UNIVERSITY OF TARTU
FACULTY OF ARTS AND HUMANITIES
INSTITUTE OF ESTONIAN AND GENERAL LINGUISTICS
DEPARTMENT OF GENERAL LINGUISTICS

Orsolya Kiss

Forms of address in the Tatar language spoken in Finland and Estonia

Master thesis

Supervisor Renate Pajusalu, PhD
Supervisor Virve-Anneli Vihman PhD
Supervisor András Czentnár, PhD

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List of Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
PL	plural
SG	singular
ACC	accusative
DAT	dative
FUT2	indefinite future tense
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative
LOC	locative
POSS	possessive suffix
PRON	pronominal form
Q	question particle
VERB	verbal form
Tat	Tatar
Est	Estonian
Fin	Finnish
Rus	Russian
(.)	pause

1. Introduction

Tatar is a Turkic language spoken by approximately six million people worldwide (Kakuk, 2002, pp. 68–69). The original homeland of the Tatars is in the Volga-Ural region; however, due to historical reasons, nowadays there are various Tatar diasporas inside and outside of Russia, in many Central Eurasian countries (Sakurama-Nakamura, 2021) and also in the Baltic Sea Region, in countries such as Finland and Estonia (Cwiklinski, 2016).

In this master thesis, I shall investigate what address forms are preferred and used by Tatar speakers in Finland and Estonia. Today, there are about 600 Tatar speakers in Finland (Halén & Martikainen, 2016, p. 103) and about 800 Tatar speakers in Estonia (Iqbal, 2021, p. 290). The roots of today's Finnish Tatar minority and some of the Estonian Tatar minority members date back to the 1870s when their ancestors arrived as merchants from the Mishar Tatar villages of the Nizhny Novgorod Oblast (Cwiklinski, 2016, pp. 1–3). The Tatars of the Baltic Sea Region shared a mutual cultural sphere until the 1930s (Bekkin, 2020); after that, the Tatar communities developed culturally and linguistically in different directions.

In Finland, the Tatar minority members stayed as a closed community, whose ancestors mostly arrived from the same region and spoke the Mishar Tatar dialect (Halén & Martikainen, 2016); after the 1940s, new Tatar groups arrived to the territory of Estonia (Abiline & Ringvee, 2016). The newly arrived Tatars spoke various Tatar dialects as their first language and Russian as their second language (L2). Even nowadays, there is a clear cultural division between the Tatars of Estonia whose ancestors arrived during the pre-Soviet times and those who arrived during the Soviet times (Klaas, 2015; Abiline & Ringvee, 2016).

In Finland between the 1930s and 1980s, contacts with the Republic of Turkey were extensive, which promoted and caused a shift into a pan-Turkic identity among the Tatar minority members in Finland. Additionally, the influence of Turkey led the Finnish Tatar community to the adoption of the Turkish Latin alphabet and borrowing vocabulary from the Turkish language. Especially since the 1990s, the Tatars of Finland experienced another shift in their identity due to the renewed contacts with their ancestral home villages and the Republic of Tatarstan. These contacts also gave rise to the influence of literary Tatar in the Finnish Tatar variety (Halén & Martikainen, 2016). The available descriptive studies about the Tatar language spoken among the Finnish and Estonian Tatar minorities point out that the Tatar language is

changing due to influence of the societal languages in Finland and Estonia (cf. Akhmetova, 2004; Nisametdin, 2011; Özalan, 2021; cf. also about Estonia: Nurmekund, 1975; Jorma, 2016). It has been observed that cultural and linguistic contact with other languages can influence the use and preference of address forms in a minority language (cf. Le, 2011; Keevallik, 2012).

Although previous studies about the language of Tatar diasporas do not focus on address forms, Akhmetova (2004) and Yusupova (2014) suggest variation within address forms among the Tatar minorities living in Finland and China. In her study, Akhmetova (2004, p. 10) briefly mentions that the address forms do not follow the norms of the literary language speakers in the Finnish Tatar community and assumes that it is due to the intensive contact with the Finnish language.

The present master's thesis aims to determine what address forms are preferred and how they are used among different generations of Finnish and Estonian Tatar speakers. The sociolinguistic variable that this master thesis mainly focuses on is age and the country of residence. One of the main reasons why age is chosen is that both Tatar minorities struggle with the decreasing number of Tatar speakers. In Finland, there are around 600 Tatar speakers and according to the statistics in 2012, more than half of the Tatar community members were above the age of 50 (Halén & Martikainen, 2016, p. 103). At the same time, about 2000 Tatars live in Estonia. According to statistics, about only 800 Tatars reported Tatar as their mother tongue (Iqbal, 2021, p. 290). In the Estonian Tatar minority, "young Tatars" mean the community members who are less than 50 years old, and several sources mention the lack of young enthusiastic Tatar speakers in Estonia (Lepa, 2021; Iqbal, 2021). By examining differences in language use, I hope to better understand how *age* and *region* can influence the use of address forms in diasporas with relatively small numbers of speakers.

The central research questions are:

(i) What address forms are used by the Tatar speakers in Finland and Estonia and why?

(ii) How does age influence the choice of address forms between generations?

(iii) How has contact with Finnish and Estonian influenced the address forms used in Tatar?

Based on the existing literature about this topic, I formed the following hypothesis:

1. There are differences in the use and preference of address forms among the Tatars of Finland and Estonia. Some of these differences are due to the influence of the contact languages.

2. The Tatars of Finland are expected to use the SG2 forms more often for addressing each other than the Estonian Tatars.
3. The Tatars of Estonia are expected to use fictive kinship terms more extensively than Finnish Tatar speakers.
4. The older speakers are expected to prefer to use and be addressed more by fictive kinship terms than younger speakers.

In addition to the aims of answering the research questions and testing the hypotheses, another purpose of this master thesis is to document the Tatar varieties of Finland and Estonia. Therefore, the interview recordings of the eighteen participants who gave their consent will be archived after the thesis defence at the Archive of Estonian Dialects and Finno-Ugric Languages at the Institute of Estonian and General Linguistics at the University of Tartu.
For this master thesis, all in all nineteen Tatar speakers living in Finland and Estonia have been interviewed. The research material includes role-play scenarios performed in groups and semistructured individual and group interviews. The analysed material consists of nine hours and five minutes of audio material. The role-plays were analysed from a quantitative point of view, while the semistructured interview analyses followed the qualitative method.

Below I present the theoretical background (chapter 2), provide an overview of the research material and methods (chapter 3), results (chapter 4), discussion (chapter 5) and a conclusion (chapter 6).

2. Theoretical background

The theoretical background of the present study is based on Brown and Levinson's (1987) Politeness Theory and on the framework of Variational Pragmatics. The current chapter presents the development of the principal theories and models used to analyse the gathered material for this study.

2.1 Linguistic politeness

Since the early 1970s, scholars have attempted to make a connection between the phenomenon of politeness and linguistic behaviour. Penelope Brown and Steven Levinson developed the most well-known and comprehensive theory for characterising universal social strategies of politeness and their effect on language. This theory is referred to as *linguistic politeness* (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

The theory of linguistic politeness of Brown and Levinson (1987) claims that in human interaction, politeness is a universal feature that guides different strategies shaping language use. Linguistic politeness focuses on the concept of *face* initially defined by Goffman, meaning "the social value everyone effectively claims for himself" (1967, p. 5). However, Brown and Levinson describe face as "the public self-image that every member (of a society) wants to claim for him- [or her]self" (1987, p. 61) and put forward an innovation by dividing this concept further into *negative face* and *positive face*. They define negative and positive face as:

a. *Positive face*: a person's desire to be valued and approved by others
b. *Negative face*: a person's desire not to be imposed on or coerced by others

Moreover, Brown and Levinson (1987) also propose that certain types of expected behaviour in human interaction (for instance, making a request, apologising) might threaten the interlocutor's negative or positive face. For instance, in order to make a request, the speaker often addresses the hearer with a third-person construction instead of second-person singular or plural forms and uses sentences like *Is it be possible to shut the window?*. Such a strategy helps the speaker defend his negative face and can still be polite (1987, pp. 194–198). Brown and Levinson analysed these kinds of situations and strategies in Tzeltal, Tamil and English, and

their findings led to the understanding that politeness devices function similarly in different languages and described fifteen surface-level strategies, naming them *Face Threatening Acts*. They divided the strategies where one's positive face is threatened and called them *Positive Politeness* and when someone's negative face is threatened, it is named *Negative Politeness*. They also posit that there are three sociological variables that assess for threatening one's negative or positive face. These are the following:

(i) the social distance (D) between Speaker (S) and Hearer (H)
(ii) the relative power (P) of S and H
(i) the ranking (R) of impositions in the particular culture

In their study, they also mention the employment and omission of forms of address under different strategies. The informal address forms and the nominal address forms, such as nicknames and kinship terms are categorised as the means of positive politeness strategies, namely, the strategy of "use of in-group identity markers". More specifically, choosing the informal address forms over the formal address forms can indicate closer relationship between S and H and D and make S's desire happen to be valued by H. Additionally, the use of address forms, including informal personal pronouns, phrases (for instance, *honey*, *dear*, *mate*) and kinship terms (*father*, *mother*) can express solidarity and make the interlocutors feel belonging to the same group (ibid. pp. 107–111).
In contrast, formal address forms are also categorised under *Negative Politeness super strategies* (ibid. pp. 198–203), including the "pluralisation of 'you' and 'I' pronouns". Using the second-person plural forms for addressing formally only one addressee has been identified in many languages and according to Brown and Levinson, it is employed in order to as assign the relative power (P) or distance (D) (ibid. pp. 198). They also mention the strategy "address term as 'you' avoidance", which plays an important role in such cultures where the name taboo is applied. In such societies, kinship terms are used, for instance among Tamil speakers (ibid. pp. 203–204).

Although most scholars agree that among all theories, Brown and Levinson's theory offers the most all-encompassing approach to linguistic politeness, it is still often accused of focusing too much on Anglo-Saxon culture and for being too "over-generalised and universal". It does not discuss the variation that can emerge in one language or within one culture on the basis of region and age, which is also the focus of the current study. Moreover, Brown and Levinson

state that their approach is universal. Nevertheless, most scholars engaged in studying the linguistic politeness of languages spoken in Asian countries did not find Brown and Levinson's framework to be applicable in the "more top-down and power-structured East Asian societies" (Kádár & Mills, 2011, p. 5). Also, Brown and Levinson's approach is very much developed on the basis of the Speech Act Theory, focusing mainly on the effect on the politeness of the different speech acts, which is not the topic of the current study.

On the other hand, the Politeness Theory was partly applied in one of the most essential studies about Tatar linguistic politeness conducted by Romazanova (2007). Applying the same theory to the current study for analysing the address forms of Tatar minority speakers can enable us to understand the results better in light of the same theory. Still, because of the critique against Brown and Levinson's theory, I combine their Politeness theory with another theoretical approach in my master thesis, namely, *variational pragmatics*. Combining theoretical approaches might be more suitable for researching the variety of formal and informal address forms in such a language as Tatar, which is traditionally spoken outside of the Anglo-Saxon cultural sphere. Another significant factor in justifying the incorporation of a different theoretical approach is that "none of the existing approaches provides a full picture of the complexities of language use in interaction, and therefore the best results are achieved by combining many different approaches" (Barron & Schneider, 2009, p. 429).

2.2 Variational pragmatics

The other theoretical approach integrated into this master thesis is called variational pragmatics. Schneider and Barron (2008) introduced this analytical framework in the 2000s, aiming to merge modern dialectology, sociolinguistics and pragmatics. Variational pragmatics is closely related to cross-cultural pragmatics, but while cross-cultural pragmatics sees languages and cultures as homogenous wholes, variational pragmatics aims to determine the pragmatic features that differ within the varieties of one language, in comparison to dialectology, where "regional varieties" often refer only to the dialects as the subnational varieties of the particular language. However, according to the framework of variational pragmatics, "regional varieties" consist also of the variation observed among the pluricentric languages that are spoken in more than one national centre, for instance, English, German, and their non-dominant variations (Norrby et al., 2020, p. 206).

Schneider and Barron define variational pragmatics as it "investigates pragmatic variation in (geographical and social) space" (2008, p. 1). More specifically, variational pragmatics focuses "primarily on macro-social variation" (Schneider & Barron, 2008, p. 18), meaning how the native speakers' social factors such as place of origin, class, age, gender, nationality, level of education, and religion affect their communication and pragmatic variation (Schneider, 2010). Traditionally, Schneider and Barron (2008) distinguish five different levels in variational pragmatics:

1) the formal level deals with linguistic forms, such as pragmatic discourse markers, tag questions, and investigates how they fulfil different functions;
2) the actional level focuses on speech act analysis, such as requests, complaints, etc.;
3) the interactional level investigates how speech acts are employed in interaction;
4) the topic level analyses the topic selection and topic management;
5) the organisational level focuses on turn-taking.
(Schneider & Barron, 2008; Barron 2019, p. 45)

An additional level, the stylistic level, was supplemented by the article of Felix-Brasdefer (2012). The stylistic level "encompasses pragmatic analysis of polite/plain styles and pronominal address forms" (Barron, 2019, p. 45). The studies can either focus on only one level or combine more of them. For instance, Felix-Brasdefer (2012) combined the analysis of stylistics, actional and interactional levels while researching the pragmatic variation among market service encounters in Mexico. The current study focuses on how variables such as age and region influence the stylistic level in the Tatar language spoken in Finland and Estonia. The most important principle in the methodology is that variational pragmatics is empirical (Barron & Schneider, 2009, p. 430). The studies conducted according to the variational pragmatics apply a significant number of different data collection methods, such as questionnaires, semistructured interviews, role-plays, and/or recordings of naturally occurring conversations (Schneider 2010).

2.2.1 Pluricentric languages

The framework of variational pragmatics is being more and more employed for exploring the pragmatic diversity in researching *pluricentric languages*, which are defined as languages with several interacting centres where different language varieties exist (Clyne, 1992, p. 1).

The main reasons new varieties can develop are colonisation (for instance, English), immigration (for instance, Tamil), changing of borders (for instance, Hungarian), and political changes (for instance, German) (Clyne, 2008, p. 296). There is a lack of traffic or communication across borders between the newly developing varieties, which foster their development in a different direction. In pluricentric languages, there is a dominant (standard) and other non-dominant varieties. The dominant and non-dominant varieties differ linguistically and in prestige, resources, and power (Clyne, 2008, p. 297). On the other hand, Norrby et al. (2020, pp. 204–205) highlight that hierarchies can be hard to identify (for instance American, Australian and British English). Therefore, for instance Kretzenbacher (2012, cited by Norrby et al., 2020, p. 205) suggest that some hierarchies might be simultaneously dominant and non-dominant at the same time. Specifically, Australian English is dominant in the Pacific area, but non-dominant in comparison to American or British English.

Clyne (2008, p. 297) provides a list of ten aspects in which dominant varieties differ from non-dominant varieties. Highlighting one aspect of the dominant varieties is that they "have better resources to export their variety in language teaching programs" (Clyne, 2008, p. 297). Resulting from that, they share an asymmetrical relationship in the representation of the non-standard variety because most material about a language such as dictionaries, grammar, pronunciation guides will be provided in the standard variety (Clyne, 2008, p. 297).

Earlier research about pluricentric languages includes mainly Indo-European languages such as German in Germany and Austria (Kretzenbacher, 2011), Spanish in Spain and South-America (Felix-Brasdefer, 2012; Amorós-Negre et al., 2021), and Swedish in Sweden and Finland (Nilsson et al., 2020), but also mainland and Taiwanese Chinese (Ren, 2015). These studies identified differences in pragmatic practises among the regional varieties, concluding that pragmatic variation can occur even without intensive language contact. Some of the studies also reveal that speakers usually are aware of their own repertoire and pragmatic variation (Kretzenbacher, 2011; Amorós-Negre, 2021).

2.2.2 Tatar as a pluricentric language

Muhr (2019) introduces a new approach to the concept of European pluricentric languages, where he classifies categories of European pluricentric languages according to their occurrence and status. Muhr mentions *Kazan Tatar* (Muhr, 2019, p. 22) and *Finland Tatar (Mishar)* as examples of European pluricentric languages and categorises them differently.

Firstly, Kazan Tatar (one of the official languages in the Republic of Tatarstan alongside Russian) is mentioned as an example of the official regional language category. Muhr (2019, pp. 21–22) describes languages belonging to this category as being used only in certain territories by only a specific nation. The languages have reduced status secured by law. Although there are official texts in these languages, usually oral official situations such as administration have only restricted use (Muhr, 2019, pp. 21–22). Still, according to Muhr's categorisation, official regional languages can become *norm-centres* for other speakers outside this region (Muhr, 2019, pp. 22) As for Kazan Tatar, it indeed does have on official status alongside Russian in Tatarstan, yet according to the 2010 census, 97.8% of ethnic Tatars living in Russia reported speaking Russian (Tsakhirmaa, 2020). Moreover, according to Wertheim (2003, p. 10), many local Tatars feel that they are only "playing Tatar" but not representing actual language equality between the two official languages. Yet Tatarstan, where Kazan Tatar is traditionally spoken, is undoubtedly "the cultural center and symbolic homeland to Tatars of various backgrounds all over the world" (Cole, 2011, p. 364), and consequently, also the *norm-centre.* One of the reasons behind this is the role that Tatarstan took after the collapse of the Soviet Union in Tatar diaspora politics, organising conferenses for Tatar speakers worldwide and keeping contact with them, as well as promoting a Tatar identity (Cole, 2011, p. 364; Klaas, 2015, pp. 9–10). Additionally, Kazan Tatar is the most widely spoken Tatar dialect and the main basis of the literary language (Kakuk, 2002, pp. 68–69).

Mooving further on Muhr's categorisation of European pluricentric languages (2019), Finland Tatar (Mishar) belongs to the category of *protected minority languages*. Languages representing this category "have a reduced status and linguistic rights only for a specific group", but having rights alongside other national languages (Muhr, 2019, pp. 23).

Tatar spoken in Finland can indeed be categorised as a dominant national language in the sense that there are language materials, publication activities (Bedretdin & Stahlberg, 2021; Bedretdin, 2021) and a dictionary including Finnish Tatar vocabulary additionally to Kazan Tatar (see: Moisio & Daher 2016).

Muhr (2019, p. 23) notes that these languages are often also used in neighbouring countries if they have a contiguous linguistic area. The description fits well with Tatar minorities of the Baltic Sea region, as there are other (Mishar) Tatar minorities in the neighbouring countries, such as Estonia (Klaas, 2015) and Sweden (Ståhlberg & Svanberg, 2016). Still, Muhr (2019, pp. 24-25) does not mention these Tatar language varieties among the categories, even if their situation based on rights and occurrence would fit Muhr's (2019) category of *unrecognised and unprotected regional/minority languages/invisible languages.* According to the description, these language varieties share the same features as *the official regional language* and *protected minority languages*, but the state does not recognise the language variety. The Tatar language in Estonia shares similar features. Today there are about 2000 Tatars in Estonia and around 800 Tatar speakers (Iqbal, 2021). Although it is not a populous ethnic and linguistic minority, the fact that the Tatar language has been present in the territory of Estonia at least from 1870s could be a justifying reason for the Tatar minority to get the status of a minority language. Nevertheless, the minority still does not have any particular rights or status recognised by the state (Iqbal 2019, pp. 21–22).

On the other hand, the Finnish Tatar variety seems to enjoy great prestige, based on the earlier interviews with Estonian Tatars (Klaas, 2015, p. 15) and Kazan Tatars (Wertheim, 2003, p. 95). Wertheim suggests that one of the main reasons the Finnish Tatar variety is so prestigious is that their language could stay "clean" of Russian borrowings, resulting in Finnish Tatar following the ideology of purism even better than standard literary Kazan Tatar (Wertheim, 2003, p. 95). The studies of Küçük & Jorma (2016, pp. 286–289) affirm the "cleanness" of Finnish Tatar, identifying Turkish influence in Finnish Tatar, but less Russian-influenced vocabulary and structures than in standard Tatar. Although Finnish Tatar has less Russian influence, Özalan (2021) highlights the intensive contacts with Finnish language and its influence to Finnish Tatar both on the grammar and the vocabulary through code-copying. In comparison to Finnish Tatar, Estonian Tatar is described as becoming a new variety of Tatar language, because of the influence of Estonian and Russian (Nurmekund, 1975), which might be perceived among Tatars as less "pure" and prestigious due to the importance of language purism for Tatar speakers (cf. Wertheim, 2003; 2002).

