

Slavic Loanwords in the Speech of Transcarpathian Hungarians as a Result of the First One Thousand Days of the Russo-Ukrainian War

Krisztián Várad and István Csernicskó

Abstract: Transcarpathia is one of the westernmost counties of Ukraine with a Hungarian minority population consisting of more than 151,000 people, based on the last official census data from 2001. The local Hungarian language variety is different from standard Hungarian, spoken within the borders of Hungary, mainly in terms of vocabulary. The reason for this is that local Hungarians frequently borrow words from the language of the dominant nation of the country, i.e., Ukrainian. The number of Slavic loanwords has been increased by sociopolitical changes resulting from the Russo–Ukrainian war. In the present study, borrowings which are directly connected to the antecedents and consequences of the armed conflict are summarized on the basis of the Termini Hungarian–Hungarian Dictionary and Database. The aim of this paper is to present how a minority language variety can be influenced by the dominant language of the country in a few years of sociopolitical turmoil. In an international context, this might facilitate our understanding of the connection between language change, lexical borrowings, and military conflicts.

Keywords: *Hungarian minority, Russo–Ukrainian war, Slavic loanwords, Termini Hungarian–Hungarian Dictionary and Database, Transcarpathia*

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Introduction

Sociopolitical changes in a country affect both the lexicon of the state language and the mother tongue vocabulary of national minorities residing there. The present study will analyze the effects of the Russo-Ukrainian armed conflict on the vocabulary of the Hungarian minority in Transcarpathia. The roots of the Russo-Ukrainian war, which erupted on February 24, 2022,



trace back to 2013. It is therefore not surprising that during this protracted conflict, the everyday vocabulary of the Hungarian community in Transcarpathia expanded with lexical elements influenced by the Ukrainian state language. These elements reflect ongoing changes in politics, economics, education, and social dynamics. The *Termini Hungarian–Hungarian Dictionary and Database* (Lanstyák and Juhász; M. Pintér; Benő, Juhász, and Lanstyák; Benő et al.; Csernicskó and Márku; Csernicskó, Márku, and Máté; M. Pintér, P. Márkus, and Benő; Váradi), accessible online since 2007 on the website of the Termini Hungarian Language Research Network¹, documents the linguistic changes and unique vocabulary of Hungarian minorities living in the Carpathian Basin. Therefore, the *Termini Dictionary* is a perfect tool for conducting a corpus analysis about the lexical changes of the Transcarpathian Hungarian minority. Sociolinguistic corpora can facilitate our understanding of language contact phenomena (Adamou 639). The online dictionary collects loanwords and archaisms used in seven countries with indigenous Hungarian populations: Ukraine, Romania, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Austria, and Slovakia. Most of these words derive from the state languages of the neighboring countries of Hungary, typically as direct borrowings, phonetic borrowings, or calques through mirror translation. Additionally, the *Termini Dictionary* includes lexemes that are part of the common Hungarian vocabulary but exhibit meaning differences between Hungary and the cross-border regions. These are called semantic borrowings. Stylistic borrowings are also documented, often preserving their original stylistic value in minority language varieties, even though these terms became archaic in standard Hungarian (e.g., *planéta* [planet] (instead of *bolygó*), or *geográfia* [geography] (instead of *földrajz*)).

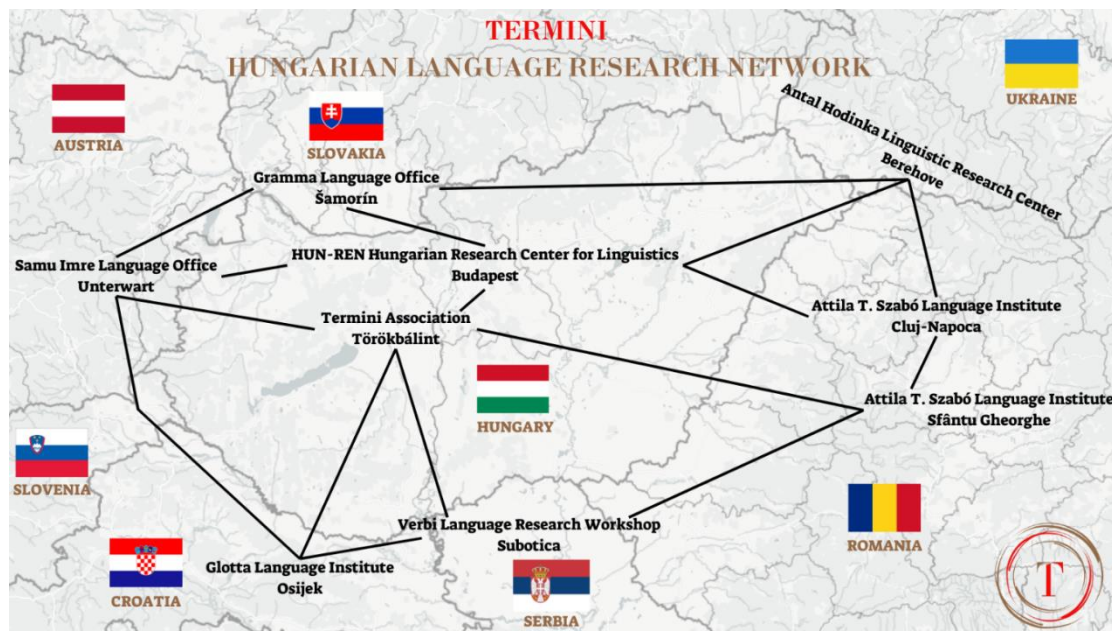


Figure 1. The Termini Hungarian Language Research Network

¹ <https://termini.nyud.hu/htonline/>. Last accessed: May 15, 2025.

