

Tehlikedeki Diller Dergisi

Journal of Endangered Languages

e-ISSN 2148-130X

Finland Tatar

Sabira Ståhlberg

This article appears in: *Journal of Endangered Languages*, Year 2023, Volume 13, Issue 23. *Language Documentation in Comparative Turkic Linguistics*. Guest Editors: Éva Á. Csató & Birsel Karakoç

Cite this article:

Ståhlberg, Sabira (2023). Finland Tatar. In: Csató, Éva Á. & Karakoç, Birsel (eds.), *Journal of Endangered Languages 13, Vol. 23: Language Documentation in Comparative Turkic Linguistics*. Ankara. 253–271.

Link to this article:

<http://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/tdd/issue/82059>

This electronic version was first published in December 2023.



This article is published under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License CC-BY-NC. The licence permits users to use, reproduce, disseminate or display the article, provided that the author is attributed as the original creator and that the reuse is restricted to non-commercial purposes, such as research or educational use.

See <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>

ETL Publishing articles and services

Websites: <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/tdd>, <http://tehlikedekidiller.com/>

Policy of JofEL: <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/tdd/aim-and-scope>

Author guidelines: <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/tdd/writing-rules>

❑ Sabira Ståhlberg

Independent scholar

Finland Tatar

Abstract

Finland Tatar is a Tatar diaspora variety spoken today by fewer than a thousand multilingual speakers. During the past century, it developed from Mishar, a western dialect of Tatar, into a language influenced by Finnish and Kazan Tatar. This article presents both a historical and a modern language version of the same text, originally published in 1969, about sauna traditions among Tatars and Finns. Linguistic changes of different types are highlighted, including a transition from Arabic to Latin script, orthographic and phonetic variations, and vocabulary.

Key words: Finland, language development, Mishar, Tatar diaspora, Tatar language

Finlandiya Tatarcası

Öz

Finlandiya Tatarcası, çokdilli olan konuşurlarının sayısı günümüzde binden az olan bir diyaspora Tatar değişkesidir. Bu değişke, geçen yüzyıl boyunca, Tatarcanın batı ağzı olan Mişer Tatarcası temelinde, Fince ve Kazan Tatarcasının etkisi altında gelişmiştir. Makale, 1969'da Finler ve Tatarlardaki sauna gelenekleri hakkında yayınlanmış olan bir metnin eski ve modern dilde iki versiyonunu ele almaktadır. Bu iki versiyon üzerinden Arap harflerinden Latin harflerine geçiş, ortografik ve fonetik değişiklikler ve söz varlığı dahil olmak üzere farklı dilbilimsel değişmeler ortaya konmaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Finlandiya, dil gelişimi, Mişer Tatarcası, Tatar diyasporası, Tatarca

Information about the language, the speakers, and their community

Finland Tatar is a form of Mishar (Mishär), a western dialect of Tatar. The Mishar variety of the Sergach region, Nizhny Novgorod province, Russia, is the original language of several traditional Tatar minorities formed around a century ago in Finland, Sweden, Estonia, Latvia, and some other countries. Finland Tatar has not been defined as a separate variety of Mishar Tatar, but the Tatars in Finland perceive that their present-day language is different from the Mishar spoken in their ancestral villages, both lexically, phonetically, and structurally. Kazan Tatar has influenced Finland Tatar through teachers and formal language education, and it is viewed as the standard literary language. However, many Tatars in Finland do not easily understand spoken Kazan Tatar, and few are literate in the Cyrillic script.

From the 1860s, Mishar-speaking traders from villages south of Sergach established themselves in the Grand Duchy of Finland. After the independence of Finland from the Russian Empire in 1917, most Mishar families stayed and received Finnish citizenship; the migration to Finland continued until the 1940s. Before the 1930s, the Mishars mainly called themselves Muslims, and they established associations, schools, and congregations in several towns. Turkish influence, pressure from growing Finnish nationalism, and a desire to distance themselves from the Soviet Union, caused

many Mishars to call themselves Northern Turks from the 1930s until the 1990s. In 1954, a re-establishment of connections began with relatives who had remained behind the Iron Curtain. Official cultural exchange with Tatarstan started in 1968, and contacts with Kazan intensified after the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991.

Today there are fewer than a thousand Tatars, mainly in the Helsinki and Tampere urban areas. Most call themselves Tatars, yet some define themselves as Mishars. The Tatars in Finland possess a vast original literature in Arabic script (early period), and Latin script (since the 1960s), educational literature, materials for language learning, music, theater plays, etc. (see special issue of *Journal of Endangered Languages* (JofEL), volume 19, 2021). Many Mishars, both men and women, were literate already when they moved to Finland more than a century ago, and women especially continue to play an important and active role in the transmission of the Tatar language and the education of children (Stahlberg 2022b: 113–132). The Tatars in Finland are at least bilingual, and most are multilingual, which influences their Tatar language use, and should be taken into account when analyzing the Finland Tatar language.

Finland Tatar and the Mishar language of the Sergach area have not been studied in depth so far, but Mishar as a Tatar dialect has been documented for more than a century. The oldest studies are by Akhmarov (1903) and Malov (1904); later by Bulatova (1948), Makhmutova (1962, 1978, 1979, 1989), to some extent Mukhamedova (1972); and more recent studies are by Ramazanova (1991, 2008), Bayazitova (2003), and an overview by Alkaya (2014).

Circumstances of the recording and the readers

Since autumn 2018, I have collaborated with Fazile and Şamil Nasretidin and a team of editors on Finland Tatar language, historical and cultural projects. Fazile has worked with Tatar cultural and literary activities in Finland for several decades. She translated several of my Easy to Read books (literature written in Easy Language) into Tatar for educational purposes (Stahlberg 2022a; <https://bokpil.eu/tt/>). Together we wrote articles about innovative language practices for *JofEL* (vol. 19, 2021). We also created the multilingual website *Aybagar* ('Sunflower', <https://aybagar.eu>) for texts, books, and articles about Tatars in Finland and the global diaspora.

The sauna article was selected jointly by Fazile Nasretidin and me. Fazile transcribed it into Latin script and edited the text into modern Finland Tatar, where also some Kazan Tatar influences can be discerned. The translation into English is mine.

Sample texts: original (1969) and modern (2023)

Munça or 'Sauna' is a witty text with playful comments on a tradition existing both among Tatars and Finns. The text appeared in Arabic script in the journal *Ak yul* (or *Ak yol*, page 1, No. 16, 1969). *Ak yul* 'White Road' was published in Oulu / Uleåborg between 1967 and 1977. Its publisher and the author of the text was the prolific Finland Tatar writer Sadri Hamid (1905–1987). He was born in Yangepar (also spelled Yañapar), now known as the village of Aktuk(ovo) near Sergach, but lived most of his life in Finland.

