seer* 'and this will have to be' (Fazienda)[12]. In three other cases the verb *creer* only appears occasionally (Psalms 78:8 (25); 78:37 (26)[13] and 93:5 (27)): *creyeron* (E4), *son creibles* (GE), *creyo* (GE, Arragel), *creybles* (Arragel), *creyan* (E3), *creyeron* (E4, FR).

In all the other verses, the base form *firme*, especially *ser + firme* 'secure, stable', appears alongside *firmar*, *afirmar* and *confirmer* (about 30 occurrences in examples 22-31). The other relatively common expression which occurs about 10 times is *ser + fiel* 'be faithful, trustworthy' (22-27) as well as *enfiar* (25) and *confiar* 'trust' (26) which share the same etymological source. The meaning 'truth' is found six times in these examples, three times in *verdadero/a* (24, 27, 31), once in *verdad* (21) and twice more in the verb *averiguar* (21, 30).

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[12]   These translations are based on Onkelos *veyithamnun* 'and will be reliable', and Rashi's *yitʾamətu veyitqayəmu* 'will be verified and sustained'.

[13]   CS translates the verb *ḥāṭəʾū* 'they sinned' at the beginning of this verse as *creyeron*.

Additional lexical choices found in the medieval Spanish translations include: *cumplir* 'complete' in (23, 30) GE and E5/E7; *leal* 'loyal' in *desleal* in (24) GE. The words *cierta* 'sure' (24, 31), *certificar* 'assure' (30) and *permanecer* 'remain' (29) only appear in Arragel. GE and E8/E6 are unique in their use of the verb *durar* (*dure*) 'last, survive, endure' in (29), as also used in example 1 in section 2 above. The adjective *acabada* 'finished, complete' only appears once in E5/E7 in (30).

Unlike the relative uniformity in which *hɛʔĕmīn* is translated above, Ladino FR and CS only translate the same way in Genesis 42:20 (21), as in E3 and E19. Although the Ladino FR and CS translations of *neʔeman* in other conjugations demonstrate internal inconsistencies, the distribution of words is more limited than in the medieval Spanish translations. FR uses *firme* ×5, *fiel* ×3, *creer* ×2 and *ser afirmada* ×1, whereas CS uses *afirmar* ×3, *fiel* ×2, *firme* ×1 and *creer* ×1 (CS does not include Chronicles, so it is only translated seven times). In several cases FR agrees with E3, E4 and once with GE, but CS is different from these. In example (22) FR and CS are unique in translating the verb as an adjective, which is unlike all the medieval Spanish translations, probably because of the context which is similar to (33) below, relating to a 'house'.

Although the words *creer*, *afirmar* and *ser firme*, and *fiel* are the most frequently used, there are a large number of other lexical choices utilized in the medieval Spanish translations: Arragel's version shows independent translations in most cases, and occasionally demonstrates long interpretations. The various translations conform to the three major meanings of the verb *neʔĕman* in the Bible as reflected by the traditional homily: 1. was stable, durable and consistent; 2. was reliable, truthful; 3. was verified (Koehler & Baumgartner, 1967: 61; Kaddari, 2006: 51).

3.3. *nɛʔĕmān* (ADJ)

The adjective *nɛʔĕmān* is a derivative of the *nifʿal* template which takes the participle form. In three of the ten sample verses, the adjective is translated as *fiel* 'faithful, loyal' in all the versions that I examined (Numbers 12:7; Hosea 12:1; Nehemiah 9:8). Although *fiel* is most dominantly used in the other seven verses, the different translations represent this diversely as can be seen as follows:

(32) *hannɛʔĕmān* הַנֶּאֱמָן (Deuteronomy 7:9): *verdadero* (E3, E19, E4, Arragel); *fuert & fiel* (E8/E6); *fuerte & fiel* (GE); *fiel* (E5/E7, FR, CS)

(33) *nɛʔĕmān* נֶאֱמָן (1 Samuel 2:35): *leal* (E5/E7); *fiel* (E8/E6, GE, E3, E19, E4, FR, CS)

(34) *nɛʔĕmān* נֶאֱמָן (1 Kings 11:38): *firme* (E3, E19, E4, FR); *verdadera* (E5/E7); *fiel* (E8/E6, GE, CS)

(35) *nɛʔĕmānā* נֶאֱמָנָה (Isaiah 1:21): *fidel* (Fazienda); *verdadera* (E5/E7, E4); *fiel* (E8/E6, GE, E3, Arragel, FR, CS)

