

---

# An example of multilingual language use: Ukrainian and Russian loanwords in the Transcarpathian variety of the Hungarian language in Ukraine

Krisztián Váradi  
University of Pannonia

---

## Abstract

*This article considers the peculiarities of the language use of Transcarpathian Hungarian students, with a focus on the knowledge of the meanings of Ukrainian and Russian loanwords. In this research, a total of 63 students from local colleges, universities and vocational schools solved five different tasks during an online survey. They were asked to describe pictures in Hungarian, to replace Ukrainian and Russian borrowings with Hungarian standard equivalents, to solve multiple choice questions on the meaning of loanwords, to name concepts based on definitions, and to list additional loanwords from their everyday language use. The results show that the majority of the Transcarpathian Hungarian students are familiar with the meanings of Slavic lexical borrowings; however, they prefer the Hungarian language equivalents due to their mother tongue dominance. The only exceptions are culture-specific terms (xenisms), including the names of currencies, institutions, and food.*

**Keywords:** Slavic loanwords, bilingualism, Transcarpathia, Hungarian minority

## Résumé


*La présente article traite des particularités de l'utilisation de la langue des étudiants hongrois de Transcarpatie, en mettant l'accent sur la connaissance des significations des emprunts ukrainiens et russes. Dans cette recherche, un total de 63 étudiants de collèges, d'universités et d'écoles professionnelles locaux ont résolu cinq tâches différentes lors d'un sondage en ligne. Il leur a été demandé de décrire des images en hongrois, de remplacer les emprunts ukrainiens et russes par des équivalents standard hongrois, de résoudre des questions à choix multiples sur la signification des emprunts, de définir des concepts et de répertorier des emprunts supplémentaires à partir de leur utilisation quotidienne de la langue. Les résultats montrent que la majorité des étudiants hongrois de Transcarpatie connaissent les significations des emprunts lexicaux slaves; cependant, ils préfèrent les équivalents en*

---

The author is also affiliated with Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education. Correspondence should be addressed to Krisztián Váradi : [varadikrisztian98@gmail.com](mailto:varadikrisztian98@gmail.com)

CAHIERS DE L'IOB / OLBI JOURNAL

Vol. 14, 2025 277–301 doi.org/10.18192/olbij.v14i1.6822

© The author(s). 

*langue hongroise en raison de la prédominance de leur langue maternelle.  
Les seules exceptions sont les termes spécifiques à la culture (xénismes),  
y compris les noms de devises, d'institutions et de nourriture.*

*Mots-clés: emprunts slaves, bilinguisme, Transcarpatie, minorité hongroise*

## **Introduction**

Transcarpathia is a region located in the western part of Ukraine, where approximately 156,000 people belonging to the Hungarian minority live, along with more than a hundred other nationalities (Csernicskó & Orosz, 2019). However, it is important to mention that since Russia invaded Ukraine in February 2022, the number of Hungarians leaving their homeland, i.e., Transcarpathia, has risen significantly. Most of them have started a new life in Hungary (Csernicskó & Gazdag, 2023).

People belonging to the Hungarian minority are generally characterized by the dominance of their mother tongue, even with the legal and ideological pressures exerted by the Ukrainian state (Beregszászi & Csernicskó, 2003).

Many Ukrainian and Russian loanwords have become native in the vocabulary of Hungarians living in the area, so the native language equivalents and the lexical borrowings taken from the Ukrainian and Russian languages are both used to name certain objects, places, and concrete and abstract concepts. The spread of loanwords is one of the consequences of the prevailing multilingual situation in Transcarpathia (Gazdag, 2016).

This article investigates the peculiarities of the language use of Transcarpathian Hungarian students, in particular regard to the knowledge of the meaning of loanwords of Slavic origin among college and university students. Györke (1991) highlights the lexical elements taken from Slavic languages as one of the unique characteristics of the Transcarpathian Hungarian student language, which, in contrast to the words used by monolingual Hungarian students from Hungary, appear only in the speech of Transcarpathian learners. Based on the literature sources, our research covers the examination of the knowledge of these Slavisms among the Hungarian students living in the area, with the help of five different language use tasks.

The aim of this research was to investigate the extent to which Transcarpathian Hungarian students know the meanings of Slavic loanwords related to everyday life and the educational sphere. The hypothesis was that Transcarpathian college and university students are aware of the meanings of borrowings from the Ukrainian and Russian languages, but they prefer the Hungarian equivalent as a result of their mother tongue dominance.

The following research questions were formulated:

1. Are Transcarpathian Hungarian students characterized by mother tongue dominance, or do they prefer to use Slavic loanwords?
2. Which concepts are named more often by Slavisms instead of standard Hungarian equivalents?
3. To what extent can Hungarian students replace Slavic borrowings with Hungarian equivalents?

### ***The concept of bilingualism and its emergence in Transcarpathia***

When groups of people speaking different languages come into contact in the same geographical area, sooner or later one (subordinate) group acquires the language or language variant used by the other (dominant) group. For this reason, the phenomenon of bilingualism has long been associated with negative social consequences (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981).

According to Bartha (1996), bilingualism occurs if the individual or the members of the community have a high level of knowledge of two different languages and the ability to interpret messages in these linguistic systems. Bilingualism is mostly understood as a continuum, with *monolinguals* at one end, and the so-called *perfect bilinguals* at the other end. Those members of a speaking community who speak one language only at a low level are also bilingual (Beregszászi & Csernicskó, 2003; Crystal, 1998; Kontra, 1981). In support of this, Edwards (2006) considers everyone bilingual because every person knows at least one or two expressions in languages other than their mother tongue.

The Transcarpathian region provides an excellent basis for conducting research on bilingualism since, according to the last official census data of 2001, the number of nationalities living in the area and influencing one another exceeds one hundred. Naturally, the largest proportion are Ukrainians in the region (80.5%), followed by Hungarians (12.1%), Romanians (2.6%), Russians (2.5%), and Roma (1.1%) (Molnár & Molnár D., 2005).

The influence of the Ukrainian and Russian languages on the Hungarian language is much greater than vice versa. There are many examples of ethnically mixed marriages that result in the *native bilingualism* of young Transcarpathians. However, in most cases *mandated bilingualism* is typical, as most Hungarian-speaking children first come into contact with the Ukrainian language at school within state-regulated frameworks (Csernicskó, 1998).

Bilingual speakers are distinguished from monolinguals by the fact that they can choose from two separate languages during a conversation, and they try to use the most appropriate language version for the given communicative situation. This process is called *language* or *code selection*. Among the Hungarian minority in Transcarpathia, the use of the Hungarian language is

mainly restricted to private life, while in the official sphere, the Ukrainian state language is much more prominent. Interference phenomena between languages can often be observed, thanks to the effects of the majority language on the minority languages (Márku, 2013).

One of these interference phenomena is the appearance of regionally used loanwords, the proper knowledge of which is necessary for successful communication in the territory (Gazdag, 2019). The vast majority of lexical borrowings gained general recognition only within Transcarpathia. Nevertheless, examination of the extent to which young Transcarpathian Hungarians are able to use Slavisms according to their meanings in terms of linguistic competence can provide interesting results (Gazdag, 2020). From a recent study, it is already known that college students have generally positive attitudes toward bilingual language use and code-switching. In addition, they frequently use Slavic loanwords (Váradi, 2023).