The article was written in a literary style in Mishar, and the first reading follows this style with some variations. Fazile Nasretidin reads the original language version (1969) in the way her grandmother would have read it (about Fazile's grandmother and sauna, see Stahlberg 2022b: 73). Şamil Nasretidin reads the modern language version (2023). He is also responsible for the technical part of the recording, which was made in Finland in January 2023.

Annotated texts with audio

The two texts, original and modern, are here rendered parallel for comparative purposes: 'a' stands for the original from 1969 read by Fazile Nasretidin, and 'b' for modern language read by Şamil Nasretidin.

LINK: [Finland Tatar Audio 1](#)

LINK: [Finland Tatar Audio 2](#)

1a. <Sadri Hamid: “Ak yul”, san un altı, yıl meñ tugız yöz dä altmış tugız, bit ber, Oulu.>

<i>Sadri</i>	<i>Xamid</i>	<i>Ak</i>	<i>yul</i>	<i>san</i>	<i>un altı</i>	<i>yıl</i>			
Sadri	Hamid	White	Road	number	sixteen	year			
<i>meñ</i>	<i>tuğız</i>	<i>yöz</i>	<i>dä</i>	<i>altmıš</i>	<i>tuğız</i>	<i>bit</i>	<i>ber</i>	<i>Oulu.</i>	
thousand	nine	hundred	and	sixty	nine	page	one	Oulu	

1b. <Sadri Hamid: “Ak yul”, numır un altı, meñ tugız yöz dä altmış tugız, bit ber, Oulu.>

<i>Sadri</i>	<i>Xamid</i>	<i>Ak</i>	<i>yul</i>	<i>numer</i>	<i>un altı</i>				
Sadri	Hamid	White	Road	number	sixteen				
<i>meñ</i>	<i>tuğız</i>	<i>yöz</i>	<i>dä</i>	<i>altmıš</i>	<i>tuğız</i>	<i>bit</i>	<i>ber</i>	<i>Oulu.</i>	
thousand	nine	hundred	and	sixty	nine	page	one	Oulu	

‘Sadri Hamid: “White Road”, number 16, 1969, page 1, Oulu [town in northern Finland].’

2a. <Ukuçı Fazile Nasrettdin>

Ukuči *Fazile* *Nasred:in.*
reader Fazile Nasrettdin

‘Reader Fazile Nasrettdin.’

2b. <Ukuçı Şamil Nasrettdin, Järvenpää.>

Ukuči *Şamil* *Nasred:in* *Järvenpä.*
reader Şamil Nasrettdin Järvenpää

‘Reader Şamil Nasrettdin, Järvenpää [Finland].’

3a. <Yanuarıñ un altısı, ike meñ dä yegerme öç, Järvenpää, Finlandiyä. Min bu yazmanı äbiyem söylägänçä ukıym.>

<i>Yanuar-niñ</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>altı-sı</i>	<i>ike</i>	<i>meñ</i>	<i>dä</i>	<i>yegerme</i>	<i>öç</i>
January-GEN	ten	six-POSS3SG	two	thousand	and	twenty	three
<i>Järvenpä:</i>	<i>Finlandiyä.</i>	<i>Min</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>yazma-nı</i>			
Järvenpää	Finland	I	this	writing-ACC			
<i>äbiy-em</i>	<i>sölä-gän-čä</i>	<i>ukıym.</i>					
grandmother-POSS1SG	speak-AN-EQU	read-VOL1SG					

‘January 16, 2023, Järvenpää, Finland. I read this article like my grandmother would speak it.’

3b. ‹Yanuarıñ un bişe, yegerme yegerme öç.›

Yanuar-niñ un biş-e yigerme yigerme xöç.
 January-GEN ten five-POSS3SG twenty twenty three
 ‘January 15, 2023.’

4a. ‹Munça / Monça›

Montsa
 sauna

4b. ‹Munça›

Munča
 sauna
 ‘Sauna.’

5a. ‹“Monça” munça nârsä ikänlegen yazıp tororga tiyeşdä tögöl.›

Montsa munča nârsä i-kän-leg-e-n yaz-ïp tor-orğa tiyeş tä tögöl.
 sauna sauna what be-AN-DER-POSS3-ACC write-CONV AUX-INF need even not

5b. ‹“Munça” nârsä ikänlegen yazıp torırğa tiyeş dä tügel.›

Munča nârsä i-kän-leg-en yaz-ïp tor-ırğa tiyeş tä tügel.
 sauna what be-AN-DER-POSS3.ACC write-CONV AUX-INF need even not

“Sauna” – what a sauna is, we do not even need to write about that.’

6a. ‹Çönki ul/ol munçada binek/minek belän çabınu, yäki binekseztirläb/terläb, yuñıb çıga torgan urın ikänen hämmäbez bik yaħşı belämez.›

Çönki ol montsa-da binek belän tsabınu yäki binek-sez terlä-p,
 because X sauna-LOC whisk with whisking or whisk-PRIV sweat-CONV
yu:n-ib tsig-a tor-ğan urın i-kän-en häm:ä-bez
 bathe-CONV AUX-CONV AUX-PN place be-AN-POSS3.ACC all-1PL
bik yaħşı bel-ä-bez.
 very well know-INTRA-1PL

6b. ‹Çönki ul munçada binek belän çabınu yäki binekseztirläp, yuñıp çıga torgan urın ikänen hämmäbez bik yaħşı beläbez.›

Çönki ul munča-da binek belän çabınu yäki binek-sez terlä-p,
 because X sauna-LOC whisk with whisking or whisk-PRIV sweat-CONV

yu:n-ïp *čïğ-a* *tor-ğan* *urïn* *i-kän-en* *häm:ä-bez*
 bathe-CONV AUX-CONV AUX-PN place be-AN-POSS3.ACC all-1PL
bik *yağşı* *bel-ä-bez.*
 very well know-INTRA-1PL

‘Because it is in the sauna where one sweats with or without whisking, and as we all very well know, the place where we bathe ourselves.’

7a. ‹Munçadan süz başlanılsada mäs’älä şähär munçaları hakkında tögöl, fäkat tujan ilemezdäge munçalardan kışkıgına iteb yazarga niyät.›

Montsa-dan *süz* *başla-n-il-sa* *da* *mäs:älä* *şähär* *montsa-lar-ï*
 sauna-ABL word start-REFL-PASS-HYP even topic town sauna-PL-POSS3
hak:ïn-da *tögöl,* *fäkat* *tuğan* *ile-bez-dä-ge* *montsa-lar-dan*
 about-LOC not but birth region-POSS1PL-LOC-REL sauna-PL-ABL
kışka *ğïna* *it-eb* *yaz-argä* *niyät.*
 short only do-CONV write-INF aim

7b. ‹Munçadan süz başlanılsa da, mäsälä şähär munçaları hakkında tügel, fäkat tujan ilebezdäge munçalardan kışkı gına itep yazarga niyät.›

Munça-dan *süz* *başla-n-il-sa* *da* *mäsälä* *şähär* *munça-lar-ï*
 sauna-ABL word start-REFL-PASS-HYP even topic town sauna-PL-POSS3
hak:ïn-da *tügel,* *fäkat* *tuğan* *ile-bez-dä-ge* *munça-lar-dan*
 about-LOC not but birth region-POSS1PL-LOC-REL sauna-PL-ABL
kışka *ğïna* *it-ep* *yaz-argä* *niyät.*
 short only do-CONV write-INF aim

‘Although we talk about saunas, our topic [here] is not town saunas, but we want to write only briefly about the saunas in our home [birth] region.’