Linguists from eight countries (Hungary, Ukraine, Romania, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Austria, and Slovakia) collaboratively edit the *Termini Dictionary*. As of April 12, 2025, the database contained 5,577 entries, but it continues to expand due to its digital format, which allows for the seamless addition of new entries. This enables editors to document newly emerging borrowings and reflect changes in the language use of Hungarian minority groups. Each entry is tagged with a regional identifier (e.g., *Ka* = *Kárpátalja* [Transcarpathia]). The dictionary includes both region-specific expressions (e.g., *apteczka* [first-aid kit] in Ukraine) and multi-regional loanwords (e.g., *internát* [dormitory, boarding school] in Romania, Slovakia, Serbia, Ukraine, Slovenia, and Austria). All the denotative and connotative meanings of the headwords are documented, allowing for the inclusion of conceptual and stylistic classifications of the loanwords. Vocabulary entries also indicate the loanwords' grammatical forms, orthographic variants, parts of speech, etymology up to three languages, and authentic written or spoken example sentences with sources. Optional multimedia elements, such as images and audio files, further enhance the understanding of the borrowings. For decades, linguistic research has documented that the language use of Hungarian communities separated by the Treaty of Trianon (1920) differs from that of Hungarians living in Hungary (Csernicskó, "A Magyar nyelv"; Lanstyák; Bárány and Csernicskó; Csernicskó and Fenyvesi; Márku; Csernicskó and Máté; Gazdag; Csernicskó et al.; Váradi). Following the Treaty of Trianon, Hungary's political boundaries were significantly altered. Apart from a few minor adjustments, these borders have remained relatively stable. As a result of this redrawing, over three million ethnic Hungarians ended up living outside the country's new frontiers. Many of these communities continue to inhabit areas close to Hungary's borders in neighboring nations, where they have generally maintained their Hungarian linguistic and cultural identity. Prior to the political changes of 1989, the language practices of Hungarians living outside Hungary received limited scholarly and public attention. However, this situation has changed considerably over the past thirty years. Lanstyák ("Gondolatok") described Hungarian as a pluricentric language because it is in active use in official and public domains, such as government, education, media, religion, culture, and academic research, across several states in the Carpathian Basin. In 2001, the Termini Hungarian Language Research Network was created to bring linguistic research centers focusing on the sociolinguistic description of Hungarian language varieties in the neighboring countries. Marking its tenth anniversary, the network emphasized the importance of ensuring that *Hungarian* as a linguistic and cultural term is understood to represent the broader Hungarian-speaking community, not just people or institutions located in Hungary (Benő and Péntek).

The most significant differences in Hungarian language varieties appear in the vocabulary of Hungarian minority groups. Among Hungarians in Transcarpathia, this is evident in the prevalence of Slavic loanwords borrowed from the current (Ukrainian) and former (Russian) state languages (Lizanec; Csernicskó and Hires; Gazdag; Váradi in both works cited). Borrowing is a frequent phenomenon in bilingual communities because speakers of the recipient language are in everyday contact with speakers of the donor language (Matras 148). Although borrowing is rather common, it should be mentioned that its usage in Transcarpathia greatly varies based on sociolinguistic variables such as age, sex, place of residence, and level of education (Csernicskó and Fenyvesi).

Research Method

Using the *Termini Hungarian-Hungarian Dictionary and Database*, the study examines how the Russo-Ukrainian war, in addition to causing mass emigration among Hungarians in Transcarpathia (Csernicskó and Gazdag), has influenced their vocabulary too. While the *Termini Dictionary* records the unique lexical elements of cross-border Hungarian language varieties, it is also highly suitable for linguistic corpus analyses. Editors can generate word lists based on various criteria, such as regions, loanword types, conceptual categories, or stylistic classifications. As of April 12, 2025, the database contained 1,123 entries tagged with the Transcarpathian regional identifier. During the corpus analysis, loanwords that directly related to the antecedents and consequences of the Russo-Ukrainian war were selected.

Slavic loanwords related to the military that are not directly associated with the Russo-Ukrainian conflict since 2013 were excluded from the corpus used in this study. Such terms were deemed too general for a detailed analysis in this paper:

- Military ranks: *lityinant* [‘lieutenant’]; *szerzsánt* [‘sergeant’]; *generál* [‘general’]; *major* [‘major’]; *kombát* [‘regimental commander’]; *komendánt* [‘commander’].
- Other military roles: *tankista* [‘tank driver’]; *vojenkor* [‘war correspondent’]; *vojennij korrespondent* [‘war correspondent’].
- Military uniforms: *kirzovij* [‘heavy military boots’]; *sinyel* [‘military coat’].
- Expressions related to military life: *kaszárnya* [‘barracks’]; *rota* [‘company’]; *ukáz* [‘decree, order’]; *gyedovcsina* [‘hazing of younger soldiers by older ones in the Soviet army’].

The resulting list comprised sixty loanwords of Ukrainian and Russian origin, which were grouped into two major categories (antecedents and consequences of the war) and smaller semantic units. Below, these are presented in detail, with example sentences illustrating their usage context. All examples originate from the relevant entries of the *Termini Hungarian–Hungarian Dictionary and Database*.

Slavic Loanwords Related to the Antecedents of the Russo–Ukrainian War

The roots of the Russo-Ukrainian conflict stretch back to November 2013, when the Euromaidan protests erupted, lasting until February 2014 (Fedinec and Csernicskó). This was a pro-European (and simultaneously anti-Russian) popular movement held in the central square of Ukraine’s capital. The catalyst for the events was the decision by Ukraine’s Cabinet of Ministers on November 21, 2013, to suspend preparations for the association agreement with the European Union. The term *Jevromajdan* (Ukr. *Євромайдан* [Euromaidan]) and the location where it occurred — Independence Square (Ukr. *Майдан незалежності*), commonly referred to simply as *majdan* — swiftly became part of the everyday vocabulary of the Hungarian minority in Transcarpathia, thanks to news and reports about the revolutionary events. In this case, semantic expansion can be witnessed: following these events, the *majdan* lexeme, whose Ukrainian and Russian equivalents (Ukr., Rus., *майдан*) mean ‘square, main square, marketplace,’ no longer refers solely to Kyiv’s central square but is also used to denote the revolutionary events that took place there. This usage persists among Ukrainian and Hungarian speakers both in Ukraine and Hungary. Interestingly, while the press in Hungary predominantly retained the term *Euromajdan*, Transcarpathian Hungarians still prefer the *Jevromajdan* version, aligning with the Ukrainian prefix *євро-* [jevro]. A sample sentence from the *Termini Dictionary* illustrates that during the

protests, the *Jevromajdan* term was not only used for the events in Kyiv but also for any demonstrations supporting Ukraine's European integration: "For this reason, the greatest disappointment of Sunday's *JevroMajdan* in Uzhhorod was the absence of Hungarian flags alongside the Ukrainians..." ["*Éppen ezért a vasárnapi ungvári JevroMajdan legnagyobb csalódása az volt, hogy hiányoztak a magyar zászlók az ukránok mellől...*"] This example, documented from a Transcarpathian Hungarian news portal, refers to a protest in Uzhhorod, the administrative center of Transcarpathia, located eight hundred kilometers from Kyiv, yet still bearing the same designation. In addition to *majdan*, another proper noun also became a common noun in connection with the political events: *tyitushka* (Ukr. *mimyuku*; Eng. *Titushky*). This term describes athletically built, paid provocateurs and thugs who typically disrupt political demonstrations. The neologism derives from the name of Vadym Titushko, an athlete from Bila Tserkva, who participated in attacks on journalists and opposition representatives in May 2013 under political orders. During Euromaidan, when protesters began engaging in acts such as burning car tires, authorities deployed Titushky men to provoke and intimidate the protesters.

