HUNGARIANS AND THE HUNGARIAN LANGUAGE IN TRANSCARPATHIA

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Fülöp László
PHOTOGRAPHY

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Sunrise in Berehove
(Photo by: Mihály Gazdag)

A century of the Hungarian language: foreword

Since the treaties that ended World War I, that is, the document signed in Trianon in 1920, the border has played a decisive role in the discourses on Hungarian national identity, the concept of the nation and the nation in general. Indeed, once they are drawn, political boundaries inevitably begin to influence the language varieties spoken and written within and across the borders. As these administrative boundaries define the social networks of language speakers, it is natural that relations within the border become stronger and cross-border relations face some kind of obstacle and are therefore usually weakened. Thus, state borders are of a dual nature: they bring about convergence and divergence at the same time. The varieties within the border gradually begin to converge and evolve towards equalization, while in the varieties trapped on the other side of the border, special development intensifies (Palander–Riionheimo–Koisvisto 2018: 7).

From the end of the 9th century to the beginning of the 20th century, the Hungarian language area belonged to one state. However, the 20th century brought significant changes in the history of the Hungarian language: this unified area was torn into several states after the First World War. Since Trianon, as a Hungarian linguist Sándor N. Szilágyi (2008: 106) has stated, "in the Carpathian Basin, the Hungarian language is not changing in a single country, but according to the current state of history, it is now changing in eight countries, and the change is influenced by different factors in each country" (see Map 2, 3). Since the end of the "Great War", there have been no major Hungarian dialect regions whose territory does not extend beyond the borders of Hungary, but there are three ("Mezőségi", Szekler and Moldavian) that do not cross the Hungarian borders (Kiss ed. 2001: Annex 5, Map 1), with linguistic consequences at all levels of the language.

Map 1. Today's Hungarian dialect regions
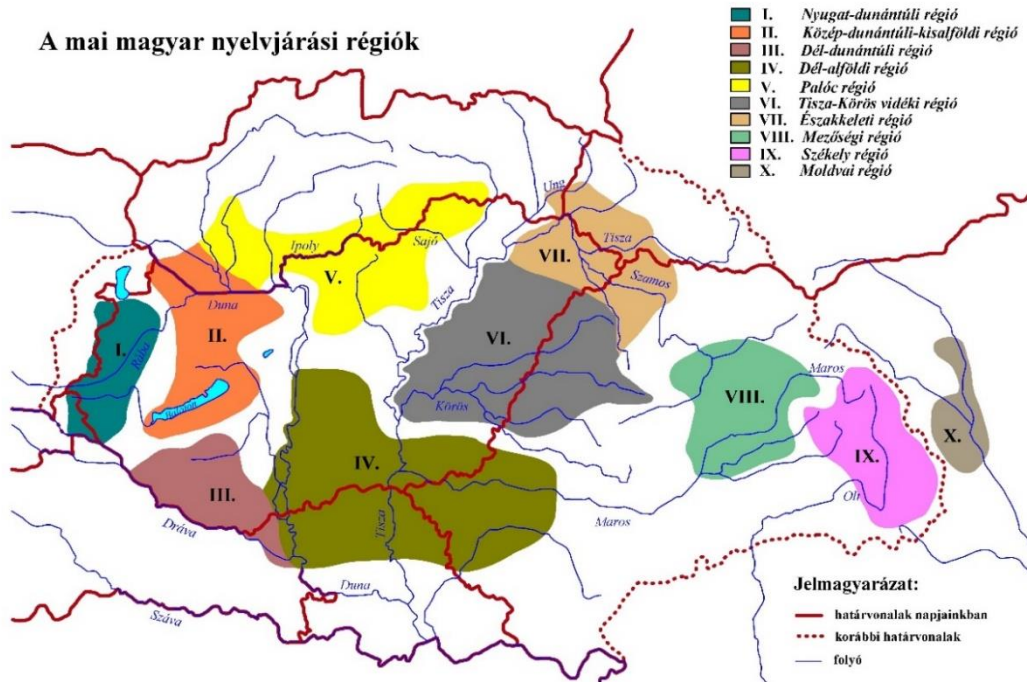
Source: Kiss ed. 2001.

Map 2. Schematic outline of the Hungarian language area: Hungarian is now spoken by indigenous communities in 8 states of the Carpathian Basin

Source: Magyar nyelv 12. 2017: 77.

Map 3. The territory of today's Transcarpathia has been an integral part of Hungary for a thousand years. The area of the region now known as Transcarpathia includes parts of the six former counties of the Kingdom of Hungary
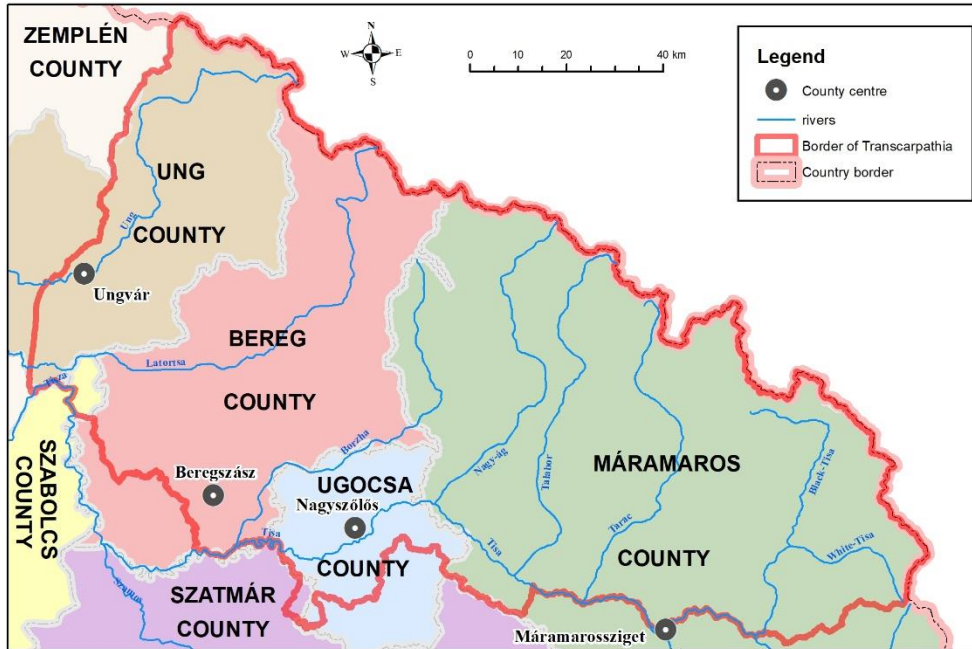
Made by: István Molnár D.

Transcarpathia as a geographical-administrative unit was established in 1919 as a result of the peace treaties that ended the First World War in the ranks of the (first) Czechoslovak Republic under the name of Podkarpatska Rus. Through the political decisions taken a century ago, not only an administrative unit of the newly formed state, the Czechoslovak Republic, was formed without historical antecedents, but also the Hungarian national minority appeared in Transcarpathia. This political decision was confirmed by the so-called Treaty of Trianon, signed on the 4th of June, 1920.

During the 20th century, historical storms swept the area known as Transcarpathia to several different state formations: it has belonged to Czechoslovakia after the Kingdom of Hungary within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy; in a transitional period, a state was established on its territory (Carpathian Ukraine); it has returned to the Kingdom of Hungary for a short time; then, after another transitional period (Transcarpathian Ukraine), it was annexed to the Soviet Union. It was inherited by Ukraine in 1991 (Table 1).