(36) *nɛʔĕmān* נֶאֱמָן (Jeremiah 42:5): *fe* (E8/E6, GE); *fiel* (E3, E5/E7, E4, Arragel, FR, CS)

(37) *nɛʔĕmānā* נֶאֱמָנָה (Psalms 19:8): *verdadero* (E8/E6, E3); *fiel* (GE, E5/E7, E4, Arragel, FR, CS)

(38) *wənɛʔĕman-rūaḥ* וְנֶאֱמַן-רוּחַ (Proverbs 11:13): *leal* (E8/E6); *fiel* (GE, E3, E5/E7, E4, Arragel, FR, CS)

In most cases the Ladino translations are similar and opt to use *fiel* with the exception of 1 Kings 11:38 (34) in which FR uses *firme* 'steady' in the translation of *bayit nɛʔĕmān* 'a sure house', as is also the case for a number of the medieval Spanish translations only in this verse. The other frequently used adjective in the medieval Spanish translations is *verdadero* 'truthful' (32, 34, 35, 37), although this also occasionally translated as *leal* 'loyal' (33, 38), *fe* 'faith' (36), or *fidel* 'loyal' (35)[14]. As discussed in the previous descriptions of the verbs *hɛʔĕmīn* and *nɛʔĕman*, the lexical variety used in medieval Spanish translations is far greater than that used in Ladino versions.

4. Discussion

Although I examined all the words derived from the root *ʔ-m-n* which feature in the Hebrew Bible, I have only presented a sample of three derivatives – the verbs *hɛʔĕmīn* and *nɛʔĕman* along with the participial-adjective *nɛʔĕmān*.

The verb *hɛʔĕmīn* is conjugated using the *hifʕil* template which has a straightforward connotation in Hebrew: it is an active template, mostly transitive, and occasionally causative (Gesenius, 1910: 144-149; Joüon & Muraoka, 2011: 148-152; Waltke & O'Connor, 1990: 433-446). The verb *nɛʔĕman* and the adjective *nɛʔĕmān*, on the other hand, take the *nifʕal* template which is extremely ambiguous in Hebrew. It can be active, reflexive, inchoative, resultative, and passive (Gesenius, 1910: 137-139; Joüon & Muraoka, 2011: 138-140; Waltke & O'Connor, 1990: 378-395; Siebesma, 1991). In general, the passive of the *hifʕil* transitive template in Hebrew is *hufʕal*, e.g., *hiškiḇ* 'lay, put to bed' – *huškaḇ* 'was laid, was put to bed'. The *nifʕal* form of this root *š-k-ḇ* is *niškaḇ* 'lie down' which is resultative or inchoative.

Causative transitive verbs in Hebrew are followed by a direct object, which, when definite, is preceded by the accusative marker *ʔet*, e.g., וְאֶת-בְּנָהּ הַמֵּת הִשְׁכִּיבָה בְחֵיקִי [wəʔɛt bənāh hammet hiškīḇā bəḥeqī] 'and (she) laid her dead child in my bosom' (1 Kings 3:20)[15].

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14   And see other variations in the example not included at the sample, fn. 4 above.

15   Definiteness is defined by the following conditions: 1. a noun preceded by the definite article *ha-*; 2. proper name; 3. Inflected noun.

Passivizing this verb is possible as in וְהֻשְׁכַּב בְּתוֹךְ עֲרֵלִים [wəhuškaḇ bətōḵ ʿărelīm] 'and he shall be laid in the midst of the uncircumcised' (Ezekiel 32:32).

Out of the 51 times that the root *ʾ-m-n* occurs taking the *hifʿil* template, it only uses the accusative marker once in the entire Bible *ʾɛt* – in Judges 11:20: וְלֹא־הֶאֱמִין סִיחוֹן אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל עֲבֹר בִּגְבֻלוֹ [wəlo hɛʾĕmīn Sīḥōn ʾɛt yiśrāʾel ʿăḇor biḡbulō] 'But Sihon trusted not Israel to pass through his borders' (example 5 in section 3.1). In all the other 50 cases it does not possess a direct object. In 24 verses, the complement is preceded by the particle *bə-* 'in'[16], in 14 verses by the particle *lə-* 'to'[17], in 7 there is a sentence complement starting with *kī* 'because, that'[18], in three verses there is no complement at all[19], and in one verse the complement starts with the infinitive form[20]. Additionally, there is one instance of a nominalized participle in subject position with no complement[21]. In cases where the complements are not direct objects (with or without the accusative marker), automatic transformation to a passivized form never occurs.