Several scholars have been questioning the applicability of the concept of pluricentric languages in the case of minority languages, which lack rights or status in their country of residence (Wide et al., 2021, p. 1; Langer, 2021). Although Tatar is spoken in various regions and is categorised

as a pluricentric language in Europe by Muhr (2019), the categorisation and the traditional factors behind becoming a norm-centre among the different areas where the language is spoken might not be valid, because language contacts are also important.

2.3 Forms of address

Every human language provides linguistic means for encoding the expression of the speaker's personal and social orientation to others through address (Levinson & Brown, 1987, p. 182). The forms of address employed within a conversation reveal more valuable information about the interlocutors' attitudes and relationships towards each other and social factors than other aspects of language. The use of address forms reflects cultural values and indicates significant social and political changes that affect human relationships and social networks (Clyne et al., 2009). The means for addressing in most languages are represented in the following word classes:

(i) pronouns;

(ii) verbs;

(iii) nouns.

(Braun, 1988, pp. 7–9)

Keshavarz (2001) notes that address forms have interested sociolinguistics, anthropologists, and social psychologists because these forms can manifest the relationship between language and society. He points out that the value of studying address terms comes from the fact that the pronouns and nominal forms of address provide one of the best places to look for a correspondence between language and society in the grammar of a language (Keshavarz, 2001, p. 6).

In most European languages there is a distinction between personal pronouns according to politeness (Helmbrecht, 2013). These pronouns are often referred as the *informal* or T-froms and *formal* since the influential article of Brown and Gilman (1960) (Lappalainen & Isosävi, 2015, p. 12). In languages, where there is no differentiation between the pronominal forms, instead often nominal address forms, such as titles and kinship terms are applied (Helmbrecht 2013).

The use of fictive kinship terms, meaning "to address people who have no familial relation whatever with the addresser'" (Gu, 1990, p. 250, cited by Voinov, 2013, p. 131) is a common phenomenon in languages and cultures. For instance, Brown and Levinson (1987: 204) mention a similar taboo system among Tamil speakers: "in Tamil only juniors or status or caste inferiors may ever be addressed by name, and to others, the choice of the name instead of a kin term would encode insult" (1987, p. 204). Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 203) discuss this phenomenon as a way of impersonalising the speaker by avoiding *you* as an address form, an example of a negative politeness strategy.

The study of Fleming and Slotta (2018) shows that kinship term use and name avoidance systems share similarities and differences across speech communities. Fleming and Slotta investigated how kinship terms and names are used for addressing older and younger interlocutors cross-linguistically in 80 speech communities. The researchers collected their data through questionnaires and focused on the speaker's relative age, relative generation, and addressee. Their findings show that cross-linguistically, there is an asymmetry in the use of kinship terms and given names among the generations of the speech communities: in most cases, the younger speakers are perceived polite if they address the older speakers by kinship terms, while the older speakers are allowed to address the younger speakers by their given name alone (Fleming & Slotta, 2018).

2.3.1 Forms of address in Tatar

Similarly to other languages, Tatar also has a choice of forms of address depending on the level of politeness and formality. In Tatar, one can express the personal perspective with grammatical means, such as personal pronouns, possessive suffixes and verb conjugations (Burbiel, 2018).

The form of the second-person plural pronoun *Sez (Сез)* represents the formal address forms and either one person formally or more than one person can be addressed with it (Burbiel, 2018, p. 153).

In Tatar, the formal second-person pronoun *Sez (Сез)* is used to address older or higher ranked people, or someone unfamiliar to the speaker, or to emphasise respect. Formal forms of address may also be employed between distant relatives (Izmailova et al., 2017, pp. 637–640).

The second person pronoun singular *sin (син)* is the familiar form used mainly between close friends or family members, or to address younger interlocutors (Burbiel, 2018, pp. 150–151).

	Personal pronoun	**Possessive suffix**	**Verb conjugation**
SG2	*sin*	*Sin -eñ kitab-ıñ* SG2-GEN book-POSS.SG2 'your book' (SG2)	*yaza-sıñ* write-SG2 'you write'(SG2)
PL2	*Sez*	*Sez-neñ kitab-ıgız* PL2-GEN book-POSS.SG2 'Your book' (PL2)	*yaza-sız* write-PL2 'You write' (PL2)

Table 1. SG2 and PL2 forms in Tatar

Tatar is a so-called "pro-drop language", which means that the subject pronouns can be omitted and the personal perspective can be expressed through other grammatical means such as possessive suffixes or verb conjugation (Berta, 1998, pp. 286–295; Burbiel, 2018, p. 156).
The main factors determining the choice between formal and informal address forms in the Tatar language are age, the nature of relationships, social status, and gender (Romazanova 2007, p. 37). Many researchers claim that Tatar earlier did not divide the use of personal pronouns based on politeness. Specifically, it is believed to result from the long co-existence with Russian speakers (Romazanova, 2007; Galimova et al., 2017; Izmailova et al., 2017). Additionally, in

Tatar it is impolite to address someone through second-person singular and pronominal forms and only by first name (Galimova et al., 2017; Izmailova et al., 2017).

Therefore, in Tatar also nominal address forms, such as vocatives are widely employed. Generally, in Turkic languages, including Tatar, the speakers often employ kinship terms for addressing speakers even if they are not related to them. Therefore, these kinds of address forms can be called fictive kinship terms. The extensive use of fictive kinship terms is applied because traditionally, there was a name taboo system in most Turkic cultures, which affected the addressees' forms and led the interlocutors to name avoidance. Consequently, it is still considered impolite to address especially older speakers by their given name instead of a kinship term. To express the relationship between the interlocutors, there is also a high tendency to add possessive suffixes to the kinship term instead of addressing them by pronominal forms (Voinov 2013). In Tatar, kinship terms in a fictive way are most applied after the addressed or referred person's first name, for instance:

Example (1)

Kayda	*Minglekamal*	*apa?*
Where	Minglekamal(first name)	aunt?

Where is aunt Minglekamal?

(Burbiel 2018: 156)

According to Galimova et al. (2017: 2589), in the Tatar neutral or familiar addressing style, the following kinship terms are used for older people who are about one generation older (G+1) than the speaker: *apa* (*ана* - older sister or aunt), *abıy* (*абый* - older brother or uncle). If the hearers (H) are about two generations older (G+2), the kinship terms *äbi* (*әби* - grandmother), *babay* (*бабай* - grandfather) are employed. According to Galimova et al. (2017), interlocutors belonging to younger generations are also addressed by fictive kinship terms in Tatar. For addressing younger people (G-1) there is a tendency to add SG1 possessive suffix to the kinship term: *ene-**m*** (*эне-**м*** - **my** younger brother), *señel-**em*** or *señle-**m*** (*сеңел-**ем*** or *сеңле-**м*** - **my** younger sister).

Relative age between the interlocutors	Female kinship terms	Male kinship terms
G+2	*äbi(әби)* grandmother	*babay (бабай)* grandfather
G+1	*apa(ана)* older sister and aunt	*abıy (абый)* older brother and uncle
G-1	*ene (эне)* younger brother	*señel (сеңел)* younger sister

Table 2. Relative age difference and Tatar kinship terms

According to Romazanova (2007, p. 37) the use of kinship terms used for addressing older people expresses a respectful attitude towards the elders in age and position. The main factors determining the choice whether kinship should be indicated after a first name in the Tatar language are age, the nature of relationship, social status, gender, and place of communication (Romazanova, 2007, p. 37). It is also possible to add various suffixes to the nominal address forms, such as the diminutive affix *-kay/-käy*, (e.g. *ätkäy* - daddy, *änkäy* - mommy), where the affix includes the Tatar vocative particle *-y* and is added to *-ka/-kä*. Another productive diminutive suffix is *-kaş/-käş* (e.g. señlekäş - little/dear sister) (Romazanova, 2007, pp. 61-62; Burbiel 2018: 44).

Additionally, Romazanova (2007, p. 40) claims that the reason behind the extensive use of kinship terms as an address form in Tatar culture is because of a smaller social distance between the Speaker (S) and the Hearer (H). Romazanova found that kinship terms followed by the interlocutor's first name are applied both in informal communication and official situations in urbanised regions and in the countryside (Romazanova, 2007, p. 57), although there is a tendency in the preference of this among the Tatar speakers who live in the city, as they refuse to be addressed only by their first name (omitting the kinship terms) (2007, p. 107), and also in official situations they prefer to be addressed more by their first name and paternal name, which is borrowed from the Russian language (Romazanova, 2007, p. 57, p. 85).

Although previous studies researched the different address forms of Tatar language, their findings are not included in most Tatar language learning materials. In the dialogues of Tatar course books, kinship terms such as *apa* (*ana* - older sister or aunt), *abıy* (*абый* - older brother or uncle) are often used as fictive kinship terms after the first name (FN) of the interlocutors (cf. Ersen-Rasch 2009; Fatkhullova et al. 2012). There are also dialectal differences in the kinship term use. For instance, in Mishar Tatar, instead of *abıy* the kinship term *abzıy* is used in the meaning of 'older brother' and 'uncle'. Moreover, for older women who are about two generations older (G+2), the kinship term *tutay or totay* is used in the Tatar dialect (Bayazitova et al., 2009). Although both Ersen-Rasch (2009) and Fatkhullova et al. (2012) provide short descriptions of *sin* (SG2) and *Sez* (PL2) pronouns and examples of their usage, they do not mention whether fictive kinship terms include informal or formal second-person pronouns, which can be confusing to Tatar language learners.

Lately, increasing attention has been paid to Tatar diaspora studies. Even if these studies focus mainly on describing (morpho)phonology and dialectal vocabulary, we can still find essential notes about pragmatic features of the Tatar diaspora, such as forms of address.

Compared to the literary language, the Tatar minority members of Finland employ fewer kinship terms while addressing or referring to older Tatars (Akhmetova 2004: 10). While according to the norm of the literary language, *apa (ana)* 'older sister' or 'aunt' and *abıy (абый)* 'older brother' or 'uncle' are used when addressing or referring to a person older than oneself (Burbiel 2018: 156). In contrast, in the Finnish Tatar minority, they apply it for addressing or referring to the closest and dearest members or who are genetically related to the Tatar speakers. Moreover, the Finnish Tatar minority members do not use the formal second-person pronoun as often as they would use it in the literary language. Akhmetova (2004: 10) describes these features as an influence of the Finnish language on the Tatar spoken in Finland.

Alfiya Yusupova (2014) conducted a study of the language of the Tatar diaspora in China. Yusupova (2014: 47) found that the Tatar diaspora in China uses formal personal pronouns more within the families than Tatars in Russia. Her results revealed that the personal pronoun *Sez (Сез)* had developed other forms such as *Siz (Сиз)*, *Sız (Сыз)* and these can be used interchangeably.

2.3.2 Address forms in Finnish, Estonian and Russian

Finnish, Estonian and Russian form the main contact languages of the Tatar communities whose language varieties are under research. Therefore, this section briefly summarises the use of address forms in these languages.

All these three languages are spoken in the Baltic Sea Region and have influenced each other mutually to a varying degree over history. Finnish and Estonian are typologically different in many aspects but genetically closely related Finnic languages, while Russian is a Slavic language (Metslang, 2009; Pajusalu et al., 2017).

However, all these three languages follow the same strategy for expressing informal and formal forms as Tatar and most European languages: the informal forms are used for address in the second-person singular, while formal forms can be used for both the formal second-person singular as well as the second-person plural address (see: Pajusalu et al., 2010; Jalli & Pajusalu, 2015; Lepik, 2016; Pajusalu et al., 2017).

While the strategy is similar, formal and informal second-person pronoun usage preferences differ in all of these languages. Generally, Finnish speakers usually prefer the informal second-person pronouns in a relatively high frequency compared to Estonian or Russian (Isosävi & Lappalainen, 2015; Pajusalu et al., 2017, p. 222). Studies in various contexts showed that Finnish speakers usually use the formal second-person pronouns with older addressees, who are over 60 years old (Lappalainen, 2015, p. 100). In Estonian, the formal and informal choice mainly depends on the degree of familiarity, but the relative age difference between interlocutors might also play an important factor (Jalli & Pajusalu, 2015, pp. 131–132). In comparison, for Russian speakers, the age difference between the interlocutors and status decides if informal or formal second-person pronouns should be used. Generally, Russian speakers use more formal second-person pronouns than Estonian speakers (Pajusalu et al., 2010). Also, Russian is described as a very rich language in nominal address forms, including titles, patronyms and also nicknames, that can be applied in various contexts (Vehmas-Thesslund, 2015). In contrast, nominal address forms are not widely used in Estonian (Jalli & Pajusalu, 2015, p. 113) or in Finnish (Lappalainen, 2015, pp. 84–85).

2.3.3 Studies on forms of address in bilingual settings

This subsection introduces a short overview of findings on address forms used by bilingual speakers with immigrant backgrounds. Several studies show a transfer from the majority language into the minority language pragmatic skills at various levels.

Keevallik (2012) compared the pragmatic features of Estonian spoken in Sweden and standard Estonian, interviewing five different age groups of Estonians living in Sweden. The results show that in Swedish Estonian, the formal second-person forms are not widely used, specifically only while interacting with standard Estonian speakers from Estonia. The findings also revealed differences between the generations as older interviewees were more aware of these differences in terms of standard Estonian address forms use. Moreover, Estonian L1 speakers growing up in Sweden were often unsure about the correct forms of address while visiting Estonia because they found it confusing to choose the correct address forms in standard Estonian (Keevallik, 2012, pp. 3–11).

Another study examined Russian address forms spoken in Lithuania. Belovodskaja and Korostenskiene (2021) focused on the online and offline communication of Russian L1 speakers living in Lithuania. The results revealed a new emerging tendency of address terms identical to the Lithuanian Russians. Namely, Russians living in Lithuania prefer to be addressed more by their first names and formal pronoun forms than by patronymic forms.

Although the study of Pajusalu et al. (2010) did not focus on the bilingual settings of address forms, it still showed that the L1 address form preferences are influenced through the majority language. Specifically, their results showed that Russian-speaking students living in Estonia and Russia differ in terms of address form preferences. The results of Russian native speakers living in Estonia showed the influence of the Estonian language (Pajusalu et al., 2010, pp. 77–96).

Based on the studies discussed above, we can conclude that the language use of the dominant language and culture influences change the use of address forms in a minority language. In contrast, the study of Le (2011) showed that Australian Vietnamese stayed more “archaic” in terms of address term use. The results showed that in Australian Vietnamese, more kinship terms are employed and the forms of address between women and men also differ between Vietnamese spoken in Vietnam and Australia, which is triggered by the radical political and cultural changes that Vietnamese speakers in Vietnam experienced during the 20th century. Although Australian Vietnamese also developed new tendencies, the changes in the linguistic politeness perceptions were changed more in Vietnamese of Vietnam than in Australian

Vietnamese (Le 2011). The study shows that ideological changes might have a greater impact on linguistic manifestation and pragmatic means than another culture in a new country.

On the other hand, the study of Johanna Isosävi (2020) demonstrated that moving to a new country can influence the understanding of politeness and its linguistic means in L1. Isosävi analysed Finnish L1 speakers living in France, and French L1 speakers living in Finland, conducting focus group interviews with them. The interviews revealed that most participants detected changes in their understanding of politeness. Additionally, the bachelor thesis of Lind (2014) showed that the Russian speakers living in Finland also use more SG2 pronouns than in Russia. The findings show that Russian speakers might use the SG2 forms even in situations where Finnish people would apply the PL2 forms.

Other studies highlight that the use of address forms among bilinguals is also tied to identity and new systems tend to emerge. The research of Song (2009) showed that Korean children in the USA were only using Korean honorific terms while in the presence of their caregivers. Among their peers, they applied their own hybrid address terms which were formulated through combining English and Korean pronunciation and pragmatic skills.

Earlier studies, discussed above show that forms of address in L1 can be influenced by various factors, such as norms in a second language and socio-cultural changes. Consequently, the address forms in Tatar, which is a minority language both in Finland and Estonia, but also in Russia, are also varying in the different countries where it is spoken.

3. Research material and methods

This section presents the methods used for collecting the research data (3.1), the participants (3.2) and the interviews (3.3). I also explain how the interviews were analysed (3.4) and some of the limitations which arose during the interviews (3.5).

3.1 Data collection methods

The research material comprises interviews with 19 Tatar speakers who live in Finland or Estonia. The material was gathered between 2021 April and December.

The research material comprises interviews with nineteen Tatar speakers who live in Finland or Estonia. The material was gathered between April and December 2021.

The main reason for choosing interviews as the primary data collecting method is that earlier studies show that the Tatar language in Finland and Estonia is mainly preserved in the oral language functioning as a community and family language (see Daher, 2016; Lepa, 2021; Iqbal, 2021). Research shows Tatar speakers are "oral bilinguals" even in the Tatar Republic, where the Tatar language has an official status (Tovar-García & Alòs i Font, 2017). These factors justify the choice of data collection mainly through interviews so that the research material can be gained in a more natural setting. Moreover, the linguistic feature under investigation also belongs to the sphere of social interaction rather than written language.

Although conducting interviews with minority language speakers is usually associated with personally meeting with the speakers, due to the rise of COVID-19, conducting interviews had to be shifted to interviews conducted over an online platform. Even before the COVID-19 pandemic situation, scholars tested some of the online video conferencing tools for qualitative interviews and identified some of their advantages and challenges. For instance, Deakin and Wakefield (2014) compared in-person and Skype interviews and found that Skype interviews allowed greater flexibility both in time management and cost. The results of Jenner and Myers (2019) suggest that both Skype and in-person interviews provide equivalently comfortable platforms for participants to share personal experiences. The participants of Archibald et al (2019) identified Zoom as the best platform, preferring it to both over the telephone and in-person interviews. Although Zoom was perceived with advantages such as time-effectiveness, convenience and the user-friendly interface, participants still found challenges around technology glitches and user connectivity (Archibald et al., 2019). Due to the pandemic

situation, Leemann et al. (2020) shifted their linguistic fieldwork into online platforms with the help of Zoom and a smartphone application for voice recording. The study of Leemann et al. (2020) and another COVID-19 context study conducted by Gray et al. (2020) have found that participants preferred zoom to both phone and in-person, but there were still technical glitches such as internet connection, computer (il)literacy, room acoustics and the recorded sound quality. Additionally, Gray et al. (2020) identify some other benefits of Zoom, which are significant for the current study, such as Zoom relatively easy accessibility and screen sharing abilities, the program does not convey the recordings processed during the interview to third parties, only to the researchers. Consequently, it enables better protection of the interview material and the privacy of the participants. Also, Zoom automatically saves the interview into two files: a video and an audio file (Gray et al., 2020, p. 1295). As one of the aims of this master thesis project is also to archive the collected audio files, with participant consent, Zoom seemed the best platform for conducting the interviews.

During the interviews, I combined different methods because in previous studies it is stated that the more methods are incorporated, the more accurate the research results can be about the study of address forms (Barron & Schneider, 2009, p. 429). Collecting various types of material and applying different approaches for the analysis is especially important for the current research, as this is not a widely studied subject. The current study combines the following data collection methods:

1) group-interviews, which consisted of two parts:
    a. participants performing role-plays on the basis of different scenarios
    b. semistructured interviews
2) individual interviews, which consisted of a semistructured interview

In order to gain data about the actual language use, I organized group interviews that include also role-plays with different scenarios in Tatar. I found it essential to conduct interviews in groups because the Tatar speakers are more likely to speak their variety. My previous experience during my fieldwork in Finland between 2017-2018 showed that Tatar speakers were more likely to use Turkish- or Kazan Tatar-influenced structures and vocabulary with me, as an outsider and a language learner. My experience corresponds in some sense with Suzanne Wertheim's (2002, 2003, 2009) observations. During her fieldwork about code-switching

among young Tatar-Russian bilinguals in Kazan, Wertheim faced unexpected obstacles: whenever she was present, Tatar speakers would automatically perform only *„pure"* Tatar, meaning Tatar without any Russian influence. Therefore, I decided to collect the primary language data through group interviews and role-plays, where minority members have to interact with each other, as in this context it is more likely to witness them using their own language variety and to document their actual language use.