8a. ‹Ul munçalar niçämä meñ yıllardan birle/berle, äbi babalarımızdan bezgä kala kilgän miraslar.›

Ul *montsa-lar* *nitsämä* *meñ* *yïl-lar-dan* *berle,*
 that sauna-PL many thousand year-PL-ABL since
äbi *baba-lar-ibiz-dan* *bez-gä* *qala* *kil-gän* *miras-lar.*
 grandmother grandfather-PL-POSS1PL-ABL we-DAT remain-CONV come-PN heritage-PL

8b. ‹Ul munçalar niçämä meñ yıllardan birle, äbi-babalarımızdan bezgä kala kilgän miraslar.›

Ul *munça-lar* *niçämä* *meñ* *yïl-lar-dan* *berle,*
 that sauna-PL many thousand year-PL-ABL since

äbi baba-lar-ibiz-dan bez-gä kal-a kil-gän miras-lar.
 grandmother.grandfather-PL-POSS1PL-ABL we-DAT remain-CONV come-PN heritage-PL

‘Those saunas are many thousands of years old, a heritage coming and remaining of our ancestors [lit. grandparents].’

9a. <Bezneñ yaklarda ul munçalarnı kereb çabınır öçön genä tögöl. Hattä hastä hanägädä kullana-lar/kollanalar ide.>

Bez-neñ yaq-lar-da ul montsa-lar-ni ker-ep tsabın-ir ötsön genä tögöl.
 we-GEN side-PL-LOC that sauna-PL-ACC go.in-CONV whisk-AOR for only not,
Hattä hastä hanä-gä dä kolan-a-lar i-de.
 even hospital-DAT also use-INTRA-3PL be-TERM

9b. <Bezneñ yaklarda ul munçalarnı kerep çabınır öçen genä tügel, hattä hastahanägä dä kullanalar ide.>

Bez-neñ yaq-lar-da ul munça-lar-ni ker-ep çabın-ir öçen genä tügel,
 we-GEN side-PL-LOC that sauna-PL-ACC go.in-CONV whisk-AOR for only not,
hattä hastahanä-gä dä kul:an-a-lar i-de.
 even hospital-DAT also use-INTRA-3PL be-TERM

‘In our area, those saunas were not used only for bathing. They were even used as hospitals, too.’

10a. <Kem dä bol-sa sirhau-la-sa yäki ber ana bäbäy tudırırğa bulsa hazer munça yağalar ide.>

Kem dä bol-sa sirhau-la-sa yäki ber ana bäbäy
 who also be(come)-HYP fall.ill-DER-HYP or a mother baby
tudır-ırğa bul-sa hazer montsa yağ-a-lar i-de.
 give.birth-INF be(come)-HYP immediately sauna warm.up-INTRA-3PL be-TERM

10b. <Kem dä bul-sa sirhau-la-sa yäki ber ana bäbäy tudırırğa bulsa, hazer munça yağalar ide.>

Kem dä bul-sa sirhau-la-sa yäki ber ana bäbäy
 who also be(come)-HYP fall.ill-DER-HYP or a mother baby
tudır-ırğa bul-sa hazer munça yağ-a-lar i-de.
 give.birth-INF be(come)-HYP immediately sauna warm.up-INTRA-3PL be-TERM

‘When also someone fell ill, or a mother was about to give birth to a baby, the sauna was immediately heated.’

11a. <(Bälki bu zamandada şulaydır.)>

Bälki bu zaman-da da şolay-dİR.
perhaps this time-LOC also similar-COP

11b. <(Bälki bu zamanda da şulaydır.)>

Bälki bu zaman-da da şulay-dİR.
perhaps this time-LOC also similar-COP

'Perhaps also now it is so.'

12a. <Ul munçalar tatar awıllarındağına tögöl, bötön urıs – muqşı häm başqa kawımlarnıñ awıllarında bar, yagni bar ide.>

Ul muntsa-lar tatar awıl-lar-İN-da ğİna tügel bötön urıs
that sauna-PL Tatar village-PL-POSS3-LOC only not all Russian
muqşİ häm başqa kawım-lar-nİñ awıl-lar-İN-da da bar
Moksha and other tribe-PL-GEN village-PL-POSS3-LOC also existing
ya:ni bar i-de
in.other.words existing be-TERM

12b. <Ul munçalar tatar avıllarında ğİna tügel, böten urıs – muqşı häm başqa kavımlarnıñ avıllarında da bar, yani bar ide.>

Ul munça-lar tatar awıl-lar-İN-da ğİna tügel böten urıs
that sauna-PL Tatar village-PL-POSS3-LOC only not all Russian
muqşİ häm başqa kawım-lar-nİñ awıl-lar-İN-da da
Moksha and other tribe-PL-GEN village-PL-POSS3-LOC also
bar yä:ni bar i-de
existing in.other.words existing be-TERM

'Saunas were not only in the Tatar villages, but in all villages of Russians, Moksha [Mordvinian] and there are, that is to say they were, in villages of other tribes as well.'

13a. <Bezneñ Yañı Parda här yortda munça bulmasada dört yort sayın ber munça bar ide.>

Bez-neñ Yañıpar-da här yort-ta muntsa bul-ma-sa
we-GEN Yangepar-LOC every house-LOC sauna be(come)-NEG-HYP
da dört yort sayın ber muntsa bar i-de.
even four house counted one sauna existing be-TERM

13b. «Bezneñ Yañıparda här yortta munça bulmasa da, dürt yort sayın ber munça bar ide.»

Bez-neñ Yañıpar-da här yort-ta munça bul-ma-sa
 we-GEN Yangepar-LOC every house-LOC sauna be(come)-NEG-HYP
da dürt yort sayen ber munça bar i-de.
 even four house counted one sauna existing be-TERM

‘Even if not all houses in Yangepar [home village] had a sauna, there was a sauna in every fourth house.’

14a. «Elek zamanlarda küb munçalar yergä kazıp eşlängän bulgan.»

Elek zaman-nar-da küp muntsa-lar yer-gä kaz-ib eş-lä-n-gän
 early time-PL-LOC many sauna-PL earth-DAT dig-CONV make-PASS-PN
bul-gan.
 be(come)-POST

14b. «Elek zamanlarda küp munçalar cırgä kazıp eşlängän bulgan.»