As a result, the protests evolved into a revolution in February 2014. These February events entered the common Hungarian lexicon as the *Méltóság Forradalma* (Ukr. *Революція Гідності*) [Revolution of Dignity], following which Ukraine's president at the time, Viktor Yanukovich, fled to Russia (Fedinec et al. 399). However, before the revolution concluded, a violent clash occurred between the protesters and the police, resulting in 107 fatalities. These victims are collectively referred to in both academic literature and colloquial language as the *Mennyei Század* (Ukr. *Небесна Сотня*) [Heavenly Hundred] (Erőss and Kovály 145). The latter two terms are not direct borrowings but calques created from the mirror translation of the Ukrainian expressions.

A common feature of the *Termini Hungarian-Hungarian Dictionary* is the frequent occurrence of acronyms, which are often based on the state language expressions (usually the names of organizations or territorial units) rather than their Hungarian translations. A notable example is the acronym *ATO*, derived from the Ukrainian *Антитерористична операція* ('anti-terrorist operation'), pronounced by Transcarpathian Hungarians as *átó* ['a.to:]. *ATO* became the term for the Eastern Ukrainian conflict that began in spring 2014, following Russia's annexation of Crimea. From this acronym, the adjective and noun *ATO-s* emerged in Hungarian, signifying either individuals or events related to the ATO (e.g., *ATO-s veterán* ['ATO veteran'], *ATO-s harcok* ['ATO battles']) or Ukrainian soldiers serving in the anti-terrorist operation. This word-formation reflects a secondary borrowing process, where the primary borrowing (*ATO*) generates a secondary loanword with a Hungarian suffix (*ATO-s*). A similar process is observed with the term *azovos*, which refers to things and people associated with the nationalist Azov Regiment (Borgonovo). The Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics were proclaimed in April 2014. From the perspective of the *Termini Dictionary* and the lexicon of Transcarpathian Hungarians, the abbreviations of these newly formed administrative entities are significant. While the Hungarian press typically based their acronyms on Hungarian equivalents (*DNK*, pronounced in Hungarian as 'dé-en-ká' /de:enka:/ ← Hun. *Donyecki Népköztársaság* ['DPR ← Donetsk People's Republic'], and *LNK* 'el-en-ká' /elenka:/ ← Hun. *Luhanszki Népköztársaság* ['LPR ← Luhansk People's Republic']), Transcarpathian Hungarian news portals adopted the Russian (or Ukrainian) patterns, using *DNR* 'de-en-er' /de:ener/ (*ДНР* ← Ukr. *Донецька Народна Республіка*; Rus. *Донецкая Народная Республика*) and *LNR* 'el-en-er' /el:ener/ (*ЛНР* ← Ukr. *Луганська Народна Республіка*; Rus. *Луганская Народная Республика*). Due to the phonetic and morphological similarity of the Ukrainian and Russian terms, it is often unclear which

language served as the source for certain expressions in the Transcarpathian Hungarian variety. Given the pro-Russian sympathies of these regions, one might assume that the Russian forms were the sources; however, the Ukrainian press also uses the same abbreviations (*ДНП* and *ЛНП*), as the initial letters of the proper nouns are identical in both languages. This aligns with the findings of Gazdag (147), which indicate that 65.2% of the 581 Slavic loanwords documented are borrowed from Ukrainian/Russian without clear differentiation. Due to the similarities of two closely related languages, i.e., Ukrainian and Russian, it is often impossible to decide which was the direct donor language.

The *Termini Database* also includes loanwords reflecting specific emotional attitudes, often with ironic or pejorative connotations. One such example is the noun *porohobot*, which gained popularity before Ukraine's 2019 presidential elections as a neologism in Ukrainian political journalism. The term, later adopted by Transcarpathian Hungarian media (Csernicskó and Márku 419), is derived from the nickname of Ukraine's former president, Petro Poroshenko (Ukr. *Порох*), combined with the suffix *-bot* (from Eng. *bot* ['robot']). It carries two meanings: unconditional supporters of the former president, and online trolls or propagandists working on his behalf.

Finally, the war with Russia was preceded by several legislative changes in Ukraine, which introduced new concepts into the vocabulary of Transcarpathian Hungarians. One such concept was *dekommunizáció* (Ukr. *декомунізація*; Rus. *декоммунизация*) ['decommunization'], initiated by a 2015 legislative package aimed at removing Soviet-era monuments and replacing Soviet-related names of settlements, institutions, and public spaces with Ukrainian equivalents (Csernicskó, "Ideológiai csata"). The most notable changes involved the Ukrainization of previously Russian street and city names, such as renaming *Dnipropetrovsk* to *Dnipro*, and renaming *Gorky Street* in Vynohradiv to *Student Street* (Fedinec and Csernicskó, both works cited; Csernicskó, *Fények és árnyak* 189–205). More recently, in solidarity with the Ukrainian people, several streets in Riga, Latvia, previously named after prominent figures in Russian literature, were also renamed.

Slavic Loanwords Related to the Consequences of the Russo–Ukrainian War

On the morning of February 24, 2022, Russia launched a full-scale offensive against Ukraine. At the time of writing this study, the Russo-Ukrainian war has been ongoing for more than one thousand days. Decommunization has shifted gears and transitioned into *deruszifikáció* (Ukr. *дерусифікація*; Rus. *дерусификация*) ['derussification'], which no longer aims solely at removing Soviet communist symbols but also seeks to ban the Russian language and culture. Throughout the entire country, Russian-language education has been abolished, listening to Russian music and teaching Russian literature have been prohibited, and only the Ukrainian state language is permitted in official public spaces (Malysh, Shevchenko and Tkachuk-Miroshnichenko).