During this research, one of the examined sociolinguistic factors is *age*. Therefore, the groups always included participants from three different generations having at least 5-10 years of relative age difference. There were several reasons why I decided to combine three participants from different age groups. First, it is known that generational differences are differences in terms of kinship term usage in Turkic languages (Taşbaş 2019, pp. 248–249). Additionally, Daher et al. (2017, p. 278) highlight that studies comparing the language use of the different Tatar generations would be needed. Therefore, I aimed to include group members from the following age groups:

- Generation 1 (G1): under or around 30 years old
- Generation 2 (G2): between late 30s and 60 years old
- Generation 3 (G3): over 61 years old

The scenarios elicited data from Tatar speakers of Finland and Estonia in situations where they would usually use the Tatar language and forms of address. Based on earlier published literature, I chose the scenarios where Tatar language domains are mentioned (see: Wertheim, 2003; Klaas, 2015; Iqbal, 2019; Kiss, 2019). Additionally, I consulted with Tatar speakers from Finland and Estonia about the scenarios to be chosen. The Tatar language is mainly spoken as a family and community language; therefore, I created the following scenarios:

Scenario 1: Birthday party (Organiser: G3 participant)

Scenario 2: Graduation party (Organiser: G1 participant)

Scenario 3: New Year's Eve party (Organiser: G2 participant)

Scenario 4: Meeting in the community rooms at a community event

Scenario 5: Meeting outside of the community rooms (for Finnish Tatars: central railway station of Helsinki; for Estonian Tatars (capital area): central railway station of Tallinn, For Ida-Virumaa County Tatars: meeting at Kohtla-Järve bus station)

The scenarios were issued to ensure that all participants representing different generations interact and address each other in similar situations. Scenarios 1-3 were the "party scenarios", meaning that every participant was asked to organise an event: the oldest participants organised their birthday party, middle-aged participants a New Year's Eve party and the youngest ones their graduation party. These party scenarios always included several situations.

1) During these party scenarios, the organiser had to *invite* the guests, who *accepted the invitation.*

2) On the day of the party, the invited group members were late; therefore, they called and *apologised* to the organiser.

3) As they arrived at the party, they were asked to *congratulate and also compliment* on the food.

4) As the last situation, they *said goodbye* to the organiser and each other.

The situations, their descriptions and illustrations were on a PowerPoint file. The situations and their descriptions were crafted with the help of native Tatar speakers. I also followed the suggestions of the native speakers on when to add the SG2 pronoun *„sin"* and PL2 pronoun *„Sez"* to the description. Also, the description for Finnish Tatar groups was written in the Latin alphabet for Finnish Tatar, while Cyrillic letters in the descriptions were used during the interviews with Estonian Tatars (for the whole description of all scenarios, cf. Appendix).

During the role-plays, this PowerPoint file containing the situations was opened on the researcher's computer and shared with the participants, showing one situation per slide. Before every situation, the description was read in Tatar. If the participants needed clarification, it was given in Finnish or Estonian. Figure 1-3 presents a few examples from the PowerPoint file used during the birthday scenario.

Yakında tugan könen bulacak, sin tugan kön bäyrämen uzdırasın. Kunaklarnı telefon aşa tugan kön bäyrämgä niçek çakırasın?

якында туган көнегез булачак, сез туган көн бәйрәмен уздырасыз. кунакларны телефон аша туган көн бәйрәмгә ничек чакырасыз?

Figure 1. The first situation of the birthday party scenario for Finnish Tatars (left) and Estonian Tatars (right). Description: You will soon have your birthday, you are organising a birthday party. How do you invite your guests over the phone?

Sez soñga kaldıgız, niçek afu itesez?

Сез соңга калдыгыз, ничек гафу итесез?

Figure 2. The second situation of the birthday party scenario for the Finnish Tatar groups (left) and for the Estonian Tatars (right). Description: You are late, how do you apologise?

Tugan könne niçek kotlıysız?

Туган көнне ничек котлыйсыз?

Figure 3. The third situation of the birthday party scenario, for the Finnish Tatars (left) and for the Estonian Tatars (right). Descriptions: How do you wish a happy birthday?

In scenarios 4-5, I asked the group members to act out a situation where they causally run into each other and ask how they are doing lately.

It is known that such organised scenarios might not fully represent natural language use, therefore after the role-plays, the interview continued with a semistructured part, where participants had a chance to discuss their language use and talk about how they would have addressed the same people or another minority member from different generations.

The semistructured interviews were built upon the following guideline questions:

1) Do you think "politeness" is different in Tatar than in the majority culture? Do you think polite language use is different in Tatar than in your second language(s)? How do they differ?

2) When and with whom do you use T- and V-forms and kinship terms in Tatar? Why? How old are these people usually?

3) Do you think the choice of language plays a role in the polite forms of address in your Tatar community? Is it impolite to address someone in the majority language instead of Tatar?

4) Have you ever met Tatars from other countries? What experience do you have with them regarding the choice of address forms?

In order to ensure that the data are comparable, the participants filled out an online questionnaire about their sociolinguistic background and everyday language use (e.g. Where were you born?; What age group do you belong to?; What language(s) do you consider your mother tongue(s)?; With whom and how often do you speak Tatar?). The questionnaire included twelve questions: seven closed and five open-ended questions. In the case of older participants, who lack computer literacy, I conducted the online questionnaire on the phone or during the interview before or after the recording.

Additionally, before making the group interviews, I conducted an individual test interview sessions with a Tatar speaker of Finland, who is very active in the Tatar diaspora activities. This interview was not taken into the analysis but it helped in testing the semi-structured interview questions, gaining more knowledge about the Tatar diaspora world and mapping all the possible aspects that might be important for creating the scenarios.

The methodology used in this master thesis was approved by the Ethics Committee for Human Research of the University of Tartu (application no. 335/T-17) in March 2021.

3.2 Participants and groups

Participants were approached through former acquaintances and informants who took part in the study I conducted for my bachelor thesis (Kiss 2019). As participants, I aimed to choose Tatar speakers of Finland and Estonia representing different generations. Ideally, the participants were Tatar-Finnish and Tatar-Estonian bilinguals; however, it is well known that trilingualism has been increasing among Tatars in Finland and Estonia, especially among the younger minority members (about Tatars of Estonia, cf. Iqbal 2021, Lepa 2021; about Tatars of Finland, cf. Kiss 2019); therefore, I did not use this criterium and also welcomed trilinguals in the study such as Tatar-Russian bilinguals with basic Estonian language skills.

At the beginning of this research, the aim was to find participants who do not know each other very well and are not related, in order to test how the participants broaden the use of kinship terms for addressing community members who are not related to them, making these in effect *fictive* kinship terms.

However, it was challenging to find speakers from different generations who would have been far acquaintances or unrelated, especially among the Finnish Tatars, where most Tatars are closely connected.[1]

Moreover, Tatar is spoken as a family and community language (Daher 2016). The informants taking part in the current study affirmed these results of the earlier studies: most of them reported using the language mainly (if not only) with their family members, mostly parents or grandparents and close Tatar friends. Hence, the method of conducting group interviews among family members and close friends was selected as being both more practical and more representative of speakers' use of Tatar.

In order to ensure the participants' privacy, I anonymised the participants by using code names. The code of the Tatars who participated on the individual semi-interviews starts with the letter *I* and the number after the letter represents the order in which the interviews were made.

As for the code of the group interviews, the beginning with EST (Estonia) and FIN (Finland) indicates their place of residence, followed by a number indicating which group the participant

[1] Many of the participants are closely related: FIN1+3 and FIN2-3 are wife and husband. FIN1-3 and FIN1+3 are siblings. Additionally, FIN2-2 is FIN1-3's daughter. Also, EST1-2 and EST1-1 are mother and daughter; EST2-3 and EST2-1 are father and daughter. EST2-3 and I2 are cousins.

belongs to, further followed by a hyphen and a code marking the age group — the code *G1* labels the youngest, code *G2* the middle-aged and code *G3* the oldest participants. For instance, the codename *EST1-G3* indicates the oldest participant from the first Estonian Tatar group interviewed. In the FIN1 group, a participant joined the interview only for the semistructured interview, her coding is FIN1+G3.

The interview material of the participants who gave their consent (18 participants) is available after the thesis defense in the Archives of Estonian Dialects and Kindred Languages of the University of Tartu.

In the following subsections (3.2.1-3.2.6), I introduce the participants in more detail, who took part in the research.

3.2.1 Individual interviews

This subsection focuses on introducing the Tatar speakers who participated in individual semistructured interviews. All participants live in the capital of their country of residence and have gained university education, therefore this information is not included in the table (3), where the interviewees' sociolinguistic background is summarised.

The participants have various linguistic backgrounds. I1 is a Finnish Tatar, who currently stays in Estonia. He speaks Tatar as his first and Finnish as his second language. Additionally, he knows English, Swedish, Turkish and to some extent Russian, Estonian and German. I1 is very active in communicating with Tatar minorities from other countries.

The second semistructured interview was conducted with I2, whose family has been living in this area for three generations. Tatar is her first language, yet she has not had a lot of practice over the past 10 years since her older family members passed away, with whom she mainly spoke Tatar. Nowadays, she mostly speaks Estonian, but she also knows English, Finnish and has learned Russian, Turkish and Hungarian.

I3 was born in Russia but has spent over a decade in Estonia. She speaks Tatar as her L1 and Russian as her L2 and uses both languages on a daily basis. However, she also has high language skills in Estonian and she also speaks English, Arabic, Turkish.

I4 is a Finnish Tatar, who considers both Tatar and Finnish as her mother tongues. She additionally knows Turkish, English and to some extent also Swedish. For her, the main

language domain for speaking Tatar are the interactions with her family members, relatives and community events.

Participant	Age group	Sex	Place of birth	Mother tongues	Other languages
I1	67-71	Male	Finland	Tatar,	Finnish, English, Swedish, Turkish, Russian, Estonian,
I2	67-71	female	Estonia	Tatar	Estonian, English, Finnish, Russian
I3	37-41	female	Russia	Estonia	Tatar, Turkish, Arabic
I4	32-36	female	Finland	Tatar, Finnish	English, Swedish, Turkish,

Table 3. Metadata of the participants of individual interviews.

3.2.2 The first Finnish group (FIN1)

This subsection presents the background of FIN1 group, the metadata of the participants is introduced in table 4. The FIN1 group's informants all live in the Helsinki metropolitan area. The group members are not genetically related to each other, but they have known each other for a long time. FIN1-3 has known both younger participants since their childhood, and according to the interview, FIN1-G3 and FIN1-G2's parents often interact. FIN1-G2 and FIN1-G1 have known each other from their childhood; however, they do not interact often. FIN1-G3 reported speaking both Tatar and Finnish on an everyday basis, while the other group members mainly speak Tatar with their Tatar relatives, mostly with parents and grandparents. According

to FIN1-G2, he only speaks Tatar with his mother and FIN1-G1 mainly with his Tatar grandparents.

In the role-play scenarios, FIN1-G1, FIN1-G2, FIN1-G3 participated and additionally FIN1+G3 joined during the qualitative interview, who is closely related to FIN1-G3.

All participants considered both Tatar and Finnish as their mother tongues. I wrote the languages in the same order, as participants entered them in the background questionnaire under the question *"What language(s) do you consider as your mother tongue(s)?"*.

FIN1 Group	**Age group**	**Sex**	**Place of birth**	**Mother tongue(s)**	**Other languages**
FIN1-G3	82-86	female	Finland	Tatar, Finnish	English, Swedish, Turkish
FIN1-G2	37-41	male	Finland	Finnish, Tatar	English
FIN1-G1	32-36	Male	Finland	Finnish, Tatar	English, Swedish, Turkish, German, Estonian
FIN1+G3	72-76	female	Finland	Tatar	Finnish, English, Turkish, Russian, German

Table 4. Metadata of FIN1 group members

3.2.3 The second Finnish group (FIN2)

The members of the second Finnish Tatar group (presented in table 5.) are relatives: FIN2-G1 is the son of FIN2-G2's cousin. FIN2-G3 is the husband of FIN2-G2's aunt, and they have a close relationship. The participants often participate in community events, especially FIN2-G3 and FIN2-G2 are very active. Everyone in this group has visited Kazan and met Tatar speakers from other diasporas. The participants in the second group were more often exposed to the

Tatar language and reported having more people in their life with whom they speak Tatar than the first Finnish group.

FIN2 Group	Age group	Sex	Place of birth	Mother tongue(s)	Other languages
FIN2-G3	72-76	male	Finland	Tatar	Finnish, English, Swedish, Turkish
FIN2-G2	57-61	female	Finland	Finnish, Tatar	English, Swedish, Turkish, Russian, Spanish
FIN2-G1	27-31	male	Finland	Finnish, Tatar	English, Swedish, Turkish, German

Table 5. Metadata of FIN2 group members

3.2.2 The first Estonian group (EST1)

The first Estonian group's participants (presented in Table 6.) all live in Tallinn, the capital of Estonia, and they are very close to each other. EST1-G2 and EST1-G1 are mother and daughter. EST1-G3 is a close family friend who has known EST1-G1 since her early childhood. EST1-G3 and EST1-2 speak Russian as their second language, as both of them were born and raised in Russia. However, their background is different. While EST1-G3 spoke almost only in Tatar as a child and only later, after leaving her village, learned Russian, EST1-G2 was mainly exposed to Russian by her parents and she learned Tatar from her grandmother, saying that her grandmother was the main person she communicated with through her childhood and young adult years. EST1-G2 speaks Estonian very fluently, as it is the language at her workplace. EST1-G3 speaks Tatar as her first language and has very high fluency in both Russian and Estonian.

EST1 Group	Age group	Sex	Place of birth	Mother tongue(s)	Other languages
EST1-G3	72-76	female	Bashkortostan	Tatar	Russian,Estonian, Bashkirian, Turkish
EST1-G2	52-56	female	Tatarstan	Tatar	Russian, English Estonian,
EST1-G1	22-26	female	Estonia	Tatar	Estonian, Russian, English

Table 6. Metadata of EST1 group members

3.2.5 The second Estonian group (EST2)

The members of the second Estonian group (presented in Table 7.) also live also in the capital area and they were all born and raised in Estonia. EST2-G3 is the father of EST2-G1. EST2-G3 and EST2-G2 interact often, but EST2-G2 and EST2-G1 had not seen each other for a long time before the interview. They all speak both Estonian and Russian very fluently. EST2-G3 and EST2-G1 reported speaking Tatar daily, while EST2-G2 reported only a few times a week. EST2-G2 and EST2-G1 use Estonian daily, but EST2-G3 speaks Estonian few times a week. EST2-G3 and EST2-G1 speak and are more often exposed to Russian than EST2-G2, who speaks Russian few times a week.

EST2 Group	Age group	Sex	Place of birth	Mother tongue(s)	Other languages

EST2-3	72-76	male	Estonia	Tatar	Estonian,Russian,English, Finnish
EST2-2	62-66	female	Estonia	Tatar	Estonian, Russian, English
EST2-1	37-41	female	Estonia	Tatar, Russian	Estonian, English

Table 7. Metadata of EST2 group members

3.2.6 The third Estonian group (EST3)

The EST3 group consists of only two participants, whose metadata is presented in Table 8. Only the semi-structured interview conducted with the EST3 group is taken into the analyses. The role-play scenarios conducted with them were excluded from the research material because the participants rather described their address form use instead of actually performing the situations.

The participants of the third Estonian group live in (predominantly Russophone) Ida-Virumaa county but were born and raised in Bashkortostan. The main language nowadays used by the participants outside of their home is Russian and they have a basic knowledge of Estonian. EST3-G2 and EST3-G3 know each other well, they interact often and cooperate a lot while organizing community events. Both participants are very active members of their community and attend various Tatar diaspora events both in Estonia and in Tatarstan.

EST3 Group	**Age group**	**Sex**	**Place of birth**	**Mother tongue(s)**	**Other languages**

EST3-G3	67-71	Female	Russia, Bashkortostan	Tatar	Russian, Estonian, English
EST3-G2	62-66	Male	Russia, Bashkortostan	Tatar	Russian, Estonian, English

Table 8. Metadata of EST3 group members

3.3 Interviews

The interview material consists of 9 hours 5 minutes, which includes approximately 2 hours and 23 minutes of role-play material and 7 hours and 42 minutes of semi-structured interview data. The interviews were recorded both in video and audio so that during the analysis, it is clear who is the particular speaker.

During the interviews, the role-plays were conducted primarily in Tatar, with occasional code-switches into the speakers' second languages.

In the Finnish groups, the semistructured parts were conducted in Finnish, as it was easier to discuss such topics in Finnish both for the researcher and also for the participants. If the participants wanted to highlight some examples, they occasionally switched to Tatar. In the Estonian groups, all parts were conducted in Tatar, although occasionally there were switches into Estonian or into Russian in order to give a more detailed description for some situation or to ask or answer questions requiring specific vocabulary.

Interview	The length of the interview in total	Role-plays		Semi-structured part	
		Length	Language	Length	Language(s)

I1	27 min	NA	NA	27 min	Tatar, (Finnish)
I2	1 hour 31 min	NA	NA	1 hour 31 min	Estonian, (Tatar)
I3	40 min	NA	NA	40 min	Tatar, (Estonian, Russian)
I4	25 min	NA	NA	25 min	Finnish, (Tatar)
FIN1	1 hour 25 min	52 min	Tatar	33 min	Finnish, (Tatar)
FIN2	1 hour 18 min	23 min	Tatar	55 min	Finnish, (Tatar)
EST1	1 hour 11 min	35 min	Tatar	36 min	Tatar, Estonian, (Russian)
EST2	1 hour 09 min	33 min	Tatar	36 min	Tatar, Estonian, (Russian)

EST3	58 minutes	NA	NA	58 min	Tatar, (Russian)

Table 9. Length of the interviews

3.4 Coding the role-play material

The interviews were transcribed, and the role-play material was coded with ELAN Version 6.2. For the transcription, the same Latin alphabet is used which the Tatars of Finland use (for description see Moisio & Daher, 2017; Daher et al., 2017).

I coded the following nominal address form categories:

- **FN** (first name): if the participant addressed someone by the first name
- **FN KT** - first name (FN) kinship term (KT): someone by the first name followed by a kinship term
- **KT** (only kinship term): participant addressed someone by kinship term (without the addressed person's name)
- **T** (title): participant addressed someone by a title (without the addressed person's name)
- **FN T** - first name (FN) title (T): someone addressed by the first name followed by a title
- **E** (endearment term): someone addressed by an endearment term

I coded the following grammatical categories of address forms[2]:

[2] As for the grammatical means of address categories, I focused on their frequency, and did not pay attention if they occurred together within one utterance or not. The reason behind that is to investigate if Finnish and Estonian Tatar speakers also follow the general tendency of avoiding pronominal second-person address forms in singular and plural, as in literary Tatar (see: Galimova et al. (2017) and Izmailova et al. (2017, p. 638)).

- **SG2.PRON:** if the participant addressed someone with any second-person singular pronoun *"sin"* in any case, see in Example (2)

  Example (2)

  FN, sin me?

  First name SG2 Q

  FN, is it you?

- **SG2.VERB**: Verb in the second-person singular form occurring both with and without subject (Example 3)

  Example (3)

  *kileçek-tä kübräk tä bälki uk-ır-**sıng***

  future-LOC more too maybe read-FUT2-SG2

  'You will maybe study even more in the future'

- **SG2.POSS**: Use of the possessive suffix in the second-person singular (Example 4)

  Example (4)

  *bik tämle ide, bik yämle, yakşı bäyräm-e**ng***

  very tasty was very nice good celebration-**POSS.SG2**

  buldı, rahmät

  was thanks

  'It was very tasty, very nice, your celebration was great, thanks'

- **SG2.GR:** Use of the greeting *"isänme"*. The greeting *"isänme"* is used for greeting someone informally, however it is grammatically in SG3 form, literally meaning "is she/he good?", therefore I encoded it into a different category.

