Doctoral (PhD) Dissertation

A typology of East Slavic (Ukrainian and Russian) lexical borrowings in the Transcarpathian Hungarian contact variety

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STATEMENT

This dissertation, written under the direction of the candidate's dissertation committee and approved by the members of the committee, has been presented to and accepted by the Faculty of Humanities in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The content and research methodologies presented in this work represent the work of the candidate alone.

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ABSTRACT

The present dissertation examines Ukrainian- and Russian-origin borrowings in the Transcarpathian variety of Hungarian with the aim of providing a comprehensive typology of the contact-induced lexical material attested in the region. The study focuses on the etymological, chronological, grammatical, and semantic classification of Slavic borrowings, as well as on their phonological, morphological, and semantic adaptation, patterns of variation, and register-based distribution. The research is based on a self-compiled lexical dataset containing 1,641 Slavic borrowings documented in example sentences drawn from literary works, news portals, social media platforms, historical works, memoirs, interviews, real-life observations, and other sources. In addition, 245 further borrowings identified in previous language-contact studies were collected without contextual examples.

The results show that most Slavic borrowings in the Transcarpathian Hungarian contact variety display dual Ukrainian–Russian origin due to the phonological and orthographic similarity of the donor etymons, although Russian has had a stronger overall influence on the contact lexicon than Ukrainian. The chronological distribution of the material confirms the dominant role of the Soviet period in the borrowing process, while the growing presence of Ukrainian-origin and post-Soviet borrowings reflects recent sociopolitical changes, including the increasing prestige of the Ukrainian state language. The etymological analysis also demonstrates that, although the immediate donor languages are Ukrainian and Russian, many borrowings can ultimately be traced back to broader Indo-European, Turkic, and Afroasiatic sources through complex etymological pathways.

From a grammatical point of view, nouns constitute the largest group of borrowings, although verbs and adjectives are also well represented. The analysis shows that borrowing is not limited to the direct transfer of lexical items, as many forms underwent phonological and morphological accommodation, semantic change, and word-class shifts, and became integrated into Hungarian word-formation processes through secondary and tertiary borrowing. Direct borrowing proved to be the dominant borrowing type, but a large number of stylistic and semantic borrowings, calques, and loan homonyms were also identified. The findings further indicate that both core and cultural borrowings play a major role in the dataset, reflecting the everyday bilingual contact situation as well as the institutional and cultural embeddedness of the Hungarian minority in Transcarpathia.

The register-based analysis reveals that the use of Slavic borrowings differs across literary works, social media, and news portals. Russian-origin, Soviet-era, and mainly core borrowings are more strongly associated with literary texts and social media, whereas Ukrainian-origin, post-Soviet, and more culturally bound borrowings occur more frequently in news discourse. These results underline the importance of historical context, sociopolitical background, and communicative setting in shaping contact-induced lexical change.

The dissertation contributes to research on lexical borrowing, contact linguistics, minority language use, and the pluricentric interpretation of Hungarian. It shows that Slavic borrowings form a structured and historically meaningful layer of the Transcarpathian Hungarian lexicon, and that their analysis provides important insights into the interaction between language contact, social change, and regional linguistic variation.

Keywords: contact linguistics, Hungarian minority, lexical borrowing, loanword typology, Slavic–Hungarian language contact, Transcarpathia.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Er	Erdély/Transylvania, Romania
Fv	Felvidék/Southern Slovakia, Slovakia
h	hour
H	hypothesis
hun	Hungarian
Hv	Horvátország/Croatia
Ka	Kárpátalja/Transcarpathia, Ukraine
Km	Közmagyar/Common Hungarian
min	minute
Mv	Muravidék/Prekmurje, Slovenia
Őv	Őrvidék/Burgenland, Austria
RQ	research question
rus	Russian
sec	second
THLRN	Termini Hungarian Language Research Network
TOHDD	Termini Online Hungarian Dictionary and Database
ukr	Ukrainian
Va	Vajdaság/Vojvodina, Serbia

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the dissertation by moving from the broader sociolinguistic context of Slavic–Hungarian language contact in Transcarpathia to the specific research problem addressed in the study. It first presents the background and rationale of the research, then identifies the main gap in previous scholarship. On this basis, the chapter defines the research objectives, formulates the research questions and hypotheses, and explains the significance and novelty of the dissertation. The final section outlines the structure of the dissertation and clarifies how the individual chapters contribute to the overall argument.

1.1. Background and rationale of the study

Lexical borrowing is one of the most common outcomes of language contact, especially in bilingual and multilingual regions where speakers of majority and minority languages interact with one another on a daily basis (see Haugen, 1950: 210; Winford, 2010: 177). The present study focuses on Transcarpathia, the westernmost region of Ukraine, where, according to the last official census conducted in 2001, more than one hundred nationalities live together (Molnár & Molnár D., 2005). After the Ukrainian majority population (80.5%), the largest minority group was the Hungarian community (12.1%), whose members have lived in the region for more than a millennium and, over the past century, have been in intensive contact with speakers of the former and current state languages, namely Russian and Ukrainian. As a result, the language use of Transcarpathian Hungarians is characterised by both code-switching (see Karmacsi, 2007; Márku, 2013) and the widespread use of Slavic borrowings (see Gazdag, 2021e; Váradi, 2025b).

In this context, the Hungarian contact variety spoken in Transcarpathia has been strongly shaped by the historical, social, political, and cultural background of the region. The study of Slavic loanwords provides insight into the ways in which minority Hungarian speakers name culturally embedded concepts, integrate contact-induced lexical items into their vocabulary, and use borrowings across different registers.

Although previous studies have documented numerous Slavic borrowings in the Transcarpathian Hungarian contact variety, a comprehensive analysis based on a large and systematically organised dataset is still lacking. In particular, many studies on language contact in the region merely list loanwords of Ukrainian and Russian origin together with their meanings, without offering a more detailed analysis of the contact-induced processes

they reflect. With the exception of the works of Kótyuk (2007), Krajnik (2010), and Gazdag (2021e), relatively little attention has been paid to the combined examination of the etymology, chronology, semantic fields, parts of speech, loanword types, motivations for borrowing, and register-based variation of loanwords, together with the phonological, morphological, and semantic adaptation of Slavic contact-induced phenomena.

The present dissertation seeks to address this research gap by providing a large-scale analysis of Slavic borrowings in Transcarpathian Hungarian on the basis of a lexical dataset compiled from multiple written and spoken sources, including literary works by Transcarpathian Hungarian writers and poets, articles published on Transcarpathian Hungarian news portals, Facebook and Instagram posts and comments, sociolinguistic interviews, historical works, personal accounts, and various other sources. The study aims to contribute to Hungarian contact linguistics, minority language research, and the documentation of regional lexical variation.

A note on transcription and transliteration is necessary here. Since the dissertation is written in English, Ukrainian and Russian donor-language forms are cited in their original Cyrillic form when reference is made to the source-language items. However, when the analysis concerns lexical items as they are used in the Transcarpathian Hungarian contact variety, Hungarian-based transcription is used consistently. This practice reflects the fact that the analysed forms are treated as Hungarian-language contact elements rather than as Ukrainian or Russian words cited in isolation. It also follows the conventions of Hungarian contact-linguistic research and the Termini Online Hungarian Dictionary and Database (hereinafter: TOHDD).

1.2. Problem statement

Slavic lexical influence constitutes one of the most characteristic features of Transcarpathian Hungarian, reflecting the long-term contact of the Hungarian minority with Ukrainian- and Russian-speaking communities. Although numerous Slavic borrowings have been documented in earlier research, the phenomenon has not yet been examined in a sufficiently comprehensive and systematic manner. In particular, most studies have focused either on a specific region within Transcarpathia, such as the Berehove, Mukachevo, or Uzhhorod districts (see Gazdag, 2010b, 2012b, 2017e; Kótyuk, 2007; Kukri, 2021; Seres-Kobrin, 2024; Szatmári, 2021, 2024), on the language use of particular social and professional groups (see Baraté, 2018; Borbély, 2006; Dudics Lakatos & Gazdag, 2023; Fábián et al., 2025; Gazdag, 2020a, 2020c, 2022c; Görög, 2013; Kiss,

2022; Váradi, 2022), or on specific registers of language use (see Baranyi, 2020; Csuka, 2021; Dóha, 2021; Gazdag, 2013a, 2017c, 2023, 2024; Mádi, 2026).

These earlier studies, among many others discussed later in the dissertation, have made an important contribution to the description of contact-induced vocabulary in the region; however, many of them primarily focus on the identification and listing of loanwords, often accompanied by brief semantic glosses, rather than on their multidimensional analysis. As a result, several aspects of Slavic borrowings remain insufficiently explored, including their etymological background, chronological stratification, semantic distribution, grammatical characteristics, borrowing types, motivations for borrowing, adaptation patterns, and register-specific use. In particular, relatively little attention has been paid to the combined analysis of these dimensions within a single large-scale lexical dataset.

This creates a significant research gap, since without such a systematic investigation, the mechanisms of borrowing, integration, variation, and use cannot be fully understood. A more comprehensive analysis is needed not only to describe the lexical consequences of Hungarian–Ukrainian–Russian language contact in Transcarpathia, but also to contribute to the broader understanding of contact-induced change in minority language varieties. The present dissertation addresses this problem by examining Slavic borrowings in Transcarpathian Hungarian on the basis of a broad and systematically organised lexical dataset compiled from written and spoken sources representing various registers.

1.3. Research objectives

The aim of this dissertation is to provide a comprehensive typological and functional analysis of Slavic lexical borrowings used by Transcarpathian Hungarians on the basis of a systematically organised lexical dataset consisting of 1,641 entries. The study examines contact-induced lexical items from multiple perspectives in order to achieve a more detailed understanding of their role in the vocabulary of the Hungarian minority in Transcarpathia.

More specifically, the dissertation seeks to classify and analyse Slavic borrowings according to the following criteria:

- donor languages (Ukrainian, Russian, or both);
- broader etymology, including intermediary and ultimate donor languages;
- time of borrowing (pre-Soviet, Soviet-era, or post-Soviet);
- parts of speech (noun, verb, adjective, adverb, collocation, interjection, etc.);

- semantic fields (35 conceptual categories, such as architecture, clothing, human behaviour, jobs and work, military, politics, public administration, etc.);
- types of borrowing (direct, hybrid, formal, semantic, and stylistic borrowing, as well as secondary and tertiary borrowing, calques, and loan homonyms);
- motivations for borrowing (core borrowing, cultural borrowing, or both).

In addition to the identification and systematisation of Slavic borrowings, the dissertation also aims to analyse the accommodation of these lexical items in Transcarpathian Hungarian. This includes their phonological and morphological adaptation, as well as semantic changes such as broadening, narrowing, elevation, and degradation of meaning.

A further objective of the dissertation is to examine the most common patterns of loanword variation. These include variation in vowel and consonant length, parallel borrowing from Ukrainian and Russian, the parallel borrowing of singular and plural forms, as well as sound omission and sound insertion in borrowed items.

Finally, the dissertation aims to provide a comparative analysis of Slavic loanword use across three registers: social media discourse, literary works, and Transcarpathian Hungarian news portals. By comparing these domains, the study seeks to reveal how the distribution and use of Slavic borrowings vary according to register and communicative context.

Through these objectives, the dissertation intends not only to offer a comprehensive description of Slavic lexical influence on Transcarpathian Hungarian, but also to develop an analytical framework that may be applied in future research on contact-induced lexical phenomena in other minority Hungarian varieties and multilingual settings.

1.4. Research questions and hypotheses

The dissertation seeks to answer the following research questions:

- **RQ1:** Which donor language has had a greater influence on the language use of Transcarpathian Hungarians: Ukrainian or Russian?
- **RQ2:** Which intermediary and ultimate donor languages can be identified as the most important etymological sources of Slavic borrowings?
- **RQ3:** How are the analysed loanwords distributed according to their estimated time of borrowing, and how does this distribution relate to the history of Transcarpathia?
- **RQ4:** Which parts of speech and semantic fields are most strongly represented in the lexical dataset?

- **RQ5:** What are the most frequent types of borrowing and their underlying motivations in Slavic–Hungarian language contact in Transcarpathia?
- **RQ6:** What phonological, morphological, and semantic adaptation patterns can be observed in the analysed items?
- **RQ7:** What are the most common patterns of loanword variation and other contact-induced phenomena in the dataset?
- **RQ8:** How does the use of Slavic borrowings differ across literary works, news portals, and social media?

In addition to these questions, the research is guided by the following hypotheses:

- **H1:** Russian is hypothesised to have been the more influential donor language overall, since most Slavic borrowings entered the vocabulary of Transcarpathian Hungarians during the Soviet period.
- **H2:** It is expected that most of the borrowings ultimately derive from the Slavic branch of the Indo-European language family.
- **H3:** It is presumed that the chronological distribution of borrowings reflects major political and historical shifts, with a peak in the Soviet period and a more recent Ukrainian-dominated wave in the last decade.
- **H4:** In line with previous research, it is expected that nouns will constitute the most frequent part-of-speech category, and that semantic fields associated with official domains, such as public administration, politics, and military life, will be especially strongly represented.
- **H5:** Direct lexical borrowing is hypothesised to be the most common type, primarily motivated by the sociopolitical influence of the state language.
- **H6:** It is assumed that the long history of contact has resulted in extensive phonological, morphological, and semantic adaptation, making many Slavic borrowings similar in form and use to Hungarian lexical items.
- **H7:** It is hypothesised that, besides formally identifiable loanwords, a substantial number of contact-induced phenomena occur without clear formal traces, including semantic borrowings, stylistic borrowings, and calques.
- **H8:** It is hypothesised that Russian-origin loanwords are more prevalent in literary works and social media, whereas Ukrainian-origin borrowings are more frequent in formal domains, such as contemporary news portals, as a result of recent derussification trends.

While some hypotheses address general tendencies already identified in previous contact-linguistic research, their purpose here is to test the extent to which these tendencies are confirmed, modified, or contradicted in the specific sociolinguistic context of Transcarpathian Hungarian.

1.5. Significance and novelty of the research

The significance of the present dissertation lies in its contribution to the study of contact-induced lexical change in the Transcarpathian Hungarian minority variety, shaped by long-term multilingual interaction with speakers of Ukrainian and Russian. By examining Slavic borrowings in this regional variety, the dissertation contributes to Hungarian contact linguistics, minority language research, and the documentation of regional lexical variation. It also provides further insight into the linguistic consequences of historical, political, and cultural contact between Hungarian, Ukrainian, and Russian speakers in Transcarpathia.

The novelty of the research lies primarily in its empirical scope and analytical complexity. The dissertation is based on a systematically organised lexical dataset consisting of 1,641 entries collected from a wide range of sources. Previously, the largest collections of Slavic borrowings included 581 items (Gazdag, 2021e), 256 items (Krajnik, 2010), and 247 items (Kótyuk, 2007). In addition, the analysed dataset contains a large number of example sentences documenting the actual use of the collected borrowings. These were gathered from 147 scientific sources, 155 literary works, 6 Transcarpathian Hungarian news portals, 3,054 social media screenshots, 114 interviews, 85 other sources, and the author's own observations. In this way, the dataset not only compiles Slavic borrowings but also documents actual Transcarpathian Hungarian language use.

In contrast to earlier studies, which often focused on narrower corpora, particular social groups, or individual aspects of borrowing, the present research offers a multidimensional analysis of Slavic lexical influence. It examines donor languages, broader etymology, chronology, semantic fields, parts of speech, borrowing types, motivations for borrowing, adaptation processes, patterns of variation, and register-specific use within a single integrated framework. To the best of my knowledge, no previous study has analysed Slavic borrowings in Transcarpathian Hungarian in terms of their motivations for borrowing or their distribution across registers. In addition, the typological framework developed for this dissertation is more detailed than earlier approaches, especially with regard to loanword types, patterns of loanword variation, and classification according to the estimated time of borrowing.

A further novel aspect of the dissertation is that it does not restrict itself to the identification of direct lexical borrowings, but also takes into account broader contact-induced phenomena, including semantic borrowings, stylistic borrowings, calques, and patterns of formal variation. In doing so, the study provides a more comprehensive picture of the structure and functioning of Slavic influence in the Transcarpathian variety of Hungarian. The findings may also serve as a methodological point of reference for future research on contact-induced lexical phenomena in Transcarpathia, in other cross-border Hungarian varieties, and in multilingual settings more generally.

1.6. Structure of the dissertation

The dissertation is divided into six chapters.

Chapter 1 outlines the general background and rationale of the study, defines the research problem, presents the research objectives, research questions, and hypotheses, and highlights the significance and novelty of the dissertation.

Chapter 2 reviews the main theoretical concepts and scholarly background relevant to the study. It first discusses lexical borrowing, including its definition, key concepts, reasons for borrowing, the relationship between borrowing and code-switching, and attitudes towards language contact. It then presents the typology and adaptation of loanwords, with particular attention to loanword types, typological approaches to lexical borrowing, and adaptation processes. The chapter also situates the research within the broader context of Hungarian as a pluricentric language and Transcarpathia as a multilingual region by discussing its historical, demographic, legal, educational, and sociolinguistic background. Finally, it reviews previous research on Slavic borrowings in Transcarpathia, covering studies on spoken language, online language use, the press, literature, specific social and professional groups, as well as the relevance of the TOHDD and other related research.

Chapter 3 describes the research design and methodological approach of the dissertation. It explains the compilation of the lexical dataset, including its structure, data sources, and the criteria used to identify loanwords. The chapter also presents the methods of data analysis, addresses ethical considerations, and discusses the methodological limitations of the study.

Chapter 4 presents the empirical findings of the research. It begins with a quantitative overview of the dataset, followed by the classification of Slavic borrowings according to donor languages, etymology, time of borrowing, parts of speech, semantic fields, loanword types, and motivations for borrowing. The chapter then analyses the accommodation of Slavic borrowings, including phonological, morphological, and semantic adaptation

processes. This is followed by a discussion of loanword variation, such as variation in vowel and consonant length, parallel borrowing from Ukrainian and Russian, the coexistence of singular and plural forms, sound omission, and sound insertion. The chapter concludes with a comparative analysis of Slavic borrowings across different registers.

Chapter 5 interprets the findings in relation to the research questions and hypotheses. It discusses the relative influence of Ukrainian and Russian on the Transcarpathian variety of Hungarian, the role of intermediary and ultimate donor languages, the chronology of borrowing in its historical context, and the semantic and grammatical distribution of Slavic borrowings. It also addresses borrowing types, motivations for borrowing, adaptation processes, patterns of variation, contact-induced phenomena, and register-based differences in the use of Slavic contact phenomena.

Chapter 6 summarises the main findings of the dissertation and highlights its theoretical contributions and practical implications. It also reflects on the limitations of the study and suggests directions for future research.

The dissertation concludes with a list of references cited in the study. In addition, the appendices contain Google Drive links to the lexical dataset and to the social media screenshots used as part of the example-sentence material. The appendices also provide data on the 114 interview participants from whom Slavic lexical items were collected.

CHAPTER 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter establishes the theoretical and contextual framework for the analysis of Slavic lexical borrowings in Transcarpathian Hungarian. It first discusses the concept of lexical borrowing, including definitions, motivations for borrowing, terminological issues, and the relationship between borrowing, code-switching, and code-mixing. It then presents the typological and adaptation-oriented models used to classify the dataset, with particular attention to loanword types, donor languages, chronology, semantic fields, borrowing motivations, and phonological, morphological, and semantic accommodation. Finally, the chapter situates the study within the broader sociolinguistic context of Hungarian as a pluricentric language and Transcarpathia as a multilingual region. In this way, the chapter moves from general contact-linguistic concepts to the specific historical, social, and linguistic conditions that make Slavic lexical influence in Transcarpathian Hungarian possible and analytically relevant.

2.1. Lexical borrowing: definitions and key concepts

Before turning to the specific case of Slavic borrowings in Transcarpathian Hungarian, it is necessary to clarify how lexical borrowing is understood in this dissertation. This section therefore introduces the basic definitions of borrowing and loanwords, distinguishes lexical borrowing from structural borrowing, discusses terminological alternatives such as *transfer* and *copying*, and clarifies the use of terms like *donor language* and *recipient language*. These concepts provide the basis for the typological and empirical analysis developed in the later chapters.

With the increasing number of multilingual societies, speakers of different languages frequently interact with one another. One possible result of language contact is borrowing (Muysken, 2010: 265). Borrowing is defined as "the incorporation of foreign elements into the speakers' native language" (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988: 21). It may refer to the adoption of words, phrases, grammatical structures, or particular sounds from one language into another (cf. Akkuş, 2025: 109; Mott & Laso, 2020: 155–156). Einar Haugen (1950: 212) refers to these borrowable elements as "patterns".

A distinction is commonly made between lexical and structural borrowing. The former involves the borrowing of words or phrases (i.e., loans or loanwords), whereas the latter refers to the borrowing of phonological, morphological, or syntactic patterns (i.e., sounds,

affixes, or word-order patterns) (Dawson & Phelan, 2016: 494–495). Haspelmath (2009: 36) defines a loanword as "a word that at some point in the history of a language entered its lexicon as a result of borrowing."

Some scholars (see Durkin, 2020: 169; Pulcini, 2023: 52; Winford, 2010: 170–172) have questioned the appropriateness of the term *borrowing*, because the metaphor on which it is based suggests that the donor language expects to receive the borrowed elements back. Therefore, the terms *transfer* (Clyne, 2003) or *copying* (Johanson, 2002) may be considered more appropriate. However, as *borrowing* is widely established in contact linguistics (Haugen, 1950: 211–212), it will be used as the main term denoting the outcome of language contact in this dissertation. The term was used as early as the 1880s to refer to the incorporation of word forms from one language into another (see Whitney, 1881: 10). In addition, *transfer* as a term is too general, as Wohlgemuth (2009: 51) defines it as encompassing all instances of language contact in which material from one language is transferred to another and used by its speakers.

The psycholinguistic aspects of cross-linguistic influence should also be mentioned. Frans van Coetsem (1988: 3) distinguished between borrowing and imposition. According to his typology, when a recipient-language speaker is the agent of linguistic transfer, we speak of borrowing. By contrast, when donor-language agentivity is present – such as in the case of a French native speaker speaking English with a French accent – the process is referred to as imposition. Therefore, the linguistic dominance of bilingual speakers also plays an important role in borrowing, as it occurs when lexical elements are imported from a non-dominant donor language into a recipient language (van Coetsem, 1995: 70). In addition to linguistic dominance, the social dominance of languages is also important in borrowing, as socially subordinate languages usually borrow more words from socially dominant languages than vice versa (Winford, 2010: 171).

Further terminological ambiguities concern the names of the languages participating in the borrowing process. Wang (2025), for example, uses the terms *source* and *borrowing languages*, while Matras and Sakel (2007) refer to *model* and *replica languages*. Following Matras (2019: 148), this dissertation uses the internationally accepted terms *donor language* and *recipient language*. Etymologically, more than two languages may be involved in the borrowing process. Therefore, the language from which the immediate donor language acquired the word will be referred to as the *intermediary donor language*, while the ultimate source of the word will be termed the *ultimate donor language* (Wohlgemuth, 2009: 51).

2.1.1. Reasons for borrowing words

A connection between at least a minimal degree of bilingualism and borrowing was established by Paul (1886). Haugen (1950: 210) similarly noted that large-scale borrowing is not possible without a substantial group of bilingual speakers. However, the motivations for borrowing may vary considerably depending on factors such as the degree of bilingualism within a community, power relations between languages, demographic conditions, and attitudes towards the languages involved (Winford, 2010: 177).

According to Grant (2015: 431–432), donor languages are typically perceived by the population of a given country or territory as culturally more prestigious or politically more powerful than recipient languages. For example, words borrowed from French into English during the Middle Ages (e.g., *beef, pork, poultry,* and *mutton* instead of *ox, pig, chicken,* and *sheep*) may reflect the privileged status of French among the English elite, particularly in relation to culinary practices (Matras, 2019: 152). When donor and recipient languages differ in prestige, the language of the dominant group is referred to as the superstratum, while that of the less dominant group is called the substratum. Borrowing under such conditions is typically unidirectional, with lexical items transferred from the superstratum into the substratum language (Dawson & Phelan, 2016: 496).

The appearance of foreign lexical elements is not limited to bilingual communities. Borrowing may also function as a communicative strategy for designating new concepts, places, persons, and objects (Matras & Adamou, 2020: 243; Weinreich, 1953: 56). For instance, American English adopted *moccasin* from Algonquian languages, while Australian English borrowed *kangaroo* from Aboriginal languages. Lexical gaps are frequently filled through borrowing, particularly when new technological or scientific developments require new designations (Winford, 2010: 177). These are referred to as cultural borrowings (Haspelmath, 2009: 46). Moreover, Varella (2019: 53) notes that borrowing is a common mechanism of vocabulary expansion, competing with morphological word formation as one of the most productive means of enriching native lexicons. Borrowings tend to occur more frequently in certain semantic domains, including technological innovation, religion and belief, clothing, household items, and law (Matras, 2019: 152).

However, non-cultural borrowing also occurs, resulting in the emergence of doublets alongside already existing lexical items. At the time of borrowing, these forms may have originated in code-mixing, but over time they became established lexical items within a bilingual community (Varella, 2019: 57–58). These are called core borrowings

(Haspelmath, 2009: 48). According to Kótyuk (1991: 67), such borrowings are merely doublets of existing Hungarian lexemes and are therefore unnecessary. They may be borrowed for several reasons: Hungarian speakers may have learned them through the state language; the loanwords may come from a more prestigious language; speakers may follow the language-use norms of others; they may choose them for the sake of quicker communication, without taking the time to search for a Hungarian equivalent; or the borrowings may simply be shorter and more expressive. For example, *szilpó* 'cooperative store' is easier to say than *községi fogyasztási szövetkezet* (Kótyuk, 1995: 9).

It should also be noted that certain parts of speech (e.g., nouns, adjectives, and verbs) are more open to borrowing, whereas closed-class items (e.g., determiners, pronouns, and subordinating conjunctions) are rarely borrowed (see Muysken, 1981). Nouns are the most frequently borrowed category, as they are semantically suited to designating new entities (Weinreich, 1953: 35). Cognitive factors likewise influence borrowing: frequently used everyday concepts (e.g., small numerals or close kinship terms), which are semantically simple and cognitively entrenched, are less likely to be borrowed (Matras, 2019: 153).

Various borrowability hierarchy hypotheses have been proposed. Muysken (2010: 271) summarised these hierarchies as follows, ranging from rarely to frequently borrowed items:

1. syntactic elements (e.g., *that*) → discourse markers (e.g., *OK*);
2. core vocabulary (e.g., *hand*) → technical vocabulary (e.g., *computer*);
3. determiners, conjunctions → verbs → nouns, adjectives → proper names;
4. low numbers (e.g., *two*) → high numbers (e.g., *million*);
5. first- and second-person pronouns → third- and fourth-person (inclusive) pronouns;
6. simple kinship terms (e.g., *sister*) → complex kinship terms (e.g., *cousin*);
7. basic colours (e.g., *white*) → peripheral colours (e.g., *orange*);
8. subordinate clauses → main clauses;
9. syntax (word order) → morphology (diminutive formation) → lexicon (adjectives);
10. phonological organisation (e.g., /i/–/e/ contrast) → phonetic realisation (e.g., velar /r/).

An additional perspective on borrowability is the specificity hypothesis proposed by Backus (2001). According to this hypothesis, semantically more specific (that is, narrower) lexical items are more susceptible to borrowing than more general ones. Another explanation is the utilitarian motivation in borrowing (Matras, 2007), which argues that borrowings are closely associated with specific interactional settings, such as institutions, procedures, and activity-related concepts tied to the donor language.

The frequency and extent of borrowing depend largely on the characteristics of the contact situation. Long-term contact and intensive social interaction between speakers of different languages typically result in high-intensity contact. While lexical borrowing may occur even in low-intensity contact situations, structural borrowing requires sufficient knowledge of the donor language's grammar, that is, bilingual competence (Dawson & Phelan, 2016: 496).

Contact between members of a socially dominant ethnic group (i.e., Ukrainians) and a minority group (i.e., Hungarians) represents one of the most common patterns of interethnic contact (Fought, 2010: 289). When different ethnic groups coexist in the same geographical area, they become familiar with one another's lifestyles and cultures, which often leads to the adoption of new lexical items to designate newly encountered concepts (Lizanec, 1970: 35).

Following the Treaty of Trianon in 1920, Hungarian became a minority language for more than three million Hungarians living in the ceded territories, who became citizens of newly established states in seven cross-border regions, including Transcarpathia. Over the past century, Transcarpathia has belonged to four different states (the Kingdom of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, and Ukraine), which resulted in repeated changes of state language (Hungarian, Czechoslovak, Russian, and Ukrainian) (Csernicskó et al., 2023: 12, 54; Gazdag, 2021e: 11–12). A primary reason for borrowing is that minority Hungarians must use the state language for communication, especially in official domains (Csernicskó & Márku, 2007: 14). Consequently, the principal sources of borrowing have been the former (Russian) and current (Ukrainian) state languages used by Hungarian minority speakers after the Second World War (Gazdag, 2021e: 12–13).

2.1.2. Code-switching, code-mixing, and borrowing

Since the main focus of this dissertation is lexical borrowing rather than bilingual discourse practices in general, code-switching and code-mixing are discussed here only insofar as they help delimit borrowing from other contact-induced phenomena. The selected references therefore represent those approaches that are most relevant for distinguishing established loanwords from occasional bilingual insertions, especially with regard to integration, frequency, conventionalisation, and listedness in the mental lexicon. Alternative models of code-switching are not reviewed exhaustively, as they fall outside the primary empirical scope of the dissertation.

Code-switching is defined as "the alternating use of two languages in the same stretch of discourse by a bilingual speaker" (Bullock & Toribio, 2009: xii). Although it may also

occur in writing, most documented examples derive from bilingual speech. Lin and Li (2012: 470) compare code-switching to intra-language style shifting, as in the case of newscasters in Hong Kong who use formal Cantonese in televised public speech but shift to colloquial Cantonese during commercial breaks when speaking with colleagues. It is also important to note that code-switching is not entirely spontaneous, as it is governed by linguistic and communicative conventions (Beregszászi et al., 2010: 99).

Some researchers point to a close relationship between code-switching and borrowing, since single words, typically nouns, are both the most frequently code-switched and borrowed elements (Poplack et al., 1988: 62). Nevertheless, the two phenomena are conceptually distinct. Scholars differ regarding the criteria used to distinguish loanwords from code-switches. According to Poplack and Sankoff (1988: 1177), a transferred donor-language item should be classified as a borrowing if it is morphologically, phonologically, and syntactically integrated into the recipient language. However, this criterion is not entirely reliable, since both ad hoc code-switches and established loanwords may conform to the morphophonological patterns of the recipient language. In addition, Deuchar (2020) argues that borrowings are characterised by a more central type of integration, whereas the phonological and morphological integration of switches is usually peripheral.

Another proposal suggests that borrowings fill lexical gaps, whereas code-switches merely function as optional additions alongside native-language equivalents. Yet this distinction is also problematic, as loanwords may likewise coexist with native synonyms (Gardner-Chloros, 2010: 196). MacSwan (2016) identifies phonological integration as the most reliable diagnostic feature of borrowing, independent of frequency. Another important distinguishing factor is that loanwords can be understood without specific knowledge of the donor language, whereas code-switching presupposes a good command of both languages (Borbély, 2006: 609).

Poplack and Dion (2012) argue that single-word tokens are more likely to constitute borrowings, as they tend to be more grammatically integrated than multiword code-switching insertions. However, the length criterion is not a reliable diagnostic feature because of formulaic language: multiword units that express a single meaning or fulfil a single function are mentally stored and processed similarly to single lexical items (Wood, 2020: 30). Building on this perspective, Treffers-Daller (2025) proposes the so-called “simple view of borrowing and code-switching”, according to which borrowing is not defined by structural integration, lexical size, or frequency, but rather by listedness in the mental lexicon of recipient-language speakers. In this view, borrowing involves the addition of a new lexical item to the recipient

language's vocabulary, or the replacement of an existing item, whereas code-switching does not entail such systemic changes.

According to Matras (2019: 149), borrowings and code-switches are best understood as points along a continuum rather than as discrete categories. Borrowings are typically used for their inherent lexical meanings rather than for conversational effect; they occur more regularly, whereas code-switching is often ad hoc; and they are known and used even by speakers who do not speak the donor language. Myers-Scotton (1993) similarly argues that each borrowing may originate as a single-word code-switch before becoming conventionalised within the speech community.

With regard to frequency, scholars often distinguish between nonce borrowings and conventionalised borrowings (cf. Muysken, 1995: 190; Poplack et al., 1988: 52). Nonce borrowings occur only once (e.g., in a corpus) and lack established status within the bilingual speech community. The main distinguishing feature between nonce or conventionalised borrowings and code-switches is generally considered to be their degree of phonological, morphological, and syntactic integration into the recipient language (Wohlgemuth, 2009: 53). Durkin (2020: 169) also notes that the borrowing process consists of two stages: first, a lexical item is borrowed from another language by a small group of speakers; second, the borrowed element enters general usage through interlinguistic transfer.

Table 1. Criteria proposed by scholars to distinguish borrowing and code-switching

Criteria	Borrowing	Code-switching
Single lexical item	+	–
Multiword unit	– (except compounds)	+
Syntactic integration	+	–
Central morphological integration	+	+
Peripheral morphological integration	+	–
Phonological integration	+	–
Semantic integration	+	–
Widespread use in the bilingual community	+ (except nonce borrowings)	–
Listed in dictionaries or mental lexicons of bilinguals	+	–
Frequent use in corpora of the recipient language	+	–
Replaces or competes with a recipient-language item	+	–
Used by monolingual speakers of the recipient language	+	–

Source: Treffers-Daller (2025: 349).

One of the most common motivations for code-switching is the expression of group identity. However, Transcarpathian Hungarians generally maintain a strong Hungarian identity and do not typically resort to switching between Hungarian and Slavic languages to express their regional identity. Rather, they occasionally switch to Ukrainian or Russian because of lexical gaps in Hungarian or when quoting speech originally produced in another language (Beregszászi et al., 2010: 100).

Lexical gaps may arise from conceptual non-equivalence, that is, when a culture-specific concept lacks a fully equivalent counterpart in another language. For example, the use of *fortocska* (rus *форточка* 'small ventilation window') reflects the fact that, although such windows are common in Russian and post-Soviet residential architecture, Hungarian lacks an exact equivalent term, as illustrated by Pavlenko (2009: 138). However, *fortocska* has already become an established loanword in the Transcarpathian Hungarian variety (Márku, 2013: 35–36), further illustrating the need to view borrowing and code-switching along a continuum rather than as sharply distinct categories. Similar lexical gaps can also exist between other languages, such as German and English, as shown by words such as *Zeitgeist* 'the spirit of the times', *Wanderlust* 'desire for travel', and *Bildungsroman* 'a coming-of-age novel' (cf. Ashrafova, 2024: 48).

In addition, scholars distinguish between inter-sentential and intra-sentential code-switching. Inter-sentential switching occurs at clause boundaries and is typically referred to as code-switching, whereas intra-sentential switching occurs within a clause and is often termed code-mixing (Lin & Li, 2012: 470). In other words, code-mixing involves the embedding of linguistic units (e.g., morphemes, words, or phrases) from one language (the embedded language) into an utterance structured by another language (the matrix language) (Myers-Scotton, 2002). A key distinguishing feature concerns the presence of a matrix language: in code-switching, the matrix language provides the structural and morphosyntactic framework of the sentence, whereas in code-mixing it may be difficult or even impossible to determine which language functions as the matrix language and which as the embedded language (Márku, 2013: 39–40; Navracsics, 2010: 122).

2.1.3. Attitudes towards language contact

As Anderson and Toribio (2007: 224) argue, the study of language contact and variation would not be complete without taking into account the attitudes, stereotypes, values, and reactions of the linguistic community towards contact varieties. Language attitudes are evaluations of languages, language varieties, and the speakers of those varieties (Ryan et

al., 1982: 7). Measuring the attitudes of minority language speakers towards language contact is especially important because there is a widespread belief in many multilingual communities that code-switching reflects a speaker's inability to express themselves accurately in a single language. In societies where code-switching is frequent, some pejorative labels tend to emerge to refer to non-standard language varieties: *Spanglish* (Spanish–English), *Franglais* (French–English), *Chinglish* (Chinese–English), *Hunglish* (Hungarian–English), and so on (see Beregszászi et al., 2010: 99; Lin & Li, 2012: 470). The Transcarpathian variety of Hungarian also has its own designation, *po zákárpátszki*, referring to its characteristic features, such as the use of Slavic loanwords and occasional code-switches in everyday speech (Márku, 2013: 196).

Based on materials from the Transcarpathian Hungarian Audio Archive, Csernicskó (2008: 76–77) found that Transcarpathian Hungarians have very positive attitudes towards their own language variety. Even though they are aware that it differs from the standard variety of Hungarian, they also recognise its value and wish to preserve it. In his view, "as long as those positive opinions remain in an absolute majority which seek not to eradicate but to preserve the specific features of the local dialect, and as long as the inhabitants of Hungarian-populated settlements in Transcarpathia view the characteristic traits of their own language use favourably, there will also remain a demand to pass this variety of the Hungarian language on to future generations" (Csernicskó, 2008: 78).

In a survey conducted among 387 Transcarpathian Hungarian respondents, Márku (2013: 178–184) found that minority speakers have ambivalent attitudes towards the use of Slavic loanwords: 40% were neutral, 31% had negative attitudes, and only 29% expressed positive attitudes towards the appearance of bilingual contact phenomena in everyday speech. It was mainly respondents with a higher education degree who considered the use of Ukrainian and Russian loanwords to be a negative contact effect, suggesting that they were the most influenced by language ideologies conveyed during the educational process. Gazdag (2022b: 74–75) conducted a study among Transcarpathian Hungarians who had moved to Hungary and found that most of them considered the use of loanwords acceptable only in specific domains, such as when speaking with family members or friends from Transcarpathia.

Since attitudes towards contact phenomena are strongly shaped by educational language ideologies, the discussion also draws on pedagogically oriented sociolinguistic literature dealing with teachers' awareness of regional and contact-induced language variation. According to Péntek (1999: 41), it is a fundamental professional requirement that teachers have accurate knowledge of the language variety used in their surrounding environment, as

well as of those linguistic features that differ from standard Hungarian, such as interference phenomena and archaic lexical elements. Equipped with such knowledge, they can strengthen linguistic awareness and encourage conscious language use among minority speakers. Institutional actors, especially teachers, play a particularly important role in the Transcarpathian context, where the acceptance or rejection of Slavic loanwords is closely linked to educational practices and standard-language ideologies. However, this responsibility does not lie only with secondary school teachers, but also with higher education instructors, as they are the ones who train future teachers for Transcarpathian Hungarian schools (Beregszászi & Csernicskó, 2007: 83).

Positive steps in this direction have already been taken through the development of new curricula for Hungarian language teaching and the introduction of the additive mother-tongue teaching method instead of the previously dominant subtractive approach (Beregszászi, 2009). Additive mother-tongue teaching focuses not only on the teaching of grammar, but also on raising pupils' awareness of the differences between the standard and regional varieties of Hungarian. As Beregszászi (2012) argues, this approach also develops pupils' pragmatic competence by teaching them which varieties are most appropriate in different communicative situations.

In a study conducted among Transcarpathian Hungarian college students, Váradi (2025d: 56) found that although additive language teaching is a well-known concept among students majoring in Hungarian language and literature, it should also be introduced into the curricula of other teacher-training programmes at higher education institutions located in ethnically and linguistically mixed regions. Furthermore, the study of Slavic borrowings has been incorporated into the curriculum of Hungarian teacher-training programmes in Transcarpathia, and various methodological guides and textbooks on language contact have also been developed (see Beregszászi & Gazdag, 2023: 90–95; Gazdag, 2014c, 2018e).

2.2. Typology and adaptation of loanwords

The following sections discuss different typological approaches to lexical borrowings, with special emphasis on the types of loanwords identified by scholars. They also examine the accommodation processes of borrowings by describing the phonological, morphological, and syntactic mechanisms that enable the adaptation and integration of loanwords into the recipient language.

The theoretical approach adopted in this dissertation is integrative and primarily contact-linguistic. Rather than relying on a single model of lexical borrowing, the analysis combines

typological, sociolinguistic, historical, and adaptation-oriented perspectives, since Slavic loanwords in Transcarpathian Hungarian can only be adequately described by taking into account both their linguistic form and the multilingual context in which they emerged. The selected models are therefore used in a complementary way: loanword typologies help classify the structural form of borrowings, chronological and donor-language classifications situate them historically and sociolinguistically, while phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic adaptation models explain their integration into Hungarian. This combined framework also ensures that the dissertation remains compatible with previous research on Hungarian contact varieties and with the categorisation principles of the Termini Online Hungarian Dictionary and Database.

2.2.1. Loanword types

Kontra (1981: 14–16) differentiated between direct and indirect borrowings. The former category refers to lexical items borrowed in their donor-language phonetic shape, while the latter usually consists of semantic borrowings and calques, as these resemble the sound forms of recipient-language items. A similar approach is used by Benő (2008: 23–33), who divided these borrowing types into several subcategories. Direct borrowing includes the borrowing of lexemes, phrases, proper names, initialisms, and phonetic forms. Indirect borrowing includes semantic, stylistic, and hybrid borrowings, calques, hyperpurisms, and relative contact phenomena.

Haugen (1950, 1953) distinguished between three types of lexical borrowings:

1. **Loanwords** – formed through the phonological imitation of a foreign-language sound sequence in the recipient language (e.g., American English *shivaree* ‘an uninvited serenade of newlyweds’ from French *charivari*). Mott and Laso (2020) denote this category as “pure loanwords” because their phonology and morphology usually reflect donor-language characteristics. In the present dissertation, this category is referred to as direct borrowing.
2. **Loanblends or hybrids** – formed by a combination of native- and foreign-language elements within a word, thus involving both morphemic substitution and importation (e.g., Pennsylvania German *bassig* ‘bossy’, which is a blended derivative formed from English *boss* and German *-ig*). This category is referred to as hybrid borrowing in this dissertation.
3. **Loanshifts** – these typically involve a semantic change in a recipient-language word under the influence of a donor-language word. For example, American

Portuguese *frio* originally referred only to ‘cold temperature’, but its meaning was broadened under the influence of the English word *cold* to also denote ‘common cold’ (the illness). Furthermore, this category encompasses calques (or loan translations), which involve the structural replication of a foreign word-formation pattern in the recipient language (e.g., German *Wolkenkratzer* from English *skyscraper*). Even entire phrases or idiomatic expressions may be borrowed in this manner (e.g., the English idiom *it goes without saying*, borrowed from the French *il va sans dire*) (Dawson & Phelan, 2016: 495). In the present dissertation, this category is subdivided into semantic borrowings and calques.

Csernicskó and Hires (2003: 133–136) applied a similar but more detailed method and distinguished five types of borrowings (cf. Váradi, 2025b: 281), based on the works of Hungarian scholars (Bartha, 1999; Kontra, 1981, 1990; Lanstyák, 1998a). These include direct, hybrid, phonetic, and semantic borrowings, as well as calques. However, in this dissertation, four additional categories are also used: loan homonyms, as well as stylistic, secondary, and tertiary borrowings (see Gazdag, 2018d; Lanstyák, 2006a, 2011). In addition, a new designation, *formal borrowing*, is introduced for phonetic borrowing. In this way, the loanword typology applied in this dissertation is consistent with that used in the TOHDD (see Váradi, 2024b, 2025a), and the database compiled for this research can be more easily incorporated into the TOHDD as a continuation of this line of research. The definitions of these nine loanword types are presented below, together with examples from the Transcarpathian Hungarian contact variety:

1. **Direct borrowing** – the lexical item is borrowed in its original phonetic form without any morphological changes (Gazdag, 2021e: 150; Lanstyák, 2006a, 2011: 97–98; Váradi, 2024b: 6, 2025a: 174). For example, *bulocska* ‘bun; roll; pastry’; *práva* ‘driving licence’. In addition, many Slavic-origin initialisms are used as direct borrowings. For example, *CVK* ‘Central Election Commission’ (Csernicskó et al., 2010: 83).
2. **Hybrid borrowing** – a complex loanword constituted by the combination of a donor-language and a recipient-language item (Gazdag, 2021e: 150; Lanstyák, 2006a, 2011: 99–100; Váradi, 2025b: 281). For example, *főszesztra* ‘head nurse’; *paszportszám* ‘ID card number’.
3. **Formal borrowing** – the loanword has a slightly different phonetic shape compared to its standard recipient-language equivalent due to the influence of its donor-language counterpart, and speakers of the contact variety use both word

forms (Gazdag, 2021e: 150; Lanstyák, 2006a, 2011: 98–99; Váradi, 2025a: 174). For example, *bufet* ‘buffet; diner’ (hun *büfé*); *sláng* ‘hosepipe’ (hun *slag*). In previous research this category was referred to as phonetic borrowing, but in the present study the less ambiguous term formal borrowing is used, following the terminology of Gómez Capuz (1997: 84–85).

