

The Historical Depth of the Tiberian Reading Tradition of Biblical Hebrew

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Cover image: T-S AS 8.129. A leaf from a Cairo Geniza biblical codex containing Gen. 30.17–20 and showcasing Moshe Mohe's non-standard Tiberian pointing of the standard Tiberian pronunciation of *Issachar* (see within, ch. 4), courtesy of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

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7. THE 2FS ENDINGS

A degree of diversity characterises ancient Hebrew 2FS morphology. Specifically, the 2FS independent subject pronoun, the 2FS suffix conjugation ending, and the 2FS nominal (object/possessive) suffix all exhibit both majority consonant-final forms, namely, standard $\text{תָּא}, \text{תְּ-}, \text{תְּ-}$, and their respective minority vowel-final alternants, $\text{אתִּי}, \text{תִּי-}, \text{כִּי-}$ (Hornkohl 2013, 112–19). The present chapter focuses on dissonance between the written and reading components of the Tiberian biblical tradition involving the realisation of such 2FS morphological forms.

1.0. The Combined Tiberian Biblical Tradition

Examining the written and reading components of the Tiberian biblical tradition in terms of 2FS morphology, one encounters slight deviation within broad uniformity. Consider Table 1.

Table 1: 2FS morphological variety in the MT¹

	harmony		dissonance
	-C	-CV	<i>ketiv</i> -CV, <i>qere</i> -V
pronoun ($\text{תָּא}, \text{תִּי}^*, \text{אתִּי}$)	50	0	7
verbal ending ($\text{תְּ-}, \text{תִּי-}, \text{תְּ-}$)	199	6	17
nominal suffix ($\text{תְּ-}, \text{כִּי-}, \text{כִּי-}$)	1545	11	5

Table 1 demonstrates that in the case of all of the categories of 2FS morphology under discussion, the dominant scenario is one of written-reading agreement on consonant-final morphology,

¹ For detailed reference lists, see below, §5.1. Cf. the comparable, but slightly different figures given in Hornkohl (2013, 114).

i.e., קָטַב , קָטַב -, and קָטַב -. Instances of written-reading dissonance, in the form of *ketiv-qere* mismatches, occur in all categories, though with very different relative frequencies. The incidence of verbal יָתַב in place of קָטַב and of verbal ending יָתַב - in place of קָטַב - is relatively high in comparison to that of the nominal suffix כִּי - in place of קָטַב -. Interestingly, when it comes to both the verbal ending and the nominal suffix, the *ketiv* forms are not the sole evidence of vowel-final 2FS morphology. They are confirmed by cases of apparent vowel-final 2FS morphology where the written and reading components of the tradition agree. While the vowel-final occurrences of the nominal suffix כִּי - are unambiguous, those of the verbal יָתַב - merit note. In all seven of these cases, it is possible that the preservation of vowel-final forms in the reading component of the tradition owes to their having been interpreted as cases of 1CS morphology.² Also relevant are 2FS suffix conjugation forms with object suffixes; a majority of these have an *-i-* linking vowel before the suffix, which is sometimes represented by a *mater yod* in the tradition's corresponding written component (see Hornkohl 2013a, 112, fn. 17, for detail).

2.0. Beyond the Tiberian Tradition

2.1. Biblical Hebrew Material

Non-Tiberian biblical material also presents dedicated 2FS morphology. In the traditions represented by this material, vowel-

² Cf. the Syriac and TJ at Judg. 5.7, 7; Jer. 2.20, 20; the Greek, Syriac, and TJ at Ezek. 16.50; and the Vulgate at Mic. 4.13.

final endings dominate to the near exclusion of consonant-final forms—the latter of which are, however, occasionally attested.

The Samaritan tradition displays its own mixture of forms and traditions (see Ben-Ḥayyim 2000, 107–8, 225–26, 228).

Table 2: 2FS morphological variety in the SP³

	harmony		dissonance	
	-C	-CV	written -C,	reading -CV
pronoun (אָתִי <i>atti/âtti</i>)	0	7	0	0
verbal ending (ת- <i>-ti</i> , תִּי- <i>-ti</i>)	0	5	6	6
nominal suffix (קִי-) <i>-k</i> , כִּי- <i>-ki</i>	54	1	0	0

The independent subject pronoun is written אָתִי and realised *atti/âtti*, i.e., both the written and reading components of the tradition attesting vowel-final morphology.⁴ According to the written component of the Samaritan tradition, the verbal ending varies between consonant-final ת- and vowel-final תִּי-, but in the reading component it is consistently vowel-final *-ti*. Conversely, the 2FS nominal suffix is written קִי(-) and pronounced with no final vowel, despite written-reading agreement on vowel-final morphology in a single case of כִּי- *-ki*: מַלְכֵי מָה לִּכִּי ‘what troubles you (FS)?’ (Gen. 21.17).⁵

The scrolls from the Judaean Desert also exhibit variety when it comes to the relevant 2FS forms.

³ For detailed reference lists, see below, §5.2. Cf. the comparable, but slightly different figures in Hornkohl (2013, 118, fn. 28).

⁴ The apparent exception וַיִּתְּנָה *wit* (Num. 5.20) is analysed as a demonstrative (Ben-Ḥayyim 2000, 226, §3.1.3, 237–38, §3.3.1.3).