- **PL2.PRON**: Use of second-person plural pronoun *"Sez"* in any case

- **PL2.VERB:** Use of verbs in the second-person plural with subject and without subject

- **PL2.POSS**: Use of possessive suffix in the second-person plural

- **PL2.GR:** Use of the greeting in second-person plural

Additionally, I marked the PL2 forms as "PL2 und." if these were clearly intended for more than one speaker, as they are used *undifferentiatedly.*

One of the limitations of this study was that the speakers had the option of referring to both of the other participants in the group, in which case it was not always possible, which means that it is not always possible to identify whether PL2 is semantically plural or formal second-person usage, I illustrate such a case in example 5.

Example (5)

Sau ***bul-ıgız,*** *bik* *matur* *tugan* *kön-**eñ*** *ide* *monda,*

Good **be-IMP.PL2** very nice birth day-POSS.**SG2** was here

bik *küp* *yarattım* *aşlar-nı,* ***sez**-ne* *de,* *yakşı* *genä*

Very much liked food-ACC, **PL2**-ACC too great only

*karta-**yıgız***

age- **IMP.PL2**

'Goodbye (PL2), your birthday(SG2) was very nice, I liked the food, enjoyed your company (PL2) too, grow old (PL2) peacefully!' (FIN1-G2, Birthday party, saying goodbye to FIN1-G3)

It is noteworthy that *tugan kön-eñ* 'your birthday' clearly addresses only the oldest participant (FIN1-G3), whose birthday they celebrated in the scenario, but in the same utterance, all other elements include second-person plural forms. The second person plural form of the greeting

(Sau **bul-ıgız;** Good **be-IMP.PL2**) and enjoying the company might be directed to both group members; nonetheless, the elements ’*tugan kön-e**ñ*** (your birthday **(SG2)**’ and ‘*yakşı genä karta-**yıgız*** **(**great only age-**IMP.PL2)’** most probably concerns only the oldest participant, whose birthday party they performed. The PL2 forms where it was not sure that it was meant for only one person were all coded as “PL2 und.”.

3.5 Limitations

Several limitations were associated with the data collection.

First of all, technical issues arose often during the interviews. The collected material is also largely varying in terms of voice quality, as it is dependent on the participant’s device or how close the participant sat to it. The poor voice quality made some parts of the interviews hard to analyse, therefore these utterances were not included in the analysation.

Although all participants were very cooperative, older participants who were born in Russia refused to perform some of the situations that they did not find “authentic enough” during the scenarios. These speakers saw the role-play scenarios as an opportunity to represent “pure” Tatar traditions and share their memories about their home villages of the events. This refusal arose in EST1 and EST3 groups. For instance, in both groups, the “New Year’s Eve” situation did start a long conversation whether it is a “real” Tatar tradition or not. The EST3 group refused to perform most of the situations as Tatars in the villages did not use to celebrate birthdays or New Year’s Eve. Although these conversations might not provide appropriate data for the current research, the narrations of the participants about the “real” Tatar traditions make the material more diverse and valuable for other fields of humanities.

Also, there were limitations with situation 4 (Meeting at the community rooms), as not all the Tatar cultural associations in which the Estonian Tatar participants are members have community rooms. These situations were then discussed rather than actually performed. Consequently, more data was collected from the Finnish groups than the Estonian groups.

Lastly, as mentioned already in chapter 3.4, the coding and analysis of the PL2 forms did cause difficulties.

4. Results

In this chapter, I present the results gained from the interviews. First, I discuss the analysis of the role-plays from a quantitative perspective (4.1), focusing especially on the grammatical realisation of the available forms of address, based on the variables *region* (4.1.1) and *age* (4.1.2). In section 4.2, I summarise the main findings from the semistructured interviews.

4.1 Role-plays

In this section, I present an overview of the forms of address identified in the role-play scenarios and analysed through quantitative methods.

4.1.1 Use of forms of address by region

This subsection compares the identified address forms used as vocatives during the role-play scenarios based on region (Finland, Estonia). Table 10 shows the total number of analysed address forms and figure 4 shows their proportions.

	SG2	**PL2**	**PL2 (und.)**	**FN**	**FN KT**	**KT**	**FN T**	**T**	**E**	**ALL**
FIN	211	14	45	44	13	-	-	-	-	**327**
EST	105	42	23	28	17	19	1	1	1	**237**
ALL	**316**	**56**	**68**	**72**	**30**	**19**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**564**

*Table 10. The number of address forms analysed. Code of the abbreviations: **FIN**: Finnish Tatar; **EST**: Estonian Tatar; **SG2**: use of all second-person singular forms (including pronouns, possessive suffix, verb endings, greetings in SG2); **PL2**: use of all second-person plural forms for addressing one speaker (including pronouns, possessive suffix, verb endings, greetings in PL2); **PL2 (und.)**: use of all second-person plural forms for addressing more than one speaker (including pronouns, possessive suffix, verb endings, greetings in undifferentiated PL2); **FN**: addressing someone only by the first*

*name; **FN KT**: addressing someone by the first name followed by kinship term; **KT**: addressing someone only by kinship term; **FN T**: first name followed by a title; **T**: title used as an address form; **E**: Endearment term use as an address form*

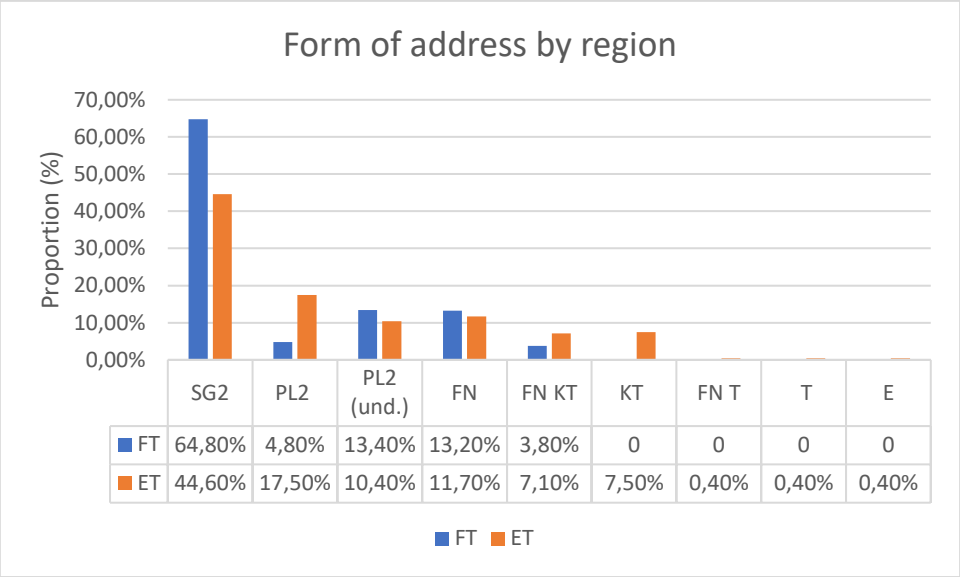

Figure 4. Forms of address by region

Here I discuss the proportions of the analysed forms divided by the Finnish Tatar groups (N=327) and Estonian Tatar groups (N=237). The results show that Finnish Tatar speakers produced proportionally more SG2 forms than Estonian Tatars. While a relatively high number of the analysed address forms used by the Finnish Tatars (n=327) were in SG2 forms (64,5 %, n=211/327). In the contrary, only 44,3 % produced by the Estonian Tatars occurred in SG2 forms. Another finding shows that Estonian Tatars tend to use more PL2 forms for addressing each other: 17,7 % of the address forms of Estonian Tatar address forms were PL2 forms, while only 4,3 % were identified in the Finnish Tatar performance. Another way of using PL2 forms is to undifferentiatedly address more than one speaker. The data reveals that during the scenarios, Finnish Tatars opted more often to address more than one speaker at the same time and in an undifferentiated way apply PL2 forms. Importantly, however, even if we add all PL2 forms together, in each group the three group members used more SG2 forms than PL2 forms during the scenarios.

The results gained from the scenarios suggest that Estonian Tatars use nominal address forms, such as kinship terms, titles or an endearment term more widely. As for using first names as vocatives, Finnish and Estonian Tatars had essentially identical proportions. Nevertheless, Estonian Tatars used kinship terms together with first names (FN KT) more often (7,2 %) than

Finnish Tatars (4 %). Noteworthily, Tatar speakers of both regions seem to be engaged in addressing each other with SG2 forms and only by the first name.

Examining the other nominal address forms, we can see that Estonian Tatar group members were using kinship terms on their own (8 %). However, kinship term were used only by the participants who were closely related (EST1-G1 with EST1-G2 being daughter and mother; EST2-G1 with EST2-G3 being daughter and father). Therefore, we can assume that this difference between the EST and FIN groups is because of the make-up of the groups, not because of difference in language usage. In a very small percentage, participants employed other nominal address forms, more specifically, a title (0,4%), first name followed by the title (0,4%) or an endearment term (0,4%).

In the following, I provide a more detailed analysis of the earlier mentioned address forms and their grammatical realisations.

4.1.1.1 SG2 forms

In this subsection, I analyse the grammatical realisation of the SG2 forms based on the region and the different groups. I investigated how frequently occur the SG2 forms in pronominal, verbal, possessive suffix forms and greeting forms. The forms were examined only on their own, it was not analysed how the verb forms are used together with pronouns or with other forms.

Comparing the use of SG2 forms among the Finnish and Estonian Tatars, differences were found not only in the amount of usage in the SG2 form but also in their grammatical realisation.

Table 10 below presents the use of all the analysed SG2 forms and their realisation and figure 5 illustrates their proportion.

	FT	**ET**
SG2.PRON	53	40
SG2.VERB	96	44
SG2.POSS	48	18
SG2.GR	14	3

ALL	**211**	**105**

*Table 11. Several SG2 form occurrences and their grammatical realisation. Coding: **SG2.PRON:** Use of SG2 pronouns in all cases; **SG2.VERB**: Use of verbs SG2 forms; **SG2.POSS**: Use of possessive suffix in SG2 form; **SG2.GR**: greetings in SG2 forms*

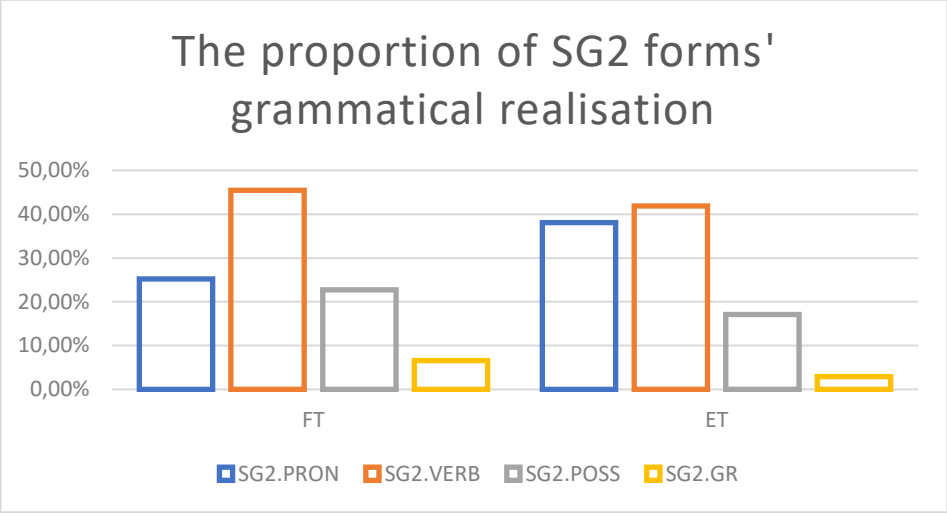

Figure 5. The proportion of SG2 forms' realisation (FIN=211 forms, EST=105 forms)

Among all analysed SG2 forms, Finnish Tatars used the most frequently the verb forms (45,5 %) for addressing each other. Although the Estonian Tatars also used more verb forms (41,9 %) than pronominal forms (38,1 %), it is apparent from the figure that there is a greater difference between the Finnish Tatar SG2 pronoun and verb use than among the Estonian Tatars, where the proportion of pronominal and verbal SG2 use is very close. The data also reveal a higher proportion of SG2 possessive suffix usage among the Finnish Tatar (22,7 %) than the Estonian Tatar speakers (17,1 %), which might be because of language contact.

The comparison of the different groups illustrates that the Finnish Tatar used the SG2 form in similar proportions. In contrast, results of the Estonian Tatars differ in various ways: as in EST1, there are more verb forms than pronominal SG2 forms used. Meanwhile, the EST2 group members used more pronominal SG2 forms than verb forms.

Overall, Finnish Tatar speakers used more possessive suffixes than Estonian Tatar speakers, although if we compare only the groups, we can see that possessive suffixes scored 20,4 % (N=11/66) in the EST2 group, which is almost identical to the FIN2 group's result in the same category.

The greeting forms showed interesting tendencies among some Finnish Tatar speakers in examples 6-7. The greeting *isänme (SG2)*, which literally means *„is she/he fine?"* and is used as one of the most general greetings in Tatar. It is generally answered with the same forms, *isänme*. However, when FIN1-G2 greeted FIN1-G3 (example 6), FIN1-G3 interpreted the greeting form as a question instead of a greeting form (example 7).

Example (6) FIN1-G2 to FIN1-G3:

Isänme FN Apa

Hello(PL2) FN kinship term (aunt)

Example (7) FIN1-G3 to FIN1-G2:

Isän, Allah-ga shökör

Fine, Allah-DAT thank

'(She) is fine, thank God'

Also, although the form *isänme* is associated with addressing only one person, there were utterances where the speaker used the SG2 form in order to address two people at the same time:

Example (8)

Isänme FN häm FN

Hello (SG2) FN and FN!

4.1.1.2 PL2 forms

The grammatical realisation of these PL2 forms shows differences by regions, the frequency of the analysed grammatical forms are presented in Table 14 and their proportion is illustrated in Figure 6.

	FT	ET	ALL
PL2.PRON	4	28	31
PL2.VERB	7	15	22
PL2.POSS	0	1	1
PL2.GR	3	1	4
PL2.PRON (und.)	16	13	29
PL2.VERB (und.)	14	7	21
PL2.POSS (und.)	12	3	15
ALL	56	68	124

Table 14. The number of each grammatical category, by region

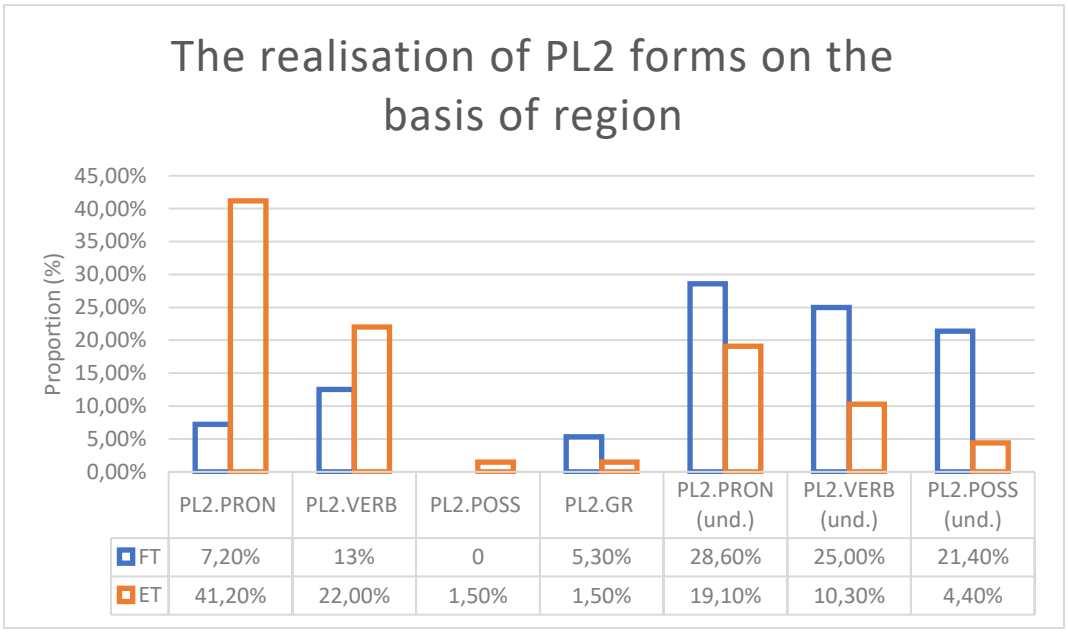

Figure 6. The grammatical realisation of PL2 on the basis of region

First I will discuss the PL2 forms that occurred in order to address one person. Finnish Tatar speakers applied PL2 forms more often in verb conjugation than in pronouns (7,2 %). In

contrast, Estonian Tatar participants employed PL2 pronominal forms more widely (41,2 %) than PL2 verb forms (22 %). On the other hand, as an undifferentiated address form, the PL2 pronominal forms (28,6 %) tend to be used more than the PL2 verbal forms (25%) among the Finnish Tatar participants. In contrast, Estonian Tatars used more pronominal forms in both PL2 form categories. Among the Estonian Tatar participants, the pronominal PL2 proportion was especially high when the Estonian Tatars were addressing only one group member, as the usage of this form scored 41,2 %.

Another significant aspect to highlight is the difference in the PL2 possessive suffix forms. The employment of the PL2 possessive suffix as an undifferentiated address form was proportionally very low, regardless of the region: only one occurrence was identified in the EST2 group. By contrast, undifferentiated PL2 possessive suffixes were more applied for addressing more than one speaker.

4.1.1.3 Nominal address forms

Taking a closer look at the nominal address forms (table 15 and figure 7), they reveal that Finnish Tatars addressed the other participants by only their *first names* (FN) more than Estonian Tatar speakers. Additionally, Estonian Tatar speakers used *first names + kinship terms* (FN KT) for addressing group members more often than Finnish Tatars, although the proportional difference is not as striking between the groups in the FN KT category as it is in terms of FN usage.

	FN	**FN KT**	**KT**	**FN T**	**T**	**E**	**ALL**
FT	44	13	-	-	-	-	**57**
ET	28	17	19	1	1	1	**66**
ALL	**72**	**30**	**19**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**124**

15 Table. Nominal address forms used as vocatives during the scenarios

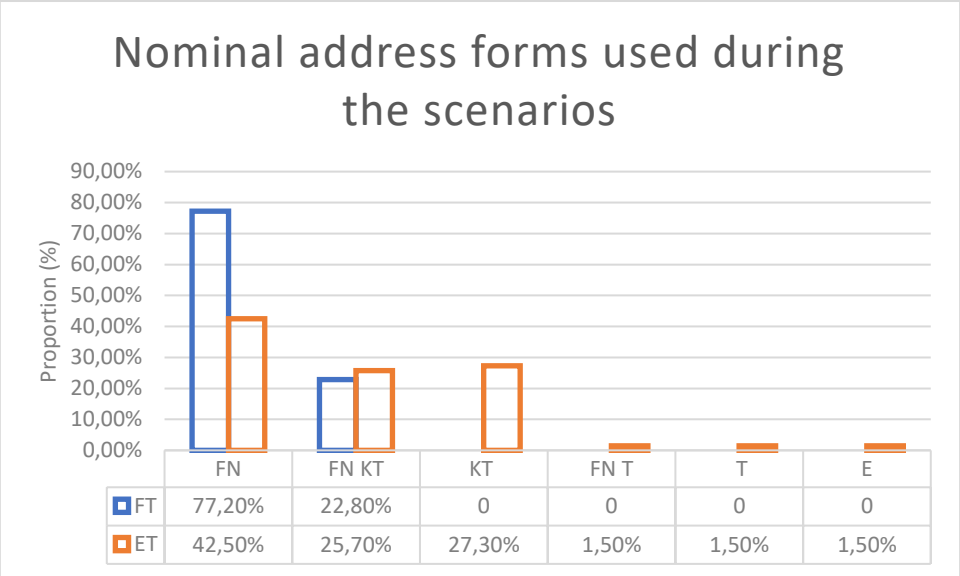

Figure 7. The nominal address forms used during the scenarios

The results also demonstrate differences between the Finnish and Estonian Tatar nominal address forms during the scenarios. The data suggest that Estonian Tatar speakers use nominal address forms in a more diverse way than Finnish Tatar speakers.