4. **Semantic borrowing** – a recipient-language word acquires a new meaning based on the meanings of its donor-language equivalent, and there is a logical relation between the original and the newly acquired meanings (Gazdag, 2021e: 150; Lanstyák, 2006a, 2011: 101–102; Váradi, 2024b: 6, 2025a: 174). For example, *csenget* ‘to phone’; *deficit* ‘scarce item’.
5. **Loan homonym** – similarly to semantic borrowings, these items also exist in both languages, but they have completely different meanings between which no logical relationship can be detected (Gazdag, 2018d; Lanstyák et al., 2010: 52; Váradi, 2025a: 174). For example, *pára* ‘lesson pair; 2×45 minutes’ (in standard Hungarian, *pára* means ‘vapour’ or ‘steam’). According to Kótyuk (1991: 68), loan homonyms are “lexical barbarisms” that may confuse inexperienced language users because of the lack of any logical relationship between their meanings.
6. **Calque** – the lexical item is formed through the mirror translation of a donor-language word or phrase (Gazdag, 2021e: 150; Lanstyák, 2006a, 2011: 100–101; Váradi, 2024b: 6–7, 2025a: 174). For example, *átfordít* ‘to translate’ (hun *lefordít*); *vizsgát lead* ‘to pass an exam’ (hun *vizsgát letesz*).
7. **Stylistic borrowing** – the lexical item is also known in Hungary, but in standard Hungarian it is considered archaic, whereas in minority regions it has preserved its original stylistic value, mainly because a state-language equivalent with the same or a very similar phonetic form also exists. Therefore, minority speakers still use the word in everyday speech both in their mother tongue and in the state language. In the standard Hungarian variety used in Hungary, however, a newer lexical item has become dominant for the same concept (Benő & Lanstyák, 2019: 16; Lanstyák, 2006a, 2011: 102–103; Váradi, 2024b: 7, 2025a: 174–175). For example, *advokát* ‘lawyer’; *gubernátor* ‘governor’.
8. **Secondary borrowing** – a recipient-language affix is added to the loanword, as a result of which its meaning and/or part-of-speech category changes. This also illustrates how borrowings are integrated and adapted into the recipient language (Lanstyák, 2006a, 2011: 105–107; Váradi, 2024b: 7, 2025a: 175). For example,

avária ‘crash’ + *-zik* → *avériázik* ‘to crash’; *zeljonka* ‘green tincture’ + *-s* → *zeljonkás* ‘treated with green tincture’. In addition, loanwords that were morphologically adapted to Hungarian grammatical rules were also classified into this group, usually through clipping or by attaching Hungarian suffixes to Slavic verbs. For example, ukr, rus *медучилище* → *meducsi* ‘medical vocational school’; ukr *переживати*, rus *переживать* → *perezsivál* ‘to worry’.

9. **Tertiary borrowing** – two or more recipient-language affixes are attached to the loanword, which signifies an even greater degree of integration into the language (Lanstyák, 2006a, 2011: 107–108; Váradi, 2024b: 7, 2025a: 175). For example, *be-* + *zákáz* ‘order; reservation’ + *-l* → *bezákázál* ‘to order; to reserve’; *frájer* ‘a cool, cocky person’ + *-s* + *-kedik* → *frájereskedik* ‘to show off; to act cocky’. In addition, if a secondary borrowing receives an additional Hungarian affix, it is also classified as a tertiary borrowing. For example, *meducsi* ‘medical vocational school’ + *-s* → *meducsis* ‘a student studying at a medical vocational school’.

These typologies are not treated as competing frameworks, but as complementary models that make it possible to connect international terminology with the categories used in Hungarian contact-linguistic research. Haugen’s classification of loanwords, loanblends, and loanshifts (1950, 1953) provides a widely recognised international point of reference, while the approaches developed by Kontra (1981), Benő (2008), Lanstyák (2006a, 2011), Csernicskó and Hires (2003), and Gazdag (2021e) are particularly relevant because they have been applied to Hungarian minority varieties and, in several cases, specifically to Slavic–Hungarian contact in Transcarpathia. For this reason, the present dissertation does not aim to provide an exhaustive review of all classifications of lexical borrowing, but selects those models that can be operationalised in the analysis of the empirical dataset and aligned with the lexicographic practice of the TOHDD.

2.2.2. Typological approaches to lexical borrowing

In one of the most detailed works on Slavic borrowings in Transcarpathian Hungarian, Gazdag (2021e: 143–150) categorised Slavic loanwords on the basis of five additional principles besides loanword types. The first is the **time of borrowing**, following the classification principles proposed by Lizanec (1993: 51–54). According to this division, Slavic loanwords can be grouped into old loans (borrowed before 1945) and new loans (borrowed after 1945). In addition, the most recent Slavic borrowings are connected to the Russo–Ukrainian war and its preceding events (see Váradi & Csernicskó, 2025). Therefore, it is useful to distinguish a third category, namely contemporary borrowings,

referring to items borrowed after the independence of Ukraine (Zékány, 2025: 253). However, determining the approximate time of borrowing is not always an easy task. For this reason, Agyagási (1997) used phonetic features to determine the period in which Cheremiss loanwords were borrowed into Chuvash. In the case of Slavic loanwords, the most practical method of distinguishing them chronologically is to consider their meanings in relation to the history of Transcarpathia. In the present dissertation, Slavic borrowings are classified chronologically into pre-Soviet, Soviet-era, and post-Soviet categories.

The second approach to loanword categorisation is based on **donor languages**. As Russian and Ukrainian are both East Slavic languages, it is often impossible to determine from which language a given Slavic loanword was borrowed. For instance, *sifer* 'slate' may have been borrowed from either language, as the donor-language word has the same orthographic and phonetic form in both languages (ukr, rus *шифер*). However, there are cases in which it is obvious that a loanword was borrowed from either Russian or Ukrainian on the basis of phonetic differences between the two donor-language forms. For example, *pricep* 'trailer' clearly originates from rus *прицеп*, and not from ukr *причіп* (Gazdag, 2015: 26–27, 2021e: 145). There are also numerous parallel borrowings from Ukrainian and Russian, where direct loanwords from both languages are used to denote the same concept. For example, *jidálnyá* (ukr *їдальня*) and *sztolova* (rus *столовая*) both mean 'canteen' (Gazdag, 2021d: 63–64; Györke, 2017: 77–78). In general, scholars consider Russian influence to be stronger in the vocabulary of Transcarpathian Hungarians because of the large number of borrowings connected to the Soviet era (Kótyuk, 2007: 95; Lizanec, 1993: 54).

The third typological approach also takes into account the **etymology** of loanwords. Gazdag (2021e: 143–145) notes that some Russian and Ukrainian words originate from other Slavic languages, such as Proto-Slavic, while others are of non-Slavic origin.

The fourth way of categorising loanwords is according to their **parts of speech**. As mentioned earlier, certain parts of speech have a much higher probability of being borrowed (see Muysken, 1981, 2010), particularly nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Gazdag (2021e: 146–147) notes that the same tendency can be observed in the case of Slavic borrowings in Transcarpathia, where the majority of borrowings are nouns.

The fifth typological classification focuses on the **semantic fields** of loanwords. Several classifications have been proposed by different scholars, as semantic fields are rather flexible and some loanwords can be grouped into multiple conceptual categories. For example, *pászka* (ukr, rus *пасха*) has several meanings ('1. Easter sweet bread; 2. the Easter holiday itself'); therefore, it can be classified into the semantic groups of gastronomy, ethnography, and

religion (Gazdag, 2021e: 147–149). In the latest categorisation, Slavic loanwords have been classified into 26 semantic fields: 1) materials; 2) documents; 3) dishes; 4) healthcare; 5) actions, characteristics, and body parts; 6) tools; 7) food and drink; 8) concepts; 9) jobs and positions; 10) geographical and administrative names; 11) places; 12) institutions; 13) education; 14) vehicles and their parts; 15) military; 16) public life; 17) public administration; 18) everyday life; 19) machinery; 20) ethnic groups; 21) finance; 22) clothing; 23) organisations; 24) technical tools; 25) religion; and 26) vegetables (Bárány & Gazdag, 2024b: 47–58). In addition, Lizanec (1997: 86–87) identified loanwords related to everyday life as the largest group of borrowings and divided this semantic field into 12 subcategories: 1) the house and its associated buildings; 2) furniture; 3) lighting and heating; 4) clothing; 5) decorations; 6) personal hygiene and cosmetics; 7) footwear; 8) dishes; 9) food and cooking; 10) pastries and baking; 11) drinks; and 12) family and relatives.

As mentioned previously, loanwords can also be categorised according to the **motivation for borrowing**, that is, the reason why a donor-language word was borrowed into the recipient language. Following Haspelmath (2009: 46–48) and Myers-Scotton (2002: 41), this dissertation distinguishes between core borrowings, which enter the language alongside their native-language counterparts, and cultural borrowings, which denote new objects or concepts for which no recipient-language word previously existed. According to Csernicskó (1995: 139–140), loanwords are used in communication either because the concept they denote has no equivalent in the recipient language or because the speaker intends to achieve a particular stylistic effect by adding variety to their speech.

2.2.3. Loanword adaptation processes

One of the defining characteristics of borrowings is that they acquire loanword status only if they are phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically integrated into the recipient language's system (Matras & Adamou, 2020: 240). The collective term for the phonological, morphological, and syntactic processes required to make a lexical borrowing fully functional in the recipient language is accommodation (Wohlgemuth, 2009: 56).

According to Winford (2010: 173), loanwords are usually adapted to the phonology, morphology, and syntax of the recipient language, and over time they may become indistinguishable from native elements. One example is the morphological adaptation of borrowed nouns in languages in which nouns are assigned grammatical gender, such as German, French, or Dutch. These borrowings may receive their gender on the basis of various factors, including phonological shape, meaning, and analogy. For instance, French nouns

ending in *-ment* (e.g., *appartement* ‘apartment’) usually receive neuter gender in Brussels Dutch, while borrowings ending in *-iteit* (e.g., *variabiliteit* ‘variability’) become feminine. When French nouns refer to males (e.g., *facteur* ‘postman’), they receive masculine gender in Brussels Dutch (Treffers-Daller, 1994: 130). In other cases, gender assignment depends on analogy, such as when the English word *stress* is borrowed into German as a masculine noun on the basis of semantically similar nouns like *Kampf* ‘struggle’ (Hickey, 1999).

In addition, the part-of-speech category of loanwords may be changed by the addition of suffixes. For example, Japanese borrows English nouns as stems, which are then transformed into adjectives (e.g., *romanchikku-na* ‘romantic’) and adverbs (e.g., *romanchikku-ni* ‘romantically’) using the suffixes *-na* and *-ni*. Clipping also occurs in Japanese (e.g., *hansuto* ← *hanga-sutoraiki* ← *hunger strike*), providing another example of loanword integration (Loveday, 1996: 118). Scholars have also noted that some loanwords retain or closely imitate their original form (e.g., French *rendezvous* borrowed into English), while others undergo more substantial phonetic change (e.g., Costa Rican Spanish *chinchibí* borrowed into English as *ginger beer*) (Winford, 2010: 174–175).

In terms of morphological adaptation, Slavic borrowings frequently undergo part-of-speech conversion, with some loanwords even acquiring dual categorial status (Kótyuk, 2007: 120–134). Furthermore, Slavic loanwords may receive various prefixes and suffixes, thereby giving rise to secondary and tertiary borrowings, a process also described by Csernicskó (1995: 141–143).

Regarding phonological adaptation, a primary difference lies in the vowel systems: Hungarian has fourteen vowel phonemes (*a, á, e, é, i, í, o, ó, ö, ő, u, ú, ü, ű*), while Ukrainian has only six (*a, e, u, i, o, y*) (Bárány, 2009: 144). All long Hungarian vowels may occur in Slavic loanwords, and they may even become diphthongised. Furthermore, word-final Russian *-o* is lengthened in Hungarian pronunciation (e.g., *rajonó, szilpó*), while word-final Russian *-a* is shortened (e.g., *bezpeka, ráda*). The Russian and Ukrainian sound /x/ corresponds to Hungarian *ch* (e.g., *mechánik, techoszmotr*), and consonant clusters are resolved through elision, assimilation, voicing, affrication, or palatalisation (Borbély, 2000: 114–115). In some cases, both voiced and voiceless members of stop-consonant pairs occur in attested loanwords: *очередь* → *ocsered* and *ocseret*. A similar alternation can be observed in the case of the labiodental sounds /v/ and /f/, as Slavic loanwords may feature both in place of *в* (e.g., *совхоз* → *szovhoz* and *szofhoz*) (Bárány & Gazdag, 2024a: 361; Gazdag, 2017f: 131). Similar consonant changes and vowel shifts also occur in other borrowing contexts,

such as when German words are borrowed into English (see Ashrafova, 2024: 46–47) or when English words are borrowed into Italian (see Pulcini, 2023: 104–107).

Slavic loanwords often spread in several variants, frequently following the patterns of Ukrainian and Russian words with different phonetic forms. These variations include the alternation of long and short consonants, the alternation of the vowels *e* and *i*, and other consonantal differences. In some cases, both singular and plural forms have become established. Furthermore, the omission or insertion of sounds may be observed at the beginning, end, or within words (see Gazdag, 2018b: 75–76; 2021e: 153–154).

Trudgill (2000: 164) notes that borrowed words are often used in a semantically narrower sense in the recipient language than in the donor language. For instance, the English *vis-à-vis* refers only to abstract relationships, whereas in the French donor language it also has more concrete meanings, such as 'on the opposite side of the street'. This shows that semantic change may occur as a subprocess of loanword accommodation (Lanstyák, 2006a: 38). Examples of broadening, narrowing, elevation, and degradation of meaning can also be observed among Slavic loanwords (see Bárány & Gazdag, 2025a: 37–38). For example, the loanword *provodnyik* (rus *проводник*) has several meanings in the donor language, but in the Hungarian contact variety it is used exclusively in the sense of 'conductor' (see Gazdag, 2021e: 156), and thus represents a clear case of semantic narrowing. Similarly, the loanword *geroj* (rus *герой*) denotes a 'hero' in the donor language, but as a borrowing it is used primarily as a pejorative label for an arrogant and boastful person (see Gazdag, 2018a: 134–135), which illustrates degradation of meaning.

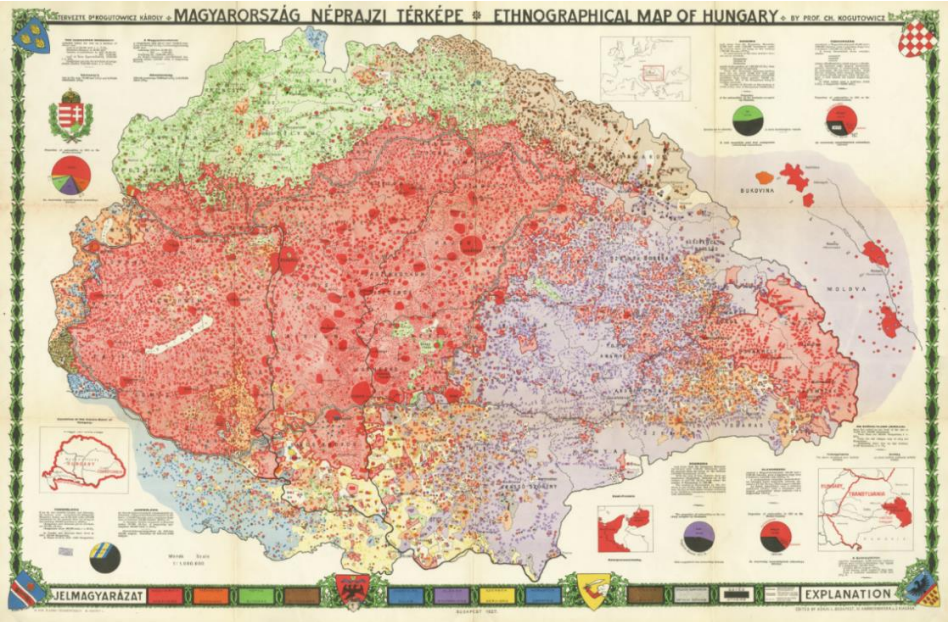
The degree of loanword adaptation largely depends on the similarity between the language systems involved. If the donor and recipient languages are typologically similar, borrowings may be adopted with little or no modification. However, greater typological differences make the integration process more complex (Varella, 2019: 54–55). In the case of Ukrainian and Hungarian, numerous grammatical differences exist, primarily because Hungarian is a Finno-Ugric language of the Uralic family (Kenesei & Szécsényi, 2022), whereas Ukrainian belongs to the East Slavic branch of the Indo-European language family (Sussex & Cubberley, 2006). Further differences include the use of different writing systems (Cyrillic vs. Latin), the gender-based inflection of Ukrainian adjectives and verbs, and the contrast between Hungarian's agglutinative structure and Ukrainian's inflectional characteristics (see Hires-László & Váradi, 2024: 134–135, 2025: 332–333). These fundamental differences make Slavic loanwords in the Transcarpathian variety of Hungarian particularly prone to phonological and morphological change.

The adaptation of Slavic loanwords cannot be explained solely by structural differences between Hungarian, Ukrainian, and Russian. It must also be interpreted in relation to the sociolinguistic status of Hungarian in the Carpathian Basin. Since Transcarpathian Hungarian is a minority variety that has developed outside Hungary under the influence of changing state languages, its contact-induced lexical features are part of a broader process of regional linguistic differentiation. For this reason, the following section turns to Hungarian as a pluricentric language and explains why the vocabulary of minority Hungarian communities should be analysed not as a deviation from a single national standard, but as part of the legitimate regional variation of Hungarian.

2.3. Hungarian as a pluricentric language

As part of the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy, the Kingdom of Hungary was defeated in the First World War. As a result, the Treaty of Trianon was signed on 4 June 1920, and Hungary's state borders were redrawn: its territory was reduced from 282,870 km² to 92,963 km², with lands ceded to Romania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Austria, Italy, and Poland (see Romsics, 2007; Sadecki, 2020). The new political borders also meant that around 3.3 million Hungarians found themselves outside the mother country. However, the data of the 1910 official census of the Kingdom of Hungary, presented in Figure 1, show that the new political borders did not fully correspond to the geographical distribution of the Hungarian population.

Figure 1. Ethnographic map of Hungary, 1910



Source: Royal Hungarian Cartographic Institute. Designed by Dr Károly Kogutowicz, 1927.

These communities still live in the border regions of the states neighbouring Hungary, and the overwhelming majority have preserved both their Hungarian identity and the dominance of their mother tongue (Tátrai, 2011; Váradi, 2022). If we take into consideration the number of people who explicitly declared Hungarian as their mother tongue in the most recent official traditional censuses conducted in Hungary and the neighbouring states, it can be seen that the number of Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin exceeds ten million native speakers (see Table 2). However, these data should be treated with caution, as no official census has been conducted in Ukraine in the last 25 years, while Austria and Slovenia conduct register-based censuses that do not include data on the mother tongue of the population; therefore, in their cases, the last official conventional census data were used. It should also be noted that not all respondents answered the question on mother tongue, which is why, according to the statistical data, only 86.5% of Hungary's population is classified as native speakers of Hungarian. In summary, relatively large Hungarian minority communities live in Romania, Slovakia, Serbia, and Ukraine, while smaller communities live in Austria, Slovenia, and Croatia.

Table 2. Hungarian population in the Carpathian Basin (based on mother tongue)

Countries	Total population	Hungarians	Percentage	Census year
Hungary	9,603,634	8,302,828	86.5%	2022
Romania	19,053,815	1,038,806	5.5%	2021
Slovakia	5,449,270	462,175	8.5%	2021
Serbia	6,647,003	170,875	2.6%	2022
Ukraine	48,240,902	161,618	0.3%	2001
Austria	8,032,926	40,583	0.5%	2001
Slovenia	1,964,036	7,713	0.4%	2002
Croatia	3,871,833	7,218	0.2%	2021
Total	**102,863,419**	**10,191,816**	**9.9%**	–

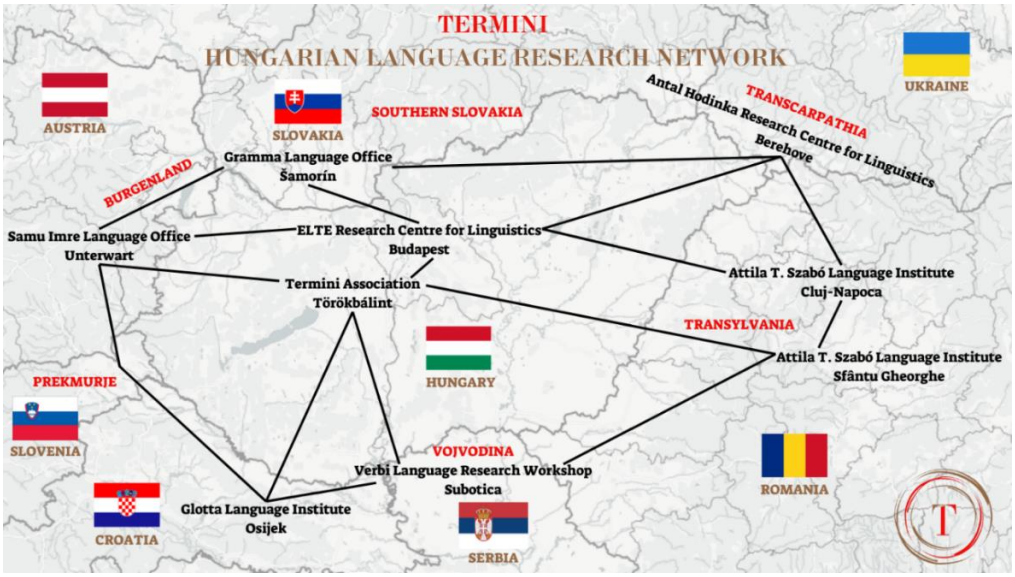
Source: compiled by the author based on census data.

Prior to the political changes of 1989, the language use of Hungarians beyond Hungary's borders did not receive as much scholarly attention as it has received over the past three decades. By the late 1990s, Lanstyák (1998b: 158) had argued that Hungarian should be regarded as a pluricentric language, since in several countries of the Carpathian Basin it fulfils so-called "elevated functions," including use in public administration, education, mass communication, church services, cultural life, and scholarly research. Indeed,

sociolinguists have argued that Hungarian should be viewed as a language with multiple standard varieties, each with its own unique lexicon (Csernicskó & Fenyvesi, 2012: 22–23).

In 2001, the Termini Hungarian Language Research Network (hereinafter: THLRN) was established to bring together Hungarian linguistic research centres operating in the neighbouring countries (see Figure 2). On the tenth anniversary of its foundation, members of the research network outlined the aims of Termini in a commemorative volume: "…it should be achieved that the adjective *Hungarian* in relation to the language (as well as to culture, history, etc.) should truly mean 'Hungarian' and not merely 'something from Hungary'!" (Benő & Péntek, 2011: 299).

Figure 2. The Termini Hungarian Language Research Network



Source: compiled by the author based on Váradi and Lehocki-Samardžić (2025: 10).

Since Hungarian has continued to develop and acquire new lexical items in eight countries (Hungary, Austria, Croatia, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Ukraine) under the influence of the state languages of Hungary's neighbouring countries (Gazdag, 2019b; Szilágyi N., 2008: 106), linguists of the THLRN launched a linguistic programme aimed at the "debordering" of the Hungarian language (Váradi & Lehocki-Samardžić, 2025: 9–10). Their aim was to incorporate into Hungarian dictionaries those unique lexical elements and state-language loanwords that are used by Hungarian minority speakers living beyond Hungary's borders.

One of the earliest outcomes of this work was the publication of the second, revised edition of the *Concise Explanatory Dictionary of Hungarian* (Pusztai, 2003), into which distinctive lexical items and meanings used by Hungarians in Romania, Slovakia, and Ukraine were also

incorporated. This amounted to a total of 383 headwords (Beregszászi & Csernicskó, 2004; Kiss, 2004). In June 2004, researchers of the THLRN compiled the list of Hungarian words used beyond Hungary's borders, the so-called *ht-list*, which contained 2,012 entries from seven external regions. This glossary served as the basis for the cross-border material included in the *Dictionary of Foreign Words*, published by Osiris (Tolcsvai Nagy, 2007). Most of the words in this dictionary are of Western origin, primarily from Latin, Greek, and German, and are used in multiple regions, sometimes with slightly different phonetic forms and meanings. However, the dictionary also includes examples of foreign words derived from the Slavic state languages of Hungary's neighbouring countries (Tolcsvai Nagy, 2013: 388–389). In total, the dictionary includes 182 words that are used in Transcarpathia.

Soon afterwards, the *ht-list* developed into the *ht-dictionary*, as in 2007 the TOHDD became available (Benő et al., 2007). This dictionary contains loanwords and fixed expressions of foreign origin used by Hungarian communities living in the Carpathian Basin outside the borders of Hungary. The lexicographic database is continuously expanded and edited by linguists from eight countries; as a result, the TOHDD contained 5,722 entries as of June 2026. On the basis of these achievements, the pluricentricity of the Hungarian language and the differences between its regional varieties are now well documented, and they contribute to the debordering of Hungarian vocabulary (Csernicskó & Márku, 2021: 428–429; Csernicskó et al., 2022).

While the pluricentric perspective explains why regional Hungarian varieties outside Hungary should be treated as legitimate objects of linguistic analysis, the specific features of Transcarpathian Hungarian can only be understood in relation to the historical, demographic, legal, and educational context of Transcarpathia. The next section therefore narrows the focus from Hungarian as a pluricentric language to the multilingual setting in which the Transcarpathian Hungarian contact variety has developed.

2.4. Transcarpathia as a multilingual region

Transcarpathia (Ukrainian: *Закарпатська область*) is one of the westernmost regions of Ukraine, situated in the south-western part of the country. It borders two other regions of Ukraine, Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk, as well as four countries: Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Slovakia. The territory of Transcarpathia covers 12,800 km², which constitutes only 2.1% of the territory of Ukraine (Kovály et al., 2020).

According to data from the last official census, conducted in 2001, more than one hundred different nationalities lived in this relatively small area. More than 80% of the

population belonged to the Ukrainian majority, followed by the Hungarian minority, which made up 12.1% of the population (Molnár & Molnár D., 2005). However, as a result of continuous emigration and the military conflict with Russia, the number of Hungarians living in Transcarpathia has decreased significantly in recent years. Nevertheless, the region remains a highly relevant setting for research on bilingualism and multilingualism.

2.4.1. Historical and demographic background

The territory of present-day Transcarpathia belonged to Hungary for more than a thousand years, and parts of six former counties of the Kingdom of Hungary are located in this area: Bereg, Máramaros, Szabolcs, Szatmár, Ugocsa, and Ung. As a geographical and administrative unit, Transcarpathia was established in 1919, when it became part of the Czechoslovak Republic under the name *Podkarpatská Rus*. This political decision led to the emergence of the Hungarian national minority in Transcarpathia, a situation that was further consolidated by the signing of the Treaty of Trianon in 1920 (Csernicskó et al., 2023).

During the 20th century, the region underwent several political changes under different state formations:

- after the end of the Czechoslovak period in 1939, a short-lived independent state, *Carpatho-Ukraine*, existed for two days in March 1939;
- during the Second World War, Transcarpathia returned to the Kingdom of Hungary under the name *Subcarpathian Province*;
- between 1944 and 1945, another short-lived political formation, *Transcarpathian Ukraine*, emerged, although it was not internationally recognised;
- in 1945, the area was annexed to the Soviet Union as part of the Ukrainian SSR under the name *Zakarpattia Oblast*;
- finally, in 1991, the territory became part of independent Ukraine as one of its westernmost regions (Csernicskó, 2013: 18; Csernicskó et al., 2023: 12).

The Hungarian population was profoundly affected by the continuously changing borders and the complicated political situation. After the end of the Second World War, the number of Hungarians living in the region declined sharply. Following the annexation of Transcarpathia by the Soviet Union, many Hungarians were sent to labour camps, and a large part of the Hungarian male population was deported to other parts of the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, many of them never returned home (Molnár D., 2022).

A turning point came in 1991, when Transcarpathia became part of independent Ukraine. The Hungarian minority gained broader linguistic rights, its social status improved, and it obtained official representation in the Ukrainian Parliament. State support was also provided for Hungarian-medium education. However, tensions concerning the language rights of minority groups intensified after the Euromaidan protests in Kyiv and the outbreak of armed conflict in Eastern Ukraine in 2014 (Csernicskó, 2016; Katchanovski, 2026). These tensions were connected to Ukraine's increasingly state-language-oriented language policy and to restrictions affecting minority language rights, especially those of the Russian minority. This process ultimately culminated in the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine, which began on 24 February 2022 and affected not only the country's demographics but also the language use and vocabulary of the Hungarian minority (see Csernicskó & Váradi, 2026; Váradi & Csernicskó, 2025).

The last two official censuses in Ukraine were conducted in 1989 and 2001, so no new official population data have been available for the past 25 years. According to the 2001 census, more than one hundred nationalities lived in Transcarpathia, although only eight of these ethnic groups accounted for more than 0.1% of the region's total population. The ethnic composition of Transcarpathia is presented in Table 3 below, based on data from the 1989 and 2001 censuses (Molnár D., 2018).

Table 3. Ethnic composition of Transcarpathia

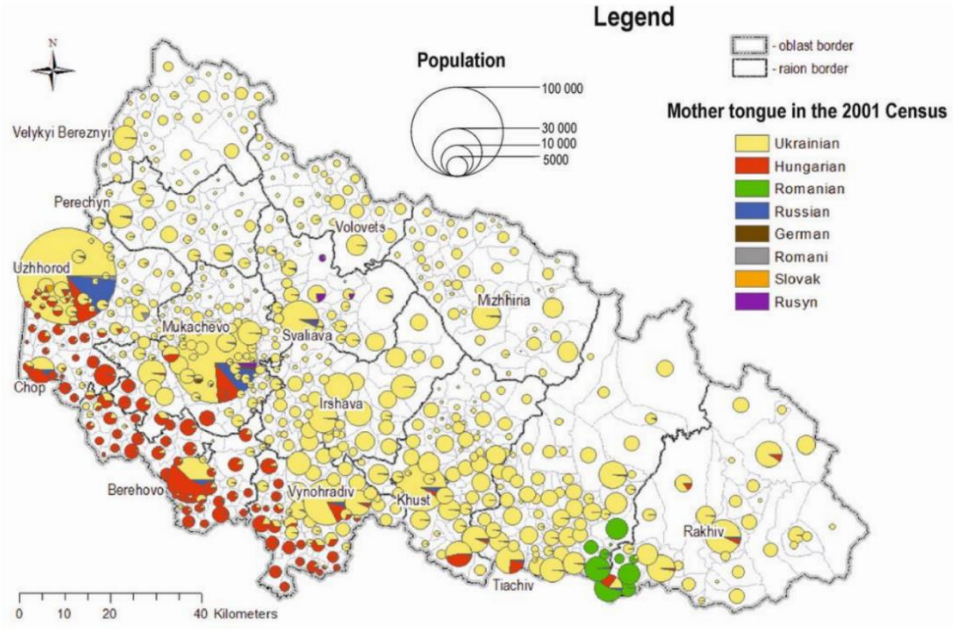
Nationality	Population (number of people)		Proportion within the region's population (%)		Changes in 2001 compared to 1989 (%)
	1989	2001	1989	2001	
Ukrainian	976,749	1,010,127	78.4%	80.5%	103.4%
Hungarian	155,711	151,516	12.5%	12.1%	97.3%
Romanian	29,485	32,152	2.4%	2.6%	109%
Russian	49,458	30,993	4%	2.5%	62.7%
Roma	12,131	14,004	1%	1.1%	115.4%
Slovak	7,329	5,695	0.6%	0.4%	77.7%
German	3,478	3,582	0.3%	0.3%	103%
Belarusian	2,521	1,540	0.2%	0.1%	61.1%
Other	8,756	5,005	0.6%	0.4%	64%
Total	**1,245,618**	**1,254,614**	**100%**	**100%**	**100.7%**

Source: Molnár D. (2018: 150).

As Table 3 shows, the population of the region increased by 0.7% between 1989 and 2001, while the proportion of the Hungarian minority declined. In 2001, a total of 156,566 people declared themselves to be of Hungarian nationality in Ukraine as a whole, representing 0.3% of the country's population. Of this Hungarian population, 96.8% lived in Transcarpathia, amounting to 151,516 people at that time (Molnár, 2015).

Transcarpathia is an ethnically diverse region, but the overwhelmingly dominant group is the Ukrainian population (80.5%), followed by Hungarians (12.1%). Most Hungarians live in settlements near the Ukrainian–Hungarian border (see Figure 3), where they form a local majority. The largest proportion of the Hungarian population lives in Berehove district, although substantial communities are also found in Mukachevo and Vynohradiv districts. According to the 2001 census, 158,729 people declared Hungarian as their mother tongue in Transcarpathia, while a total of 161,618 people were Hungarian native speakers in Ukraine (Kovály et al., 2020).

Figure 3. Composition of the population of Transcarpathia by mother tongue



Source: Csernicskó et al. (2023: 24). The map was created by István Molnár D.

However, the size of the Hungarian minority has been continuously decreasing. Emigration to Hungary was further accelerated by Ukraine's economic downturn after 2013, the armed conflict in the eastern regions from 2014 onwards, disadvantageous education and language laws, and fears related to military mobilisation. In order to shed light on the demographic changes in Transcarpathia, the SUMMA 2017 demographic survey was conducted in 111 settlements in the region where at least 100 Hungarian

residents had been registered in the 2001 census. By aggregating the birth, death, migration, and assimilation indicators calculated for each settlement, the SUMMA 2017 survey concluded that the number of Hungarians in the surveyed settlements was around 123,200 in 2017. Taking into account the Hungarian Roma population in the region, the estimated size of the Hungarian minority in Transcarpathia was 131,000 in early 2017, which was considerably lower than the figure recorded in 2001 (Tátrai et al., 2020).

This number declined even further after 24 February 2022, when Russia launched its full-scale invasion of Ukraine. As a result, thousands of Hungarians left their homeland and settled in Hungary, many of them permanently. In particular, men between the ages of 18 and 60 left Ukraine partly because of fears related to mobilisation (Csernicskó & Gazdag, 2023). Another demographic consequence of the war in the region has been the arrival of hundreds of thousands of internally displaced persons from the conflict zone, which has also contributed to the growing proportion of the Ukrainian-speaking population relative to the Hungarian minority (Erőss et al., 2024).

2.4.2. Legal and educational background

Bilaniuk (2010: 109) argues that, as a result of the widespread use of Russian and Ukrainian, almost everyone in Ukraine is bilingual, though not to the same degree. The linguistic situation in Ukraine is fundamentally characterised by widespread societal bilingualism, mainly for historical reasons. In addition, heated political debates over language have led to the emergence of Russophile and Ukrainophile camps in the country; thus, conflicting language-policy agendas continue to divide society (Shumlianskyi, 2010).

If we consider the example of Transcarpathia, it becomes clear that even this relatively small region has undergone considerable political change over the last century. Most people in Transcarpathia who were born before 1991 have experienced at least one change in state affiliation and state language during their lifetime. The legal status of the languages used in the territory has changed many times over the decades. None of these languages has enjoyed a stable status over the last hundred years (Csernicskó, 2013).

During the 20th century, Transcarpathia belonged to several different states, each with its own state and/or official language(s). These political changes repeatedly rearranged the hierarchy of languages. Indeed, the official language used in Transcarpathia changed six times over the course of the century, forcing the population of the region to adapt constantly to changing political and linguistic circumstances. The status of Hungarian remains unstable in independent Ukraine. The Language Law of 2012 (State of Ukraine, 2012)

introduced favourable changes for minority languages, but the State Language Law of 2019 (State of Ukraine, 2019) reduced the status of all languages in Ukraine except Ukrainian. Moreover, it revoked the regional official status of Hungarian, meaning that it can no longer be used as an official language in local government and administrative offices, not even in settlements where Hungarians constitute the majority (Csernicskó et al., 2023).

This political turmoil and the changing status of official languages in present-day Transcarpathia are summarised in Table 4. As can be seen, the following languages have been used as official languages at the national level since 1867: German, Czechoslovak, Ukrainian, Hungarian, and Russian (Csernicskó et al., 2020a).

Table 4. Official languages in Transcarpathia, 1867–present

Periods	At the national (imperial) level	At the regional level	At the local (municipal) level
Kingdom of Hungary within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (1867–1918)	German	Hungarian	the language of the local majority
First Czechoslovak Republic (1919–1938)	Czechoslovak	Czechoslovak, Rusyn/Ruthenian	besides Czechoslovak, the language whose speakers reached 20%
Second Czechoslovak Republic (1938–1939)	Czechoslovak	Czechoslovak, Rusyn/Ruthenian	the language whose speakers reached 20%
Carpatho-Ukraine (1939)	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	Ukrainian
Kingdom of Hungary (1939–1944)	Hungarian	Hungarian, Hungarian–Russian (Rusyn/Ruthenian)	Hungarian, Hungarian–Russian (Rusyn/Ruthenian)
Transcarpathian Ukraine (1944–1945)	Russian, Ukrainian	Russian, Ukrainian	Russian, Ukrainian
Soviet Union / Ukrainian SSR (1945–1991)	Russian, Ukrainian	Ukrainian	Russian, Ukrainian
Ukraine (1991–2012)	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	besides Ukrainian, the language whose native speakers exceeded 50%
Ukraine (2012–2019)	Ukrainian	Ukrainian, Hungarian	besides Ukrainian, the language whose native speakers reached 10%
Ukraine (2019–present)	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	Ukrainian

Source: Csernicskó et al. (2020a: 27).

The Law of Ukraine "On Supporting the Functioning of the Ukrainian Language as the State Language" (State of Ukraine, 2019) emphasised the importance of using Ukrainian in public institutions, education, culture, the media, and other domains of public life (Váradi et al., 2024: 170). The law also prescribed the use of the state language in at least 75% of the total airtime of television and radio channels. In addition, it strengthened the role of Ukrainian in educational institutions in Ukraine (Csernicskó et al., 2020b).

The Law of Ukraine "On Complete General Secondary Education" (State of Ukraine, 2020) emphasised the importance of Ukrainian as the principal language of instruction in all educational institutions in the country (Csernicskó & Tóth, 2021). At the same time, children belonging to national minorities whose mother tongue is one of the official languages of the European Union retained the right to receive education in their mother tongue at the preschool and primary-school levels (Fedinec & Csernicskó, 2017: 271).

The narrowing of the educational rights of ethnic minorities is only one example of the nation-building policy of the Ukrainian state, which aims to establish Ukrainian as the sole legitimate language of public communication. As a consequence, Russian and other minority languages have become less prestigious in the country (Roter & Busch, 2018).

This situation was modified to some extent by the Law of Ukraine "On Amendments to Certain Laws of Ukraine Concerning the Consideration of the Expert Assessment of the Council of Europe and Its Bodies Regarding the Rights of National Minorities (Communities) in Certain Spheres" (State of Ukraine, 2023; Tóth, 2024: 73). In the context of Ukraine's accession process to the European Union, amendments were introduced to the previously mentioned laws that restored certain minority language rights. Under Article 5(6) of the Law of Ukraine "On Complete General Secondary Education" (State of Ukraine, 2020), persons belonging to national minorities whose mother tongue is an official language of the European Union are now entitled to receive education in their mother tongue not only at the lower and upper secondary levels but also in specialised secondary education, that is, until the completion of the school-leaving examination (Váradi, 2025c: 3). Only the subjects of Ukrainian language, Ukrainian literature, the history of Ukraine, and national defence must be taught exclusively in the state language (Váradi & Parapatics, 2025: 5).

The Law of Ukraine "On National Minorities (Communities) of Ukraine" also marked an important step forward (State of Ukraine, 2022). Article 10(7) allows the names of state and municipal institutions to be displayed on signboards in the languages of national minorities traditionally residing in the given locality and constituting a significant proportion of the population (Fedinec, 2023).

As the above examples demonstrate, over the past decade Ukrainian legislation has increasingly reflected a nation-building agenda that intensified in response to the armed conflict with Russia that began in 2014. At the same time, these legislative changes have affected not only the Russian minority but also other national minorities, including the Hungarian community (Fedinec, 2025).

2.4.3. Language skills of Transcarpathian Hungarians

Sociolinguistic studies provide a general picture of the linguistic repertoire of the Hungarian minority in the region. First of all, Hungarians are characterised by the dominance of their mother tongue, despite the ideological and political pressure exerted by the Ukrainian state (Beregszászi & Csernicskó, 2003; Csernicskó et al., 2023). The dominance of Hungarian as a first language was also confirmed in studies examining Transcarpathian Hungarian students' knowledge and use of loanwords of Russian and Ukrainian origin. The only cases in which they preferred Slavic borrowings to their Hungarian standard equivalents were culturally bound expressions (Váradi, 2022, 2025b). Benő (2008: 20) refers to such words as xenisms, that is, foreign-origin words denoting cultural and national realia, most often referring to concepts related to ethnography (clothing, instruments, food, drink), institutions, buildings, vehicles, currency, occupations, and positions.

As the official language of Ukraine, Ukrainian plays a significant role in the life of the Hungarian minority. In the private sphere, for example in the family or in church, they communicate in their Hungarian mother tongue. In official domains, however, such as police stations or hospitals, the Ukrainian state language comes to the fore. The use of Ukrainian affects the speech of the Hungarian minority, and this influence can be observed in the form of language interference (see Márku, 2013; Gazdag, 2021e; Váradi, 2025b).

In addition to Hungarian as a first language and Ukrainian as a second language, Hungarians living in Transcarpathia usually learn a third language as well, most often English. As a result, the educational planning goal of the Transcarpathian Hungarian community is the establishment of mother-tongue-dominant multilingualism. This means that Ukrainian and English should be taught as foreign languages, while language teaching and learning processes should be organised on the basis of the speakers' Hungarian mother tongue (Beregszászi, 2012).

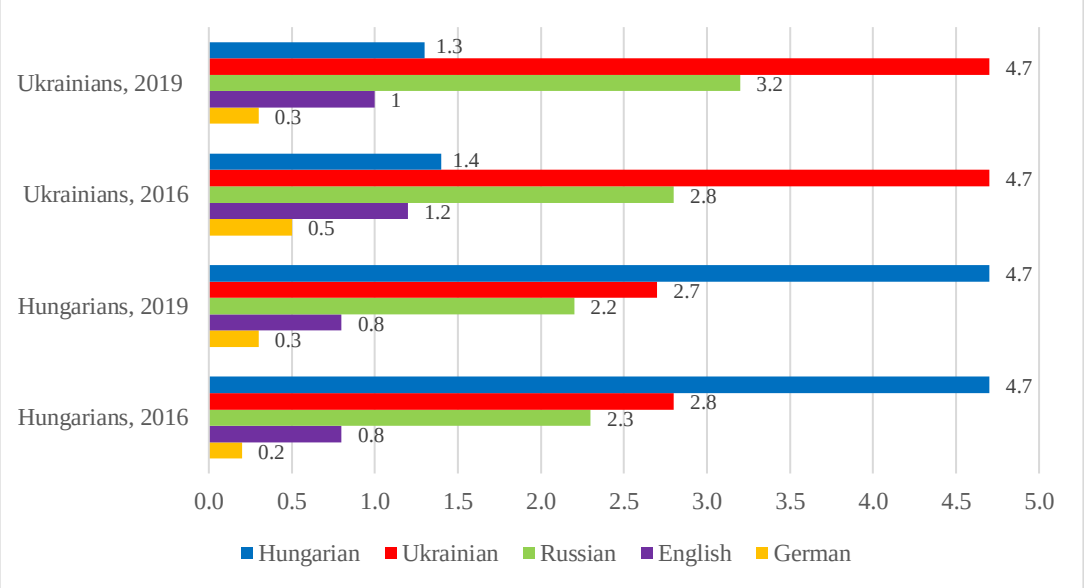
Nevertheless, most Hungarians living in Transcarpathia still do not speak the Ukrainian state language well. Csernicskó (2010) explains this limited command of Ukrainian by pointing to several educational and methodological problems: inadequately

trained teachers of Ukrainian, a lack of textbooks and teaching aids designed for minorities, and, most importantly, the fact that Ukrainian is taught to ethnic minorities not as a second or foreign language, but as a first language. Váradi (2023) similarly found that college students as prospective language teachers emphasised the need for change in the way Ukrainian is taught to ethnic minorities. According to their responses, state language policy does not facilitate the development of bilingualism and Ukrainian-language proficiency among minority children; rather, it makes learning the state language a burden for them and their parents.

With regard to sociolinguistic surveys, research was conducted across the Carpathian Basin to examine the language skills of Hungarian minorities living in different countries after Trianon. The results showed that knowledge of the state language was lowest among Hungarians living in Ukraine in comparison with Hungarian minority groups in other countries. Most Hungarians reported speaking Russian at a higher level than Ukrainian. This can be explained by the fact that, until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Ukrainian was not taught in minority schools. Russian, by contrast, was taught as a compulsory subject in every school in the Soviet Union (Csernicskó, 1998).