⁵ Similar to Aramaic and RH, SH routinely distinguishes between the 2MS and 2FS nominal suffixes via the quality of the vowel that links the noun to the suffix (Ben-Ḥayyim 2000, 228–29, §§3.2.2–3.2.2.1).

Table 3: 2Fs morphological variety in the BDSS⁶

	1QIsa ^a		Other BDSS	
	-C	-CV	-C	-CV
pronoun (אתי, את) (אָתִי, אָת)	0	3	7	0
verbal ending (ת-, תי-) (תִּ-, תִּי-)	12	18	23	2
nominal suffix (ך-, כי-) (ךִּ-, כִּי-)	217	27	179	1

While the independent subject pronoun is written אָתִי in the Great Isaiah Scroll (against אָת in MT Isaiah), other biblical scrolls present אָת: the latter include parallels to cases of Tiberian written-reading agreement on אָתִי, parallels to Tiberian *qere* forms against *ketiv* אָתִי, and parallels to Tiberian forms that graphically resemble אָתִי. Likewise with the verbal ending: 1QIsa^a, which accounts for 30 of the 45 extant cases, has 12 instances of תִּי- and 18 of תִּי- (all תִּי- in the MT); in the rest of the biblical scrolls, there are 23 instances of תִּי- and just two of תִּי- (all but one of which parallel תִּי- in the MT, the exception a *ketiv-qere* discrepancy where the DSS = *ketiv*). In the case of the nominal suffix, the biblical scrolls show 395 cases of כִּי- and 28 cases of כִּי-. Again, however, there is a distinction between 1QIsa^a and the other biblical scrolls. In 1QIsa^a, cases of כִּי- outnumber those of כִּי- by a margin of 216 to 27; in the rest of the biblical scrolls, the counts are כִּי- 179, כִּי- 1 (the single case of כִּי- in 4Q84 is parallel to כִּי- in the corresponding Tiberian text: Ps. 116.19; however, the five remaining instances of כִּי- in MT Ps. 103.3–5 are paralleled by כִּי- in 4Q84).

⁶ For detailed reference lists, see below, §5.3. Cf. the comparable, but slightly different figures in Hornkohl (2013, 118, fn. 27).

Precious few examples come in Greek and Latin transcriptional material.⁷ The lone extant case of the verbal ending is vowel-final: Jerome's *carathi* || MT וְקִרְאתָ 'and you will call' (Isa. 7.14). There is more substantial evidence for the 2FS nominal suffix, all of it indicating consonant-final morphology: Theodotion's Ἐλωαίχ 'your God' || MT אֱלֹהֶיךָ 'your (MS) God' (Mic. 6.8); Jerome's *semmathech* || MT צַמְתֶּךָ 'your veil' (Isa. 47.2); Jerome's *gebulaic* || MT גְּבוּלֶיךָ 'your borders' (Ezek. 27.4); Jerome's *bonaich* || MT בְּנֵיךָ 'your builders' (Ezek. 27.4). Transcriptions of the 2FS independent pronoun are evidently unattested.

2.2. Extra-biblical Hebrew Material

Iron Age epigraphy is entirely lacking in 2FS morphology. The same is true of BS. In the NBDSS, the picture is similar to that of the BDSS, excluding 1QIsa^a (see above, §2.1).

Table 4: 2FS morphological variety in the NBDSS⁸

	-C	-CV
pronoun (אתי, את) 0	0	1
verbal ending (תי-, ת-)	2	0
nominal suffix (כי-, כ-)	39	6

Summarising Table 4, the single fragmentary instance of the 2FS independent subject pronoun appears to be vowel-final. The two consonant-final suffix conjugation endings come in a biblical citation where they are also consonant-final. Relatively more data

⁷ My thanks to Ben Kantor for the citations.

⁸ For detailed reference lists, see below, §5.4. Cf. the comparable, but slightly different figures in Hornkohl (2013, 118, fn. 28).

are available regarding the 2FS nominal suffix: ך- outnumbers כ- by a margin of 39 to six.

RH, for its part, is more informative on Second Temple 2FS morphology. In Codex Kaufmann of the Mishna, the 2FS independent pronoun, the verbal ending of the suffix conjugation, and the nominal suffix are consistently consonant-final.⁹

2.3. Aramaic

Aramaic 2FS morphology is summarised in Table 5.

Table 5: 2FS morphology in select Aramaic dialects

	pronoun	verb ending	nominal suffix
BA	—	—	—
DSSA	—	—	כ-
TA	אנת/את	ת-	ך- (כ-)
Syriac	ܐܬܐ 'at	ܬ- (ܬܐ-) -t	ܟܐ -k

BA has no relevant forms, and DSSA has only כ- forms of the 2FS nominal suffix. In TA, the forms in all three categories are generally consonant-final, with a small minority of כ- nominal suffixes. Syriac's written-reading dissonance is well known. The written component reflects ancient vowel-final 2FS morphology in all three categories, but the final vowel goes unpronounced in the reading tradition (and is unrepresented in a minority of cases of the verbal ending).

⁹ The apparent 2FS ending ת- in m. Nedarim 10.4b is evidently an error on the part of the vocaliser. As in SH, the 2MS and 2FS nominal suffixes are frequently distinguished by an *i*-vowel before the latter, often indicated in the spelling by a *mater yod*.