Specifically, there were a number of nominal address forms that occured only in the Estonian Tatar interviews, such as addressing group members only with kinship terms (KT). This form was, however, only used by the participants who shared a parent-child relationship (EST1-G1 and EST1-G2; EST2-G1 and EST2-G3), such participants were only in the Estonian groups. There are a number of significant aspects to mention about the realisation of this address form category. First, kinship terms were often attached by the possessive suffix, which is in SG1 form. Parents were more likely to address their children with kinship terms that were attached by the SG1 possessive suffix form than the other way round. For example, in the EST1 group, whenever EST1-G2 addressed EST1-G1 by only a kinship term *kız* ('daughter'), every SG1 form of the possessive suffix was also included. In contrast, EST1-G1 addressed her mother, EST1-G2 only once with the SG1 possessive suffix included form out of the 10 times when EST1-G1 addressed her by the kinship term *äni* ('mother'). An example of the usage of *kız* is presented below from the *"Graduation party"* situation (example 5).

Example (9) (EST1-G2 to EST1-G1)

kız-ım,	*vot*	*awır*	*bul-sa*	*da*	*tırış-tı-n*
daugther-POSS.SG1	well	hard	be-COND.SG3	too	try-PAST-SG2

'My daughter, even if it was hard, you tried'

During the role-plays, the following KT forms were used:

Realisation of the KT category	**Number of occurrences as an address form**
Kız-ım Daughter-POSS.SG1	6
Bala-m Child-POSS.SG1	1
Äni Mom	9
Äni-em Mom-POSS.SG1	1
Ättä Father	2

Table 16. Realisation of the KT category and the number of occurences

Another aspect of the usage of kinship terms should be also highlighted. Estonian Tatar participants referred to themselves through kinship terms and possessive suffixes.

The other type of nominal address forms that were represented in the role-plays occurred all in the EST2 group. Two out of these three categories include titles. The title that was used in the role-play, *hanum* means "Lady". It was used for addressing both of the participants by EST2-3. It was the very first utterance made by EST2-G3, aiming to invite the other group members to the "birthday party":

Example (10) (EST2-G3 to EST2-G1 and EST2-G2)

Haderle ***hanum****-lar*

Dear Lady-PL

‘Dear Ladies’

As for the FN title structure identified in the EST2 scenario, the FN was followed by the title *efende*, meaning “Sir”. This term occurred in the answer to the invitation made by EST2-G3 in the previous example. After this nominal address form, speaker EST2-G2 used SG2 forms. Below in example (7), we can see its realisation in the scenario:

Example (11) (EST2-G2 to EST2-G3)

*FN **Efende**,*	*rahmät tsakıru*			*öçen,*	*bik*	*yakşı,*	*bik*	*küp*	*rahmät*
FN **Sir**	thank	invitation		for	very	good	very	lot	thank
siñ -a	*i*	*bik*	*yakşı*	*köñöl*	*belän*	*kiler*	*ide-m*		*tugan*
SG2-DAT	and	very	good	mind	with	come	would-SG1		birth
*kön-**öñ***		*-gä.*							
Day-POSS**.SG2**		-DAT							

’**Sir** FN, thanks for the invitation, very good, thank you so much to **you (SG2)** and I would be very happy to come to **your (SG2)** birthday’

The only endearment term used in the scenarios was produced by EST2-G2, who addressed EST2-G3 with it in the “New Year’s Eve” scenario, in the situation when participants had to compliment on food prepared by EST2-G2. However, EST2-G3 started his compliment with a joke and claimed that he cannot see any *pärämätš*, a traditional Tatar food. When EST2-G2 answered to EST2-G3’s joke, he was addressed by the endearment term and SG2 forms, as can be seen from example (8):

Example (12) (EST2-G2 to EST2-G3)

yöräg-em	*min*	*eşlädem pärämäts,*		***sin***	*açkı-lar-nı*	*kiye*
heart-POSS.SG1	I	made	pärämätš	**you(SG2)**	glass-PL-ACC	wear

annañ *kür-er* ***-señ***

then see-FUT2 **-SG2**

'My heart, I made pärämätš, take your(SG2) glasses, then you will see(SG2)'

4.1.2 Variable age

This section presents the address forms that were applied by the different generations participating in the role-plays. The first subsection (4.1.2.1) gives a general overview of the second-person singular and plural forms used among the different generations. The second subsection (4.1.2.2) introduces how different generations employed the nominal address forms. The present section only focuses on the address forms that address only one person, therefore the undifferentiated PL2 forms and the nominal address forms that address both group members at the same time are excluded.

4.1.2.1 SG2 and PL2 forms

Here I shall give an overview of the SG2 and PL2 form usage. First, a general overview is provided about the tendencies in SG2 and PL2 forms and later about their grammatical realisations among the different generations. While examining the age variable, I did not analysed the undifferentiated PL2 forms, as these forms are not intended only to one participant of a certain age group.

Table 17 presents in what amount G1 (youngest), G2 (middle-aged) and G3 (the oldest) participants used the analysed SG2 and PL2 forms. The analysed forms include the pronominal, verbal, possessive suffix and greeting forms in SG2 and PL2 forms.

The analysed second-person forms suggest asymmetry between the different age groups in terms of the usage of SG2 and PL2 forms.

	G1 < G2	**G1 < G3**	**G2 < G1**	**G2 < G3**	**G3 < G1**	**G3 < G2**	**All**

SG2	16	14	70	60	95	60	314
PL2	17	28	8	5	-	-	58
All	33	42	78	65	95	60	372

Table 17. Number of SG2 and PL2 occurrences divided by age. ***Coding:*** *G1 < G2: G1 participants addressing G2 participants; G1 < G3: G1 participants addressing G3 participants; G2 < G3: G2 participants addressing G3 participants; G3 < G1: G3 participants addressing G1 participants; G3 > G2: G3 participants addressing G3 participants.*

The G3 participant used only SG2 forms, their age group was most often addressed by PL2 forms. The G1 participants applied more PL2 (63,6 % N=28/42) forms to address G3 participants than SG2 forms (36,4 % N=14/42). While G1 participants employed more PL2 forms for G3 participants, for addressing G2 participants, they applied SG2 and PL2 forms in essentially identical proportions. Another noteworthy aspect is that G2 participants used PL2 forms in almost identical proportions to address G1 (10,1% N=8/78) and G3 (9,5% N= 5/65) participants.

Table 18 illustrates the grammatical realisation of the SG2 and PL2 forms. As for the analysation of the SG2 forms, we can observe the following general tendencies. First, while using SG2 forms, all generations were more likely to apply more verb forms than pronominal forms. The only exception is G2 addressing G3 participants, where more pronominal forms than verb forms were used. The reason behind this phenomenon might be that in the Finnish Tatar groups, the G2 and G3 participants knew each other better than the younger participants.

Secondly, participants applied slightly more pronominal forms to address the younger generations than older participants. Thirdly, the older participants tend to use more possessive suffixes as address forms than the younger participants: all G1 participants used 4 possessive suffixes while directly addressing a participant. In contrast, G3 participants used 34 possessive suffixes, all these forms being in SG2 forms.

	G1 < G2	**G1 < G3**	**G2 < G1**	**G2 < G3**	**G3 < G1**	**G3 < G2**	**All**
SG2.PRON	3	4	20	23	26	17	93
SG2.VERB	9	6	30	21	45	29	140
SG2.POSS	1	3	15	11	23	13	66
SG2.GR	3	1	5	6	1	1	17
PL2.PRON	10	15	5	1	-	-	31
PL2.VERB	6	10	3	3	-	-	22
PL2.POSS	-	-	-	1	-	-	1

PL2.GR	1	3	-	-	-	-	4
All	32	42	78	66	95	61	372

Table 18. The realisation of SG2 and PL2 forms divided by age groups

There were also some striking differences between the address form use of the different participants within the same generation, specifically the PL2 form. Among the G1 > G2 address forms, all the PL2 forms were performed by an Estonian Tatar participant. Namely by EST2-G2. All other G1 participants addressed G2 group members by SG2 forms. Also, most PL2 forms (6 out of 8 PL2 forms) used between G2 > G1 participants originate from the same EST2 group, from EST2-G1 and EST2-G2's conversations.

Additionally, all PL2 forms occurring with G2 participants for addressing G3 group members were performed by FIN1-G2 to address FIN1-G3.

4.1.2.2 Nominal address forms

This subsection generalises the findings of how the different age groups applied nominal address forms such as first name (FN), first name followed by a kinship term (FN KT), kinship term (KT), or first name followed by a title (FN T).

	G1 > G2	**G1 > G3**	**G2 > G1**	**G2 > G3**	**G3 > G1**	**G3 > G2**	**ALL**
FN	4	1	13	20	22	12	72
FN KT	10	19	-	1	-	-	30
KT	10	2	6	-	1	-	19
FN T	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
E	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
ALL	24	22	19	23	23	12	123

Table 19. The number of nominal address form occurrences divided by age groups

We can observe an asymmetrical general tendency in terms of the FN+KT and first name address forms. The younger participants used fewer first name forms to address older speakers. To address G2 speakers, G1 participants used more first name forms but fewer FN+KT forms. By contrast, while addressing G3 speakers, FN+KT forms were used in the highest proportion. The kinship terms that followed the first name were *apa* for addressing older female participants (22 times) and for male participants it was realised as *abzi* (3 times).

All the kinship term forms were used only by participants who were closely related, still the same general tendency is observable, specifically, the younger speaker uses more address form including kinship term for addressing older speakers than the other way round. Although parents used kinship terms including a possessive suffix to address their child, they also used their first name as an address form. In contrast, children used only kinship term to address their parents. A noteworthy aspect for analysing the kinship term address forms identified in the data are the possessive suffixes attached to them. The participating parents used a possessive suffix with all kinship terms when they addressed their children with kinship term, while their children mostly did not attach a possessive suffix to the kinship terms while addressing the parents. More specifically, out of the eight kinship terms that were made in order to address the parents, only one included a possessive suffix.

While G2 participants mainly used first names as vocatives, still in small proportions also the usage of other nominal address forms is observable, such as an endearment term (presented in example 12) and FN title (example 11).

4.2 Results of the semi structured interviews

In this section, I summarise the general tendencies that were found in the semistructured interviews. There were both similarities and differences in terms of how participants from the different countries described their forms of address used in Tatar. As for similarities, participants named *the degree of acquaintance* and the *relative age difference* most often as the main factors influencing their decision on which form of address should be used. Additionally, factors such as the addressee's *upbringing*, *status*, and *dialect* were also mentioned as having a significant effect. In the following, I highlight some of the general tendencies that were described by the Finnish and Estonian Tatars about the SG2 and PL2 forms (4.2.1), nominal address forms (4.2.2) and awareness of pluriareal differences (4.2.3).

4.2.1 Second-person forms

The present subsection focuses on how the participants described their SG2 and PL2 usage in the Tatar language.

4.2.1.1 Finnish Tatars

Generally, Finnish Tatar participants reported using mainly SG2 forms within their own community, describing the use of SG2 forms as their own *"tradition",* as also I1 participant described in example 13. Commonly, participants justified the high amount of SG2 use by the familiarity with other community members. The occasions where they remembered using PL2 forms were with guests, who were Tatars from other countries, including also younger professors (see example 14-15).

13. "Min Tatarstanga barudan evvelerek, Rassiya'ga bargınça, her wakit sin süzne kullana idem çönki Finlandiyada bezdä şundi adet." **(I1, Tatar)**

"Before I went to Tatarstan, before going to Russia, I always used the word *sin* (SG2), because in Finland we have this tradition."

14. "Et kyl me sellaisia vieraampia ihmisiä teititellään et just ku tulee vieraita jostain Turkista tai Amerikasta jos et sä oo tavannu aikaisemmin, kyl me voidaan aluks teititellä, mutta muuten meillä on nii pieni piiri missä liikutaan nii (.) me sinutellaan." **(FIN1-G3, Finnish)**

"We use the *Te* (PL2) with unknown people, like if guests are coming from Turkey or from the USA, if you haven't met them earlier, we can use the *Te* (PL2) at first, but otherwise we have such a small circle, we use the SG2 forms."

15. "Joo mut jos on joku ihan tuntematon ja jos se on joku nuori professori tai joku tämmöinen nii silloin voi sanoa Te, mutta harvemmin ehkä, harvemmin, et varsinki ku me nyt melkein kaikki täällä sillee päälin puolin tunnetaan, nii et vaikea kuvitella et sanois Te." **(FIN2-G2, Finnish)**

"Yes, but if there is someone completely unknown and if it is a young professor or someone like that then you can use *Te* (PL2), but it does not happen very often, not very often, especially that we know almost everyone more or less, it's hard to imagine addressing someone with *Te* (PL2)."

Another important factor which is reported to have a great importance on the SG2 and PL2 form choice is the *relative age difference*. Some of the participants described only older Tatar speakers whom they address by PL2 forms. Especially younger participants discussed their form of address preference through relative age difference, which was around 20 or 30 years (example 16-17).

16. OK: “Ketä sinä teitittelet tataariksi?”

I4: “En omanikäisiä tai nuorempia, no jos mä oon nyt. paljonks mä oon? kolmkyt jotain nii, en teitittele nelikymppisiä tai viisikymppisiäkään, mut sitt selkeästi niiku vanhempia, vaikka kuuskyt, seiskyt, ylöspäin, et sellaisia ihmisiä jotka mä oon nähny pienestä pitäen, jotka on aina ollut mulle aikuisia kun mä olen ollut lapsi, niitä mä teitittelen.” **(I4, Finnish)**

OK: “Who do you use *Te* (PL2) with in Tatar?”

I4: “I do not use it with my own age group or someone younger than me. What is my age right now? I am thirty something, so I don't address someone who is in their forties, fifties, but others who are in their sixties, seventies, so the people who I have always known as adults, I address with the *Te* (PL2).”

17. “Mä en kyl muista, et mä niiku varsinaisesti [teitittelisin] (.) nii ku samalla idealla et en mä niiku suomessa, en mä muista et teitittelisin ketään (.) ehkä jotain vanhoja imaameja.” **(FIN1-G1, Finnish)**

“I don't recall that I would actually address someone [with *Te* (PL2)] (.) just like in Finnish, I don’t remember addressing anyone with *Te* (PL2) (.) maybe some old imams.”

On the other hand, other comments suggest that the degree of acquaintance might be a more significant factor than age. For presenting examples, both FIN2-G1 (example 18) and FIN2-G2 (example 19) revealed using PL2 forms with unknown Tatars, regardless of their age group.

18. “Jos on niiku tavallaan tuntemattomii, sitt mä teitittelen ihan kaikkii, ihan oman ikäisiäkin.” **(FIN2-G1, Finnish)** “If there are unknown people, I use the *Te* (PL2) form, even if they are at the same age as I am.”

19. “Jos on henkilö jota tapaa aina useammin nii vaikka on vähän vanhempikin nii kyllä siinä tulee sinuteltua, mutta ku tapaa ensimmäisen kerran nii siinä tulee teititeltyä.” **(FIN2-G3, Finnish)**

“If there is someone who I meet more often, even if the person is older, I address him with the *sinä* (SG2) forms, but if I meet someone for the first time, *Te* (PL2) forms are used.”

Another seemingly significant factor is the *status* of the addressee. There are certain people in the community that are highly respected by other community members, who have to be addressed in a more polite way, for instance, imams (see: example 17). On the other hand, the *situation* itself is also important, which is demonstrated in I4’s experience (example 20), where she describes a community member, with whom she would normally use SG2 forms, but if they

are organising something together and are on a different level, it influences the usage of PL2 and SG2 forms as well.

20. "Jos mä olisin järjestämässä jotain tapahtumaa ja siinä olisi vaikka FN, mä en häntä teitittele koska me ollaan tavallaan niiku töissä ja me ollaan samalla arvo-asemalla, mä olen hänen kanssa tehnyt jotain **çäy kiçä (tat)** tai jotain, mut sitt jos mä näkisin hänet, vaikka kokouksessa, no silloin on jo vähän eri." **(I4, Finnish, in bold: Tatar)**

"If I were to host an event and FN would be there, I wouldn't use *Te* (PL2) to address him because then we're kind of at work and we're in the same position, I've done some **tea night (tat)** with him or something, but if I saw him, at a meeting, well then it's already a little different."

Also, younger Tatar participants highlighted that the language choice does include some aspect of politeness, especially while interacting with older Tatar community members. In example 21, I4 compared the SG2 and PL2 forms and highlighted that there is such a big difference between them as far as she speaks in Tatar, as speaking in Tatar in itself to an older community member equals in some sense with polite manners. Moreover, in example 22, FIN2-G2 explains that the choice of the language shows politeness only if the addressed person is an older Tatar. In contrast, if the addressed person is a younger Tatar, the choice of language depends more on the language skills, not on politeness.

21. "No ku **Sez (tat)** ja **sin**, **tatarça (tat)** on vähän niiku mulle sama, et **sin (tat)** tai **Sez (tat)** jollekin, itseäni vanhemmalle ihmiselle on (.) on jo sitä et, mä teitittelen kun mä vaivaudun jo puhumaan tataariksi heille." **(I4, Finnish, in bold: Tatar)**

"Actually, ***Sez*** (PL2) and ***sin*** (SG2) **in Tatar (tat)** is almost the same for me, in that sense that ***sin*** (SG2) or ***Sez*** (PL2) to someone who is older than me (.) it is already like using *Te* (PL2) when I make an effort to speak in Tatar to them."

22. "Jos niiku ajattelee tilannetta että jollekin selkeästi vanhemmalle tataarille [puhut suomea], siinä on kyllä joku tommoinen kohteliaisuus aspekti niiku olemassa, tuntuis jotenkin tota, jopa vähän törkeältä niiku lähtee vaan suomeks, jos tavallaan molemmat osaa tataarii, mutt sitt mitä lähemmäs omanikäiset tulee, nii sitten, en mä ehkä ajattelis et siinä on niiku kyse siin vaiheessa kohteliaisuudesta, mitenkään, et ehkä siinä enemmän sitt korostuu se et no jos me nyt molemmat osataan tataarii, nii, puhutaan nyt siihen asti ku pärjää nii tataarii, et se ei sitt enää oo kohteliaisuus." **(FIN2-G1, Finnish)**

"If you think about a situation where [you address in Finnish] a clearly older Tatar, there is indeed an aspect of politeness in it, it would feel, even a little outrageous start to talk in Finnish, if we both know Tatar to some extent, but then if it comes to my age group, I think that it's not a matter of politeness at that point, no way, maybe it's

emphasised more from that aspect that if we both speak Tatar, let's talk so much in Tatar as we are able to, it is not a matter of politeness."

4.2.1.2 Estonian Tatar

Within the Estonian Tatar participants, a greater difference was revealed based on the immigration history, dialect and contact language regarding the relative age difference that requires the use of PL2 address forms.

Estonian Tatars who were not born in Estonia often compared in example 23-24, their use of the forms of address with that of the Estonian Tatars who were born in Estonia. According to them, the Tatars who were born in Estonia use more SG2 forms than they do.

23. "Minemçä eston Tatarlar kem monda tudı, tuıp üzde häm alarnıñ berençe tel eston, alar kübräk estonnarnıñ gadätlären aldılar, minemçä alar **sinatavad (est)** kübräk, sin diler kübräk, miña şulay kürenä." (**EST1-G2, Tatar, in bold: Estonian)**

"I think the Estonian Tatars who were born and raised here and whose first language is Estonian, they adopted more from the traditions of the Estonians and I think they use the ***sina*** **(SG2 - es**t) more, they say more *sin* (SG2), it appears like this to me."