In relation to the language skills of the Transcarpathian population, the TANDEM study was conducted in 2016 and 2019 in 74 settlements in Transcarpathia. Altogether, 2,412 respondents were asked to assess their language skills on a six-point scale from 0 to 5, where higher numbers indicated better proficiency in a given language (see Figure 4).

Figure 4. Language knowledge of Transcarpathian Hungarians and Ukrainians



Source: Ferenc and Rákóczi (2020: 69).

Among Hungarian respondents, knowledge of Ukrainian was slightly better than their command of Russian, in contrast to the results obtained at the turn of the millennium. Ukrainian respondents spoke Russian much better than Hungarian, while foreign languages such as English and German were spoken relatively poorly by both groups (Ferenc & Rákóczi, 2020). However, as these findings are based on self-assessment, they should be treated with caution.

2.4.4. Characteristics of bilingual language use

It can be stated that the vast majority of Hungarians in Transcarpathia are bilingual, as they can communicate in at least one language besides their mother tongue. However, their language proficiency is highly diverse: some speak their second language at a relatively advanced level, while others are able to communicate effectively only in their first language. Even those who do not speak Ukrainian fluently possess some degree of proficiency in the language (Csernicskó et al., 2023: 97).

Regarding the bilingualism of the Transcarpathian Hungarian community, Rot (1967: 188) distinguished between social-partial and social-complete bilingualism in Transcarpathia. Social-partial bilingualism is characterised by active knowledge of the mother tongue and passive knowledge of the second language, whereas social-complete bilingualism involves the active and parallel use of both languages. For additional types of bilingualism observed within the local minority community, see Table 5.

Table 5. Types of bilingualism among the Transcarpathian Hungarian minority

Types of bilingualism	Explanation
Minority bilingualism	Hungarians are in a subordinate role compared to Ukrainians.
Indigenous bilingualism	Their bilingualism is not the result of migration.
Hungarian-dominant bilingualism	Hungarians have a strong sense of national identity.
State-imposed bilingualism	Learning the Ukrainian state language is obligatory.
Natural bilingualism	It occurs in ethnically mixed settlements or marriages.
Unilateral bilingualism	Minorities learn the language of the dominant group.

Source: compiled by the author based on Beregszászi and Csernicskó (2003: 34–42).

One of the most obvious characteristics of bilingual language use is interference between the two languages. Following Mackey (1965), interference can be defined as the use of elements from one language while speaking or writing in another. Sometimes it is barely

noticeable in the speech of a bilingual person; at other times, it appears in the form of borrowing, code-switching, or code-mixing.

According to Transcarpathian Hungarian college students, code-switching is one of the characteristic features of the Transcarpathian dialect (Váradi, 2025d: 53). Code-switching is observed much more often in the language use of people who grow up in bilingual families. This is because automatic switching between languages becomes part of their everyday lives, especially in ethnically mixed families, where parents may use different languages (Karmacsi, 2007). Indeed, according to the studies of Váradi (2023: 104, 2025d: 51), the two most common reasons why someone becomes bilingual in Transcarpathia are growing up in an ethnically mixed family and attending a school where the language of instruction differs from their mother tongue.

According to researchers, one of the most common reasons for code-switching is language deficit, that is, when the necessary expression, lexical item, or grammatical form is missing from the mental lexicon of a bilingual speaker. This may also be described as a lexical gap. Another related phenomenon is temporary lexical retrieval difficulty: although the speaker knows the word or structure they are looking for, they are temporarily unable to recall it in the appropriate language. To overcome such language deficits, bilingual speakers often resort to code-switching, borrowing, or paraphrasing (Lanstyák, 1998a).

However, bilingual speakers may also resort to code-switching when lexical items in the two languages do not carry exactly the same meaning. For example, a Transcarpathian speaker may know the meanings of both *zacsot* (rus *зачёт* ‘pass-or-fail examination’) and *szigorlat* (‘comprehensive examination’, a standard Hungarian word), yet still prefer to use *zacsot*, because otherwise they would have to rely on paraphrasing or a lengthy explanation. In such cases, the specific shade of meaning that the bilingual speaker wishes to express is not available in one of their languages. This is therefore not a case of language deficit, but rather a communication strategy (Márku, 2013). This interpretation is also supported by Myers-Scotton’s Rational Choice Model (2002: 46–47, 2006: 161), according to which bilingual speakers make subjective cognitive calculations when choosing between their languages in communicative situations. They weigh the relative costs and rewards of using one language rather than another and select the option that they perceive as most likely to produce the desired communicative outcome. In the case of *zacsot*, the use of the borrowing may therefore be interpreted as a rational communicative choice, since it allows the speaker to express a specific institutional meaning more economically and precisely than a standard Hungarian paraphrase.

Karmacsi (2020) concluded that code-mixing is rarely observed in the language use of children growing up in ethnically mixed families in Transcarpathia. In interviews conducted with 26 children, code-mixing was observed in only one case. Furthermore, switching and mixing languages are often regarded as signs of lazy or careless linguistic performance. As a result, they are used mainly in informal interpersonal interactions, especially with relatives or close friends, a tendency also noted in broader research on code-switching and code-mixing (Kim, 2006).

A third major effect of language contact on bilingual language use in Transcarpathia is the use of loanwords. As Sulán (1963) notes, borrowing presupposes at least some degree of bilingualism at the level of the individual speaker or the speech community. It is a general characteristic of Hungarian minority communities living beyond Hungary's borders that they adopt words from the majority language into their own vocabulary. As a result, loanwords of Ukrainian and Russian origin appear in the vocabulary of the Transcarpathian Hungarian minority. These Slavic loanwords are generally unknown to Hungarians living in Hungary or in other Hungarian-speaking regions (Csernicskó & Hires, 2003; Csernicskó et al., 2023: 101), but they are well known to Transcarpathian Hungarians and can often be replaced by their standard Hungarian equivalents, if such equivalents exist (Váradi, 2025b: 294–295).

In general, most Slavic borrowings enter the vocabulary of Transcarpathian Hungarian speakers because of the dominance of the state language in official domains of language use, such as public administration and the names of documents and institutions, as well as because of the shared historical background of the Slavic and Hungarian populations living together in the region (Gazdag, 2021e: 159). As a result, we can speak of both core and cultural borrowings (Haspelmath, 2009: 46–48; Myers-Scotton, 2002: 239), since some loanwords were adopted because of the prestige of the state language, while others were borrowed to fill lexical gaps in minority speakers' vocabulary. In the following sections, previous studies dealing with Slavic borrowings will be examined in greater detail.

2.5. Previous research on Slavic borrowings in Transcarpathia

The influence of Slavic languages on the Hungarian lexicon has been acknowledged by a number of scholars, including Kniezsa (1955), Miklosich (1872), and Zoltán (2021), among others. More specifically, however, most studies on Slavic borrowings in the Transcarpathian Hungarian contact variety were conducted after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Nevertheless, some Transcarpathian linguists had already begun researching Slavic borrowings in the late 1960s. Rot (1967: 189; 1968: 255–256) analysed Hungarian–Ukrainian

and Ukrainian–Hungarian bilingual effects in the region, citing examples of Ukrainian loanwords as evidence of their influence on the bilingual lexicon of Hungarian speakers. Rot (1968: 268–279) also mentioned Hungarian words borrowed from Russian as neologisms denoting cultural, political, and social concepts related to the Soviet Union (e.g., *bolsevik, szovjet, kolhoz, komszomol, szovhoz, aspirantúra, szputnyik*). In addition, he proposed a three-way distinction of Hungarian calques originating from Ukrainian (Rot, 1968: 256):

1. **Morphological-semantic calques** – e.g., ukr *швидка допомога* – hun *gyors segítség* 'emergency services; ambulance';
2. **Semantic calques** – e.g., ukr *працювати* – hun *dolgozik* 'to be open (shop)';
3. **Hybrid and mosaic calques** – e.g., ukr *ланковий* – hun *lánkavezető* 'group leader'; ukr *липа* – hun *lipafa* 'linden tree'.

Drávai (1969) provided a glossary of nearly one hundred Russian and Ukrainian loanwords with example sentences, comparing them to their standard Hungarian equivalents. A similar word list was published by Lizanec (1970: 38–39), although without any explanation or linguistic analysis of the borrowings. Fodó (1973: 43–52) compiled a small database of 31 loanword entries, providing a detailed explanation of the meanings and etymology of the collected Slavic borrowings.

Another important contribution to the study of Slavic–Hungarian language contact was made by István Kótyuk, whose Candidate of Sciences dissertation was originally defended in 1974 but published only 33 years later (Kótyuk, 2007). He collected 247 borrowings of Ukrainian origin from 18 settlements in the Uzhhorod district and analysed them according to their etymology, phonetic form, and semantic changes. Furthermore, he was the first to observe that Hungarian speakers attach affixes to Slavic loanwords, thereby creating secondary and tertiary borrowings. For example, *drimál* 'to nap; to sleep' (ukr *дрімати*) – *drimálás* 'sleeping', *drimálós* 'sleepy' (Kótyuk, 2007: 202).

Other studies on Slavic borrowings were published after the collapse of the Soviet Union and can be grouped into several categories: studies on spoken language, online language use, the Transcarpathian Hungarian press, Transcarpathian Hungarian literature, specific social and professional groups, and other related topics. In addition, the TOHDD will be discussed in a separate section.

2.5.1. Studies on spoken language

The first studies on Ukrainian and Russian borrowings focused on the everyday speech of Transcarpathian Hungarians. This is no coincidence, because according to Gazdag (2019d: 49), the first step in the accommodation process of a loanword is its use in spoken language.

One of the most important publications on regional language use is the *Atlas of the Hungarian Dialects of Transcarpathia*, published in three volumes (Lizanec, 1992, 1996, 2003). Hungarian respondents from different regions of Transcarpathia were asked to name various concepts or pictures, and their answers were presented on maps. Beregszászi and Csernicskó (2007: 20–22) note that, alongside standard and dialectal expressions, a large number of Slavic borrowings can also be found in these volumes.

Another milestone in dialect research was the publication of the *Dictionary of the Hungarian Dialects of Transcarpathia* in two volumes (Lizanec & Horváth, 2012, 2013). Its content is based on spoken-language data collected over a period of nearly fifty years, and its entries, which include standard Hungarian elements, dialectal expressions, and loanwords, are accompanied by example sentences. Györke (2017: 77) identifies around 150 Slavic borrowings in the dictionary, while Tóth (2015: 94) notes that German and Romanian loanwords are also present. Horváth (2000: 162) adds that some of these borrowings are now considered archaic, as most interview respondents were born at the beginning of the 20th century (Horváth, 2000: 162).

The interview collection of the Antal Hodinka Research Centre for Linguistics[1] has also been studied by a number of linguists in search of Slavic borrowings. These in-depth interviews were conducted in the mid-2000s and aimed to gain systematic knowledge of Hungarian language use in various settlements from people belonging to different age groups, genders, and professions. For instance, Gazdag (2010b, 2010c) analysed 75 interviews from the database and identified 150 Slavic borrowings. In another study, Gazdag (2014b) analysed only the Sovietisms found in the interviews, that is, those loanwords directly related to the institutional system, organisations, administrative positions, document types, education, agriculture, trade, food, drink, and everyday life of the Soviet Union. Furthermore, Márku (2013) analysed 153 interviews from the database and found 53 instances of code-switching.

Later, Gazdag (2017e, 2021e) studied 150 interviews from this collection for his PhD dissertation and monograph. In addition, he also conducted participant observation in his

[1] https://hodinkaintezet.uz.ua/

home settlement (Zapson), at his workplace in Berehove, and on the bus and train while travelling between these two locations. As a result of these observations, carried out over more than five years, Gazdag (2017e: 77–78; 2021e: 73) collected example sentences demonstrating the use of 150 Slavic borrowings. In addition, Gazdag (2013c) collected 64 loanwords during his two-week stay at the Berehove District Hospital by observing the speech of doctors, nurses, and other patients.

Zékány (1993: 99) examined the phraseological units used in the Transcarpathian Hungarian dialects. He distinguished three types of foreign phrases according to the degree of their translation into Hungarian: non-translated, partially translated, and fully translated. Demjén (2011) also documented a range of contact-induced phraseological units and grammatical interferences in sentences, including those arising from calquing, the influence of Slavic word order, and the mixing of singular and plural forms, based on her observations of everyday speech.

Borbély (2000) collected more than one hundred abbreviations, acronyms, and initialisms which are, in most cases, pronounced in everyday speech according to their donor-language pronunciation rather than according to the Hungarian model. For example, *TCK* 'territorial recruitment centre' (ukr *ТЦК*) is pronounced as /tɛtsekaː/ by Transcarpathian speakers, following the phonetic rules of Ukrainian ('te-ce-ká'). However, in other cases, both the Hungarian and Ukrainian pronunciations are accepted by Hungarian speakers: *ZNO* 'External Independent Evaluation' (ukr *ЗНО*) can be pronounced either as /zɛɛnoː/ (Ukrainian pronunciation, 'ze-en-ó') or /zeːɛnoː/ (Hungarian pronunciation, 'zé-en-ó') (see Váradi & Csernicskó, 2025).

Based on the analysis of spoken interviews, Gazdag (2010b: 125; 2010c: 142) recorded the loanword *peteu* 'vocational school', borrowed from ukr, rus *ПТУ*. This example shows that most Slavic initialisms are pronounced according to their donor-language phonetic form, and many Hungarian speakers do not even recognise that these are initialisms or abbreviations. In the present dissertation, however, this loanword is represented on the basis of its orthographic form as *PTU*. Another example is *eszdepeu* 'Social Democratic Party of Ukraine', from ukr *СДПУ* (Gazdag, 2012b: 82), which is represented in the present research as *SZDPU*.

2.5.2. Studies on online language use

According to Gazdag (2019d: 49), the second step in the accommodation of loanwords is their use in online communication. The language of online messages, comments, and

posts, especially on social networking sites, is very similar to everyday speech in terms of its spontaneity and informal nature. Bartha and Márku (2016) show that both code-switching and borrowings can be observed in the online language use of Transcarpathian Hungarians. Márku (2013: 68–70) described the collection of language-contact phenomena from the internet as a "written–spoken" language corpus because of its close resemblance to live speech, although it is realised in written form. Language use on the internet is characterised by grammatically non-standard word forms, shortenings, emoticons, slang, code-switches, and creative language use (see Kocsis, 2024; Parapatics, 2025; Thaler, 2025).

In addition, the multimodality of online communication makes it possible to communicate not only with words but also with pictures, for example through memes. A meme is a combination of text and image that can be understood only if the internet user has the necessary background knowledge to interpret its meaning (Márku, 2018). Memes are valuable sources of language-contact data: people can upload pictures on Facebook or Instagram, and linguists can analyse them on the basis of their linguistic material (Bartha & Márku, 2016: 67–68).

For this reason, Csuka (2021: 29–36) analysed memes and comments from Transcarpathian Hungarian meme pages on Facebook and Instagram, and found that not only dialectal expressions but also Slavic loanwords can be observed both in the images and in the comment sections. Márku (2018) identified the following main topics related to memes: multilingualism, reflections on public life and politics, and language ideologies. Memes function not only as humorous images but also as ways of expressing group identity and reflecting on social, political, and economic changes.

An important source of borrowings is buy-and-sell Facebook groups, where they appear either as a natural part of the Hungarian text or as additions in brackets or quotation marks alongside their Hungarian equivalents (Gazdag, 2016: 80–81).

Krajnik (2010) was among the first researchers to collect Slavic borrowings from online sources. In 2008, she asked people via iWiW, a Hungarian social networking site, to send her examples of loanwords. In total, she compiled a list of 256 borrowings from 117 respondents, grouping them according to their parts of speech, donor languages, semantic categories, stylistic and temporal characteristics, and loanword types.

Dóha (2021: 33–35) conducted a questionnaire study with 209 respondents and concluded that although 58.9% of respondents had a positive attitude towards using loanwords in online communication, only 13.8% of them used borrowings in public posts, while the majority (48%) used them only in private messages, and the remaining 38.2%

did not use such lexical elements at all. Kiss (2016) observed the online language use of 25 Transcarpathian Hungarians over a period of eight months and recorded 38 Slavic borrowings in their posts and comments.

According to Gazdag (2016: 82–84), Slavic loanwords found on Facebook can be grouped into six main semantic categories: 1) buildings and architectural tools; 2) documents; 3) technology; 4) vehicles and their parts; 5) clothing; and 6) other words related to everyday life. In a questionnaire study, Pocsai (2019: 54) found that people use Slavic borrowings on social media as filler expressions, but they also use Slavic-origin vulgarisms and expressions of politeness, together with loanwords associated with public administration. For his large-scale language-contact study, Gazdag (2017e, 2021e) collected 52 examples of Slavic borrowings from Facebook. Screenshots were taken from Facebook groups, meme pages, personal posts, and comment sections.

Márku (2014b: 120–121) found that the number of entries in the TOHDD linked to the internet and the online world is relatively small, although these words are usually in everyday use. The only example she mentions is *fles* or *fleska* 'USB flash drive; pen drive' (ukr, rus *флешка*). To address this problem, she listed a number of Slavic loanwords related to online communication and social networking sites, and explained that these would be added to the material of the TOHDD. The researcher also expressed the need to share examples of language contact and borrowings on social media through the Facebook page of the THLRN, because the aim of the TOHDD is not only to function as a research tool for linguists, but also to support the debordering of the language and to reach as many people as possible through the internet (Márku, 2014b: 125).

Indeed, the THLRN launched a dissemination project on pluricentric Hungarian known as *The Word of the Week*, in which an entry from the TOHDD is shared on its Facebook page on a weekly basis (Váradi & Lehocki-Samardžić, 2025). Borrowings are shared as images (see Figure 5), and they are selected only if they are relevant to a specific time of year because of public holidays, annual events, international holidays, dates connected to famous personalities, significant anniversaries, or seasonal phenomena (Lehocki-Samardžić & Váradi, 2026). For example, on 24 February 2025, the third anniversary of Russia's full-scale invasion on Ukraine, the loanword *trivoga* 'air-raid alarm' (ukr *тривога*) was shared. As a result of this continuous work, the project's posts reached 28,671 users in one year (Váradi & Lehocki-Samardžić, 2025: 18).

Figure 5. *The Word of the Week* post from the Termini Facebook page

Source: the Facebook page of the THLRN, 24 February 2025.

2.5.3. Studies on the Transcarpathian Hungarian press

According to Gazdag (2019d: 49), the third stage in the accommodation process of loanwords is their appearance in the language of the press. Studying language contact phenomena in the Hungarian-language press of Transcarpathia is an enormous task, as numerous newspapers have been published in the region since the Second World War. For example, in 1945 the only Hungarian-language newspaper was *Munkás Újság* [Workers' Newspaper], which was later replaced by the Hungarian translations of two Ukrainian-language newspapers, *Kárpáti Igaz Szó* [Carpathian True Word] and *Vörös Zászló* [Red Flag] (Fedinec, 2008). In the 1990s, there were around twenty newspapers, and this number grew to thirty-five by the 2010s (Kulin, 2012: 199). The most widely read papers include the following: *Kárpáti Igaz Szó* (the successor of *Munkás Újság*, first published in 1920); *Kárpátalja* [Transcarpathia] (published since 2000); *Kárpátinfo* [Carpathian Info] (the successor of *Bereginfo*, published since 1996); *Beregi Hírlap* [Bereg News] (published since 1912; during the Soviet period, its name was *Vörös Zászló*, and it ceased publication in 2018); and *Beregszász* [Berehove] (published since 2000) (Gazdag, 2013d: 34; Kovács, 2022: 25–30).

According to Kótyuk (1995: 14), the translation of newspaper articles from Russian led to the emergence of calques, as Hungarian journalists lacked formal training in translation.

This was also demonstrated by P. Csige (1991), who collected calques from issues of *Kárpáti Igaz Szó* published between 1989 and 1991. She showed that Russian influenced not only the vocabulary but also the word order of sentences. As for borrowings, most were transliterated Russian words with no Hungarian equivalents (e.g., *profilaktórium* 'sanatorium for tuberculosis-prone patients; preventorium'), though semantic loanwords also appeared (e.g., *kabinet* 'doctor's office').

Gazdag (2013a) analysed five Hungarian printed newspapers that were popular in the Berehove district of Transcarpathia in the 2010s: *Kárpáti Igaz Szó, Kárpátalja, Kárpátinfo, Beregi Hírlap,* and *Beregszász.* As a result, he identified 166 state-language loanwords and analysed them according to their etymology, part of speech, loanword type, and semantic category. He also found that loanwords can appear in three forms in newspaper articles:

1. The Slavic borrowing appears in the text as a naturalised Hungarian word;
2. The borrowing appears in quotation marks, whereby the author marks it as foreign;
3. The borrowing appears in parentheses, whereby the author provides it to make the meaning of its Hungarian equivalent less ambiguous (Gazdag, 2013a: 212–213).

Gazdag (2013d: 35) remarks that the names of Ukrainian political parties appear in various spelling forms (e.g., *Nasa Ukrajina, NU, Mi Ukrajnánk* 'Our Ukraine; a right-wing political party'), and affixes are often attached to these borrowings according to the word-formation rules of Hungarian (e.g., *nasás* 'a member or sympathiser of the right-wing party Our Ukraine'). These loanwords were neologisms at the time, and they first appeared in the language of the press, which is one of the first places where, as Kemény (2007: 55) notes, language change and neologisms can often be observed. Moreover, loanwords are sometimes used in Transcarpathian Hungarian newspapers to enable the media to fulfil its informative function, particularly when drawing parallels between standard Hungarian words (e.g., *igazolás* 'certificate' and *meghatalmazás* 'power of attorney') and their Transcarpathian Hungarian loanword equivalents (e.g., *dovidka* and *doverenoszty*), so that readers who are unfamiliar with standard Hungarian administrative terminology can better understand the articles (Csernicskó & Kontra, 2018: 97–98).

In addition to printed media, it is also important to analyse the language use of online news portals (Kovács, 2022: 35–38). Gazdag (2017c) searched the websites of *Kárpátalja.ma, Kárpátinfo.net,* and *KárpátHír.com* for Slavic loanwords that he had previously recorded in interviews and other studies. Finding example sentences for loan homonyms and semantic borrowings was especially complicated because their orthographic form is identical to that of standard Hungarian words. Here, too, loanwords

were represented in the same three ways noted by Gazdag (2013a: 212–213). The information gained from the analyses of printed and online media was later used in writing his dissertation and monograph (see Gazdag, 2017e: 71–72; 2021e: 67–69). In more recent research, Tóth (2023) investigated the website of *KárpátHír.com* and identified 59 borrowings, which were then grouped semantically.

However, not only contemporary media but also newspapers from the previous century can be analysed. For instance, Gazdag (2024) investigated the 1989–1990 issues of *Vörös Zászló*, focusing on those loanwords that were used during the last years of the Soviet Union. The author recorded both Slavic borrowings and dialectal expressions with example sentences from the newspaper's issues, thereby linking history and contact linguistics. In his master's thesis, Baranyi (2020) also examined *Vörös Zászló* during the period of political change (between 1990 and 1991) and found examples of Slavic personal names and place names, together with 59 borrowings. Some of the loanwords were especially frequent, appearing more than a thousand times in the issues published during those two years (e.g., *rubel* 'the official currency of Russia and the former Soviet Union'; *kombinát* 'industrial complex; combine'; *kolhoz* 'Soviet collective farm') (Baranyi, 2020: 72). A similar study was conducted by Gazdag (2025), who analysed the 1945–1946 issues of the same newspaper and focused on the cultural and political realia of the era.

P. Csige (1998) conducted similar research on Russicisms used in the language of the press published in Hungary between 1948 and 1951 in newspapers such as *Szabad Nép* [Free People], *Szabad Föld* [Free Land], and *Szabad Ifjúság* [Free Youth]. She collected not only direct loanwords (e.g., *pufajka* 'quilted jacket; cotton-padded coat'), but also calques (e.g., *élmunkás* 'a worker awarded for excellent performance') and semantic borrowings (e.g., *grafikon* 'work schedule'). As a result of the common Soviet past, Russian cultural borrowings are found not only in the Transcarpathian Hungarian media, but also in newspapers published in Hungary around the turn of the millennium, because publicists had learned Russian at school before the political changes of 1989. Osváth (2004) shows that most of these Russian xenisms are used in negative contexts.

2.5.4. Studies on Transcarpathian Hungarian literature

According to Gazdag (2019d: 49), the fourth stage in the accommodation process of loanwords is their appearance in literary works. In his PhD dissertation and monograph, Gazdag (2017e: 73–75, 2021e: 69–71) analysed the works of renowned Transcarpathian Hungarian writers and poets, including a documentary novel compiled by Miklós Zelei

(2017). The novel includes the recollections of the residents of two villages, Veľké Slemence (present-day Slovakia) and Mali Selmentsi (present-day Ukraine), which had previously formed a single settlement but, after the Soviet occupation of Transcarpathia, were divided between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. Gazdag (2010a) identified 111 Slavic borrowings in the material of the novel.

Another source of Slavic borrowings is the Transcarpathian Hungarian literary journal *Együtt* [Together], which publishes six issues per year, all of which are available online[2]. In her master's thesis, Ferenci (2025) analysed the 2021–2022 issues of the journal and collected four types of dialectal phenomena: 1) state-language borrowings; 2) Slavic name usage (personal names, geographical names, currency names, and brand names); 3) code-switches; and 4) dialectal words. Altogether, she identified 90 Slavic borrowings in the twelve issues of *Együtt*.

The importance of analysing literary works lies in the fact that the coexistence of different nations and cultures gives rise to language contact phenomena, which are well represented in the works of Transcarpathian Hungarian writers and poets. However, it is important to note that some of these contact phenomena are used only as stylistic devices to convey the linguistic peculiarities of the region (Gazdag, 2017d: 184).

According to Gazdag (2023: 112), Slavic loanwords can appear in four forms in Transcarpathian Hungarian literary texts:

1. The borrowing appears as a naturalised Hungarian word, without any highlighting;
2. The borrowing appears in quotation marks, by which the author or poet signals the foreign nature of the word;
3. The borrowing appears in parentheses, thus presenting both the standard Hungarian form and the borrowed Slavic equivalent of the same concept;
4. The meanings of borrowings are explained in footnotes or endnotes, because the author or poet wishes to retain the original stylistic value of the text while also clarifying these lexical items for readers who are not familiar with the Transcarpathian Hungarian contact variety.

Slavic contact phenomena are also used to illustrate the effects of military service on the language use of Transcarpathian Hungarian men, who learned military slang either in Russian during the Soviet period or in Ukrainian after 1991 (Gazdag & Kordonets, 2021). One example of a work dealing with this topic is the novel *Tábori posta* [Camp Post] by

[2] https://kmmi.org.ua/konyvtar/folyoiratok/egyutt

László Vári Fábián. Gazdag (2021b) notes that most of the borrowings are explained in parentheses and that, semantically, they fall into the following categories: military vehicles, military ranks, names of military units, parts of military uniforms, names of food and drink, chemicals, human actions related to military service, and everyday objects.

In her PhD dissertation and monograph, Mádi (2024, 2026) analysed Transcarpathian Hungarian novellas and novels from the Czechoslovak period, the Soviet era, and the period of independent Ukraine. She identified specific features of multilingualism in these works, including code-switches, Slavic name usage, loan translations, and 30 direct loanwords. The researcher found that code-switching is less common in Transcarpathian novels and that code-switches are always transliterated and explained for the Hungarian monolingual reader. In addition, Russian was much more frequently represented as a donor language than Ukrainian, mainly because even novels written in independent Ukraine often include childhood recollections of their authors from the Soviet era. Moreover, these authors were themselves socialised during the Soviet period, when they learned Russian rather than Ukrainian (Mádi, 2024: 134–135; 2026: 167–168).

2.5.5. Studies on specific social and professional groups

A large number of studies have been conducted on the language use of Transcarpathian Hungarian students. Gazdag (2021e: 59) referred to loanwords associated exclusively with student language use as the specialised language of school. Györke (1991: 71) likewise regarded students' language use as a separate register within Transcarpathian Hungarian. Their specific vocabulary can be divided into two groups: 1) slang expressions known by all Hungarian students (e.g., *töri* 'history', from hun *történelem*); and 2) region-specific Ukrainian or Russian borrowings (e.g., *zacsot* 'pass-or-fail examination', from rus *зачёт*). Students often adapt donor-language words by shortening them and adding Hungarian affixes, thereby creating secondary borrowings. They also frequently fail to recognise calques as contact-induced forms and instead regard them as part of the standard Hungarian vocabulary (e.g., *becsenget* 'to call; to phone' instead of standard Hungarian *felhív*) (Bárány et al., 2022: 53). However, this phenomenon is not limited to students; it characterises the Transcarpathian Hungarian community more generally, as calques enjoy a high degree of acceptance (Csernicskó & Fenyvesi, 2012: 21–22). A similar pattern can also be observed in the case of semantic borrowings: for example, students may fail to recognise *láger* as a loanword when it is used in the sense of 'summer camp', alongside its standard Hungarian meaning 'prisoner-of-war camp' (Gazdag, 2013b: 110).

In her study conducted among students of Uzhhorod National University, Edit Borbély (2006: 14) likewise noted that Hungarian students in Transcarpathia use a large number of loanwords, as she collected around 600 lexemes related to student language use, of which 160 were Russian or Ukrainian borrowings. She grouped these loanwords into the following semantic categories: the educational process, educational institutions and offices, jobs and positions, names of departments and faculties, personal names and gender-related terms, actions, entertainment, human behaviour, scholarships, transport, filler words, and others (Borbély, 2006: 15–16).

According to Gazdag (2011: 383), pupils who study in schools where the language of instruction differs from their mother tongue are especially affected by language contact. In addition, they often perceive language contact phenomena as part of the standard Hungarian lexicon and do not correct borrowings in sentences, as shown by Márku (2004, 2008a: 88). They use Slavic loanwords because the bilingual environment influences their language use, and they sometimes experience language deficit, that is, they cannot recall the Hungarian equivalent of a Slavic word and therefore use a loanword instead (Márku, 2008a: 84–87, 2008b: 31–32).

Dudics Lakatos and Gazdag (2023) conducted a questionnaire-based study in two higher education institutions and one vocational education institution with 167 respondents. Students were asked to name their school subjects and common objects found in their schoolbags. The authors recorded more than 30 education-related loanwords and noted that some of them exist in a large number of phonetic variants in students' vocabulary (e.g., *zalikova, zalikovka, zályikovka, záliková knézská, zályikavká knézská* – all denoting a 'student record book') (Dudics Lakatos & Gazdag, 2023: 37). Even students characterised by Hungarian dominance and a lower level of proficiency in the state language tend to use Ukrainian and Russian loanwords, which is one of the main differences between the language use of Hungarian students in Transcarpathia and that of their peers in Hungary (Gazdag, 2020c: 185). Furthermore, Kiss (2021, 2022) found that Hungarian students living and studying in Transcarpathia use Slavic borrowings more frequently in their online communication than those who moved to Hungary as a result of educational mobility.

Görög (2013: 246) remarked that some loanwords are known only within specific registers, for example student language. She conducted a questionnaire-based study with 50 university students in Uzhhorod and focused mainly on borrowings already present in the TOHDD, but also emphasised the importance of expanding the dictionary's corpus, since some speakers regard only those borrowings as "codified" that are also included in

dictionaries (Görög, 2013: 254–255). In December 2023, the development of the Educational Terminology Database was launched. This database aims to harmonise the terminology of Hungary and its neighbouring countries in relation to public and higher education, and will also include education-related loanwords from the seven cross-border regions of Hungary, thereby linking the TOHDD with the database currently under construction (see Hires-László & Váradi, 2025: 343–344; Váradi & Hires-László, 2024: 59–60; Váradi et al., 2026: 265–267).

Dénes (2013) analysed the youth language of pupils in two Transcarpathian villages, Diula and Okli Hed. According to her results, lexical parallels resulting from linguistic interference occur in all spheres of life; that is, pupils know and use both the standard Hungarian form and the regional borrowing to denote the same concept (Dénes, 2013: 46).

In a small-scale study, Gazdag (2011) examined the language use of 14 Hungarian pupils in grades 2–7 from two Ukrainian-language schools in Berehove. They knew and used Slavic borrowings mainly in relation to school subjects (e.g., *fizvih* 'physical education; PE class' from ukr *фізвих* ← *фізичне виховання*) and places in a school (e.g., *jidálnyá* 'canteen' from ukr *їдальня*) (Gazdag, 2011: 385). Language contact may also be bilateral, as Ukrainian pupils sometimes use Hungarianisms in their speech (Popovics, 2021). A similar pattern of bilateral contact influence was also demonstrated by Váradi (2023: 121–122, 2025d: 45), who found that while Hungarian students mainly use Ukrainian and Russian borrowings, Ukrainian students use Hungarian and English loanwords. Another study showed that even teachers are affected by language contact, as 70% of the 63 surveyed teachers used Slavic borrowings in their Hungarian speech (Szatmári, 2024: 38).

Contact effects also emerge as a result of new laws and educational reforms in Ukraine, which create new types of educational institutions or examinations. For instance, for two decades the name of the school-leaving examination in Ukraine was *ZNO* 'External Independent Evaluation' (from ukr *ЗНО* ← *зовнішнє незалежне оцінювання*), but as a result of Russia's 2022 invasion of Ukraine, a new examination type was introduced in the form of *NMT* 'National Multi-subject Test' (from ukr *НМТ* ← *національний мультипредметний тест*) (Fábián et al., 2025: 71).

Gazdag (2012a, 2012c) conducted a larger-scale survey with 210 Hungarian pupils in grades 3–4 from Ukrainian and Ukrainian–Hungarian bilingual schools. His results show that most Ukrainian borrowings used by pupils refer to school subjects, school supplies, and various classroom objects, but some loanwords were also mentioned in relation to everyday school life (e.g., *gruppa* 'school group', from ukr *група*, rus *группа*), vehicles,

fruits, animals, and furniture. According to Nagy (2020: 134), the highest number of Slavic borrowings appears when pupils have to name different personality types and human characteristics (e.g., *szkupej* ‘miserly; stingy’, from ukr *скупий*, rus *скупой*).

Despite these contact effects, Hungarian students and pupils are still characterised by the dominance of their mother tongue. They are generally able to replace Slavic borrowings with their standard Hungarian equivalents. The only exceptions are culture-specific words, that is, xenisms (Váradi, 2022: 58). These words are deeply intertwined with Slavic culture and often have no Hungarian equivalents at all, or, even if they do, the standard terms are rarely used in Transcarpathia. Examples include *kopek* (currency name), *meducsi* (institution name), and *pelmenyi* (food name) (Váradi, 2025b: 295). According to Gazdag (2017a: 69), currency names should be regarded as borrowings rather than exoticisms, since they are used in everyday communication and are not perceived by speakers as foreign.

However, not only the language use of Transcarpathian youth has been studied. According to Tóth (2004: 62), the lexicon of professional languages in Hungary is influenced mainly by global languages such as English, whereas in cross-border regions the state language of the given country, such as Ukrainian and previously Russian, affects specialised vocabulary. For instance, Györke (1991: 70–71) listed Slavic loanwords used mainly by agricultural workers (e.g., *teplica* ‘1. greenhouse; glasshouse; 2. hotbed’), cobblers (e.g., *klej* ‘glue’), and candlemakers (e.g., *fityil* ‘wick; fuse’).

Györke (2008: 91) listed dialectal expressions and loanwords related to the clothing industry and noted that members of this professional group sometimes use both the standard and dialectal equivalents, while also frequently creating hybrid borrowings through a combination of the two. Váradi (2024a) analysed Slavic loanwords related to the sphere of economics and trade in the TOHDD, treating them as part of the specialised lexicon of economists and sales agents in Transcarpathia. Gazdag (2022c) investigated the language use of healthcare workers in Transcarpathian hospitals and found Slavic borrowings mainly in relation to the names of various units and rooms in healthcare institutions, medical instruments, written documents, and job titles. In a more comprehensive study, Gazdag (2022e) analysed the language use of four professional groups: 1) higher education students, 2) healthcare workers, 3) drivers and car mechanics, and 4) demobilised soldiers. The effect of military service on the vocabulary of Transcarpathian Hungarians has been examined several times, because their speech contains a large number of both common and profession-related borrowings as a result of the obligatory use of the state language in the army (Gazdag, 2020a, 2021a).

2.5.6. The Termini Online Hungarian Dictionary and Database

The final stage in the accommodation of a loanword is its codification (Gazdag, 2019d: 49), which may be achieved through the *Termini Online Hungarian Dictionary and Database* (TOHDD). In the case of loanwords, however, it is more appropriate to speak of legitimisation rather than codification. This means that the existence of such lexical units is acknowledged, although this does not imply that they are appropriate for use in formal contexts (M. Pintér et al., 2023: 169). The TOHDD primarily includes state-language borrowings attested in Hungarian language varieties spoken beyond the present-day borders of Hungary. These lexical items have been collected over several decades through sociolinguistic research conducted by linguists working in the countries neighbouring Hungary. As of June 2026, the dictionary contained 5,722 entries. In addition to material from the seven cross-border regions, the database also includes Hungarian archaisms and expressions belonging to common Hungarian usage. The database is continuously developed by an editorial board composed of scholars from eight countries, each affiliated with one of the research institutes belonging to the Termini Hungarian Language Research Network (THLRN).

One of the principal aims behind the creation of the TOHDD was the debordering of the Hungarian language, that is, drawing attention to the fact that Hungarian does not consist exclusively of the standard variety used in Hungary, but also encompasses expressions found in the language varieties of Hungarians living in neighbouring regions, typically borrowed from the respective state languages of those countries (Benő & Péntek, 2011).

Only those loanwords that are widely used in the language of the Hungarian minority in a given region may be included in the TOHDD; in other words, the dictionary does not contain items restricted to small localities or narrow dialect areas (M. Pintér, 2019a: 345). The entries are grouped according to regional labels, as follows, together with the linguistic workshops and research centres responsible for their compilation and editing (Váradi, 2025a: 173):

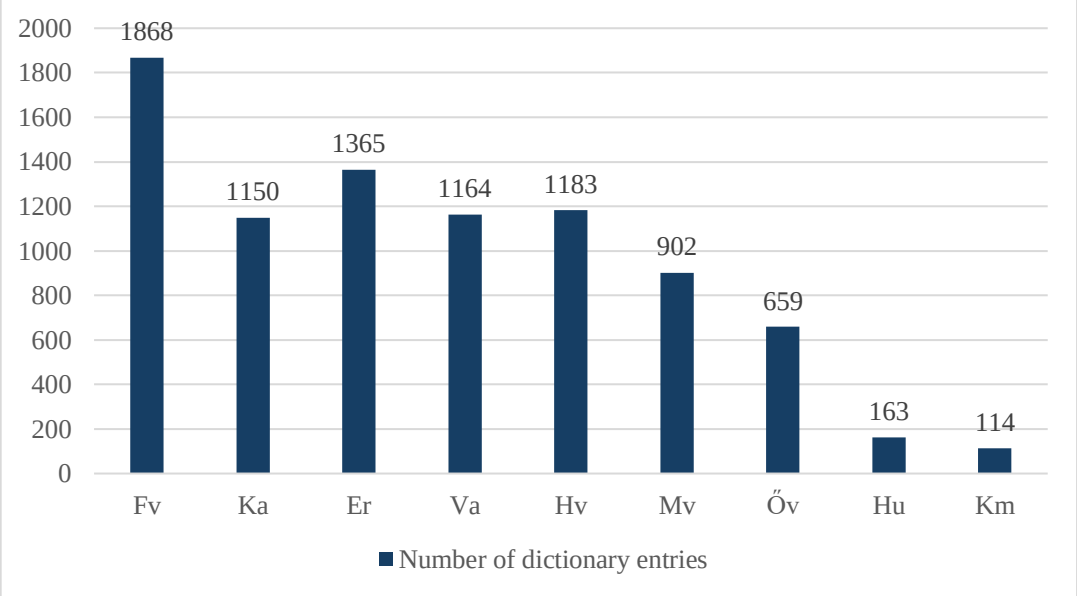
- Southern Slovakia (*Fv*) – Gramma Language Office, Slovakia;
- Transcarpathia (*Ka*) – Antal Hodinka Research Centre for Linguistics, Ukraine;
- Transylvania (*Er*) – Attila T. Szabó Language Institute, Romania;
- Vojvodina (*Va*) – Verbi Language Research Workshop, Serbia;
- Croatia (*Hv*) – Glotta Language Institute, Croatia;
- Prekmurje (*Mv*) – Samu Imre Language Office, Slovenia;
- Burgenland (*Őv*) – Samu Imre Language Office, Austria.

In addition, expressions that are also widespread in Hungary receive the regional label *Hu*, whereas words used throughout the entire Hungarian-speaking area are marked *Km*, indicating common Hungarian usage. These regional labels are retained in the form used by the TOHDD and should not be confused with ISO language or country codes. Within Hungary, the ELTE Hungarian Research Centre for Linguistics and the Termini Association play a particularly important role in the maintenance and operation of the dictionary.

The TOHDD includes both region-specific and multiregional entries. The former are restricted to a single region (e.g., Ka *aptecska* 'first-aid kit'), whereas the latter occur in two or more regions (e.g., Fv Va Ka Hv Mv Őv *chirurg* 'surgeon'). In addition, entries may have several meanings even within the same region (e.g., Ka *durák* '1. Durak, a traditional Russian card game; 2. the person who loses in this game; 3. simpleton; fool'), or the same loanword may occur in several regions with different meanings (e.g., Va Ka Hv Mv *sztázs* 'years of work experience'; Fv Va *sztázs* 'internship period'; Va Hv *sztázs* 'medical internship'; Fv *sztázs* 'extended study trip'). Furthermore, there are also cases in which the same concept is expressed by loanwords with different orthographic forms across the minority regions (e.g., Er Va Hv Mv *gripa*, Ka *gripp*, Er Őv *grippe*, Fv *chripka* 'influenza') (Csernicskó & Márku, 2022: 62). In this way, the TOHDD provides insight into the semantic stratification of the loanword stock across the various regions.

The regional distribution of the database material is shown in Figure 6.

Figure 6. The content of the TOHDD



Source: compiled by the author based on the TOHDD.

The dictionary of cross-border lexical items can be used in education, since it makes it possible to draw attention to lexical differences between standard Hungarian in Hungary and minority Hungarian varieties (Karmacsi et al., 2022; P. Márkus & M. Pintér, 2025: 7–9). Certain words belonging to common Hungarian usage have acquired additional meanings in cross-border regions (e.g., Km *kanális* ‘drainage canal’; Er Fv Va Ka Hv Őv *kanális* ‘television channel’). These are referred to as semantic loanwords, since they acquired their additional denotative meaning under the influence of their equivalents in the donor languages (see Váradi, 2024b: 6).

Each entry in the dictionary can be divided into three clearly distinguishable parts: the entry head, the entry body, and the entry foot (Benő et al., 2021: 379). Their components are summarised in Table 6.

Table 6. Structure of dictionary entries in the TOHDD

Entry part	Elements
Entry head	Dictionary form of the headword
	Part of speech
	Major grammatical forms
	Orthographic variants (optional)
	Pronunciation (optional)
	Type of loanword (visible only to registered users)
Entry body	Meaning(s)
	Semantic-field label(s)
	Regional label(s)
	Style labels (dialect, register, style variety, temporality, emotional attitude, relative frequency)
	Example sentences with source references
	Multimedia elements (images, audio files)
Entry foot	Etymology of the headword (three etymons with meanings)
	References to variant forms and analogous words
	Bibliographical data

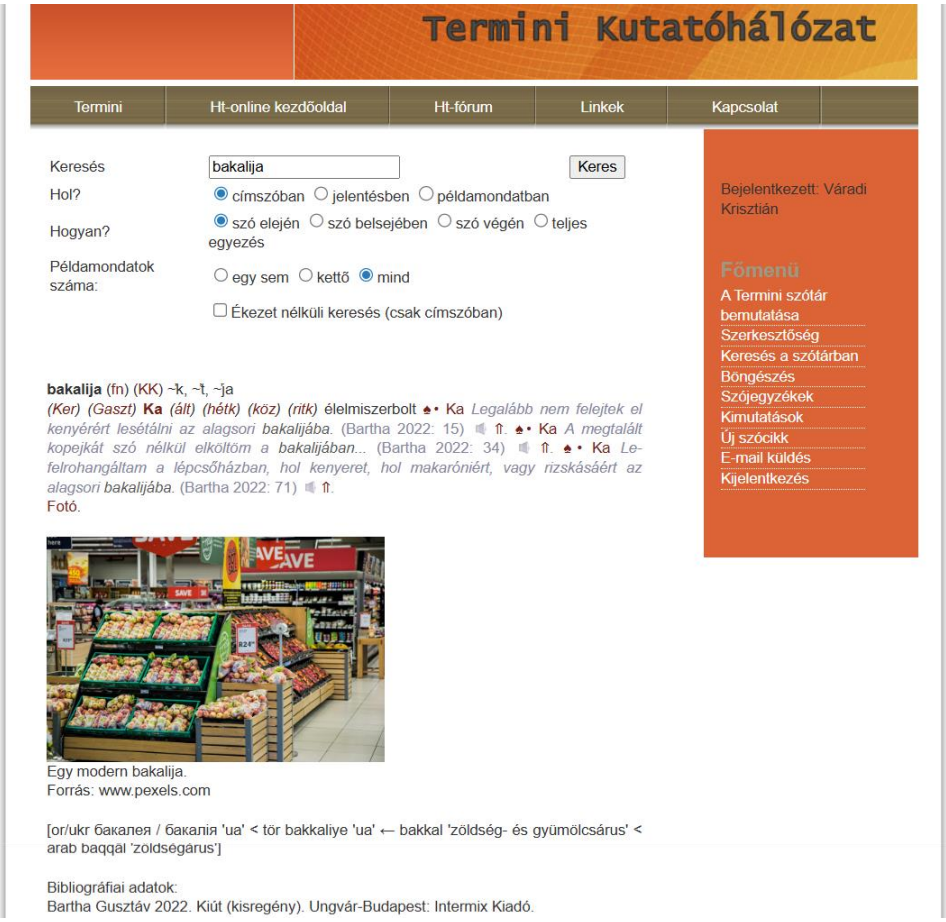
Source: compiled by the author based on Váradi (2025a: 176).