It should be noted that there are social differences in language use among the Hungarian speakers of Transcarpathia. They are not sociolinguistically homogeneous as bilingualism has different effects on speakers of different age, sex, educational background, and place of residence. For example, women use standard variants more often than men, and the highest rate of standard language use can be observed among 18- to 27-year-olds, while older people tend to use calques and Slavic borrowings more frequently. In addition, college education and residence in a town or in a place with a Hungarian majority increase the use of standard language forms (Csernicskó & Fenyvesi, 2012).

### *Characterization of loanwords*

The most common reason for the appearance of new words within the vocabulary of a language is borrowing (Crystal, 1998). Language borrowings are largely related to bilingualism, since the transfer of individual terms from one language to another can only be realized if the members of the community are at least partially bilingual (Sulán, 1963).

There are attempts to create dictionaries and publications that aim to preserve the Hungarian language across the borders, that is, they contain not only the expressions of the Hungarian language variants in the mother country, but also the loanwords used by Hungarian minorities across Europe. As a result, the Termini Hungarian–Hungarian dictionary was created, which summarizes the vocabulary elements of the Hungarian minorities living in the Carpathian Basin, including loanwords of Slavic origin of the Transcarpathian Hungarian language variant (Lanstyák et al., 2010). In the Termini database, 880 loanwords of Ukrainian/Russian origin were found in October 2021 (Csernicskó & Márku, 2021).

The following types of loanwords can be distinguished:

- *Direct borrowings*: The given lexical item is taken in its original phonetic form; no morphological change occurs in the word structure (Lanstyák, 2011). Instead, they are used in oral communication, and can only be encountered as a stylistic device in written texts. Examples: *dovidka* (Hungarian ‘igazolás’, English ‘certificate’), *gripp* (Hungarian, English ‘influenza’) (Csernicskó & Hires, 2003, pp. 133–134).
- *Phonetic borrowings*: The loanword appears in slightly different sound forms in the vocabularies of the transmitting and receiving languages, and speakers of the second language use both items. For example: *diplom* (Hungarian, English ‘diploma’), *internát* (Hungarian ‘internátus’, English ‘boarding school’) (Csernicskó & Hires, 2003, pp. 134–135).
- *Hybrid borrowings*: Complex words that are made up of a direct borrowing and a first-language word (Bartha, 1993). The following terms can be classified here: *főszesztra* (Hungarian ‘főnővér’, English ‘head nurse’), *paszportszám* (Hungarian ‘személyi igazolvány száma’, English ‘passport number’) (Csernicskó & Hires, 2003, p. 135).
- *Borrowing of meaning*: A word acquires a new meaning by using it in the recipient language, i.e., meaning expansion takes place. It can only occur between lexical elements that are similar in sound and/or meaning (Lanstyák, 2011). Examples: *dolgozik* (Hungarian ‘működik [a motor]’, English ‘[an engine] works’), *metodista* (Hungarian ‘módszerész’, English ‘methodologist’) (Csernicskó & Hires, 2003, p. 135).
- *Calques*: These are created based on translations adapted to the structure of the second language. This category includes, among others: *átfordít* (Hungarian ‘lefordít’, English ‘to [over]translate’), *leesik* (Hungarian ‘elesik’, English ‘to fall down’) (Csernicskó & Hires, 2003, p. 136).

In the language use of Transcarpathian Hungarians, loanwords from two languages (Ukrainian and Russian) have mostly become conventionalized. Most of these lexical elements retain their original meaning, however, changes of meaning do occur. For instance, this can be observed in the case of the borrowing *geroj* (Russian *герой*, ‘hero’), which originally had a positive meaning, but in the everyday language use of Transcarpathian Hungarians, the loanword is associated with a negative meaning, as it is a nickname given to arrogant people (Gazdag, 2018, pp. 132–134). It is worth mentioning that this works in two directions: there are examples of both meaning expansion and meaning contraction.

Some calques entered the vocabulary of the Hungarian minority to such a degree that they do not even recognize these words as mirror translations from

Russian or Ukrainian, but consider them as standard elements. For example, *kiírat* ('to out-write', mirror translation from the Russian word *вынустать*, meaning 'to subscribe') is a calque, and the standard Hungarian form would be *előfizet* ('to pre-pay', meaning 'to subscribe' in Hungarian). The calque is widely recognized in Transcarpathia, but it does not exist in Hungary with the above meaning because *kiírat* means 'to get oneself certified as sick (by a doctor)'. In the study, 82.6% of Transcarpathian Hungarians chose the calque form, but this number was only 34% among respondents from Hungary (Csernicskó & Fenyvesi, 2000, pp. 113–114).

### ***Methodology***

This article focuses on the knowledge of the meaning of Slavic loanwords among Transcarpathian Hungarian students. The research instrument was an online questionnaire which was used for data collection (see Appendix). It consisted of three clearly distinct parts:

- *General information:* gender, age, nationality, mother tongue, language of previous schools, name of current educational institution and faculty;
- *Language use:* level of knowledge of the Hungarian, Ukrainian and Russian languages, frequency of use;
- *Determining the meanings of loanwords of Slavic origin:* naming objects in pictures, replacing loanwords with native language elements within sentences, choosing the correct meaning of loanwords from multiple options, naming concepts based on definitions, and listing additional Slavisms known by the students.

### ***Participants***

During the selection of the participants, random sampling was used, since the online questionnaire was completed by current and former students of the Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education (including the College's Vocational High School and Vocational Training Center), as well as the Uzhhorod National University. A total of 63 students provided data on their language usage habits.

Among the respondents, 14 were men and 49 were women. In terms of age groups, the vast majority of the respondents (54 people) could be classified in the age range of 17–24 years, as the sample was formed by students participating in tertiary education.

Out of the participants, 51 people declared themselves to be of Hungarian nationality, and the remaining 12 people to be Ukrainian, while not a single person chose Russian. Furthermore, 61 students considered Hungarian as their mother tongue, while the remaining two students indicated Ukrainian as their

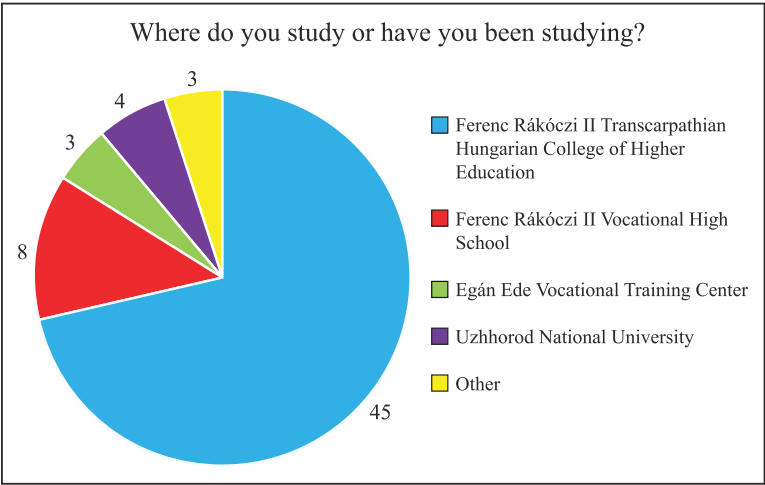
native language, and again nobody chose Russian. See the summarized data about the nationality and mother tongue of the respondents in Table 1.