The first page of Article 33 of the 1921 Act on the Ratification of the Treaty of Trianon in Hungary on the contemporary front page of the Budapest Gazette

Table 1. State affiliation of today's Transcarpathia

State affiliation	Period	Name of the region	The status of the region
Kingdom of Hungary in Austro-Hungarian Monarchy	1867–1918	Ung, Bereg, Ugocsa, Máramaros counties	It does not have a unified and independent administrative status.
Czechoslovak Republic	1919–1938	Podkarpatska Rus	It is an autonomous administrative unit.
Czechoslovak Republic	1938–1939	Podkarpatska Rus	Autonomous region.
Carpatho-Ukraine	14-16.03.1939		Independent state.
Kingdom of Hungary	1939–1944	Subcarpathian Province	A special administrative unit separated from the county system.
Transcarpathian Ukraine	26.09.1944–22.1.1946		An independent pseudo-state without any international recognition.
Ukrainian SSR in the Soviet Union	1946–1991	Zakarpattia Oblast	A county-level administrative unit in the Ukrainian SSR with no autonomy whatsoever.
Ukraine	From 1991	Zakarpattia Oblast	A county without any independence.

Source: Csernicskó (2013: 18). Compiled on the basis of Fedinec (2002), Fedinec–Vehes (2010), Vehes–Fedinec (2010), Levenec et al. ed. (2008), Vehes et al. (2011: 258–256).

A significant part of the differences among the varieties of the Hungarian language stems from the fact that the Hungarian language is used by people living in different social, political and economic systems of several states.

According to Miklós Kontra (1998: 13): "One who studies the language of Hungarians living abroad in the last decade of the 20th century is breaking taboos and reaches into a beehive (...), because Hungarian linguistics has hardly studied the language use of minority Hungarians in the seven decades following Trianon, with scientific objectivity". Since then, much has changed in the course of time in the Carpathian Basin, and we are now much more aware of the linguistic consequences of Trianon (Csernicskó 1998).

Prohibition sign in Berehove with inscriptions in 8 languages
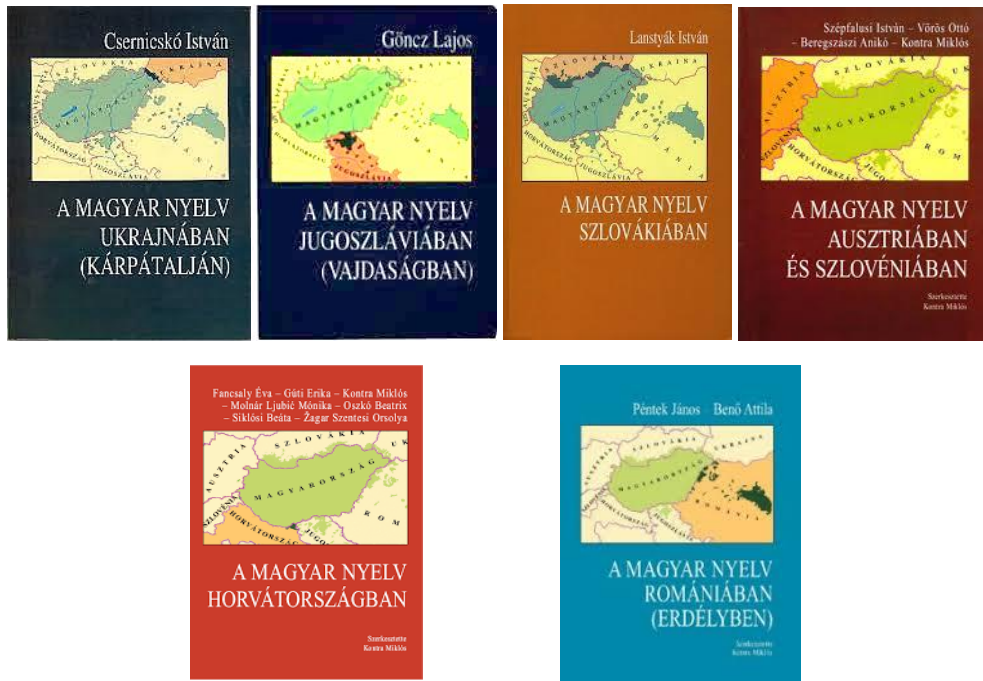
Volumes of the book series The Hungarian language in the Carpathian Basin at the end of the 20th century.
Editor: Miklós Kontra

Our issue discusses how the Hungarian national minority living in the independent Ukrainian state, which has been part of several states for the past hundred years, has maintained its language, identity and culture over the past century, and the social and linguistic consequences of the past years and the events of the 19th century in the language use of the Hungarians living here.

The topicality of the publication is given by the fact that 2019 was the 100th anniversary of the historical event that in 1919 Transcarpathia was formed into an independent administrative-geographical unit. This process was confirmed when Hungary signed the Treaty of Trianon on the 4th of June, 1920, 102 years ago.

The Hungarian humanities and social sciences in Transcarpathia can show significant research results on the linguistic and social processes of the last 100 years. In line with this anniversary, we try to briefly summarize and present and illustrate the linguistic and social consequences of the century, from 1919 until 1920 with illustrations, diagrams, tables, photos and maps.

Inscription in Ukrainian and Hungarian
on a bread stall in Berehove

1. Those who maintain the Hungarian language: Hungarians in Transcarpathia

The population of today's Transcarpathia tripled between 1880 and 2021 (Figure 1). Between 1880 and 1910, the number of Ukrainians / Ruthenians living in the territory of the contemporary Hungarian state has *increased* from 342,354 to 464,270, while between 1910 and 2001 the number of Hungarians living in the current Transcarpathia has *decreased* from 184,287 (1910) to 151,516 (2001). According to data collected in 2017, the population decreased again, to 130,700 (Csernicskó 2013, Molnár D. 2018, Molnár–Molnár D. 2005: 9, Tátrai et al. 2018a: 26, 2018b: 20). The decrease in the number and proportion of Hungarians is significant and shows a correlation with the turnaround in the state (Figures 2, 3 and 4).

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the first (and still the only) census in Ukraine, which became independent in 1991, was held in 2001 (for census data, see Всеукраїнський перепис населення 2001). The absolute majority of the country's population were Ukrainians (77.8%). The largest national minority was Russian (17.3%). The number of other minority communities did not reach 1%. In 2001, 156,566 people declared themselves to be of Hungarian nationality (0.3%), and the number of native Hungarian speakers was 161,618 (Figure 5).