Users with editorial permissions are able to generate word lists according to a range of criteria, for example by region, by the intersection of two regions, by loanword type, by semantic field, and by style label, as well as through various combinations of these options. These functions underscore the database-like character of the dictionary, since it is not merely a list of cross-border lexical items, but also a well-

documented corpus that is highly suitable for corpus-based investigations in contact linguistics (M. Pintér, 2019b: 475–476).

Ordinary users may search the dictionary in a variety of ways even without registration: they may search for a given keyword as a full headword, by segments of the headword, or within meanings and example sentences. From the user's perspective, the structure of entries is illustrated in Figure 7.

Figure 7. A dictionary entry in the TOHDD



Source: created by the author based on the TOHDD.

Among the advantages deriving from the online nature of the dictionary are its ease of use, the integration of multimedia elements, the diversity of its search functions, and the possibility for editors to generate detailed word lists and statistical summaries (Váradi, 2024b). The online editorial interface also makes it possible to expand the TOHDD continuously, since new loanwords continue to emerge in the cross-border regions as a result of sociopolitical, technological, and economic change (see Csernicskó & Márku, 2021, 2022; Váradi & Csernicskó, 2025).

2.5.7. Other research on Slavic loanwords

The historical aspects of borrowings have been approached from different perspectives. Gazdag (2019a) focused on the archaisation process of Soviet-era cultural borrowings (e.g., *furazsér* 'livestock feeder' and *szofhoz* 'state-owned Soviet farm'), concluding that the younger the Transcarpathian Hungarian speaker, the less they know about Soviet-era loanwords (Gazdag, 2019a: 62). However, archaic words may sometimes be reintroduced into the language through borrowing. Gazdag (2019c, 2020b) investigated the word *szesztra* '1. sister; 2. female nurse', which had also been known in Hungarian centuries ago but later became obsolete. As a result of language contact, it was reintroduced into five cross-border varieties of Hungarian (in Croatia, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Ukraine) on the basis of the vocabulary of the respective state languages. However, its original meaning of 'sister' as a family member was lost, and it is now used only to refer to nurses working in healthcare, since this is a formal domain of language use in which the state language is more frequently used.

Regarding the historical background of other borrowings, Gazdag (2020d) analysed the Soviet loanword *kolhoz* 'collective farm; kolkhoz' and the spread of its derivatives and compounds in the 1930s and 1940s. Gazdag (2021c: 174) pointed out that kolkhozes in Hungary were called *termelőszövetkezet*, and therefore the word *kolhoz* is considered a xenism in Hungary. In addition, there are other Soviet-era borrowings that were adopted at the time to denote new ideological, political, economic, and social concepts, but which are now used mainly in ethnographic and historical research as archaic words or Sovietisms. Examples include *politbüró* 'the executive body of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union', *komszomol* 'All-Union Leninist Young Communist League', and *agitkultbrigád* 'theatrical and singing groups in the Soviet Union responsible for agitation and cultural-educational activities' (Gazdag, 2022a, 2022d).

As for the 21st century, the latest Slavic borrowings are connected to the 2013–2014 Euromaidan protests in Kyiv, the Anti-Terrorist Operation Zone in the eastern part of the country, and more recent legislation, such as Ukraine's administrative reform and decommunisation policy (Csernicskó & Márku, 2021, 2022). After the outbreak of the Russo–Ukrainian war in 2022, a large set of new borrowings emerged in relation to its social and political consequences, accompanied by a significantly higher number of Ukrainian-origin loanwords than Russian-origin or mixed-origin borrowings (see Váradi & Csernicskó, 2025).

In other studies, researchers investigated the language use of Hungarian speakers in Transcarpathia by means of questionnaires. Gazdag (2014a) conducted a survey in which 85 participants were asked to name objects shown in pictures, identify foods and occupations on the basis of definitions, select the correct definitions of borrowings, and list additional loanwords. As a result of the study, he recorded more than 110 Slavic borrowings. Márku (2014a) collected 137 Ukrainian and Russian borrowings through a questionnaire survey conducted with 387 participants, the vast majority of which were direct borrowings and nouns. Seres-Kobrin (2024: 34–38) listed 124 Slavic borrowings in her master's thesis, noting that 92.1% of her respondents felt that loanwords are almost unnoticeable because they have become natural parts of everyday speech in Transcarpathia. A similar result was found by Szatmári (2021: 38), as 73% of her 115 respondents regarded borrowings as natural phenomena in the region.

Gazdag (2017b, 2018a) investigated the semantic changes of Slavic borrowings through a questionnaire study involving 342 participants. According to the results, some words acquired new and often pejorative meanings (e.g., *geroj* 'arrogant; braggy' and *invalid* 'homeless'), while others became semantically narrower than in the donor language (e.g., *kulák* 'wealthy peasant' and *provodnyik* 'conductor'). One specific type of semantic shift occurs when certain brand names become generalised common nouns denoting a type of product. For example, among Hungarians in Transcarpathia, the brand name *Druzhba* (ukr, rus *Дружба*) is commonly used in the form *druzsba* to refer to chainsaws in general (Gazdag, 2017b: 18; 2018a: 136). In addition, Gazdag (2018c) used a survey study to obtain information on the modification of the phonetic forms of Slavic loanwords.

Kukri (2021) investigated the language use of residents of her home village, Dertsen, with the help of picture-naming tasks. She found that the highest levels of acceptance were associated with the loanwords *grecska* 'buckwheat' (87%), *pelmenna* 'meat dumplings' (76%), *baklazsán* 'eggplant' (69%), *paszport* '1. ID card; 2. passport' (69%), *májka* '1. tank top; 2. jersey' (67%), *beszedka* '1. garden pavilion; 2. gazebo' (67%), *aptecska* 'first-aid kit' (61%), and *sláng* 'hosepipe' (60%). In addition, she recorded 124 Slavic borrowings in her research. Lechner and Bárány (2023) analysed these semantic changes from the perspective of cognitive linguistics, linking them to the *po zákárpátszki* or *po násomu* cultural model, which is closely connected to the use of Slavic lexical elements.

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the methodological framework of the dissertation. It first outlines the overall research design and explains why the study adopts a descriptive mixed-methods approach. It then describes the compilation and structure of the lexical dataset, including the secondary and primary sources from which the borrowings and example sentences were collected. The chapter subsequently discusses the criteria used to identify Slavic borrowings and to distinguish them from related contact phenomena such as code-switching. This is followed by an explanation of the methods of data analysis, including quantitative classification and qualitative interpretation. Finally, the chapter addresses the ethical considerations and methodological limitations of the research.

3.1. Research design and approach

This dissertation adopts a primarily descriptive, mixed-methods approach to the study of Russian and Ukrainian borrowings used by Transcarpathian Hungarians. The research is based on a self-compiled lexical dataset containing 1,641 Slavic borrowings accompanied by authentic example sentences, which serves as the primary empirical basis of the study. An additional 245 loanwords were recorded separately; although these items have been documented in the scholarly literature, no authentic example sentences were found to confirm their actual use by minority speakers. The main aim of the dissertation is to document, classify, and analyse lexical units of Russian and Ukrainian origin occurring in the language use of the Transcarpathian Hungarian minority, and to identify the main linguistic patterns underlying their borrowing, adaptation, and use.

The overall research design is primarily descriptive, as the dissertation seeks to provide a systematic account of the collected borrowings, their meanings, variant forms, and etymological background. At the same time, it also has an analytical and interpretive dimension, since it does not merely list lexical items, but examines them according to a range of linguistic variables, including part of speech, semantic field, donor language, intermediary and ultimate etymological sources, as well as the motivation, time, and type of borrowing. In this sense, the dissertation combines lexicological, contact-linguistic, and sociolinguistic perspectives.

Following Dörnyei's (2007: 42–43) discussion of mixed-methods research in applied linguistics, the study combines quantitative and qualitative components. The quantitative

component is reflected in the systematic organisation of the data, which makes it possible to identify broader tendencies in language contact, such as the relative proportion of borrowings from Russian and Ukrainian, the frequency of particular semantic fields, the distribution of word classes, and the prevalence of different borrowing types. The qualitative component consists of the linguistic analysis of individual lexical items, with particular attention to their semantic changes, as discussed by Bárány and Gazdag (2025a), phonological and morphological adaptation, as examined by Bárány and Gazdag (2024a), and formal variation, as analysed by Gazdag (2018b, 2018c). The combination of these two approaches allows for both detailed micro-level analysis and broader generalisations concerning lexical contact phenomena in the Transcarpathian Hungarian contact variety.

The empirical basis of the dissertation is a structured lexical dataset compiled in Google Sheets (see Appendix 1). In the present study, this dataset is understood as a structured collection of data in which each row corresponds to a borrowed item and each column represents one of its properties, such as meaning, part of speech, or borrowing type (Dimitriadis & Musgrave, 2009: 20). Technically, however, the material cannot be regarded as a relational database, since it does not conform to First Normal Form as defined by Codd (1970): some fields contain multiple values rather than atomic ones. It is therefore more accurately described as a spreadsheet-based lexical dataset.

Each entry in the dataset represents one borrowing item and is described by a set of linguistic and contextual parameters. These include the borrowing itself, its variant form(s), meaning(s) in Hungarian and English, part(s) of speech, semantic field(s), donor language(s), donor-language etymon(s), intermediary donor language(s) and etymon(s), ultimate donor language(s) and etymon(s), motivation for borrowing, time of borrowing, type of borrowing, comments, scientific sources, and authentic example sentences drawn from different types of sources. The dataset was compiled in order to create a comprehensive and well-documented body of data on Russian and Ukrainian lexical influence on the Hungarian variety used in Transcarpathia. Although Slavic loanwords have previously been examined from several of these perspectives (see Gazdag, 2021e; Kótyuk, 2007; Krajnik, 2010), no similarly systematic statistical approach has so far been applied to the classification of Slavic borrowings in Transcarpathian Hungarian.

Another important feature of the research design is the use of authentic usage examples, which are largely absent from earlier research in the field, with the exception of Gazdag (2021e) and Demjén (2011). The dataset includes example sentences from several types of sources, including literary works, Transcarpathian Hungarian news portals, social media,

and other materials. This makes it possible to examine borrowings across different registers and communicative settings. Literary examples demonstrate the appearance of borrowings in artistic and stylised language use, while examples from news portals reflect public and semi-formal written discourse. Social media data, in turn, provide insight into informal, everyday language use and may reveal forms and meanings that are less visible in edited texts. By combining examples from multiple source types, the research is able to capture both the stability and variability of the use of borrowings across different discourse domains. The analytical framework of the dissertation therefore makes it possible not only to describe the lexical stock itself, but also to interpret the changing balance of Russian and Ukrainian influence in relation to broader historical processes.

3.2. Compilation of the lexical dataset

The first stage in compiling the lexical dataset involved collecting as many Slavic borrowings as possible from scholarly sources. As a result, more than 2,250 lexical items of Ukrainian and/or Russian origin were entered into the dataset. An important difference from previous studies is that each borrowing was treated as a separate lexical entry. Thus, if a direct borrowing was recorded (e.g., *kolhoz* 'collective farm'), all secondary and tertiary borrowings derived from it (e.g., *kolhozi* 'related to a collective farm'), as well as hybrid formations consisting of a borrowed stem and Hungarian elements (e.g., *kolhozmunkás* 'worker on a collective farm'), were likewise entered separately. This method allowed for a more precise representation of the lexical material and provided insight not only into the borrowings themselves, but also into their derivational productivity and structural integration in Transcarpathian Hungarian.

The second stage involved cleaning the collected data, as a considerable number of items identified by other researchers were in fact not borrowings from Ukrainian or Russian, but rather dialectal words, standard Hungarian lexical items, or instances of code-switching. For instance, although *druga, drugafa,* and *drugár* 'electric pole' were recorded as Slavic borrowings by multiple researchers (Beregszászi & Csernicskó, 2007: 20; Kótyuk, 2007: 205), there is no Russian or Ukrainian word with a similar phonetic form; therefore, these items can be regarded only as dialectal expressions rather than Slavic borrowings. Kótyuk (1991: 69, 1995: 10–11) recorded the collocation *él valakivel* 'to live with someone' as a calque from ukr *жити з кимось*, rus *жить с кем-то*, instead of hun *lakik valakivel*; however, a search for example sentences made it clear that this is not a calque but a standard Hungarian collocation. Moreover, Gazdag (2021a: 193) recorded *duh* 'ghost; spirit' (ukr, rus

дух), but this form was used only as a nickname for a soldier in the army and therefore represents code-switching rather than an established borrowing. After the data-cleaning process, a total of 1,584 borrowings of Ukrainian and/or Russian origin remained from 147 scholarly sources, including sociolinguistic and contact-linguistic studies, monographs, bachelor's and master's theses, doctoral dissertations, and the TOHDD.

The third stage of dataset compilation involved collecting information on the meanings and etymology of the borrowings. The etymology of loanwords of Ukrainian origin was established on the basis of the *Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language*, published in six volumes (ESUM I–VI), and the two-volume *An Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language* (EDUL I–II). For loanwords of Russian origin, etymology was established on the basis of the four-volume *Etymological Dictionary of the Russian Language* (Vasmer I–IV). The next step was the classification of the loanwords according to semantic fields, motivation for borrowing, time of borrowing, and type of borrowing. Where necessary, additional comments were also added to certain entries.

The fourth stage of dataset compilation involved collecting example sentences for the Slavic borrowings from a range of sources: literary works by Transcarpathian Hungarian writers and poets, Transcarpathian Hungarian news portals, social networking sites (Facebook and Instagram), and other materials, including interviews, historical works, recollections by Transcarpathian Hungarians, authentic examples cited in previous studies, and the author's own observations. Of the 1,584 borrowings collected in the earlier stages, 1,339 were attested in example sentences, whereas 245 were recorded without examples. Those borrowings for which no example sentence could be found during the data-collection process were recorded on a separate sheet of the dataset. The research is therefore based on the analysis of 1,339 borrowings collected from previous studies, together with an additional 302 borrowings that had not been recorded in any earlier scholarly source but were identified through the author's own research. In total, 1,641 Slavic borrowings constitute the main body of the dataset, with a further 245 borrowings recorded without example sentences.

3.2.1. Structure of the dataset

The dataset contains the following columns:

Borrowing – Ukrainian- and/or Russian-origin borrowings recorded in previous studies, as well as in the author's own observations and data collection. Where several variants

existed, the base form was selected as the one closest to the donor-language etymon; if this form was not attested in examples, the form occurring in authentic usage was chosen instead.

Variant form(s) – all orthographic and phonetic variants recorded in example sentences and previous studies. These were included because loanword adaptation is influenced not only by speech perception and phonology, but also by orthography (Daland et al., 2015).

Meaning(s) in Hungarian – the meaning(s) of the borrowing in Hungarian. In the case of semantic borrowings and loan homonyms, only the contact-induced meanings are given here, while the standard Hungarian meanings are provided in the *Comments* column.

Meaning(s) in English – the English equivalents of the borrowing. As in the previous column, only the contact-induced meanings of semantic borrowings and loan homonyms are listed here.

Part(s) of speech – the dataset distinguishes the following categories: noun, verb, adjective, adverb, nominal phrase, verbal phrase, collocation, particle, and interjection. Some items were assigned to more than one category.

Semantic field(s) – borrowings were grouped into 35 semantic field categories: 1) architecture; 2) household; 3) gastronomy; 4) vehicles and vehicle parts; 5) transport; 6) hobbies; 7) jobs and work; 8) trade, economy, money; 9) human behaviour; 10) public administration; 11) jurisdiction; 12) politics; 13) military; 14) technical equipment; 15) industry; 16) education; 17) history; 18) geography; 19) biology; 20) flora; 21) fauna; 22) informatics; 23) electronics; 24) science; 25) medicine; 26) chemistry and chemicals; 27) cosmetics; 28) ethnography; 29) clothing; 30) religion; 31) abstract concepts; 32) documents and printing; 33) agriculture; 34) sport; and 35) vulgarisms. Unlike previous studies, in which each borrowing was assigned to only one semantic field (see Bárány & Gazdag, 2024b: 47–57; Gazdag, 2019b: 106–116; Kótyuk, 2007: 71–73; Rot, 1989: 372–378), borrowings in this dissertation are classified into multiple categories where necessary, following scholars' remarks that most words can belong to several categories and that the choice of thematic group often depends on the researcher's subjective perspective (Aytan, 2022: 230; Gazdag, 2021e: 147–149).

Donor language(s) – the immediate donor language was identified as Ukrainian, Russian, or both. In many cases, precise identification was not possible because the etymon had the same or nearly the same form in both languages. In other cases, the semantic or historical context made identification possible.

Donor-language etymon(s) – the Ukrainian and/or Russian form(s) from which the borrowing entered Transcarpathian Hungarian. In the case of initialisms, the donor-language form was recorded as the initialism itself.

Intermediary donor language(s) – the language(s) from which Ukrainian and/or Russian had borrowed the word, most often other Slavic languages or Western languages such as Latin, Greek, German, or French.

Intermediary donor-language etymon(s) – the corresponding intermediary etymons, together with their sources.

Ultimate donor language(s) – the language(s) from which the word ultimately originates (Wohlgemuth, 2009: 51). This three-level etymological structure follows the editing principles of the TOHDD (Váradi, 2025a: 176).

Ultimate donor-language etymon(s) – the ultimate etymons underlying the word, together with etymological references.

Motivation for borrowing – two categories were distinguished: core borrowing and cultural borrowing (Haspelmath, 2009: 46–48; Myers-Scotton, 2002: 239).

Time of borrowing – borrowings were classified into three chronological groups: pre-Soviet (before 1944), Soviet-era (1944–1991), and post-Soviet (after 1991).

Type of borrowing – nine categories were used: direct borrowing, hybrid borrowing, formal borrowing, semantic borrowing, stylistic borrowing, calque, loan homonym, secondary borrowing, and tertiary borrowing.

Comments – explanatory notes were added to some entries. For loan homonyms, the semantic differences between the loanword and the corresponding standard Hungarian word were explained. For formal borrowings, the equivalent standard Hungarian word form from which the loanword differed orthographically and phonetically was recorded. For stylistic borrowings, the contemporary Hungarian equivalent was provided or differences in stylistic value were explained. For semantic borrowings, the standard Hungarian meanings were given here, while the two *Meaning(s)* columns contained only the meanings specific to Transcarpathian Hungarian.

Scientific source(s) – references, with page numbers, to the 147 scholarly sources in which the borrowing was recorded. Full bibliographical details are listed in a separate worksheet entitled *Scientific sources*.

Examples from literary sources – example sentences from literary works by Transcarpathian Hungarian writers and poets, with references and highlighted loanwords. These were collected from 155 literary sources listed in a separate worksheet.

Examples from Transcarpathian news portals – example sentences from six Transcarpathian Hungarian news portals, with the loanword highlighted.

Examples from social media – example sentences taken from Facebook groups, comment sections, meme pages, and Instagram posts. All examples were documented through screenshots and archived in a Google Drive folder (see Appendix 2). Altogether, 3,054 screenshots were collected. Any personal information (e.g., names and telephone numbers) was obscured in the images. The loanword was highlighted in each sentence.

Examples from other sources – example sentences taken from other contact-linguistic studies, historical works, and recollections of people who lived during the Soviet era. In addition, example sentences were drawn from the interview collection of the Antal Hodinka Research Centre for Linguistics, the *Dictionary of the Hungarian Dialects of Transcarpathia* (Lizanec & Horváth, 2012, 2013), and the author's own observations made at the market in Berehove and at the Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian University.

3.2.2. Data sources

The lexical dataset compiled for this dissertation is based on both secondary and primary data sources. Secondary sources included previous scholarly works on the language use of Transcarpathian Hungarians, especially studies dealing with borrowings of Ukrainian and/or Russian origin. These sources served as the starting point for identifying lexical items already documented in the literature.

Primary data were collected from a range of written and spoken sources reflecting the actual language use of the Transcarpathian Hungarian minority. These included literary works by Transcarpathian Hungarian writers and poets, articles published on Transcarpathian Hungarian news portals, social media screenshots, interviews, and the author's own observations. Additional examples were also taken from other studies whenever they contained relevant and contextually interpretable uses of the borrowings.

The use of multiple source types made it possible to examine borrowings across different communicative domains and stylistic registers, including formal, semi-formal, and informal language use. Scholarly works were used primarily to identify previously recorded loanwords, while literary texts, media texts, online discourse, and interview data provided authentic example sentences illustrating actual usage, meaning, and formal variation.

3.2.2.1. Sociolinguistic and contact-linguistic research

Altogether, 147 scholarly sources were used as secondary sources for identifying Slavic loanwords. Initially, more than 2,250 borrowings were collected, but after data cleaning only 1,584 remained in the dataset. Of these, 1,339 were also attested in authentic example sentences, while 245 were not. In addition, 302 borrowings were recorded by the author for the first time, as they had not been documented in earlier contact-linguistic research.

Two main problems emerged in connection with the secondary sources. First, some of the listed items were not Slavic borrowings, but rather dialectal expressions, common Hungarian words, or instances of code-switching, and therefore had to be filtered out. Second, with the exception of Gazdag (2021e) and Demjén (2011), most studies did not provide authentic example sentences, so usage examples had to be collected from additional sources.

Among the most productive sources were Gazdag's monograph (2021e), the TOHDD (Benő et al., 2007), and Krajnik's bachelor's thesis (2010). The *Atlas of the Hungarian Dialects of Transcarpathia* (Lizanec, 1992, 1996, 2003) and the *Dictionary of the Hungarian Dialects of Transcarpathia* (Lizanec & Horváth, 2012, 2013) were also important, although a considerable number of dialectal and common Hungarian items had to be excluded from these works. In addition, semantic and stylistic borrowings were collected from the *Concise Explanatory Dictionary of Hungarian* (Pusztai, 2003) and the *Dictionary of Foreign Words* (Tolcsvai Nagy, 2007).

A number of studies have examined Slavic loanwords in Transcarpathian Hungarian literary works (Ferenci, 2025; Gazdag, 2010a, 2017d, 2023; Gazdag & Kordonets, 2021; Mádi, 2024, 2026). Another common topic is the use of Slavic borrowings in Transcarpathian Hungarian newspapers (Baranyi, 2020; Gazdag, 2013a, 2013d, 2024, 2025; P. Csige, 1998) and news portals (Gazdag, 2017c; Tóth, 2023). In addition, the online language use of Transcarpathian Hungarians has been examined by several researchers, resulting in the identification of numerous borrowings (Bartha & Márku, 2016; Csuka, 2021; Dóha, 2021; Gazdag, 2016; Kiss, 2016; Márku, 2014b, 2018; Pocsai, 2019).

Some studies have focused not on collecting new items, but on analysing already documented Slavic borrowings from various perspectives, including phonetic adaptation (Bárány & Gazdag, 2024a, 2025b; Gazdag, 2017b, 2017f), semantic categorisation (Bárány & Gazdag, 2024b; Gazdag, 2019b; Rot, 1989), and semantic change (Bárány & Gazdag, 2025a; Gazdag, 2017b, 2018a; Lechner & Bárány, 2023).

Another line of research concerns the appearance of Slavic borrowings in the language use of specific professional groups, such as demobilised soldiers (Gazdag, 2020a, 2021a, 2021b, 2022e) and healthcare workers (Gazdag, 2013c, 2022c, 2022e). The study of professional vocabulary is particularly useful because these groups often employ numerous Slavic borrowings to denote field-specific tools, institutions, and phenomena (Györke, 1991, 2008; Tóth, 2004; Váradi, 2024a).

The language use of pupils and students is another common topic in contact-linguistic research in the region (Borbély, 2006; Demjén, 2011; Dénes, 2013; Dudics Lakatos & Gazdag, 2023; Gazdag, 2011, 2012a, 2012c, 2020c; Görög, 2013; Kiss, 2021, 2022; Márku, 2004, 2008a, 2008b; Nagy, 2020; Popovics, 2021; Szatmári, 2024; Váradi, 2022, 2023, 2025b, 2025d). In addition, a considerable number of borrowings have emerged as a result of differences between the educational systems of Ukraine and Hungary (Fábián et al., 2025; Hires-László & Váradi, 2024, 2025; Váradi & Hires-László, 2024).

The historical aspects of Slavic–Hungarian language contact constitute another important approach to the study of Slavic borrowings, especially in research examining words borrowed during the Soviet era (Gazdag, 2014b, 2019a, 2020d, 2021c, 2022a, 2022d) and after the independence of Ukraine (Csernicskó & Márku, 2021, 2022; Váradi & Csernicskó, 2025). Other studies, especially bachelor's and master's theses written by Hungarian students, have investigated language-contact phenomena and attitudes towards multilingual language use in different settlements of Transcarpathia (Kardos, 2024; Kukri, 2021; Seres-Kobrin, 2024; Szatmári, 2021).

3.2.2.2. Transcarpathian Hungarian literary works

Literary works by Transcarpathian Hungarian writers and poets were used as primary written sources in compiling the dataset. These texts are especially valuable because they depict local realities and preserve regional vocabulary, including borrowings of Ukrainian and/or Russian origin. At the same time, literary language does not fully correspond to spontaneous everyday speech, since authors may consciously stylise regional forms. For this reason, literary works were treated primarily as sources of attested and contextually interpretable usage.

Example sentences were collected from 155 literary sources, and altogether 589 Slavic borrowings were attested in novels, short stories, novellas, essays, memoirs, dramas, humoresques, and poems written by Transcarpathian writers and poets. A particularly important source was the literary and cultural journal *Együtt*, which has been published

bimonthly, in six issues per year, since its relaunch in 2002. Earlier, it had appeared as a samizdat periodical between 1965 and 1967. For the purposes of this dissertation, issues 2002/1–2026/1 were examined for Slavic loanwords.

In some cases, authors published excerpts from works in progress in *Együtt* before the full book appeared. These preliminary versions sometimes differed from the final published texts and contained different contact phenomena. For example, an excerpt from Bartha's novel *Kiút* [A Way Out] (Bartha, 2019: 18) included the hybrid loanword *csurmalakó* 'prisoner; convict', whereas the final version contained *csurmatöltelék* with the same meaning (Bartha, 2022: 30). In other cases, the borrowing disappeared altogether from the final version. This shows that examining both complete books and earlier journal versions was methodologically useful.

According to Gazdag (2023: 112), Slavic loanwords may appear in four forms in literary texts, all of which were attested during data collection:

1. **As a naturalised Hungarian word:** *Elszökött otthonról, Moszkvába ment zárábotkára* [He escaped from home and went to Moscow for *zárábotka*] (Sz. Kárpáthy, 2020: 44) – *zárábotka* 'seasonal work; working abroad'.
2. **In quotation marks:** *Mintha féltenének tőled a még meg sem kapott állásokat, vagy attól tartanának, hogy „blátod" van valamelyik hivatalnoknál* [As if they were afraid you might take jobs you had not even been offered yet, or as if they suspected you had *"blát"* with some official] (Kurmai-Ráti, 2012: 44–45) – *blát* 'pull; favouritism'.
3. **In parentheses alongside the standard Hungarian equivalent:** *Demobilizálásom előtt be is hívattak a személyügyi osztályra (otgyel kádrov), s felajánlották, hogy leszerelés helyett válasszam a tényleges katonai szolgálatot, őrnaggyá előléptetve* [Before my demobilisation, I was even summoned to the personnel department (*otgyel kádrov*), where I was offered the option of choosing active military service instead of discharge, with promotion to the rank of major] (Barzsó, 2006: 32) – *otgyel kádrov* 'personnel department'.
4. **With explanations of meaning, often in footnotes or endnotes:** *Ebéd táján a raktárvezető két doboz tusonkát (párolt marhahúskonzerv) és egy kétkilós, mélyen bevagdalt fekete kenyeret tett elénk* [Around lunchtime, the warehouse manager placed in front of us two tins of *tusonka* (stewed beef in a can) and a two-kilogramme loaf of black bread, deeply scored with cuts] (Vári Fábián, 2011: 239) – *tusonka* 'canned meat'.

Most examples of language contact were collected from the works of the following authors:

Károly Balla D. – born in 1957 in Uzhhorod. His collection of short prose was published under the title *Peresztrojkácska. Válogatott publicisztikai írások 1985–1990* [Little Perestroika. Selected Journalistic Writings, 1985–1990] (Balla D., 2005).

Gusztáv Bartha – born in 1963 in Vary, died in 2022. A large number of his poems, dramas, novellas, short stories, novels, and novel excerpts served as examples of language contact. For instance, *P pont, P pont P* [P Point, P Point P] (Bartha, 2009) is a collection of dramas, *A gabonafarkas legendája* [The Legend of the Grain Wolf] (Bartha, 2014) is a collection of short stories, and *Kiút* [A Way Out] (Bartha, 2022) is a short novel.

Éva Berniczky – born in 1962 in Berehove. One short story, two online publications, and one of her novels, *Méhe nélkül a bába* [The Midwife without a Womb] (Berniczky, 2007), were analysed.

Sándor Horváth – born in 1957 in Berehove. Two of his collections were analysed: *Álmos tájakon járok* [I Wander through Drowsy Landscapes] (Horváth, 2002) and *Jelentés a mélyből* [Report from the Depths] (Horváth, 2019).

Elemér Kovács – born in 1957 in Berehove. His interview novel (Kovács, 2016) and his collection of Transcarpathian Hungarian anecdotes (Kovács, 2017) both deal with life in the Soviet Union.

Vilmos Kovács – born in 1927 in the village of Hat, died in 1977. His novel *Holnap is élünk* [We Will Live Tomorrow Too] (Kovács, 2007) was also analysed by Mádi (2024, 2026) from the perspective of multilingual language use.

Szilvia Kurmai-Ráti – born in 1984 in Velyka Dobron. Her collection of short stories and tales (Kurmai-Ráti, 2011b) was an important source of Slavic borrowings.

János Lengyel – born in 1973 in Berehove. His novels centre on an imaginary character called “Mr Mitracsek” (Lengyel, 2012, 2019) and contain numerous instances of borrowings and code-switching.

Gergely Marcsák – born in 1990 in Kholmok. He wrote poems and short stories; in particular, his poetry collection (Marcsák, 2019) was analysed.

Zoltán Mihály Nagy – born in 1949 in the village of Velyka Bakta. Numerous short stories, novels, and narrative poems by him were analysed. Among the most important were his collection of short stories *Az idő súlya alatt* [Under the Weight of Time] (Nagy, 2001) and his novel *A sátán fattya* [The Devil’s Spawn] (Nagy, 2019).

Péter Ortutay – born in 1942 in Uzhhorod. His novels and short stories are set in Soviet-era Transcarpathia. The most notable among them is his collection of documentary

short stories *Apage Satanas. Ungvári történetek az 1980-as évekből* [Apage Satanas. Uzhhorod Stories from the 1980s] (Ortutay, 2018).

János Penckófer – born in 1959 in Vynohradiv. His best-known work is the novel *Hamuther* (Penckófer, 2002), which was also analysed by Mádi (2025) in terms of multilingual elements.

Tímea Shrek – born in 1989 in Berehove. Her diary entries and short stories deal with life in contemporary Ukraine, often focusing on life during the Russo–Ukrainian war.

Kata Sz. Kárpáthy – born in 1999 in Nove Selo. In her poems and short stories, she uses a large number of Slavic loanwords and often writes about life in the 2020s, including the psychological effects of war on soldiers returning from the front (Sz. Kárpáthy, 2025).

Tibor Szöllősy – born in 1940 in Borzhava. His two most important collections are *Álmait az ember...* [One's Dreams...] (Szöllősy, 2020) and *Őszi rajzás* [Autumn Swarm] (Szöllősy, 2025).

László Vári Fábián – born in 1951 in Vylok. Two of his most important works are the novels *Tábori posta* [Camp Post] (Vári Fábián, 2011) and *Vásártér* [Marketplace] (Vári Fábián, 2018), in which he writes about his memories of the Soviet army and life in the Soviet Union.

Miklós Zelei – born in 1948 in Kiskunhalas, died in 2021. His sociographic documentary novel *A kettézárt falu* [The Divided Village] (Zelei, 2017) tells the story of how Szelmenc, a small settlement that originally belonged to Hungary, was divided by a state border into Nagyszelmenc (Veľké Slemence, present-day Slovakia) and Kisszelmenc (Mali Selmentsi, present-day Ukraine). The speech of the residents of both villages contains a large number of Slavic borrowings characteristic of the period.

3.2.2.3. Transcarpathian Hungarian news portals

Example sentences for 415 Slavic borrowings were found in Transcarpathian Hungarian news portals. The following six news portals were analysed: *Kárpátinfo.net*[3], *KárpátHír.com*[4], *Kárpátalja.ma*[5], *Kárpátalja.net*[6], *Kárpát.in.ua*[7], and *KISzó.net*[8].

[3] https://karpatinfo.net/
[4] https://karpathir.com/
[5] https://karpatalja.ma/
[6] https://karpataljalap.net/
[7] https://karpat.in.ua/
[8] https://kiszo.net/

Gazdag (2013a: 212–213) found that Slavic loanwords can appear in three forms in newspaper articles, and the same three patterns were also observed in online news portals:

1. **As a naturalised Hungarian word:** *Az év eleje óta a megyei adómilícia 68 fiktív vállalat működését szüntette meg* [Since the beginning of the year, the county *adómilícia* has shut down the operations of 68 fictitious companies] (www.karpataljalap.net) – *adómilícia* 'tax police'.
2. **In quotation marks:** *A frontra küldték a rivnei „vojenkomot", mert bírálta a mozgósítást* [The *"vojenkom"* in Rivne was sent to the front because he had criticised the mobilisation process] (www.karpathir.com) – *vojenkom* 'head of the military recruitment office'.
3. **In parentheses, together with the standard Hungarian equivalent:** *Mint arról beszámoltunk, minden áramszüneti csoportot (cserha) további két alcsoportra (pidcserha) osztanak* [As we reported, each power-outage group (*cserha*) will be divided into two additional subgroups (*pidcserha*)] (www.kiszo.net) – *cserha* 'the grouping of Ukrainian households according to planned electricity outage schedules'; *pidcserha* 'a subgroup within the planned electricity outage schedule'.

Another common tendency in Transcarpathian Hungarian news portals is the frequent use of initialisms and acronyms based on their original Ukrainian forms. These usually denote Ukrainian institutions, ministries, and organisations. Typically, they are first introduced in parentheses after their Hungarian translated equivalent, and once their meaning has been explained, they continue to appear as naturalised Hungarian initialisms. For instance: *Az ungvári rendőrség munkatársai letartóztatták a Rendkívüli Helyzetek Állami Szolgálatának (DSZNSZ) 43 éves alkalmazottját, akit azzal gyanúsítanak, hogy kenőpénzt kapott egy üzletembertől. [...] Kiderült, hogy 2023 ősze óta a DSZNSZ munkatársa összesen 48 ezer hrivnya illegális juttatásban részesült* [Officers of the Uzhhorod police arrested a 43-year-old employee of the State Emergency Service (*DSZNSZ*), who is suspected of having accepted a bribe from a businessman. [...] It was revealed that since the autumn of 2023, the *DSZNSZ* employee had received a total of 48,000 hryvnias in illegal payments] (www.karpatalja.ma) – *DSZNSZ* 'State Emergency Service of Ukraine'.

In this way, journalists can refer to such institutions more economically and authentically, while also familiarising readers with the official Ukrainian abbreviations used in public discourse. This helps preserve terminological accuracy, facilitates the identification of these institutions in Ukrainian-language sources, and gradually integrates such forms into the vocabulary of Transcarpathian Hungarian readers.

Thematically, the most frequent loanwords found in news portals belonged to the semantic fields of politics, education, and public administration. Some of these borrowings, especially initialisms and acronyms, often occurred in multiple forms, a tendency also observed by Gazdag (2013d: 35), and represented different borrowing types. For instance, the newly established military recruitment offices (*ТЦК та СП → територіальний центр комплектування та соціальної підтримки*) were referred to as direct borrowings (*TCK*, *RTCK*), hybrid borrowings (*TCK és SZP*, *TCK és SP*, *TCK és SZK*), and calques (*TTSZTK*).

Online news portals are therefore among the primary channels through which new administrative and political realia enter the language use of Transcarpathian Hungarians. They provide valuable evidence not only for the emergence of new lexical items, but also for the ways in which these items are introduced, explained, adapted, and gradually conventionalised in written public discourse. Since news portals react quickly to political, administrative, and social changes, they are especially important for tracing recent and still unstable contact-induced vocabulary (Kemény, 2007: 55).

3.2.2.4. Social media platforms

The online language use of Transcarpathian Hungarians was analysed on two social media platforms, Facebook and Instagram. Example sentences were recorded in the form of screenshots and anonymised, meaning that all personal information (e.g., names, profile pictures, and telephone numbers) was hidden. In addition, a few examples were collected from three Transcarpathian Hungarian blogs: *Katarzis gasztroblog*[9], *Grecska blog*[10], and *Bulocska blog*[11].

Altogether, 762 Slavic borrowings were collected from 3,054 screenshots, of which 2,315 came from Facebook and 739 from Instagram. Screenshot files were named according to the following pattern: *borrowing_platform_number* (e.g., *Donbász_facebook_1; tyipá_instagram_4*). In each case, the borrowing in the filename appeared in the same form in which it was attested in the screenshot. The platform element indicated either Facebook or Instagram, while the final number marked the occurrence of the loanword in that specific orthographic form. When a screenshot contained more than one loanword, it was saved several times under different filenames.

[9] https://katarzis.blog.hu/
[10] https://grecska.blogspot.com/
[11] https://bulocska.blog.hu/

Most of the loanwords were attested only a few times, but in some cases more than twenty occurrences were recorded (e.g., *paszport* '1. ID card; 2. passport'; *PMZS* 'a stamp certifying permanent residence outside the territory of Ukraine'; *TCK* 'territorial recruitment centre'; *vojenkomát* 'military recruitment office'; *zsiguli* 'any Lada or VAZ passenger car').

Slavic borrowings were collected from three types of social media sources:

1. **Meme pages** – a number of Transcarpathian Hungarian meme pages exist both on Instagram (e.g., *pozakarpatszki*) and on Facebook (e.g., *Beregszászijárás*). Memes containing Slavic borrowings were recorded in screenshots.
2. **Facebook groups** – different types of Facebook groups were analysed, since speakers in different registers tend to use different loanwords. Some borrowings were easier to find in groups dealing with cars and motorcycles (e.g., *Auto Club Beregszász*), in buy-and-sell groups (e.g., *Beregszászi Online Piac*), in informational groups (e.g., *Határhelyzet*), and in community groups (e.g., *Beregszászi Fórum*).
3. **Comment sections and posts –** Slavic borrowings were also collected from public Facebook and Instagram posts, comment sections, and advertisements.

As memes reflect the social, political, and economic realities of ordinary people (Arrobo-Agila et al., 2025: 6), they also provide a valuable source for investigating the linguistic reality of a speech community. Social media data were particularly useful because they revealed a high degree of orthographic variation in Slavic borrowings and also yielded a considerable number of vulgarisms, which are less likely to appear in more formal written sources. As Parapatics (2025: 201) notes, social media allows researchers to observe everyday language use passively, meaning that users are not aware of participating in research and therefore communicate more naturally. Overall, examples from social media complemented the material collected from literary works and news portals by providing more spontaneous and interaction-based evidence of language contact.

3.2.2.5. Other sources

Example sentences for 929 Slavic borrowings were collected from other sources. This category included, on the one hand, authentic examples drawn from the two volumes of the *Dictionary of the Hungarian Dialects of Transcarpathia* (Lizanec & Horváth, 2012, 2013). On the other hand, 264 Slavic borrowings were attested in spoken language through the analysis of the interview collection of the Antal Hodinka Research Centre for Linguistics, of which 124 were found exclusively in the interviews. The data were drawn from 114 semi-structured interviews conducted between 2003 and 2008 within the research project

The Social Stratification of Language Use (Hungarian: *A nyelvhasználat társadalmi rétegződése = ANYTR*). The interviews addressed topics such as work, experiences during the Soviet era and in independent Ukraine, labour migration, attitudes towards languages, and the use of Slavic loanwords. Their total length was 81 hours, 59 minutes, and 36 seconds. Respondents represented various age groups, having been born between the 1910s and the 1980s, and came from 54 settlements (see Appendix 3). Although some of these interviews had already been analysed by Gazdag (2010b, 2010c, 2014b, 2017e, 2021e), a careful reanalysis made it possible to identify additional loanwords and usage examples.

Another source of data consisted of the author's own observations conducted between 2024 and 2026. Example sentences were recorded for nineteen loanwords on the basis of teachers' spontaneous speech during meetings at the Department of Philology of the Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian University. In addition, examples were gathered for six further borrowings from university students, colleagues, and passers-by at the Berehove market. Authentic examples published by Gazdag (2021e) and Demjén (2011) were also incorporated into the dataset. Likewise, examples collected by Gazdag (2021c) in interviews concerning kolkhoz-related vocabulary were included.

In addition, a large number of memoirs, reports, and interviews with survivors of the Soviet GULAG camps were analysed for language-contact phenomena. Altogether, 85 additional sources contributed to this part of the dataset. These included memoir collections (Dupka, 2017), interviews with survivors of forced labour camps (Kurmai-Ráti, 2011a), personal letters written in the GULAG (Marosi, 2020), village-history interviews (Molnár, 2023), accounts of compulsory Soviet military service (Kész, 2020), interviews published in *Együtt* (Vári Fábián, 2006; Zelei & Tóth, 2011), and interviews with demobilised soldiers from the Anti-Terrorist Operation in Eastern Ukraine (Baraté, 2018).

Taken together, these sources are particularly important for the present study because they preserve authentic spoken and written traces of everyday bilingual experience across a wide range of historical and social contexts. They show how Slavic borrowings became embedded in discussions of work, military service, deportation, collective farming, and daily life, thus providing valuable evidence for the social and historical background of language contact in Transcarpathia.

3.2.3. Criteria for identifying loanwords

A key methodological issue was determining which lexical items could be regarded as Slavic loanwords in Transcarpathian Hungarian. Since bilingual language use often

involves both borrowing and code-switching (Mackey, 1965; Weinreich, 1953), the boundary between these two phenomena is not always clear-cut. For this reason, the identification of loanwords was based on a combination of formal, semantic, and usage-based criteria rather than on any single diagnostic feature (see Table 1).

In the present study, a Slavic lexical item was treated as a borrowing if it functioned as part of Hungarian-language discourse and showed at least partial integration into the Hungarian linguistic system. Particular attention was paid to whether the item could take Hungarian inflectional or derivational suffixes, whether it participated in Hungarian syntactic structures, and whether it displayed phonological, orthographic, or semantic adaptation to Hungarian usage, following the diagnostic criteria discussed by Poplack and Sankoff (1988: 1177) and MacSwan (2016).

The identification process also took into account the distribution and entrenchment of lexical items in the bilingual community. Preference was given to forms that were attested repeatedly across different sources and had also appeared in earlier scholarly or lexicographic works. Widespread and recurrent use was interpreted as an indication that the item had become part of the contact-induced lexicon of Transcarpathian Hungarian rather than representing a momentary instance of language alternation, in line with Treffers-Daller's (2025) emphasis on listedness in the recipient-language lexicon. In addition, borrowings may also be understood by speakers who do not have a good command of the donor languages, that is, Russian and/or Ukrainian (Borbély, 2006: 609; Matras, 2019: 149). At the same time, low frequency alone was not treated as sufficient reason for exclusion, since newly emerging or nonce borrowings may also show clear signs of integration.

When a Slavic lexical element had already been discussed in earlier language-contact studies, or was attested in multiple sources from different domains of language use, it was treated as an established borrowing. By contrast, when a Slavic lexical element occurred only once but appeared as a phonologically and morphosyntactically integrated element of the Hungarian lexicon and had not been recorded in earlier publications, it was treated as a nonce borrowing, which may later become established and conventionalised (Muysken, 1995: 190; Poplack et al., 1988: 52; Wohlgemuth, 2009: 53).