Elek zaman-lar-da küp munça-lar jir-gä kaz-ıp eş-lä-n-gän
 early time-PL-LOC many sauna-PL earth-DAT dig-CONV make-PASS-PN
bul-gan.
 be(come)-POST

‘In earlier times, many saunas were dug out in the earth.’

15a. «1918 nçe yıllardada yergä kazıp eşlägän munçalar kürengäli ide.»

Meñ toqız yöz dä on sigez-enče yıl-lar-da da
 thousand nine hundred and eighteen-ORD year-PL-LOC also
yer-gä kaz-ib eşlä-gän muntsa-lar kür-en-gäli i-de.
 earth-DAT dig-CONV make-PN sauna-PL see-PASS-PN be-TERM

15b. «1918 nçe yıllarda da cırgä kazıp eşlägän munçalar kürengäli ide.»

Meñ tuğız yöz dä un sigez-enče yıl-lar-da da
 thousand nine hundred and eighteen-ORD year-PL-LOC also
jir-gä kaz-ıp eşlä-gän munça-lar kür-en-gäli i-de.
 earth-DAT dig-CONV make-PN sauna-PL see-PASS-PN be-TERM

‘Also in 1918 one could sometimes see dug-out saunas in the earth.’

16a. «Munça digändän fin halkı şul munçaları “fin munçası” diyeb maktanıb söylänälär.»

Muntsa di-gän-nän fin halk-ı şul muntsa-lar-ni
 sauna say-PN-ABL Finn people-POSS3SG this sauna-PL-ACC

fin muntsa-si di-yeb maqtan-ib sülä-n-ä-lär.
 Finn sauna-POSS3 say-CONV boast-CONV say-PASS.REFL-INTRA-3PL

16b. «Munça digändän fin halkı şul munçalarnı “fin munçası” diyep maqtanıp söylänälär.»

Munča di-gän-nän fin halk-ı şul munča-lar-ni
 sauna say-PN-ABL Finn people-POSS3SG this sauna-PL-ACC
fin munča-si di-yep maqtan-ip söylä-n-ä-lär.
 Finn sauna-POSS3 say-CONV boast-CONV say-PASS.REFL-INTRA-3PL

‘When talking about saunas, Finnish people boast about these saunas, calling them “Finnish saunas”.’

17a. «Ul munçalarnı iñ elek äbi-babaylar “käşef” itkänlär dä, imeş soñra başka kawımlarnıñ aralarına yäyelgän dilär.»

Ul muntsa-lar-ni iñ elek äbi baba-lar käşef
 that sauna-PL-ACC most early grandmother.grandfather-PL invention
it-kän-när dä, imeş soñra başka kawim-nar-niñ
 make-AN-3PL and allegedly later other tribe-PL-GEN
ara-lar-in-a yäyel-gän di-lär.
 space.between-POSS3PL-DAT spread-POST say.3PL

17b. «Ul munçalarnı iñ elek äbi-babaylar “käşef” itkännär dä, imeş soñra başka kawımnarnıñ aralarına cäyelgän dilär.»

Ul munča-lar-ni iñ elek äbi babay-lar käşef
 that sauna-PL-ACC most early grandmother.grandfather-PL invention
it-kän-när dä, imeş soñra başka kawim-nar-niñ
 make-AN-3PL and allegedly later other tribe-PL-GEN
ara-lar-in-a jäyel-gän di-lär.
 space.between-POSS3PL-DAT spread-POST say.3PL

‘As if their ancestors were the first to invent the sauna, and it has then, so they assert, spread among other tribes.’

18a. «Öç-dürt milyonlık ber kawım küp zamanlardan berle/birle munçalarda çabınıb kilgänlärä, bötön yer yözeneñ halıkları munçasız yaşägänlär imeş.»

Öts dört milyon-lık ber kawım küp zaman-nar-dan
 three four million-DER one tribe many time-PL-ABL
berle montsa-lar-da tsabın-ib kil-gän-när dä, bötön yer
 since sauna-PL-LOC whisk-CONV AUX-PN-3PL and whole Earth

yözö-neŋ halik-lar-i muntsa-siz yäšä-gän-när emeš.
 face-GEN people-PL-POSS3 sauna-PRIV live-POST-3PL supposedly

18b. ‹Öç-dürt milyonlık ber kavım küp zamannardan birle munçalarda çabınıp kilgännär dä, böten cir yözeneñ halıkları munçasız yäšägännär imeš.›

Öç dört milyon-liŋ ber kawım küp zaman-nar-dan birle
 three four million-DER one tribe many time-PL-ABL since
munça-lar-da çabın-ıp kil-gän-när dä, bötön jir
 sauna-PL-LOC whisk-CONV AUX-PN-3PL and whole Earth
yözö-neŋ halik-lar-i munça-siz yäšä-gän-när imeš.
 face-GEN people-PL-POSS3 sauna-PRIV live-POST-3PL supposedly

‘Three-four million [people] of this tribe [Finns] have for a long time bathed in saunas and all [other] peoples in the world have supposedly lived without a sauna.’

19a. ‹Üzara gına maktanuları citmäde, berničä yıllar elek üzlärenä şöhrät alır öçön bötön yer yözeneñ “fin saunası” diyeb “reklamnar” yasab iglannar tarattılar.›

Üz ara gına maŋtan-u-lar-i yit-mä-de, bernitsä
 self among only boast-AN-PL-POSS3 suffice-NEG-TERM, few
yil-lar elek üz-lär-en-ä şöhrät al-ir ötsön
 year-PL before self-PL-POSS3-DAT honor take-AOR for
bötön yer yöz-ön-ä fin sauna-si
 all Earth face-POSS3SG-DAT Finn sauna-POSS3SG
di-yep reklam-nar yasa-b ilan-nar tara-ti-lar.
 say-CONV advertisement-PL do-CONV announcement-PL spread-TERM-3PL

19b. ‹Üzara gına maktanuları citmäde, berničä yıllar elek üzlärenä şöhrät alır öçen böten cir yözeneñ “fin saunası” diyep “reklamnar” yasap ilannar tarattılar.›

Üz ara gına maŋtan-u-lar-i jüt-mä-de, berničä
 self among only boast-AN-PL-POSS3 suffice-NEG-TERM few
yil-lar elek üz-lär-en-ä şöhrät al-ir
 year-PL before self-PL-POSS3-DAT honor take-AOR
öçön bötön jir yöz-ön-ä fin sauna-si
 for all Earth face-POSS3SG-DAT Finn sauna-POSS3SG
di-yep reklam-nar yasa-p ilan-nar tara-ti-lar.
 say-CONV advertisement-PL do-CONV announcement-PL spread-TERM-3PL

‘It is not enough that they boasted among themselves, but some years ago, in order to take all the honor in the whole world, they advertised and spread information about [it as] the “Finnish sauna”.’