**Table 1**  
*Nationality and mother tongue of participants*

	Hungarian	Ukrainian	Russian
Nationality	51	12	0
Mother tongue	61	2	0

The students mostly continued their studies in Hungarian institutions at various levels of the education system, although the proportion of those attending Ukrainian-language schools is not negligible, either. Some respondents (college students majoring in English language and literature, nine people in total) indicated English as the language of their college studies, while none of the respondents attended Russian-language schools.

Based on the educational institutions of the participants, most of them studied at the Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education. The *Other* category included students of various vocational training lyceums from Berehove, the largest town in Transcarpathia with a Hungarian majority. The detailed results can be seen in Figure 1.



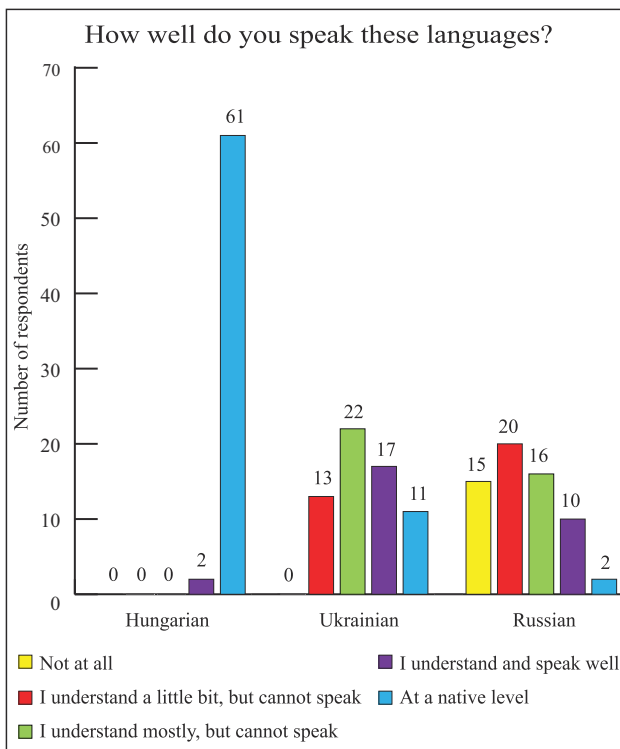
**Figure 1**  
*Educational institutions of the participants*

Since students from many institutions with different profiles were among those who completed the questionnaire, the majors and professions chosen

by the respondents also show great variety. The following answers were mentioned most often: English language and literature (9), Hungarian language and literature (8), kindergarten pedagogy (7), accounting and taxation (7), history (5), geography (4), applied mathematics (4), and biology (3).

### *Characteristics of language use*

The participants had to declare at what level they speak the Hungarian, Ukrainian, and Russian languages. The vast majority of students (61) speak Hungarian at a native level, while in the case of Ukrainian and Russian, this number is much smaller, as can be seen in Figure 2. Most respondents understand but not speak the Ukrainian language (22 people), while a total of 35 people either do not know Russian at all, or understand it just a little bit.



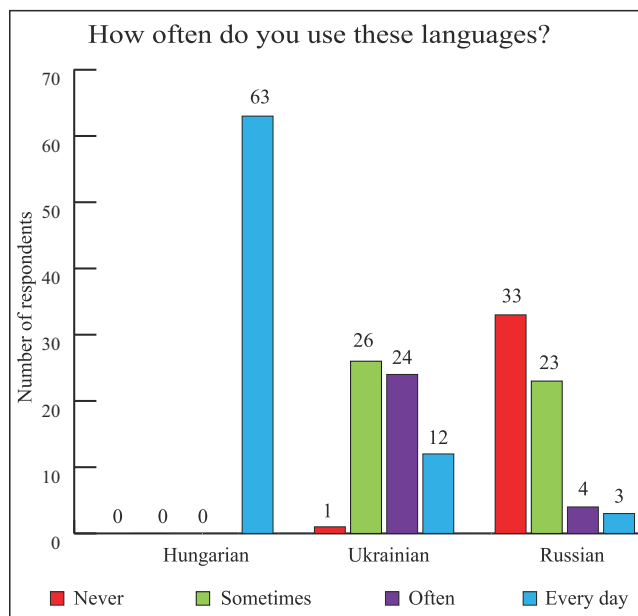
**Figure 2**  
*Language knowledge of the students*

Poor knowledge of the Ukrainian state language can be explained by the fact that the teaching of the state language is hindered by a number



of problems, such as inadequately trained teachers, the lack of appropriate textbooks and teaching aids, and the methodologically incorrect approach of teaching Ukrainian as a first language for minorities (instead of teaching it as a second language). The direction of the Ukrainian education and language policy can also be blamed for the fact that the use of the Russian language is gradually receding into the background in Transcarpathia, especially among the younger generation (Csernicskó, 2010).

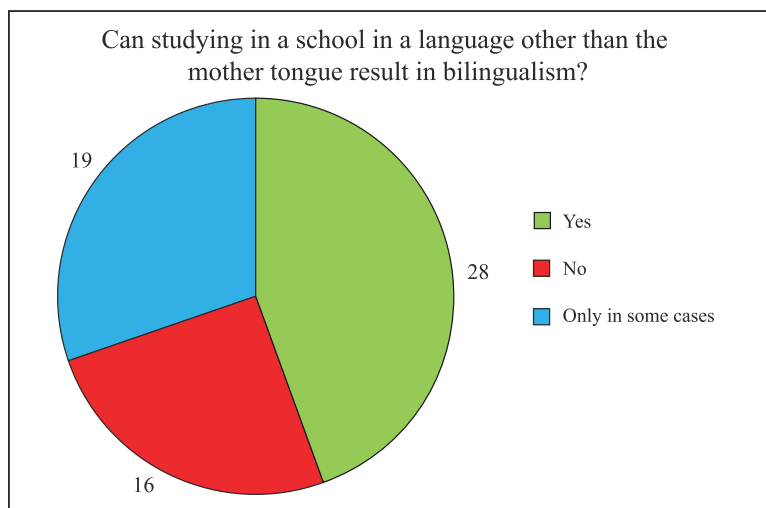
In the next question, students had to state how often they used the Hungarian, Ukrainian, and Russian languages. The detailed results are shown in Figure 3. Hungarian is used by all students on a daily basis, but Ukrainian is spoken only sometimes (26 respondents), and Russian is never used (33 respondents) by the majority of the participant students.



**Figure 3**  
*Frequency of language use*

Out of the students included in the research, 33 had already studied in a school with a language other than their mother tongue. Related to this, the respondents also expressed their opinion on whether there is a connection between bilingualism and studying in a school with a language of medium that differs from their mother tongue. The conclusion can be drawn from the answers that, according to most students, such a situation leads to the

development of bilingualism, but not in all cases. The results are presented in Figure 4.