2.4. Realisation of 2FS Morphology in the Dead Sea Scrolls

The orthographic evidence adduced above concerning the oral realisation of 2FS morphology in the DSS is partially ambiguous. On the one hand, it is reasonable to hypothesise that the *mater* in forms ending in *yod* reflects the vowel-final realisation *-i* (cf., however, the situation in Syriac mentioned above, §2.3). On the other hand, forms ending in \aleph - or \daleth - are variously understood by scholars. Hornkohl (2013, 112) favours assuming “the correspondence of the written and pronunciation traditions, i.e., that orthographic forms ending in a consonant were indeed pronounced without a final vowel.” Against the background of widespread gender confusion, Kutscher (1974, 213) raises the possibility that no final vowel was pronounced on the relevant 2FS (and 2MS) forms. At the other extreme, Qimron (2018, 154–55, 259–60 and fn. 11, 265, 267–68) argues on the basis of mixed usage in single texts or lines that all the relevant 2FS categories consistently ended in some shade of *i*-vowel (perhaps *e*), no matter their spelling, in which case consonant-final orthography is merely defective.

In light of the statistics given above (§§2.1–2), a nuanced view may be the most plausible. Qimron’s view of consistent vowel-final realisations seems most tenable in the specific cases of the subject pronoun and verbal ending in 1QIsa^a. The dominance of consonant-final forms of the independent subject pronoun and verbal ending outside 1QIsa^a support the view that consonant-final realisations were the norm in most of the DSS. Regarding the nominal suffix—as vowel-final spellings are rare

throughout the DSS, including 1QIsa^a, it would appear as though consonant-final realisations were the norm.

Though the patterns of phonetic realisation suggested above cannot be absolutely confirmed, they do find support in extant Hebrew pronunciation traditions. 1QIsa^a patterns like the combined written-reading tradition of SH, with vowel-final independent subject pronoun אָתִי *'atti* and verbal ending תִּי *-ti* paired with consonant-final nominal suffix ק־ *-k*. Throughout the rest of the DSS, the norm would seem to be אָת־ *'at*, ת־ *-t*, and ק־ *-k*, which is in line with the testimony of the combined Tiberian written-reading tradition.

3.0. Diachronic Considerations

The written-reading dissonance concerning 2_{FS} morphology differs from many other situations of dissonance discussed in the present work. First, apparent instances are relatively rare. Second, in contrast to cases in which the reading tradition diverges from the written tradition in agreement with late propagation of an early minority form—e.g., vowel-final 2_{MS} morphology (ch. 6)—in this instance, the consonant-final alternant standardised in the reading tradition appears also to have been the dominant option in the written tradition. More than anything, then, in this case, the departure of the reading component from its written counterpart can be described as one of levelling, whereby minority irregular forms, especially the independent pronoun and the verbal ending, were regularised. Verbal forms that escaped regularisation were evidently read as 1_{CS} forms. When it comes to the nominal suffix, genre is determinative: *ketiv* כִּי- is normalised to

qere ֿ- in prose, but the written and reading components of the Tiberian tradition agree on ֿ- wherever it appears in poetry.

On the assumption that the written tradition's heterogeneity reflects an earlier linguistic reality than the reading tradition's more homogenous presentation of 2FS morphology, there is very little information that might aid in dating the latter's deviation from the former. If the DSS spellings are to be taken at face value—i.e., apparently consonant-final spellings are not in large measure defective and apparently vowel-final spellings are not merely graphic morphological indicators (historical spelling, as in Syriac)—then, with the notable exception of 1QIsa^a, they seem to indicate a standardisation of consonant-final 2FS morphology more advanced than what is seen in the written component of the Tiberian tradition, but consistent with the Tiberian reading component. In other words, when it contradicts its written counterpart, the reading component of the Tiberian biblical tradition is more or less in agreement with the normalisation of consonant-final 2FS morphology dominant in most of the DSS.

Of course, it is important to point out that the Tiberian reading tradition's divergence from the written tradition is not particularly frequent, radical, or innovative. Unless the dominant consonant-final 2FS spellings characteristic of the written tradition are regularly defective, the written tradition itself testifies to the hegemony of the same consonant-final realisations that the reading tradition further standardised. Thus, while the written and reading components of the Tiberian tradition offer 'windows' on the chronological development of the spelling and realisation of 2FS morphology, there is relatively little diachronic change to

speak of. In the vast majority of cases, the images seen through the two windows are identical; in a minority, the window afforded by the reading component reveals the advance of regularisation, the effects of which are, however, already widespread in the corresponding written component. Finally, it is also important to bear in mind that other factors may have contributed to morphological diversity, e.g., especially, but not exclusively, genre.

4.0. Conclusion

In the case of 2FS morphology, the reading component of the Tiberian biblical tradition is rarely out of tune with the corresponding written component. On the view that the tradition of oral realisation was largely fixed by Second Temple times, one might expect that it maintains First Temple conventions while at the same time implementing Second Temple innovations. The innovation in this case was the further expansion of consonant-final 2FS morphology already standard in the written component of the Tiberian biblical tradition. In this way, the Tiberian reading tradition diverges from the corresponding written tradition, but only marginally, and in so doing merely continues the developmental journey already largely accomplished in the written tradition along the same trajectory.

