On the Temporal Forms in Mordvin

Two endings including an *n*-element occur in the declension of Mordvin nominals. These may be called temporal endings. The forms containing these endings appear as temporal verb-phrase complements. The first of these endings is Erza *ńe*, Mokša *ńɛ*. It is added to the names of the days and seasons as well as to words referring to the time, year or weather conditions; an attribute is usually added to the form. E.g. E *kažnyį čińe* 'каждый день', *eŕva veńe* 'каждую ночь', *sy godne* 'на будущий годъ' (Шахматов, Мордовский этнографическій сборникъ, 780), *ṕeľe ve škańe* 'um Mitternacht' (Paasonen—Ravila, Mordwinische Volksdichtung I 331), *kažnyį buŕańe* 'въ каждую бурю' (Шахматов, ib.), M *stak šińä·* 'an Wochentagen' (Paasonen—Ravila, IV 297), *tada veńä* 'heute Nacht' (ib. IV 368), *kolmətśä kezônä·* 'im dritten Jahre' (ib. IV 86), *тя пингонá* 'в это время' (Мокшанско-русский словарь 208a), *taftama jakšamńɛ·* 'ilyen hidegben' (Juhász, Moksa-mordvin szójegyzék 42b). Evidently, attempts to distinguish the temporal forms from diminutives based on the basic stem (cf. E *tśokšnę, tśokšńe* 'abends; Abend', Paasonen, Mordwinische Chrestomathie 136) have caused the temporal *ńɛ*-ending to be always stressed in Mokša, no matter what the phonological structure of the word happens to be (Juhász—Erdély, Moksamordvin szójegyzék, Bevezetés 19).

According to the opinion generally held, the Mordvin temporal ending E *ńe*, M *ńɛ* is a reflex of the old **na, nä* locative (Szinnyei, Finnisch-ugrische Sprachwissenschaft[2] 55, Budenz, Moksa- és erza-mordvin nyelvtan, NyK 13 33, Collinder, Jukagirisch und Uralisch 26; however the Erza *na* temporal ending is also connected with the Mordvin *ńe, ńɛ* temporal ending), the corresponding forms of which occur in all the other Finno-

Ugric languages with temporal function. The Mordvin suffix is especially noteworthy of its unique palatal vocalism.

There has been considerable discussion as to whether the old *na, nä locative might also have a reflex with local meaning, specifically in the *udalo* type adverbs.

In Mordvin the local cases denoting location, separation and motion towards are the inessive (*so*, *sę*, *sa*), the elative (*sto*, *stę*, *sta*) and the illative (*s*) (or occasionally the lative *v*, *η*, *j*, *ή*). In certain adverbs different endings are used to express these local relationships. For the case of location a form occurs in which the case ending is solely the final vowel; for the case of separation an ablative in *do*, *d̕e*, *da* occurs (the ablative of the nominal paradigm has no local meaning, the sole exception being in the construction *kudodo kudos*); for the case of motion towards the lative is used.

Most of these adverbs have a root in *l*:

E *alo*, M *alᵊ* 'unten, unter', E *aldo*, M *aldᵊ* 'von unten her, unter', E *alov*, *aloη*, M *alu* 'hinab, herab, nieder, unter' — cf. E M *al* 'das untere, unten befindliche' (Paasonen, Chrest. 59).

M *alula* 'lent', M *aluldᵊ* 'alulról' (Juhász, 25a).

E *ik̕ele*, M *iηgᵊl̕ĕ* (*ik̕ᵊl̕ĕ*) 'vor (wo?)' E *ik̕el̕d̕e*, M *iηgᵊld̕ĕ* 'von vorn', E *ik̕el̕ej*, *ik̕el̕ev*, *ik̕el̕eή*, M *iηgᵊl̕i* 'vorwärts, vor (wohin?)' (Paasonen, 65) — cf. M *iηgᵊl̕*: *kud-i.* 'tornác' (Juhász, 40a).

E *ḿejl̕e*, *ḿäjl̕ä*, M *ḿel̕ĕ* 'später, danach, hernach, darauf, nach' (Paasonen, 94).

M *мékoлe* 'сзáди, позадú', *мékoли* 'сзáди, позадú; потóм, пóсле, в концé' (Мокшанско-русский словарь 161b).