The verb *hɛʾĕmīn* in *hifʿil* does not have a passive *hufʿal* form. The use of the root *ʾ-m-n* in *nifʿal* gives translators a wide range of interpretative possibilities; at times they translate it as an active verb, other times as passive, reflexive, resultative or inchoative. The result is an assortment of morphological selections as well as a mixture of lexical varieties depending on the context.

The fact that Ladino translations concord with each other only once when interpreting the use of the word *nɛʾĕman* (in Genesis 42:20; *wəyyeʾāmənū* (21): *serán creidas/creydas*), is not accidental. After checking the distribution of the translations of these verbs and other words formed using the root *ʾ-m-n*, I found that the FR and CS translations of the Pentateuch and the *Haftarot*[22] resemble each other much more closely than they do for translations of other books in the Bible or to medieval Spanish translations of the same text. The explanation is simple: Jews traditionally read one portion of the Pentateuch (peraša) and a *Haftara* each week every year from one *Simḥat Tora* to the next[23]. Other parts of the Bible would have

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[16]   For instance, example 2 in section 2; examples 11, 13, 15-20 in section 3.1.

[17]   For instance, examples 4, 6, 9, 10, 12, 14 in section 3.1.

[18]   For instance, example 1 in section 2; example 8 in 3.1.

[19]   Exodus 4:31; Job 15:22; Job 29:24.

[20]   Example 7 in section 3.1.

[21]   Isaiah 28:16; הַמַּאֲמִין לֹא יָחִישׁ [hammaʾămīn lo yāḥīš] 'he that believeth shall not make haste'. The verb *creer/crover* is used by all versión except for E4 that uses *criar*: *qui crouiere* (E8/E6), *qui creyere* (GE), *el que creyere* (E3), *el quelo creyere* (E5/E7, Arragel), *el quelo criare* (E4), el creyen (FR), el que cree (CS).

[22]   *Haftara* (pl.: *haftarot*) is a paragraph from the Prophets read on the Sabbaths and on Holidays after reading the portion of the Pentateuch.

[23]   *Simḥat Tora* is the festival that celebrates the final reading of the Pentateuch and its starting to read it from the beginning on the 22nd of the month of *Tishre* [around September] in the Jewish calendar.

been less read, less known and therefore also less translated. As is widely acknowledged, no Ladino translations in Hebrew letters of the five scrolls (*megillot*) were published until the 18th century, even though these are integral parts of the liturgy and read throughout the year on special holidays and probably also existed in the oral tradition[24]. Moreover, as they served no liturgical function, the biblical books of Ezra, Nehemiah and Daniel, as well as Chronicles were not translated into Ladino using Hebrew letters until the 19th century as they served no liturgical function.

The Ladino translations are very literal in nature. Translators were very careful not to change or modify anything from the original text for fear of profaning the Holy Scriptures. These versions are word-for-word textual translations which carefully follow the original Hebrew syntactic structure. Syntactical strictness led in turn to lexical rigidity, so the lexical variety in the Ladino translations is consequently relatively limited. As can be seen in the in the examples above, *hɛʾĕmīn* is always translated using the verb *creer* with only one exception (*enfeuziar* in CS). Translations of the verb *nɛʾĕman*, the adjectival *nɛʾĕmān* as *(ser) fiel*, and to a lesser degree *(ser) firme* (including *afirmar*) are widespread. Ladino translation literalness is not a feature of medieval Spanish translations, and lexical choice flexibility is therefore far greater in them.

Syntactic and lexical flexibility can also be demonstrated in the following two full verses, as partly presented in section 2 above (cf. examples 1 and 2 in sections 2):

(39) Isaiah 7:9: וְרֹאשׁ אֶפְרַיִם שֹׁמְרוֹן וְרֹאשׁ שֹׁמְרוֹן בֶּן־רְמַלְיָהוּ אִם לֹא תַאֲמִינוּ כִּי לֹא תֵאָמֵנוּ ʾAnd the head of Ephraim is Samaria, and the head of Samaria is Remaiah's son. If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established'

    a. *Y cavevera de ʾEfrayim Šomrō, y cavecera de Šomrān hijo de Rěmalyah; si non creerdes, que non sodes firmes* (CS)

    b. *& la cabeça de efraym es samaria & la cabeça de samaria es el fiio de remolias sy non lo creyerdes es por que non soys creyentes [non premanesçeredes]* (Arragel)