Special care was taken to exclude forms that were better interpreted as instances of code-switching rather than borrowing. These included longer stretches of Ukrainian- or Russian-language discourse, unintegrated multiword expressions, and isolated insertions that showed no evidence of structural or semantic accommodation to Hungarian. Proper names, official names of institutions, and lexical items belonging to the inherited

Hungarian dialect vocabulary were also excluded unless there was clear evidence that they had developed into established common nouns or lexicalised contact forms in Hungarian usage (see Gazdag, 2017b: 18; 2018a: 136).

Because Transcarpathian Hungarian is shaped by long-term and intensive contact with Slavic languages (see Csernicskó et al., 2023: 54), some borderline cases were unavoidable. In such cases, classification was based on the overall balance of evidence, with particular weight given to morphological, syntactic, phonological, and semantic integration, as well as to recurrence in authentic Hungarian-language sources. The aim was to include only those items that could reasonably be regarded as elements of the Slavic contact lexicon of Transcarpathian Hungarian, while excluding cases that merely reflected bilingual language use in a broader sense. However, these criteria could not be applied equally to all types of borrowing; therefore, the main criteria for each type are summarised separately below (see Table 7).

Table 7. Criteria for the identification of Slavic borrowings

Types of borrowing	Slavic lexical material	Hungarian lexical material	Formal integration	Semantic change	Stylistic value change	Derived from an earlier loan
Direct borrowing	+	–	+	–	–	–
Hybrid borrowing	+	+	+	–	–	–
Formal borrowing	+	+ (to some extent)	+	–	–	–
Semantic borrowing	– (Slavic origin)	+	–	+ (logical connection)	–	–
Loan homonym	– (Slavic origin)	+	–	+ (no logical connection)	–	–
Calque	– (Slavic origin)	+	+/–	+/–	–	–
Stylistic borrowing	– (Slavic origin)	+	–	–	+	–
Secondary borrowing	+	+/–	+	+/–	–	+ (source: direct loan)
Tertiary borrowing	+	+/–	+	+/–	–	+ (source: secondary loan)

Source: compiled by the author.

Two general criteria applied to all types of Slavic borrowing: first, they had to have a Ukrainian and/or Russian donor form; second, they had to occur in Hungarian-language

form, written in the Latin script used by Hungarian rather than in the Cyrillic script used by Ukrainian and Russian. The remaining criteria varied according to the type of borrowing.

The main criterion for identifying **direct borrowings** was that they showed at least partial phonological, morphological, or syntactic integration into Hungarian.

The same applied to **hybrid borrowings**, with one important difference: they consisted of both Slavic and Hungarian elements. These could be either compounds (e.g., *gránátalmaszok* 'pomegranate juice' ← hun *gránátalma* 'pomegranate' + rus *сок* 'juice') or collocations and phrases containing elements from both the donor and the recipient language (e.g., *oblikon van* 'to be registered in the military records' ← ukr *облік*, rus *облик* 'military records' + hun *van* 'to be').

Formal borrowings were identified on the basis of an already existing standard or archaic Hungarian word whose phonetic and orthographic shape had changed under the influence of its Ukrainian and/or Russian equivalent. Thus, this type also involved Hungarian lexical material to some extent, but it did not constitute a hybrid construction.

The main criterion for **semantic borrowings** was that they involved existing Hungarian words that had acquired a new, logically related meaning in the Transcarpathian Hungarian contact variety as a result of Slavic influence. The same applied to **loan homonyms**, except that in these cases the new meaning had no logical connection to the original Hungarian meaning. Since these words already existed in Hungarian in the same phonetic and orthographic form, they did not require phonological or morphosyntactic adaptation.

In the case of **calques**, two directions may be distinguished. First, a Ukrainian and/or Russian word may be translated by using an already existing Hungarian word but assigning it a different meaning (e.g., *felszámol* 'to calculate and process wages' from ukr *нарахувати*, rus *начислить*). In this case, no phonological or morphological integration was required, but semantic modification was involved. Second, calquing may result in the creation of a new Hungarian word through the translation of a Slavic-origin concept (e.g., *évfolyammunka* 'a scientific written work prepared by students in higher education over the course of an academic year' from ukr *курсова робота*, rus *курсовая работа*). In this case, a new Hungarian lexical item was created, but no semantic change occurred.

Stylistic borrowings were identified as archaic Hungarian words that also existed in a similar or identical phonetic form in the donor language or languages, but with a different stylistic value. In standard Hungarian, such forms are archaic and are often replaced by newer equivalents (e.g., *ügyvéd* instead of *advokát* 'lawyer'), whereas in

Transcarpathia they remain in everyday use alongside their contemporary Hungarian counterparts because of the dominance of the state language.

Finally, **secondary and tertiary borrowings** were formed according to Hungarian word-formation rules and originated from an earlier loan: the former from a direct borrowing, the latter from a secondary loanword. These types usually involved both Slavic and Hungarian material and often semantic change as well. For example, Hungarian derivational suffixes may change the part of speech of a loanword: *prjányik* 'gingerbread' + the Hungarian adjective-forming suffix *-s* → *prjányikos* 'containing gingerbread'. In other cases, Slavic verb forms were morphologically adapted to Hungarian grammatical patterns, as in *putál* 'to confuse; to mix up' from ukr *плутати*, rus *плутать*, where the Hungarian verb-forming suffix *-l* was added instead of directly borrowing the Slavic infinitive. Another subtype includes shortened forms, such as *sztipi* from *sztipendium* 'scholarship'. In such cases, however, no Hungarian lexical material is present, only Slavic material.

3.3. Methods of data analysis

The compiled lexical dataset was analysed using a descriptive and classificatory approach that combined quantitative and qualitative methods. After the identification and cleaning of the data, each lexical item was examined according to a set of linguistic criteria in order to reveal the structural, semantic, and functional characteristics of Slavic borrowings in the Transcarpathian Hungarian contact variety.

The first stage of the analysis consisted of classifying the collected borrowings according to several variables. These included donor language, etymological background, presumed time of borrowing, part of speech, semantic field, loanword type, and motivation for borrowing. This made it possible to identify the main donor languages, trace the historical and etymological background of the borrowings, and determine the most affected lexical domains and grammatical categories. The quantitative distribution of the items across these categories was also examined in order to reveal broader tendencies in the borrowing process.

The second stage focused on the accommodation of Slavic borrowings in Transcarpathian Hungarian. Particular attention was paid to phonological and morphological adaptation, as well as to semantic change. Semantic changes were examined in greater detail by distinguishing between broadening, narrowing, elevation, and degradation of meaning. The aim of this part was to show how borrowed items became integrated into the Hungarian linguistic system and how their meanings and forms changed during this process.

The third stage addressed variation among loanwords. This included the examination of different levels of integration and the orthographic representation of borrowings in written sources. Since many lexical items occurred in more than one form, special attention was paid to spelling variation and to the coexistence of more and less integrated variants. This made it possible to assess the degree of stabilisation of individual borrowings and to identify patterns of fluctuation in their written usage.

Finally, a comparative analysis across registers was carried out in order to explore how Slavic borrowings function in different types of discourse. The occurrence and behaviour of lexical items were compared across literary texts, news portals, social media platforms, and other sources. This made it possible to identify register-specific differences in the frequency, form, and function of borrowings, as well as to observe which lexical items are more typical of formal, semi-formal, or informal language use.

Overall, the analysis combined quantitative summarisation with qualitative linguistic interpretation. While the quantitative dimension helped reveal the distribution of borrowings across the selected categories, the qualitative analysis made it possible to interpret patterns of adaptation, variation, and register-specific usage within the broader framework of language contact and bilingualism.

3.4. Ethical considerations

The research was based on linguistic data collected from a variety of written and spoken sources, including scholarly works, literary texts, news portals, social media platforms, and interview materials. Ethical considerations were therefore taken into account throughout the processes of data collection, storage, analysis, and presentation.

When collecting borrowings from language-contact studies and example sentences from published sources (e.g., scholarly studies, literary works, and historical publications), full source references were always provided, including page numbers where available. In the case of online-only publications, references were given without page numbers where such information was unavailable. In addition, all sources were listed on separate sheets in the dataset, together with links to ensure transparency and easy access.

Particular attention was paid to the use of data from social media platforms. Although the analysed posts and comments were publicly accessible at the time of data collection, all examples were recorded in anonymised form. Personal identifiers such as names, profile pictures, telephone numbers, and other potentially identifying details were obscured in the screenshots and were not reproduced in the dissertation. The aim of the

research was not to identify individual users, but to analyse patterns of language use in naturally occurring discourse.

Interview materials from the collection of the Antal Hodinka Research Centre for Linguistics were also used as sources of authentic examples. These data were handled with care and were used exclusively for linguistic analysis. In the dissertation, examples drawn from spoken-language materials are presented in a way that does not allow the identification of individual speakers. For instance, interview sources were identified only by the respondents' place of residence, gender, and year of birth.

The study did not involve direct interaction with participants or any intervention, and no sensitive personal data were collected by the author. The analysis focused on lexical items and their use in context rather than on the personal characteristics of language users. Throughout the research, the principles of confidentiality, data minimisation, and respect for the speakers and writers represented in the dataset were observed. To ensure the ethical grounding of the dissertation, ethical approval was obtained from the Research Ethics Committee of the University of Pannonia (No. RK/6/10/2026).

3.5. Methodological limitations

Although the dissertation is based on a large and diverse lexical dataset, certain methodological limitations must be acknowledged. First, the dataset cannot be regarded as exhaustive or fully representative of all Slavic borrowings used in Transcarpathian Hungarian. Since the material was compiled from selected written and spoken sources, some lexical items may remain unattested, while others may be overrepresented because certain source types are more readily available than others.

Another limitation concerns the uneven distribution of data across source types. Literary works, news portals, social media platforms, scholarly studies, and interview materials differ considerably in size, style, period, and communicative function. As a result, the relative frequency of borrowings in the dataset does not necessarily reflect their actual frequency in everyday language use. Register-based comparisons should therefore be interpreted as tendencies rather than as statistically balanced contrasts.

The identification of borrowings also involves interpretative difficulties. In bilingual environments, the boundary between borrowing and code-switching is not always clear-cut, especially in the case of less integrated or nonce borrowings. Although the analysis relied on consistent formal, semantic, and usage-based criteria, the classification of certain borderline cases inevitably involved a degree of researcher judgement.

Similar caution is required in the analysis of etymology and time of borrowing. In many cases, the exact transmission route of a lexical item cannot be established with complete certainty, particularly when both Ukrainian and Russian may have functioned as donor languages. Even etymological dictionaries may identify different intermediary donor languages for words with identical orthographic forms and meanings in both languages. Likewise, the dating of borrowings often remains approximate, since the first attested occurrence in the available sources does not necessarily coincide with the actual time of borrowing.

A further limitation is that much of the material is based on written representation, including sources that reflect informal language use. This means that phonetic realisation, prosody, and spontaneous interaction could be analysed only indirectly. Despite these limitations, the size and diversity of the dataset make it possible to identify major structural, semantic, and sociolinguistic tendencies in the use of Slavic borrowings in Transcarpathian Hungarian. The findings should therefore be understood not as exhaustive or absolute, but as a systematic and empirically grounded contribution to the study of language contact in the region.

CHAPTER 4. RESULTS

This chapter presents the empirical findings of the dissertation by moving from general quantitative patterns to more detailed linguistic analysis. First, it provides an overview of the analysed dataset and classifies the borrowings according to donor language, etymology, chronology, part of speech, semantic field, borrowing type, and motivation. It then examines how Slavic borrowings are accommodated in Transcarpathian Hungarian through phonological, morphological, and semantic adaptation. The chapter also discusses patterns of loanword variation, since many borrowings occur in several phonetic, orthographic, or morphologically adapted forms. Finally, it compares the use of Slavic borrowings across different registers in order to show how contact-induced vocabulary varies according to communicative context.

4.1. Quantitative overview of the dataset

The dataset (see Appendix 1) consisted of two main categories of borrowings according to how they were identified. The first category comprised borrowings collected from previous studies on language contact (1,584 items), which were further divided into two subcategories: those attested in example sentences (1,339 borrowings) and those for which no example sentences were found (245 borrowings). The second category comprised newly identified contact-induced items recorded during the data-collection process (302 borrowings). Altogether, the dataset contained 1,886 Slavic borrowings; however, only those attested in example sentences were included in the analysis presented in this dissertation, resulting in an analysed dataset of 1,641 items (see Table 8).

Table 8. Quantitative composition of the dataset

Category	Example sentences	Borrowings	Status in the analysis
Collected from previous studies	Yes	1,339	Included
	No	245	Excluded
Newly identified borrowings	Yes	302	Included
Total dataset		**1,886**	**Partially included**
Total analysed dataset		**1,641**	**Included**

Source: compiled by the author.

With regard to the sources represented in the dataset, 147 language-contact studies served as the main secondary sources of lexical material. In addition, example sentences

and further borrowings were attested in literary works, Transcarpathian Hungarian news portals, social media platforms (Facebook and Instagram), and other sources, including interviews from the collection of the Antal Hodinka Research Centre for Linguistics (see Table 9).

Table 9. Sources of Slavic borrowings

Type of sources	Number of sources	Number of Slavic borrowings
Language-contact studies	147	1,584
Literary works	155	589
News portals	6	415
Social media screenshots	3,054	762
Interviews	114	264
Other sources	85	805

Source: compiled by the author.

However, most borrowings were attested in more than one source type. Therefore, these figures are not additive, and their sum exceeds the total number of borrowings in the dataset. They reflect overlap among source types rather than distinct categories.

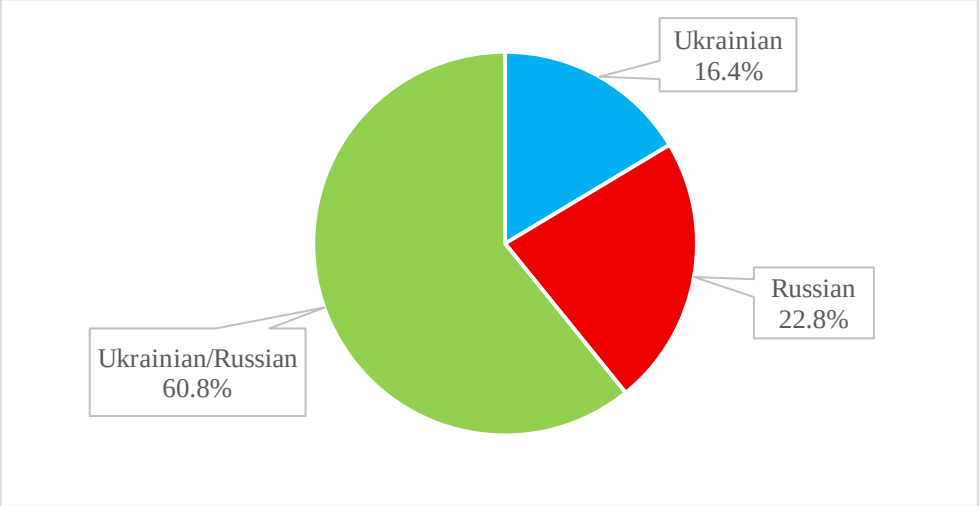
4.2. Classification of Slavic borrowings

In the following subsections, the 1,641 Slavic borrowings included in the analysed dataset are classified according to several analytical criteria, including donor language, etymology, time of borrowing, part of speech, semantic field, loanword type, and motivation for borrowing.

4.2.1. Classification by donor languages

Slavic borrowings were divided into three categories according to donor language: Ukrainian (269 borrowings), Russian (374 borrowings), and Ukrainian/Russian (998 borrowings). These figures suggest that, although Ukrainian is the current state language, Russian has had a stronger influence on the vocabulary of Transcarpathian Hungarians as a result of the Soviet period.

Figure 8. Distribution of Slavic borrowings by donor languages



Source: compiled by the author.

However, the vast majority of Slavic borrowings were classified as originating from both Ukrainian and Russian (see Figure 8), because in many cases it was impossible to distinguish between the influence of the two languages during the borrowing process, as the donor-language etymons had identical or nearly identical phonetic forms in both languages. For instance, *forszunka* 'nozzle; fuel injector' may derive from either Ukrainian or Russian, since the donor word *форсунка* exists in both languages in the same form. In other cases, there were minor differences between the Ukrainian and Russian phonetic forms, but these were insufficient to identify the donor language of a given loanword with certainty. For example, *milícia* 'police (station)' may have been borrowed either from ukr *міліція* or from rus *милиция*. This is also in line with the findings of Gazdag (2021e: 146), who found that 65.2% of the 581 borrowings he analysed could be traced back to both languages.

The identification of donor languages was easier in cases where the phonetic forms of the Ukrainian and Russian words differed more substantially. For example, *podjezd* '1. staircase of a multi-storey apartment building; 2. entrance' was borrowed from rus *подъезд* [pʁdˈjest], rather than from ukr *під'їзд* [pʲidˈjizd]. Similarly, *szok* '1. juice; 2. sap' was borrowed from rus *сок* [sok], rather than from ukr *сік* [sʲik], since it was attested only in the former phonetic form. By contrast, *zájává* 'written request; application' was borrowed from ukr *заява* [zɐˈjɑwɐ], rather than from rus *заявление* [zəjɪvˈlʲenʲɪje].

Another factor facilitating the identification of donor languages was the meaning and historical background of the borrowings. For example, the loanword *brony* 'temporary exemption of conscription-age men working in critical infrastructure from military

mobilisation' emerged as a result of the Russo–Ukrainian war; therefore, its donor-language etymon is ukr *бронь*, rather than rus *бронь*. The word *líceum* became a semantic borrowing as a result of the 2017 Law on Education and now refers not only to church-maintained lyceums, but also more generally to educational institutions entitled to issue a secondary-school-leaving certificate, that is, grammar schools and secondary schools (Hires-László & Váradi, 2025: 336). As this broader meaning became established as a result of Ukrainian legislation, the donor language is ukr *ліцей*, rather than rus *лицей*. The same historical criterion applies to borrowings culturally associated with the Soviet period. For instance, *komszomol* 'All-Union Leninist Young Communist League' was borrowed from Russian *комсомол*. Although the word is also known in Ukrainian in the same phonetic form, its Soviet political background justifies its classification as a Russian-origin loanword.

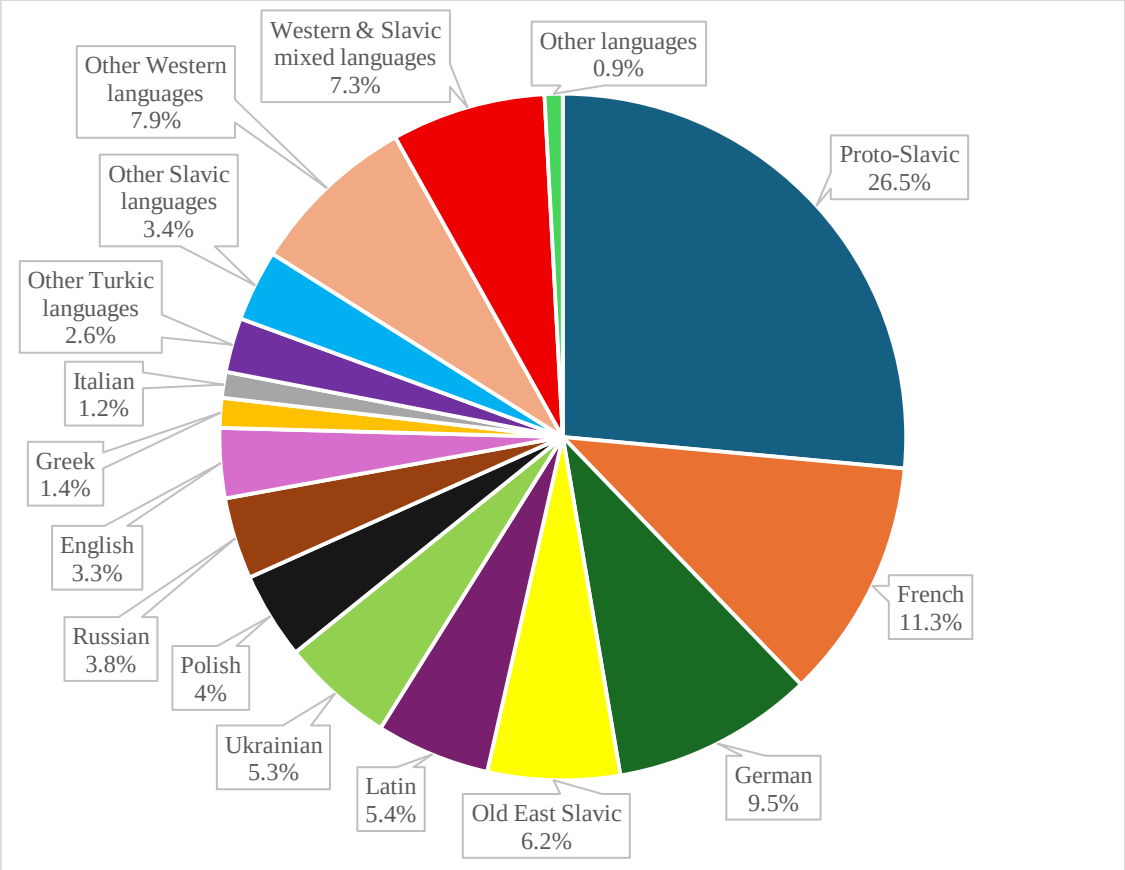
In addition, there were cases of parallel borrowing, where two loanwords with completely different phonetic forms denoting the same concept were borrowed separately from Ukrainian and Russian (see Gazdag, 2021d; Györke, 2017: 77–78). For example, both *dnyevnyik* (rus *дневник*) and *scsodennék* (ukr *щоденник*) mean 'school record book'. The same phenomenon was sometimes attested in the case of acronyms and initialisms. For instance, both *DAI* (ukr *ДАІ ← Державна автомобільна інспекція*) and *GAI* (rus *ГАИ ← Государственная автомобильная инспекция*) refer to the 'State Automobile Inspectorate'.

In summary, both Ukrainian and Russian have had a major impact on the vocabulary of Transcarpathian Hungarians. Although Russian has deeper historical roots in the collective memory of the population because of the Soviet era and the formerly compulsory study of Russian (Csernicskó, 1998: 213), it is now spoken mainly by the older generation. As a result of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the public use of Russian has been increasingly restricted, while Ukrainian has gained even greater prestige as the state language in the process of nation-building (Carlá & Constantin, 2025). Consequently, Ukrainian is emerging as the main donor language of the newest borrowings, and in some cases Ukrainian-based names are replacing earlier Russian-based designations for institutions and concepts. For instance, *TCK* (ukr *ТЦК ← територіальний центр комплектування* 'territorial recruitment centre') is increasingly used instead of *vojenkomát* (rus *военкомат ← военный комиссариат* 'military recruitment office') (Váradi & Csernicskó, 2025: 124–125). Thus, although scholars have regarded Russian influence as stronger in the vocabulary of Transcarpathian Hungarians because of the large number of borrowings connected with the Soviet era (see Kótyuk, 2007: 95; Lizanec, 1993: 54), the proportion of Ukrainian-origin borrowings may increase in the future.

4.2.2. Classification by etymology

Slavic borrowings were further analysed etymologically in terms of their intermediary and ultimate donor languages. Following Triberio and Avakova (2024: 172), intermediary donor languages are understood here as those through which words enter a recipient language from the ultimate donor language. The classification of borrowings according to intermediary donor languages proved to be a problematic aspect of the research because, in some cases, such as collocations and compound words, the items had passed through multiple intermediary languages. In addition, even simple lexical items were sometimes identified by etymological dictionaries as originating from more than one language. For instance, the loanword *brezent* was borrowed from ukr, rus *брезент*, which may derive from Dutch *presenning* or German *Present* (ESUM I: 251; Vasmer I: 211). Therefore, the classification of Ukrainian and Russian loanwords according to intermediary donor languages was a complex task.

Figure 9. Distribution of Slavic borrowings by intermediary donor languages



Source: compiled by the author.

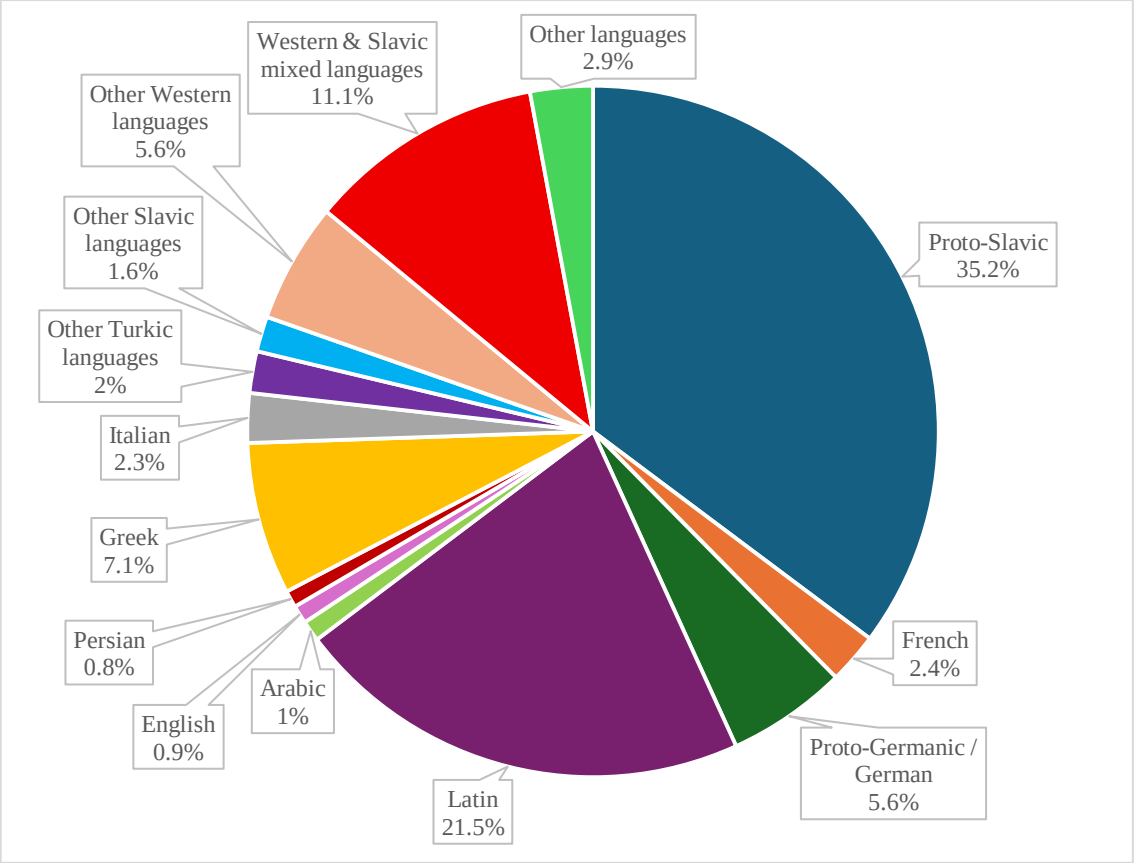
Figure 9 shows that the most common intermediary donor languages were Proto-Slavic (434), French (186), German (156), Old East Slavic (102), Latin (88), Ukrainian (87), Polish (67), Russian (63), English (54), Greek (23), and Italian (20). In addition, a considerable number of words were borrowed through other Western languages, such as Middle High German, Old High German, Romanian, Dutch, Yiddish, Spanish, Portuguese, and combinations of these, altogether in 130 cases. Another common tendency was the combination of Western and Slavic languages as intermediary donors (e.g., Latin and Old East Slavic, Latin and Proto-Slavic, French and Proto-Slavic, German and Polish, Italian and Proto-Slavic), altogether in 119 cases. Furthermore, other Slavic languages functioned as intermediary donors in 56 cases (e.g., Old Church Slavonic, Czech, and combinations of the previously mentioned Slavic languages), while other Turkic languages (e.g., Turkish, Crimean Tatar, Tatar, Kipchak, Kazakh, Chuvash) and additional languages that could not be grouped into any larger category (e.g., Arabic, Chinese, Hungarian, Georgian) also appeared in smaller numbers.

The etymological background of Slavic borrowings was further analysed in terms of ultimate donor languages, that is, the languages from which the donor-language etymons of the borrowings ultimately originated and from which they entered the intermediary donor language, either directly or through an additional intermediate language (Wohlgemuth, 2009: 51). The etymological data were derived from the previously mentioned Ukrainian and Russian etymological dictionaries. In some cases, the intermediary and ultimate donor languages were identical.

The most common ultimate donor languages were Proto-Slavic (578), Latin (353), Greek (117), and German together with its older varieties, including Middle Low German, Middle High German, Old High German, and Proto-Germanic (92). Additional donor languages included French (39), Italian (38), Arabic (16), English (14), and Persian (13). Mixed ultimate origins involving both Western and Slavic languages were also common, most notably combinations of Latin and Proto-Slavic (93), Greek and Proto-Slavic (26), and all three together (10). Other Western languages attested as ultimate donors were Dutch (10), Old Icelandic (6), Romanian (5), Portuguese (4), Spanish (4), Yiddish (2), Old French (1), and Old Norse (1), as well as combinations of these languages; for example, Greek and Latin occurred together as sources in 23 cases. Other Turkic donor languages included Tatar (10), Turkish (4), Chuvash (3), Kipchak (2), Proto-Turkic (2), Kazakh (1), and Crimean Tatar (1), as well as combinations of these languages, usually with Latin (e.g., Latin and Chuvash in 16 cases) or Proto-Slavic (e.g.,

Proto-Slavic and Chuvash in 8 cases). Among other Slavic donor languages, Old East Slavic (6), Polish (4), Old Church Slavonic (3), and Czech (2) were also identified, together with combinations of these languages. Other languages that did not fit into any of the above categories were Chinese (4), Mongolian (2), Gujarati (2), Marathi (2), Udmurt (2), Komi (1), Lithuanian (1), and Georgian (1). For a detailed summary of the origin of Slavic borrowings used by Transcarpathian Hungarians, see Figure 10.

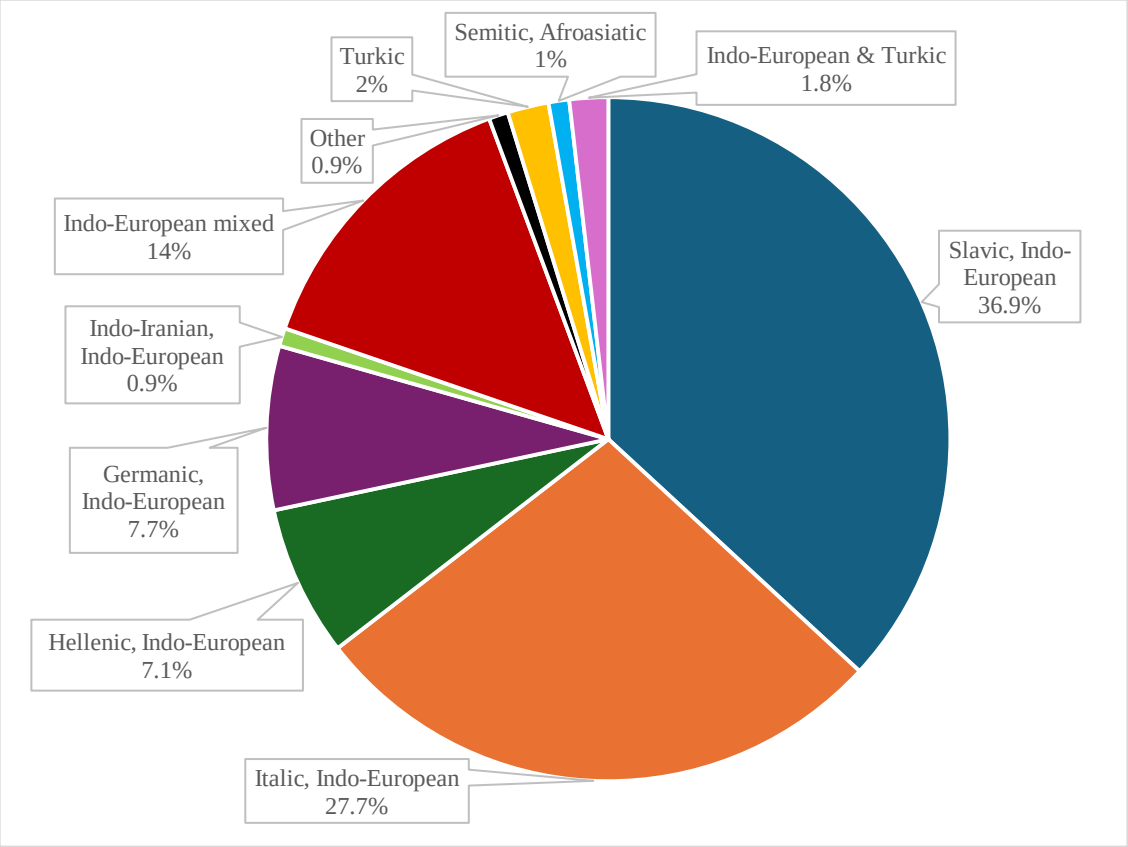
Figure 10. Distribution of Slavic borrowings by ultimate donor languages



Source: compiled by the author.

If we take a further step back and analyse the borrowings according to their ultimate donor language families (see Campbell & Poser, 2008; Pereltsvaig, 2012), Figure 11 shows that the various branches of the Indo-European language family dominated the borrowing process.

Figure 11. Distribution of Slavic borrowings by ultimate donor language family



Source: compiled by the author.

Ultimately, most borrowings were of Slavic origin (605), while borrowings of Italic (454), Germanic (127), and Hellenic (117) origin were also common. Borrowings of Indo-Iranian (14) and Baltic (1) origin were much less widespread. The mixed Indo-European category (231) consisted most commonly of combinations of Slavic and Italic languages. In addition to Indo-European languages, a small number of borrowings originated from the Turkic language family (32), the Semitic branch of the Afroasiatic family (16), the Sinitic branch of the Sino-Tibetan family (4), the Central Mongolic branch of the Mongolic family (2), the Permic branch of the Uralic family (1), and the Kartvelian language family (1). Indo-European-origin words were also frequently combined in etymologies with Turkic (30), Semitic (5), and Permic (1) elements.

In summary, the two most common ultimate sources of Slavic borrowings were Proto-Slavic, belonging to the Slavic branch of the Indo-European language family, and Latin, belonging to the Italic branch of the same family. Other important sources included Germanic languages (e.g., German, English, Dutch), Greek as a Hellenic language, and various Turkic languages (e.g., Turkish, Tatar, Chuvash). Words of Slavic origin were

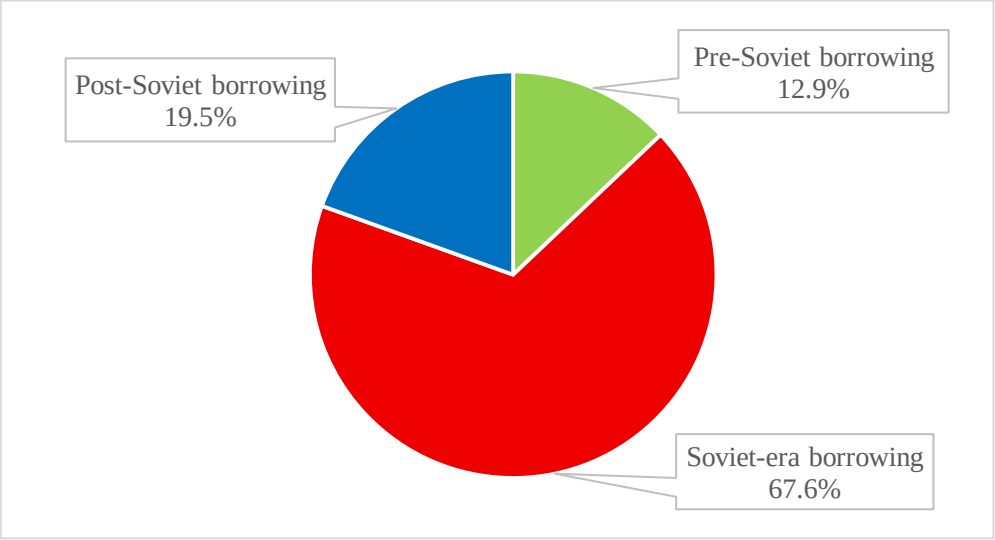
usually borrowed through Old East Slavic, Polish, or directly from Proto-Slavic, whereas among the so-called Western languages, the most common intermediary donor languages were French, German, and English. However, since borrowed items were not always simple lexical units, but often compounds, acronyms, or initialisms, they frequently displayed mixed origins involving various Slavic, Italic, Hellenic, and Turkic languages.

4.2.3. Classification by time of borrowing

As explained in the previous chapter, Slavic borrowings were classified into three groups according to their estimated time of borrowing. The largest group consisted of borrowings acquired during the Soviet era in Transcarpathia (1,109), followed by post-Soviet borrowings (320), while pre-Soviet borrowings were the least numerous (212) (see Figure 12).

The dominance of Soviet-era borrowings can be explained by the fact that, after Transcarpathia was occupied by the Soviet army in 1944 and became part of the Soviet Union in 1945 (Molnár D., 2022: 15), the local Hungarian-speaking population came into prolonged and intensive contact primarily with Russian, and to a lesser extent with Ukrainian, in administration, education, military service, the workplace, and public life. This contact situation introduced a large number of new economic, political, social, and educational concepts, institutions, and objects into everyday life, thereby strongly facilitating lexical borrowing. In addition to its quantitative significance, this chronological layer is also sociolinguistically important, as it reflects the period of the most intensive and institutionally embedded Slavic–Hungarian language contact in the region.

Figure 12. Distribution of Slavic borrowings by time of borrowing



Source: compiled by the author.

Gazdag (2021e: 143) also noted that the majority of Slavic loanwords were borrowed after 1945, while words of Ukrainian origin were primarily adopted after Ukraine's independence, since Russian had dominated nearly all spheres of language use until 1991. Lizanec (1993: 51–54) likewise attempted a chronological classification of Slavic borrowings, but concluded that older borrowings, that is, those adopted between the twelfth century and 1945, were more numerous than newer ones borrowed after 1945. The present quantitative results, however, suggest the opposite, highlighting the clear predominance of Soviet-era borrowings in the dataset. At the same time, the determination of the time of borrowing was not always straightforward and inevitably involved a certain degree of researcher judgement; therefore, these findings should be interpreted with caution.

Most borrowings were classified chronologically on the basis of their meanings and historical background. Because the precise time of borrowing cannot usually be established with certainty, the classification relied mainly on semantic content and on the historical and sociocultural context in which the referents emerged or became widespread. The most common tendencies are summarised in Table 10.

Table 10. Chronological classification of Slavic borrowings

Era	Category	Example	Meaning
Pre-Soviet	Traditions	*mohorics*	festive meal
	People's behaviour	*nyeborák*	hopeless, desperate person
	Basic verbs	*drimál*	to nap; to sleep
	Food	*pirozski*	doughnut; filled bun
	Culture	*garmoska*	Russian accordion type; garmon
Soviet-era	Soviet clothing	*gimnasztyorka*	tunic; Russian military smock
	Soviet organisations	*rájkom*	district committee; district council
	Soviet military ranks	*sztársij lityinánt*	senior lieutenant
	Soviet institutions	*kombinát*	industrial complex; combine
	Soviet politics	*pártszekretár*	party secretary
	Soviet history	*kolhoz*	collective farm in the Soviet Union
Post-Soviet	Modern technology	*fleska*	USB flash drive; pen drive
	Ukrainian politics	*Nasa Ukrajina*	Our Ukraine (right-wing political party)
	Russo–Ukrainian war	*brony*	temporary exemption from service
	Educational reforms	*NMT*	National Multi-subject Test
	Administrative reforms	*OTH*	municipal association; microregion

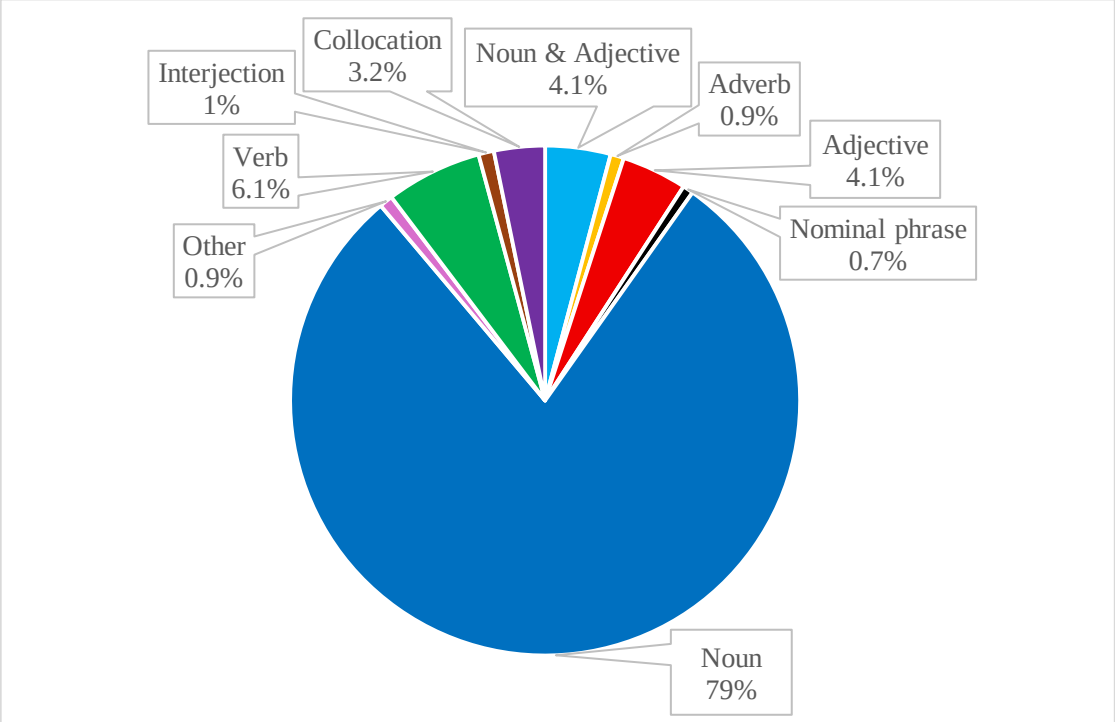
Source: compiled by the author.

The pre-Soviet layer typically includes words related to traditional rural life, food, culture, and everyday human behaviour. The Soviet-era layer is dominated by lexical items connected with Soviet administration, politics, military life, institutions, and material culture, reflecting the period of the most intensive Russian- and Ukrainian-mediated contact. By contrast, the post-Soviet layer contains more recent borrowings associated with independent Ukraine, including political terminology, administrative and educational reforms, modern technology, and vocabulary related to the Russo–Ukrainian war (see Váradi & Csernicskó, 2025).

4.2.4. Classification by parts of speech

In terms of part-of-speech distribution, the most numerous categories among Ukrainian and Russian borrowings were nouns (1,297), verbs (100), adjectives (68), items with dual part-of-speech status (noun–adjective items) (68), collocations (53), interjections (16), adverbs (14), and nominal phrases (11) (see Figure 13).

Figure 13. Distribution of Slavic borrowings by parts of speech



Source: compiled by the author.

The *Other* category included one verbal phrase (the calque *ránősül valakire* ‘to marry someone’), as well as various borrowings with multiple part-of-speech classifications:

- **adjective and interjection** (1): *mologyec* ‘1. smart; 2. well done!; good job!’;
- **adjective, adverb, and interjection** (2): *dobre* ‘1. good; nice; 2. well; 3. all right; okay’; *háráso* ‘1. good; nice; 2. well; 3. all right; okay’;
- **adjective, adverb, and noun** (1): *ávtomát* ‘1. automatic; 2. automatically; 3. assault rifle; 4. automatic grade entry in the grade book’;
- **adverb and interjection** (3): *kányesno* ‘1. of course; certainly; 2. sure’; *tyipá* ‘like; as if; seemingly’; *vszjo* ‘1. all; everyone; 2. that’s it; done; enough’;
- **adverb, particle, and interjection** (3): *ták* ‘yes’; *dá* ‘yes’; *nyet* ‘no’;
- **verb and interjection** (1): *dáváj* ‘1. give something to somebody; 2. come on’;
- **noun and verb** (1): *csujes* ‘1. Slavic peasant; 2. a derogatory nickname for Transcarpathian Ukrainians; 3. do you hear?’;
- **noun and interjection** (1): *blin* ‘1. pancake; 2. damn it!’.