24. "Minemçä bu estonnardan gadät kildä, alar aldılar bu gadätne, Sez dä bik äz min işetäm, kübräk sin işetäm." **(I3, Tatar)**

"I think this tradition [addressing someone by first name] came from Estonian, I hear *Sez* (PL2) very rarely, I hear more *sin* (SG2)."

Although there was no statistical evidence for a higher amount of SG2 use in the Estonian Tatar groups for justifying the statements of EST1-G2 and I2, still the semistructured interviews indicate that Estonian Tatar groups perceive the *relative age* differently that requires the usage of PL2 forms.

As for the Tatar participants whose families have been living in Estonia for generations, they reported the age difference to be at least 20-30 years when one needs to use the PL2 forms. In the EST2 group, the G2 and G3 participants had about 10-15 years of the age difference, yet

they perceived this age difference as belonging to the "same age group", as explained in between the role-play scenarios presented in example 25:

25. EST2-G2: no vot see on see situatsioon, kus kas ütlen Teie või sina, jah?

EST2-G3: vahet ei ole,

EST2-G2: vahet ei ole, me, **bez, yäşebez, yakın bezneke, şunnardan yarıy sin sülergä i Sez sülergä, minemtsä (tat).**

EST2-G2: well, this is the situation, where I have to decide if I should say *Teie* (PL2) or *sina* (SG2), isn't it?

EST2-G3: it doesn't matter.

EST2-G2: it doesn't matter, we, **we, our age, our** [**age**] **is close, because of this it is ok to say *sin* (SG2) and Sez (PL2), I think so.**

(EST2-G2 and EST2-G3, Estonian, bold: in Tatar)

In contrast, other semistructured interviews with the other Estonian Tatar groups revealed that the other Tatars' PL2 use preferences include a lower relative age difference. As for EST3 group members, this age is less than 10 years. For illustrating an example (26), the EST3 group members also cooperate often and had similar age differences as EST3-G2 and EST3-G3, still, they apply the PL2 forms while interacting with each other, in contrast to EST2-G2 and EST2-G3 who preferred the SG2 forms for interaction.

26. "Sin süläşeseñ yakın keşe belän, Sez süläşeseñ yörak keşe belän, belmägän keşe belän, tanış tügel keşe belän, tagın ber süz bar, olo keşegä, Sezneñ zurrak keşegä, menä EST2-G3 hanımga min sin dip äytelmim ul zur minden." **(EST3-G2, Tatar)**

"You address a close person with *sin* (SG2), you say *Sez* (PL2) to a not familiar person, who you don't know, who is not an acquaintance. There is also another word, old person, to someone who is older than you, well to Madam EST2-G3, I cannot say *sin* (SG2), she is older than me."

Other participants, especially Russian L2 speakers, preferred to use and to be addressed by PL2 forms and often compared the Russian-Tatar culture and the Estonian culture in terms of using PL2 and SG2 forms (example 27). Some participants also reported transfer between the PL2 and SG2 usage between the languages (example 28-29).

27. "**No vot (rus)** Estonlarda kübräk äytälär sin **i vot (rus)** bezdä, minemtsä tatarlarda **i (rus)** urıslarda kübräk äytälär Sez." (**EST2-G1, Tatar, in bold: Russian)**

"**Well (rus)** in Estonia they say more *sin* (SG2) **and (rus)** I think, we, Tatars **and (rus)** Russian use more *Sez* (PL2) forms."

28. "Minul, kuna see on nii-öelda tatari vene kultuuris kus ma kõike teietan, see jääb mul kogu aeg jalgu, sest eestlased ei tunnista seda, et kogu aeg kõiki teietada, mulle kogu aeg öeldakse et palun ära teieta mind" (**EST1-G1, Estonian)**

"Me, because it's in the so-called Tatar Russian culture, where I use *Te* (PL2) with everyone, it gets in my way all the time, because Estonians don't admit that you have to use *Te* (PL2) with everyone all the time, I'm always told don't use *Te* (PL2) with me."

29. "Min Sez äytergä tırışam ägär keşe minden ber 20 yäş zurrak bulsa, yegerme, utız häm başka, ul minnen biş, un, no niçek äle kürenä, biş-un yäşkä zurrak bulsa, min mömkin Sez belän başlarga annañ üzem soriym yarıy min siña sin äytergä, döröstän äytkendä miña da sindi inde eştän, bu eştän kilgän äyber, balaçagımdan tügel, estonnardan, äytiyk hazergä eston kulturasınnan kilgän äyber." **(EST1-G2, Tatar)**

"I always try to say *Sez* (PL2) forms if someone is about 20 years older than me, 20, 30 and more, but if there is like five to ten years, on the basis how it looks like, five-ten years older than me, then I might start with addressing with *Sez* (PL2) forms and then I will ask, if it is fine to say *sin* (SG2) to you? To tell the truth, I learned this from my work place, not from my childhood, it is from the Estonians, from today's Estonian culture."

On the other hand, not all participants preferred to be addressed by PL2 forms. One participant (EST2-G3) claimed that she does not like using the PL2 form, as it creates a distance between her and the interlocutor, for illustrating this, I present example 30.

30. "Min üzem sin diyergä yaratam, ägär minga sez dip äytsälär, min **uzhe (rus)** anlıym bu keşe minga yakın tügel, bu barrier kuyılgan, Sez - barrier **uzhe (rus)** tora, a sin diseler ul **uzhe (rus)** mineke." **(EST2-G3, Tatar, in bold: Russian)**

"I like to say *sin* (SG2), if someone say *Sez* (PL2) to me, I already understand that this person is not close to me, a barrier is put between us, *Sez* (PL2) – the barrier already stays, but if they say *sin* (SG2), then this person is already mine."

Another significant aspect that needs to be highlighted is that two participants from different Tatar communities reported not using certain kinds of address forms at all, as they do not know Tatar speakers from that age group with whom it would be appropriate to use. In example 31, EST1-G1 claimed to use very rarely SG2 forms in Tatar outside of her family, as she does not know Estonian Tatars from her age group or who would be younger than her. In contrast, in example 32, I2, a pre-Soviet Tatar does not use other than SG2 forms in Tatar, as there are not many people in her community anymore.

31. "Mindä şundıy Tatar keşelär - haman gına Sez. Kaysı wakıt EST1-G3 apa belän süleşkendä ikeü. kaysı wakıt kilä ber-ike sin no bu bik **kogemata (est)** häm bu, anlamıym min nige eşliym häm äni minga öyrätte minga, bötönösö äytem Sez. Minden kartrak bötönösö Sez. Minem yäşlek bulsa Tatarlar kem belän Tatarça sülergä bälki äyter idem sin ama yuk minem yäşleklär. Min äytem Sez." **(EST1-G2, Tatar, in bold: Estonian)**

"Any Tatar people – I say right away *Sez* (PL2). Sometimes while interacting with EST1-G3 I use both [*sin* (SG2 and *Sez* (PL2)] forms, sometimes one-two *sin* (SG2) comes, but it is very **accidentally (est)** and I don't know why I do it. Mom taught me to say *Sez* (PL2) to everyone. Someone is older than me, *Sez* (PL2) to everyone. If there were Tatars from my age with whom I would talk in Tatar, maybe I would say *sin* (SG2), but there is no one from my age group. I say *Sez* (PL2)."

32. "Se muutus hakkas siis kui minu ema põlvkond hakkas ära kaduma, seni kuni see püsis oli kõik endine loomulikult, aga nüüd viimase 10 aasta jooksul asjad on, kogukond ei ole enam, FN-iga räägime omavahel tatari keelt eks ju aga meie ju sinatame omavahel." **(I2, Estonian)**

"This change started when my mother's generation started to disappear. As long as it lasted, everything was the same, of course, but now for the last 10 years things are, there is no community anymore, with FN we talk to each other in Tatar, but we use informal address forms."

4.2.2 Kinship terms and nominal address forms

Participants from all regions mentioned the use of kinship terms followed by the first name as the most significant difference in politeness formulas between their societal language and Tatar. In the following, I present how Finnish and Estonian Tatars described their nominal address form use.

4.2.2.1 Finnish Tatar

In both Finnish Tatar groups, older participants claimed that nowadays the kinship terms are not as widely used as during their childhood. According to FIN1-G3, FIN1+G3 and FIN2-G3 (example 33-34), both the amount of usage and generally the kinship term vocabulary significantly decreased during their lifetime since their childhood.

33. FIN2-G3: "Mä luulen että mun sukupolvi vielä käyttää paljon enemmän sitä, kuin nykyinen nuoriso, ja sitt meil on niiku kokonaan hävinny semmoiset sanonnat ku, vähän vanhempaa tätiä nii sitä sanottiin **totay (tat)**, elikkä **totay (tat)**, ne on kadonnu kaikki, samalla lailla jotain muita nimityksiä."

FIN2-G2: "Joku **alma totay (tat)** oli joo." **(FIN2-G3 and FIN2-G2, Finnish, in bold: Tatar)**

FIN2-G3: "I think my generation still uses it a lot more than the current youth, and then we have completely lost such sayings like, a little older aunt was called **aunt (tat),** that is, **aunt (tat),** they have all disappeared, just like some other designations."

FIN2-G2: "**Apple aunt (tat)** was yeah."

34. "Ennen sanottiin viiskymmentä vuotiallekin **totay (tat)**, lapset sanoi." **(FIN+G3, Finnish, in bold: Tatar)**

"Earlier women who were over fifty were addressed as **totay (tat),** the children called them so."

In the FIN2 group, members would also recall how they were addressed earlier during their childhood. They remembered that older speakers would avoid the usage of pronouns or kinship terms. Instead, they employed endearment terms and attached the SG1 possessive suffix to them. The participants explained the usage of these address forms as being typical to the Mishar Tatar dialect (see example 35).

35. FIN2-G2: "mäkin olin pieni nii ne vanhat sedät täällä Suomessa jotain **maykoşom (tat)** tai jotain tällaista nii ne, ei sano sinä tai tyttö tai mitään vaan jollain muulla tällaisella, hellittelynimellä kuten **maykoşom (tat)**, tai **yöräkparam (tat)."**

FIN2-G3: "Niiku mu mummo sanoi aina **yöräkmayım (tat).**"

FIN2-G2: "Tai **altınım (tat)** tai **appagım (tat),** ja ainakin mitä mishäärit, mitä nyt jos rupee oikein miettii nii monet ei sanoo sinä eikä te, ne sanoo **appagım nihäl? (tat)** tai jotain tällaista." (**FIN2-G2 and FIN2-G3, Finnish, in bold: Tatar)**

FIN2-G2: “When I was little so the old uncles here in Finland would say to me something like **my butter bird (tat)** or something like that, they would not say *sinä* (SG2) or girl or anything but with some other way, with this kind of an endearment term like **my butter bird or my heart piece (tat)**.”

FIN2-G3: “Like my grandmother always said **my heart butter (tat)**.”

FIN2-G2: “Or **my gold (tat)** or **my very white one (tat)**, and at least when it comes to Mishar Tatars, if I start to think then many of them don’t even say *sinä* (SG2) nor *Te* (PL2), they say **my very white one what is up? (tat)** or something like that.”

Various factors were discussed that can influence the use of the FN+KT structure. Most participants agreed that it is in connection with upbringing and family tradition that was learned during their childhood. Participants, regardless of their age group, reported using the FN+KT structure as a vocative with their own relatives (aunts, uncles, etc.) and older family friends and community members, whom they have been addressing this way since their childhood (see examples 36-37, 39).

36. “mä olen jotenkin tottunut pienestä pitäen et mä sanon kyllä edelleenkin, vaikka setiä tai enoja **abzi (tat)**, vaik nähään kuitenkin tosi säännöllisesti, (.) kaikki on niiku **abzi (tat)** ja **apa (tat)**, jos on joku vanhempi.” **(FIN2-G1, Finnish, in bold: Tatar)**

“I am somehow used to it since my childhood that I still call my uncles ***’abzi’*** **(tat)**, even though I see them quite regularly (.) everyone is like **uncle** or **aunt (tat)**, if they are older.”

37. “No mä en käytä muista vaan ku on mun oikea sukulainen, no jos on mua vanhempi esimerkiksi tossa naapurissa asuu yli 80-vuotiaita tataareita nii kyllä mä niille sanon, kyllä mä niille sanon **abzi** ja **apa.**” **(FIN2-G2, Finnish, in bold: Tatar)**

“Well, I don’t use [these address forms] with others, but with my real relatives, well if there’s an older one, for example, there are Tatars over the age of 80 living in the neighbourhood, of course I say to them **uncle** and **aunt (tat).**”

While younger Tatar participants reported that they use the fictive kinship terms for addressing older participants, still during the interviews, young participants were clearly hesitating whether the older participant should be addressed by the first name or by FN+KT. To illustrate this, in example 38, the FIN1 group participant FIN1-G1 used both SG2 and PL2 greeting forms and first name and FN+KT address forms for addressing FIN1-G3 in the very first scenario performed by the group:

Example (38) (FIN1-G1 to FIN1-G3)

Isänme (.)	*Isänmesez,*	*FN*	*(.)*	*FN*	*apa*
Hello.SG2	Hello.PL2	First name		First name	Kinship term

Another interesting factor about fictive kinship term use is that participants did not assigned to kinship terms as to PL2 use. According to them, the use of kinship terms indicates *closeness*, as it also appeared from example 39.

39. FIN1-G2: "joo en mä edes käsitä sitä nii ku teitittelynä vaan mä käsiten sen että kyl mä sanon niiku esimerkiks, niiku FN **apa**, se oli mulle aina FN **apa**, eikä mitään FN,"
FIN1-G3: "no joo just se onkin niiku vähän semmoista, et sä kuitenkin kokeet, et se on vähän vanhempi ihminen, ja sitt se kyllä mun mielestäni osoittaa läheisyyttä,"
FIN1-G2: "sitä mä yritin just sanoa, et se oli niiku mulle se lämpöö." **(FIN1-G2 and FIN1-G3, Finnish, in bold: Tatar)**
FIN1-G2: "yeah I don't even see it as a Te (PL2) form, but I understand it so that yes I say so like for example, like FN aunt, it was always FN aunt for me, and not FN,"
FIN1-G3: "well yeah, exactly that's a bit like that, that you're testing after all, that the person is a little older, and then I think it shows intimacy,"
FIN1-G2: "That's just what I was trying to say, that for me it was like the warmth,"

Finnish Tatar participants use the FN KT address form as a vocative to address clearly older participants (as it is also illustrated in examples 36-37 and 39). However, if the relative age difference is not significant between the participants, the participants did not prefer to employ this form of address, as can be seen from example 40. The reasons named in the examples for not addressing someone by a fictive kinship term who is in the same age group is predominantly due to the Finnish cultural contacts.

40. "et se on vähän hassua jos mä sanoisin itseäni kaks kuukautta vanhempaa ihmistä jollain päätteellä, ja sitt se et ku Suomen kulttuurissa ei ole sitä, nii ei se jotenkin tunnu luontevalta." **(I4, Finnish)**
"it's a little funny if I would call someone with some [kinship term] ending who is two months older than me and since that's not how it is in Finnish culture, so it doesn't seem somehow natural."

In most of the interviews, a general trend about the usage of *apa* 'aunt' as a fictive kinship term was revealed, it is presented in examples 41-43. Specifically, nowadays Tatar women in Finland often get offended if they are addressed by the kinship term *apa* followed by their first name.

41. "ja mäkin kyl sanon tota, kaikkii vanhempii ihan automaattisesti **abzi yäisä apa (tat)**, ja sitt just toi et jotkut suuttuu siitä ja sitt enää ei sano." (**FIN2-G1, Finnish, in bold: Tatar)**
"And I also call everyone who is older automatically **uncle or aunt (tat)**, and then well some get angry about it and then you don't say it again to them."

42. "Jotkut nuoret hikeentyy ku niille sanoo **apa (tat)**." **(FIN1+G3, Finnish, in bold: Tatar)**
"Some young people get offended when someone says to them **aunt (tat)**."

43. "tänäpäivänä on sellaisia ihmisiä ku niille joku pikkulapsi sanoo että **apa** tai **abzi (tat)** nii ne niiku suoraan närkästyy siitä, et en mä ole mikään **apa (tat)**, kokee sen vanhana" **(FIN2-G3, Finnish, in bold: Tatar)**
"Today there are people like this who get angry when a toddler says to them **aunt (tat)** or **uncle (tat)** so they get outright angry, that I'm no **aunt (tat),** they think that this makes them old."

The use of kinship terms might change within a lifetime according to the interlocutor's social distance and status, as it is also demonstrated in example 44. Namely, FIN2-G2 discussed that earlier during her childhood she used the kinship term *abzi* 'uncle' to address FIN2-G3, but nowadays as the age difference does not seem to be as huge as earlier, she does not address FIN2-G3 anymore with the term, only by the first name.

44. FIN2-G2: "ja ennen mä sanoin FN apa ja FN abzi mut nykyisin mä en enää sano,"
OK: "mutta miksi?"
FIN2-G3: "kato, ei kunnioita enää" [FIN2-G3 nauraa]
FIN2-G2: "yleinen trendi, koska mä tunnen et mä olen itse jo niin vanha"
(FIN2-G2 and FIN2-G3, Finnish, in bold: Tatar)
FIN2-G2: "and before that I said FN aunt and FN uncle but now I no longer say"
OK: "but why?"
FIN2-G3: "see, doesn't respect anymore" [FIN2-G3 laughs]
FIN2-G2: "a general trend because I feel like I'm so old myself already"

The vocative particle *-y* and the diminutive affix *-kay, -käy* are omitted from kinship terms by the Finnish Tatar participants. For instance, the word *abzıy, abıy* were pronounced by most participants without the vocative particle -y, which in literary language and Tatar dialects expresses positive politeness. Although Finnish Tatar participants did not express negative

attitudes of the decreased use of the vocative particle, FIN1-G3 mentioned in example 45, the way how her grandchildren addressing her without diminutive affixes (*äbi* 'grandma' instead of *äbiy* or *äbäkäy*) triggered negative attitudes.

45. "**Äbi**kin **(tat)** on semmoinen sana, mun lapsenlapset sanoo minut **äbi**ks **(tat)** ja monien mielestä se on kamalaan rumaa että ne sanoo **äbi**ks **(tat)**, miks ne ei sano **äbäkäy (tat)** diminutiivi muodossa? Mun mielestäni **äbi (tat)** on ihan yhtä hyvä, mutta **äbi (tat)** voi olla silleen vähän halveksuvaakin." **(FIN1-G3, Finnish, in bold: Tatar)**
"**Grandmother (tat)** is such a word, my grandchildren call me **grandmother (tat)** and many people think it's horribly ugly that they call me **grandmother (tat)**, why don't they say **granny (tat)** in the diminutive form? I think **grandmother (tat)** is just as good, although **grandmother (tat)** can be a little contemptuous."

4.2.2.2 Estonian Tatar

The semistructured interviews revealed similar tendencies among the Estonian Tatars than among the Finnish Tatars in kinship term use preference as well as in the use of SG2 and PL2 forms. The interviews showed that pre-Soviet Estonian Tatars prefer a higher relative age for using the kinship terms. In examples 46-47, the participants who arrived in Estonia during their adulthood shared how surprised they were when they faced the different kinship term usage norms of the pre-Soviet Estonian Tatars. In example 48, the participant also describes an Estonian Tatar who only addressed about 30 years older Tatars by kinship terms.

46. "Häm alar apa-abıy olırak keşelergä minemçä äytmiler, alar äytälär şulay FN, min monda kilgäç, no menä bezdä FN FN FN, no ul FN kiler, min **dazhe (rus)** belmädem ul ir me hatın mı, annang kürdem, ul minden ber utız yäş zurrak apa, aña berkem dä äytmäde FN apa, FN gına äyttelär." **(EST1-G2, Tatar, in bold: rus)**

"And I don't think they say aunt, uncle to older people, they just say FN. When I arrived here [Estonian Tatar said to me], that here is FN, FN, FN, well FN comes and I did not know **yet (rus)** if this person is a male or a female and then I saw this person, she was about 30 years older than me and no one addressed her as FN aunt, no one, they just said FN."