**Figure 4**

*The relationship between the language of the school and bilingualism*

Finally, the students had to choose who they considered bilingual. They could select multiple answer options, as there are different approaches to defining the concept of bilingualism. Transcarpathian students considered those people to be bilingual who:

- speak two languages almost at a native level (43 students);
- can think in two languages (28 students);
- speak two languages at least at a minimal level (9 students).

The majority of participants therefore believe that a high level of knowledge of two languages is necessary to define someone as bilingual. This also means that the interpretation of bilingualism as a continuum, where even individuals who know two languages at least at a minimum level are considered bilingual (Beregszászi & Csernicskó, 2003; Crystal, 1998; Kontra, 1981), is not valid, according to the Transcarpathian youth. The explanation for this is a lack of basic understanding of Ukrainian, since most of the Hungarian students from Transcarpathia can only understand Ukrainian but not speak it, and thus find it difficult to get by in their homeland due to the language disadvantage. Based on their experience, they do not consider themselves bilingual even

at a basic level, although they have a minimal knowledge of the Ukrainian language.

### *Findings and their discussion*

#### **Task 1. Naming objects in pictures**

In the first task, the respondents had to name objects, institutions, vehicles, and food shown in pictures, in a total of eight cases. The photographs used during the task can be seen in the Appendix.

1. The item in the first picture is a **student ID** used in Ukraine. In total, 47 respondents used the Hungarian standard word *diákigazolvány* ('student ID') to name the given object. The following Hungarian terms were also used: *diákjegy* ('student ticket'; mirror translation of the Ukrainian *студентський квиток*; Russian *студенческий билет* *tanulói igazolvány* ('student ID'), *tanulói kártya* ('student card'), *tanulói igazolás* ('student certificate'). A total of eight respondents used the Slavic loanword associated with the picture: two respondents used the term *sztudentszkij* (Ukrainian *студентський*; Russian *студенческий*), and another six respondents used the shortened form *sztudi*.
2. The **USB flash** shown in the second picture was most often called *pendrive* (17) or *flash* (16). Since these are expressions of English origin, several spelling variations could be found among the answers: *pendrájv*, *flesh* (10), *fles* (6), *fless*. The term *USB* was used by six students, and another three participants used the Hungarian word *adathordozó* ('data carrier') in addition to *pendrive/flash*. The Slavic loanword *fleska* (Ukrainian, Russian *флешка*) was only used by one person.
3. In the next photo, the **small change of the Ukrainian hryvnia** (national currency) can be seen, for which the most common name was *kopek* ('small change of the hryvnia'; Ukrainian *копійка*; Russian *копейка*; 39 students). Five respondents used this term together with the word *kopijka*, which has the same meaning. The Hungarian standard word *aprópénz* (6) was also observable. Additional standard Hungarian answers: *érme* ('coin'; 4), *pénzérme* ('coin'; 2), *fizetőeszköz* ('money'; 2), *fémpénz* ('metal coin').
4. The fourth picture shows a famous building in Berehove, which operates as a **medical vocational school**. Altogether 37 respondents named this institution with the abbreviated term *meducsi* (Ukrainian *медичне училище* → *медучилище*; Russian *медицинское училище* → *медучилище*; the common form of these in Transcarpathian Hungarian speech is *meducsi*, meaning 'medical vocational school').

The institution name *Beregszászi Egészségügyi Koledzs* ('Medical College in Berehove'; Ukrainian *коледж*; Russian *колледж*) was used by five students. The respondents changed the name of the institution in many ways: *Beregszászi Nővértképző Szakiskola* ('Berehove Nurse Training Vocational School'), *Beregszászi Felcserképző* (Ukrainian, Russian *фельдшер*; hybrid borrowing), *orvosképző*, *medikusképző*, *nővértképző* ('nurse school'), *orvosi főiskola*, *orvosi iskola* ('medical school'), *ápolói szakiskola*, *egyeszségügyi szakiskola*, *beregszászi medikus koledzs*, *medicsnéj kollégium* (Ukrainian *медичний*; Russian *медицинский*).

5. The following picture shows **meat dumplings** known as *pelmeni*, which is a traditional Russian food. It was named by 56 respondents with the word *pelmenyi* (Ukrainian *пельмени*; Russian *пельмени*), or some variant of the term: *pelmenna* and *pilmenyi*. Only four students described the food shown in the photo with the Hungarian standard equivalent *húsos derelye*, and one person also used another Hungarian expression: *húsos tészta* ('pasta with meat').
6. In the sixth picture, **scotch tape** was shown to the respondents. Eighteen students used the Hungarian standard word *cellux*. Another 13 respondents referred to the object as *ragasztószalag* ('adhesive tape'). Additional answers: *szikszalag* ('duct tape', 5), *szigetelőszalag* ('insulating tape', 2), *izalenta* (Russian *изолента*; 'insulating tape'). The loanword of Slavic origin, i.e., *szkoccs* (Ukrainian, Russian *скотч*), occurred six times, while its variants were mentioned in many other cases: *szkacs* (12), *szkotcs* (3), *szkács* (2).
7. In the penultimate photo, a type of **electric train** widely found in Transcarpathia can be observed. Fifty respondents named this mode of transport with the Hungarian standard word *vonat* ('train'). The Slavic loanword *elektricska* (Ukrainian, Russian *электричка*; 'electric train') was mentioned by nine respondents, and two other students named it in Hungarian as follows: *elektromos vonat* ('electric train'), *elektromos személyszállító vonat* ('electric passenger train').
8. In the last picture, there was a **folder**, which most of the respondents referred to with the Hungarian equivalents, i.e., *mappa* ('folder', 28) and *irattartó* ('file holder', 11). The Slavic loanword *páпка* (Ukrainian, Russian *папка*) was mentioned in a total of 19 cases. Other Hungarian terms for this object: *dosszié*, *dossziétartó*, *akta*, *irattartó mappa*, *irattároló*, *rendezőmappa*.

The obtained results were influenced by the fact that language use was examined in writing using an online questionnaire instead of observing actual

oral communication, which would presumably have yielded more authentic results. Based on the picture description task, the conclusion can be drawn that for the majority of the students, the Hungarian language equivalents were used in a higher proportion compared to the Slavic borrowings, except in the case of culture-specific concepts. These foreign words are called *xenisms*, and they include food names, institution names, and currency names (Benő, 2008, pp. 19–23).

## Task 2. Substituting Slavic loanwords in a sentence

In the second task, the respondents had to replace a Slavic term in each of the eight sentences in the questionnaire with some other term (preferably with a Hungarian standard equivalent). With this, we investigated to what extent they are able to replace the lexical elements taken from the Ukrainian/Russian languages with Hungarian synonyms that correspond to the meaning of the sentences in different communicative situations. The sentences were originally given in Hungarian, and the loanwords to be replaced were highlighted with capital letters. The results are summarized in Table 2.