5.0. Citations

5.1. Tiberian Biblical Tradition

The following list includes only vowel-final cases of the relevant 2FS morphology, excluding cases of the standard consonant-final forms on which the written

and reading components of the Tiberian biblical tradition agree. **Pronoun**—אָתִי: Judg. 17.2; 1 Kgs 14.2; 2 Kgs 4.16, 23; 8.1; Jer. 4.30; Ezek. 36.13. **Verbal ending**—וְהִבֵּאתִי: Judg. 5.7, 7; Jer. 2.20, 20; Ezek. 16.50; Mic. 4.13; *ketiv* וְהִבֵּאתִי || *qere* וְהִבֵּאתִי: Jer. 2.33; 3.4, 5; 4.19; 31.21; 46.11; Ezek. 16.13, 18, 22, 31, 31, 43, 43, 47, 51; Ruth 3.3, 4. **Nominal suffix**—כִּי: Jer. 11.15; Ps. 103.3, 3, 4, 4, 5; 116.7, 7, 19; 135.9; 137.6; *ketiv* כִּי- || *qere* כִּי-: 2 Kgs 4.2, 3, 7, 7; Song 2.13.

5.2. Samaritan Pentateuch

Pronoun—אָתִי *atti/âtti*: Gen. 12.11, 13; 24.23, 47, 60; 39.9. **Verbal ending**—תִּי *-ti*: Gen. 16.11, 11; 27.12 (|| MT 1cs וְהִבֵּאתִי ‘and I will bring’); Num. 5.19, 20, 20; תִּי *-ti*: Gen. 3.13; 16.8; 18.15; 30.15 (|| MT infinitive construct [?] וְלִקְחָתְךָ ‘and to take’); Num. 22.29. **Nominal suffix**—כִּי(ִ) *-k*: Gen. 3.16, 16, 16, 16, 16; 12.12, 12, 13, 13; 16.6, 6, 6, 9, 10, 11, 11; 20.16, 16, 16; 21.18; 24.14, 17, 23, 43, 45, 60; 25.23, 23; 30.2, 14, 15, 15, 15; 35.17; 38.11, 13, 16, 18; 39.9; Exod. 2.7, 7, 9; Num. 5.19, 19, 20, 20, 20, 21, 21, 21, 21, 22; 22.29; Deut. 33.8; כִּי: Gen. 21.17.

5.3. Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls

In the following lists, the parallel MT form is consonant-final unless otherwise specified. **Pronoun**—אָתִי: 1Q8 22.22 || MT Isa. 51.10; 2Q17 f1.5 || MT Ruth 3.16; 4Q107 f2ii.7 || MT וְהִבֵּאתִי Song 4.8; 4Q107 f2ii.7 || MT וְהִבֵּאתִי Song 4.8; 6Q4 f15.2 || MT *ketiv* וְהִבֵּאתִי *qere* וְהִבֵּאתִי 2 Kgs 8.1; Mur88 17.19 || MT Nah. 3.11; Mur88 17.20 || MT Nah. 3.11; אָתִי: 1QIsa^a 42.24 || MT Isa. 51.9; 1QIsa^a 42.25 || MT Isa. 51.10; 1QIsa^a 42.28 || MT Isa. 51.12. **Verbal ending**—תִּי: 1Q1 f2.3 || MT Gen. 3.13; 1QIsa^a 14.16 || MT Isa. 17.10; 1QIsa^a 23.9 || MT Isa. 29.4; 1QIsa^a 41.20 || MT Isa. 49.21; 1QIsa^a 43.6 || MT Isa. 51.17; 1QIsa^a 47.7 || MT Isa. 57.8; 1QIsa^a 47.8 || MT Isa. 57.8; 1QIsa^a 47.8 || MT Isa. 57.8; 1QIsa^a 47.9 || MT Isa. 57.10; 1QIsa^a 47.9 || MT Isa. 57.10; 1QIsa^a 47.10 || MT Isa. 57.10; 1QIsa^a 47.9 || MT Isa. 57.11; 1QIsa^a 50.13 || MT Isa. 62.3; 1Q8 20.19 || MT Isa. 47.6; 1Q8 26.8 || MT Isa. 60.5; 1Q8 26.23 || MT Isa. 60.16; 1Q8 26.23 || MT Isa. 60.16; 1Q8 26.27 || MT Isa. 60.18; 1Q8 27.1 || MT Isa. 62.3; 1Q8 27.7 || MT Isa. 62.8; 2Q16 f1ii–4i.8 || MT Ruth 2.19; 2Q16 f5ii–6i.6 || MT Ruth 3.2; 2Q16 f6ii–7.3 || MT Ruth 3.4; 2Q16 f6ii–7.3 || MT Ruth 3.4; 4Q51 f102ii + 103–106i.43 || MT 2 Sam. 14.2; 4Q51 f102ii + 103–106i.44 || MT 2 Sam. 14.3; 4Q55 f9.4 || MT Isa. 17.10; 4Q56 f8–9.3 || MT Isa. 17.10; 4Q58 11.15 || MT Isa. 57.10; 4Q58 11.15 || MT Isa. 57.10; 4Q58 11.16 || MT Isa. 57.11; 4Q62a f2.4 || MT Isa. 57.8; 4Q72 f34ii + 36–43.18 || MT Jer. 31.4; 4Q106 f2ii.14 || MT Song 7.7; Mur88 21.5 || MT Zeph. 3.11; תִּי: 1QIsa^a 14.15 || MT Isa. 7.10; 1QIsa^a 17.4 || MT Isa. 22.2; 1QIsa^a 39.25 || MT Isa. 47.6; 1QIsa^a 39.25 || MT Isa. 47.6; 1QIsa^a 39.26 || MT Isa. 47.7; 1QIsa^a 39.26 || MT Isa. 47.7; 1QIsa^a 39.30 || MT Isa. 47.10; 1QIsa^a 40.1 || MT Isa. 47.12; 1QIsa^a 40.4 || MT Isa. 47.15; 1QIsa^a 41.24 || MT