20a. «Munçanıñ asıl iseme “çabına” bulsa kiräk/keräk, boronğı zamanlarda sabınlar bulmau säbäble üzgä törle äyberlär belän, yagni üzläre eşlägän sabın kebeklär belän östlären paklagannar, çın sabınlar dönyaga çıkkaç yükä kabıkları yagni munçalalar belän, sabınların kübeklätkänlär.»

<i>Montsa-niñ</i>	<i>asil</i>	<i>isem-e</i>	<i>čabın-a</i>	<i>bul-sa</i>	<i>kiräk,</i>	<i>boronğı</i>
sauna-GEN	original	name-POSS3SG	whisk-3SG	be(come)-HYP	must	first
<i>zaman-nar-da</i>	<i>sabın-nar</i>	<i>bul-ma-u</i>		<i>säbäb-le</i>	<i>üz-gä</i>	<i>törle</i>
time-PL-LOC	soap-PL	be(come)-NEG-VN		reason-INSTR	self-DAT	various
<i>äyber-lär</i>	<i>belän,</i>	<i>ya:ni</i>	<i>üz-lär-e</i>	<i>eş-lä-gän</i>	<i>sabın</i>	<i>kebek-lär</i>
thing-PL	with	namely	self-PL-POSS3	make-PN	soap	similar-PL
<i>öst-lär-en</i>		<i>pakla-gan-nar,</i>	<i>tsin</i>	<i>sabın-nar</i>	<i>dönya-ğa</i>	<i>tsiñ-ğats</i>
body-PL-POSS3.ACC	clean-POST-3PL	real	soap-PL	world-DAT	appear-CONV	
<i>yükä kabik-lar-ı</i>		<i>ya:ni</i>	<i>montsala-lar</i>	<i>belän,</i>	<i>sabın-nar-in</i>	
linden.[inner].bark-PL-POSS3	namely	wad-PL		with	soap-PL-POSS3.ACC	
<i>kübek-lät-kän-när.</i>						
make.foam-POST-3PL						

20b. «Munçanıñ asıl iseme “çabına” bulsa kiräk, boringı zamannarda sabınnar bulmau säbäple üzgä törle äyberlär belän, yani üzläre eşlägän sabın kebeklär belän öslären paklagannar, çın sabınnar dönyaga çıkkaç yükä kabıkları yani munçalalar belän, sabınnarın kübeklätkännär.»

<i>Munča-niñ</i>	<i>asil</i>	<i>isem-e</i>	<i>čabın-a</i>	<i>bul-sa</i>	<i>kiräk,</i>	<i>boronğı</i>
sauna-GEN	original	name-POSS3SG	whisk-3SG	be(come)-HYP	must	first
<i>zaman-nar-da</i>	<i>sabın-nar</i>	<i>bul-ma-u</i>		<i>säbäp-le</i>	<i>üz-gä</i>	<i>törle</i>
time-PL-LOC	soap-PL	be(come)-NEG-INF		reason-INSTR	self-DAT	various
<i>äyber-lär</i>	<i>belän,</i>	<i>yäni</i>	<i>üz-lär-e</i>	<i>eş-lä-gän</i>	<i>sabın</i>	<i>kebek-lär</i>
thing-PL	with	namely	self-PL-POSS3	make-PN	soap	similar-PL
<i>belän</i>	<i>ös-lär-en</i>	<i>pakla-gan-nar,</i>	<i>čin</i>	<i>sabın-nar</i>	<i>dönya-ğa</i>	
with	body-PL-POSS3.ACC	clean-POST-3PL	real	soap-PL	world-DAT	
<i>çiñ-ğaç</i>	<i>yükä kabik-lar-ı</i>		<i>yani</i>	<i>munčala-lar</i>	<i>belän,</i>	
appear-CONV	linden.[inner].bark-PL-POSS3	namely	wad-PL		with	
<i>sabın-nar-i-n</i>	<i>kübek-lät-kän-när.</i>					
soap-PL-POSS3.ACC	make.foam-POST-3PL					

‘The original word for sauna must be *čabına* [‘X whisks’], because in earlier times, when there was no soap, people washed with different things, that is, they cleaned their bodies with soap-like things which they made themselves, and after real soap appeared in the world, [with] a wad [*munčala*] made from [thin strips bundled together of] soft inner bark of linden trees, their soaps foamed.’

21a. ‹Şundan/Şondan soñ “çabına” digän isemne taşlab munça diyeb äytä başlaganlar?›

Şun-nan soñ çabına di-gän isem-ne taşla-p
 that-ABL after çabına say-PN name-ACC reject-CONV
muntsa di-y-eb äyt-ä başla-ğan-nar?
 sauna say-CONV tell-CONV start-POST-3PL

21b. ‹Şunnan soñ “çabına” digän isemne taşlap munça diyep äytä başlagannar?›

Şun-nan soñ çabına digän isem-ne taşla-p
 that-ABL after çabına say-PN name-ACC reject-CONV
munça di-y-ep äyt-ä başla-ğan-nar?
 sauna say-CONV tell-CONV start-POST-3PL

‘Did they after that reject the word “çabına” and began calling the sauna “munça” instead?’

22a. ‹Finlärneñ kadim babaları tatarlar tora torgan yaklardan küçeb kitkänlärdä, äle yäşi torgan yerlärenä urınlaşkanlar, häm munçalar da eşlärgä andan beleb kilgännär.›

Fin-när-neñ kadim baba-lar-ï tatar-lar tor-a tor-ğan
 Finn-PL-GEN old grandfather-POSS3SG Tatar-PL live-CONV AUX-PN
yağ-lar-dan küts-eb kit-kän-när dä, äle yäş-i tor-ğan
 side-PL-ABL move-CONV AUX-POST-3PL and now live-CONV AUX-PN
yer-lär-en-ä urın:aş-ğan-nar häm muntsa-lar da eşlä-rgä
 land-PL-POSS3-DAT settle-POST-3PL and sauna-PL also make-INF
an-nan bel-ep kil-gän-när.
 there-ABL know-CONV AUX-POST-3PL

22b. ‹Finnärneñ kadim babaları tatarlar tora torgan yaklardan küçep kitkännär dä, äle yäşi torgan cirlärenä urınnaşkannar, häm munçalar da eşlärgä annan belep kilgännär.›

Fin-när-neñ kadim baba-lar-ï tatar-lar tor-a tor-ğan
 Finn-PL-GEN old grandfather-POSS3SG Tatar-PL live-CONV AUX-PN
yağ-lar-dan küç-ep kit-kän-när dä, äle yäş-i tor-ğan
 side-PL-ABL move-CONV AUX-POST-3PL and now live-CONV AUX-PN
jir-lär-en-ä urnaş-ğan-nar häm munça-lar da eşlä-rgä an-nan
 land-PL-POSS3-DAT settle-POST-3PL and sauna-PL also make-INF there-ABL
bel-ep kil-gän-när.
 know-CONV AUX-POST-3PL

‘The ancestors of the Finns used to live side by side with Tatars, but then moved away and settled in the lands where they now live, and they knew from [their] earlier [homeland] how to make saunas.’