Based on the results, three trends could be observed among Transcarpathian Hungarian students in the substitution of Slavic lexical borrowings:

1. the use of a semantically correct Hungarian standard equivalent (*dáváj* = *gyerünk*, *gyerünk már*; *kvitancia* = *csekk*, *számla*, *nyugta*);
2. the creation of hybrid borrowings (*órapára*; *dekretszabi*);
3. the use of a Hungarian standard expression that does not fully correspond to the meaning of the Ukrainian/Russian lexical borrowing, underlined, (*leckija* = *szentbeszéd*, *beszéd*, *vizsga*; *perezsivál* = *beszél*, *dumál*, *felesel*). It is worth explaining that the word *leckió* in Hungarian (which is very similar in form to the borrowing *leckija*) is used in the sense of ‘the scriptural excerpts read out in the Holy Mass’, essentially in the sense of a *szentbeszéd*. The source of confusion here is clearly the formal identity between *leckija* and *leckió*.

The hypothesis was confirmed that, in various communicative situations, Transcarpathian Hungarian students are mostly able to replace Slavisms with Hungarian equivalents, sometimes even by mixing the Ukrainian/Russian and Hungarian languages, creating hybrid loanwords. It was somewhat surprising, however, that the borrowings *leckija* and *perezsivál* were misinterpreted by several respondents. From this, it can be deduced that not all Slavic borrowings are widely known by Hungarian speakers in Transcarpathia.

**Table 2***Replacing Slavic loanwords with Hungarian equivalents*

Sentences	Loanword meaning	Hungarian answers	Slavic loanwords
<i>Fáradt vagyok, ma öt PÁRÁM volt.</i> [I'm tired, today I had five PÁRA.]	lesson pair, 2 x 45 mins.	<i>óra</i> (36), <i>órapár</i> (14)	<i>órapára</i> (2) (hybrid borrowing)
<i>DÁVÁJ, siess!</i> [DÁVÁJ, hurry up!]	come on	<i>gyerünk</i> (42), <i>gyere</i> (6), <i>gyerünk már</i> (5)	—
<i>A kollégám DEKRETBÉ ment, most nem dolgozik.</i> [My colleague is now on DEKRET, she doesn't work.]	maternity leave	<i>szülési szabadság</i> (41), <i>GYES</i> (9), <i>szabadságra ment</i> (3), <i>szülői szabadság</i> (2)	<i>dekretsizabin van</i> (hybrid borrowing)
<i>Ma DIKTÁNTOT írunk.</i> [Today we're going to write a DIKTÁNT.]	dictation	<i>tollbamondás</i> (59), <i>diktálás</i> (2)	—
<i>Csak 4 ember van a GRUPPÁMBAN.</i> [There are only 4 people in my GRUPPA.]	group	<i>csoport</i> (60), <i>orvosi kiskönyv</i> ['medical records']	—
<i>Kaptál KVITÁNCIÁT a boltban?</i> [Did you get a KVITÁNCIA in the shop?]	receipt	<i>csekk</i> (29), <i>számla</i> (20), <i>nyugta</i> (8)	—
<i>Mindjárt kezdődik a LEKCIJA, nem késhetünk!</i> [The LEKCIJA is going to start soon, we can't be late!]	lecture	<i>előadás</i> (41), <i>óra</i> (5), <i>lekció</i> (4), <i>szentbeszéd</i> [‘sacred speech’], <i>beszéd</i> [‘speech’], <i>vizsga</i> [‘exam’]	<i>pára</i> (4)
<i>Ne PEREZSIVÁLJ! Minden oké lesz!</i> [Don't PEREZSIVÁL! Everything will be okay.]	to worry	<i>aggódik</i> (35), <i>idegeskedik/fél</i> (10), <i>izgul</i> (8), <i>beszél</i> (4), <i>dumál</i> [‘to talk’], <i>felel</i> [‘to talk back’]	—

### Task 3. Selecting the correct meaning of Slavic loanwords

In the third task, the students had to choose the correct meaning of eight different loanwords from the three answer options provided. In addition, each time there was a *Do not know* option after the words, as well as an *Other* field, where students could enter their own explanations, if it was not among the answer options. Table 3 contains the summarized results of this task.

**Table 3**

*Choosing the correct meaning of Slavic loanwords*

Slavic loanword	Correct meaning		Incorrect meaning		Don't know
<i>Zálik</i>	<i>Tantárgyi beszámoló</i> [pass/fail exam]	57	<i>Visszajáró; kosár</i> [change; basket]	2	4
<i>Tumbocska</i>	<i>Éjjeliszekrény</i> [nightstand]	63	<i>Mozdony; lepedő</i> [locomotive; bed sheet]	—	—
<i>Marsrutka</i>	<i>Iránytaxi</i> [share taxi or taxibus]	48	<i>Vonatszerelvény; kilincs</i> [railway train; doorknob]	15	—
<i>Dovidka</i>	<i>Igazolás</i> [certificate]	57	<i>Kórlap; mappa</i> [medical record; folder]	6	—
<i>Archív</i>	<i>Levéltár</i> [archives]	53	<i>Lomtár; dokumentáció</i> [lumber room; documenta- tion]	7	3
<i>Kursz</i>	<i>Évfolyam</i> [college year]	59	<i>Előadás; feladat</i> [lecture; task]	4	—
<i>Peteu</i>	<i>Szakközépiskola</i> [vocational school]	56	<i>Kovácsműhely; bolt</i> [blacksmith's workshop; store]	1	6
<i>Bloknót</i>	<i>Notesz</i> [notebook]	53	<i>Bizonyítvány; diplomamelléklet</i> [certificate; diploma supplement]	1	9

In this task, it was once again proven that the meaning of loanwords taken from the Ukrainian/Russian languages is correctly known by the vast majority of young Hungarians in Transcarpathia. Minor negative swings could be observed only in the case of three expressions:

1. Fifteen people identified the loanword *marsrutka* as a 'train assembly' instead of a 'share taxi' or 'taxibus', which can be explained by the fact that the two concepts are closely related and belong to the same semantic category.

2. The loanword *archív* was termed by a total of seven students as either 'lumber room' or 'documentation', while it means 'archive'. Here again, classification into a similar semantic category could be a problem.
3. During the examination of the Slavic borrowing *bloknot*, nine people chose the option that they do not know the meaning of the loanword, thereby confirming the not unfounded assumption that most Ukrainian/Russian loanwords are well known among Transcarpathian Hungarian students, but there are always exceptions.

#### **Task 4. Defining concepts**

In the fourth task, the respondents had to guess how to name the given person or object based on a short definition. As before, students were asked to name concepts based on eight definitions. Table 4 summarizes the results, showing how often the participants used Hungarian standard elements and Slavic loanwords in each case.

During the definition of concepts, several phenomena could be observed. On the one hand, the frequent use of linguistic xenisms (e.g. *kopek*) against colloquial Hungarian equivalents (e.g. *visszajáró*). Xenisms are culturally bound expressions (Benő, 2008).