Isa. 49.23; 1QIsa^a 43.5 || MT Isa. 51.17; 1QIsa^a 43.6 || MT Isa. 51.17; {י}געת
 1QIsa^a 47.9 || MT Isa. 57.10; 1QIsa^a 47.10 || MT Isa. 57.11; 1QIsa^a 47.10 || MT
 Isa. 57.11; 1QIsa^a 49.19 || MT Isa. 60.16; 1QIsa^a 49.19 || MT Isa. 60.16; 1QIsa^a
 50.20 || MT Isa. 62.8; 1Q8 20.20 || MT Isa. 47.7; 4Q72 f47–48ii + 51–54.11 ||
 MT *ketiv* הלכתי *qere* הִלַּכְתִּי Jer. 31.21. **Nominal suffix—ך(י)***: 1QIsa^a 1.25 || MT
 Isa. 1.22; 1QIsa^a 1.25 || MT Isa. 1.22; 1QIsa^a 1.28 || MT Isa. 1.25; 1QIsa^a 1.29
 || MT Isa. 1.25; 1QIsa^a 1.29 || MT Isa. 1.25; 1QIsa^a 1.29 || MT Isa. 1.26; 1QIsa^a
 2.1 || MT Isa. 1.26; 1QIsa^a 4.2 || MT Isa. 3.25; 1QIsa^a 4.3 || MT Isa. 3.25; 1QIsa^a
 10.16 || MT Isa. 10.30; 1QIsa^a 11.11 || MT Isa. 12.6; 1QIsa^a 13.1 || MT Isa.
 14.29; 1QIsa^a 13.3 || MT Isa. 14.30; 1QIsa^a 13.3 || MT Isa. 14.30; 1QIsa^a 13.19
 || MT Isa. 16.3; 1QIsa^a 13.20 || MT Isa. 16.3; 1QIsa^a 13.26 || MT Isa. 16.9;
 1QIsa^a 13.26 || MT Isa. 16.9; 1QIsa^a 14.16 || MT Isa. 17.10; 1QIsa^a 14.16 || MT
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 22.7; 1QIsa^a 18.6 || MT Isa. 23.2; 1QIsa^a 18.14 || MT Isa. 23.10; 1QIsa^a 18.18
 || MT Isa. 23.12; 1QIsa^a 18.21 || MT Isa. 23.14; 1QIsa^a 20.14 || MT Isa. 26.2;
 1QIsa^a 23.8 || MT Isa. 29.3; 1QIsa^a 23.9 || MT Isa. 29.3; 1QIsa^a 23.9 || MT Isa.
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 || MT Isa. 29.4; 1QIsa^a 23.11 || MT Isa. 29.5; 1QIsa^a 27.27 || MT Isa. 33.23;
 1QIsa^a 33.8 || MT Isa. 40.9; 1QIsa^a 38.5 || MT Isa. 44.27; 1QIsa^a 38.21 || MT
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 1QIsa^a 39.31 || MT Isa. 47.11; 1QIsa^a 39.31 || MT Isa. 47.11; 1QIsa^a 40.1 || MT
 Isa. 47.11; 1QIsa^a 40.1 || MT Isa. 47.12; 1QIsa^a 40.1 || MT Isa. 47.12; 1QIsa^a
 40.2 || MT Isa. 47.12; 1QIsa^a 40.2 || MT Isa. 47.13; 1QIsa^a 40.2 || MT Isa. 47.13;
 1QIsa^a 40.4 || MT Isa. 47.15; 1QIsa^a 40.4 || MT Isa. 47.15; 1QIsa^a 40.4 || MT
 Isa. 47.15; 1QIsa^a 40.5 || MT Isa. 47.15; 1QIsa^a 41.15 || MT Isa. 49.16; 1QIsa^a
 41.15 || MT Isa. 49.16; 1QIsa^a 41.16 || MT Isa. 49.17; 1QIsa^a 41.16 || MT Isa.
 49.17; 1QIsa^a 41.16 || MT Isa. 49.17; 1QIsa^a 41.16 || MT Isa. 49.17; 1QIsa^a
 41.16 || MT Isa. 49.18; 1QIsa^a 41.18 || MT Isa. 49.19; 1QIsa^a 41.18 || MT Isa.
 49.19; 1QIsa^a 41.18 || MT Isa. 49.19; 1QIsa^a 41.19 || MT Isa. 49.19; 1QIsa^a
 41.19 || MT Isa. 49.20; 1QIsa^a 41.19 || MT Isa. 49.20; 1QIsa^a 41.20 || MT Isa.
 49.21; 1QIsa^a 41.23 || MT Isa. 49.22; 1QIsa^a 41.23 || MT Isa. 49.22; 1QIsa^a
 41.23 || MT Isa. 49.23; 1QIsa^a 41.23 || MT Isa. 49.23; 1QIsa^a 41.24 || MT Isa.
 49.23; 1QIsa^a 41.24 || MT Isa. 49.23; 1QIsa^a 41.26 || MT Isa. 49.25; 1QIsa^a
 41.27 || MT Isa. 49.25; 1QIsa^a 41.27 || MT Isa. 49.26; 1QIsa^a 41.28 || MT Isa.
 49.26; 1QIsa^a 43.6 || MT Isa. 51.18; 1QIsa^a 43.8 || MT Isa. 51.19; 1QIsa^a 43.8