Arragel adds the definite article *la* to *cabeça*, the pronoun *lo*, the copulative *es*, and renders the Hebrew word *kī* as *porque*. The translation of the last verb in the verse is explained by an additional word, and Arragel changes the Hebrew names of *Šomron* to *Samaria* and *Remalya* to *Remolias* (39b). CS's translation is very literal. It keeps the Hebrew names, does not include any further additions and translates the Hebrew word *kī* as *que* (perhaps because of its phonetic similarity). The word *cabecera* is used instead of *cabeza* to relate to the leaders of these two geographic locations (39a).

(40) 2 Chronicles 20:20: וַיַּשְׁכִּימוּ בַבֹּקֶר וַיֵּצְאוּ לְמִדְבַּר תְּקוֹעַ וּבְצֵאתָם עָמַד יְהוֹשָׁפָט וַיֹּאמֶר שְׁמָעוּנִי יְהוּדָה וְיֹשְׁבֵי ʾand they rose early in the morning, יְרוּשָׁלַם הַאֲמִינוּ בַּיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם וְתֵאָמֵנוּ הַאֲמִינוּ בִנְבִיאָיו וְהַצְלִיחוּ:

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[24]   The Song of Songs was repeatedly translated and published in Amsterdam using Latin script from the 17th century onwards for ex-Converso communities.

and went forth into the wilderness of Tekoa; and as they went forth Jehoshafat stood and said: Hear me, O Judah, and ye habitants of Jerusalem; Believe in the Lord, your God, so shall ye be established; believe his prophets, so shall ye prosper'

a. *Y madrugarõ por la mañana, y salierõ a disierto de Tekoah; y en su salir, estuuo Yehosaphat, y dixo: oídme Yehudah y habitadores de Yerusalaim; creed en A. vuestro, Dio y seredes fieles; creed ẽ sus prophetas, y prosperaredes* (FR)

b. *E leuantaron de mañana & salieron al desierto de tacoa E en saliendo parose josafat & dixo oyd me los de juda & los pobladores de iherusalem & confiad enel señor vuestro dios & sed confiantes confiad enlos sus profetas & aprouesçeredes* (E5/E7)

In addition to lexical differences (*madrugar~levanter, estar~parar, habitadores~los de, habitadores~pobladores, ser fiel~ser confidante; creer~confiar; prosperar~aprovechar*), the name of God is also given in different ways (*A*[donay]*~señor; Dio~dios*). E5/E7 adds *los* before *sus*, while FR does not, and also affixes the connective "*&*" to the beginning of the second part of the verse (which does not appear in the original Hebrew). As in the previous example, FR transliterates Hebrew names (*Yehosaphat, Yehudah, Yerusalaim*) whereas E5/E7 uses Spanish equivalents (*josafat, juda, iherusalem*).

These two short examples demonstrate further the differences between medieval Spanish and Ladino biblical translations, which will be further elaborated in the final section of this article.

5. Conclusions

The results of the comparison thus far show that the Ladino translations resemble each other much more closely than the medieval Spanish equivalents and also more than the medieval Spanish translations resemble each other. In a few verses, Ferrara (and sometimes Constantinople) resembles E3. This occasional resemblance does not prove that early Ladino translations were based on medieval Spanish translations, or specifically on E3 (Lazar, 2000: ix-xxxiv). After all, the use of Spanish words is common to all the translations and the interpretations of the verbs and adjectives depend on both contextual and traditional explanations.

The relationship between medieval Spanish and Ladino post-medieval translations of the Bible have been discussed extensively by a number of researchers. Initial studies described a number of Hispanic Bible features: scope – which parts of the Bible were translated and preserved; location – where the texts were found and written; authorship – who the translators were; sources – translation from the original Hebrew or from Christian-Latin renditions; interpretation – based on Christian understandings, the Vulgate or Hebrew traditional homily; intended readership – the target readership population. These early descriptions of Hispanic Bibles also included Ladino translations of the Bible which were

published shortly after the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain, Constantinople 1547 and Ferrara 1553 (Rodríguez de Castro, 1781; Scio de San Miguel, 1857; Blondheim, 1925; Llamas, 1940, 1943, 1944, 1949; Lazar 1964, 2000: ix-xxxiv; Berger, 1977; Hassán & Berenguer Amador, 1994). The common consent was that several of the medieval Spanish Bibles were written by Jews but that these had been carefully scrutinized by the Christian authorities. It was thought that the readership would have been predominantly Christian, although in some cases it might also have been Jewish. Moreover, all of these studies linked the Ladino translations, especially Ferrara to earlier medieval Spanish translations, even claiming that these were most probably their original sources.