23a. <Finlär dä tatarlar kebek iñ elek “çabına” diyeb äytkänlär.>

Fin-lär *dä* *tatar-lar* *kebek* *iñ* *elek* *çabına* *di-yeb* *at-kan-nar.*
 Finn-PL also Tatar-PL like most early çabına say-CONV say-POST-3PL

23b. <Finnär dä tatarlar kebek iñ elek “çabına” diyep äytkännär.>

Fin-när *dä* *tatar-lar* *kebek* *iñ* *elek* *çabına* *di-yep* *äyt-kän-när.*
 Finn-PL also Tatar-PL like most early çabına say-CONV say-POST-3PL

‘The Finns, like the Tatars, at first called it “çabına”.’

24a. <Tora-bara finlär “ç” harefen äytä belmägänlärendän, çabına digän süzne “sauna” diyeb äytergä başlaganlar bulırğa kiräk?>

Tor-a-bar-a *fin-när* *çe* *haref-en* *at-a*
 with.the.time.passing Finn-PL “ç” letter-POSS3.ACC say-CONV
bel-mä-gän-när-en-nän, *çabına* *di-gän* *süz-ne* *sauna* *di-yeb*
 know-NEG-AN-POSS3PL-ABL çabına say-PN word-ACC sauna say-CONV
äyt-ergä *başla-gan-nar* *bul-irğa* *kiräk?*
 say-INF start-POST-3PL be(come)-INF must

24b. <Tora-bara finnär “ç” harefen äytä belmägännärenän, çabına digän süzne “sauna” diyep äytergä başlagannar bulırğa kiräk?>

Tor-a-bar-a *fin-när* *çe* *haref-en* *äyt-ä*
 with.the.time.passing Finn-PL “ç” letter-POSS3.ACC say-CONV
bel-mä-gän-när-en-nän, *çabına* *di-gän* *süz-ne* *sauna* *di-yep*
 know-NEG-AN-POSS3PL-ABL çabına say-PN word-ACC sauna say-CONV
äyt-ergä *başla-gan-nar* *bul-irğa* *kiräk?*
 say-INF start-POST-3PL be(come)-INF must

‘Because with time Finns could not pronounce the “ç” sound [anymore], instead of “çabına”, did they have to start using the word “sauna”?’

25a. <‘At ayagın tağalatında baka da siragın tıkkın’ digän babaylardan kalğan ber mäkalä bar, finlär dä baka kebek “bezneñ sauna” diyeb maktanalar.>

At *ayağ-in* *tağa-lat-kan-da* *bağa* *da* *sirağ-i-n*
 horse foot-POSS3.ACC shoeing-AN-LOC frog also leg-POSS3SG-ACC
tıq-kan *di-gän* *babay-lar-dan* *kal-gan* *ber* *mäkalä* *bar,*
 extend-POST say-PN grandfather-PL-ABL leave-PN a proverb existing
fin-när *dä* *bağa* *kebek* *bez-neñ* *sauna* *di-yeb* *maqtan-a-lar.*
 Finn-PL also frog like we-GEN sauna say-CONV boast-INTR-3PL

25b. «At ayagin tagalatkada baka da siragin tıkkın» digän babaylardan kalgan ber mäkal bar, finnär dä baka kebek “bezneñ sauna” diyep maktanalar.»

At ayaj-ın dağa-lat-kan-da baqa da siraj-ı-n
 horse foot-POSS3.ACC shoeing-AN-LOC frog also leg-POSS3SG-ACC
tıq-kan di-gän babay-lar-dan kal-ğan ber mākala
 extend-POST say-PN grandfather-PL-ABL leave-PN a proverb
bar, fin-när dä baqa kebek bez-neñ sauna di-yep maqtan-a-lar.
 existing Finn-PL also frog like we-GEN sauna say-CONV boast-INTRA-3PL

“While the horse was being shod, the frog extended its leg, too” was a proverb left [to us] by our ancestors; just like the [proverbial] frog, Finns boast about “our [their own] sauna”.

26a. «Kerlänä öst, östenä ruh, hiç hozur – wicdanga yuk.»

Kerlä-n-ä öst öst-ön-ä ruh, hiç hozur
 make.dirty-PASS-CONV place.above place.above-POSS3SG-DAT soul no peace
wıjdan-ğa yuk.
 conscience-DAT non.existing

26b. «Kerlänä öst, östenä ruh, hiç hozur – vicdanga yuk.»

Kerlä-n-ä öst öst-ön-ä ruh, hiç
 make.dirty-PASS-CONV place.above place.above-POSS3SG-DAT soul no
hozur wıjdan-ğa yuk.
 peace conscience-DAT non.existing

‘The [body] surface becomes dirty, and on top of it also the soul [gets dirty]; there is no peace for the conscience.’

27a. «Ni säbäbdän yer yözöndä, tängä munça, canga yuk?»

Ni säbäp-tän yer yöz-ön-dä tän-gä
 what reason-ABL Earth face-POSS3SG-LOC body-DAT
munça jan-ğa yuk?
 sauna soul-DAT non.existing

27b. «Ni säbäptän cir yözendä, tängä munça, canga yuk?»

Ni säbäp-tän jir yöz-en-dä tän-gä
 what reason-ABL Earth face-POSS3SG-LOC body-DAT
munça čan-ğa yuk?
 sauna soul-DAT non.existing

‘Why is there a sauna for the body in the world, but none for the soul?’

28a. ‹Abdulla Tukay›

Abdulla Tukay

Abdulla Tukay

28b. ‹Abdulla Tukay›

Abdulla Tukay

Abdulla Tukay

‘Abdulla Tukay’ [Tatar national poet]



موزچا

Picture: Tatar sauna by Sadri Hamid

(© Sadri Hamid 1969)

Selected characteristics of the variety

Sound system

Vowel types

The original story is in Arabic script, which does not render vowels accurately, so it is impossible to detect if the author Sadri Hamid used *u* or *o*, as in *ol/ul* ‘he, she, it’. The letter *ö/ü*, however, he marked with an accent to distinguish it from *o* and *u*. In Finland Tatar speech there are variations of *ö/ü*, such as *tögöl/tügel* ‘not’ (lines 5, 7, 9 and 12). Sometimes the front vowel *ö* is substituted by *e* in the modern variety, like *öçön/öçen* ‘for’ (9, 19). There are also variations of *i/e*, like in *berle/birle* ‘since’ (8, 18), *tirläp/terläp* ‘sweating’ (6) and *kiräk/keräk* ‘need, must, necessary’ (20). The back vowels *o/ı* also vary, such as *boronğı/borıngı* ‘ancient’ (20).