1QIsa^a 50.22 || MT Isa. 62.9; 1QIsa^a 50.24 || MT Isa. 62.11; 1QIsa^a 53.23 || MT
 Isa. 66.9; 1Q8 9a.5 || MT Isa. 23.2; 1Q8 17.11 || MT Isa. 41.14; 1Q8 17.12 ||
 MT Isa. 41.15; 1Q8 18.7 || MT Isa. 43.6; 1Q8 18.7 || MT Isa. 43.6; 1Q8 19.9 ||
 MT Isa. 44.27; 1Q8 20.14 || MT Isa. 47.1; 1Q8 20.19 || MT Isa. 47.6; 1Q8 20.20
 || MT Isa. 47.7; 1Q8 20.22 || MT Isa. 47.9; 1Q8 20.23 || MT Isa. 47.9; 1Q8
 20.23 || MT Isa. 47.9; 1Q8 20.24 || MT Isa. 47.10; 1Q8 20.24 || MT Isa. 47.10;
 1Q8 20.25 || MT Isa. 47.11; 1Q8 23.1 || MT Isa. 52.7; 1Q8 23.1 || MT Isa. 52.8;
 1Q8 23.29 || MT Isa. 54.3; 1Q8 23.31 || MT Isa. 54.4; 1Q8 23.32 || MT Isa.
 54.5; 1Q8 26.4 || MT Isa. 60.1; 1Q8 26.5 || MT Isa. 60.2; 1Q8 26.5 || MT Isa.
 60.2; 1Q8 26.6 || MT Isa. 60.3; 1Q8 26.6 || MT Isa. 60.3; 1Q8 26.6 || MT Isa.
 60.4; 1Q8 26.7 || MT Isa. 60.4; 1Q8 26.7 || MT Isa. 60.4; 1Q8 26.7 || MT Isa.
 60.4; 1Q8 26.8 || MT Isa. 60.5; 1Q8 26.8 || MT Isa. 60.5; 1Q8 26.9 || MT Isa.
 60.5; 1Q8 26.9 || MT Isa. 60.6; 1Q8 26.11 || MT Isa. 60.7; 1Q8 26.11 || MT Isa.
 60.7; 1Q8 26.13 || MT Isa. 60.9; 1Q8 26.14 || MT Isa. 60.9; 1Q8 26.14 || MT
 Isa. 60.9; 1Q8 26.15 || MT Isa. 60.10; 1Q8 26.15 || MT Isa. 60.10; 1Q8 26.15
 || MT Isa. 60.10; 1Q8 26.16 || MT Isa. 60.10; 1Q8 26.16 || MT Isa. 60.11; 1Q8
 26.17 || MT Isa. 60.11; 1Q8 26.18 || MT Isa. 60.12; 1Q8 26.20 || MT Isa. 60.14;
 1Q8 26.21 || MT Isa. 60.14; 1Q8 26.21 || MT Isa. 60.14; 1Q8 26.21 || MT Isa.
 60.14; 1Q8 26.22 || MT Isa. 60.15; 1Q8 26.22 || MT Isa. 60.15; 1Q8 26.24 ||
 MT Isa. 60.16; 1Q8 26.24 || MT Isa. 60.16; 1Q8 26.26 || MT Isa. 60.17; 1Q8
 26.26 || MT Isa. 60.17; 1Q8 26.27 || MT Isa. 60.18; 1Q8 26.27 || MT Isa. 60.18;
 1Q8 26.28 || MT Isa. 60.18; 1Q8 26.28 || MT Isa. 60.18; 1Q8 26.28 || MT Isa.
 60.19; 1Q8 26.29 || MT Isa. 60.19; 1Q8 26.29 || MT Isa. 60.19; 1Q8 26.30 ||
 MT Isa. 60.20; 1Q8 26.30 || MT Isa. 60.20; 1Q8 27.1 || MT Isa. 62.2; 1Q8 27.2
 || MT Isa. 62.4; 1Q8 27.2 || MT Isa. 62.4; 1Q8 27.2 || MT Isa. 62.4; 1Q8 27.3
 || MT Isa. 62.4; 1Q8 27.3 || MT Isa. 62.4; 1Q8 27.3 || MT Isa. 62.4; 1Q8 27.4
 || MT Isa. 62.5; 1Q8 27.4 || MT Isa. 62.5; 1Q8 27.4 || MT Isa. 62.5; 1Q8 27.4
 || MT Isa. 62.5; 1Q8 27.4 || MT Isa. 62.6; 1Q8 27.6 || MT Isa. 62.8; 1Q8 27.7
 || MT Isa. 62.8; 1Q8 27.9 || MT Isa. 62.11; 1Q8 27.10 || MT Isa. 62.12; 1Q8
 28.19 || MT Isa. 66.9; 2Q13 f9ii-12.4 || MT Jer. 48.28; 2Q13 f9ii-12.8 || MT
 Jer. 48.32; 2Q13 f9ii-12.9 || MT Jer. 48.32; 2Q14 f1.2 || MT Ps. 103.4; 2Q16
 f5ii-6i.2 || MT Ruth 2.22; 2Q16 f5ii-6i.5 || MT Ruth 3.1; 2Q16 f5ii-6i.8 || MT
 Ruth 3.3; 2Q16 f5ii-6i.8 || MT Ruth 3.3; 2Q17 f1.1 || MT Ruth 3.13; 4Q13 f3i-
 4.6 || MT Exod. 2.7; 4Q13 f3i-4.7 || MT Exod. 2.7; 4Q51 2a-d.4 || MT 1 Sam.
 1.23; 4Q51 2a-d.5 || MT 1 Sam. 1.23; 4Q53 f2-5i.17 || MT 2 Sam 14.18; 4Q53
 f2-5i.18 || MT 2 Sam. 14.19; 4Q56 f8-9.4 || MT Isa. 17.11; 4Q57
 f9ii + 11 + 12i + 52.14 || MT Isa. 23.10; 4Q57 f41-42.2 || MT Isa. 54.8; 4Q57
 f44-47.4 || MT Isa. 54.12; 4Q57 f44-47.7 || MT Isa. 54.15; 4Q57 f44-47.8 ||
 MT Isa. 54.17; 4Q58 2.20 || MT Isa. 47.3; 4Q58 3.2 || MT Isa. 47.9; 4Q58 8.24
 || MT Isa. 54.2; 4Q58 8.24 || MT Isa. 54.2; 4Q58 9.7 || MT Isa. 54.8; 4Q58 9.9
 || MT Isa. 54.9; 4Q58 11.14 || MT Isa. 57.9; 4Q58 11.16 || MT 57.11; 4Q58
 11.17 || MT 57.12; 4Q58 11.18 || MT 57.12; 4Q58 11.18 || MT 57.13; 4Q58
 11.18 || MT 57.13; 4Q58 11.18 || MT 57.13; 4Q59 f17-18i + 19.5 || MT Isa.