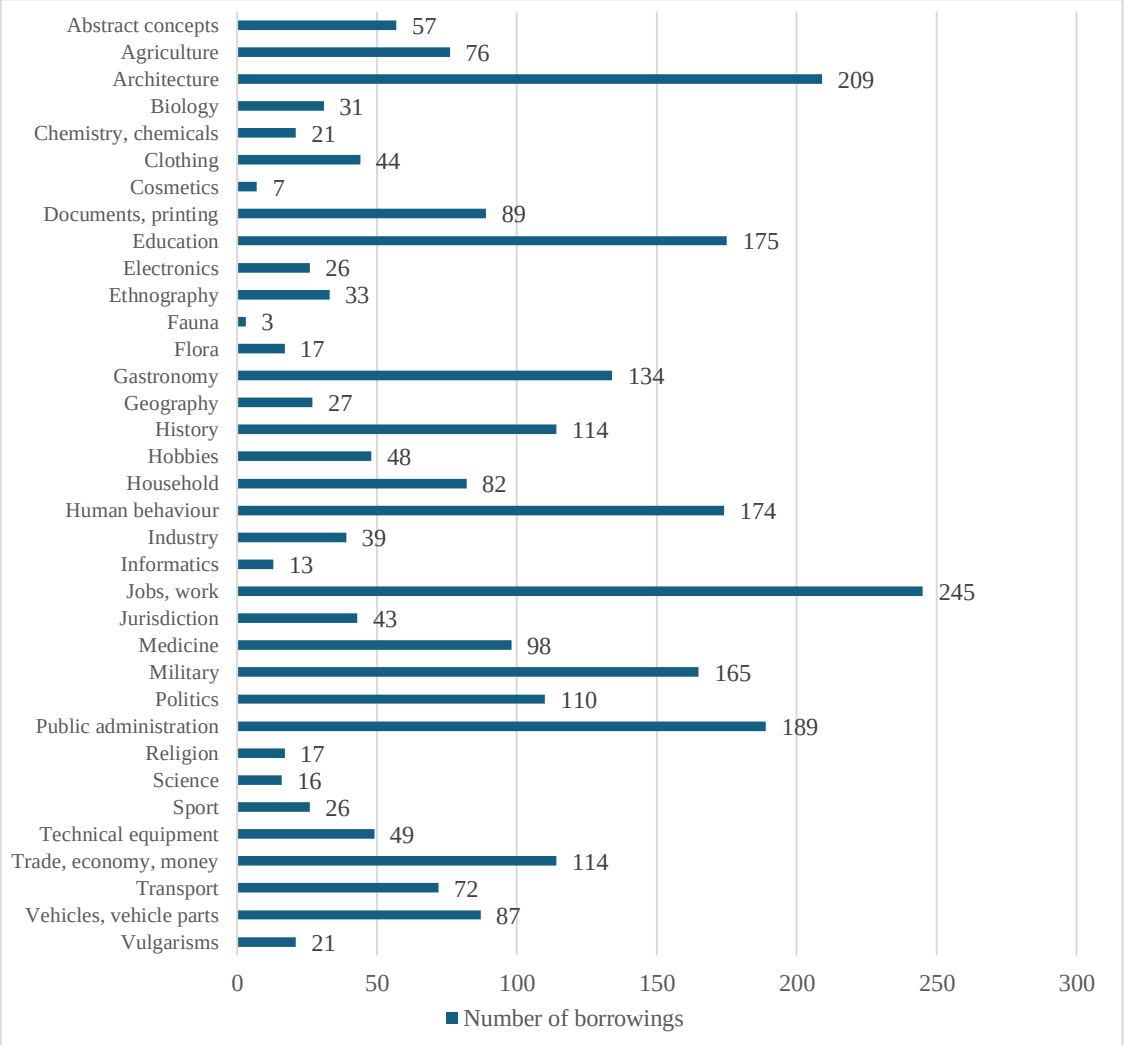
A general cross-linguistic tendency is that nouns, verbs, and adjectives are the three most frequently borrowed parts of speech (Muysken, 1981, 2010: 271; Weinreich, 1953: 35). For example, of the 247 borrowings collected by Kótyuk (2007), 172 were nouns (69.6%), while of the 581 borrowings identified by Gazdag (2021e), 508 were nouns (87.4%). A similar pattern was observed in the present dissertation, in which 79% of the 1,641 collected borrowings were nouns, followed by verbs (6.1%) and adjectives (4.1%).

4.2.5. Classification by semantic fields

For the semantic categorisation of Slavic borrowings, 35 semantic fields were used (see Chapter 3.2.1), and lexical items were in most cases classified into more than one semantic category. For instance, the hybrid loanword *kolhozbuhalter* ‘the accountant of a collective farm’ was classified into four semantic fields: 1) history, 2) agriculture, 3) jobs and work, and 4) trade, economy, and money. For the detailed results, see Figure 14.

Slavic borrowings had the strongest impact on the following semantic fields: jobs and work (245), architecture (209), public administration (189), education (175), human behaviour (174), military (165), gastronomy (134), history (114), trade, economy, and money (114), and politics (110). The high number of Slavic loanwords in the fields of jobs/work and architecture can be explained by the fact that everyday life, employment, crafts, construction, and the built environment have long been important areas of close contact between Hungarian and the surrounding Slavic languages.

Figure 14. Distribution of Slavic borrowings by semantic fields



Source: compiled by the author.

In addition, the dominance of the state language is clearly visible in official domains of language use, such as public administration, education, trade, economy, money, and politics. Since these spheres were, and continue to be, largely organised through the language of the state, first Russian during the Soviet period and later Ukrainian in independent Ukraine, Hungarian speakers in Transcarpathia have been regularly exposed to Slavic terminology connected to institutions, bureaucratic procedures, official positions, educational structures, and political life (Csernicskó & Márku, 2007: 14; Csernicskó et al., 2023: 94–96). As a result, these semantic fields contain a particularly large number of borrowings.

In the case of gastronomy and human behaviour, many Slavic loanwords are connected to Slavic cuisine, food and drink, character types, and verbs denoting human actions, emotions, and patterns of behaviour. These borrowings reflect informal, everyday interpersonal contact and the cultural influence of neighbouring Slavic communities on

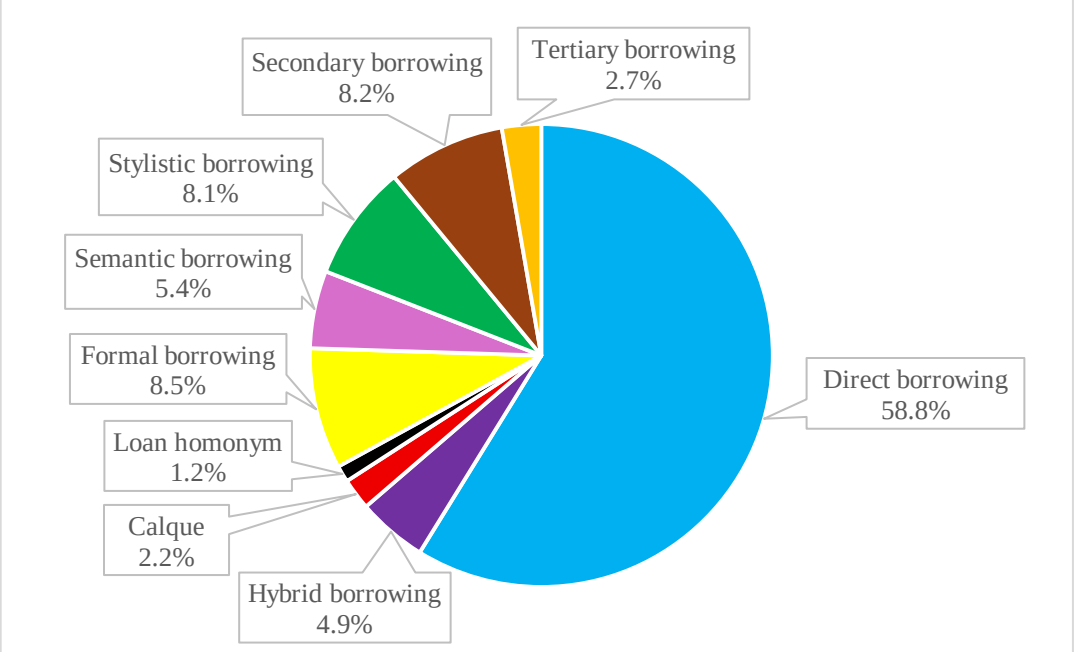
domestic life, eating habits, and colloquial speech. For this reason, such contact elements are often regarded as pre-Soviet borrowings (Lizanec, 1993).

Finally, the history of Transcarpathian Hungarians is deeply intertwined with that of the dominant ethnic and political groups of the region. As a result of the Soviet period, as well as the historical developments of independent Ukraine and its turbulent recent history, including Euromaidan, the Anti-Terrorist Operation, and the Russo–Ukrainian war, a considerable number of loanwords are related to the semantic field of history (see Csernicskó & Márku, 2021, 2022; Gazdag, 2020d, 2021c, 2022a; Váradi & Csernicskó, 2025). These items often refer to political events, institutions, ideologies, and historical experiences that became part of the everyday reality of the local Hungarian-speaking population.

4.2.6. Classification by loanword types

Nine loanword types were used to classify the Slavic borrowings in the dataset (see Chapter 2.2.1). Direct borrowings were the most numerous category (965), followed by formal borrowings (139), secondary borrowings (135), stylistic borrowings (133), semantic borrowings (89), and hybrid borrowings (80). The least numerous types were the more specific categories involving morphological change, loan translation, and semantic homonymy: tertiary borrowings (45), calques (36), and loan homonyms (19) (see Figure 15).

Figure 15. Distribution of Slavic borrowings by loanword types



Source: compiled by the author.

Gazdag (2021e: 150) distinguished five loanword types and likewise found that the largest group consisted of direct borrowings (85.7%). However, the classification used in the present dissertation is more detailed and more closely aligned with the editorial principles of the TOHDD. One major difference between this categorisation and that used by Gazdag (2021e) is that each individual borrowing, including hybrid, secondary, and tertiary formations, was treated as a separate entry rather than as a derivative of the main headword.

For example, on the basis of the direct borrowing *remont* (noun) 'repair; fixing; maintenance; renovation', four secondary and tertiary borrowings and one hybrid borrowing were identified, each with distinct meanings and part-of-speech categories: *remontol / megremontol* (verb) '1. to repair; to fix (a car); 2. to renovate (a house)'; *remontoló* (noun) 'repair worker'; *remontolva* (adverb) 'repaired; fixed'; *általános remont* (nominal phrase) '1. major renovation; 2. car repair; general overhaul'. The word-formation productivity of Slavic borrowings through Hungarian prefixes and suffixes was also noted by Kótyuk (2007: 120–134) and Csernicskó (1995: 141–143).

Another similar case is the direct loanword *pidzsák* 'a private individual who receives goods brought from abroad from a trader at one border crossing and transports them duty-free into Ukraine' and its secondary and tertiary derivatives, such as *pidzsákol, pidzsákolás, pidzsákolási, pidzsákoló,* and *pidzsákos* (see Csernicskó & Kontra, 2018: 98). This is a relatively recent phenomenon reflected mainly in social media, where users write comments and posts in a way that is closer to everyday speech, thereby facilitating the emergence of new loanword forms and derivatives.

Furthermore, some borrowings are especially productive in the creation of hybrid variants, such as *milícia* 'police', *kombinát* 'industrial complex; combine', *felcser* 'medical assistant', *kolhoz* 'collective farm', *saslik* 'a dish consisting of marinated pieces of meat and onions skewered together and grilled over hot coals', and *szovhoz* 'state-owned Soviet farm'.

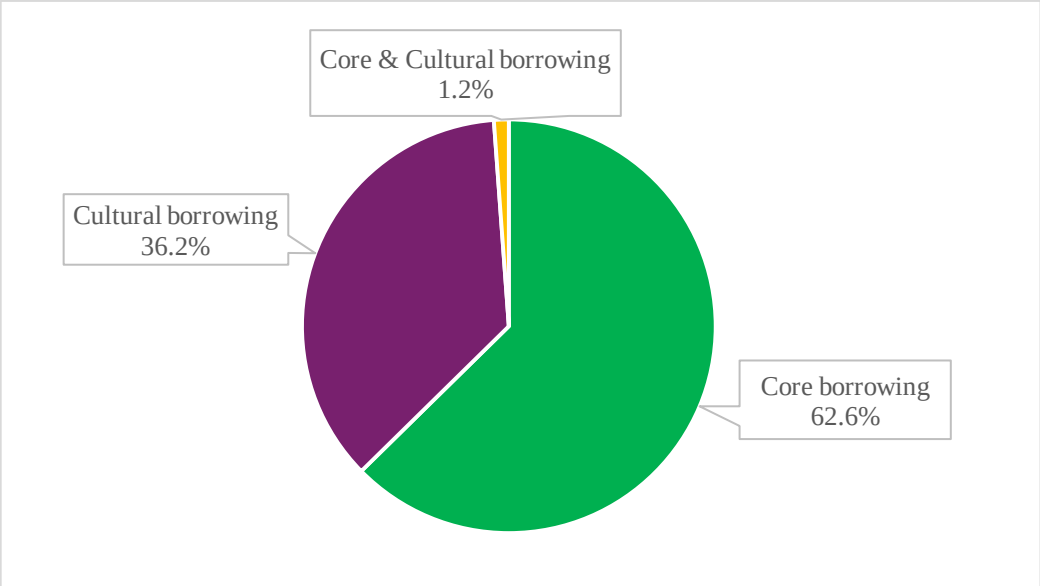
4.2.7. Classification by motivation for borrowing

Based on the motivations or reasons for borrowing, two categories were distinguished: core and cultural borrowings (see Chapter 2.2.2). Most Slavic borrowings were core borrowings (1,028), that is, they were borrowed alongside standard Hungarian equivalents. In this sense, they often functioned as non-essential loan items, and scholars refer to them as "luxury loanwords" (see Pulcini, 2023: 54). For example, although the loanword *szoljárka* is used to mean 'diesel oil; fuel', it does not carry any specific cultural connotations, and the Hungarian equivalents *gázolaj* and *üzemanyag* are widespread.

The other type consisted of cultural borrowings (594), which are also termed "necessary loans" because they denote referents that had not previously been named in the recipient language (Haspelmath, 2009: 46–48; Myers-Scotton, 2002: 41). These words were called xenisms by Benő (2008: 20), because they refer to culturally specific concepts for which no recipient-language equivalent previously existed. For instance, *burjácska* 'brandy made from sugar beet'; *durákozik* 'to play Durak, a traditional Russian card game'; and *trembita* 'Ukrainian folk wind instrument; alpine horn'. These cultural borrowings reflect the deep cultural connections between the Hungarian and Slavic populations of the region, as they refer to traditional food, drinks, dances, musical instruments, historical realia, institutions, organisations, positions, occupations, and various social, economic, educational, and political concepts specific to Slavic culture.

In addition, a small number of borrowings (19) were grouped into both categories because their different meanings referred to both general and culturally specific concepts. For example, *cserpák* has three meanings: '1. ladle; 2. landing net; 3. a person serving food in the army mess (figuratively)'. In the first two senses, it is a core borrowing; in the third, figurative sense, it is a cultural borrowing used in the Soviet army. The same is true of *holodomor*: as a common noun, it refers to famine in general; as a proper noun written with a capital initial, it refers to the massive famine in Ukraine in the early 1930s. The results are summarised in Figure 16.

Figure 16. Distribution of Slavic borrowings by motivation for borrowing



Source: compiled by the author.

4.3. Accommodation of Slavic borrowings

As discussed in Chapter 2.2.3, lexical borrowings may undergo phonological, morphosyntactic, and semantic adaptation as part of their accommodation in the recipient language (Wohlgemuth, 2009: 56). The following subsections examine these accommodation processes in borrowings of Ukrainian and Russian origin used in the Transcarpathian variety of Hungarian.

4.3.1. Phonological adaptation

Phonological adaptation is particularly important when the donor and recipient languages are not genealogically related. This is also characteristic of the contact situation analysed in the present dissertation, as Ukrainian and Russian belong to the East Slavic branch of the Indo-European language family (Sussex & Cubberley, 2006), whereas Hungarian is a Uralic language of the Finno-Ugric branch (Kenesei & Szécsényi, 2022). For the purposes of analysing the phonological adaptation of loanwords, the discussion is divided into two parts: vowels and consonants.

4.3.1.1. Adaptation of vowels

As shown in Table 11, the adaptation of Slavic vowels in Transcarpathian Hungarian displays several recurrent substitution patterns, some of which have also been discussed in previous research (see Bárány & Gazdag, 2024a, 2025b; Gazdag, 2021e: 151–152).

In the case of Ukrainian *а* /ɑ/ and Russian *а* /a/, the most common Hungarian correspondent is *a* /ɒ/, as in *aptecska* ‘first-aid kit’ (ukr, rus *аптечка*). However, this vowel may also be adapted as Hungarian *á* /aː/, for example in *doklád* ‘written report’ (ukr, rus *доклад*), as *o* /o/, as in *bordacsok* ‘glove compartment’ (ukr, rus *бардачок*), or as *e* /ɛ/, as in *element* ‘alimony’ (ukr *аліменти*, rus *алименты*). This variation suggests that the adaptation of Slavic /a/ was not entirely uniform, but depended on factors such as phonetic environment, stress, and analogy with already established forms.

Ukrainian *о* /ɔ/ and Russian *о* /o/ were most frequently substituted by Hungarian *o* /o/, for instance in *roddom* ‘maternity ward’ (rus *роддом*). At the same time, the long Hungarian counterpart *ó* /oː/ also occurs, as in *zabór* ‘fence’ (rus *забор*). Less regular substitutions include Hungarian *u* /u/, as in *murkó* ‘carrot’ (rus *морковь*), *a* /ɒ/, as in *szvidoctva* ‘certificate’ (ukr *свідоцтво*), and *á* /aː/, as in *gárbuska* ‘crust; end-piece of a

loaf of bread’ (rus *горбушка*). These patterns indicate that the adaptation of Slavic /o/ was likewise variable and could deviate from direct phonological correspondence.

The high back rounded vowel *y* /u/ in both Ukrainian and Russian was generally preserved as Hungarian *u* /u/, as illustrated by *tumbocska* ‘bedside table’ (ukr, rus *тумбочка*). In some cases, however, it appears as long *ú* /u:/, for example in *kommendatúra* ‘commandant’s office’ (ukr, rus *комендатура*), or as *o* /o/, as in *csuhon* ‘cast iron’ (rus *чугун*). The occurrence of long *ú* may partly reflect analogy with already existing Hungarian words ending in *-úra* (e.g., hun *kultúra* ‘culture’, *cenzúra* ‘censorship’).

Table 11. Vowel substitution patterns in Slavic borrowings

Vowels and their IPA values			**Examples**
Ukrainian	**Russian**	**Hungarian**	
a /ɑ/	a /a/	a /ɒ/	*аптечка* → *aptecska* ‘first-aid kit’
		á /a:/	*доклад* → *dokládd* ‘written report’
		o /o/	*бардачок* → *bordacsok* ‘glove compartment’
		e /ɛ/	*аліменти / алименты* → *element* ‘alimony’
o /ɔ/	o /o/	o /o/	*роддом* → *roddom* ‘maternity ward’
		ó /o:/	*забор* → *zabór* ‘fence’
		u /u/	*морковь* → *murkó* ‘carrot’
		a /ɒ/	*свідоцтво* → *szvidoctva* ‘certificate’
		á /a:/	*горбушка* → *gárbuska* ‘crust; end-piece of a loaf of bread’
y /u/	y /u/	u /u/	*тумбочка* → *tumbocska* ‘bedside table’
		ú /u:/	*комендатура* → *kommendatúra* ‘commandant’s office’
		o /o/	*чугун* → *csuhon* ‘cast iron’
e /ɛ/	e /e/	e /ɛ/	*декрет* → *dekret* ‘maternity leave’
		é /e:/	*услужение* → *uszluszsényije* ‘service’
		i /i/	*клейонка / клеёнка* → *klijonka* ‘nylon fabric; oilcloth’
		í /i:/	*піонер / пионер* → *pionír* ‘Soviet pioneer’
		á /a:/	*швейна / швейная* → *svájna* ‘garment factory’
и /ɪ/	и /i/	i /i/	*старик* → *sztárik* ‘elderly man; old soldier’
		í /i:/	*командир* → *komengyír* ‘commander’
		e /ɛ/	*пластилін / пластилин* → *plasztelin* ‘plasticine’
		é /e:/	*щоденник* → *scsodennék* ‘school record book; work log’
		ö /ø/	*фабрика* → *fábröka* ‘plant; factory’
		ő /ø:/	*рекетир / рэкетир* → *reketőr* ‘racketeer; gangster’
i /i/	ы /ɨ/	i /i/	*барышня* → *bárisnya* ‘refined woman; lady’
		í /i:/	*архів* → *archív* ‘archives; records room’
		e /ɛ/	*білизна* → *belizna* ‘bleaching agent; bed linen’
		é /e:/	*берёзовый сок* → *berezovéj szok* ‘birch sap’
		o /o/	*замыкание* → *zamokányije* ‘short circuit’

Source: compiled by the author.

The adaptation of Ukrainian *e* /ɛ/ and Russian *e* /e/ shows similarly diverse outcomes. In most cases, these vowels correspond to Hungarian *e* /ɛ/, as in *dekret* ‘maternity leave’ (ukr, rus *декрет*). They may also appear as Hungarian *é* /eː/, for example in *uszluszsényije* ‘service’ (rus *услужение*), as *i* /i/, as in *klijonka* ‘nylon fabric; oilcloth’ (ukr *клейонка*, rus *клеёнка*), as *í* /iː/, as in *pionír* ‘Soviet pioneer’ (ukr *піонер*, rus *пионер*), or even as *á* /aː/, as in *svájna* ‘garment factory’ (ukr *швейна*, rus *швейная*). This range of substitutions suggests that front vowels show considerable variation in the borrowing process.

A further important group consists of Ukrainian *и* /ɪ/ and Russian *и* /i/, which most often correspond to Hungarian *i* /i/, as in *sztárik* ‘elderly man; old soldier’ (rus *старик*). Nevertheless, the long Hungarian *í* /iː/ is also found, for example in *komengyír* ‘commander’ (ukr, rus *командир*). Additional substitutions include *e* /ɛ/, as in *plasztelin* ‘plasticine’ (ukr *пластилін*, rus *пластилин*), *é* /eː/, as in *scsodennék* ‘school record book; work log’ (ukr *щоденник*), *ö* /ø/, as in *fábröka* ‘plant; factory’ (ukr, rus *фабрика*), and *ő* /øː/, as in *reketőr* ‘racketeer; gangster’ (ukr *рекетир*, rus *рэкетир*). These examples demonstrate that the adaptation of high front vowels could involve both quantitative and qualitative changes in Hungarian.

Finally, Ukrainian *i* /i/ and Russian *ы* /ɨ/ are most commonly reflected as Hungarian *i* /i/, as in *bárisnya* ‘refined woman; lady’ (rus *барышня*). At the same time, Hungarian *í* /iː/ also occurs, as in *archív* ‘archives; records room’ (ukr *архів*). Other outcomes include *e* /ɛ/, as in *belizna* ‘bleaching agent; bed linen’ (ukr *білизна*), *é* /eː/, as in *berezovéj szok* ‘birch sap’ (rus *берёзовый сок*), and *o* /o/, as in *zamokányije* ‘short circuit’ (rus *замыкание*).

In summary, the vowel adaptation of Slavic borrowings in Transcarpathian Hungarian shows both systematicity and variation. In many cases, the borrowed vowel was replaced by the closest Hungarian phonological equivalent, but the data also reveal the importance of vowel length, stress, analogy, and donor-language variation. This indicates that vowel substitution was governed not by phonetic similarity alone, but by the interaction of several phonological and lexical factors.

4.3.1.2. Adaptation of consonants

The consonantal adaptation of Slavic borrowings in Transcarpathian Hungarian likewise shows a number of recurrent patterns. In the case of hard Slavic consonants, the attested loanwords usually contain their closest Hungarian phonological counterparts. This can be seen in forms such as *deputát* ‘deputy; representative’ (ukr, rus *депутат*), *rota* ‘(military) company’ (ukr, rus *рота*), and *trosz* ‘steel wire rope’ (ukr, rus *трос*).

At the same time, the dataset also reveals a certain degree of variation. In some cases, both the voiced and voiceless members of a plosive pair occur in the borrowed forms, as in *ocsered* vs. *ocseret* or *ocseregy* vs. *ocseretyː* 'row; queue; order' (rus *очередь*), and *beszedka* vs. *beszetka* '1. garden pavilion; 2. gazebo' (rus *беседка*). A similar alternation can be observed in the case of the labiodental consonants /v/ and /f/, as in *szovhoz* and *szofhoz* 'state-owned Soviet farm' (rus *совхоз*) (see Gazdag, 2017b: 20). Such variation suggests that consonant substitution was not always fully stabilised and may have been influenced by pronunciation, orthographic mediation, or analogy with competing forms already circulating in the speech community.

A particularly important feature of consonant adaptation concerns palatalised consonants. In the case of Ukrainian and Russian *д'* /dʲ/, *н'* /nʲ/, *т'* /tʲ/, and *л'* /lʲ/, the loanwords often preserve palatality through their closest Hungarian equivalents, as in *gyengi* 'money' (rus *деньги*), *linyijka* '1. ruler; 2. assembly; line-up' (ukr *лінійка*, rus *линейка*), *mantyirovka* '1. wrench; 2. crowbar' (rus *монтировка*), and *fizkulytura* 'physical education; PE class' (ukr *фізкультура*, rus *физкультура*). This indicates that palatalisation, as a salient phonological feature of the donor languages, was often perceptible enough to be reflected in the recipient forms.

Another important pattern concerns the adaptation of Ukrainian *г* /ɦ/ and Russian *г* /g/, which may be reflected both as /g/ and /h/ in Hungarian loanwords. Examples with /h/ include *dorohi* 'expensive' (ukr *дорогий*) and *horilka* 'Ukrainian vodka' (ukr *горілка*), while examples with /g/ include *grecska* 'buckwheat' (ukr, rus *гречка*) and *nálog* 'tax' (rus *налог*). This variation is not surprising, since the phonetic value and distribution of *г* differ across Ukrainian and Russian, which may have contributed to multiple adaptation strategies in Transcarpathian Hungarian. In some cases, both consonants appear in variant forms of the same loanword. For instance, *pidcserha ~ pidcserga* 'subgroup of the planned electricity outage schedule' and *pirog ~ piroha* 'stuffed pastry (with meat, vegetables, or fruit)'.

The consonant *х* /x/ in Ukrainian and Russian also shows variable adaptation. In the attested loanwords, it may correspond either to Hungarian *h* /h/ or to Hungarian *ch* /ç ~ x/. For example, *mahorka* 'coarse tobacco' (ukr, rus *махорка*), *hárkál* '1. to clear one's throat; 2. to spit' (ukr *харкати*, rus *харкать*), *mechánik* 'mechanic; engineer' (ukr *механік*, rus *механик*), and *techoszmotr* 'vehicle technical inspection' (rus *техосмотр*).

The consonant sound /h/ also appears in forms containing the letter combination *хг*, for example *buhálteria* 'accounting department' (ukr *бухгалтерія*, rus *бухгалтерия*). These examples suggest that velar and glottal fricatives were adapted with some

flexibility, depending on both phonetic similarity and established Hungarian spelling and pronunciation conventions. A further recurrent process can be observed in words where the donor-language form contains the sequence *ля*. In such cases, the Hungarian loanword often contains *lj*, as in *zemljánka* ‘dugout; earth-house’ (ukr, rus *землянка*) and *beljasi* ‘fried dough pastry’ (ukr *біляш*, rus *беляш*). This reflects an attempt to preserve the palatalised quality of the consonant-vowel sequence within the constraints of Hungarian phonology and orthography (Gazdag, 2017f: 129).

Finally, some consonantal patterns are linked not only to phonological accommodation, but also to broader morphological and lexical analogy. A good example is the Latin-derived suffix *-ция / -ція*, which is regularly realised as *-ció* in established Hungarian loanwords, for example *attesztáció* ‘1. qualification of educational and law enforcement personnel; 2. secondary school leaving examination’ (ukr *атестація*, rus *аттестация*) and *dekommunizáció* ‘the removal and replacement of monuments and public space names that remained from the Soviet era’ (ukr *декомунізація*, rus *декоммунизация*). This adaptation was probably reinforced by analogy with already existing Hungarian words of Latin origin, such as *adminisztráció*, *koalíció*, and *információ*. In this case, therefore, the borrowed forms were shaped not only by direct sound substitution, but also by the influence of productive and familiar word patterns in Hungarian. It should be noted, however, that direct borrowings often retain the phonetic form of the Ukrainian or Russian source words without such adaptation, as in *dezinfekcijá* ‘disinfection’ (ukr *дезінфекція*; rus *дезинфекция*) and *kvitáncia* ‘1. receipt; 2. payment slip’ (ukr *квитанція*, rus *квитанция*).

To sum up, the consonantal adaptation of Slavic borrowings is governed by a combination of phonetic similarity, phonological compatibility, orthographic influence, and analogy. While many consonants were replaced by their closest Hungarian equivalents in a relatively regular manner, the dataset also reveals a number of variable and non-uniform outcomes, especially in the case of palatalised consonants, fricatives, and consonants whose pronunciation differs between Ukrainian and Russian. This confirms that consonant adaptation, much like vowel adaptation, was not a purely mechanical process, but rather the result of interaction between the phonological systems of the donor and recipient languages.

4.3.2. Morphological adaptation

Slavic loanwords are adapted not only phonologically, but also morphologically. In the present dissertation, morphological adaptation refers to the integration of borrowed lexical items into the grammatical and word-formation system of Hungarian, especially through

the addition of Hungarian derivational affixes and the creation of new derived forms. This process is primarily reflected in the creation of secondary and tertiary borrowings through the addition of Hungarian prefixes and suffixes. Out of the 1,641 analysed Slavic contact items, 135 were secondary borrowings and 45 were tertiary borrowings, together accounting for 10.9% of the lexical dataset. These formations indicate that Slavic loanwords are not merely reproduced as isolated foreign elements, but are actively incorporated into Hungarian morphological patterns.

Similarly to the findings of previous studies (see Csernicskó, 1995: 141–143; Gazdag, 2021e: 154; Kótyuk, 2007: 120–134), changes in the part-of-speech categories of Slavic borrowings were observed in several cases: verbs, adjectives, nouns, and adverbs were created either from a direct borrowing or from a secondary borrowing through the addition of Hungarian affixes. The data also show that verbal derivatives were particularly frequent, especially those formed with the suffixes *-z(ik)* and *-l*, which suggests that verb formation was one of the most productive means of morphological integration. This is not surprising, since these suffixes are highly productive in Hungarian verb formation, whereas Ukrainian and Russian donor verbs typically appear in infinitive forms ending in *-ити* / *-ить*. When borrowed into Hungarian, these verbs are adapted to the grammatical and morphological patterns of the recipient language. For a detailed list of the morphological changes found in secondary borrowings, see Table 12.

Table 12. Morphological adaptation of secondary borrowings

Part of speech	Hungarian affix	Example
Verb	*-z*	*platyiz* ‘to pay’
	-zik	*avváriázik* ‘to have an accident; to crash’
	-l	*brakkol* ‘to discard’
Adjective	*-s*	*batris* ‘battery-powered’
	-i	*praktikai* ‘practical’
	-nyi	*bánkányi* ‘a jarful of (something)’
Noun	*-ista*	*gáterista* ‘sawmill worker’
	-s	*bezpekás* ‘employee of the State Security Service’
	-ság	*tupojság* ‘stupidity’
Adverb	*-ul*	*prikolul* ‘in a funny or comic way’

Source: compiled by the author.

In several cases, multiple derived borrowings were formed from the same base loanword. For instance, *dezsurka* '1. duty; 2. service; 3. the office of the person on duty' (noun), *dezsurnij* 'a person on call or on duty (e.g., a doctor, police officer, or firefighter)' (noun), *dezsurál* 'to stand guard; to watch over; to be on duty' (verb), and *dezsuráló* '1. a person on call or on duty; 2. on-duty (doctor, police officer, firefighter)' (noun and adjective). As these examples show, the addition of Hungarian affixes may not only change the part of speech of loanwords, but may also result in forms with dual part-of-speech status. This further demonstrates that morphological integration may involve not only formal adaptation, but also functional expansion within the recipient language.

Another tendency related to the integration of secondary borrowings was the clipping of existing direct borrowings. For example, *obsezsit* → *obsi* '1. student dormitory; 2. shared accommodation; workers' hostel'; *kooperativa* → *kopera* 'cooperative store; shop'; *meducsiliscse* → *meducsi* 'medical vocational school'; *mikrorajon* → *mikra* 'microdistrict; residential district'; *ucsiliscse* → *ucsi* 'vocational school'; *sztipendium* → *sztipi* 'scholarship'; *nasaukrajinás* → *nasás* '1. a member or sympathiser of the right-wing party Our Ukraine (*Nasha Ukraina*); 2. something or somebody related to the Our Ukraine party'; *milicista* → *milic* 'policeman'; and *prokuratúra* → *proku* 'prosecutor's office; prosecution'. Although clipping is not derivation in the narrow sense, it nevertheless represents an important type of morphological and lexical restructuring, since the borrowed forms are reshaped in accordance with Hungarian usage and lexical economy. This is also a clear sign of the morphological adaptation of Slavic borrowings.

In addition, the morphological assimilation of Slavic loanwords into the Hungarian lexicon is also evidenced by the creation of 80 hybrid borrowings, which account for 4.9% of the analysed dataset. Hybrid formations are especially important because they show that Slavic and Hungarian lexical and morphological elements may combine productively within a single word or expression. In other words, these forms indicate not only borrowing, but also the active interaction of the two linguistic systems in contact.

In some cases, several hybrid loanwords were formed to denote the same concept: *csurmalakó* and *csurmatöltelék* both mean 'prisoner; convict', while *kasszírnéni* and *kasszírnő* both refer to a 'female cashier'. A particularly productive Hungarian hybrid element is the initial constituent *fő-*, as in *főbuhálter* 'chief accountant', *főpiderász* 'chief scumbag', and *főszesztra* 'head nurse'. In some cases, hybrid borrowings were formed not only as single words, but also as collocations: *konzervás doboz* 'tin can', *ne perezsiválj* 'don't worry!', and *oblikon van* 'to be registered in the (military) records'.

The existence of such hybrid forms suggests that Slavic-origin lexical material had become sufficiently entrenched in the contact variety to participate in Hungarian word formation and phraseology in a creative and productive way.

In the formation of tertiary borrowings, multiple Hungarian affixes were involved, which indicates an even greater degree of morphological accommodation in the Hungarian contact variety. Most commonly, verbs were formed through various combinations of Hungarian prefixes and suffixes, but newly created adjectives, nouns, and adverbs were also attested. These more complex formations suggest that some borrowed stems became sufficiently integrated to serve as productive bases for further Hungarian word formation. For the observed word-formation patterns, see Table 13.

Table 13. Morphological adaptation of tertiary borrowings

Part of speech	Hungarian affixes	Example
Verb	*be- + -l*	*bezákázál* ‘to order; to reserve’
	el- + -l	*elzabrál* ‘to take away by force; to plunder’
	ki- + -l	*kikacsál* ‘to build muscle; to bulk up’
	le- + -l	*leszkoccsol* ‘to seal with adhesive tape’
	meg- + -l	*megremontol* ‘to repair; to fix’
	le- + -z	*lecsurmáz* ‘to imprison; to put in prison’
	össze- + -z	*összekopijkáz* ‘to put money aside; to save money’
	-s + -kedik	*frájereskedik* ‘to show off; to act cocky’
Adjective	*-l + -ó*	*dezsuráló* ‘on-duty (doctor, police officer, firefighter)’
	-z + -tt	*etapírozott* ‘transported as a prisoner’
	-l + -t	*stampolt* ‘mass-produced’
	-l + -hat + -ó	*zákázolható* ‘available for order’
Noun	*-l + -ás*	*aktirolás* ‘exemption due to illness or disability’
	-l + -ó	*remontoló* ‘repair worker’
	-z + -ő	*szkrepkiző* ‘stapler’
	-z + -ás	*turnyikozás* ‘pull-up exercise’
Adverb	*le- + -z + -va*	*legruppázva* ‘assigned to a disability group’
	-s + -on	*plávkison* ‘in swim trunks; wearing swim trunks’
	-l + -va	*záprávljálva* ‘recharged; refuelled’

Source: compiled by the author.

The observed processes demonstrate that many Slavic loanwords are deeply embedded in the morphological system of the local contact variety and may serve as bases for further lexical innovation. Morphological accommodation thus provides strong evidence that contact-induced lexical items are not peripheral insertions, but active elements of the Hungarian linguistic system used in Transcarpathia.

4.3.3. Semantic changes

Gazdag (2021e: 155–156) notes that most Slavic borrowings retain their donor-language meanings without major change; however, semantic shift may also occur during the adaptation of lexical borrowings (Lanstyák, 2006a: 38). Semantic change may be defined as "a change in the set of referents for a word, that is, as a change in the set of objects the word refers to" (Dawson & Phelan, 2016: 551). New meanings may emerge when a word enters the usage of a broader or narrower social group, when speakers' attitudes towards the referent change, when the referent itself changes, or when the word is used in a different genre (A. Jászó, 2007: 515). Language contact, technological innovation, and migration may also contribute to semantic change (Dawson & Phelan, 2016: 551). The following subsections present examples of semantic shift among the analysed Slavic borrowings.

4.3.3.1. Broadening of meaning

Broadening of meaning (also called generalisation) is the extension of a word's meaning from a narrower to a broader category of referents (Millar & Trask, 2015: 36). As Horváth (2015: 157) notes, such extension may take place without any phonetic or morphological change in contact situations.

An example of semantic generalisation is the vulgarism *piderász* (ukr *підорас*, rus *пидорас*), which in the donor languages refers pejoratively to homosexual men, but in Transcarpathian Hungarian is also used more broadly as an offensive term for any disliked or unpleasant person. Since the word was already pejorative in the donor languages, this is better interpreted as semantic broadening rather than semantic degradation.

The borrowing *bárisnya* (rus *барышня*), also known in Hungary in the meaning 'refined woman; lady', acquired the additional sense 'senior female clerk/official' in the contact variety. Similarly, *buljon* (ukr *бульйон*, rus *бульон*) means 'broth; bouillon' in the donor languages, but in Transcarpathian Hungarian it may also refer to a bouillon

cube. Another case is *rubel* (rus *рубль*), which, besides denoting the Russian or former Soviet currency, is also used colloquially for the Ukrainian hryvnia.

A particularly culture-specific example is *pidzsák* (ukr *піджак*, rus *пиджак*), which literally means ‘jacket’ or ‘blazer’ in the donor languages, but in the Transcarpathian Hungarian context refers to a method of circumventing customs restrictions by using additional passengers to distribute the permitted weight and value of imported goods.

A specific type of semantic broadening occurs when brand names become generalised common nouns referring to an entire product type (Bárány & Gazdag, 2025a: 38). Nine such examples were identified in the dataset, as shown in Table 14. These may be interpreted as cases of metonymic expansion, as Lechner and Bárány (2023: 55) argue, in which the name of a particular brand comes to denote the whole product category.

Table 14. Semantic broadening of brand names

Brand name	Etymon(s)	Loanword	Generalised meaning
Druzhba	ukr, rus *Дружба*	*druzsba*	chainsaw
KamAZ	rus *КамАЗ*	*kámáz*	truck
Keds	ukr *Кеди*, rus *Кеды*	*kedi*	sneakers; trainers
Luzhanska	ukr *Лужанська*	*luzsánszka*	mineral water
Romashka	ukr, rus *Ромашка*	*romáska*	sweets
Sadochok	ukr *Садочок*	*szádocsok*	juice
Stalinets	rus *Сталинец*	*sztalinyec*	crawler tractor
Zhivchik	ukr *Живчик*	*zsivcsik*	carbonated soft drink
Zhiguli	ukr *Жигулі*, rus *Жигули*	*zsiguli*	any Lada or VAZ car

Source: compiled by the author.

Another example of metonymic expansion is *bezpeka* (ukr *безпека*), which in Ukrainian means ‘safety’ or ‘security’ in general, but as a loanword also developed the meaning ‘State Security Service’. The loanword also appears in derived forms such as the hybrid borrowing *bezpekafőnök* ‘head of the State Security Service’ and the secondary borrowing *bezpekás* ‘1. employee of the State Security Service; 2. related to the State Security Service’.

Further examples show that semantic broadening may arise through material association, functional similarity, or contextual reinterpretation. The borrowing *titán* (ukr, rus *титан*), originally referring to the metal titanium, is also used in Transcarpathia to denote a metal bathroom water heater or boiler. The old Russian measurement terms

csetuska (rus *четушка*) and *csetvertuska* (rus *четвертушка*), originally referring to quantities of liquid, are also used for bottles of a corresponding size.

The borrowing *ávtomát* (ukr, rus *автомат*) refers in the donor languages to an assault rifle, automaton, or automated machine, but in the contact variety it also denotes the automatic entry of a student's grade into the grade book. Likewise, *bagázs* (ukr, rus *багаж*), originally meaning 'baggage' or 'luggage', is also used in Transcarpathian Hungarian in the sense of 'trunk' or 'boot', influenced by *bagázsnyik* (ukr, rus *багажник*). In the contact variety, the two forms may function as synonyms, whereas in the donor languages they refer to distinct concepts.

Broadening may also take the form of metaphorical extension, in which a word comes to denote an object or concept that bears some resemblance to its original referent (Dawson & Phelan, 2016: 552). An example is *bobik* (ukr *Бобік*, rus *Бобик*), meaning 'light UAZ-469 (military) jeep'. The nickname may be explained either by the appearance of the vehicle or by analogy with the Russian dog name *Bobik*, referring to the vehicle's faithful service.

Figurative meanings also arise in occupational and institutional slang. The borrowing *cserpák* (ukr, rus *черпак*), which literally means 'ladle' or 'landing net', was also used in Soviet military slang for the person serving food in the mess hall. Similarly, in László Vári Fábián's novel (2011: 97), *rázvagyáscsij* (rus *разводящий*), originally meaning 'guard escort', is used figuratively for a ladle. The same semantic shift can be observed in *gyeduska* (rus *дедушка*) and *sztárik* (rus *старик*), which originally denote an old man but in military slang refer to soldiers with longer service. In prison slang, *blatnoj* (rus *блатной*) not only refers to a cool or quarrelsome person, but also developed the meaning 'top-ranking inmate in the prison hierarchy'.

Some semantic changes are closely tied to the historical experiences of the Transcarpathian Hungarian community. *Donbász* (ukr *Донбас*, rus *Донбасс*), originally a geographical name referring to the Donets Basin, acquired the additional meanings '1. the site of the forced labour of Hungarian men from Transcarpathia; the coal mines of the Donets Basin; 2. the war zone of the Anti-Terrorist Operation in Eastern Ukraine'. Likewise, *grafik* and *grafikon* (ukr *графік*, rus *график*), in addition to their earlier meanings 'timetable; schedule', also came to denote schedules of planned power outages during the Russo–Ukrainian war. The international word *kiborg* 'cyborg' also developed a new press meaning, referring to the Ukrainian soldiers who defended the Donetsk Airport. Similarly, *Majdan* (ukr *майдан*), originally meaning a public square, came to refer specifically to

Independence Square in Kyiv and, by metonymic extension, to the 2004 Orange Revolution and the 2013–2014 Revolution of Dignity (cf. Csernicskó & Márku, 2021: 419).

A similar example is *ork* (ukr, rus *орк*). In standard Hungarian and international usage, *ork* primarily denotes the fantasy creature ‘orc’, but since the invasion of Ukraine it has also been used metaphorically to refer to Russian soldiers, emphasising their perceived aggressiveness and destructiveness (Váradi & Csernicskó, 2025: 116).

4.3.3.2. Narrowing of meaning

Narrowing of meaning, also called specialisation, is the opposite of semantic broadening: the denotational range of a lexical item becomes more restricted than its earlier, more general meaning (Urban, 2015: 374). Although semantic narrowing is less frequent than extension, it is also a well-attested process. In the context of borrowing, a semantically narrowed loanword refers to a more specific concept in the recipient language than in the donor language (Benő, 2004: 91). This tendency may also be reinforced by the fact that many Hungarians in Transcarpathia do not command the state language at a high level, and therefore often borrow only one meaning from among the several senses of a word (Lechner & Bárány, 2023: 54).

The loanword *kulák* (ukr, rus *кулак*) has several meanings in the donor languages, including ‘fist’, ‘concentrated military force’, ‘knob; peg’, and ‘wealthy peasant’. In the Hungarian dialects of Transcarpathia, however, it is used only in the last sense, which became established during the communist era. The same applies to *provodnyik* (rus *проводник*), which in Russian may mean ‘mediator’, ‘guide’, ‘escort’, or ‘train conductor’, but in Transcarpathian Hungarian refers only to a ‘train conductor’ or ‘passenger attendant’.

A similar process can be observed in *revizor* (ukr *ревізор*, rus *ревизор*), which in Transcarpathian Hungarian is used in the sense of ‘conductor’, whereas in standard Hungarian it refers to a person who inspects or supervises financial accounts or compliance with rules and regulations. The meaning of *diktánt* (ukr, rus *диктант*) is also narrower, since in the contact variety it denotes dictation only in Ukrainian or Russian, while dictations in Hungarian are usually referred to by the native equivalent *tollbamondás*. Likewise, the stylistic borrowing *direktor* (ukr, rus *директор*) is used mainly in the sense of ‘school director’, rather than to refer to directors of other institutions.