A billboard for the 2017 City Fest in Berehove in Ukrainian and Hungarian

Figure 1. The population of Transcarpathia between 1880 and 2021
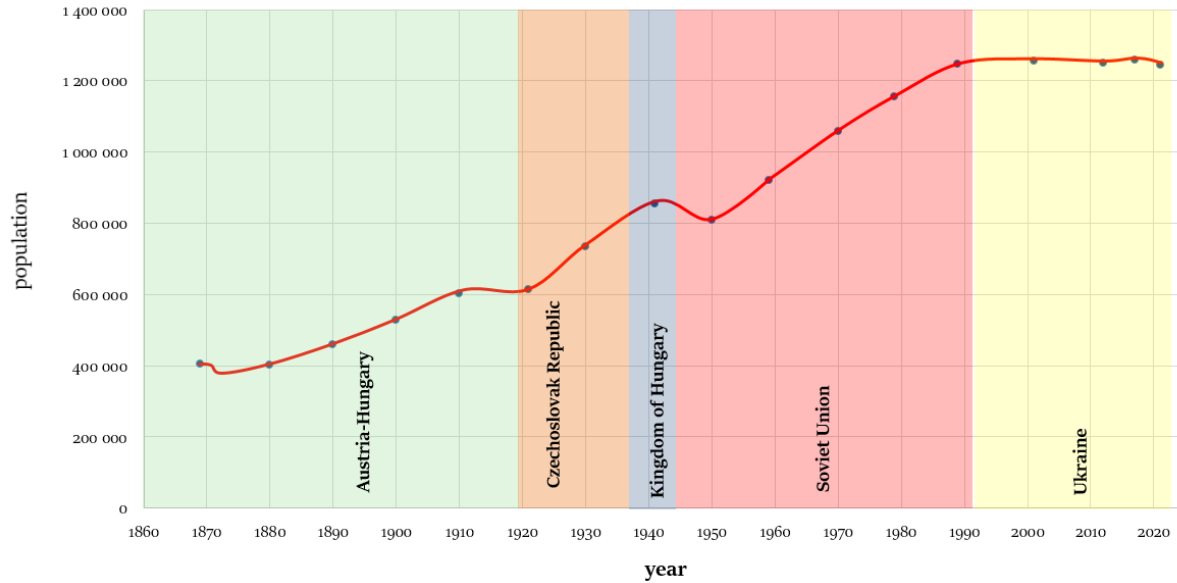
Figure 2. Composition of the population as regards the mother tongue of Transcarpathia in 1880 and in 2001 (percent)
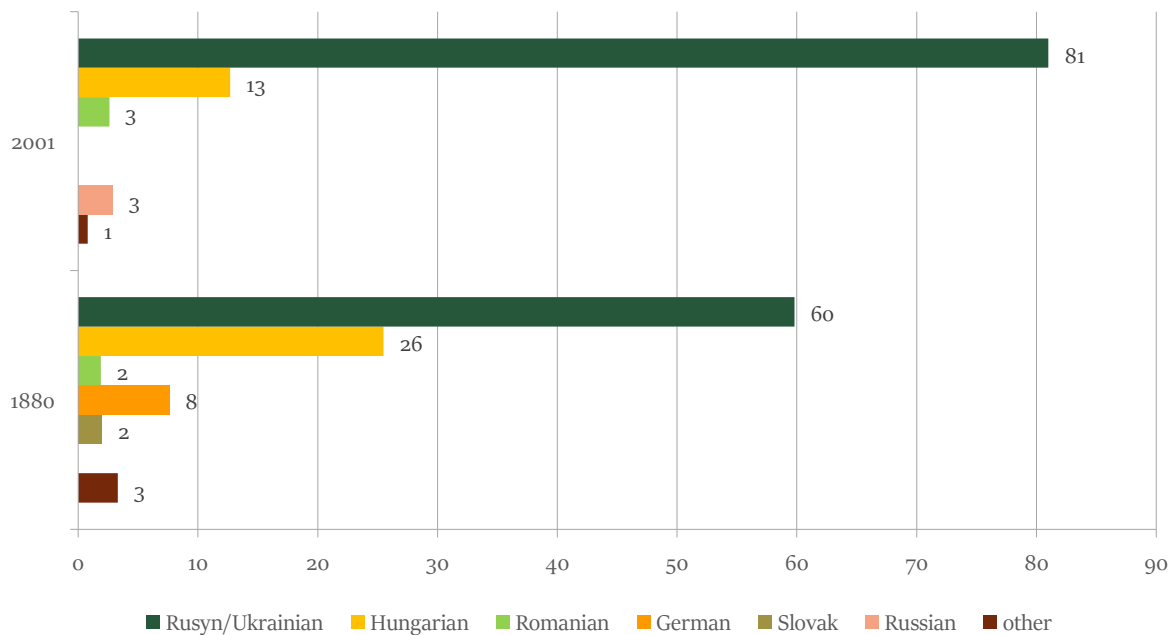
Sources: Molnár–Molnár D. (2005)

Figure 3. Changes in the percentage of Hungarians in today's Transcarpathia in the light of official census data (1880–2001)
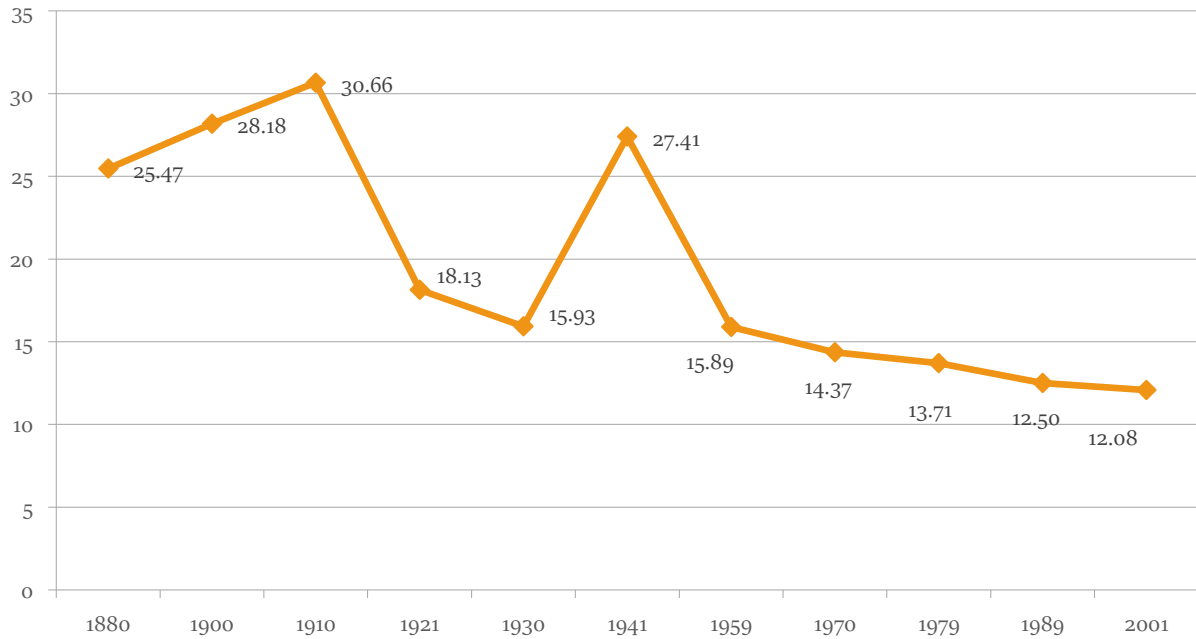
Source: Csernicskó (2013: 19).