On the other hand, although Hungarian lexical elements were in the foreground in most cases, quite a large number of Slavisms were encountered for almost all concepts. Moreover, the participants sometimes listed both the Hungarian equivalent and the Slavic borrowing side by side (e.g. *jogostvány/práva, nővér/szesztra*). Overall, it is clear that the vocabulary of Transcarpathian Hungarian students abounds in Ukrainian/Russian loanwords, but the native language equivalents dominate every time, with the exception of culture-specific expressions, i.e., in the case of currency names.

#### **Task 5. Listing additional loanwords of Slavic origin**

In Task 4, the respondents had to indicate loanwords of Ukrainian/Russian origin, which they often use during their everyday communication, and which were not mentioned previously in the questionnaire. The resulting list of words contains a total of 58 loanwords of Slavic origin. The borrowings were classified into semantic categories, according to their meaning (Table 5).

The conclusion may be drawn from these data (Table 5) that in the language use of Transcarpathian Hungarian students, Slavisms belonging to the semantic categories of everyday life, food names, documents and vehicles, can be observed with the highest frequency. Slavic loanwords related to the student language are classified in a separate conceptual group and mostly include the names of school documents or slang expressions.



**Table 4***Naming concepts with the help of definitions*

Definitions	Hungarian answers	Slavic loanwords
<i>Pénz, amit az eladótól kapunk vissza a boltban.</i> [Money that we get back from the seller in the shop.]	<i>visszajáró</i> (14)	<i>kopek/kopijka</i> (39), <i>zđácsa/zđácsi</i> (4)
<i>Egy dokumentum, amit az első három helyezésért kapunk versenyeken.</i> [A document that we receive for finishing in the first three places in competitions.]	<i>oklevél</i> (46)	<i>gramota</i> (7)
<i>Egy étteremhez hasonló helyiség, ahol a diákok ebédelnek az iskola falain belül.</i> [A restaurant-like room where students eat lunch within the school walls.]	<i>étkeзде</i> (17), <i>menza</i> (16), <i>ebédlő</i> (9), <i>büfé</i> (7)	<i>sztolova/sztalava</i> (8), <i>jídálnya</i> (1)
<i>Gyakorlati óra a felsőoktatásban.</i> [Practical class, session in higher education.]	<i>szeminárium</i> (19), <i>gyakorlati óra</i> (13), <i>gyakorlat</i> (6)	<i>praktika</i> (3), <i>szeminár</i> , <i>prakticsna</i> , <i>lekcija</i> , <i>pára</i> , <i>praktikai óra</i> (hybrid)
<i>Hivatalos dokumentum, amely nélkül nem vezethetünk gépjárművet.</i> [An official document without which we cannot drive a vehicle.]	<i>jogosítvány</i> (39), <i>jogsi</i> (7)	<i>práva</i> (9), <i>jogosítvány/práva</i> (7)
<i>Gyümölcsből készült üdítőital.</i> [Soft drink made from fruit.]	<i>gyümölcsle</i> (31)	<i>szok/szak/szakk</i> (15), <i>szadacsak</i> (brand name)
<i>Könyvecske, ahová a tanár a diákok jegyeit írja.</i> [A booklet in which the teacher writes the students' grades.]	<i>napló</i> (25), <i>leckekönyv</i> (16), <i>nagynapló</i>	<i>zurnál</i> , <i>zálikova knizska</i> , <i>scsodennék</i>
<i>Szakképzett nőnemű dolgozó, aki a betegekről gondoskodik és segít az orvosi munkában.</i> [Qualified female worker who cares for patients and assists in medical work.]	<i>nővér</i> (25), <i>ápolónő</i> (11)	<i>szesztra</i> (10), <i>medszesztra</i> (5), <i>nővér/szesztra</i> (8)

**Table 5***Additional loanwords of Slavic origin, by category*

Category	Slavic loanwords
Everyday life:	<i>avária</i> ('accident'), <i>beszedka</i> ('pavilion'), <i>brigád</i> ('work-group'), <i>kanalizáció</i> ('canalization'), <i>nausnik</i> ('headset'), <i>nevigymka</i> ('hairpin'), <i>ocsered</i> ('queue'), <i>págyom</i> ('let's go'), <i>perekur</i> ('cigarette break'), <i>perevál</i> ('pass'), <i>perevod</i> ('translation'), <i>remont</i> ('repair'), <i>rubel</i> ('Russian currency'), <i>sáski</i> ('draughts'), <i>stukatúrka</i> ('plastering'), <i>szitka</i> ('plastic shopping bag'), <i>szmena</i> ('shift'), <i>szoljárka</i> ('gas oil'), <i>tuszovka</i> ('party'), <i>uzsász</i> ('horror')
Healthcare:	<i>apteczka</i> ('first aid kit')
Dishes:	<i>bánka</i> ('jar'), <i>tárilká</i> ('bowl')
Jobs/positions:	<i>buhálter</i> ('accountant'), <i>sztároszta</i> ('group leader')
Food:	<i>bulocska</i> ('bun, Vienna bread'), <i>buterbrod</i> ('sandwich'), <i>grecka</i> ('buckwheat'), <i>murkó</i> ('carrot'), <i>pászka</i> ('Easter bread'), <i>szemecski</i> ('sunflower seed'), <i>szosizski</i> ('sausage'), <i>szup</i> ('soup')
Clothing:	<i>kalosnyi</i> ('galoshes'), <i>kurtka</i> ('short coat'), <i>májka</i> ('under-shirt')
Vehicles and vehicle parts:	<i>bagázsnyik</i> ('trunk, carrier rack'), <i>bordácski</i> ('glove compartment'), <i>kámáz</i> (from the KAMAZ brand name — 'lorry, truck'), <i>kapot</i> ('engine hood, bonnet'), <i>kombájn</i> ('combine, harvester'), <i>povorotnyik</i> ('turn signal, indicator'), <i>pricep</i> ('truck trailer')
Documents:	<i>diplom</i> ('diploma'), <i>szprávka</i> ('certification'), <i>szvidoctvo</i> ('school report'), <i>zájává</i> ('application, petition')
Student language:	<i>diplom</i> ('diploma'), <i>konkursz</i> ('competition, scholarship'), <i>korocse</i> ('in short'), <i>kurszovájá</i> ('year paper'), <i>ne bidá</i> ('no problem'), <i>perevirjálni</i> ('to check/verify'), <i>rozklád</i> ('timetable/schedule'), <i>sztároszta</i> ('group leader'), <i>sztipi</i> ('scholarship'), <i>szvidoctvo</i> ('school report'), <i>tvir</i> ('essay'), <i>tyipá</i> ('thingy'), <i>vobse/vopse</i> ('usually, by the way'), <i>zacsot</i> ('pass/fail exam')

## Conclusion

This article examined the knowledge of the meaning of loanwords of Ukrainian/Russian origin observed in the language use of Hungarian college, university, and vocational high school students in Transcarpathia. Based on

the results, it can be stated that Hungarian students know the meanings of the majority of Slavic loanwords according to the norm accepted among Transcarpathian Hungarian speakers. However, the Hungarian standard equivalents are predominantly present in their language use. Only a few words, i.e., xenisms, were exceptions to this: *kopek* (currency name), *meducsi* (institution name), and *pelmenyi* (food name).