The meanings of *komisszó* and *komissziózás* (ukr *комісія*, rus *комиссия*) are also more restricted in Transcarpathian Hungarian. In standard Hungarian, *komisszió* denotes a commission in general, whereas in the contact variety *komisszó* refers specifically to military medical commissions. Similarly, standard Hungarian *komissziózás* means the

selection of goods in a warehouse according to customer orders, but in Transcarpathian Hungarian it denotes participation in a military medical commission, where healthy conscripts are selected for service (Váradi & Csernicskó, 2025: 120). The same applies to *oblik* (ukr *облік*), which in Ukrainian has the general meaning ‘record; registration’, especially in accounting or inventory contexts, but in Transcarpathian Hungarian is used only in the sense of military records. Another war-related example is *cserha* (ukr *черга*), which in Ukrainian means ‘queue; turn; order’, but in the contact variety refers specifically to the grouping of households according to planned electricity outage schedules.

4.3.3.3. Elevation of meaning

When a word acquires more positive connotations, the process is referred to as semantic elevation or amelioration. For example, the English word *knight* originally referred to a servant, whereas today it is used in elevated contexts (Dawson & Phelan, 2016: 553; Millar & Trask, 2015: 37).

Examples of elevation of meaning among Slavic borrowings are extremely rare. One example is the calque *kimenőnap* (ukr *вихідний день*, rus *выходной день*). In standard Hungarian, *kimenőnap* refers to the days off of domestic servants, whereas in Transcarpathian usage it functions as a general synonym for *szabadnap* ‘day off; non-working day’, used not only for servants but for working people in general. A similar example is *láger* (rus *лагерь*), which in Hungarian traditionally means ‘prisoner-of-war camp’ or ‘concentration camp’, but in Transcarpathia it has also acquired the additional, more positive meaning ‘summer camp’. At the same time, its primary usage is still connected to its historical sense.

In the case of *paszportizáció* and *paszportizálás* ‘the simplified granting of Hungarian or Russian citizenship’ (ukr *паспортизація*, rus *паспортизация*), both semantic elevation and degradation can be observed at different stages in the history of the word. At the end of the Second World War, with the introduction of the Soviet system, passportisation became widespread, and people were forced to obtain Soviet citizenship. Later, in the 2010s, Hungary began granting citizenship to ethnic Hungarians living in Ukraine through a simplified procedure, which gave the loanword a more positive meaning. However, in the 2020s, as a consequence of the Russo–Ukrainian war, many Ukrainian citizens living in temporarily occupied territories were subjected to the forced acquisition of Russian citizenship, which once again led to a degradation in the meaning of the borrowing.

4.3.3.4. Degradation of meaning

Semantic degradation, or pejoration, refers to the process by which a word acquires a more negative meaning over time. For example, the word *silly* in Middle English originally meant ‘happy; innocent; blessed’, whereas today it means ‘foolish; absurd; insane’ (Dawson & Phelan, 2016: 553; Millar & Trask, 2015: 37).

An example of pejoration in the Transcarpathian Hungarian contact variety is *geroj* (rus *герой*), which has a positive meaning in the donor language (‘hero’), but as a borrowing is mainly used in a pejorative sense to refer to an arrogant, bold, or boastful person (Bárány & Gazdag, 2025a: 37; Gazdag, 2017b: 15–16).

Another case is the formal borrowing *invalid* (ukr *інвалід*, rus *инвалид*), also known in standard Hungarian in the form *invalidus*. In all three languages, the word denotes a disabled person unable to work for health reasons. In the Transcarpathian variety, however, it is also used as an offensive term for people regarded as mentally impaired or incapable of understanding or doing something. According to Gazdag (2021e: 156), it may also refer to beggars with physical disabilities, although no such examples were found in the present dataset. A similar semantic change can be observed in the formal borrowing *debil* (ukr *дебіл*, rus *дебил*). In standard Hungarian, *debilis* is an older clinical term for a person with an intellectual disability, whereas in Transcarpathian Hungarian *debil* is often used as a strongly derogatory term meaning ‘stupid’ or ‘idiot’.

The loanword *princessza* provides another example of pejoration. In the donor languages (ukr *принцеса*, rus *принцесса*), it simply means ‘princess’, but in the Transcarpathian Hungarian variety it may also describe an arrogant or conceited woman (Gazdag, 2018a: 136). Since standard Hungarian also has the archaic form *princessz*, *princessza* may be regarded as a formal borrowing whose meaning shifted in a negative direction. A similar case is *pányika* (ukr *пані*), which in Ukrainian means ‘lady; noblewoman’, but as a borrowing developed less elevated meanings and may refer to a finicky, spendthrift, or lazy woman.

The semantic change of *csujes* (ukr *чуєш*) represents a particularly unusual case, because the source form is a verb in Ukrainian, but in Transcarpathian Hungarian it acquired nominal meanings and is used to refer to local Slavic peasants or as a derogatory nickname for Transcarpathian Ukrainians. A related example is the verb *lehuculoz*, derived from *hucul* (ukr, rus *гуцул*), since calling someone a Hutsul often carries a pejorative meaning implying rusticity or lower social status. In addition, Russians, especially Soviet soldiers, are often referred to pejoratively as *pufajkás* (ukr, rus *фуфайка*), based on the quilted jacket

associated with them during the invasion of Hungary. The loanword *firma* (ukr *фірма*, rus *фирма*) is another example: although it originally referred to a company or firm, it also acquired a pejorative meaning referring to a promiscuous woman.

Pejoration may also affect words denoting places or institutions. For instance, *csájna* (ukr *чайна*, rus *чайная*) originally meant 'teahouse' or later 'snack bar', but is now used to denote a tavern, reflecting a downward shift in meaning (Lechner & Bárány, 2023: 55).

4.4. Loanword variation

Not only borrowed lexical items but also standard and dialectal words may occur in multiple variant forms in Hungarian (see H. Varga, 2010; Zimányi, 2019). Lanstyák (2006b) likewise notes that loanword variation can be observed in all cross-border varieties of Hungarian, both within a given region (e.g., Ka *hrivnya / hriveny* 'the national currency of Ukraine') and across regions (e.g., Ka *gripp*, Er Őv *grippe*, Fv *chripka / kripka* 'influenza epidemic').

Loanword variation is attested in several forms. Out of the 1,641 analysed borrowings, 771 occurred in more than one variant form (47%). This variation is due mainly to the phonetic adaptation of loanwords, although orthographic and phonetic variation may affect both vowels and consonants. Another important aspect is that both the Ukrainian and Russian equivalents of the same concept may be borrowed, sometimes in very similar phonetic shapes and at other times in entirely different forms. Further types of variation include the borrowing of both singular and plural forms, the insertion or omission of sounds at the beginning, middle, or end of words, as well as other processes discussed in the following subsections.

4.4.1. Variation in vowel and consonant length

One common type of loanword variation is the occurrence of both short and long vowels and consonants in different variants of the same Slavic borrowing. In the case of vowels, all Hungarian vowel phonemes are affected by length variation except *ö/ő* and *ü/ű*, since these sounds are absent from the donor languages:

- ***a* ~ *á*:** *av<u>a</u>nsz* ~ *<u>á</u>v<u>á</u>nsz* 'advance payment'; *buh<u>a</u>lter* ~ *buh<u>á</u>lter* 'accountant';
- ***e* ~ *é*:** *gy<u>e</u>vuska* ~ *gy<u>é</u>vuska* '(little) girl'; *kotl<u>e</u>ta* ~ *kotl<u>é</u>ta* 'minced meat patty';
- ***i* ~ *í*:** *anal<u>i</u>z* ~ *anal<u>í</u>z* 'chemical analysis'; *kassz<u>i</u>r* ~ *kassz<u>í</u>r* 'cashier';
- ***o* ~ *ó*:** *gasztron<u>o</u>m* ~ *gasztron<u>ó</u>m* 'grocery'; *k<u>o</u>perta* ~ *k<u>ó</u>perta* 'envelope';
- ***u* ~ *ú*:** *b<u>u</u>rján* ~ *b<u>ú</u>rján* 'weed; bush'; *insztit<u>u</u>t* ~ *insztit<u>ú</u>t* '1. college; 2. institution'.

This variation may be attributed to structural differences between the donor and recipient languages. Hungarian has a richer vowel inventory and a phonemic distinction between short and long vowels, whereas Ukrainian and Russian lack a comparable opposition of vowel length. As a result, Slavic vowels may be mapped inconsistently onto Hungarian short or long vowel categories. This process may be further influenced by analogy with existing Hungarian lexical patterns (e.g., *kulytura ~ kultúra*), by different degrees of phonological nativisation, and by the absence of a stable orthographic norm in predominantly spoken contact varieties.

Length variation also occurs in eighteen Hungarian consonants:

- ***b ~ bb*****:** *klub ~ klubb* ‘community centre’;
- ***c ~ cc*****:** *spric ~ spricc* ‘syringe’;
- ***cs ~ ccs*****:** *szkocs ~ szkoccs* ‘adhesive tape’;
- ***f ~ ff*****:** *bufer ~ buffer* ‘bumper; buffer’;
- ***g ~ gg*****:** *agregát ~ aggregát* ‘electricity generator’;
- ***gy ~ ggy*****:** *pogyezd ~ poggyezd* ‘staircase of a multi-storey apartment building’;
- ***j ~ jj*****:** *bujon ~ bujjon* ‘1. chicken broth; bouillon; 2. bouillon cube’;
- ***k ~ kk*****:** *brak ~ brakk* ‘1. faulty product; waste; 2. mistake; error’;
- ***l ~ ll*****:** *volejbalozik ~ volejballozik* ‘to play volleyball’;
- ***m ~ mm*****:** *sztogram ~ sztogramm* ‘one decilitre of vodka’;
- ***n ~ nn*****:** *doverenoszty ~ doverennoszty* ‘power of attorney’;
- ***ny ~ nny*****:** *pelmenyi ~ pelmennyi* ‘meat dumplings; pelmeni’;
- ***p ~ pp*****:** *grupa ~ gruppa* ‘1. (school) group; 2. disability group’;
- ***r ~ rr*****:** *koridor ~ korridor* ‘corridor’;
- ***s ~ ss*****:** *fles ~ fless* / *fleska ~ flesska* ‘USB flash drive; pen drive’;
- ***sz ~ ssz*****:** *paszport ~ passzport* ‘1. ID card; 2. passport’;
- ***t ~ tt*****:** *anketa ~ anketta* ‘1. questionnaire; 2. form’;
- ***z ~ zz*****:** *bázár ~ bázzár* ‘market; bazaar’.

In some cases, consonant length variation can be explained by the parallel borrowing of the Ukrainian and Russian equivalents of the same lexical item. For example, *sztogram* ~ *sztogramm* (ukr *сто грам* ~ rus *сто грамм*), *aparát ~ apparát* (ukr *апарат* ~ rus *аппарат*), *grupa ~ gruppa* (ukr *група* ~ rus *группа*), *komiszió ~ komisszió* (ukr *комісія* ~ rus *комиссия*), *szeszia ~ szesszia* (ukr *сесія* ~ rus *сессия*), and *atesztáció ~ attesztáció*

(ukr *a<u>m</u>естаџія* ~ rus *a<u>mm</u>естаџия*). However, this explanation accounts only for some cases, especially those involving *m*, *p*, *sz*, and *t*.

In other cases, consonant length variation may be attributed to phonological adaptation to Hungarian, where consonant length is phonemic and highly salient. As a result, speakers may interpret or reproduce certain consonants as either short or long, especially when the borrowed form has not yet been fully stabilised. According to Gazdag (2021e: 153), long consonants are characteristic of Hungarian pronunciation, and they may occur even where spelling shows a single consonant (e.g., *stop* is pronounced [ˈʃtopː]).

Consonant length variation may also arise through the assimilation of consonant clusters. In forms such as *dá<u>tcs</u>ik* ~ *dá<u>ccs</u>ik*, the sequence /t + t͡ʃ/, written as *t* + *cs*, undergoes regressive assimilation, yielding the long affricate /t͡ʃː/, spelt *ccs* in Hungarian. A similar development is seen in *po<u>gy</u>ezd* ~ *po<u>gg</u>yezd*, where the cluster /ɟz/ is replaced by the geminate palatal stop /ɟː/ through progressive assimilation and cluster simplification. Likewise, in *scsode<u>ny</u>ik* ~ *scsode<u>nny</u>ik*, consonant lengthening results from the assimilation of the cluster /n + ɟ/, producing the geminate palatal nasal /ɲː/, represented orthographically by *nny*. These examples show that consonant length variation in Slavic borrowings is not always due to parallel Ukrainian and Russian forms, but may also arise through internal phonological adjustment in Hungarian, especially assimilation and cluster simplification.

4.4.2. Parallel borrowing from Ukrainian and Russian

In many cases, both Ukrainian- and Russian-origin forms of the same concept were borrowed into the Hungarian contact variety. However, the phonetic and orthographic differences between the two source-language forms were not always of the same kind or degree. In some cases, the forms differed only in a single sound, while in others they were entirely different, resulting in considerable loanword variation (see Gazdag, 2021d).

When the difference between the Ukrainian- and Russian-origin forms was relatively small, the two were treated as variant forms of the same loanword and recorded under a single entry. According to Gazdag (2018c: 110; 2021e: 153), one of the most common differences is the vowel alternation *i* ~ *e*: *gy<u>i</u>tszád* (ukr *ð<u>u</u>mcað*) ~ *gy<u>e</u>tszád* (rus *ð<u>e</u>mcað*); *m<u>i</u>sál* (ukr *м<u>і</u>шати*) ~ *m<u>e</u>sál* (rus *м<u>е</u>шать*); *perej<u>i</u>zd* (ukr *перей<u>ї</u>ð*) ~ *perej<u>e</u>zd* (rus *пере<u>е</u>зð*); *sz<u>i</u>tka* (ukr *с<u>і</u>мка*) ~ *sz<u>e</u>tka* (rus *с<u>е</u>мка*).

The dataset suggests, however, that in most of these cases the Russian-origin form was more frequent than the Ukrainian one. As noted earlier, consonant-length differences were also common in borrowings originating from both languages. Other types of

consonant variation were less frequent, but they also occurred, for example *rozkladuska* (ukr *розкладушка*) ~ *raszkladuska* (rus *раскладушка*). In some cases, two sounds differed simultaneously, as in *gorcsica* ~ *horcsica* ~ *hircsicja* (ukr *гірчиця*, rus *горчица*).

Sometimes the borrowed form itself reflects mixed Ukrainian–Russian influence. For example, in *piskom*, the initial vowel reflects the Ukrainian form *пішки*, while the overall adverbial structure is closer to Russian *пешком*. Similarly, *gyitdom* contains Ukrainian-origin *gyit-* from *дитя*, while the overall form is based on rus *детдом*.

Clear phonetic and orthographic differences between Ukrainian- and Russian-origin borrowings were observed in 39 cases, including the following examples: *dovidka* (ukr *довідка*) ~ *szprávka* (rus *справка*) '1. official certificate; 2. report; briefing'; *DRACSZ* (ukr *ДРАЦС*) ~ *ZAGSZ* (rus *ЗАГС*) 'civil/marriage registry office'; *jidálnyá* (ukr *їдальня*) ~ *sztolova* (rus *столовая*) 'dining hall; canteen'; *pedráda* (ukr *педрада*) ~ *pedszovet* (rus *педсовет*) 'meeting of the teaching staff'; *perekládács* (ukr *перекладач*) ~ *perevodcsik* (rus *переводчик*) 'translator; interpreter'; *TCK / TTSZTK* (ukr *ТЦК*) ~ *vojenkomát* (rus *военкомат*) 'military recruitment office'; *TCK-s / TTSZTK-s* (ukr *ТЦК*) ~ *vojenkomátos* (rus *военкомат*) 'a worker of the military recruitment office'; *zálik* (ukr *залік*) ~ *zacsot* (rus *зачёт*) 'pass-or-fail examination'; *zupinka* (ukr *зупинка*) ~ *osztanovka* (rus *остановка*) 'bus stop'.

In some cases, this variation can be explained by decommunisation and the replacement of earlier Soviet or Russian institutions by Ukrainian ones (see Csernicskó, 2017). For example, the military recruitment office was formerly referred to as *vojenkomát* (rus *военкомат*), following the Soviet model, but in 2022 the Territorial Centres of Recruitment and Social Support were established, and the Ukrainian borrowing *TCK* (ukr *ТЦК*) appeared on the basis of the institution's abbreviation (Váradi & Csernicskó, 2025: 119). Nevertheless, many speakers, both older and younger, still use *vojenkomát*, as the older form remains deeply entrenched in everyday speech. Gazdag (2021d: 63) likewise notes that Russian-origin forms are often more frequent, partly because the older generation learned Russian at school.

A similar tendency can be observed in higher education. With the increasing dominance of Ukrainian in higher education, earlier Russian designations gradually fell out of use, and present-day students usually refer to these concepts by their Ukrainian-origin names, as in *zálik* and *zálikovka*. More generally, a number of Soviet-era borrowings were later replaced by Ukrainian equivalents, such as *otcsesztvo ~ po bátykovi*, *pedszovet ~ pedráda*, *profszojuz ~ profszpilka*, *szovjet ~ ráda*, and *szelszovet ~ szilráda*.

4.4.3. Parallel borrowing of singular and plural forms

Another frequent type of loanword variation is the parallel borrowing of singular and plural forms of Slavic words. In such cases, both the singular and plural source-language forms were borrowed into Transcarpathian Hungarian, but the borrowed plural forms are often used with singular reference. In other words, the singular–plural opposition of the donor language may be neutralised in the recipient variety, and a plural-marked Slavic form may function as a singular variant rather than as a true plural form. This phenomenon is particularly relevant in the present dataset because 79% of the analysed Slavic borrowings were nouns, which are especially prone to this type of variation. The dataset also shows that, in a few cases, adjectives were likewise borrowed in both singular and plural forms.

In Ukrainian, plural forms are typically marked by suffixes such as *-и, -і,* and *-а / -я*, while in Russian the most common plural endings are *-ы, -и,* and *-а / -я*. When such words were borrowed into Hungarian, these endings were not always recognised as markers of grammatical plurality, but were often reinterpreted as part of the lexical stem. As a result, both singular and plural donor-language forms could enter Hungarian as parallel variants.

This type of variation shows that speakers do not necessarily analyse the internal morphological structure of the source forms. In everyday bilingual contact, frequently heard plural forms may be adopted as unanalysed wholes and later used in Hungarian in the same way as singular lexical items. This process may therefore be regarded as a form of morphological reanalysis in contact-induced lexical transfer.

Examples of parallel borrowings of singular and plural forms include the following: *bánka ~ bánki* ‘1. jar; 2. bottle’ (ukr, rus *банка*); *bordacsok ~ bordácski* ‘glove compartment’ (ukr, rus *бардачок*); *bulocska ~ bulácski* ‘bun; roll; pastry’ (ukr, rus *булочка*); *dobre ~ dobri* ‘1. well; 2. all right; okay; 3. good; nice’ (ukr *добре*); *lámpocska ~ lámpocski* ‘1. lamp; 2. light bulb’ (ukr, rus *лампочка*); *szosziszka ~ szosziszki* ‘frankfurter; sausage’ (ukr, rus *сосиска*).

In some cases, the plural-based variant also served as the basis for further Hungarian word formation. For example, *szosziszki* appears not only as a noun, but also in secondary adjectival forms such as *szosziszkis*, and in compounds such as *szosziszkis bulocska* ‘bread roll filled with frankfurter or sausage’, alongside *szosziszkás bulocska*. This shows that once reanalysed as a lexical base, a plural-derived borrowing may become fully integrated into Hungarian morphology.

The parallel borrowing of singular and plural forms thus demonstrates that contact-induced variation affects not only phonological shape, but also morphological structure. It also shows that donor-language inflectional endings may lose their grammatical function in the borrowing process and become lexicalised in the recipient language.

4.4.4. Sound omission

Another type of loanword variation is sound omission, which was observed in three positions: at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of borrowed forms. In earlier research, Gazdag (2018b: 76; 2021e: 153) identified examples of omission only at the beginning and in the middle of words. The instances attested in the present dataset are presented in Table 15.

Table 15. Sound omission in Slavic borrowings

Place of omission	Variant forms	Donor-language etymon(s)
At the beginning of words	*scsodennék ~ csodennik*	ukr *щоденник*
	zdrasztvujte ~ drasztvujte	rus *здравствуйте*
	gruscsik ~ ruscsik	rus *грузчик*
	vtulka ~ tulka	ukr, rus *втулка*
In the middle of words	*blokirovka ~ blokiróka*	rus *блокировка*
	buhálter ~ buháter	ukr, rus *бухгалтер*
	marsrutka ~ marsutka	ukr, rus *маршрутка*
	szoljárka ~ szolárka	ukr, rus *солярка*
At the end of words	*bibliotéka ~ bibliotek*	ukr *бібліотека*, rus *библиотека*
	filiál ~ fília	ukr *філіал*, rus *филиал*
	kuzov ~ kuzó	ukr, rus *кузов*
	száncsászty ~ szancsász	rus *санчасть*

Source: compiled by the author.

A further recurrent tendency was the omission of the Russian ending *-я* in borrowed forms, as in *csájna* (ukr *чайна*, rus *чайная*), *nákládna* (ukr *накладна*, rus *накладная*), and *sztolova* (rus *столовая*). Although the variants *csajnaja*, *nakladnaja*, and *sztolovájá* were attested mainly in earlier contact-linguistic studies, the shorter forms, which are closer to the Ukrainian source forms, were more common in the examples collected for the present dataset.

Sound omission also frequently occurs in words containing consonant clusters. In such cases, one of the consonants may be deleted in order to simplify pronunciation and adapt the borrowing more easily to Hungarian phonotactic patterns. This can be observed, for instance, in *vi<u>d</u>sztrocska ~ visztrocska* (ukr *відстрочка*), *plasz<u>t</u>masz ~ plaszmasz* (ukr *пластмаса*, rus *пластмасса*), and *mars<u>r</u>ut ~ marsut* (ukr, rus *маршрут*). These examples suggest that sound omission is often motivated by articulatory simplification, especially when the source form contains consonant sequences that are marked or less natural in Hungarian.

Reduced forms may become conventionalised in the contact variety and coexist with fuller variants as parallel forms of the same borrowing. Sound omission therefore contributes to loanword variation not only at the phonetic level, but also at the level of lexical representation, since both fuller and reduced forms may circulate simultaneously in actual language use.

4.4.5. Sound insertion

The opposite of sound omission, namely sound insertion, was also observed in the lexical dataset. Previously, Gazdag (2018b: 76; 2021e: 154) identified examples of sound insertion only in the middle and at the end of loanwords. In the present dataset, one example was also found at the beginning of a word (see Table 16). At the same time, this type of variation proved to be much less frequent than sound omission, which suggests that Hungarian speakers generally tend to simplify Slavic borrowings rather than increase their phonological complexity.

Sound insertion may be explained by several factors. In some cases, an extra consonant appears in order to make the borrowed form conform more closely to familiar Hungarian phonotactic or morphological patterns, or simply to facilitate pronunciation. This may be the case in forms such as *pasz<u>t</u>port* and *zakusz<u>t</u>ka*, where the inserted /t/ creates consonant sequences that may be perceived as more natural or easier to articulate by Hungarian speakers. In other cases, insertion may arise through analogy with other borrowed forms or through non-standard oral transmission, since many of these contact words circulate primarily in spoken usage and lack a stable written norm.

Table 16. Sound insertion in Slavic borrowings

Place of insertion	Variant forms	Donor-language etymon(s)
At the beginning of words	*abora ~ zabora*	ukr *оборіг*
In the middle of words	*bidák ~ bidnyák*	ukr *бідак*
	paszport ~ pasztport	ukr, rus *паспорт*
	sámpánszki ~ sámpájnszka	ukr *шампанське*, rus *шампанское*
	zakuszka ~ zakusztka	ukr, rus *закуска*
At the end of words	*balamut ~ balamuta*	ukr, rus *баламут*
	generál ~ generálik	ukr, rus *генерал*
	kupé ~ kupély	ukr, rus *купе*
	pricep ~ prícept	rus *прицеп*

Source: compiled by the author.

Word-final insertions may also reflect attempts to adapt a borrowing to Hungarian morphological expectations or to preserve elements perceived from inflected Slavic forms. Forms such as *balamuta, generálik,* and *kupély* show that speakers occasionally extended the borrowed base with additional sounds that made the word more pronounceable or more word-like in Hungarian. In some cases, these inserted segments may also have been reinforced by analogy with existing Hungarian lexical endings (e.g., *balamuta ~ bugyuta*) or by reinterpretation of the donor-language form.

In summary, sound insertion was a marginal but attested strategy in the phonological adaptation of Slavic borrowings. Although much less common than omission, it shows that adaptation was not limited to simplification: speakers could also reshape borrowed items by adding sounds in order to accommodate them to Hungarian phonological patterns, morphological analogies, or pronunciation habits.

4.5. Comparative analysis across registers

The distribution of Slavic borrowings was analysed across three registers: literary works, Transcarpathian Hungarian news portals, and social media platforms. Four criteria were applied in the comparison: donor languages, time of borrowing, motivations for borrowing, and semantic fields. The detailed results are presented in Table 17 and Figure 17.

Table 17. Comparison of Slavic borrowings across registers

Categories	Literary works	News portals	Social media
Donor languages			
Ukrainian	43 (7.3%)	162 (39%)	127 (16.7%)
Russian	170 (28.8%)	42 (10.1%)	149 (19.5%)
Ukrainian/Russian	376 (63.9%)	211 (50.9%)	486 (63.8%)
Time of borrowing			
Pre-Soviet	90 (15.3%)	73 (17.6%)	74 (9.7%)
Soviet-era	461 (78.3%)	151 (36.4%)	494 (64.9%)
Post-Soviet	38 (6.4%)	191 (46%)	194 (25.4%)
Motivations for borrowing			
Core	357 (60.6%)	137 (33%)	483 (63.4%)
Cultural	222 (37.7%)	276 (66.5%)	268 (35.2%)
Core/Cultural	10 (1.7%)	2 (0.5%)	11 (1.4%)
Total borrowings	**589 (100%)**	**415 (100%)**	**762 (100%)**

Source: compiled by the author.

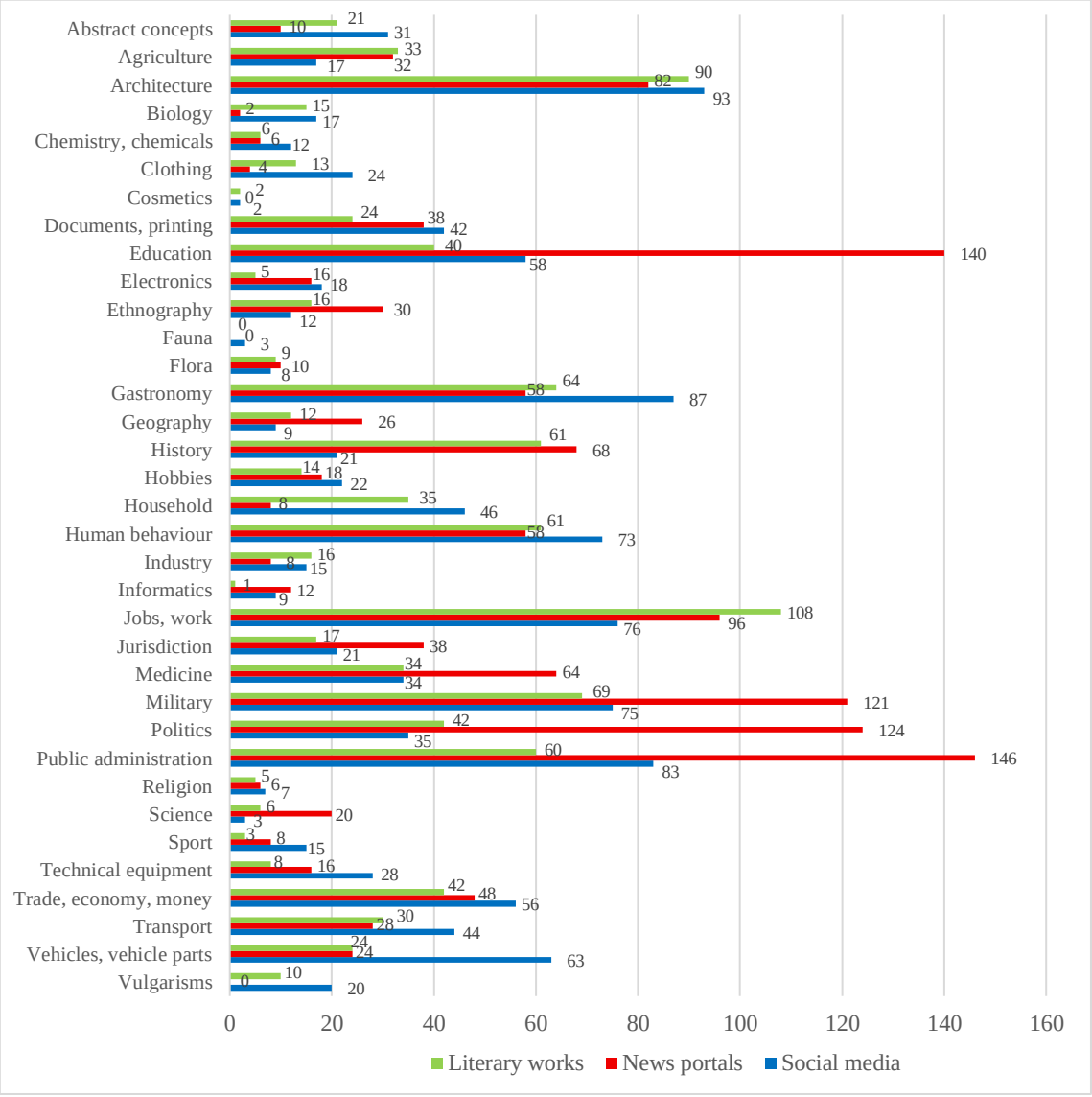
In terms of donor languages, the most striking difference is the high proportion of Ukrainian-origin borrowings in Transcarpathian Hungarian news portals (39%) compared to other registers. This can be explained by the fact that press language is the most formal and institutionally regulated of the three registers, in which Russian borrowings are often avoided. By contrast, the highest proportion of Russian-origin loanwords was found in literary works (28.8%). This is mainly because writers and poets often set their novels, short stories, and narrative poems in the Soviet period, and Russian borrowings are used as stylistic devices to evoke the linguistic atmosphere of that era. At the same time, the largest category in all three registers was that of Ukrainian/Russian-origin borrowings, reflecting the general tendency to use forms that may derive from either language.

With regard to the estimated time of borrowing, pre-Soviet items had the highest relative proportion in news portals (17.6%). This may be because these words are so deeply entrenched in the language use of Transcarpathian Hungarians that they are often no longer perceived as borrowings. Soviet-era borrowings were most strongly represented in literary works (78.3%), where they often serve as stylistic markers of the Soviet period. They were also frequent on social media platforms (64.9%), where members of the older generation continue to use Russian-derived words related to everyday life. Post-Soviet borrowings were most frequent in news portals (46%), as Transcarpathian Hungarian

news articles contain many lexical items referring to Ukrainian politics, institutions, and contemporary public life.

In terms of motivations for borrowing, cultural borrowings were most typical of news portals (66.5%). This is largely due to the high number of abbreviations and acronyms referring to Ukrainian institutions, political parties, organisations, examination types, and similar referents. Core borrowings, by contrast, were much more dominant in literary works (60.6%) and on social media (63.4%). This suggests that in these registers Slavic borrowings are often used alongside their Hungarian equivalents either for stylistic purposes or because social media reflects everyday spoken usage more directly.

Figure 17. Comparison of Slavic borrowings across registers by semantic fields



Source: compiled by the author.

As shown in Figure 17, the largest differences across registers were observed in the semantic fields of education, public administration, politics, and military. Borrowings related to these domains were most numerous in Transcarpathian Hungarian news portals and least numerous in literary works. This is unsurprising, as news discourse frequently deals with current institutional, political, and administrative matters. By contrast, loanwords related to gastronomy, vehicles and vehicle parts, transport, and clothing were most numerous on social media, mainly because of their frequent occurrence in buy-and-sell Facebook groups.

Vulgarisms were also concentrated on social media, since this register reflects everyday informal speech more directly than literary or press language. In literary works, the most strongly represented borrowings belonged to the semantic field of jobs and work, which may be linked to the frequent depiction of everyday life, occupations, and social roles in prose narratives.

CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION

This chapter interprets the findings of the dissertation by linking the empirical results to the research questions, hypotheses, and theoretical framework. The discussion proceeds from broader historical and etymological issues to more specific structural and functional aspects of borrowing. It first examines the relative influence of Ukrainian and Russian, the etymological background of the borrowings, and their chronological distribution in relation to the history of Transcarpathia. It then discusses the grammatical and semantic distribution of the dataset, the main borrowing types and motivations, and the integration of Slavic loanwords into Hungarian. The chapter also considers variation and less visible forms of contact influence before turning to register-based differences in literary works, news portals, and social media. In this way, the discussion shows how the individual findings contribute to a unified interpretation of Slavic lexical influence in Transcarpathian Hungarian.

5.1. Ukrainian and Russian influence on Transcarpathian Hungarian

The first research question (RQ1) examined which donor language, Ukrainian or Russian, has had the greater influence on lexical borrowing in Transcarpathia. Based on the results of the present research, Russian appears to have had the greater influence: it was identified as the sole donor language for 374 borrowings (22.8%), whereas Ukrainian was identified as the sole donor for only 269 items (16.4%). In most cases, however, both languages had to be considered as possible donors because the Ukrainian and Russian etymons were identical or nearly identical in phonetic and orthographic form. As a result, the donor language of 998 borrowings (60.8%) could not be determined with complete certainty, and these items were classified as being of mixed Ukrainian/Russian origin.

In connection with this, the first hypothesis (H1) assumed that Russian is the more influential donor language because contact between Hungarian and Slavic speakers was most intensive during the Soviet period in Transcarpathia (1944–1991). This hypothesis was confirmed, as the estimated time of borrowing shows that the majority of Slavic loanwords entered Transcarpathian Hungarian during the Soviet era (1,109 borrowings, 67.6%). This helps explain why clearly Russian-origin borrowings outnumber clearly Ukrainian-origin borrowings, despite Ukrainian being the current state language. Lizanec (1993: 54) likewise notes that the number of Ukrainian-origin borrowings after 1945 remained relatively small because Russian was the dominant language in schools and workplaces.

These findings are consistent with earlier research. Gazdag (2021e: 146) recorded 581 Slavic borrowings, of which 379 (65.2%) were of common Ukrainian/Russian origin, 124 (21.3%) were Russian, 44 (7.6%) were hybrid, and only 34 (5.9%) were Ukrainian. Márku (2013: 240–243) listed 137 Slavic borrowings, most of them of Ukrainian/Russian origin (90 items; 65.7%), while Russian-origin (33 items; 24.1%) and Ukrainian-origin (14 items; 10.2%) forms were less frequent. In another study, Márku (2008b) identified 80 direct borrowings in the language use of Transcarpathian Hungarian college and university students, of which 39 (48.7%) were Russian, 7 (8.8%) Ukrainian, and 34 (42.5%) of mixed Ukrainian/Russian origin. Similarly, Váradi (2023: 121–122) identified 76 Slavic borrowings in the speech of philology students, of which 17 (22.4%) were Russian, 4 (5.3%) Ukrainian, and 55 (72.3%) mixed Ukrainian/Russian.

Krajnik (2010: 45–51) collected 256 borrowings, of which 229 (89.5%) were classified as Russian, 21 (8.2%) as Ukrainian, and only 6 (2.3%) as mixed Ukrainian/Russian. However, this study applied a more subjective approach and generally did not account for the possible dual origin of loanwords. By contrast, Demjén (2011: 165–171), in a study of Ukrainian lexical borrowings and calques, listed 107 Slavic borrowings, of which 79 (73.8%) were classified as Ukrainian and 28 (26.2%) as Russian. The dominance of Ukrainian in this analysis can be explained by the author's decision to classify items with identical or nearly identical Ukrainian and Russian etymons as Ukrainian, that is, as originating from the current state language (Demjén, 2011: 164).

In summary, the historical background of the region must be taken into account when identifying the donor languages of Slavic borrowings. The results suggest that most borrowings are of mixed Ukrainian/Russian origin, although the number of clearly Russian-origin loanwords is generally higher than that of clearly Ukrainian-origin ones. At the same time, this tendency now appears to be changing. Since the 2013–2014 Revolution of Dignity and subsequent policies aimed at reducing the public role of Russian in Ukraine, more recent borrowings seem to reflect stronger Ukrainian influence. For example, Váradi and Csernicskó (2025: 125) analysed 60 loanwords related to the Russo–Ukrainian war and found that 35 (58.3%) were of Ukrainian origin, suggesting that newer Slavic borrowings are now more likely to enter Transcarpathian Hungarian from Ukrainian rather than from Russian. This shift may be explained by the abolition of Russian-language schools from 2021 (cf. Csernicskó et al., 2023: 32) and by the restriction of Russian in the public sphere (Carlá & Constantin, 2025: 12).

The high proportion of mixed Ukrainian/Russian borrowings also has broader sociolinguistic implications. It suggests that, for many Transcarpathian Hungarian speakers, Ukrainian and Russian influence cannot always be separated in everyday language use. This is not only an etymological problem, but also a reflection of the region's complex bilingual and multilingual history. Many lexical items entered the contact variety during periods when Russian and Ukrainian coexisted in public life, education, administration, and everyday communication, often with overlapping forms and functions. As a result, speakers may not necessarily perceive these items as specifically Ukrainian or Russian, but rather as part of the local Hungarian contact vocabulary. In this sense, the mixed-origin category reflects not only the structural similarity of the donor languages, but also the linguistic experience of a community whose language use has been shaped by both Soviet and post-Soviet language regimes.

5.2. Intermediary and ultimate donor languages as etymological sources

The second research question (RQ2) addressed the broader etymological background of the loan items by examining which intermediary and ultimate donor languages functioned as the main etymological sources of Slavic borrowings. This question is particularly important because Hungarian, the recipient language, belongs to the Uralic language family, whereas the immediate donor languages, Ukrainian and Russian, are East Slavic languages of the Indo-European family. Accordingly, H2 proposed that most of the analysed borrowings would ultimately derive from Slavic languages within the Indo-European family.

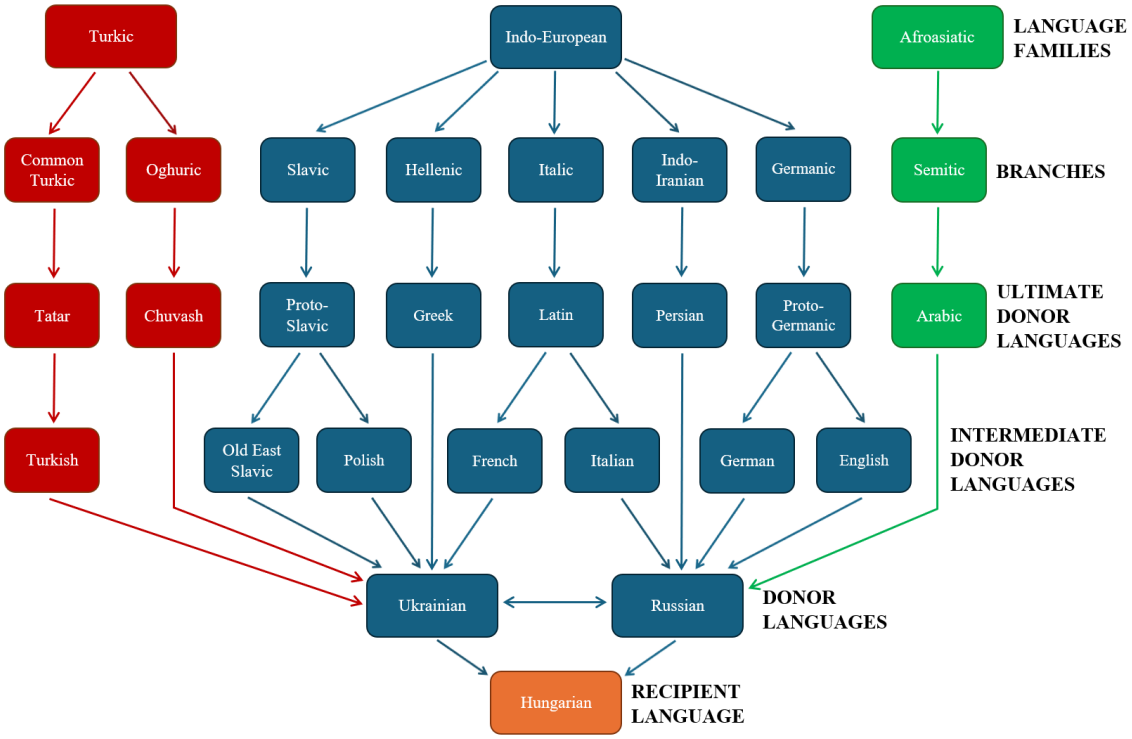
Based on the analysis of 1,641 borrowings, the most important intermediary donor languages were Proto-Slavic (26.5%), French (11.3%), German (9.5%), Old East Slavic (6.2%), and Latin (5.4%). As for ultimate donor languages, Proto-Slavic was again the most frequent source (35.2%), followed by Latin (21.5%), Greek (7.1%), and different historical varieties of German (5.6%). Altogether, the results show that the largest group of Slavic borrowings ultimately originated from the Slavic branch of the Indo-European language family (36.9%). At the same time, the proportion of words of Italic origin (27.7%) and mixed Indo-European origin (14%) was also considerable. The two most common etymological pathways were:

1. Proto-Slavic → Old East Slavic → Ukrainian/Russian;
2. Latin/Greek → French/German → Ukrainian/Russian.

These findings confirm H2, although only 36.9% of the borrowings proved to be of clearly Slavic ultimate origin. In other words, while Slavic languages constituted the

single most important etymological source, a substantial part of the borrowed lexicon can also be traced back to other branches of the Indo-European family. This suggests that many items entered Ukrainian and Russian through earlier waves of lexical transmission from other languages before eventually being borrowed into Transcarpathian Hungarian. Among these, Italic, Germanic, Hellenic, and Turkic languages played a particularly important role. Figure 18 summarises the most common etymological pathways of Slavic borrowings, including language families, branches, ultimate donor languages, intermediary donor languages, immediate donor languages, and the recipient language.

Figure 18. Etymological pathways of Slavic borrowings



Source: compiled by the author.

A similar tendency was observed by Gazdag (2021e: 143–144), who found that 223 out of 581 borrowings (38.4%) were of clearly Slavic origin, while the remaining items were of non-Slavic (52%) or hybrid origin (9.6%). This can be explained by the fact that the lexicon of Slavic languages consists not only of inherited Slavic elements, but also of numerous non-Slavic lexical items (Apresjan & Shmelev, 2024: 501). Such elements often include exoticisms, referring to culture-specific concepts without straightforward equivalents in other languages, as well as internationalisms, many of which ultimately derive from Greek and Latin (Dragićević & Šipka, 2024: 546). This tendency is also reflected in the present dataset, where Latin and Greek were the most frequent ultimate donor languages after Proto-Slavic.

5.3. Chronology of borrowing and the historical context of language contact

The third research question (RQ3) examined the chronological distribution of Slavic borrowings and its connection to the history of Transcarpathia. The results show that the largest group of Slavic loanwords (1,109 items; 67.6%) originated in the Soviet era (1944–1991). The second largest group consisted of post-Soviet borrowings (320 items; 19.5%), adopted after the establishment of independent Ukraine in 1991, while the smallest group comprises pre-Soviet borrowings (212 items; 12.9%), borrowed before the Soviet occupation of Transcarpathia in 1944.

According to the third hypothesis (H3), language contact in multilingual and multicultural regions can only be fully understood in light of the historical, political, and social background of the contact region. H3 further posited that Slavic–Hungarian language contact in Transcarpathia was strongest during the Soviet period. This assumption was confirmed by the fact that 67.6% of the loanwords were classified as Soviet-era borrowings, together with the high number of cultural borrowings related to the political, institutional, social, educational, and military realia of the Soviet Union. Although Russian was not officially the sole state language of the Soviet Union, it functioned as the dominant language in public administration, education, politics, law, and most domains of public communication (Hogan-Brun & Melnyk, 2012: 593). As a result, many Hungarians in Transcarpathia acquired Russian, and older speakers in particular may still use it as a second language. After the Second World War, non-Russian populations across the Soviet Union, including in the Ukrainian SSR, were required to learn Russian in accordance with communist ideology. Russian was widely perceived as a prestigious urban language, while the role of Ukrainian was often diminished (Grenoble, 2003: 84–85). These factors help explain why most Slavic borrowings date from the Soviet period. This finding is also in line with de Heer et al. (2024: 90–91), who found that Slavic borrowings are underrepresented in the basic vocabulary of Hungarian but occur in relatively large numbers in various cultural domains.