Figure 4. Population development of Ukraine and Transcarpathia and the number of Hungarians in Transcarpathia between 1959 and 2001
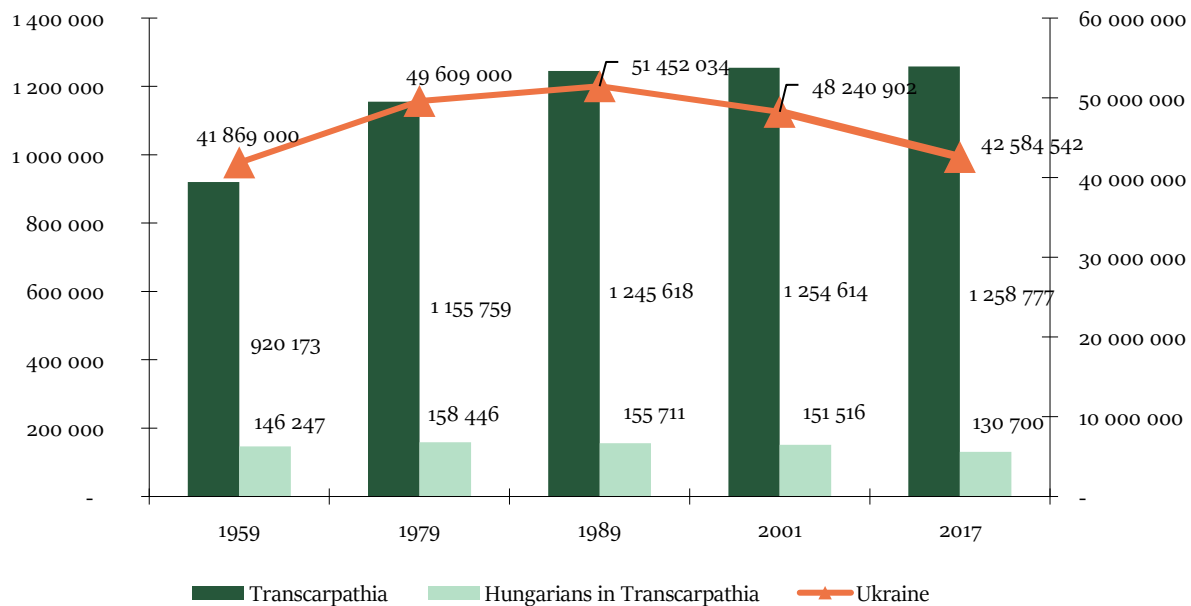
Source: Csernicskó et al. (2020a: 9). Compiled on the basis of: Csernicskó (2013: 203), Molnár–Molnár D. (2005: 9), Tátrai et al. (2018a, 2018b).

Figure 5. Number of speakers of minority languages in Ukraine according to the 2001 census

Language	Speakers
Crimean Tatar	231 382
Moldavian	185 032
Hungarian	161 618
Romanian	142 671
Bulgarian	134 396
Belarusian	56 249
Armenian	51 847
Gagauz	23 765
Romani	22 603
Polish	19 195
Rusyn/Ruthenian	6 725
Greek	6 029
German	4 206
Yiddish	3 307
Slovak	2 768
Karaim	96
Krymchak	21

Russian: 14,273,670
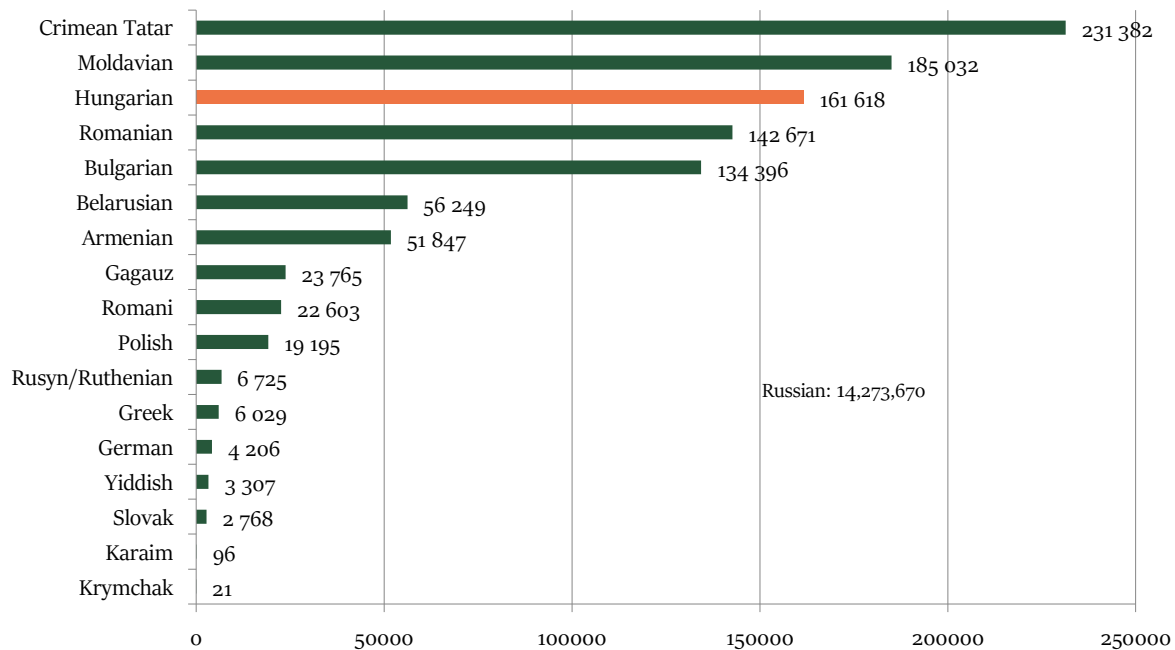
Source: Beregszászi–Csernicskó–Ferenc (2014: 7).

96.8% of Hungarians living in Ukraine and 98.2% of Hungarian native speakers live in a single region: Transcarpathia. In this region, the Hungarians formed the largest community (151,516 people, 12.1%) after the Ukrainians (80.5%) (Molnár–Molnár D. 2005: 20–21). The number of native Hungarian speakers was 158,729, the proportion was 12.7% in 2001. The number of Hungarian native speakers exceeded the number of Hungarians by 7,213 (Molnár 2009: 202).

The majority of Hungarians in Transcarpathia (62%) still live in settlements where the Hungarians form an absolute majority (Figure 6 and Map 4).

Hungarian and Ukrainian national color decoration on the main square of Berehove

Figure 6. Distribution of Hungarians in terms of the ethnic composition of the settlements in Transcarpathia based on the data of the 2001 census (%)