E *ṕel̕e*, M *ṕɛl̕ĕ* 'bei, an', E *ṕel̕d̕e*, M *ṕɛld̕ĕ* 'von', E *ṕel̕ej*, *ṕel̕ev*, *ṕel̕eή*, M *ṕɛl̕i* 'zu' — cf. E *ṕel̕*, M *ṕɛl̕* 'Seite' (Paasonen, 107).

E *tombal̕e*, M *tombal̕ĕ* 'auf der anderen Seite, jenseits', E *tombal̕d̕e*, M *tombal̕d̕ĕ* 'von der anderen Seite', E *tombal̕ej*, M *tombal̕i* 'auf die andere Seite, auf jene Seite, über' (Paasonen, 143).

E *товоло*, M *тóвола* 'там', E *товолдо*, M *тóволда* 'оттýда', E *товолов*, M *тóволу* 'тудá' (Эрзянско-русский словарь 218a, Мокшанско-русский словарь 271b, 272a).

E *udalo*, M *ftalᵊ* 'hinter (wo?)', E *udaldo*, M *ftaldᵊ* 'hinter etwas hervor', E *udalov*, *udaloη*, M *ftalu* 'hinter (wohin?)' (Paasonen, 146) — cf. M *ftal* 'hátsó rész' (Juhász, 38).

E *vasolo* 'weit, in der Ferne', E *vasoldo* 'aus der Ferne' (Paasonen, 151).

E *те-веле* 'близко сюда, по сю сторону', *те вельде* 'поближе отсюда, с этой стороны' (Евсевьев, Эрзянь-рузонь валкс 77).

E *венеле* 'на дворе', *венельде* 'со двора', *венелев, венелей, венилив, веньдили*, M *венели* 'на двор' — vrt. E *вениль, веньдиль*, M *венель* 'вне дома, "на дворе", погода' (Евсевьев, 80).

There are also groups with a different kind of stem. Of these only the first one is definitely a reflex of a proto-Mordvin form:

E *v́eŕe*, M *v́eŕe̬* 'oben', E *v́eŕde*, M *v́eŕd́e̬* 'von oben', E *v́eŕej, v́eŕev, v́eŕeń*, M *v́eŕi* 'nach oben, in die Höhe' (Paasonen, 153—).

E *масторо* 'на полу́, на земле́' (Эрзянско-русский словарь 132a), (Bolšaja Tarasovka) *mastira* 'a földön' (Klemm, Mordvin szövegek [Különlenyomat a pannonhalmi évkönyvből] 48), (Velikij Vrag) *masto·rdo* 'von der Diele' (Paasonen—Ravila, II 388) — cf. E *mastor, mastur, mastir* 'Erde' (Paasonen, 93).

M *šiŕä* : *omba širä* 'jenseits' (Paasonen—Ravila, IV 42), *fḱä širä* 'auf der einen Seite' (ib. IV 27), *ширде* 'извне́; с' (Мокшанско-русский словарь 305a), *šiŕi* : *otṕ širi* 'auf die andere Seite' (Paasonen, 135) — cf. M *šiŕe̬* 'Kante, Rand, Ufer, Seite; Gegend' (Paasonen, 135).

E *jono* : *ве ёно* 'в стороне' (Евсевьев, 128), *oḃed jono* 'im Süden' (Ravila, JSFOu 61₃ 52a), *kavto jono* 'beiderseitig' (Paasonen—Ravila, II 468), *ko jono* 'in welcher Richtung' (ib. I 480), *jondo* : *те ёндо* 'с этой стороны' (Евсевьев, 128), *ombot́śe jondo* 'von der anderen Seite', *eŕva jondo* 'von jeder Seite' (Ravila, JSFOu 61₃ 17a), *lemḃä jonda* 'meleg vidékről' (Klemm, 15), *jonov* : *ве ёнов* 'в сторону' (Евсевьев, ib.), *eŕva jonov* 'nach allen Seiten' (Paasonen, 69) — cf. E *jon* 'Richtung' (Paasonen, 69).

M *itškə̈źe̬* 'messze, távol', *itškə̈źde̬* 'messziről, távolról', *itškə̈źi* 'messze, tova' (Juhász, 41b).

These adverbs have the characteristic feature that the suffix element beginning with a consonant (the suffix of the ablative and prolative — also the *ga* prolative suffix belong to this class

of adverbial stems; nevertheless, since these forms are not restricted to the class of adverbs under discussion prolative forms have not been included in the examples) is always added to the consonant stem (thus, for example, also in the ε-stem *šiŕε*). The stem word can not be distinguished in all cases.