Later research continued to explore these issues, but scholars slowly began to recognize the distinction between Ladino and medieval Spanish biblical translations. Textual and linguistic considerations led researchers to the conclusion that not only had Ladino Bibles developed independently of the medieval Spanish equivalents, but also that they were based on an ancient oral Jewish tradition of reading the original Hebrew text and translating it verse by verse (Morreale, 1960, 1962, 1963, 1969; Gutwirth, 1988; Pueyo Mena, 2008; Enrique-Arias, 2008; Pueyo Mena & Enrique Arias, 2013; Bunis, 1996; Del Barco, 2004). This Jewish translating tradition is based on the halakhic instruction *šnáyim miqra veʾeḥad targum* 'twice reading the Bible and once the Aramaic translation' (Talmud Bavli, Berakhot, 8a)[25]. Aramaic translations of the Bible (Targum Onkelos, Targum Jonathan) were used by the Jews when Aramaic became their everyday spoken language, so that biblical text would be accessible to community members who did not speak Hebrew. The tradition of translating the Bible orally word-by-word was a common practice in Jewish communities in the diaspora, adopted by the Sephardic populations throughout Spain and subsequently in the diaspora.

The reason why the Ferrara Bible seems to more closely resemble medieval Spanish Bibles than the Constantinople Bible is not only a matter of orthography. It was written by and for a unique group of Jews who returned to Judaism after being baptized (the former *conversos*, *anusim*) (Hassán & Berenger Amador, 1994). As this community lived geographically nearer to Spain and also kept closer commercial, diplomatic and familial ties with their Iberian relatives, their use of Spanish was consequently closer to the norms used in Iberian Spanish than the expelled Jews in the eastern Mediterranean. This also explains some of the differences between the Ferrara and Constantinople Bible.

In my previous comparisons of medieval Spanish and Ladino translations of the Hebrew Bible, I discovered the following important differences, some of which have been previously

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[25]   Although this phrase originally meant that a person should read the portion of the Pentateuch (*peraša* in Sephardic tradition) twice a week and the Aramaic translation once a week, it later came to refer to each single verse.

observed by the above mentioned scholars: Ladino translations of the Bible tend to be very literal, word-for-word renditions of the original Hebrew text, while their medieval Spanish equivalents are much more freely written and do not adhere to the strict syntactical structure of the Hebrew. I also found considerable differences in how God's name, proper names and many other lexical items were traditionally translated (Schwarzwald, 2010, 2012, 2015). My conclusion was that medieval Spanish versions of the Bible could not have been the source for later Ladino translations. The resemblance between the different Ladino translations cannot be coincidental. Translations had existed as an oral tradition closely connected to the original Hebrew text for centuries before the expulsion from Spain, and were subsequently printed in the middle of the 16th century (Gutwirth, 1988; Bunis, 1994, 1996; Hassán, 2004; Pueyo Mena, 2008: 210-212, 237).

The root *ʾ-m-n* and its derivatives enable the researcher to examine the wide range of meanings in Hebrew and the way in which these are interpreted in both medieval Spanish and in Ladino. The body material for this study is of much greater scope than the previous researches as it focuses on a specific lexical-semantic issue, and thus might have ultimately led to different results.

The remarkable volume of words derived from the root *ʾ-m-n* paved the way for rich Spanish translations. All the words listed above which derive from this root convey an assortment of meanings in Hebrew, as do their equivalents in Spanish, English and many other languages. Words such as [ʾĕmūnā] *fe* '(religious) belief', [ʾĕmɛt] *verdad* 'truth', [ʾemūn] *confianza* 'trust', [hɛʾĕmīn] *creer* 'believe', and so on suggest numerous connotations in both Hebrew and Spanish, which means that translators were therefore able to choose from a variety of meanings to best suit what they were trying to express. In all the examples given, the range of word choices available in the medieval Spanish translations is wider and freer than those provided by the Ladino translations. This fact, together with the strong resemblance between the Ladino translations as opposed to the medieval ones strongly suggest that the medieval ones did not serve as the source for the Ladino translations which developed from a strict oral literary tradition.

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