The students were able to easily replace Slavisms with Hungarian standard equivalents, and in most cases they preferred expressions from their native language. At the same time, it should be noted that the research participants knew a large number of Slavic loanwords, which we tried to summarize. The participants could replace Ukrainian/Russian lexical borrowings with Hungarian colloquial elements relatively easily, so it is safe to say that they would not encounter language barriers during a conversation with a Hungarian monolingual speaker.

### Acknowledgment

This work was supported by the Collegium Talentum Program of Hungary.

### References

- Bartha, Cs. (1993). *Egy amerikai magyar közösség nyelvhasználatának szociolingvisztikai megközelítései* [Sociolinguistic approaches to the study of the language use of a Hungarian community in the United States]. Unpublished PhD Dissertation. Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.
- Bartha, Cs. (1996). A társadalmi kétnyelvűség típusai és főbb vizsgálati kérdései [Types and main research questions of social bilingualism]. *Magyar Nyelvőr*, 120(3), 263–282. <http://real.mtak.hu/13760/1/odt.pdf>
- Benő, A. (2008). *Kontaktológia. A nyelvi kapcsolatok alapfogalmai* [Contactology. Basic concepts of language relations]. Egyetemi Műhely Kiadó & Bolyai Társaság. <https://www.bolyait.ro/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/Beno-Attila-Kontaktologia.pdf>
- Beregászi, A., & Csernicskó, I. (2003). A kétnyelvűség típusai a kárpátaljai magyar közösségben [Types of bilingualism in the Transcarpathian Hungarian community]. In I. Csernicskó (Ed.), *A mi szavunk járása. Bevezetés a kárpátaljai magyar nyelvhasználatba* (pp. 40–41). Kárpátaljai Magyar Tanárképző Főiskola.
- Crystal, D. (1998). *A nyelv enciklopédiája* [Encyclopedia of Language]. Osiris.
- Csernicskó, I. (1998). *A magyar nyelv Ukrajnában (Kárpátalján)* [The Hungarian language in Ukraine (Transcarpathia)]. Osiris Kiadó & MTA Kisebbségkutató Műhely.
- Csernicskó, I. (2010). Az ukrán és orosz nyelv használati gyakoriságáról a kárpátaljai magyar közösségben [On the frequency of use of the Ukrainian and Russian languages in the Transcarpathian Hungarian community]. In I. Csernicskó (Ed.),

- Nyelvek, emberek, helyzetek. A magyar, ukrán és orosz nyelv használata a kárpátaljai magyar közösségben* (pp. 86–100). PoliPrint.
- Csernicskó, I., & Fenyvesi, A. (2000). The sociolinguistic stratification of Hungarian in Subcarpathia. *Multilingua*, 19(1/2), 95–122.  
<https://doi.org/10.1515/mult.2000.19.1-2.95>
- Csernicskó, I., & Fenyvesi, A. (2012). Sociolinguistic and contact-induced variation in Hungarian language use in Subcarpathia, Ukraine. *AHEA: E-journal of the American Hungarian Educators Association*, 5(33).  
<https://doi.org/10.5195/ahea.2012.91>
- Csernicskó, I., & Gazdag, V. (2023). Kárpátaljai magyarok nyelvi tapasztalatai Magyarországon [Linguistic experiences of Transcarpathian Hungarians in Hungary]. *Magyar Nyelv*, 119(2), 215–225.  
<https://doi.org/10.18349/MagyarNyelv.2023.2.215>
- Csernicskó, I., & Hires, K. (2003). A kölcsönzés [Borrowing]. In I. Csernicskó (Ed.), *A mi szavunk járása. Bevezetés a kárpátaljai magyar nyelvhasználatba* (pp. 125–138). Kárpátaljai Magyar Tanárképző Főiskola.
- Csernicskó, I., & Márku, A. (2021). Ízelítők a Termini magyar–magyar szótár kárpátaljai anyagából [Samples from the Transcarpathian material of the Termini Hungarian–Hungarian dictionary]. *Magyar Nyelvőr*, 145(4), 417–431.  
<https://doi.org/10.38143/Nyr.2021.4.417>
- Csernicskó, I., & Orosz, I. (2019). *The Hungarian language in education in Ukraine*. Mercator European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning.  
[http://real.mtak.hu/104892/1/hungarian\\_in\\_ukraine.pdf](http://real.mtak.hu/104892/1/hungarian_in_ukraine.pdf)
- Edwards, J. (2006). Foundations of bilingualism. In T.K. Bhatia & W.C. Ritchie (Eds.), *The handbook of bilingualism* (pp. 7–31). Blackwell Publishing.
- Gazdag, V. (2016). A kárpátaljai magyar nyelvjárások szókészleti sokszínűségéről az ukrán/orosz kölcsönszavak és magyar nyelvi megfelelőik használata kapcsán [On the vocabulary diversity of Transcarpathian Hungarian dialects in relation to the use of Ukrainian/Russian loanwords and their Hungarian equivalents]. In V. Gazdag, Z. Karmacs, & E. Tóth (Eds.), *Értékek és kihívások* (pp. 43–50). Autdor–Shark.
- Gazdag, V. (2018). A kárpátaljai magyar nyelvjárások keleti szláv kölcsönszavainak szemantikai változásairól [On the semantic changes of Eastern Slavic loanwords of the Transcarpathian Hungarian dialects]. In Z. Karmacs & R. Máté (Eds.), *Nyelvek és nyelvváltozatok térben és időben. Tanulmányok a Hodinka Antal Nyelvészeti Kutatóközpont kutatásaiból IV* (pp. 132–138). “RIK-U” Kiadó.
- Gazdag, V. (2019). A kárpátaljai magyar nyelvjárások különfejlődéséről az államnyelvi kölcsönszavak fényében [On the special development of the Transcarpathian Hungarian dialects in the light of state language loanwords]. *Magyar Nyelvjárások*, 57, 101–121. <http://real.mtak.hu/107356/1/07.gazdagv.pdf>
- Gazdag, V. (2020). Államnyelvi hatás a kárpátaljai magyar felsőoktatásban tanuló diákok nyelvhasználatában [State language influence in the language use of