The locative forms have been explained in two ways. Attention has been usually directed to those with *l* as a derivative suffix.

Budenz brought attention to the fact that the locative forms differ from the corresponding nominative forms as to their final vocalism. He considered the final vowels to have preserved a relic of an earlier suffixal element. Fixing attention on analogous adverbs with ablative formative elements, he decided that the element in question had been a locative ending. Similarly in Finnish locative adverbs essive endings appear parallel with partitive endings (NyK 13 33—, 43). Paasonen held the same view: »Mord. -*l*- kann ein früheres -*ln*- vertreten, wie es sicher der Fall ist in solchen Adverb- und Postpositionsformen wie mord. *alo* 'unten, unter' = fi. *alla* < *al-na*, tscher. *ül-nö* id., vgl. mord. *al-do* 'von unten her' = fi. *al-ta*; mord. *uda-lo* 'hinten, hinter': -*lo* = fi. Adessivendung -*lla* < *-lna*, vgl. mord. *uda-ldo* 'von hinten her': -*ldo* = fi. Ablativendung -*lta*» (Fi. *pellava* 'Lein', JSFOu 30$_{22}$ 4). More recently Bubrih has assumed these adverbs to have developed in the following manner: *ln* > *l*, *rn* > *r* (Историческая грамматика §§ 52, 99, 120).

If the forms are considered to be old locatives, *n* must be assumed to have been assimilated into the preceding consonant. Indeed, there are reliable examples of assimilation, but in these cases the preceding consonant has been a sibilant in all cases. The Mordvin inessive is the exact phonological equivalent of the Balto-Finnish and Lappish inessive. In the Mordvin inessive suffix E *so*, *sę*, M *sa* the *s* must have been followed by a consonant in the proto-Mordvin suffix of which the modern variants are reflexes, since *s* has remained voiceless. This consonant was *n* which was assimilated into the preceding sibilant (Donner, ASSF 11 486, Setälä, YSÄH 410—, Budenz, Moksa- és erzamordvin nyelvtan, NyK 13 35, Paasonen, Mordwinische

Lautlehre, MSFOu 22 46—). That it is specifically an element n which is in question is demonstrated by the fact that it has been preserved in some dialects of Erza when the ending was added to a stem ending in n or a sibilant (viz. Paasonen, Chrest. 01 footnote 1. A similar phenomenon is seen in the śńe-inessive suffix of the definite declension which occurs in some Erza dialects [Isakly, Stepnaja Šantala]. That this is a case of the inessive suffix śńe added to the ś element of the definite declension is demonstrated upon comparison of the źńe-allative suffix used in the definite declension of the same dialects with the inessive ending.) In the consonant sequences $n + sn$ and $s + sn$ assimilation has been prevented. The palatal vocalism of the inessive snę, śńe endings and of the temporal ńe endings is noteworthy. Other examples of loss of postconsonantal n: E v́iš, M v́iš, v́išä 'Spelt', cf. Fi. vehnä, Cher. βiste (Paasonen, Etymologische Streifzüge, FUF 2 186—); E p̍ekše, p̍ekšę, M p̍ešč 'Linde', cf. Est.S pähn, Cher. KB pi·stə, U pi·štə (Toivonen, Zur Geschichte der finnisch-ugrischen inlautenden Affrikaten, FUF 19 200, 244). There are, nevertheless, also examples in which this n has been preserved: E kšna, šna, M šna 'Riemen', cf. Fi. hihna, LpL sašne, Cher. šište, cf. Lith. sziksznâ (Paasonen, FUF 2 187—). The following are examples of the same phenomenon: E kšnams, šnams, M šnams 'rühmen, loben, preisen' (Paasonen, Chrest. 136), E ksnau̯, M snau̯ 'Erbse' (Ravila, JSFOu 61_3 33b, Juhász, 153a). A condition for the preservation of post-consonantal n was that n was the initial element of a stressed syllable. In certain cases the a (perhaps also the $ä$) of the second syllable had the main stress in proto-Mordvin (Ravila, Über eine doppelte Vertretung des urfinnisch-wolgaischen $*a$ der nichtersten Silbe im Mordwinischen, FUF 20 105—).

There are, however, no examples of the changes $ln > l$, $rn > r$, and a few viewpoints can be given in support of the assumption that a type $*udal-no$ has never existed.