Russia's designation in Hungarian media in Transcarpathia has become *agresszor* ['aggressor'], while on informal forums, both Hungarian and Ukrainian users refer to Russian occupiers as *ork* ['orc'] (Ukr., Rus. *орк* 'barbaric mythical creature with beast-like traits'). Orcs are imaginary beings, featured, for instance, in the works of J.R.R. Tolkien: savage, ugly, with green or gray skin, pointed ears, and sharp teeth. Both *agresszor* and *ork* are international words used worldwide in similar forms due to the influence of English and globalization. However, in Ukraine, these negatively charged lexemes are specifically applied to refer to Russian occupying soldiers.

Veering slightly away from the content of the *Termini Hungarian-Hungarian Dictionary* and moving onto the international stage, it is essential to mention the pejorative designations of Russian ideology that entered global consciousness directly after the events of February 24, 2022. These words, modeled on English, are Ukrainian neologisms that compare Russia's twenty-first-century political ideology and social relations to fascism. These neologisms, carrying negative connotations, were first formed in Ukrainian (Ukr. *рашизм*) ['Russian fascism'] by blending the English name of Russia with fascism. Retaining their original sound, they entered the vocabulary of English speakers as well, in various forms such as *rashism*, *rushism*, and *ruscism*. This process is called word-blending, a deliberate word-formation method that does not involve the merging of synonyms but rather two unrelated words, such as *chocolate* + *alcoholic* → *chocoholic* (H. Varga 100–103; Mikić Čolić; Taylor 4–5).

In this case, neologisms are not used solely by the younger generation on the Internet or in colloquial language, but they are frequently mentioned by politicians, scholars, and journalists too. Consequently, it is not surprising that numerous studies have been written about their use and meaning (Romanyuk; Rudyi; Loza). Moreover, all three terms are included in the internationally renowned Urban Dictionary,² where they are referred to as the Russian version of Nazism, whose symbol (the letter Z, seen on military vehicles that attacked Ukraine in February 2022) is compared to the Nazi swastika. The ideology's primary goal is the restoration of the territorial unity of the former Soviet Union. Although the concept, referred to in Hungarian as *ruszizmus* ['ruscism'], entered public consciousness at the beginning of Vladimir Putin's presidency in the early 2000s, it only became globally recognized following the outbreak of the Russo-Ukrainian war. This recognition was significantly aided by a detailed article on the phenomenon by Yale University historian Timothy Snyder, published in *The New York Times* in April 2022.³

Returning to the content of the *Termini Hungarian-Hungarian Dictionary*, the strengthening of Ukrainian national identity is also reflected in the spread of national greetings like *Szlava Ukrajini!* (Ukr. *Слава Україні!*) ['Glory to Ukraine!'], which is also the official battle cry of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, and its response, *Herojam szlava!* (Ukr. *Героям слава!*) ['Glory to the heroes!']. These expressions became popular symbols of Ukrainian sovereignty and resistance to Russian aggression during the revolutionary events of 2014 and became even more prevalent with the outbreak of the war. Although the exclamation *Слава Україні!* was already used in 1839 by Ukraine's national poet Taras Shevchenko in his poem "To Osovianenko", the political use of these greetings dates back to the independence struggles of 1917–1921, when Ukrainians sought autonomy from Russia. Today, these phrases can be heard anywhere and anytime, as illustrated by the following example: "*Szlava Ukrajini!* is repeatedly exclaimed at the table during toasts, to which the response is chorused: *Herojam szlava!* We are in Berehove, on the shores of Nádas Fishing Lake, where local Svoboda activists have gathered with refugees from Kyiv to celebrate the Ukrainian army's victory near Kharkiv." [*"Szlava Ukrajini! – hangzik fel újra és újra az asztalnál a pohárköszöntő, mire kórusban érkeznek*

² <https://www.urbandictionary.com/>. Last accessed: May 15, 2025.

³ <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/04/22/magazine/ruscism-ukraine-russia-war.html>. Last accessed: May 15, 2025.

a válasz: Herojam szlava! Beregszászon, a Nádas horgásztó partján vagyunk, ahol most a helyi Szvoboda aktivistái gyűltek össze a kijevi menekültekkel, hogy megünnepeljék az ukrán hadsereg győzelmét Harkiv mellett.”] Examples from the *Termini Hungarian-Hungarian Dictionary* also reveal the existence of a cocktail named *Szlava Ukrajini* and the appearance of the *Szlava Ukrajini!* slogan on Ukrainian football jerseys. However, since it has a political connotation when used together with the *Herojam szlava!* answer, its display was not permitted by UEFA.

From a linguistic perspective, it is particularly intriguing that the Russian leadership has never referred to the attack on Ukraine as a “war.” According to the official Russian narrative, a “special military operation” is underway in Ukraine, referred to as *szpecoperacija* (Rus. *специальная операция*) [‘special operation’]. This is noteworthy because, although Ukraine has been under martial law since February 24, 2022, Russia maintains that there is no war in the country. It is also striking that the press occasionally publishes fear-inducing rumors, which the Ukrainian leadership refers to as *IPSZO*. The acronym *IPSZO* (pronounced by Transcarpathian Hungarians as ‘ipso’ /ipso:/) originates from the Ukrainian *ІПСО* ← *інформаційно-психологічна операція* [‘informational and psychological operation’], denoting fake news spread by the enemy. This acronym does not appear in standard Hungarian but emerged in Ukrainian as a direct adaptation of the English term *PSYOP* ← *Psychological Operations*. Examples from the press in Transcarpathia include sentences like “a significant increase in residential electricity tariffs” or “undermining the banks of the Tisza River”.

Alongside ideological warfare, far more severe battles are being fought on the battlefield, as evidenced by the presence of new loanwords in the vocabulary of Hungarian speakers in Transcarpathia. Over the span of just three years, dozens of new loanwords of Ukrainian origin have entered common language usage among Hungarian speakers. Military mobilization, which has been ongoing since 2022, is commonly referred to in Transcarpathia as *mobilizáció* or *mobilizálás* [‘mobilization’], following Slavic patterns (Ukr. *мобілізація*; Rus. *мобилизация*). Notably, in 2023, the word *мобілізація* [‘mobilization’] was named the “Word of the Year” in Ukraine by the Dictionary of Modern Ukrainian Language and Slang “Myslovo”.⁴ In second place was *контрнаступ* [‘counteroffensive’].