- ■ Higher than 75% (Hungarian dominance)
- ■ Between 50% and 75% (Hungarian majority)
- ■ Between 10% and 50% (Hungarian minority)
- ■ the proportion of Hungarians is below 10%, their number is over 100 (diaspora)
- ■ Hungarians are under 10%, less than 100 (people living in diaspora)
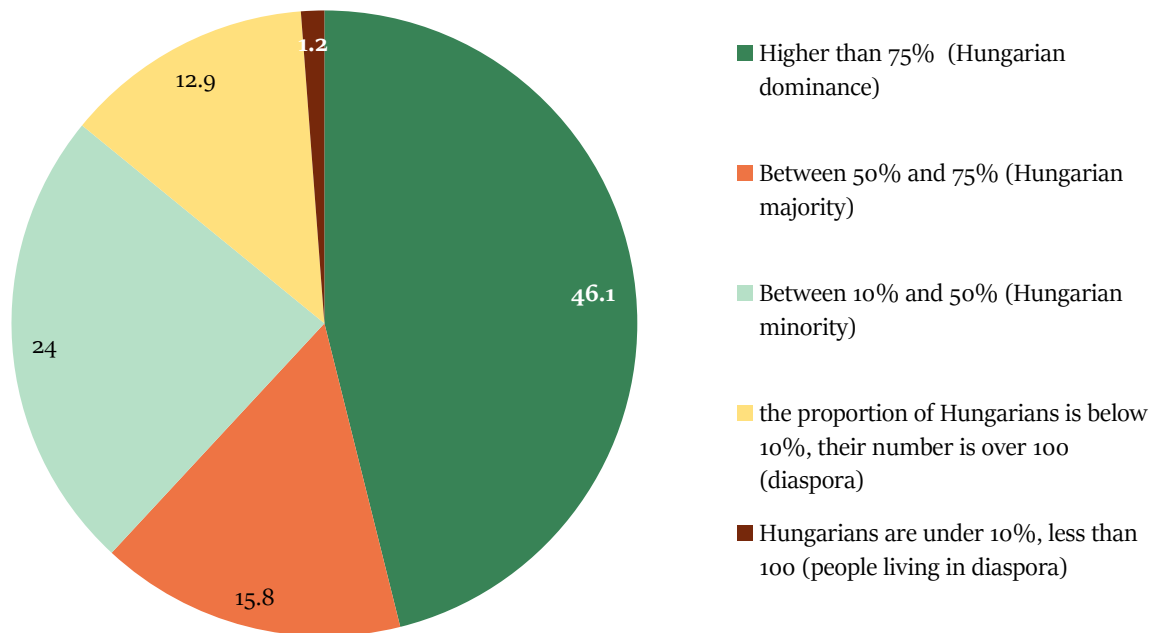
Source: Csernicskó (2017a: 247). Compiled on the basis of: Gyurgyík–Horváth–Kiss (2010: 89–90).

Map 4. Composition of the population in Transcarpathia according to the mother tongue – based on the data of the 2001 census
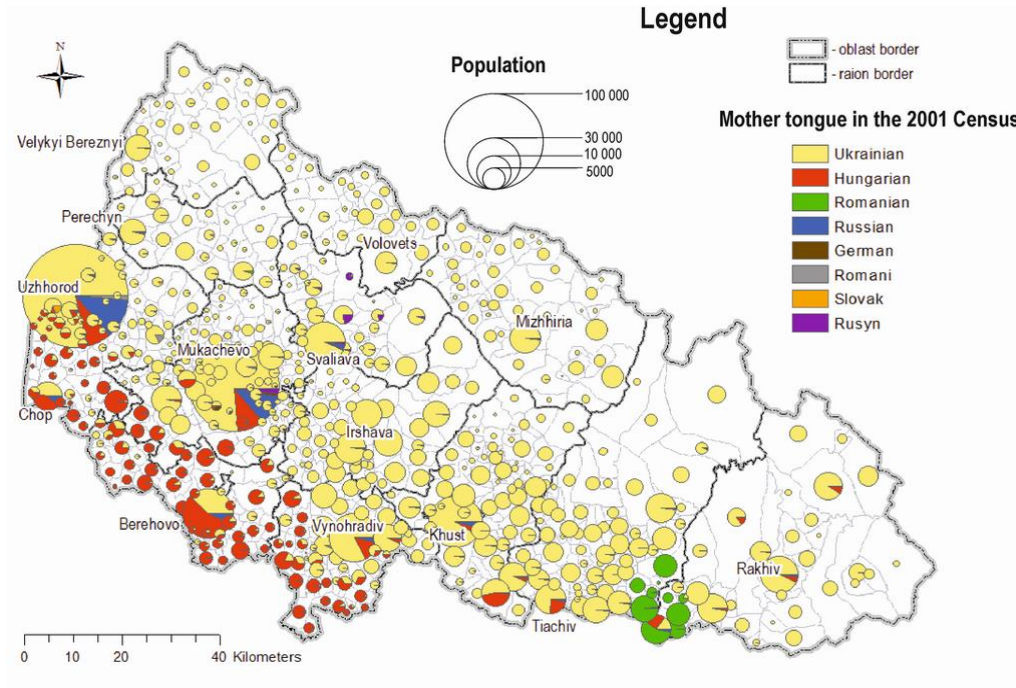
Made by: István Molnár D.

According to Tátrai (2017: 26), between 1996 and 1999, 19–24% of Hungarians entered into mixed marriages. According to the 2001 census 27.6% of marriages with Hungarian participation were ethnically mixed (Molnár 2015: 59). 53% of those born in mixed Ukrainian-Hungarian marriages identified as Hungarians during the 2001 census (Molnár 2016: 169).

However, the demographic conditions of Hungarians in Transcarpathia in the period since 2001 (and especially after the outbreak of the armed conflict in eastern Ukraine in 2014) may have significantly changed the wave of emigration of thousands of Hungarian youngsters (mainly to Hungary) (Figure 7, Karácsonyi–Kincses 2010, 2020, Tátrai–Erőss–Kovály 2016, Tátrai 2017: 20, Tátrai et al. 2018a, 2018b, 2020).

As the Ukrainian government has not organized a census since 2001, in 2017 social researchers conducted empirical research to assess the demographic characteristics of the Hungarian population living in Transcarpathia. The project was named SUMMA 2017 (Tátrai et al. 2018a, 2018b, 2020). From the data obtained during the survey, it was established that in 2017 the number of Hungarians in Transcarpathia was about 125.2 thousand. Adding the number of Roma who consider themselves to be of Hungarian nationality, the number of Hungarians in Transcarpathia can be estimated at 130.7 thousand (Tátrai et al. 2018b: 19–20, 2020: 27). Compared to the 2001 census (151.5 thousand people), the number of the Hungarian population in Transcarpathia decreased by 13.7%. The average annual rate of this loss is more favorable than in other Hungarian communities in the Carpathian Basin (Tátrai et al. 2018b: 20, 2020: 27–28). The decrease is mainly (approximately 70%) due to migration, while 30% of the decrease is due to natural decline (negative population growth). The data of SUMMA 2017 revealed that assimilation - "in a unique way at the level of the Carpathian Basin" - does not significantly affect the decrease of the Hungarian population (Tátrai et al. 2018b: 24–25, 2020: 42). Since 2001, there have been generally unfavorable demographic trends for the Hungarians in Transcarpathia, but it is important to point out that the demographic characteristics are relatively favorable compared to other parts of the Carpathian Basin (Tátrai et al. 2020: 42).