Consonant types

The variation of *p/b* at the end of a word features regularly, with modern Finland Tatar often but not always preferring *-p*, as in *kazıb/kazıp* ‘digging’ (14, 15). There is also a *b/m* variation, *binek/minek* ‘a whisk’ (6), and a *d/t* variation which especially in ablative influences the following consonant, as in *säbäbdän/säbäptän* ‘of reason’ (27). In comparison with Kazan Tatar, there are more voiceless consonants, *tagalatqanda* (Mishar) versus *dagalatqanda* (Kazan) ‘while shoeing [a horse]’ (25). Modern speakers of Finland Tatar, influenced by Finnish, also often pronounce *g* and *k* instead of *ğ* and *q*.

The older generation of Mishar speakers in Finland would pronounce *munča* ‘sauna’ as *montsa*, or even *motsa*. For the traditional Tatar pastry *peremech* there are different variations of how the name was and is spelled and pronounced: *pärämäts*, *peremets*, *peremeç*, *pärämäç* (compare Svanberg et al. 2020: 7). The “grandmother-grandfather” generation would also pronounce *çabına* ‘whisk’ as *tsabına*, although they often would write it with *ç*. *Ts* is very common in Mishar, yet also *ç* is used, although it is now mostly considered to represent literary language. There are also individual differences among Finland Tatars; some use more *ts* than others in their speech.

Special signs in the transcription

In comparison with Kazan Tatar Cyrillic script, Finland Tatar Latin script is simpler. Finland Tatar does not for instance mark front or back consonants in Latin script. In the Arabic script of Sadri Hamid, some front/back variations are used. They have not been marked in the transcription here, as they are not systematic but rather mixed, and appear to carry no specific significance for the pronunciation. Several voiceless consonants in Arabic script are not indicated in the Finland Tatar Latin script either, among them ط, ق, خ, ص.

In Finland Tatar, *ğain* ğ is also not marked, therefore *Abdulla* and not *Gabdulla* Tukay. The interdental ث in *mäs’älä* ‘thing’ (7) is postdental in Finland.

In Finland Tatar, the approximant *w* varies in pronunciation. The Arabic letter و has been substituted with *v* in older Finland Tatar Latin script texts, but in modern texts it is written both as *v* and *w* and pronounced as *w*: *v/wicdanğa* ‘for the conscience’ (26). In Finland, the use of *v* in the Latin script has especially caused children who are learning to read to pronounce words with the Finnish pronunciation of *v*, like in Turkish, but the Finland Tatar pronunciation of, for instance ‘time’, is chiefly *wakit* (compare Turkish *wakit*).

Morphology

A peculiar feature of Finland Tatar is the dropping of the last consonant, like *öst* > *ös* ‘surface’ (20; compare with 26 where the consonant remains). Possibly due to Kazan Tatar influence, in the modern literary language a *g* is added, *ilan* > *iglan* ‘announcement’ (19), *yani* > *yagni* ‘that is’, ‘in other words’ (12, 20).

In Finland Tatar speech, *y* and *ğ* vary with a preference for *y* in the older speech, *yer/ğir* ‘earth, soil’ (14, 15, 18, 19, 27). Palatalization of *t* and the assimilation of *y* as in *äytkänlär* > *at-kan-nar* (23) is typical for Mishar, and in some words it changes the meaning.

In the Arabic script it was common to indicate suffixes such as locative with *-d/tA*, and locative with *-d/tAn*, but in the modern Latin script it is more usual to assimilate the consonant with the previous one: *şundan/şondan* > *şunnan* ‘from/since then’ (21), *andan* > *annan* ‘from there’ (22), *yortda* > *yortta* ‘in the house’ (13). This happens also with several words with the plural ending *-lar*. The older *finlär* is now *finnär* ‘Finns’ (22–25); *urinlaşkanlar* ~ *urinnaşkanlar* ‘they settled’ (22).

There is a *m/b* variation in the suffix *-mez/-bez*: *belämez/beläbez* ‘We know’ (6), with a preference for *m* in the old language, *ilemezdä/ilebezdä* ‘in the region’ (7). In older language and Arabic script, the tendency was to write *da/dä* ‘also’ together with the word they refer to. In the modern lan-

guage and in Latin script, *da/dä* is written separately: *kitkänlärdä ~ kitkännär dä* 'and they moved' (22).

Syntactic features

The year 2023 is read in two different ways, as *yegerme yegerme öč* 'twenty twenty-three' in the modern version and *ike meñ dä yegerme öč* 'two thousand and twenty-three' in the older one (3). Both are in use in Finland Tatar at present.

The abundant use of converbs is common to Tatar and its dialects. Also in Finland Tatar, there is ample use of different types of converbs, sometimes doubling the verb stem as in *tora torğan* 'having lived' (22). In other cases, the same verb stem can function as an auxiliary verb to indicate continuous action, *yazıp torırğa* '[continuous] writing' (5), *yuwinip čik(<g)a torğan* 'be washing [leaving]' (6).

A peculiar feature is *dilär* (17), a shortened form of *di-yä-lär* 'they say', in which the plural is directly added to the root. This and other economy in word forms is very common in speech, songs and poetry in Tatar, and especially in Mishar.

Lexicon

In this text, Sadri Hamid used the word *mäkalä* for 'proverb', when it should have been *mäkal*. *Mäkal* means 'proverb', 'aphorism', but *mäkalä* is 'article', as in 'newspaper article' (25).

The word *kadim* 'old', 'ancient' (22) is not used separately in modern Finland Tatar, only as *isul kadim*, *isul jädid* 'ancient traditions'. The word *fäkat*, *fakat* 'but' (7) is not in use anymore and seldom heard today.

Sadri Hamid wrote in the article that the word *čabına* (24), 'X washes with a whisk' (Finnish *vihtoa*) developed into a concept with the meaning of 'washing / whisking place'. *Munča čabınu* 'sauna whisking' could thus be understood as 'sauna bathing / washing' (Finnish *saunoa*). This is a popular etymology or an invention of his own. Hamid also teases the Finns and their inability to pronounce several postalveolar-palatal consonants: as the Finns could not anymore pronounce *č*, he says, the word *čabına* changed into *sauna* in Finnish.

The word *munčala* (20) means 'washing wad' (Finnish *vamppu*), or in modern language use 'bath / washing sponge'. The traditional Mishar washing wad was prepared, according to Hamid, from strips of the soft inner bark of linden trees. In Finland there are traditionally different materials in use, but today whisks are usually made in early summer from young birch branches with fresh leaves.