Military checkpoints have been set up every few kilometers along the roads. Locals refer to these as *blokposzt* (Ukr., Rus. *блокпост*) [‘roadblock, checkpoint’] or simply as *poszt*. The former is a direct loanword, while the latter reflects semantic borrowing, as *poszt* in standard Hungarian traditionally refers to ‘online posts,’ ‘guard posts,’ or ‘positions and titles at an institution.’ In the Transcarpathian Hungarian dialect, the meaning closest to ‘guard post’ is the most widespread, though the connotative differences are notable because it makes a big difference whether a soldier is just standing guard at a post or distributing military draft notices to the drivers and passengers of passing vehicles.

Particular attention should be paid to how the names of state institutions and law enforcement agencies have almost entirely transitioned into everyday Hungarian usage through the Transcarpathian Hungarian press, modeled after their original Ukrainian names. For instance, the Regional Military Administration (Ukr. *OBA* ← *обласна військова адміністрація*) has

⁴ <https://myslovo.com/wp-content/uploads/2025/Слово%20року-2023.pdf>. Last accessed: May 15, 2025.

been introduced in all regions of Ukraine. Known as *OVA* ('ó-vé-á' /o:ve:a:/), this term has become fully integrated into everyday language, giving rise to sentences such as "The *OVA* reminded the public that..." ["Az *OVA* emlékeztetett arra, hogy..."], or Viktor Mykyta, head of the Transcarpathian *OVA*, presented ministerial awards... ["Viktor Mikita, a kárpátaljai *OVA* vezetője minisztériumi kitüntetésekkel adta át..."].

Similarly, the various names of military recruitment offices also warrant attention. Previously referred to as *vojenkomát* (Rus. военкомат ← военный комиссариат), with the head of such offices called *vojenkom* (Rus. военком ← военный комиссар), based on terms of Russian origin. Since 2017, the Ukrainian government began establishing new types of recruitment offices, although the older terms remained in widespread usage among Transcarpathian Hungarians. Following the Russian invasion, all recruitment offices were immediately renamed to "Territorial Centers of Recruitment and Social Support" (Ukr. ТЦК та СП ← територіальний центр комплектування та соціальної підтримки). This lengthy and complex name has led to the emergence of three different forms in local Hungarian usage:

1. *TTSZTK* ('té-té-esz-té-ká' /te:te:este:ka:/): the abbreviation of the Hungarian version of the full Ukrainian term (Hun. területi toborzó és szociális támogatási központ), used only in press language.
2. *TCK* ('te-ce-ká' /tetseka:/): a shortened form of the Ukrainian name of territorial recruitment centers (Ukr. ТЦК ← територіальний центр комплектування), commonly used in both colloquial and press language.
3. *RTCK* ('er-te-ce-ká' /ertetseka:): regional territorial centers of recruitment (Ukr. РТЦК ← районний територіальний центр комплектування), a less common term found mostly in news articles.

The Transcarpathian Hungarian press frequently uses abbreviations such as *ZSZU* (Ukr. ЗСУ ← Збройні Сили України; Eng. ZSU ← 'Armed Forces of Ukraine'; pronounced as 'ze-esz-u' /zɛɛsu/), *DPSZU* (Ukr. ДПСУ ← Державна прикордонна служба України; Eng. DPSU ← 'State Border Guard Service of Ukraine'; pronounced as 'de-pe-esz-u' /dɛpɛɛsu/), and *DSZNSZ* (Ukr. ДСНС ← Державна служба України з надзвичайних ситуацій; Eng. DSNS ← 'State Emergency Service of Ukraine'; pronounced as 'de-esz-en-esz' /dɛɛsɛnɛs/). This is unsurprising in a country where martial law has been in place for more than three years and dozens of rockets strike daily.

The latest Slavic loanword added to the *Termini Dictionary* in connection with the Russo–Ukrainian war is a verb, *buszifikál* (Ukr. бусифікувати) ['to forcibly abduct conscripted men for military mobilization; to kidnap them in minibuses on the open street']. As it is a relatively new (and very saddening) phenomenon, the word denoting this concept is also a neologism both in the Ukrainian language and the Transcarpathian Hungarian contact variety. In fact, the 2024 Word of the Year in Ukraine was *бусифікація*, according to "Myslovo", and its English translation (*busification*) has also entered everyday vocabulary.⁵

⁵ <https://hnh.news/en/8835/word-of-the-year-busification-as-a-symbol-of-2024/>

The topic of military medical examination is also rich in loanwords, and the reason lies in the compulsory participation of Ukrainian conscripts in military medical examinations, even before the war. One of the most common reasons for exemption from service is having a health impairment or disability, classified on a scale from one to three in Ukraine. These health categories are called *grupa* (Ukr. *група*) or *gruppa* (Rus. *группа*) [‘group; category of disability’], and individuals exempted due to disability are referred to as *gruppás* (e.g., *első gruppás* [‘person with a first category disability’], *második gruppás* [‘person with a second category disability’], and *harmadik gruppás* [‘person with a third category disability’]). There is also a loanword for ‘exemption due to health reasons’: *legruppáz*. Military service and the accompanying medical examinations are such integral parts of life for Transcarpathian Hungarians that several secondary Slavisms have emerged following the principles of Hungarian word-formation.

The term for the military medical committee, *komisszió* (Ukr. *комісія*; Rus. *комиссия*) [‘commission’], and the act of attending the medical examination, *komissziózás*, are also noteworthy. Both terms have standard Hungarian meanings: *komisszió* as ‘committee’ and *komissziózás* as ‘the process of selecting goods from a warehouse.’ In the Transcarpathian context, *komisszió* refers to a type of committee. At the same time, the connection between warehouse *komissziózás* and military medical *komissziózás* can be explained as the ‘selection of individuals fit for combat service.’ An official Ukrainian abbreviation, *VLK* (Ukr. *ВЛК* ← *військово-лікарська комісія*; pronounced as ‘ve-el-ká’ /veɛlka:/) [‘military medical committee’], has also gained popularity, reflecting how Ukrainian abbreviations arising from the war often replace older expressions.

Termini

Ht-online kezdőoldal

Ht-fórum

Linkek

Kapcsolat

Keresés

VLK

Keres

Hol?