12.6; 4Q60 f3–6.7 || MT Isa. 1.22; 4Q62a f2.2 || MT Isa. 57.6; 4Q64 f1–5.6 || MT Isa. 29.3; 4Q64 f1–5.6 || MT Isa. 29.4; 4Q66 f1–3.1 || MT Isa. 60.20; 4Q68 f1.4 || MT Isa. 14.30; 4Q69a f1.2 || MT Isa. 54.11; 4Q69a f1.3 || MT Isa. 54.12; 4Q72 f1ii.4 || MT Jer. 4.14; 4Q72 f19–21.8 || MT Jer. 22.21; 4Q72 f19–21.9 || MT Jer. 22.22; 4Q72 f47–48ii + 51–54.10 || MT Jer. 31.21; 4Q77 f3.1 || MT Zeph. 3.19; 4Q78 f24–29 + 48.4 || MT Amos 3.11; 4Q78 f24–29 + 48.4 || MT Amos 3.11; 4Q82 f3ii + 4ii + 5–7.11 || MT Hos. 2.22; 4Q84 f15iii + 20–22.15 || MT כִּי- Ps. 103.3; 4Q84 f15iii + 20–22.16 || MT כִּי- Ps. 103.3; 4Q84 f15iv + 21ii–24.1 || MT כִּי- Ps. 103.4; 4Q84 f15iv + 21ii–24.2 || MT כִּי- Ps. 103.4; 4Q84 f15iv + 21ii–24.3 || MT Ps. 103.5; 4Q84 f15iv + 21ii–24.4 || MT כִּי- Ps. 103.5; 4Q85 f12.5 || MT Ps. 45.11; 4Q86 2.1 || MT Ps. 147.13; 4Q86 2.1 || MT Ps. 147.13; 4Q86 2.1 || MT Ps. 147.13; 4Q86 2.2 || MT Ps. 147.13; 4Q86 2.2 || MT Ps. 147.14; 4Q105 f4.5 || MT Ruth 1.15; 4Q106 f2i + 3–5.8 || MT Song 4.1; 4Q106 f2i + 3–5.8 || MT Song 4.1; 4Q106 f2i + 3–5.9 || MT Song 4.2; 4Q106 f2i + 3–5.11 || MT Song 4.3; 4Q106 f2i + 3–5.11 || MT Song 4.3; 4Q106 f2ii.10 || MT Song 7.4; 4Q106 f2ii.11 || MT Song 7.5; 4Q106 f2ii.13 || MT Song 7.6; 4Q107 f1.2 || MT Song 2.10; 4Q107 f1.2 || MT Song 2.10; 4Q107 f1.6 || MT Song 2.13; 4Q107 f1.9 || MT Song 2.14; 4Q107 f1.9 || MT Song 2.14; 4Q107 f2ii.2 || MT Song 4.1; 4Q107 f2ii.3 || MT Song 4.2; 4Q107 f2ii.5 || MT Song 4.3; 4Q107 f2ii.5 || MT Song 4.3; 4Q107 f2ii.6 || MT Song 4.3; 4Q107 f2ii.6 || MT Song 4.3; 4Q107 f2ii.10 || MT Song 4.9; 4Q107 f2ii.11 || MT Song 4.9; 4Q107 f2ii.11 || MT Song 4.10; 4Q107 f2ii.12 || MT Song 4.10; 4Q107 f2ii.13 || MT Song 4.10; 4Q107 f2ii.14 || MT Song 4.11; 5Q6 f1iv.2 || MT Lam. 4.21; 5Q6 f1iv.4 || MT Lam 4.22; 11Q4 f3b + 6.2 || MT Ezek. 5.12; 11Q5 3.8 || MT Ps. 122.2; 11Q5 3.12 || MT Ps. 122.6; 11Q5 3.12 || MT Ps. 122.7; 11Q5 3.12 || MT Ps. 122.7; 11Q5 3.13 || MT Ps. 122.8; 11Q5 14.9 || MT Ps. 135.2; 11Q5 21.1 || MT Ps. 137.9. כִּי: 1QIsa^a 1.25 || Isa. 1.23; 1QIsa^a 17.4 || Isa. 22.1; 1QIsa^a 33.8 || Isa. 40.9; 1QIsa^a 38.22 || Isa. 45.14; 1QIsa^a 38.22 || Isa. 45.14; 1QIsa^a 38.22 || Isa. 45.14; 1QIsa^a 39.26 || Isa. 47.7; 1QIsa^a 41.15 || Isa. 49.15; 1QIsa^a 41.17 || Isa. 49.18; 1QIsa^a 41.28 || Isa. 49.26; 1QIsa^a 43.7 || Isa. 51.19; 1QIsa^a 43.7 || Isa. 51.19; 1QIsa^a 43.12 || Isa. 51.23; 1QIsa^a 44.24 || Isa. 54.2; 1QIsa^a 45.1 || Isa. 54.5; 1QIsa^a 45.1 || Isa. 54.5; 1QIsa^a 45.5 || Isa. 54.8; 1QIsa^a 45.9 || Isa. 54.10; 1QIsa^a 45.12 || Isa. 54.13; 1QIsa^a 49.15 || Isa. 60.12; 1QIsa^a 50.12 || Isa. 62.2; 1QIsa^a 50.13 || Isa. 62.3; 1QIsa^a 50.14 || Isa. 62.4; 1QIsa^a 50.15 || Isa. 62.4; 1QIsa^a 50.16 || Isa. 62.5; 1QIsa^a 50.25 || Isa. 62.12; 4Q84 f28i.18 || MT כִּי- Ps. 116.19.