In the examples there was one adverb with an s-stem, namely M itškəźč. It cannot be explained as a $*nä$ locative, since ś would be expected as the result of assimilation, i.e. the same development which occured in the case of the inessive

suffix. There is no concrete proof that this adverb is a reflex
of a proto-Mordvin form since the data is based only on Mokša
evidence. Nevertheless, it is not likely that unproductive suf-
fixes would occur in secondary analogical formations.

It seems apparent that the proto-Mordvin suffixal system
did not permit the sequence $n\hat{\partial}$ in non-initial syllables: all the
suffixes of modern-Mordvin which contain an original n are
reflexes of a variant $\acute{n}\partial$ with palatal vocalism: the temporal
suffix, the inessive in those cases in which the nasal element
has been preserved, the comitative ending $\acute{n}ek$. Hallap has
brought attention to the fact that the verbal derivative ele-
ments that contain an n plus vowel and are traceable back
to proto-Mordvin presuppose a suffix $\acute{n}\partial$ in the proto-language
without a variant $n\hat{\partial}$ (Hallap, Суффиксы образования гла-
голов в мордовских языках 18—). (The presence of this $\acute{n}$
also brings the unusual palatalization of the genetive and
allative [? *n lative] to mind.)

In 1945 Ravila stated in Virittäjä that »the form *vasolo*
has no case suffix comparable to the Finnish adessive ($l + na$).
— — — Evidently the Mordvin adverb — — — is a case of
an attribute developing into an adverbial» (Nomen verbale
suomalais-ugrilaisissa kielissä, p. 157—). These forms are still
used as attributes in Erza: *vére-pas* 'der oben befindliche Gott,
der Himmelsgott' (Paasonen, Chrest. 154), *alo péĺej* 'hinunter',
vére péĺej 'hinauf' (Paasonen—Ravila, II 331), *vije·ť keď pé·ĺe
ugo·lso* 'in der Ecke zur rechten Hand' (ib. II 385). Examples
of this kind do not, however, offer conclusive proof that forms
of the type *udalo* definitely contain no suffix and are nomina-
tive in form, since both nominative and local attributes are
possible, i.e. E *čej buka* 'Sumpfschnepfe, Himmelsziege, Bekas-
sine', *moda-numolo* 'ein gelbliches Tierchen, Erdhase, Springhase
(Dipus)', *pakśa-ńekš* 'Hummel', *vir̀-kudińe* 'Waldhütte' (Heik-
kilä, MS. of the Mordvin Dictionary), ведь-эряв 'мифическое
существо, живущее в воде (муж ведь-авы)' (Евсевьев, 74),
M *kud-eŕɛj* 'házlakó, házban élő' (Juhász, 79b), *vir̀-matśi* 'vad-
lúd' (Juhász, 202b), *moda-numâl* = E *moda-numolo* (Heikkilä,
MS.) ∼ E *kuntškaso sur* 'Mittelfinger' (Ravila, JSFOu 61₃ 35a),
sęŕsę-močińeń 'meine Körperkräfte' (Paasonen—Ravila, II

334), *mastor-alga kijava* 'auf unterirdischem Wege' (ib. III 71). A peculiarity of Mokša is the occurance of the local attribute in a case denoting separation: *värdä-täšttnä* 'die Sterne droben' (Paasonen—Ravila, IV 33), *alda utômu* 'in den unteren Speicher' (ib. IV 12), *ftalda kaldazsa* 'auf dem hinteren Viehhof' (ib. IV 80), *utômsta täľaf śorônza* 'das gedroschene Korn im Speicher' (ib. IV 143), *kucta śemjäń raštamga* 'damit die Familie im Hause sich mehre' (ib. IV 458). Nevertheless, the possibility of two kinds of attributes has been able to cause the **udal-no* type to be replaced by the *udalo*-type.