☐ címszóban
☐ jelentésben
☐ példamondatban

Hogyan?

☐ szó elején
☐ szó belsejében
☐ szó végén
☐ teljes egyezés

Példamondatok száma:

☐ egy sem
☒ kettő
☐ mind

☐ Ékezet nélküli keresés (csak címszóban)

VLK [veelká] (fn) ~k, ~t, ~ja

(Kat) (Orv) Ka (ált) (köz) (biz) katonai orvosi bizottság

♦ Ka Dmitro Lubinec, a Legfelső Tanács emberi jogi biztosa közölte, hogy a hadkötelest, aki meghalt Kárpátalján a kiképzőközpont felé vezető úton, a katonai orvosi bizottság (VLK) igazolása szerint katonai szolgálatra alkalmasnak találták. (www.karpataljalap.net)

♦ Ka Május 4-én lép hatályba az a jogszabály, amely megszünteti a katonai szolgálatra korlátozottan alkalmas státuszt, és csak az alkalmas vagy alkalmatlan besorolás marad. A státuszuk megváltoztatásához az érintetteknek kilenc hónapon belül ismét meg kell jelenniük a katonai orvosi bizottság (VLK) előtt. (www.karpataljalap.net)

Főmenü

A Termini szótár bemutatása

Szerkesztőség

Keresés a szótárban

Bejelentkezés

Regisztráció

Bejelentkezés

Felhasználó

Jelszó

Bejelentkezés

Még nem regisztrálta magát? Regisztráljon most!

Egy férfit épp a VLK vizsgál

Forrás: КОТЦК та СП/Facebook

[ukr ВЛК ← військово-лікарська комісія 'ua']

Megjegyzés hozzáadása.

Figure 2. The *VLK* entry from the *Termini Dictionary*

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The *Termini Dictionary* also highlights phrases like *oblikon van* [‘registered for military service’]. After successfully passing medical examinations, an individual’s data is transferred to the military registry, determining whether they are fit or unfit for service based on their health status. This expression derives from the Ukrainian word *облік* [‘record, registration’], which, in the context of the military, refers to *військовий облік* [‘military registration’].

Transcarpathian Hungarians have adopted many expressions related to loopholes for evading conscription. The enlistment process begins with the delivery of a draft notice, commonly referred to as *povesztka* or *poveszka* (Rus. *новестка*). However, the Ukrainian form *povisztka* (Ukr. *новістка*) has become increasingly common in the last few years. This is followed by medical examination and registration, as discussed earlier.

Conscription-eligible men working in critical infrastructure (e.g., emergency services, firefighting) or similarly vital organizations (e.g., electricity providers, transportation firms) receive temporary exemptions from military mobilization. This is colloquially called *brony*, derived from the Ukrainian/Russian word *броня* [‘armor, protective shield’]. The term is somewhat ironic, as *brony* figuratively provides a “protective shield” for these men. In Hungary, this is called *meghagyás*.⁶ Another widely used term is *vidsztrocska* (Ukr. *відстрочка*) [‘postponement, reprieve’], which refers to temporary exemptions granted for broader reasons, such as for fathers of more than three children, men taking care of disabled parents, or guardians raising orphans. Unlike *brony*, which applies specifically to critical infrastructure workers, *vidsztrocska* can be revoked under certain circumstances (e.g., when a child in a large family turns eighteen or a caretaker divorces their disabled spouse). Alongside *grup(p)a* and *legruppázás*, the newly emerged Ukrainian loanword *brony* is gradually becoming the most frequently used term due to the war. Moreover, the expression *vidsztrocska* is also commonly heard in colloquial spoken language.

Another escape option that provided a safe border-crossing opportunity for many Ukrainian men for two years (until the Ukrainian authorities closed this loophole as well) was the *PMZS* (pronounced as ‘pé-em-zsé’ /pe:emze:/). This is a certification stamp placed in the passports of Ukrainian men to indicate that their permanent residence is not in Ukraine. The acronym comes from the Russian abbreviation *ПМЖ* ← *постоянное место жительства* [‘permanent residence’]. All example sentences in the *Termini Dictionary* come from the Facebook group “Border Situation” (Hun. *Határhelyzet*), where people regularly ask if they can cross the state border with the *PMZS* stamp: “Does anyone know if someone with a *PMZS* stamp in their Ukrainian passport, and aged between 18–60, can cross or not?? Only reply if you know for sure!!!” [“*Tudja-e valaki, hogy akinek az ukrán útlevelében PMZS-s bélyegző van és 18-60 közötti, kiengedik-e vagy sem?? Csak az írjon, aki biztos tudja!!!*”] This is one of the few cases that can be traced back to a Russian-origin language transfer element, as the Ukrainian term differs from *PMZS*: Ukr. *постійне місце проживання* [‘permanent residence’], which would be abbreviated as *ПМП* → *PMP*. The Russian origin comes from the fact that the stamp was originally used in the Soviet Union in the passports of people who permanently left the country.

⁶ Act CXL of 2021 on National Defense and the Hungarian Defense Forces. 38. §. <https://njt.hu/jogszabaly/2021-140-00-00>. Last accessed: May 15, 2025.

For the less fortunate, the *zöldhatár* ['green border'] remained. In standard Hungarian, this refers to border sections between official crossing points that are covered by vegetation and not continuously guarded. However, in Transcarpathia, due to the wartime situation, the expression has become more common in all areas of life (especially in the press), so it might be considered a loanword with a specific meaning. However, it is also part of standard Hungarian vocabulary. It is worth looking at the example sentences in the *Termini Dictionary*: "12 men from Transcarpathia tried to cross into Hungary via the green border" ["A zöldhatáron keresztül próbálkozott átjutni Magyarországra 12 kárpátaljai férfi"].

Another example is as follows: "The green border is the most popular escape route among Ukrainian men" ["A zöldhatár a legnépszerűbb szökési útvonal az ukrán férfiak körében"]. It is immediately noticeable in which context the local press in Transcarpathia uses this term.

Finally, we must mention a term that ranked third in the previously mentioned Ukrainian *Myslovo* "Word of the Year" list in 2023, after "mobilization" and "counteroffensive." This term is *uhiljant* (Ukr. ухилинт) ['a person avoiding military service'], which has become an integral part of the everyday vocabulary of Ukrainian speakers, as evidenced by the fact that this loanword regularly appears in comments under posts and news related to the war. However, among the Hungarian-speaking population of Transcarpathia, it is considered a newly emerged Slavic borrowing, most commonly found in spoken language.