Figure 7. The annual number of emigrants between 2002 and 2016 within the Hungarian population in Transcarpathia (SUMMA Research 2017)

■ People moving to Hungary	■ People moving to another country	
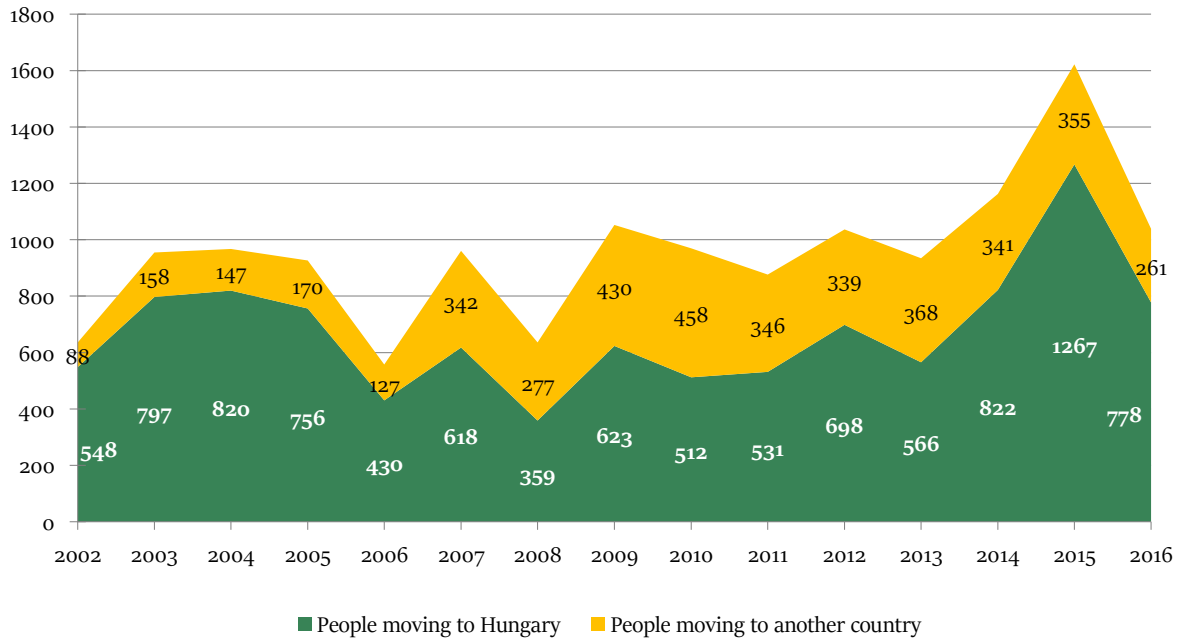
2. The Hungarian language in education

Hungarian-language medium education has a long tradition in today's Transcarpathia: Hungarian schools operated here even when the region belonged to Czechoslovakia or the Soviet Union (Csernicskó 2012, 2013). The independent Ukraine has also enabled the operation and even development of the Hungarian-language education system (Figure 8, Beregszászi–Csernicskó–Orosz 2001, Csernicskó 2012, 2013, Csernicskó–Orosz 2019, Orosz 2012). In 2019/2020, nearly 16,000 children studied in Hungarian in 97 Hungarian schools in Transcarpathia.

However, not all Hungarians study in their mother tongue. The higher the level of education is, the more Hungarian children and young people study in the official language of the state (Figure 9). Some students chose to study in the state language; however, there are also those who are forced to do so, because there is no Hungarian kindergarten or school in their settlement, or near to their place of residence (Orosz 2007).

Entrance to the Berehujfalu Primary School

Figure 8. The number of pupils in Hungarian-language medium schools and the number of children enrolled in the first grades of Hungarian-language medium schools in Transcarpathia between 1987 and 2020
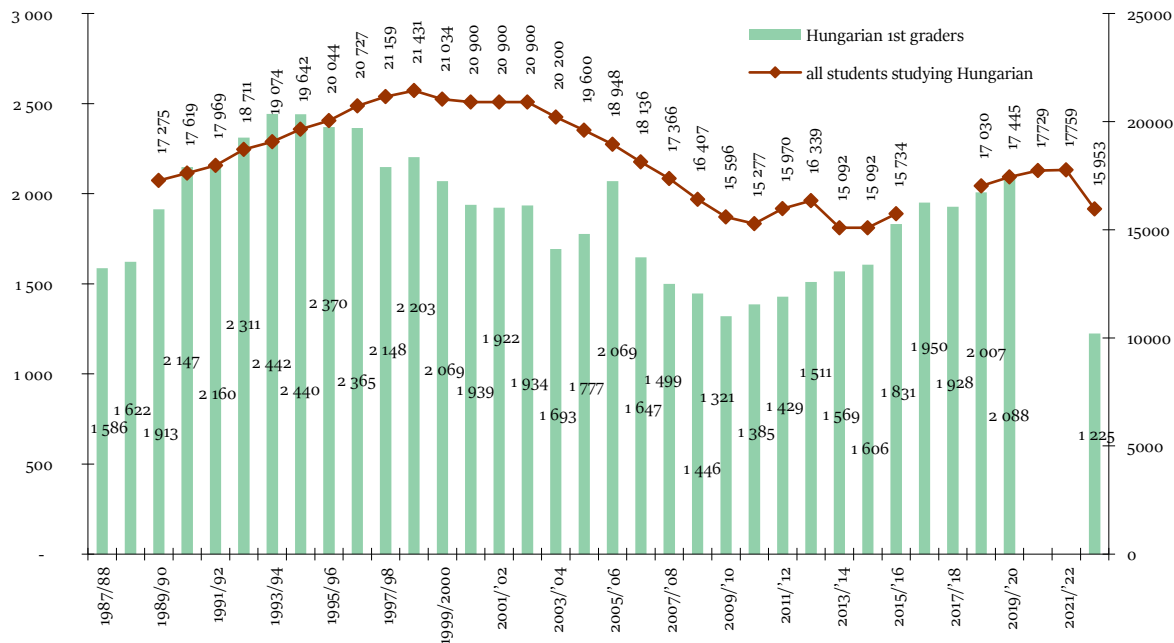
Source: Csernicskó et al. (2020a: 14). Compiled on the basis of: Csernicskó–Orosz (2019: 31) and the Database of the Hungarian Teachers' Association of Transcarpathia

Figure 9. Percentage of students who learn in Hungarian and majority languages at each level of education based on Tandem 2016 research (N = 362)
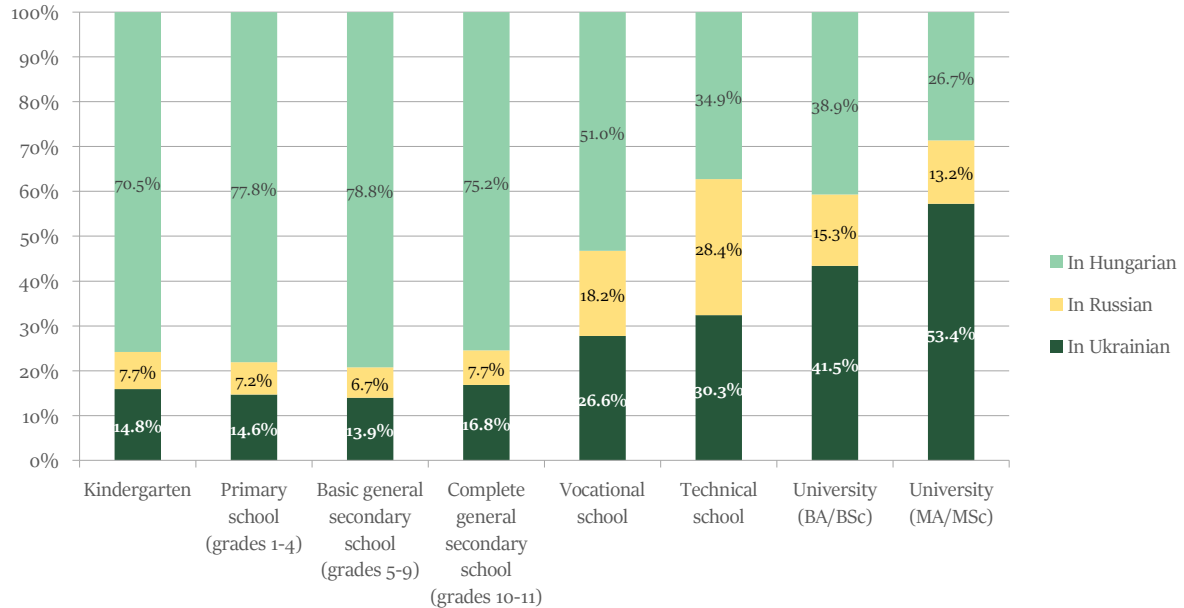
Source: based on Csernicskó–Hires-László (2019: 74)