The second temporal suffix with an *n*-element is E *na*, *ńa*, *nda*, *ńďe*, *ńďi*, M *nda*, *ńďe*. The suffix E *na*, *ńa*, M *nda* occurs particularly in conjunction with the names of the seasons, but it is also found in words referring to the time of day or to time in general. These forms have attributes in the dialects of Isakly and Kažlytka: E (Malyj Tolkaj) *kizna* 'im Sommer' (Ravila, Ersämordwinisches Wörterverzeichnis, JSFOu 61₃ 29a), *teľńa* 'im Winter' (ib. 97a), *śokśńe* 'im Herbst' (ib. 82b), (Isakly) *ṕeľe ve ška·ńďe* 'um Mitternacht' (Paasonen—Ravila, I 161), *oḃe·ďńa ška·ńďe* 'um die Zeit des Mittagsgottesdienstes' (ib. I 320), (Kažlytka) *kažnij čińďi* 'jeden Tag', *äŕ čińďi* 'täglich' (Paasonen, JSFOu 12 149), M *taľônda* 'im Winter' (Paasonen, Mordwinische Chrestomathie 141), *śokśônda* 'im Herbst' (ib. 128), *sai-kizi̯nda* 'im nächsten Jahre', *ilädindä* 'abends' (Ahlqvist, Versuch einer Mokscha-Mordwinischen Grammatik 91).

As Bubrih and Hallap have demonstrated the temporal suffix E *na*, M *nda* is a reflex of a proto-Mordvin flectional element which contained the conconant cluster *nd* plus a vowel. In Erza the reflex of the proto-Mordvin cluster *nd* is *n* in non-initial syllables, i.e. M (Reg.) *mokšenda*, (Paas.) *mokšônda*, E (Wied., Paas.) *mokšna* 'Faust', cf. Cher. KB *môškô-ndô*, U *mu·škôndô* (Paasonen, Mordwinische Lautlehre, MSFOu 22 41, Hallap, 18, Bubrih, Историческая грамматика §§ 181, 152). This suffix is seen used in the function of ablativus comparationis in addition to its function as a temporal: M *śadôndä otśu*, *ś. ľožďɛ* 'nagyobb, könyebb' (Juhász, 144b), *śembôndä ošal* 'legrosszabb' (ib. 146a). The ablative suffix can be seen

in the latter part of this ending although use of the ablative in
expressions of time is otherwise infrequent (M *peĺš-ve škadă*
'um die Mitternacht' Paasonen, Chrest. 136, Juhász, 118b).
The *n* element of the ending may be a reflex of the same **na, nä*
locative as does the E *ńe*, M *ńε* temporal suffix. When an *n*
suffix with velar vocalism was not able to be used as such
(p. 252), it was expanded with the ablative suffix. Bubrih con-
sidered the elements of the suffix to be the locative and abla-
tive suffix (Историческая грамматика, § 182). Beke, too, con-
sidered the final element to be an ablative suffix even though
he thought the *n* element strange, possibly a locative suffix
(*Tavasz*, NyK 40 463—). Lakó connects this Mordvin suffix
with the prosecutive suffix of the Permian languages and the
d-element of the Hungarian adverbs *ide, oda* (Permi prose-
cutivusrag és transitivusrag rokonnyelvi megfelelői, NyK 53 20;
but viz. Erkki Itkonen's criticism FUF 32 Anz. 64).

The third temporal suffix, *t*, *ť* appears in Erza and Mokša.
Forms inflected with this suffix occur as verb phrase comple-
ments. The suffix is used particularly in names denoting time
of day. An attribute may be added to the form: E *čiť* 'bei
Tage' (Paasonen—Ravila, III 191), *tšo·kśť pozda* 'spät abends'
(ib. II 422), *tečä väť* 'in dieser Nacht' (ib. III 302), *siŕedḿeń
peľť* 'in ihren alten Tagen', *taštumań peľť* 'im Alter' (ib. I 209),
M *tä veť* 'heute nacht' (ib. IV 269), *šiť* 'am Tage' (ib. IV 528),
iľä·ť 'am Abend' (ib. IV 824), *iľä·ńń zaŕat* 'bei der Abendröte'
(ib. IV 751), *śiŕədəń päľᶜť* 'in ihren alten Tagen' (ib. IV 383),
ombătsä vremať 'ein anderes Mal' (ib. IV 859), *ombit* 'übermor-
gen', *yotai-kiz̧it* 'im vorigen Jahre', *sai-kiz̧it* 'im nächsten Jahre'
(Ahlqvist, 91).

Lakó connects this temporal suffix with the transitive suffix
of the Permian languages and the locative suffix of the Ugric
languages (NyK 53 21—).

In Mordvin, however, there are other form-classes with
t-endings.