The ongoing fighting for more than three years has had a significant impact on the daily lives of the population, resulting in the spread of many new Slavic loanwords. One such word is "air raid alert," which locals simply call *trivoga* or *trivoha* (Ukr. тривога; Rus. тревога) ['alert, alarm']. The full Ukrainian term (Ukr. повітряна тривога) ['air raid alert'] is used as a loanword (*povitrjana trivoha*) in only one case: when writing about the mobile application used to signal alerts in the press. The shortened version has entered common usage (just like in the case of *oblik*), and it even appears in works by Transcarpathian authors, such as in the poem *Mézédes hetek* ['Luscious Weeks'] by Kata Sz. Kárpáthy: "Another day passed, / another week passed, / another week passed, / almost every day there was a *trivoga*..." ["Eltelt még egy nap, / eltelt még egy hét, / eltelt még egy hét, / szinte mindennap volt *trivoga*..."]. Since this poem was published in the Budapest-based literary journal *Helyőrség*, the author explains the *trivoga* term as "air raid" in a footnote to make the expression clear to all readers. The phonetic difference between the forms *trivoga* and *trivoha* is also worth mentioning: the Slavic [ɛ] sound can be realized in Hungarian as [g] or [h], so as a result of phonetic adaptation, multiple variations of the same loanword may emerge (Gazdag, "Szláv elemek" 153). The same holds true for Hungarisms that have been incorporated into Slavic languages, for example: Ukr. бозар (Hun. bogár ['bug']); Ukr. гінтув (Hun. hintó ['spring-carriage']) (Bárány and Gazdag 208).

Additionally, many indirect loanwords are included in the *Termini Dictionary*, which have become widespread since the outbreak of the war. One such example is the Ukrainian *внутрішній біженець* ['internal refugee'], which has been translated into Hungarian as *belső menekült*, used to refer to asylum seekers from Eastern Ukraine who mostly have settled in the western parts of the country, often in Transcarpathia. Another example is *szociális kártya* ['social card'], which also appears in Hungarian usage, but with a different meaning. In Hungary, a social card is a coupon for receiving state benefits for purchasing hygiene products, food, and medicines. However, in Transcarpathia, *szociális kártya* refers to a document

authorizing the distribution of humanitarian aid to those arriving in the country, thus representing a loanword with a different meaning. For citizens with internal refugee status, the acronym *VPO* is sometimes used in the press (pronounced as ‘ve-pe-o’ /vɛpɛo/), based on the Ukrainian *ВПО* ← *внутрішньо переміщена особа* [‘IDP ← internally displaced person’]. The document confirming refugee status is referred to as *VPO-tanúsítvány* [‘IDP certificate’].

The loanword *határblokád* (Ukr. *блокада кордону*) [‘border blockade’] is a stylistic loanword that refers to the situation on the Polish-Ukrainian border. The protesting Polish farmers aimed to block freight traffic between the two countries, primarily to stop the uncontrolled import of Ukrainian grain. In standard Hungarian, the term *határblokád* is less common, and *határzár* [‘border closure’] is preferred, as the former is considered somewhat outdated and archaic.

A separate study could be dedicated to how the daily power outages lasting four to twelve hours (or longer) have influenced people’s lives and language use. Here, we will focus on six lexical items. The schedule of planned power outages consists of a table with twenty-four columns and six rows. Each column represents an hour of a specific day, and the differently colored rows symbolize the categories of schedules for each household in Ukraine. The white squares indicate times when electricity is available, while the colored squares show when a power cut is expected. These rows are referred to as *cserha* [‘queue’] by the local Hungarian population, directly adopting the Ukrainian word *черега* with the same meaning. The power outage schedule itself is called *grafik* (Ukr. *графік*; Rus. *график*), a word originally meaning ‘schedule’ or ‘timetable’ (e.g., bus schedule). The word *grafikon* [‘graph, chart’] is also used in Hungarian with the same meaning, not only in mathematics but also for timetables and schedules. This meaning is also recorded in Hungarian dictionaries, such as *Magyar értelmező kéziszótár* (Concise Hungarian Explanatory Dictionary, Pusztai 451) and *Idegen szavak szótára* (Dictionary of Foreign Words, Tolcsvai Nagy 401). Interestingly, these terms are almost exclusively found in the comment sections of social media platforms, while the standard Hungarian equivalents are used in the local Hungarian press (e.g., *áramszüneti ütemterv* [‘power outage schedule’]).

Termini Kutatóhálózat

Termini Ht-online kezdőoldal Ht-fórum Linkek Kapcsolat

Keresés:

Hol? ☐ címszóban ☐ jelentésben ☐ példamondatban

Hogyan? ☐ szó elején ☐ szó belsejében ☐ szó végén ☐ teljes egyezés

Példamondatok száma: ☐ egy sem ☒ kettő ☐ mind

☐ Ékezet nélküli keresés (csak címszóban)

cserha (csɛrga) (fn) ~k, ~t, ~ja
(Vill) **Ka** (ált) (köz) *(biz)* *(új)* a tervezett áramszüneti ütemtervek beosztása, amelybe az ukrain háztartások be vannak sorolva • **Ka** *En a második cserhába vagyok és már a tegnap este nyolckor lekapcsolták az áramot és ma öt órakor kapcsolták vissza...* (Facebook) • **Ka** *Mi az egyes cserha vagyunk. Tegnap délután 5 előtt lekapcsolták, éjjel után jött vissza.* (Facebook)

A grafik szerint hat cserha van Kárpátalján
 Forrás: www.zakarp.atenergy

[ukr чєра 'sor, sorrend' < lit kéfgti 'csatlakozni, kapcsolódni']
 Megjegyzés hozzáadása.