Sadri Hamid mentions further that the sauna was used as a hospital and also for giving birth. According to Timergalin (2007), in order to trick the sauna fairy, who wanted to exchange its own child for the human baby, the human child was washed in the sauna during its first six months. The child was called *Munča* 'Sauna' until it received a "real" name. Some people, however, remained with this nickname all their lives.

References and readings

Articles and books about Tatars and Tatar language practices in Finland (Open Access)

Ståhlberg, Sabira & Cwiklinski, Sebastian (eds.) (2020). Tatars in Finland in the transnational context of the Baltic Sea region. *Studia Orientalia Electronica*, Vol. 8, No. 2. <<https://journal.fi/store/issue/view/6477>>

Svanberg, Ingvar & Ståhlberg, Sabira & Bekkin, Renat (2020). Horsemeat in the culinary traditions of the Mishar Tatar diaspora in the eastern Baltic Sea region: cultural and historical aspects. *Journal of Ethnic Foods* 7:38. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s42779-020-00072-2> <<https://journalofethnicfoods.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/s42779-020-00072-2>>

Ståhlberg, Sabira (ed) (2021). Tatar language preservation strategies and innovative practices, *Journal of Endangered Languages*, Vol. 11, issue 19. <<https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/tdd/issue/64230>>

Stahlberg, Sabira (2022a). Easy to read books in Tatar. Latin script: <<https://aybagar.eu/fi/>>, Cyrillic script: <<https://aybagar.eu/tt/>>

Stahlberg, Sabira (2022b). *Visible and invisible Tatar women in Finland*. Helsinki: Aybagar. <<https://aybagar.eu/visible-and-invisible-tatar-women-in-finland/>>

Mishar Tatar language studies (general)

Akhmarov, G. [Ахмаров, Г.] (1903). О языке и народности мишарей [About the language and ethnicity of the Mishars]. *Известия Общества археологии, истории и этнографии при Императорском Казанском университете* [Proceedings of the Society of Archaeology, History and Ethnography at the Imperial Kazan University]. Vol. XIX (2): 129–173. [in Russian]

Alkaya, Ercan (2014). *Mişer Tatar Türkçesi* [Mishar Tatar Turkish]. Istanbul: Keşit Yayınları. [in Turkish]

Bayazitova, F. S. [Баязитова, Ф.С.] (2003). *Татар-мишәр рухи мирасы: гаилә-көнкүреш, йола терминологиясе һәм фольклор* [Tatar-Mishar spiritual heritage: family and household, ritual terminology and folklore]. Saransk. [in Tatar]

Булатова А. Б. [Bulatova, A. B.] (1948). *Выступления о языке казанских татар и мишарей. Происхождение казанских татар: материалы сессии отделения истории и философии АН СССР, организованно совместно с ИЯЛИ КФАН СССР (25 – 26 апреля 1946 г., Москва)* [Contributions about the language of the Kazan Tatars and Mishars. The origin of the Kazan Tatars: materials from the session of the Department of History and Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences in the USSR, organized jointly with the IYALI KFAN of the USSR (25–26 April 1946, Moscow)]. Kazan. 141–143. [in Russian]

Eleusin, Arman (2015). Palatalization in the Mishar dialect of Kazan Tatar. In: Zeyrek, D. & Şimşek, Ç. S. & Ataş, U. & Rehbein, J. (eds.) *Ankara papers in Turkish and Turkic linguistics*. (Turcologica 103). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 562–572.

Eleusin, Arman (2018). On the syntax of Mishar Tatar. In: Akıncı, M. A. & Yağmur, K. (eds.) *The Rouen meeting studies on Turkic structures and language contacts*. (Turcologica 114). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 19–28.

Eleusin, Arman (2020). *Studien zum Mischär-Tatarischen*. (Turcologica 124). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Eleusin, Arman (in print). Misher Tatar. In: Johanson, Lars (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Turkic languages and linguistics, online*. Leiden: Brill.

Makhmutova, L. T. [Махмутова, Л. Т.] (1962). Основные характерные черты мишарских говоров на территории Пензенской области [Main characteristic features of the Mishar dialects in the territory of the Penza region]. *Материалы по татарской диалектологии 2* [Materials on Tatar dialectology]. Kazan. 125–162. [in Russian]

Makhmutova, L. T. [Махмутова, Л. Т.] (1978). *Опыт исследования тюркских диалектов: мишарский диалект татарского языка* [An effort to study Turkic dialects: the Mishar dialect of the Tatar language]. Moskva: Nauka. [in Russian]

Makhmutova, L. T. [Махмутова, Л. Т.] (1979). Некоторые материалы по лексике мишарского диалекта татарского языка (тюркский пласт) [Some materials on the vocabulary of the Mishar dialect of the Tatar language (Turkic layer)]. *Исследования по исторической диалектологии татарского языка* [Research on the historical dialectology of the Tatar language]. Kazan. 139–168. [in Russian]

Makhmutova, L. T. [Махмутова, Л. Т.] (1989). Краткий обзор истории изучения среднего и мишарско-диалектов татарского языка [A brief overview of the history of the study of the Middle and Mishar dialects of the Tatar language]. *Материалы по татарской диалектологии* 7 [Materials on Tatar dialectology]. 5–24. [in Russian]

Malov, Sergey E. [Малов, Сергей Е.] (1904). Из поездки к мишарям: (О наречии мишарей Чистопол. Уезда) [From a journey to the Mishars: (About the dialect of Mishars in Chistopol county)]. *Прил. к Учен. зап. Имп. Казан. ун-та* [Appendix to the Academic Notes of the Imperial Kazan University]. Vol. 71. [in Russian]

Mukhamedova, R. [Мухамедова, Р.] (1972). *Татары-мишари* [Tatar-Mishars]. Moscow: Nauka. [in Russian]

Ramazanova, D. B. [Рамазанова, Д. Б.] (2008). Мишарский диалект [Mishar dialect]. *Татарская энциклопедия* [Tatar Encyclopedia] Vol. 4. Kazan: Institute for Tatar Encyclopedia. [in Russian]

Ramazanova, D. B. [Рамазанова, Д. Б.] (1991). Мишарский, средний, восточный...: Диалекты и говоры татарского языка [Mishar, Middle, Eastern...: Dialects and speech of the Tatar language]. *Tatarstan*. Kazan. No. 11: 40–50. [in Russian]

Timergalin, Adler [Тимергалин, Адлер] (2007). *Миллият сүзлеге* [National dictionary]. Kazan: Mägarif. [in Tatar]

About the author

Sabira Ståhlberg, PhD, is an independent scholar, multilingual and multicultural writer with an academic background in East and Central Asian Studies. In addition to linguistic and cultural studies on these regions, Siberia and the Balkans, her writings also include history, ethnobiology, fiction, and poetry. She has initiated research and has written as well as edited extensively on Tatars in Finland and the Baltic Sea region, and works presently among other projects on documenting and publishing Tatar materials on the *Aybagar* website (<https://aybagar.eu>).