5.4. Non-Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls

In the following lists, the parallel MT form is consonant-final unless otherwise specified. **Pronoun**—אֲתִי: 4Q223–224 f2ii.11 || Jub. 35.17. **Verbal ending**—ת: 4Q169 f3–4ii.10 || Nah. 3.5; 4Q169 f3–4ii.11 || Nah. 3.5. **Nominal suffix**—ך: 1QM 12.14, 14, 14, 14, 14; 19.6, 6, 6; 4Q168 f1.4 || Mic. 4.10; 4Q169 f3–4ii.10 || Nah. 3.5; 4Q169 f3–4ii.11 || Nah. 3.5; 4Q169 f3–4ii.11 || Nah. 3.5;

4Q169 f3-4iii.1 || Nah. 3.6; 4Q169 f3-4iii.1 || Nah. 3.6; 4Q169 f3-4iii.1 || Nah. 3.6; 4Q169 f3-4iii.2 || Nah. 3.7; 4Q169 f3-4iii.2 || Nah. 3.7; 4Q169 f3-4iii.6 || Nah. 3.7; 4Q169 f5.3 || Nah. 3.14; 4Q176 f1-2ii.5 || Isa.49.16; 4Q176 f8-11.6 || Isa. 54.4; 4Q176 f8-11.6 || Isa. 54.5; 4Q176 f8-11.8 || Isa. 54.6; 4Q176 f8-11.8 || Isa. 54.6; 4Q176 f8-11.9 || Isa. 54.7; 4Q176 f8-11.9 || Isa. 54.7; 4Q176 f8-11.10 || Isa. 54.8; 4Q176 f8-11.10 || Isa. 54.8; 4Q176 f8-11.11 || Isa. 54.9; 4Q385a f17a-eii.4, 5, 7; 4Q415 f2ii.2, 5, 7; 4Q492 f1.6, 6, 7; 4Q522 f22-26.5 || Ps. 122.7; גי: 4Q161 f5-6.7 || Isa. 10.30; 4Q176 f8-11.6 || Isa. 54.4; 4Q176 f8-11.7 || Isa. 54.5; 4Q176 f8-11.12 || Isa. 54.10; 4Q176 f50.1; 4Q223-224 f2i.47 || Jub. 35.8.