47. "Min monda kilgäç beraz aptıradım çönki, mäsälän monda apa süz bik siräk, bik siräk, mindän keşeler öyrändeler, küp mindän öyrändeler, mäsälän olo keşegä, isem buyença gına äytälä, mäsälän Feride iseme belän - Feride, mäsälän Gulcihan, Feride, Ayşe, berkayçanda apa üzara monda işetmädem." **(I3, Tatar)**

"When I arrived here I felt confused, because for instance, here the word aunt is very rare, very rare, people learned it from me, for instance they address older people only by their name, for example, Feride only by name – Feride, for instance, Gulcihan, Feride, Ayşe, I have never heard them using the word aunt in between while they speak."

48. "No äye döröstän äytkändä bik oli keşelärgä kem inde 30 yıl zurrak, ul äyter ide apa."
"Well telling the truth, he [an Estonian Tatar] addressed very old people, if they were 30 years older than him, he said aunt."

Another aspect that should be highlighted is that Tatar participants with Russian as a second language tend to assign a significantly smaller relative age difference (between 1-10 years) to the usage of FN KT. For instance, in example 49, EST2-G2 and EST2-G3 who speak Estonian as their second language, agreed that the person of the previous generation (meaning about 20-30 years older) should be addressed by kinship terms. In contrast, the third group member, EST2-G1, who speaks Russian as a second language, did not agree with them (see example 49).

49. OK: "Häm apa häm abzıy süzlerne kemgä äytesez? Nindi yäştä ol keşelär?"
EST2-G2: **"järgmine põlvkond (est)"**
EST2-G1: "yok, sinden ber-ike yäş kart bulsa yarıy apa-abzıy äytergä, **vot (rus)** minemtsä şulay, **potom (rus)** minga änne süläde **shto vot (rus)** min tuganıma, señeleme kem minden ike yıl olırak, min tiyeş idem äytergä apa,"
EST2-G3: "yok, yok,"
EST2-G2: "**vot (rus)** awılda şulay"
EST2-G3: "bezdä äytiyk ol olo mo, kart keşe äytiyk, 20-30 yıl ulırak bulsa, anagra inde äytesen apa i abzıy"
(EST2-G1, EST2-G2, EST2-G3, Tatar, in bold: est, rus)
OK: "And to whom do you say aunt and uncle? How old are these people?"
EST2-G2: "**the next [sic!] generation (est)"**
EST2-G1: "no, if the person is one year older than you, you can say aunt or uncle, I think it is so, **because (rus)** my mother told me **that well (rus)** I should have addressed my sister, who is two years older than me, by the kinship term aunt."
EST2-G3: "no, no"
EST2-G2: "**well (rus),** it is like this in the village"
EST2-G3: "here we say, let's say someone is 20-30 years older than you, that you use the words *apa* and *abzıy*."

There was a clear difference in the attitude to the fictive kinship term on the basis of the participants' second language. Russian L2 speakers had a positive attitude to the tradition of addressing older Tatar speakers by kinship terms. Usually, the relative age difference requiring the kinship term usage was also lower (around 1-10 years) and they saw it as a way of expressing their respect (cf. examples 50). In contrast, Estonian L2 participants did not like to be addressed as *apa* and they expressed more negative feelings about it because it made the interlocutor feel distant (example 51).

50. "Bezdä şundıy ğadat. Menä minem apa ber yäştan gına minnen olı iken, min anı apa dip äytem. Ber gına yäşten minnen ulı bulsa da. Abıy, minnen ber gına yäştän ulı bulsa da min anı abıy dip äyter idem. Ul şulay ide elekke, hazer bu ğadät betep bara. Läkin bez şulay üzdek. Ulı keşene apa dip äytü, sinden ber gına yäşten bu anı hörmät itügä sanala ide." **(EST1-G3, Tatar)**

"We have this tradition. Well if there is my sister who is only one year older than me, I say *apa* to her. Even if she is one year older than me. *Abıy*, if I had a brother who is only one year older than me, I would say *abıy*. Earlier it was like this, but nowadays this tradition is about to end. But we grew up like this. Saying *apa* to someone, even if she is one year older than you, it used to show respect."

51. EST2-G2: (.) nitsek äytergä, **oli nagu võõras eks ole (est)**, ul äytte minga FN apa, miña şundi **võõras (est)**
EST2-G3: no bik tur, tur äytte,
EST2-G2: tur äytte belämen, da, no min üzem apa (.) belmimen min apa bolıpkan, **ma ei tunne ennast nagu tädi eks ole ju või (est)** no olırak keşegä äytälär apa, abzıy, efende, hanum**. (EST2-G2 and EST2-G3, Tatar, in bold: Estonian)**

EST2-G2: (.) how to say this, **she was like a stranger, right (est)**, she said to me *FN apa*, it was so strange to me
EST2-G3: but she said it correctly
EST2-G2: I know, she said it correctly, yes, but I am an aunt (.) I did not know I became an aunt, **I don't feel myself as an aunt (est)**, they say aunt to old people, aunt, uncle, Mister, Lady.

Among the pre-Soviet Estonian Tatars, similarly to Finnish Tatars, the use of kinship terms might change in different life stages. As example 52 also presents, after reaching a life stage, the relative age difference might not seem so high and therefore the social distance is also decreasing, indicating the omission of KT and addressing other community members only by FN.

52. I2: "mul on endast umbes viisteist aastat vanem noh selline onutütar või midagi niisugust, kunagi ma ütlesin talle FN **apa (tat)**, ja kunagi ma vist teietasin teda aga nüüd ma ütlen talle FN, ja ma ei teieta teda, kuidagi on niimoodi läinud,"
OK: "aga miks?"
I2: "ma ei tea miks, võib-olla on ta ise seda soovinud, vist, pigem on see nii, et vaata kui inimesele öeldakse apa siis ta tunneb ennast vanemana" **(I2, Estonian, in bold: Tatar)**

I2: "I have a cousin who is about fifteen years older than I am, earlier I addressed her as FN aunt and I said *Teie* (PL2), but now I say to her FN and I do not say *Teie* (PL2), somehow it went like this."
OK: "but why?"
I2: "I don't know, maybe she wanted it herself, probably, it is more like this, if someone is addressed as aunt she feels like she is older."

Among all the Tatar groups, only Ida-Virumaa reported using the patronymic name after the FN and more formal address forms within community members such as titles. Additionally, the semistructured interviews with Estonian Tatars suggest that they apply more diminutive forms on kinship terms. Also, possessive suffix forms attached to fictive kinship terms seem to be used more extensively (example 53-55).

53."Bez berberägäzgä bik sanıybız äybet keşe kebek **poetomy (rus)** bez äytebez inde FN efende, FN hanum, FN hanum, menä şulay äytep süläşebez, menä FN patronymic" **(EST3-G3, Tatar, in bold: Russian)**
"We think of each other that we are great and because of this we say Mr. FN, Mrs. FN, well we speak like this, well FN patronymic name."

54. "Min äyttem änkäy, äbieme, äbkäyneñ änisene kartıy." **(EST3-G3, Tatar)**
"I said mommy, to my grandma, to my grandmothers's mother I said granny."

55.
"Miña Tallinnadan şaltıratalar, FN äytte miña FN apam. Ul äyte menä FN apabız." **(EST3-G3, Tatar)**
"They call me from Tallinn, FN says to me my FN aunt. She says our FN aunt."

The semistructured interviews also suggest dialectal differences among the different Estonian Tatar groups. In the EST1 group, an interesting conversation arose about the usage of kinship term *abzıy* 'uncle' as the speakers did not assign the same meaning to the word *abzıy*. According to EST1-3, *abzıy* can be used, for instance, to address neighbours and relatives but not siblings. On the other hand, EST1-3 maintained that *abzıy* cannot be used to address someone directly, it is rather used to refer to someone (example 56-57).

56. "Abzıy, abzıy dip ta äytälär, abzıy äytälär menä kürşelergä, tugannarga, başka tugannarga, bertuganga tügel. Tuganarak keşelärgä. Bertuganga äytälär abıy, apa." **(EST1-3, Tatar)**
"Uncle, uncle, it is said to neighbours, to relatives, to far relatives but not to siblings. To closer people. The siblings are addressed as uncle and aunt."

57. "Abzıy digen süzne min üzem anı niçek kullanam: min anı äytem üzgä keşelergä min şulay ändäşmim, min äytem FN abıy. No tege abıylar äyterga dörös tügel minem öçen, min äytem no tege abzıylar."
"I use the word ***abzıy*** (tat - uncle, dialectal word) like this: I address directly someone like FN ***abıy*** (tat – uncle, literary language), but I think it is not correct to refer to someone like those ***abıy***s, I say those ***abzıy***s there.

4.2.3 Tatars from other regions

Most participants have Tatar relatives or friends in foreign countries. Therefore, a wide range of experiences were shared about the use of address forms while interacting with Tatars from different communities.

Some participants did make a difference among the Tatar diasporas on the basis of their country of birth. According to their division, there are Tatars who were born and raised in a foreign country, and "newly arrived Tatars" who were born in the territory of the Russian Federation and moved to a new country due to their education. Participants assigned differences to these two groups' cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

58. "Mutta se ero meillä ja heillä on just se että ku me ollaan oltu Suomessa sen sata vuotta ja yli, ja sitt ne nuoret jotka on tullu Berliinistä tai jotain, Iso-Britanniasta, tai Sveitsistä, et he oli kuitenkin syntynyt Kazanissa. Ne on niiku muuttanut opintojen perässä Amerikkaan, Berliiniin, sinne tänne ja tonne, et heidän lähtötilanne on ihan eri kuin meidän, mut he on oppinu, sillain kulttuureja ja tapoja, hyvin nopeasti unohtuu tämmöiset tietyt [kohteliaisuus] sanat." **(I4, Finnish)**

"But the difference between us and them is that when we have been in Finland for a hundred years and over, and then those young people who have come from Berlin or something, Great Britain, or Switzerland, they were born in Kazan. They have moved to America, Berlin, here and there in pursuit of their studies, and their starting point is quite different from ours, but they have learned new cultures and customs, certain [politeness] words can be forgotten very quickly."

The results suggested a metalinguistic awareness about what address forms are used among Tatar speakers from different countries. FIN2-G2 participant, who is a very active member of the community and met Tatars from many countries, shared experiences about the usage of SG2 and PL2 forms with different Tatar diaspora members (example 59). The informant's experience suggests a clear difference in the frequency in SG2 and PL2 usage among different Tatar national varieties. Participants also observed differences between the Kazan Tatar and Mishar Tatar in terms of SG2 and PL2 address forms:

59. "Eniten olen ollut elämässäni, Venäjän tataarien kanssa, jos sä oot Kazanin tataarin kanssa nii on ihan automaattisesti pakko teititellä (.) mutta sitt jos on Moskovan tataareja, ku ne on mishäärejä, ne kyllä usein sinuttelee mun mielestä ainakin, niitä on helpompi sinutella ja ne itekkin sinuttelee, on Turkin tataareja, niitäkin on teititelty, ja sitt on Amerikan tataareita, niille on paljon helpompi sanoa sinä, ja sitten on usein et, kato, Amerikan tataaritki ne voi olla just täältä sinne lähteneitä, nii niitä tulee sinuteltua, ja sitten on Ruotsissa, nekin on sukulaisia, nille sanotaan **sin (tat),** ja sitt on kans ollu jotain Japaanin tataareita joskus, ja sitt on Eestin tataareita,

niitäkin kans tulee teititeltyä just ku mun mielestäni niidenkin se kulttuuri tulee Venäjältä ku ne aina teitittelee, mut mun mielestäni mishäärit yleensä vähemmän teitittelee, ja mun mielestäni ne ulkomaan tataarit teitittelee helposti niiku minutkin" **(FIN2-G2, Finnish, in bold: Tatar)**
"Mostly I have been interacting with Tatars from Russia, and if you meet someone from Kazan, you automatically have to use the formal address forms (.) but if you meet Tatars from Moscow, as they are Mishar Tatars, they use the informal forms, at least I think so, it is easier to address them by the *sinä* (SG2) forms and they also address me by them, there are Tatars from Turkey, I used *Te* (PL2) with them. Then also, Tatars from the USA, it is way easier to address them with *sinä* (SG2), look they might have come from here, so you address them informally, and then there are Tatars in Sweden, they are also relatives, to them we say ***sin*** (SG2), and then I have met Tatars from Japan at some point, and there are Tatars from Estonia, you use the *Te* (PL2) forms with them too, because I think also their culture comes from Russia because they always use *Te* (PL2), but I think that Mishar Tatars use less *Te* (PL2) forms and the foreigner [diaspora Tatars] use more formal address forms with me too."

Additionally, semistructured interviews suggest influence on the Finnish Tatar address forms from Kazan Tatar. In an earlier example, participant I1, who also identified SG2 form usage as the tradition of Finnish Tatars (cf. example 13), expressed that lately there are more PL2 forms used among the Finnish Tatars due to the influence of Kazan Tatar (example 61). Also, FIN2-G1 told how a visit to Kazan made him reevaluate his address form usage (example 60) and decided to use more PL2 forms.

60. "Mä huomasin sen itse asiassa ku mä olin just Kazanissa tossa ennen tätä korona hommelia, nii siel must tuntui niiku et ihan oman ikäisetkin aluksi teititteli ja siit mä jotenkin aloin miettimään, et toihan on tavallaan ihan kunnioittava ele tai semmonen, et osoittaa toiselle, et ei se [teitittely] välttämättä iästä tarvii olla kiinni." **(FIN2-1, Finnish)**
"I actually realised it when I was in Kazan before this corona thing, so that first also people from my own age group used the formal address forms between each other, and then I started to think that this is actually a respectful kind of behaviour, that you show, that it does not have to depend on your age [the use of Te (PL2)]."

61. "Bezneñ adät şulay bulgan, bez Finlandiyada şundıynı öyrändek, Sezne bik siräk işetä idek, Sez süzne kemgä dä, Sez digändä anda inde küpçäläkbez, läkin bezdä dä äle Finlandiyada ol ala şondan (.) kübräk bu Kazan adätene, kaysısı miña yarıy, yani min anıñ karşı tügel, no ol alardan kilde, Tatarstan belän kübräk aralaşkanda bez kullana başladık." **(I1, Tatar)**
"Our tradition is such that in Finland we learned it, we heard *Sez* (PL2) very rarely, the word *Sez* (PL2) to no one, if one says *Sez*, then you say it to more people, but here in Finland it already starts (.) it is more the tradition of Kazan, which is fine for me, I mean, I am not against it, but it is from them as we interact more with Tatarstan we started to use it."

During the interviews, Estonian Tatars shared their experiences about the Finnish Tatars. Many Estonian Tatar participants have met with Finnish Tatar community members. Some participants mentioned that they were surprised by their address form use. EST2-G1 shared a story of when she wanted to address a Finnish Tatar by the kinship term *abzıy* but they "did not understand it". Moreover, it was surprising for her that another Finnish Tatar addressed EST2-G3 by the kinship term *abzıy* but used the SG2 address forms.

62. "alar **vot (rus)** min kayçan anda idem, alar äytteler sin gina, **i (rus)** kayçan min telädem FN-ga äytergä FN abzıy, **i (rus)** kayçan min äyttem FN abzıy alar anglamadılar, nek min alarga şulay äytemen, sin gina äyttelär, sin, Sez bik äz süliler." **(EST2-G2, Tatar, in bold: Russian)**
"They, well, when I was there, they only said *sin* (SG2), and when I wanted to say to FN, FN abzıy (uncle), and then I said FN abzıy (uncle), they did not understand, why I say like this, they say only *sin* (SG2), *sin* (SG2) they say very rarely *Sez* (PL2)."

63. EST2-G3: Finlandiyadan da ul haman äytte miña FN abzıy,
EST2-G1: no ul sin äytä, äytmiy Sez, ul ätädän yäshräk i ättägä äytä sin, **no potomu shto (rus)** Finndä shondi **traditsia (rus)**, anda bit äytä alalar, **po-moemu dazhe (rus)** presidentka sin, **a vot (rus)** bezdä kübräk tatarlarda orusta kebek, bezdä kübräk Sez äytälär **(EST2-G3 and EST2-G2, Tatar, in bold: Russian)**
EST2-G3: In Finland, he right away said to me FN *abzıy*,
EST2-G1: But he said *sin* (SG2), he doesn't say *Sez* (PL2), he is younger than EST2-G3 and said *sin* (SG2), but it is because in Finland there is this **tradition (rus),** they **even (rus)** say, **I think (rus)**, to the president *sin* (SG2), **but well (rus)** here in Tatar more the PL2 forms are used, like in Russian.

Although the Estonian participants acknowledged the different address form norms of the Finnish Tatar speakers, it did not cause negative attitudes generally about the Finnish Tatar community. As presented in examples 64-65 many of the Estonian Tatar participants shared very positive experiences about the Finnish Tatars. According to EST2-G3, they even "need to thank them" because the Finnish Tatars did not forget their language (example 65).

64. "Finländiyä tatarlar, alarnıñ oyışması bik yakşı, bik yakşı" (**EST3-G3, Tatar)**
"The Finnish Tatars, their congregation is very good, very good"

65. no alar şulay süliler, bez şulay, no iñ zor şundi sükämle närsä bar, bez Mişärlär ber awıldan, **i (rus)** bez üz ara bik añlıybız, **i (rus)** finnärgä **vot** (rus) kerek äytergä, bik zor rahmät, alar üz telen alar onıtmadılar **(EST2-G3, Tatar, in bold: Russian)**

"Well they speak like this, we speak like that, but the loveliest thing in it is that we are Mishar Tatars from the same village **and (rus)** we understand each other, and to the Finns (Finnish Tatars) we have to thank them very much because they did not forget their language."

Another foreign Tatar group that many Estonian Tatar participants, especially pre-Soviet participants interact with, are their relatives who live in different countries around the world. EST2-G1 and EST2-G2 revealed what they use with their relatives, but another participant, I2, on the other hand, discussed the cultural differences that influenced her aunt's preference of the forms of address who emigrated to the USA (example 66).

66. "mina teietasin oma tädi nii kaua kui ta elas, oma ema õde, aga seda ema õde kes Ameerikasse läks ma sinatasin, sellepärast et need, kuidagi need kultuurilised erinevused (.) tähendab ta (.) ma üritasin alguses teietada siis ta ütles, et mitte mingil juhul, mitte mingil juhul (.) et ma tunnen ennast vanana kui sa teietad (.) nii et Ameerika mõjus niimoodi temale." **(I2, Estonian)**

"I used the *Teie* (PL2) form with my aunt as long as she lived, my mother's sister, but my mother's other sister who went to America, somehow, because of these cultural differences (.) I mean (.) I tried at the beginning to use the *Teie* (PL2) form but then she said no, by no means, by no means (.) that I feel old when you say *Teie* (PL2) to me (.) that this is how America influenced her."

5. Discussion

The research findings suggest pluriareal differences in the use of address forms by Tatars living in Finland and Estonia. In the following, I discuss the findings of the variables *region* and *age* (5.1), the politeness strategies identified (5.2) and the metalinguistic awareness about regional differences (5.3).

5.1 Pragmatic variation by *region* and *age*

Earlier studies showed that some of the most common sociological variables that influence the use of forms of address are *region* and *age*. The analysed data propose that Finnish Tatars use the SG2 forms more often than the Tatars living in Estonia. Moreover, younger Tatar speakers use more PL2 forms than older Tatar speakers while interacting with each other.

The analysis suggests three reasons for the high number of SG2 usage by the Finnish Tatar community members. Firstly, as Akhmetova (2007, p.10) proposes, it is due to the close contact with the Finnish language and culture, where speakers generally prefer SG2 forms as address forms (Lappalainen, 2015). Earlier research illustrates that the forms of address used in L1 can change while living in another country where another language is spoken in most domains (Lind, 2014; Isosävi, 2020).