However, mother tongue medium education is an extremely important factor in the language maintenance efforts of Hungarians in Transcarpathia. During the first and so far only census in the history of independent Ukraine in 2001, the nationality and mother tongue of the informants were also asked. Table 2 shows the correlation between the ethnic and mother tongue indicators of 6 minority communities in Ukraine. It is striking that among minorities in Ukraine that have a network of mother tongue medium educational institutions (such as Hungarians and Romanians), the degree of language assimilation is low, as the proportion of those with the same nationality and mother tongue is very high. However, in the case of minorities who can only learn in their mother tongue at the lower levels of education (such as Belarusians or Poles), many have only a sense of national origin, but already speak another language than their mother tongue, such as Russian or Ukrainian. And for those minorities who do not have any formal education in their mother tongue at all, but only have the opportunity to learn their language as a subject at school, possibly in Sunday schools, the language shift has practically already taken place.

Thus, when Kyiv – through the Law on Education 2017 (ЗУ2017), the State Language Law 2019 (ЗУ2019) and the Secondary Education Law 2020 (ЗУ2020) – narrows the scope and coverage of mother tongue education, reduces the chances and opportunities of minority community survival. Roter and Busch after examining language rights in the light of the work of the Advisory Board of the Framework Convention (2018: 165) state in their study in 2018 in Ukraine, "exclusive nation-building (the so-called Ukrainization) is very strongly aimed at supporting Ukrainian as the only legitimate language of public communication, at the expense of other languages – especially Russian, but also other minority languages.

These are seen as an "additional loss" but are no less painful for speakers of minority languages. This process is demonstrated by the Law of Ukraine of 2017 "On Education" (Article 7). According to linguistic human rights experts, "Secondary education in the mother tongue allows the group to continue to exist as a group" (Kontra–Lewis–Skutnabb-Kangas 2016: 227).

Table 2. The relationship between the preservation of the mother tongue and education in the mother tongue in the case of 6 minority communities in Ukraine (based on the 2001 census data)

	Nationality (per capita)	Their proportion within the country's population (%)	Their nationality and mother tongue are the same (%)	Do they have a mother tongue medium education system?
Hungarian	156 566	0,32	95,44	Yes
Romanian	150 989	0,31	91,74	Yes
Belarusian	275 763	0,57	19,79	Partially
Polish	144 130	0,30	12,95	Partially
Greek	91 548	0,19	6,37	No
Jewish	103 591	0,21	3,10	No

When Transcarpathia became part of the Soviet Union after World War II, Ukrainian medium education continued uninterrupted, but Hungarian secondary schools could only open in 1953 after Stalin's death. From then on, however, Hungarians of Transcarpathia could study in their mother tongue, in Hungarian, from the first grade until graduation. Both Ukrainians and Hungarians had the right to choose the language of instruction in Soviet Ukraine.

Ukraine became an independent state in 1991. The new state continued to guarantee the right to mother tongue medium education for minorities. From 1991 to the present day, the Hungarian-medium education system has been constantly evolving, and today there are a hundred schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction in Ukraine, where more than 17,000 children can study in their mother tongue. However, the new laws passed after 2017 restrict the use of the Hungarian language in education. From 2021, Russian-language schools have been abolished, and from 2023, from the 5th grade onwards, more and more subjects will be required to be taught in Ukrainian in schools that still teach in Hungarian at the moment (Table 3).

The Ukrainian State abolishes the institutional autonomy of educational establishments (kindergartens, schools) with regional or minority languages of instruction (since it only allows the functioning of classes in minority languages) – this comes as a consequence of the Article 21 of the State Language Law, Article 7 of the new Law on Education of 2017, and Article 5 of the Law on General Secondary Education. This is an obvious case of discrimination. Thus, pursuant to the three above-mentioned laws, Ukrainian-medium groups and classes shall be opened in kindergartens and schools providing education in Russian, Hungarian, Romanian, Moldovan and Polish languages (whether or not parents wish so). In many municipalities, it is difficult to implement this provision in practice. For example, according to official census data from 2001, there are 44 municipalities in Transcarpathia where the proportion of Hungarian native speakers exceed 90 percent. In kindergartens and schools of these villages Ukrainian-medium groups and classes shall also be established.

As most of these municipalities have small populations, there is no realistic possibility for setting up parallel – Ukrainian- and Hungarian-medium – groups and classes in kindergartens and schools. This, in turn, may lead to the closure of institutions and the dissolution of Hungarian-medium groups/classes, which endangers the survival of Hungarian as a regional or minority language.

In those municipalities where parallel Ukrainian- and Hungarian-medium classes will be established, the use of regional or minority language will necessarily be reduced. In practice, it is inconceivable that every kindergarten and school ceremony and public event is conducted in both languages (for example, it is not possible to keep the attention of the children indefinitely by saying everything in Ukrainian as well as Hungarian). And if there is a need to choose between the languages (for example, pursuant to enforcement measures of State Language Law), the kindergarten or school management will most likely decide to use the State language.

While the Ukrainian government wants to push back the appearance of the Hungarian language in education, people are demanding education in the Hungarian language. In recent years, thousands of people have applied for our Hungarian as a foreign language courses in almost 50 settlements in Transcarpathia (Figure 10).

The need for education in Hungarian is indicated by the fact that the Commissioner for the Protection of the State Language launched an investigation because the child of one of the Ukrainian-speaking parents was not admitted to a Hungarian-language kindergarten. However, the Commissioner did not complain about the lack of space in Hungarian kindergarten groups in Vinohradyv, but wanted to expose the alleged discrimination against Ukrainian native speakers.

Table 3. The proportion of the mother tongue (Ukrainian and Hungarian) in the educational process (%)

	Ukrainian				Hungarian			
	1946–1952	1953–1990	1991–2022	since 2023	1946–1952	1953–1990	1991–2022	since 2023
1–4 classes	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
5th class	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	*80*
9th class	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	*60*
10–11 (12) classes	100	100	100	100	*0*	100	100	*40*

Source: Antal Hodinka Linguistics Research Center (2021: 29)

Figure 10. Number of participants in 120-hour Hungarian as a foreign language courses (2016–2021)

In the 2020/21 school year, there were 874 schools in Ukraine where the language of instruction was a minority or regional language: 203 with one language, 670 with two languages and 1 with three languages.