There is one prepositional construction in Mordvin. In it a
preposition in the lative is followed by the main word which
is inflected with the suffix *t*. The construction occurs as a verbal
complement: E *si̧ť alov pant* 'kamen bergab (gefahren)' (Paa-

sonen—Ravila, III 310), *mon tįŋk kisę käpidija verev meneĺt́* *t́e norov-avańt́'*für euch habe ich dieses Getreide hoch gegen den Himmel gehoben' (ib. III 103), M *väŕi meńəĺćt́ kepədəms / alu mastərćt vačkədəms* 'um (mich) gegen den Himmel droben zu heben, um (mich) gegen die Erde unten zu schlagen' (ib. IV 462), *väŕi vedńat son ujəž tuś* 'sie begann stromaufwärts zu rudern' (ib. IV 48).

The third type is connected to the preceding insofar as it has two components and the first of them is probably a lative adverb. Another adverb is also possible and often the third participle or an adjective is the first component. The second component, ending in *t*, is the name of a part of the body. The construction occurs as a verb phrase complement. Its semantic equivalent in Finnish and Lappish is the nominativus absolutus: E *мэйгэйэрт* 'наотмашь' (Bubrih, § 98), *p u ĺ ž a d o ń ṕ i ĺ k ašt́itan, k e ṕ e d́ e ń k e t́ oznutan* 'wir sind niedergekniet, wir flehen mit erhobenen Händen' (Paasonen—Ravila III 19—), *moń babań latsa p a ń ž i ń k u r k t korćtä* 'Sie sprach (Prs.) wie meine Grossmutter mit offenem Munde' (ib. III 304), M *karšək końat* 'ellen, szembe' (»szembe homlokkal») (Juhász, 54a), *k o m a č a ń p ŕ a t suva·mga* 'deswegen, weil ich mit verhülltem Kopf - - gehen muss' (Paasonen—Ravila, IV 457), *kuca ašči pabańäžä ś t a d ə̂ ń p ŕ ä ń a t* 'die Alte war (Prs.) in der Stube erhobenen Hauptes' (ib. IV 385), *mest́ jakat ton t́aškavasta, eli v a t́ š a p e k t́ eli k e l m ä l a ŋ k t* 'warum gehst du bis so weit umher? Oder (gehst) du wegen hungrigen Magens oder frierenden Körpers' (ib. IV 855).

It seems quite certain that the element in the suffix is the plural suffix *t*. It occurs in Mordvin as the case of both the plural subject and object.

In the type *vat́ša pekt́, kepedeń ket́* the suffix may be the *t* of the nominative in which case there would be an example of the Mordvin nominativus absolutus construction.

In the construction *alov pant* the latter part is evidently the reflex of an earlier verbal complement, an example of the accusativus viae which is also found in other Finno-Ugric languages. Also in Lappish the accusativus viae occurs dialectally primarily only in conjunction with a lative adverb.

The accusativus temporalis does appear in Finno-Ugric lan-

guages as a verbal complement. (Paavo Siro, Suomen kielen
lauseoppi 1.37 and Eeva Kangasmaa-Minn, Verbi- ja objekti-
kategorioiden keskinäisistä suhteista, Sananjalka 10 p. 56 are
of a different opinion: they classify the so called object-type
time qualifier in Finnish as a verb phrase complement.) But
at least in Lappish and Cheremis this is also used as a verb
phrase complement: LpL *nåv jut mån muhteem ijaait ittjiv
nuola piktasijt* 'so that I didn't take clothes off on some nights'
(Pirak, Jåhtee saamee viessoom, 29), Cher. *tudo šəžəm nalən
sösnam* 'he bought pigs in the autumn' (Eeva Kangasmaa-
Minn, Tšeremissin kaksoisobjekti, Acta Universitatis Tampe-
rensis A: 26 55). It is probably not impossible to see the *t* of
the plural in the Mordvin *ť, t* temporal ending, an opinion
expressed by Wiedemann in his time (Grammatik der erza-
mordwinischen Sprache 46).

In regards to palatalization the temporal usually differs
from the nominative plural, cf. M (C V) *v́eť* 'éjjel', *v́et* 'éjszakák'
(Juhász, 198b), E Kažlytka *v́äť* tempor., *ṕet* plur. < *ṕe* 'Ende'
(Paasonen, MSFOu 22 48). And Šahmatov is of the opinion
that the ending of the temporal is *ť* (779—). In the Paasonen
—Ravila texts, however, the palatalized type is not the
only one.

<div align="right">RAIJA BARTENS</div>