Secondly, participants often mentioned the high degree of familiarity between each other, which is due to the small number of the community and to the fact that most Tatar community members originate from the same villages, so they have a similar immigrant history. The preference of SG2 form usage over PL2 forms has been observed also in other minority groups which had a common immigrant history (Liebscher et al., 2010). Clyne et al. (2009) also state that the idea of sameness and solidarity, i.e., "expressing a common ground and a sense of common identity" might influence the choice between SG2 and PL2 forms (2009, p. 79).

Thirdly, the relatively high amount of SG2 use was often explained by the speakers themselves by dialectal differences (example 59). Earlier research has shown that the use of kinship terms and also greetings have dialectical differences in vocabulary (cf. Bayazitova et al**.,** 2009). Romazanova's study also shows that Tatar speakers, who live in the village and in the city have different address form preferences (2007). However, to my best knowledge, there is no study that would compare the SG2 and PL2 frequency as address forms between different Tatar dialects. Therefore, it is not possible to decide whether the dialectal background of the Finnish Tatar community members influenced their frequent SG2 use as an address form or not.

Not only the frequency of the SG2 and PL2 usage, but also the grammatical manifestation of these forms of address showed variation. Generally, in Tatar it is not perceived polite to address someone by nominal address forms. However, the Estonian Tatar participants addressed each other proportionally with a high amount of pronominal forms compared to verb forms. This might be due to language contacts with Russian, which is not a pro-drop language. The results of Lind (2014) show that Russian L1 students in Finland overuse pronouns while making requests in Finnish through email communication. Other studies on bilingual language acquisition also suggest that bilinguals whose one language allows subject pro-drop and the other does not tend to overuse the pronominal forms of their language which does allow subject pro-drop (Paradis & Navarro, 2003; Hacohen & Schaeffer, 2007). However, it is important to highlight that the Estonian Tatar group, in which were the most Estonian L2 speakers, produced proportionally the most pronominal SG2 forms among all the other groups. Therefore, the justification about close contact with pro-drop and non-pro-drop languages needs more investigation.

The possessive suffix forms in SG2 and undifferentiated PL2 forms were more widely employed by the Finnish Tatar participants. On the other hand, Estonian Tatar participants used the possessive suffixes more often when they addressed someone by fictive kinship terms and endearment terms (cf. 12, 50, 53-55), which is perceived as the polite way of addressing someone in Tatar and generally in Turkic languages according to the earlier literature (Izmailova et al.; Voinov 2013).

Another significant difference in the kinship term use between the Estonian and Finnish groups is that Finnish Tatar participants did not pronounce the vocative particle *-y* and diminutive affixes at the end of kinship terms. The omission of the vocative particle while addressing someone can be perceived impolite in many Turkic languages (Voinov 2013). For instance the word uncle *abzıy, abıy* was pronounced by the Finnish Tatars as *abzi* and *abi*, which differs from both the dictionary form in standard Tatar (cf. Daher & Moisio 2017). On the other hand, the Estonian Tatar participants used a wide range of diminutive affixes such as *-kay/-käy* (Example 54).

As for age, the data suggest asymmetry in that younger speakers are more likely to use PL2 than SG2 forms. Additionally, younger participants generally applied more verb and possessive suffix forms for addressing older speakers than pronominal forms, showing the “polite” tendencies about the omission of pronominal forms that was described by Izmailova et al., (2017) and Galimova et al. (2017).

Older people were also more addressed by fictive kinship terms by younger participants than younger participants by older participants. During the semistructured interviews, only participants from the Ida-Virumaa county reported using fictive kinship terms for Tatars who are younger than they are. Both Estonian and Finnish Tatar participants reported that after a stage of life their older relatives allowed the younger speakers to address them only by first name and SG2 forms. In many societies, it is common to leave the (fictive) kinship term usage after a life stage (for instance, getting married) (Fleming & Slotta, 2008, p. 27). On the other hand, the use of kinship term usage in Turkic languages is generally classified as valuing the generational differences and the usage of kinship terms (Taşbaş 2019, pp. 248–249).

5.2 Politeness strategies

The present subsection discusses and highlights the results in light of the Politeness Theory (Brown and Levinson, 1987). The data show that participants from different regions and age groups followed different strategies and grammatical components of address forms in order to navigate between the strategies of Positive and Negative Politeness.

As for the personal pronouns as address forms, we can observe that Finnish Tatars used more SG2 forms. According to the Politeness Theory, the use of SG2 forms can express solidarity and is a means of Positive Politeness, as it helps the speaker's face to be approved by the hearer. In contrast, Estonian Tatars opted more often for another strategy while addressing another Tatar speaker, which is pluralising the second-person form to PL2 forms. According to the Politeness Theory, the use of PL2 is a Negative Politeness strategy (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 199).

Although Tatar speakers in Finland used more SG2 address forms, they used less pronominal forms, suggesting avoiding directly addressing their addressee. Instead, they employed more verbal forms and possessive suffixes while addressing each other. Moreover, there were more undifferentiated PL2 forms during the role-plays, which can also show a sign of avoiding directly addressing someone and pluralising the addressee, which, according to Brown and Levinson (1987, pp. 198–203) is a strategy for Negative Politeness. Romazanova (2007, p. 168) discusses the use of kinship terms, the employment of diminutive forms, the vocative particle and the possessive suffix in the first person attached to kinship terms as the most typical Positive Politeness strategies in Tatar. Estonian Tatar participants' speech was characterised by a higher

amount of (fictive) kinship terms and the above-mentioned grammatical forms. These strategies, also applied by the Estonian Tatars, can create solidarity between the speaker and hearer and shorten the distance (Romazanova**,** 2007, p. 168).

Brown and Levinson (1987, pp. 107–109) encode the use of names, nicknames and kinship terms as a strategy for Positive Politeness. However, they also note that in societies where kinship term usage is widely applied, the usage of kinship terms differs in terms of politeness. In kinship-based societies, the use of kinship terms is employed in order to avoid the addressee's name. In such a society, the usage of the hearer's name would endanger the speaker's face. Therefore, the Politeness Theory categorises it also as a strategy for Negative Politeness (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 204).

The appropriateness of fictive kinship term use for older speakers was often discussed by participants of both regions. Many of the older participants preferred more to be addressed only by their first names, which goes against Hypothesis (4). The negative comments on the usage of FN+KT as an address form were typically made by the participants who were born in Finland and Estonia, revealing differences in the address form preferences of the different Estonian Tatar groups. There might be a reason to assume that Tatar speakers adopted different cultural values and therefore they also encoded the use of kinship terms as different strategies. Lee's (2010) finding also showed that there were differences in the kinship term usage based on a socio-cultural background in Vietnamese spoken in Australia and Vietnam. Moreover, Romazanova (2007) also sees socio-cultural changes behind the reasons why preferences of Tatar speakers in the villages and in the city differ in fictive kinship term use.

Discussing the different politeness strategies applied by the different age groups, older participants applied more positive politeness strategies, such as using the first name and second-person singular pronouns to address younger addressees. In contrast, younger speakers applied clearly more negative politeness strategies for addressing the older group members, such as using second-person plural forms and kinship terms. The familiarity between two speakers could lead to the omission of kinship terms and lead to only first name being used as a vocative.

5.3 Regional awareness about the use of address forms

The semistructured interview data revealed a metalinguistic awareness of the variation of the forms of address based on region. Speakers generally were clearly aware of the differences in the use of address forms (cf. 60-66). It is generally acknowledged that in the case of pluricentric

languages, speakers of the different national language varieties usually are aware of the differences in their repertoire (Kretzenbecher 2011; Amorós-Negre 2021). In the semistructured interview data, it is observable that some Finnish Tatar participants are aware of the Kazan Tatar address form use and they are adopting the norms in the use of address forms in Kazan Tatar (example 59-61), suggesting that Finnish Tatars see Kazan Tatar as the dominant norm-centre of Tatar language. On the other hand, the Finnish Tatar participants were generally not aware of the use of address form norms in Estonian Tatar, while many Estonian Tatar participants knew how Finnish Tatars use the different address forms (cf. example 62-63) but did not (at least reportedly) adopt their norms.

The results suggest that although Estonian and Finnish Tatar do not have official status, the language speakers still have metalinguistic awareness about the pragmatic variation, suggesting still some level of pluricentricity not only about Finnish and Kazan Tatar but also Estonian Tatar with the other varieties.

6. Conclusion

The aim of the current master's thesis was to investigate how the variables *region* and *age* influence the choice of the SG2 and PL2 forms and how kinship terms are used in the Tatar language spoken in Finland and Estonia. For data collection, role-plays in focus groups and individual and semistructured focus group interviews were conducted. The participants included nine Tatars from Finland and ten Tatars from Estonia. The findings of the current study are summarised below:

1. Finnish Tatars used more SG2 forms and first names as vocatives, which is most probably due to the intensive language contact with Finnish (Akhmetova, 2002), but also the dialectal background and the similar immigration history and close contacts between the community members play an important role in the choice of SG2 forms. Generally, Finnish Tatars employed positive politeness strategies on pronominal address forms.
2. Estonian Tatars used more PL2 forms, and kinship terms (*apa*, *abıy*, *abzıy*) and titles (*efende*, *hanum*) preceded by the first names are more widely employed. This might be due to contacts with Russian and Estonian. The grammatical realisation of the pronominal and possessive suffix forms showed signs of the contact languages. Estonian Tatars expressed positive politeness strategies more in the usage of nominal

address forms. Although the quantitative data did not show differences in terms of the linguistic manifestation of the address forms, the semistructured interviews revealed differences in their usage, more specifically, that the PL2 forms are applied in a higher relative age (20-30 years) by the pre-Soviet Estonian Tatars.

3. The usage of PL2 forms and kinship terms preceded by the addressee's first name (FN+KT) proposes an asymmetricity among the generations. The data revealed that the younger someone is, the more PL2 forms and FN+KT structure is used in order to address an older participant.
4. The semistructured interviews revealed that Tatar speakers have a metalinguistic awareness of the address form used in the different Tatar communities in foreign countries, suggesting dialectal and wider regional variation among the forms of address.

As for the methodological point of view, similarly to Schüpbach et al. (2021, p. 175), the current study also argues that findings of interviews can yield significant information of the speakers' address form preferences, attitudes and regional differences that otherwise could not be necessarily understood from the quantitative analysis.

However, the research results of this master's thesis might not be enough to make a conclusion of address forms in Finnish and Estonian Tatar, as the research material is relatively small and does not include naturalistic data. To get a greater understanding of the topic, the results should be compared with naturally occurring forms of address used. Consequently, the current data could be reanalysed focusing on the other levels of variational pragmatics, such as the actional level. Also, other factors such as dialect of the speaker, language domain and codeswitching should be more widely examined.

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Kokkuvõte

Magistritöö eesmärk oli uurida, kuidas *asukohariik* ja *vanus* mõjutavad sinatamis- ja teietamisvormide ning sugulusterminite kasutust Soomes ja Eestis kõneldavas tatari keeles. Andmestiku kogumiseks korraldati Eestis ja Soomes elavate tatarlastega fookusrühmades rollimänge ning poolstruktureeritud individuaalseid ja rühmade intervjuid. Osalejate hulka kuulus 9 tatarlast Soomest ja 10 tatarlast Eestist. Kogutud uurimismaterjal hõlmab 9 tundi ja 5 minutit audiosalvestusi. Uurimusmaterjali analüüsiti nii kvantitatiivsest kui ka kvalitatiivsest vaatenurgast. Järgnevalt on esitatud uurimuse tulemused.

1. Soome tatarlased kasutasid rohkem sina-vorme ja eesnimesid, mis on suure tõenäosusega põhjustatud intensiivsest keelekontaktist soome keelega (Akhmetova 2002), kuid olulist rolli mängivad ka sarnane immigratsioonilugu ja kogukonnaliikmete tihedad kontaktid. Üldiselt kasutasid Soome tatarlased pronominaalsete pöördumisvormide puhul positiivseid viisakusstrateegiaid.

2. Eesti tatarlased kasutasid rohkem teietamisvorme ja sugulustermineid (*apa*, *abıy*, *abzıy*) ning laialdasemalt kasutati tiitleid (*efende*, *hanum*), millele järgnesid eesnimed. See võib olla tingitud kokkupuutest vene ja eesti keelega. Pronominaal- ja possessiivsufiksivormide grammatiline teostus sinatamise ja teietamise ajal näitas kontaktkeelte märke. Eesti tatarlased väljendasid positiivseid viisakusstrateegiaid rohkem nimeliste pöördumisvormide kasutamises. Kuigi kvantitatiivsed andmed ei näidanud erinevusi pöördumisvormide keelelises väljenduses, ilmnes poolstruktureeritud intervjuudest erinevusi nende vormide kasutuses. Põlistatarlased kasutasid sina-vorme kõrgema suhtelise vanuse puhul (20-30 aastaste vanusevahemikus). Nõukogude ajal Eestisse jõudnud tatarlased eelistasid pigem Teie-vorme, eriti noored vanemate tatari keele kõnelejate poole pöördudes

3. Teie-vormide ja sugulusterminite kasutamine, millele järgneb adressaadi eesnimi, viitab põlvkondadevahelisele asümmeetrilisusele. Andmed näitasid, et mida noorem on kõneleja, seda rohkem kasutatakse vanema vestluses osaleja poole pöördumiseks teie-vorme ja sugulustermineid eesnime järgselt.

4. Poolstruktureeritud intervjuudest selgus, et tatari kõnelejatel on metalingvistiline teadlikkus välisriikide erinevates tatari kogukondades kasutatavatest pöördumisvormidest. See viitab laiemale piirkondlikule varieeruvusele ja murdelistele erinevustele.

Mis puudutab metodoloogia vaatepunkti, siis sarnaselt Schüpbachi jt. (2021: 175) väidetele näitab ka käesolev uuring, et poolstruktueeritud intervjuude tulemused võivad anda olulist teavet kõnelejate pöördumisvormide eelistuste, hoiakute ja piirkondlike erinevuste kohta. See ei pruugiks vaid kvantitatiivse analüüsi põhjal selguda.

Siiski võib olla, et magistritöö uurimistulemustest ei piisa soome ja eesti tatarikeelsete adresseerimisvormide kohta järelduste tegemiseks, kuna uurimismaterjal on suhteliselt väike ning ei sisalda naturalistlikke andmeid. Uurimisteema paremaks mõistmiseks tuleks tulemusi võrrelda loomulikus kontekstis ehk väljaspool intervjueerimist esinevate pöördumisvormidega. Lisaks saaks praeguste andmete põhjal analüüsida ja laiendada Variatsionaalse Pragmaatika (Variational Pragmatics) teistele tasanditele, näiteks kõneaktide tasandile (actional level). Samuti tuleks laiemalt uurida muid tegureid, nagu keeledomeenide ja koodivahetuse mõju keelelises viisakuses ja pöördumisvormide kasutuses.

Sellest tulenevalt pakub analüüsitud vormide varieeruvus uusi uurimisküsimusi ja soodustab tatari murrete ja teiste tatari vähemuste adresseerimisvormide uurimis

Appendix

Descreption of the role-play scenarios in Tatar and English

Scenario 1: Birthday party (Organiser: G3 participant)

1.1 Inviting the guests (Task for G3 participant)

Yakında tugan könen bulacak, sin tugan kön bäyrämen uzdırasın. Kunaklarnı telefon aşa tugan kön bäyrämgä niçek çakırasın?/ якында туган көнегез булачак, сез туган көн бәйрәмен уздырасыз. кунакларны телефон аша туган көн бәйрәмгә ничек чакырасыз?

You (G3) will soon have your birthday, you are organising a birthday party. How do you invite your guests (G2 and G3 participants) over the phone?

1.2 Being late (Task for G1, G2)

Bögen tugan kön bäyräme! Sez soñga kaldıgız, niçek afu itesez?/ Бүген туган көн бәйрәме! Сез соңга калдыгыз, ничек гафу итесез?

It is the day of the birthday party, but the guests (G1, G2) are late. How would you (G1, G2) call G3 participant to apologise?

1.3 Wishing happy birthday (Task for G1, G2)

Tugan könne niçek kotlıysız?/ Туган көнне ничек котлыйсыз?

How do you wish happy birthday to G3 participant?

1.4 Complimenting on the food (Task for G1, G2)

Bäyrämdä çınnan da tämle tort bar, sez anı niçek maktıysız?/ бәйрәмдә чыннан да тәмле торт бар, сез аны ничек мактыйсыз?

There is a very tasty cake, how do you compliment on the food?

1.5 Saying goodbye

Kitkändä niçek saubullaşasız?/ киткәндә ничек саубулашасыз?

How do you say goodbye?

Scenario 2: Graduation party (Organiser: G1 participant)

2.1 Inviting the guests (Task for G1 participant)

Yakında tämämlau könen bulacak, sin bäyrämen uzdırasın. Kunaklarnı telefon aşa bäyrämgä niçek çakırasın?/ якында укуларың тәмәмләү булачак, сез бәйрәмен уздырасыз. кунакларны телефон аша туган көн бәйрәмгә ничек чакырасыз?

You (G3) will graduate soon, you are organising a party. How do you invite your guests (G2 and G3 participants) over the phone?

2.2 Being late (Task for G2, G3)

Bögen bäyräm! Sez soñga kaldıgız, niçek afu itesez?/ Бүген бәйрәм! Сез (G2, G3) соңга калдыгыз, ничек гафу итесез?

It is the day of party, but the guests (G2, G3) are late. How would you (G2, G3) call G1 participant to apologise?

2.3 Congratulating (Task for G1, G2)

Ukularıñ tämämlägäç añı niçek kotlıysız?/ укуларың тәмәмләгәч ничек котлыйсыз?

How do you congratulate on finishing studies?

2.4 Complimenting on the food (Task for G1, G2)

Bäyrämdä çınnan da tämle tort bar, sez anı niçek maktıysız?/ бәйрәмдә чыннан да тәмле торт бар, сез аны ничек мактыйсыз?

There is a very tasty cake, how do you compliment on the food?

2.5 Saying goodbye (Task for all)

Kitkändä niçek saubullaşasız?/ киткәндә ничек саубулашасыз?

How do you say goodbye?

Scenario 3: New Year's Eve party (Organiser: G2 participant)

3.1 Inviting the guests (Organiser G2)

Yaña yılnı karşı alu bäyrämen uzdırasız. Kunaklarnı telefon aşa bäyrämgä niçek çakırasın?/ яңа елне каршы алу, бәйрәмен уздырасыз. кунакларны телефон аша бәйрәмгә ничек чакырасыз?

You (G2) are organising a New Year's Eve party. How do yo invite your guests through the phone?

3.2 Apologising for being late (Task for G1, G3)

Bögen bäyräm! Sez soñga kaldıgız, niçek afu itesez?/ Бүген бәйрәм! Сез (G1, G3) соңга калдыгыз, ничек гафу итесез?

It is the day of the party, but the guests are late. How would you call G2 participant to apologise?

3.3 Wishing happy New Year's Eve (Task for G1, G3)

Yaña yılnı niçek kotlıysız? яңа елне ничек котлыйсыз?

How do you wish Happy New Year?

3.4 Complimenting on the food (Task for G1, G3)

Bäyrämdä çınnan da tämle tort bar, sez anı niçek maktıysız?/ бәйрәмдә чыннан да тәмле торт бар, сез аны ничек мактыйсыз?

There is a very tasty cake, how do you compliment on the food?

3.5 Saying goodbye (Task for all)

Kitkändä niçek saubullaşasız?/ киткәндә ничек саубулашасыз?
How do you say goodbye?

Scenario 4: Meeting in the community rooms at a community event

Mähallä yortında zur mäcles, anda küreşäsez, niçek sälamlaşasız häm hällär sorasız?/ сезнең татар җәмгыятендә бер вакыйга бар, бер-берегезне очратасыз! бер-берегезне Ничек сәламләгез?

You run into each other at your community event, greet each other and ask how you are doing!

Scenario 5: Meeting outside of the community rooms

Sez şähär urtasında ber-beregezne oçraşasız Niçek sälamlaşasız häm hällär sorasız? /Сез үзәктә бер-берегезне очратасыз! бер-берегезне Ничек сәламләгез?

You see each other outside of the community rooms, greet each other and ask how you are doing!

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