In October 1989, shortly before the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Law on Languages in the Ukrainian SSR declared Ukrainian the official state language (Grenoble, 2003: 86), a status later reinforced by the 1996 Constitution. Until the Revolution of Dignity and the Euromaidan protests (November 2013–February 2014), Russian continued to enjoy high social prestige and broad public visibility (see Hogan-Brun & Melnyk, 2012: 615). After 2014, however, several laws significantly restricted the use of regional and minority

languages (Csernicskó et al., 2023: 69–70), most notably the 2019 State Language Law. These changes were preceded by major geopolitical events, including the Russian annexation of Crimea in March 2014, the armed conflict in the Donbas region, and the proclamation of the so-called Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics. These developments were followed by the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine on 24 February 2022.

As a result of these historical processes, the relative positions of Ukrainian and Russian have changed significantly in recent decades: Ukrainian has become a key instrument of nation-building, while Russian has increasingly been restricted as the language of the aggressor state (Carlá & Constantin, 2025: 12–15). This shift is also reflected in the growing number of Ukrainian-origin borrowings in the Transcarpathian variety of Hungarian, as shown by Csernicskó and Váradi (2026). These findings confirm the second part of H3, namely that more recent borrowings are characterised by stronger Ukrainian influence, further supporting the claim that political history shapes the language use of minority speakers. The most recent borrowings are associated with the Euromaidan protests, the armed conflict in the Donbas region, subsequent legislative changes, military mobilisation, medical examinations, draft evasion, everyday life under wartime conditions, power outages, and changes in the educational system. Since Russian is no longer taught in schools and Ukrainian is compulsory in all educational institutions, it is likely that future generations will adopt increasing numbers of Ukrainian loanwords, while the role of Russian as a donor language will continue to decline.

The dominance of Soviet-era borrowings also points to possible generational differences in the knowledge and use of Slavic loanwords. Older speakers, who were educated and socialised during the Soviet period, are more likely to have direct experience of Russian-dominant institutions, military service, collective farming, Soviet administration, and workplace communication. For them, many Russian-based borrowings may be linked to lived experience and collective memory. Younger speakers, by contrast, have been socialised in independent Ukraine, where Ukrainian has become the dominant language of education, administration, public communication, and media. As a result, they may be more familiar with newer Ukrainian-origin borrowings connected to contemporary institutions, educational reforms, military mobilisation, and wartime realities. This suggests that the chronological distribution of borrowings is not only a historical pattern in the dataset, but may also reflect changing linguistic repertoires across generations.

5.4. Semantic and grammatical distribution of Slavic borrowings

The fourth research question (RQ4) and hypothesis (H4) focused on the part-of-speech and semantic distribution of Slavic borrowings. With regard to parts of speech, the findings show that the overwhelming majority of loanwords are nouns (1,297 items; 79%), which confirms the first part of H4. Other affected categories include verbs (100 items; 6.1%), adjectives (68 items; 4.1%), and items with dual part-of-speech status, especially noun–adjective forms (68 items; 4.1%).

The dominance of nouns can be explained by borrowability scales (Haugen, 1950: 220; Muysken, 1981, 2010: 271; Weinreich, 1953: 35), which show that nouns are the most frequently borrowed lexical items across languages, as they typically denote new entities and culturally specific concepts. Similar results have been reported in previous studies: Krajnik (2010) found that 90.6% of borrowings were nouns, Gazdag (2021e) 87.4%, Márku (2013) 84.7%, and Kótyuk (2007) 69.6%.

As for semantic distribution, it was hypothesised that the largest proportion of borrowings would belong to conceptual fields associated with the official domain, where the state language has higher prestige and is widely used even by minority speakers (Csernicskó & Márku, 2007: 14). Since individual loanwords may belong to more than one semantic category (Bárány & Gazdag, 2024b: 47), the borrowings in the present study were assigned to multiple categories where necessary.

According to the findings, six of the ten most frequent semantic fields belong to official domains: jobs and work (245 items), public administration (189), education (175), military (165), trade, economy, and money (114), and politics (110). These results confirm the second part of H4. At the same time, a substantial number of loanwords also occur in non-official semantic fields, such as architecture (209), human behaviour (174), gastronomy (134), and history (114). This distribution reflects the dual nature of Slavic borrowings: many are connected to official domains because of the dominance of the state language, while many others occur in culturally embedded areas as a result of long-term and intensive contact between the Slavic majority and the Hungarian minority.

These findings are also supported by earlier research. Gazdag (2021e: 222–224) identified jobs and positions, institutions, everyday life, and documents as the most frequent semantic categories affected by borrowing, three of which clearly belong to official domains. Similarly, Krajnik (2010: 45–51) found that the two largest semantic

groups were gastronomy and public administration, again reflecting the dual character of borrowing domains.

In conclusion, H4 was largely confirmed: nouns are by far the most frequent part-of-speech category among loanwords, and borrowings associated with official domains are strongly represented in the dataset. At the same time, non-official borrowings related to architecture, gastronomy, history, human behaviour, and everyday life also play a significant role, highlighting the broad impact of language contact across different spheres of life.

5.5. Borrowing types and motivations for borrowing

The fifth research question (RQ5) addressed the most frequent types of borrowing and their underlying motivations, while the fifth hypothesis (H5) assumed that direct borrowing would be the most frequent category, primarily motivated by the sociopolitical influence of the state language. The results confirm the first part of H5: direct borrowings account for 58.8% of the analysed dataset (965 items). This finding is consistent with Gazdag (2021e: 150), who found that 85.7% of the 581 analysed Slavic borrowings (498 items) were direct loans. This is not surprising, since direct borrowing is generally the most common type of lexical transfer, whereas hybrid formations, semantic borrowings, and calques are usually treated as indirect borrowings and tend to be less frequent (Benő, 2008: 23–33; Haugen, 1950, 1953; Kontra, 1981: 14–16).

The dominance of direct borrowings is further shown by the fact that the next most frequent categories each account for less than 10% of the dataset: formal borrowings (139 items; 8.5%), secondary borrowings (135 items; 8.2%), and stylistic borrowings (133 items; 8.1%). This suggests that, besides the direct adoption of Slavic lexical items, the most common contact-induced processes include the formal reshaping of Hungarian words under Slavic influence, the derivation of new forms through Hungarian affixation, and the preservation of archaic Hungarian items supported by phonologically similar state-language forms.

With regard to motivation, the findings show that although cultural influence is also significant (594 cultural borrowings; 36.2%), most loanwords belong to the category of core borrowings (1,028 items; 62.6%), while only a small proportion (19 items; 1.2%) falls into both categories. This confirms the second part of H5 and suggests that most Slavic borrowings are motivated by the sociopolitical influence of the state language. The results thus support the view that borrowing is strongly shaped by asymmetrical power relations and the prestige of the dominant language (Grant, 2015: 431–432).

At the same time, this does not mean that Hungarians in Transcarpathia regard their mother tongue as less prestigious than Ukrainian. Rather, Slavic borrowings are often used because speakers are more frequently exposed to the state-language forms of official documents, institutions, and related concepts in everyday life. As a result, these forms become part of their active vocabulary and are often more readily activated than their standard Hungarian equivalents (Csernicskó, 1995: 139–140; Kótyuk, 1991). The substantial proportion of cultural borrowings, in turn, reflects the long-term cultural and social contact between the Hungarian minority and the Ukrainian/Russian-speaking majority population in Transcarpathia.

5.6. Adaptation processes in Slavic borrowings

The sixth research question (RQ6) addressed the phonological, morphological, and semantic adaptation patterns of Slavic borrowings. The analysis of 1,641 loanwords showed that borrowings of Ukrainian and Russian origin have undergone substantial adaptation at all three levels. Phonologically, they display vowel and consonant substitutions in accordance with Hungarian sound patterns; morphologically, they often serve as bases for further word formation through Hungarian affixation; and semantically, many have developed meanings that differ from those of their source forms. These findings support the sixth hypothesis (H6), according to which long-term contact between Hungarian and Slavic speakers in Transcarpathia has resulted not simply in lexical transfer, but in the deep integration of borrowed items into the structure of Hungarian. These words therefore function not as foreign insertions, but as established elements of the local Hungarian lexicon.

Phonological adaptation shows that Slavic borrowings were integrated primarily through accommodation to Hungarian phonological patterns rather than through preservation of the source-language form. In the case of vowels, no one-to-one correspondence was observed between Slavic and Hungarian sounds. For example, Slavic /u/ could be realised as /u/, as in *тумбочка* → *tumbocska*, as /uː/, as in *комендатура* → *kommendatúra*, or even as another vowel, as in *чугун* → *csuhon*. More generally, a single Slavic vowel could correspond to several Hungarian realisations. This variation reflects the fact that many borrowings spread primarily through spoken interaction rather than through writing, especially in the case of Russian-origin items, which encouraged the coexistence of multiple phonological and orthographic variants (see Bárány & Gazdag, 2024a, 2025b; Gazdag, 2017b: 14). In this sense, phonological variation can be interpreted as evidence of nativisation rather than irregularity.

Consonantal adaptation showed less variation, as most Slavic consonants were replaced by their closest Hungarian equivalents. At the same time, the attested variation is revealing, because it reflects Hungarian phonological perception. For example, the alternation in forms such as *beszedka* vs. *beszetka* from rus *беседка* shows fluctuation between voiced and voiceless consonants. Likewise, palatalised consonants such as Slavic *д'* /dʲ/, *н'* /nʲ/, *т'* /tʲ/, and *л'* /lʲ/ were typically replaced by Hungarian *gy*, *ny*, *ty*, and *ly*. Particularly noteworthy is the treatment of Slavic *г*, which appears in Hungarian as both *h* and *g*, reflecting its different pronunciation in Ukrainian and Russian. Phonological adaptation thus shows not only accommodation to Hungarian patterns, but occasionally also traces of the dual donor background.

Morphological adaptation provides even stronger evidence of integration. The most characteristic pattern was the creation of secondary and tertiary borrowings, in which borrowed bases were extended with Hungarian derivational morphology, often resulting in a different part of speech and modified meaning (Csernicskó, 1995: 141–143; Gazdag, 2021e: 154). This was especially common in the case of verbs, which were typically formed not through the direct borrowing of Slavic verb forms, but by attaching Hungarian verbal prefixes and suffixes to borrowed bases. Similar processes can also be observed in the formation of adjectives, nouns, and adverbs. This suggests that borrowed items did not remain isolated lexical imports, but became integrated into Hungarian word-formation patterns. The same is reflected in clipped forms such as *sztipi* from *sztipendium* and hybrid formations such as *főbuhálter*, both of which show that these borrowings function as productive parts of the lexicon.

Semantic adaptation likewise points to a high degree of integration. The most common tendency was broadening of meaning, as in the case of brand names that became general nouns through metonymic expansion (Lechner & Bárány, 2023: 55). For example, *szádocsok*, from the brand name *Sadochok*, is used to mean 'juice' in general rather than the product of one particular company. A similar process can be seen in metaphorical extension, as in the use of the dog name *Bobik* to denote a UAZ-469 military jeep. Narrowing of meaning was less common, but also significant, since only those senses of a polysemous source word were retained that were relevant in the borrowing environment. For example, *provodnyik* from Russian *проводник* is used only in the sense of 'train conductor' in Transcarpathian Hungarian. Elevation of meaning was rare, whereas degradation was more frequent. The latter can be illustrated by *geroj* from Russian *герой*, which originally means 'hero' but in Transcarpathian Hungarian is used

pejoratively for a bold, arrogant, or boastful person (Gazdag, 2017b: 15–16). Altogether, these semantic changes show that borrowed items were not only formally integrated, but also reinterpreted according to local communicative and evaluative needs.

Overall, the adaptation patterns discussed above demonstrate that Slavic borrowings in Transcarpathian Hungarian are structurally and functionally integrated elements of the contact variety. Their phonological reshaping, morphological productivity, and semantic reinterpretation all point to the same conclusion: long-term contact with Ukrainian and Russian has not merely expanded the lexicon of Transcarpathian Hungarian, but has embedded these loanwords deeply into its linguistic system.

5.7. Variation patterns and contact-induced phenomena

The seventh research question (RQ7) addressed the most common patterns of loanword variation. The analysis showed that variation is not a marginal feature of the borrowed lexicon, but one of its central characteristics. In many cases, Slavic loanwords occur in more than one formal variant, reflecting their integration into Transcarpathian Hungarian through long-term, predominantly oral contact and their subsequent adaptation to Hungarian phonological, orthographic, and lexical patterns. The most common type of variation involved vowel and consonant length (e.g., *a̲va̲nsz* ~ *á̲vá̲nsz* ‘advance payment’; *bá̲k* ~ *bá̲kk* ‘fuel tank’), suggesting that speakers often adjusted borrowed forms to Hungarian phonological habits rather than preserving the exact source-language form.

Consonant length variation may also result from the assimilation of consonant clusters. In forms such as *dá̲tcsik* ~ *dá̲ccsik*, the sequence /t + t͡ʃ/, represented orthographically as *t + cs*, undergoes regressive assimilation and is realised as the long affricate /t͡ʃː/, spelt *ccs* in Hungarian. This shows that variation is not random fluctuation, but often follows regular phonological tendencies of the recipient language. More broadly, such cases indicate that once borrowed items enter Hungarian usage, they become subject to the same kinds of phonological restructuring as native elements.

Another important source of variation is the parallel influence of Ukrainian and Russian. Since the Transcarpathian Hungarian contact variety developed in contact with both languages, the same concept may be borrowed in two different forms (see Gazdag, 2021d). In some cases, the difference between the variants is minimal, most commonly involving the alternation *i* ~ *e* (Gazdag, 2018c: 110), as in *szi̲tka* (ukr *ci̲тка*) ~ *sze̲tka* (rus *ce̲тка*). In other cases, however, the Ukrainian- and Russian-origin forms are clearly distinct, as in *jidálnyá* (ukr *їдальня*) ~ *sztolova* (rus *столовая*) ‘dining hall; canteen’.

This type of double borrowing shows that variation reflects not only phonetic adaptation, but also the coexistence of two donor languages in the same contact setting.

Some variation patterns also point to ongoing sociolinguistic change. This is particularly visible where Ukrainian forms increasingly replace earlier Russian-based terms as a result of derussification. For example, *TCK* (ukr *ТЦК*) has emerged alongside or instead of *vojenkomát* (rus *военкомат*) to denote military recruitment offices (see Csernicskó & Váradi, 2026: 64; Váradi & Csernicskó, 2025: 119). In such cases, lexical variation reflects not only structural factors, but also broader political and ideological shifts.

Variation was also observed in the parallel borrowing of singular and plural forms, as in *kurtka ~ kurtki* 'jacket; chesterfield coat' from ukr, rus *куртка*. This suggests that speakers often borrowed forms from actual usage rather than only dictionary headwords. A similar conclusion can be drawn from sound omission and insertion (see Gazdag, 2018b: 76). Sound omission typically simplifies Slavic forms, as in *mars<u>r</u>ut ~ marsut* from ukr, rus *маршрут*, whereas sound insertion may make them easier to pronounce in Hungarian, as in *paszport ~ pasz<u>t</u>port* from ukr, rus *паспорт*. These tendencies further support the view that variation emerges through accommodation to Hungarian speech habits.

In relation to loanword variation, the seventh hypothesis (H7) proposed that contact influence is not limited to formally identifiable loanwords, but also appears in forms that lack clear foreign formal markers and coincide with standard or archaic Hungarian words. The results clearly confirm this hypothesis. Contact influence was evident not only in direct borrowings, but also in stylistic borrowings (133 items), semantic borrowings (89 items), calques (36 items), and loan homonyms (19). This is an important finding because it shows that the effects of Slavic contact extend beyond the borrowed lexicon in the narrow sense and also affect the meanings, stylistic value, and usage of existing Hungarian forms.

This is especially clear in the case of stylistic borrowings. Here, archaic Hungarian words, often of earlier Latin or Greek origin, have remained current in Transcarpathian Hungarian because they resemble corresponding forms in the state language. Thus, while such items are archaic in standard Hungarian used in Hungary, they remain understandable and productive in the minority setting (Benő & Lanstyák, 2019: 16; Váradi, 2025a: 174–175). A typical example is *advokát* instead of standard Hungarian *ügyvéd* 'lawyer'. This suggests that language contact may preserve older lexical layers by reinforcing them through cross-linguistic similarity.

Semantic borrowings and loan homonyms point to an even less visible but equally important type of contact influence. Hungarian words may acquire additional meanings

under the influence of the state language, either through semantic extension or through the transfer of an unrelated meaning (Gazdag, 2018d; Lanstyák, 2011: 101–102). In the former case, these are semantic borrowings, as in *deficit* in the sense of 'scarce item'. In the latter, the result is a loan homonym, as in *pára* 'lesson pair; 2×45 minutes', whereas in standard Hungarian *pára* means 'vapour' or 'steam'. Calques show a similar process at the phraseological level. For example, *vizsgát lead* 'to pass an exam', instead of standard Hungarian *vizsgát letesz*, reflects the influence of ukr *здати (іспит)* and rus *сдать (экзамен)*. These phenomena show that language contact affects not only isolated lexical items, but also semantic and phraseological patterns.

In summary, the findings related to RQ7 demonstrate that variation among Slavic borrowings is not accidental or peripheral, but a fundamental feature of the contact-induced lexicon of Transcarpathian Hungarian. The coexistence of phonological variants, parallel Ukrainian- and Russian-based forms, and less visible contact-induced phenomena such as stylistic borrowings, semantic borrowings, calques, and loan homonyms all point to the same conclusion: language contact has shaped not only the lexical inventory of this regional variety, but also the internal organisation and usage patterns of its lexicon.

5.8. Register-based differences in the use of Slavic borrowings

The eighth research question (RQ8) examined the register-based distribution of Slavic borrowings. In connection with this, the eighth hypothesis (H8) proposed that Russian-origin borrowings would be more frequent in literary works and social media, whereas Ukrainian-origin items would dominate in news portals, where language use is more strongly shaped by official norms and legal regulations. The results confirm this hypothesis. Russian-origin borrowings were most frequent in literary works (28.8%), followed by social media (19.5%), while their proportion was considerably lower in news portals (10.1%). The opposite tendency was found for Ukrainian-origin borrowings, which were most strongly represented in Transcarpathian Hungarian news portals (39%), followed by social media (16.7%), and were least frequent in literary works (7.3%). At the same time, the predominance of dual-origin items was also reflected in the register-based comparison, as approximately 50–60% of the borrowings in all three registers were classified as Ukrainian/Russian-origin.

These findings suggest that the distribution of Slavic borrowings across registers is closely related to the sociolinguistic conditions under which those registers operate. The strong presence of Russian-origin borrowings in literary works can be explained primarily by the historical background of the analysed texts, many of which depict life in the Soviet

Union, where Russian had a particularly strong prestige and institutional role. Literary language may also preserve older layers of contact-induced vocabulary for stylistic, characterological, or atmosphere-building purposes (Mádi, 2026). A similar explanation applies to social media, where language use is less regulated and more closely reflects spontaneous everyday speech. In such contexts, speakers are more likely to use inherited Russian-based contact forms that remain entrenched in colloquial usage.

By contrast, the dominance of Ukrainian-origin borrowings in news portals reflects the influence of contemporary language policy and institutional standardisation. As public communication in Ukraine increasingly operates within a Ukrainian-dominant official framework, Transcarpathian Hungarian news portals also tend to reflect this in their lexical choices. It is also important to note that many articles on Transcarpathian Hungarian news portals are translated from Ukrainian sources, which further shapes their vocabulary. As a result, Ukrainian-based forms are especially common in references to public administration, institutions, official documents, education, and current political realities (Gazdag, 2017c). In this sense, register-based differences in borrowing reflect not only linguistic factors, but also broader social, political, and ideological shifts.

The chronological distribution of the borrowings further supports this interpretation. Soviet-era borrowings were particularly frequent in literary works (78.3%) and social media (64.9%), whereas post-Soviet borrowings were most strongly represented in news portals (46%). This suggests that literary texts and informal online communication tend to preserve vocabulary associated with earlier periods of contact, while news portals are more responsive to newer lexical developments shaped by present-day institutions and current affairs.

A similar contrast emerges from the motivations for borrowing. In literary works and social media, more than 60% of the attested items were core borrowings, whereas in news portals cultural borrowings predominated (66.5%). In the former two registers, Slavic elements are often embedded in everyday communication and function as established components of the local vernacular. In literary texts, they may also serve stylistic purposes by helping to create a recognisably local or Slavic sociocultural setting. In news portals, by contrast, the high proportion of cultural borrowings reflects the thematic profile of the register, which frequently refers to institutions, official documents, political parties, administrative bodies, educational structures, and other realities specific to the Ukrainian state context. A similar finding is reported by Havumetsä (2023), who investigated Russian loanwords in Finnish news portals at the

beginning of Russia's invasion of Ukraine and concluded that Russian-origin words were mainly limited to historical, political, and military concepts.

In conclusion, the use of Slavic borrowings varies considerably across registers and is shaped by a combination of historical, sociolinguistic, and functional factors. Literary works and social media preserve more Russian-based and Soviet-era vocabulary, reflecting colloquial usage and earlier contact patterns, whereas news portals favour Ukrainian-based and post-Soviet items in line with present-day institutional realities. This demonstrates that register plays a crucial role in the distribution of contact-induced vocabulary, and that the lexical profile of each domain reflects not only language contact itself, but also the social functions and communicative demands of the register.

These register-based and chronological differences also have implications for the interpretation of local identity. In literary works and social media, Slavic borrowings often function as markers of local experience, shared history, and recognisably Transcarpathian Hungarian language use. Their presence does not necessarily indicate a weakening of Hungarian identity; rather, it may reflect the speakers' embeddedness in a multilingual regional environment. In this sense, contact-induced vocabulary can serve as an index of local belonging, especially when it refers to everyday realities, Soviet-era memories, administrative practices, or wartime experiences that are specific to Transcarpathia. At the same time, the increasing use of Ukrainian-origin borrowings in news portals shows how local Hungarian language use adapts to changing political and institutional conditions in contemporary Ukraine.

More broadly, the findings discussed in this chapter show that Slavic borrowings in Transcarpathian Hungarian are not merely lexical traces of language contact, but also indicators of historical experience, institutional change, and regional identity. The coexistence of Russian-based, Ukrainian-based, and mixed-origin items reflects the layered linguistic history of the community, while the differences between Soviet-era and post-Soviet borrowings point to changing language repertoires across generations. The contact lexicon therefore provides insight not only into borrowing as a linguistic process, but also into how minority speakers adapt to shifting political, social, and communicative environments.

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSIONS

This final chapter summarises the main findings of the dissertation and reflects on their broader theoretical and practical significance. It first presents the key results concerning the origin, chronology, structure, adaptation, variation, and register-based distribution of Slavic borrowings in Transcarpathian Hungarian. It then outlines the theoretical contributions of the study to contact linguistics, loanword typology, minority language research, and the pluricentric interpretation of Hungarian. The chapter also discusses the practical implications of the findings for lexicography, language documentation, education, language planning, and editorial practice. Finally, it acknowledges the main limitations of the research and proposes directions for future studies on Slavic lexical influence in Transcarpathian Hungarian and other minority language settings.

6.1. Summary of the main findings

This dissertation set out to provide a comprehensive analysis of Ukrainian- and Russian-origin borrowings attested in the Transcarpathian variety of Hungarian. On the basis of a self-compiled lexical dataset of 1,641 Slavic borrowings documented in example sentences from a wide range of sources, the study examined their etymological, chronological, grammatical, and semantic characteristics, as well as their phonological and morphological adaptation, semantic development, variation patterns, and register-based distribution.

The findings show that Slavic borrowings in Transcarpathian Hungarian are best understood as the result of a complex and historically layered contact situation. In many cases, the items display dual Ukrainian–Russian origin because of the phonological and orthographic similarity of the donor etymons. At the same time, the overall results indicate that Russian has had a stronger impact on the contact lexicon of the Hungarian minority than Ukrainian, largely because of the historical conditions of the Soviet period. This dominance is also reflected in the chronological distribution of the material, since most borrowings were traced back to the Soviet era. At the same time, the growing presence of post-Soviet and specifically Ukrainian-origin borrowings points to ongoing changes in the linguistic environment of Transcarpathia, shaped by the increasing prestige of the Ukrainian state language and the declining public role of Russian. In this respect, the dissertation has shown that lexical borrowing in the region cannot be interpreted independently of broader historical, political, and sociocultural processes.

The etymological analysis further revealed that the borrowed lexicon is far from homogeneous. Although the immediate donor languages are Ukrainian and Russian, many items ultimately derive from a broader range of linguistic sources. The most frequent borrowing pathways involved words of Indo-European origin transmitted through Proto-Slavic, Old East Slavic, and Polish, as well as through Latin, Greek, French, Italian, German, and English. In addition, a smaller but still significant number of borrowings could be traced back to Turkic and Afroasiatic sources. These findings underline that Slavic lexical influence is not merely a matter of direct contact with neighbouring Slavic languages, but also reflects longer chains of lexical transmission across several language families.

From a grammatical and semantic perspective, the results show that nouns constitute the largest group of borrowings, although verbs and adjectives also occupy an important place in the material. The data further confirm that borrowing is not limited to the simple transfer of lexical items, since many loanwords underwent shifts in word class and became integrated into Hungarian word-formation processes through affixation and the creation of secondary and tertiary borrowings. Direct borrowing proved to be the dominant type, but the material also contained stylistic and semantic borrowings, calques, and loan homonyms, demonstrating that the influence of Slavic languages extends beyond formally identifiable foreign lexical items. The distinction between core and cultural borrowings likewise revealed the dual nature of the contact situation: some items reflect everyday bilingual interaction and lexical coexistence, while a considerable part of the borrowed vocabulary is linked to administrative, institutional, and culturally specific realities of the region. This duality was also confirmed by the semantic distribution of the dataset, in which both official and cultural domains were strongly represented.

The analysis of adaptation processes showed that Slavic loanwords have become deeply embedded in the structure of Transcarpathian Hungarian. Their integration is visible not only in phonological and morphological accommodation, but also in semantic change, especially in cases of meaning broadening and degradation. At the same time, the material displayed a high degree of formal variation, including differences in vowel and consonant length, parallel Ukrainian and Russian forms, singular and plural variants, and patterns of sound omission and insertion. Such variation reflects the dynamic and non-standardised character of contact-induced lexical usage, especially in a multilingual setting where multiple linguistic norms and influences coexist.

Finally, the register-based analysis demonstrated that the use of Slavic borrowings is not uniform across discourse types. Russian-origin, Soviet-era, and mainly core borrowings were

found to be especially characteristic of literary works and social media, whereas Ukrainian-origin, post-Soviet, and more culturally bound borrowings occurred more frequently in news portals. This confirms that the distribution of loanwords is shaped not only by historical depth and etymological origin, but also by communicative context, stylistic conventions, and the degree of institutional regulation affecting language use in different registers.

Taken together, the results of the dissertation show that Slavic borrowings in Transcarpathian Hungarian form a structured and historically meaningful layer of the regional lexicon. Their study offers important insights not only into lexical borrowing and contact-induced change, but also into the linguistic consequences of shifting political power relations, minority–majority interaction, and the multilingual everyday life of Transcarpathia.

6.2. Theoretical contributions

This dissertation makes several theoretical contributions to the study of lexical borrowing, language contact, minority language use, and the pluricentric interpretation of Hungarian. First, it demonstrates that lexical borrowing in a multilingual contact setting cannot be adequately described as a simple one-directional transfer from a clearly identifiable donor language to a recipient language. The analysed material shows that contact-induced lexical change in Transcarpathian Hungarian is the result of a historically layered and structurally complex process in which direct contact with Ukrainian and Russian is intertwined with longer etymological chains reaching back to other Slavic, Italic, Germanic, Turkic, and Afroasiatic languages. In this sense, the dissertation contributes to a more nuanced understanding of borrowing as a multi-stage phenomenon shaped by both immediate and more distant linguistic relationships.

A particularly important contribution of the study lies in its treatment of dual origin in lexical borrowing. A substantial proportion of the analysed items could not be assigned with full certainty to either Ukrainian or Russian as the sole donor language, because the relevant etymons were identical or nearly identical in phonological and orthographic form. This finding suggests that in bilingual or multilingual contact environments the identification of the donor language cannot always be treated as exclusive and unambiguous. Instead, the dissertation argues that etymology may in some cases be overlapping, parallel, or indeterminate. This has broader relevance for contact linguistics, especially when closely related donor languages converge in actual language use.

The study also contributes to the interpretation of lexical borrowing by showing that contact-induced change must be understood within its historical, political, and sociocultural

context. The dominance of Soviet-era borrowings, the strong influence of Russian in the lexical material, and the more recent increase in Ukrainian-origin items all reflect changing power relations, language policies, and prestige structures in Transcarpathia. The dissertation therefore reinforces the view that lexical borrowing is not merely an internal linguistic process, but also a socially embedded phenomenon shaped by institutional regulation, political transformation, and minority–majority interaction.

Another important contribution concerns loanword adaptation. The findings confirm that borrowing should not be seen as the passive importation of foreign lexical items, but as an active process of integration into the recipient language. The analysed material demonstrates that Slavic borrowings in Transcarpathian Hungarian undergo phonological, morphological, and semantic accommodation, and that many items become productive within Hungarian word formation through affixation and the creation of secondary and tertiary borrowings. The dissertation thus contributes to process-oriented models of borrowing by showing how integration operates across multiple linguistic levels.

The distinction between core and cultural borrowing is also refined by the present research. The material confirms the usefulness of this distinction, but also shows that the boundary between the two categories is not always rigid. While many borrowings refer to culturally specific institutions, administrative realities, or historically conditioned local concepts, others function as everyday alternatives alongside existing Hungarian lexical items. The dissertation therefore supports the continued use of the core/cultural distinction, while arguing for a more flexible interpretation that allows for transitional or mixed cases.

The register-based analysis offers a further contribution by demonstrating that contact-induced lexical phenomena are not distributed evenly across discourse types. The differences identified between literary works, news portals, and social media indicate that the use, preservation, and innovation of Slavic borrowings are shaped by register, communicative purpose, stylistic norm, and degree of institutional regulation. This suggests that lexical borrowing should not be analysed as a uniform characteristic of a speech community as a whole, but as a phenomenon that may vary significantly across genres and communicative settings.

Finally, the dissertation contributes to the understanding of Hungarian as a pluricentric language. By documenting and analysing the systematic presence of Slavic borrowings in the Transcarpathian variety of Hungarian, the study shows that such contact-induced lexical features should not be treated as marginal deviations from a presumed monolithic standard, but as meaningful components of a regional variety shaped by its own historical and

sociolinguistic conditions. In this way, the dissertation supports a pluricentric perspective in which regional Hungarian varieties spoken outside Hungary are treated as legitimate and internally coherent forms of language use. At the same time, it also contributes to minority language studies by showing that lexical borrowing in minority settings is closely connected to identity, institutional embeddedness, and adaptation to changing political realities.

In conclusion, these contributions show that the study of Slavic borrowings is relevant not only to the description of a regional lexical dataset, but also to wider debates in contact linguistics, loanword typology, minority language studies, and pluricentric language theory. The dissertation thus offers a framework for understanding lexical borrowing as a historically embedded, socially conditioned, and structurally complex process.

6.3. Practical implications

The findings of this dissertation have several practical implications for lexicography, language documentation, education, minority language planning, and future research on language contact. First, the analysed material may contribute to the development of regional and contact-sensitive lexicographic resources by providing systematically organised information on the etymology, meaning, variation, and register-based use of Slavic borrowings in Transcarpathian Hungarian. In this respect, the dissertation may also support the further expansion and refinement of databases such as the TOHDD, especially in the description of regionally used contact forms.

Second, the study offers practical insights for the documentation of minority language varieties. By combining data from literary works, news portals, social media, and other sources, it demonstrates the importance of multi-source and multi-register data collection in the analysis of contact-induced lexical phenomena. The methodological framework applied here may therefore be useful for future corpus-building and documentation projects focusing on Transcarpathian Hungarian or other regional varieties spoken outside Hungary.

Third, the results may also be applied in educational contexts. More precise knowledge of contact-induced lexical phenomena can support the teaching of Hungarian, sociolinguistics, Slavic–Hungarian language contact, and lexicology in Transcarpathia. The findings may help students and teachers better understand the linguistic background of regionally widespread forms and distinguish more consciously between standard, regional, and register-specific usage. In this way, the dissertation may also contribute to the development of greater linguistic awareness in relation to minority language use.

In addition, the research is relevant for minority language planning and language cultivation. By showing that Slavic borrowings form a structured and historically grounded layer of the Transcarpathian Hungarian lexicon, it supports a more descriptive and less stigmatising approach to regional language features. This may be particularly important in contexts where contact-induced forms are often judged prescriptively despite their stable presence in everyday communication.

Finally, the register-based findings may also be useful for media, editorial, and translation practice. Since the dissertation has shown that the frequency, origin, and function of borrowings differ across literary texts, social media, and news discourse, these results may help language professionals make more informed decisions about lexical choice and stylistic appropriateness in different communicative settings.

6.4. Limitations of the study

Despite its broad scope and large dataset, the dissertation has several limitations. These do not undermine the validity of the findings, but they should be acknowledged in order to place the results in their proper methodological and interpretive context.

The first limitation concerns the identification of donor languages. A substantial proportion of the analysed borrowings could not be assigned exclusively to either Ukrainian or Russian, because the relevant etymons were identical or highly similar in phonological and orthographic form. As a result, many items had to be classified as being of dual Ukrainian–Russian origin. Although this reflects the linguistic reality of the contact situation and is itself an important finding, it also means that the exact role of the two donor languages cannot always be determined with complete certainty at the level of individual lexical items. A similar limitation applies to the identification of intermediary and ultimate donor languages, since not all etymons could be found in the etymological dictionaries consulted, and supplementary online etymological resources were consulted where necessary.

A second limitation concerns the historical and chronological classification of the borrowings. The classification of lexical items into pre-Soviet, Soviet-era, and post-Soviet layers was based on available linguistic, historical, and contextual evidence, but in many cases the time of borrowing could only be estimated rather than established precisely. Lexical borrowing is often a gradual process, and the first attestation of a form does not necessarily coincide with the time of its actual integration into everyday language use. The

chronological categories used in the dissertation should therefore be understood as analytically useful approximations rather than absolute historical boundaries.

A further limitation relates to the composition of the dataset. Although the lexical dataset was compiled from a wide range of sources, including literary works, news portals, social media, interviews, memoirs, and other materials, these sources do not represent all domains and speakers of Transcarpathian Hungarian equally. Some registers are more richly documented than others, and representation may also vary by time period, settlement type, communicative situation, and source accessibility. Consequently, the analysed material cannot be regarded as fully exhaustive with respect to the entire contact lexicon of Transcarpathian Hungarian.

The study is also limited by the nature of the examples on which the analysis was based. Only the 1,641 borrowings attested in example sentences were included in the main dataset, while a further 245 items without contextual examples were treated separately. This decision increased the reliability of the semantic, grammatical, and register-based analysis, but it also meant that some potentially relevant lexical items could not be examined in the same depth. In this sense, the dissertation prioritised contextual attestation over maximal lexical coverage.

The register-based analysis likewise has certain limitations. Literary works, news portals, and social media platforms were selected as the three main registers because they represent substantially different communicative settings and reveal important contrasts in language use. At the same time, these categories are internally diverse, and their boundaries are not always clear-cut. Social media, for example, includes a wide range of communicative practices, while literary texts may differ considerably in style, period, and degree of dialect representation. For this reason, the register-based findings should be interpreted as general tendencies rather than sharply delimited patterns.

Finally, the dissertation is limited by its regional focus. Since the study concentrates on the Transcarpathian variety of Hungarian, its conclusions apply most directly to this specific contact setting. Although some of the theoretical and methodological insights may also be relevant to other Hungarian minority varieties and multilingual regions, the concrete lexical, historical, and sociopolitical patterns described here are rooted in the particular circumstances of Transcarpathia. Broader generalisations should therefore be made with caution.

Taken together, these limitations highlight the complexity of studying lexical borrowing in a multilingual minority context. At the same time, they point to the need for further research based on expanded corpora, additional registers, more fine-grained

chronological evidence, and comparative perspectives involving other regional varieties of Hungarian. Rather than reducing the value of the present study, these limitations help define its scope more clearly and indicate productive directions for future research.

6.5. Directions for future research

The findings of this dissertation also point to several directions for future research. One of the most important tasks is the contextual documentation of the 245 Slavic borrowings identified in earlier language-contact studies but not included in the main analysed dataset because they were not attested in example sentences. Collecting contextual examples for these items from written, spoken, or online sources would make it possible to analyse them more reliably in terms of semantics, grammatical behaviour, register-based distribution, and degree of integration into Transcarpathian Hungarian. This would expand the empirical basis of the present study and provide a more comprehensive account of the contact lexicon.

A second important direction is the continuous expansion of the lexical dataset itself. Since language contact is an ongoing process, the stock of Slavic borrowings in Transcarpathian Hungarian cannot be regarded as closed. New lexical items continue to emerge as a result of changing sociopolitical circumstances, evolving language policies, technological developments, and the everyday bilingual practices of speakers. For this reason, the dataset compiled in the dissertation should be treated as an open and developing research resource that can be enriched with newly attested borrowings and additional examples of already documented forms.

Closely related to this is the need to record and analyse newly emerging borrowings, especially those connected to recent historical and political changes in the region. The growing role of Ukrainian in public life, administration, education, and the media, as well as changing communicative practices in digital environments, may generate new waves of lexical influence. Future research could therefore focus especially on post-Soviet and contemporary borrowings, with particular attention to their semantic fields, registers of use, and degree of spread within the speech community.

Another productive direction would be the systematic incorporation of the documented material into existing lexicographic resources, especially the TOHDD. The results of this study may support the further development of regional entries by providing detailed information on meaning, etymology, usage, register, and variation. The inclusion of newly documented borrowings in the TOHDD would not only strengthen the lexicographic

representation of the Transcarpathian variety of Hungarian, but also contribute to the broader documentation of minority Hungarian lexical usage within a pluricentric framework.

Future research could also extend the methodological foundations of the dissertation by including additional data types and linguistic dimensions. More spoken-language material, for example, could provide a clearer picture of the frequency, pronunciation, and situational use of Slavic borrowings in everyday interaction. Comparative research involving other Hungarian minority varieties could likewise help determine which contact-induced lexical patterns are specific to Transcarpathia and which reflect broader tendencies across regional varieties of Hungarian spoken outside Hungary.

In summary, the present dissertation should be regarded not as a definitive account of Slavic borrowings in Transcarpathian Hungarian, but as a foundation for further documentation, analysis, and lexicographic application. Further research in these directions would not only refine the description of the regional contact lexicon, but also contribute to a broader understanding of lexical borrowing in multilingual minority settings.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Dataset of Slavic borrowings

https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1gj2SX_35JETI9rQdTWB64tlOMF1Qg2o0O90M2motb5Y/edit?usp=sharing

Appendix 2. Social media screenshots

https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/15cOdLx-RFUd85l_pjTE_VdqBGcIgFrVu?usp=sharing

Appendix 3. Analysed interviews

Table 18. Sociodemographic data of the interviewees

No.	Settlement	Gender	Year of birth	Interview length
1	Badalovo	Female	1940	23 min 16 sec
2		Female	1962	33 min 49 sec
3	Batiovo	Male	1920	46 min 39 sec
4		Female	1949	41 min 59 sec
5		Male	1950	62 min 01 sec
6		Female	1958	38 min 50 sec
7		Female	1973	65 min 24 sec
8	Batrad	Female	1934	29 min 35 sec
9		Male	1941	37 min 13 sec
10		Female	1945	35 min 23 sec
11	Bene	Male	1926	117 min 09 sec
12	Berehove	Male	1921	78 min 09 sec
13		Female	1932	30 min 51 sec
14		Female	1949	31 min 45 sec
15		Male	1950	56 min 13 sec
16		Female	1967	33 min 05 sec
17		Female	1984	44 min 48 sec
18	Berehuifalu	Male	1935	48 min 33 sec
19		Female	1958	29 min 35 sec
20	Borzhava	Male	1947	37 min 31 sec
21	Bucha	Female	1944	43 min 18 sec
22	Chetfalva	Male	1960	77 min 26 sec
23	Choma	Female	1934	21 min 57 sec
24	Chornyi Potik	Female	1951	24 min 33 sec
25		Female	1983	29 min 52 sec
26	Dertsen	Male	1963	42 min 21 sec
27	Diula	Male	1938	26 min 39 sec
28	Diyda	Male	1931	60 min 44 sec
29		Female	1952	34 min 30 sec
30		Female	1955	22 min 39 sec
31	Esen	Male	1930	92 min 37 sec
32		Male	1944	30 min 24 sec
33	Halabor	Female	1928	54 min 59 sec
34		Female	1942	43 min 12 sec

No.	Settlement	Gender	Year of birth	Interview length
35		Female	1947	58 min 07 sec
36		Female	1952	88 min 17 sec
37	Haloch	Female	1935	41 min 47 sec
38		Male	1962	34 min 27 sec
39	Hat	Female	1947	23 min 02 sec
40		Male	1969	18 min 34 sec
41	Hecha	Female	1932	36 min 06 sec
42		Female	1955	27 min 28 sec
43	Heten	Male	1961	25 min 50 sec
44	Hut	Female	1919	61 min 25 sec
45	Karachyn	Male	1929	36 min 55 sec
46	Khust	Female	1929	44 min 24 sec
47	Kidosh	Male	1940	46 min 28 sec
48	Kobyletska Poliana	Female	1937	40 min 51 sec
49		Female	1943	36 min 30 sec
50	Koson	Female	1923	46 min 58 sec
51		Male	1925	46 min 33 sec
52		Male	1930	49 min 37 sec
53		Female	1948	40 min 17 sec
54		Male	1952	32 min 57 sec
55		Male	1954	30 min 51 sec
56		Male	1954	27 min 32 sec
57		Male	1959	77 min 31 sec
58		Female	1962	43 min 30 sec
59	Mala Byihan	Female	1954	22 min 31 sec
60		Female	1958	29 min 04 sec
61	Mala Dobron	Male	1934	30 min 10 sec
62	Male Popovo	Female	1977	34 min 46 sec
63	Mochola	Male	1973	48 min 30 sec
64	Muzhiievo	Male	1934	54 min 30 sec
65		Female	1940	40 min 23 sec
66		Female	1981	19 min 59 sec
67	Nevetlenfolu	Male	1958	47 min 55 sec
68	Okli Hed	Female	1950	69 min 04 sec
69	Okruhla	Female	1924	62 min 18 sec
70		Male	1932	36 min 24 sec
71		Female	1938	54 min 09 sec
72		Female	1941	25 min 21 sec
73	Orosiievo	Female	1966	36 min 36 sec
74		Male	1973	26 min 33 sec
75	Perekhrestya	Male	1948	47 min 07 sec
76		Male	1949	24 min 42 sec
77		Female	1968	18 min 24 sec
78		Female	1978	21 min 01 sec
79	Popovo	Female	1931	49 min 53 sec
80	Rakhiv	Female	1981	45 min 17 sec
81	Rakoshyno	Female	1913	24 min 12 sec
82	Rativtsi	Male	1922	48 min 18 sec
83		Female	1928	72 min 48 sec
84	Siurte	Female	1934	100 min 08 sec
85		Female	1965	37 min 09 sec
86	Solotvyno	Male	1966	33 min 13 sec

No.	Settlement	Gender	Year of birth	Interview length
87	Tiyglash	Male	1933	49 min 57 sec
88	Vary	Male	1952	23 min 03 sec
89		Male	1960	26 min 34 sec
90	Velyka Bakta	Female	1942	35 min 33 sec
91		Female	1951	72 min 40 sec
92	Velyka Byihan	Female	1943	41 min 59 sec
93	Velyka Dobron	Male	1927	51 min 03 sec
94	Verbovets	Male	1932	30 min 11 sec
95		Female	1952	29 min 15 sec
96	Vylok	Male	1927	78 min 32 sec
97		Male	1930	113 min 42 sec
98		Female	1931	49 min 03 sec
99		Male	1936	81 min 10 sec
100		Female	1946	34 min 12 sec
101		Male	1948	21 min 30 sec
102		Male	1952	29 min 40 sec
103		Female	1955	32 min 53 sec
104		Male	1960	39 min 34 sec
105		Female	1960	24 min 10 sec
106		Male	1965	33 min 52 sec
107	Vynohradiv	Male	1945	33 min 15 sec
108	Vyshkovo	Male	1929	112 min 56 sec
109		Female	1936	35 min 06 sec
110	Yanoshi	Male	1959	25 min 05 sec
111	Yasinia	Female	1931	35 min 25 sec
112	Zapson	Female	1962	33 min 16 sec
113		Female	1967	22 min 51 sec
114		Male	1980	19 min 48 sec
Total	**54 settlements**	**63 females, 51 males**	**1913–1984**	**81 h 59 min 36 sec**

Source: compiled by the author based on the interview collection of the Antal Hodinka Research Centre for Linguistics.