- students studying in Transcarpathian Hungarian higher education]. *Magyar Nyelvjárások*, 58, 175–187. <https://doi.org/10.30790/mnyj/2020/09>
- Györke, M. (1991). A kárpátaljai magyar szaknyelvek [Transcarpathian Hungarian professional languages]. In S. Györi-Nagy & J. Kelemen (Eds.), *Két-nyelvűség a Kárpát-medencében* (pp. 70–71). Széchenyi Társaság & Pszicholingva Nyelviskola.
- Kontra, M. (1981). *A nyelvek közötti kölcsönzés néhány kérdéséről, különös tekintettel „elangolosodó” orvosi nyelvünkre* [On some issues of borrowing between languages, with particular regard to our “anglicizing” medical language]. Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Lanstyák, I. (2011). A magyar nyelv szlovákiai változatainak jellemzői [Characteristics of the Slovak varieties of the Hungarian language]. In G. Szabó Mihály & I. Lanstyák (Eds.), *Magyarok Szlovákiában (VII. kötet)* (pp. 55–82). Fórum Kisebbségkutató Intézet.
- Lanstyák, I., Benő, A., & Juhász, T. (2010). A Termini magyar–magyar szótár és adatbázis [The Termini Hungarian–Hungarian dictionary and database]. *REGIO — Kisebbség, Politika, Társadalom*, 21(3), 37–58. [https://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00036/00079/pdf/Regio\\_2010\\_03\\_037-058.pdf](https://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00036/00079/pdf/Regio_2010_03_037-058.pdf)
- Márku, A. (2013). „Po zákárpátszki”. *Kétnyelvűség, kétnyelvűségi hatások és kétnyelvű kommunikációs stratégiák a kárpátaljai magyar közösségben* [“Po zákárpátszki”. Bilingualism, effects of bilingualism and bilingual communication strategies in the Transcarpathian Hungarian community]. „Líra” Poligráfcentrum. [https://real.mtak.hu/128593/1/Marku\\_Po\\_zakarpatszki.pdf](https://real.mtak.hu/128593/1/Marku_Po_zakarpatszki.pdf)
- Molnár, J., & Molnár D., I. (2005). *Kárpátalja népessége és magyarsága a népszámlálási és népmozgalmi adatok tükrében* [The population of Transcarpathia and the Transcarpathian Hungarian minority in the light of census and population movement data]. A KMP SZ Tankönyv- és Taneszköztanácsa. [https://hodinkaintezet.uz.ua/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Molnar\\_Jozsef\\_Molnar\\_D\\_Istvan\\_Karpatalja\\_nepessege.pdf](https://hodinkaintezet.uz.ua/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Molnar_Jozsef_Molnar_D_Istvan_Karpatalja_nepessege.pdf)
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1981). *Bilingualism or not: The education of minorities*. Multilingual Matters.
- Sulán, B. (1963). A kétnyelvűség néhány kérdéséhez [To some questions of bilingualism]. *Magyar Nyelv*, 59(3), 253–265.
- Várad, K. (2023). Kétnyelvűséghez fűződő attitűdök vizsgálata többnyelvű környezetben élő főiskolai filológus hallgatók körében [Examining attitudes toward bilingualism among college philology students living in a multilingual environment]. *Argumentum*, 19, 88–123. <https://doi.org/10.34103/ARGUMENTUM/2023/6>

**Appendix:**  
***An English version of the questionnaire used in the research***

**Demographic information and language use**

1. What is your gender?  
a) Male                      b) Female
2. How old are you?  
.....
3. What is your nationality?  
a) Hungarian      b) Ukrainian      c) Russian
4. What is your mother tongue?  
a) Hungarian      b) Ukrainian      c) Russian
5. In what language did you learn in the following educational institutions?

Institutions	Hungarian	Ukrainian	Russian	English
Primary school				
Secondary school				
Vocational school				
College/University				

6. Where do you study?  
a) Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education  
b) Ferenc Rákóczi II Vocational High School  
c) Uzhhorod National University  
d) Egán Ede Vocational Training Center  
e) Other: .....
7. What is your major?  
a) English language and literature      b) Hungarian language and literature  
c) Ukrainian language and literature      d) Kindergarten pedagogy  
e) History      f) Finance  
g) Biology      h) Geography  
i) Accounting and taxation      j) Mathematics  
Other: .....

8. At what level do you speak the following languages?

Levels of language knowledge	Hungarian	Ukrainian	Russian
Not at all			
I understand a little bit, but cannot speak			
I understand mostly, but cannot speak			
I understand and speak well			
At a native level			

9. How often do you use the following languages?

Frequency of language use	Hungarian	Ukrainian	Russian
Never			
Sometimes			
Often			
Every day			

10. Have you studied in a school with a language other than your mother tongue?

- a) Yes                      b) No

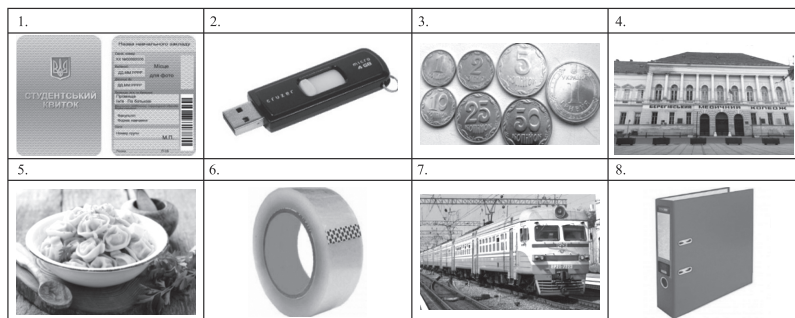
11. Can studying in a school in a language other than the mother tongue result in bilingualism?

- a) Yes                      b) No                      c) Only in some cases

12. In your own opinion, who can be considered bilingual?

- a) Those who speak two languages at least at a minimal level  
 b) Those who can think in two languages  
 c) Those who speak two languages almost at a native level

**Task 1. Please name the objects which can be seen in the following pictures.**



**Task 2. Replace the Slavic loanwords (indicated with capital letters) with Hungarian equivalents in the next sentences.**

1. I'm tired, today I had five PÁRA.

Answer: .....

2. DÁVÁJ, hurry up!

Answer: .....

3. My colleague is on DEKRET, now she doesn't work.

Answer: .....

4. Today we're going to write a DIKTÁNT.

Answer: .....

5. There are only 4 people in my GRUPPA.

Answer: .....

6. Did you get a KVTÁNCIA in the shop?

Answer: .....

7. The LEKCIJA is going to start soon, we can't be late!

Answer: .....

8. Don't PEREZSIVÁL! Everything will be okay.

Answer: .....

**Task 3. Select the correct meaning of Slavic loanwords.**

Zálik

- a) Change                      b) Pass/fail exam                      c) Basket

Tumbocska

- a) Nightstand                      b) Bed sheet                      c) Locomotive

Marsrutka

- a) Train assembly                      b) Doorknob                      c) Share taxi, taxibus

Dovidka

- a) Certificate                      b) Folder                      c) Medical record

Archív

- a) Lumber room                      b) Documentation                      c) Archives

Kursz

- a) Lecture                      b) College year                      c) Task

Petű

- a) Store                      b) Vocational school                      c) Blacksmith's workshop

Bloknot

- a) Notebook                      b) Certificate                      c) Diploma supplement



**Task 4. Name the concepts based on the following definitions.**

1. Money that we get back from the seller in the shop.  
Answer: .....
2. A document that we receive for finishing in the first three places in competitions.  
Answer: .....
3. A restaurant-like room where students eat lunch at school.  
Answer: .....
4. Practical class, session in higher education.  
Answer: .....
5. An official document without which we cannot drive a vehicle.  
Answer: .....
6. Soft drink made from fruit.  
Answer: .....
7. A booklet in which the teacher writes the students' grades.  
Answer: .....
8. Qualified [female] worker who cares for patients and assists in medical work.  
Answer: .....

**Task 5. List additional Slavic loanwords which were not mentioned during the questionnaire.**

.....  
.....