Főmenü
 A Termini szótár bemutatása
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 Keresés a szótárban
 Bejelentkezés
 Regisztráció

Bejelentkezés
 Felhasználó:
 Jelszó:

Még nem regisztrálta magát? [Regisztráljon most!](#)

Figure 3. The *cserha* entry from the *Termini Dictionary*

Another new development is the widespread use of the names of the Ukrainian power suppliers in both the press and colloquial language: *Zakarpattiaoblenergo* (Ukr. *Закарпаттяобленерго* [‘Transcarpathian Power Supplier’]), *Oblenergo* (Ukr. *Обленерго* [‘Regional Power Supplier’]), and *Ukrenergo* (Ukr. *Укренерго* [‘Ukrainian Power Supplier’]). Since these are Ukrainian company names, their presence in the *Termini Hungarian-Hungarian Dictionary* would generally be controversial. However, in this case, the activities of these three companies are an integral part of the daily life of the Hungarian population in Transcarpathia, and the use of these proper names is observed in both formal and informal language contexts. The Russo–Ukrainian war has also brought changes to the education sector, particularly evident in the replacement of the long-standing “external independent evaluation” (*ZNO*–Ukr. *ЗНО* ← *зовнішнє незалежне оцінювання*; pronounced as ‘zé-en-ó’ /ze:eno:/ or ‘ze-en-ó’ /zɛeno:/) [‘EIT ← External Independent Testing’] with the *nemzeti multiteszt* [‘national multi-test’], commonly referred to as *NMT* (Ukr. *НМТ* ← *Національний Мультипредметний Тест*; pronounced as ‘en-em-té’ /enɛmte:/) [‘NMT ← National Multidisciplinary Test’]. As the name indicates, it is a test comprising several subjects that graduating students complete on a computer. These tests, typically covering three or four subjects, are taken on the same day, reducing the risk of exposure to enemy rocket attacks compared to the previous *ZNO* tests, which were held on separate days. The function of the tests is twofold: on the one hand, they serve as high school graduation exams, and on the other hand, as entrance exams for applying to higher education.

The term *NMT* is used in press publications and on educational institutions’ websites. For instance, the Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education’s website states, “Our college lecturers are assisting for the third time in organizing and conducting the *NMT* in Budapest.” [*“Főiskolánk oktatói immár harmadik alkalommal segédkeznek az NMT megszervezésében és lebonyolításában Budapesten.”*]

Conclusion

Significant language changes often coincide with turning points in the history of societies and social and economic changes (Bárczi, Benkő, and Berrár; Crystal 328–333). As demonstrated through the examples above, the Russo–Ukrainian conflict that has been ongoing since November 2013, which escalated into a bloody war on February 24, 2022, has led to the appearance of dozens of new Slavic loanwords in the language use of the Hungarian population in Transcarpathia. These new lexical elements are effectively documented in the *Termini Hungarian-Hungarian Dictionary and Database*, responding to the social, political, and economic changes that have affected the vocabulary of both the country’s Ukrainian and Hungarian speaking populations. The vocabulary innovations in the Ukrainian language due to the war have already been studied by several Ukrainian researchers (Aleksandruk, Palchevska, and Hubych; Kramar and Ilchenko; Tkach and Tkach), but the language use of the Hungarian population in Transcarpathia has not yet been examined from this perspective.

Lexical borrowing sometimes arises as a communication need, especially in bilingual communities (Grosjean 330), which is becoming increasingly common in Ukraine, a country experiencing rapid social and political changes. In a country at war, many previously unseen measures are taken, leading to the inclusion of words in the public lexicon such as *trivoga* [‘air raid alert’], *mobilizáció* [‘mobilization’], and *belső menekült* [‘internally displaced person from the war zones of Eastern Ukraine’]. Therefore, another common motivation for borrowing words from the donor language are the semantic gaps which exist in the recipient system (Matras 152). In many cases, however, new expressions appear to name already existing concepts, due to the

near-total ban on the Russian language. As a result, the new loanwords are predominantly borrowed from Ukrainian. For example, instead of the previously used Russian-origin *vojenkomát* [‘military recruitment office’], the Ukrainian terms *TCK*, *RTCK*, or *TTSZTK* [‘territorial recruitment and social support center’] emerged, and instead of *gruppa* [‘disability category’] and *legruppáz* [‘to classify as disabled for health reasons’], the Ukrainian loanwords *brony* [‘temporary deferral from mobilization’] and *vidsztrocska* [‘temporary exemption from mobilization’] are now more common. Likewise, the Ukrainian-origin acronym *VLK* [‘military medical commission’] has become more frequent than the word *komisszió* with the same meaning. Thus, derussification is also evident in the vocabulary of the Hungarian population in Transcarpathia.

This is a linguistically important observation. Of the sixty loanwords directly related to the Russo-Ukrainian war discussed in this study, thirty-five are of Ukrainian origin (58.3%), six are of Russian origin (10%), eighteen are of both Ukrainian/Russian origin (30%), and one term is part of the standard Hungarian lexicon (1.7%). Previously, the vocabulary of Hungarian speakers in Transcarpathia was more heavily influenced by the Russian language because it was dominant both in schools and workplaces (Lizanec, “Ukrán valamint orosz” 54; Gazdag, *Szláv elemek* 147). However, the role of the Ukrainian language has increased over the past decade, so the primary language for newly established loanwords is clearly Ukrainian rather than Russian or identical-sounding Ukrainian/Russian words. As a result of derussification, this trend is likely to strengthen in the future.

In general, it can be stated that military and political changes lead to the formation of numerous acronyms, which the Hungarian population in Transcarpathia start using in everyday life through the local Hungarian press, following the Ukrainian model (Csernicskó, Hires-László, and Márku 83). The pronunciation of acronyms also mainly follows the model of the language of origin (e.g., *TCK* → ‘te-ce-ká’ /tɛtsɛkɑː/, instead of the Hungarian pattern ‘té-cé-ká’ /teːtseːkɑː/), but the creation of secondary loanwords occurs according to Hungarian word-formation rules, by adding appropriate affixes (e.g., *ATO-s*) and verb prefixes (e.g., *legruppáz*). These examples show that the integration of Slavic loanwords into the vocabulary of Hungarian speakers occurs naturally (Winford 173). Therefore, the vocabulary of the Hungarian minorities living outside Hungary is influenced not only by the spread of global languages like English but also by the state language of the country in which they reside, in response to societal changes. The advantage of online dictionaries such as the *Termini Hungarian-Hungarian Dictionary and Database* is that they can be quickly edited, and there is no need to wait years for an updated edition to be released. Thus, the documentation of new loanwords occurs quickly and efficiently. After more than three years of war, we can only hope that the new loanwords added in the future will belong to different, much more peaceful and harmonious conceptual fields.

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