203

73 Hungarian
69 Romanian
55 Russian
4 Polish
1 Moldovan
1 German

671

603 Russian and Ukrainian
27 Hungarian and Ukrainian
19 Romanian and Ukrainian
16 Moldovan and Ukrainian
2 Polish and Ukrainian
1 Bulgarian and Ukrainian
1 Crimean Tatar and Ukrainian
1 Slovak and Ukrainian
1 Russian, Crimean Tatar and Ukrainian
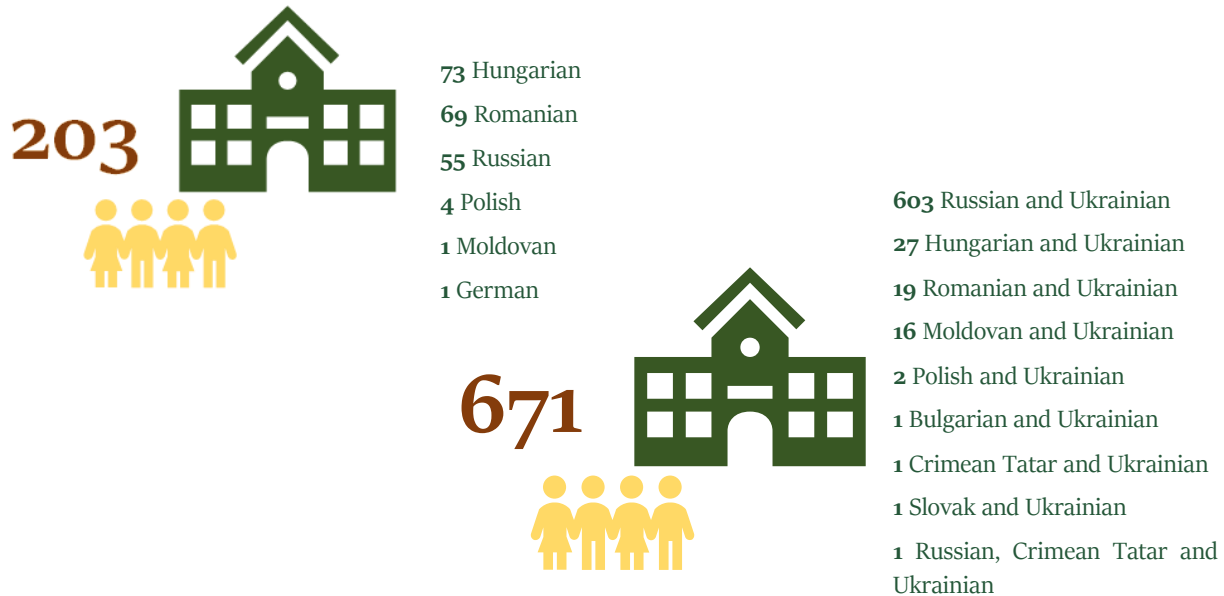
The elimination of the autonomy of institutions providing education in regional or minority languages removes these languages from a very important sphere.

203
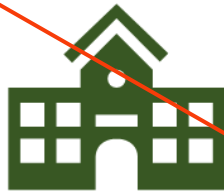
73 Hungarian
69 Romanian
55 Russian
4 Polish
1 Moldovan
1 German
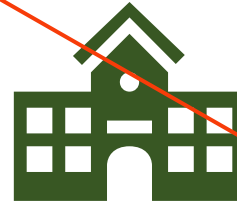
671

603 Russian and Ukrainian
27 Hungarian and Ukrainian
19 Romanian and Ukrainian
16 Moldovan and Ukrainian
2 Polish and Ukrainian
1 Bulgarian and Ukrainian
1 Crimean Tatar and Ukrainian
1 Slovak and Ukrainian
1 Russian, Crimean Tatar and Ukrainian

Transcarpathia did not have a long tradition of Hungarian-language medium higher education. The State University of Uzhhorod (now the Uzhhorod National University), established in 1945, has been training the Hungarian language and literature philologists since 1963, but there was no Hungarian-language education at the university in other fields (Beregszászi–Csernicskó–Orosz 2001: 51–52, Orosz 2005: 175).

Due to Russian being the language of higher education in the Soviet Union, Slavic speakers were in a better position (Orosz 2005, 2019). From the data of the 2001 census, it can be clearly seen that the proportion of people with Russian education who had a higher education was the highest in Ukraine, and that the number of non-Slavic (Moldovan, Hungarian, Romanian) speakers was the lowest (Figure 11).

Educational discrimination is indicated by the fact that, according to a survey of a representative sample of Ukrainians and Hungarians living in the region, people of Ukrainian nationality in Transcarpathia have better education rates than Hungarians (Figure 12).

The building of the Ferenc Rakoczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian College of Higher Education
(Photo by: László Fülöp)

Figure 11. Percentage of people with higher education in Ukraine by nationality based on 2001 census data

Russian	Belarusian	Ukrainian	Polish	Bulgarian	Moldavian	Hungarian	Romanian
19.4%	16.1%	12.4%	11.7%	10.6%	5.4%	5.2%	4.2%
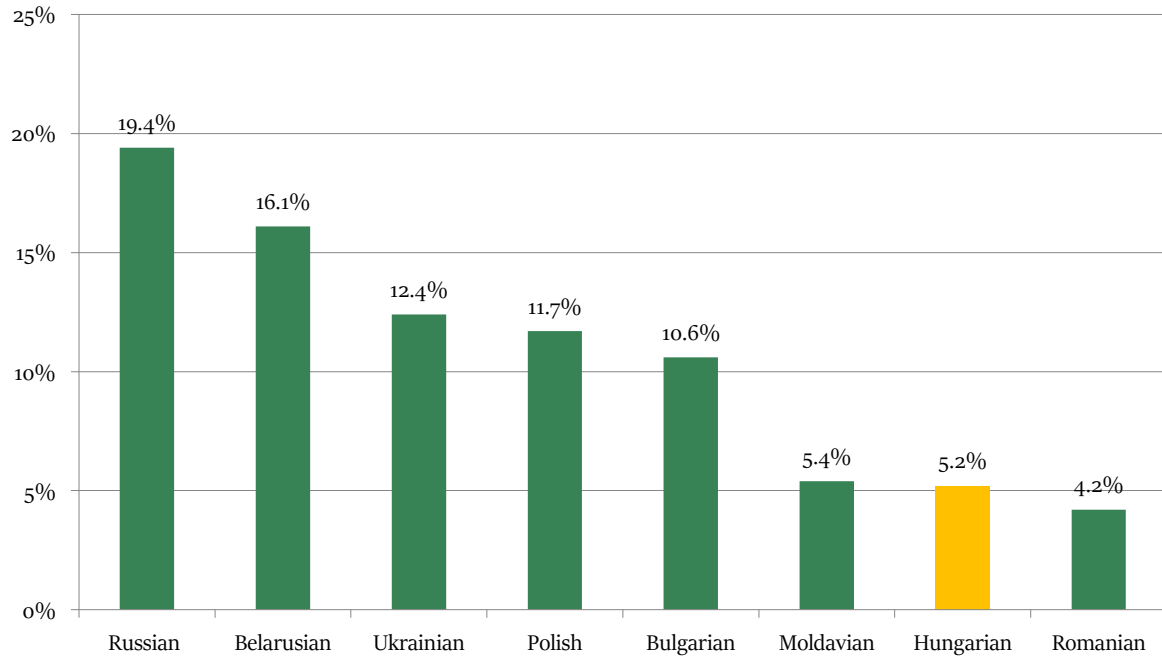
Source: Csernicskó et al. (2020a: 16).

Figure 12. Educational indicators of Hungarians and Ukrainians in Transcarpathia based on Tandem 2016 data
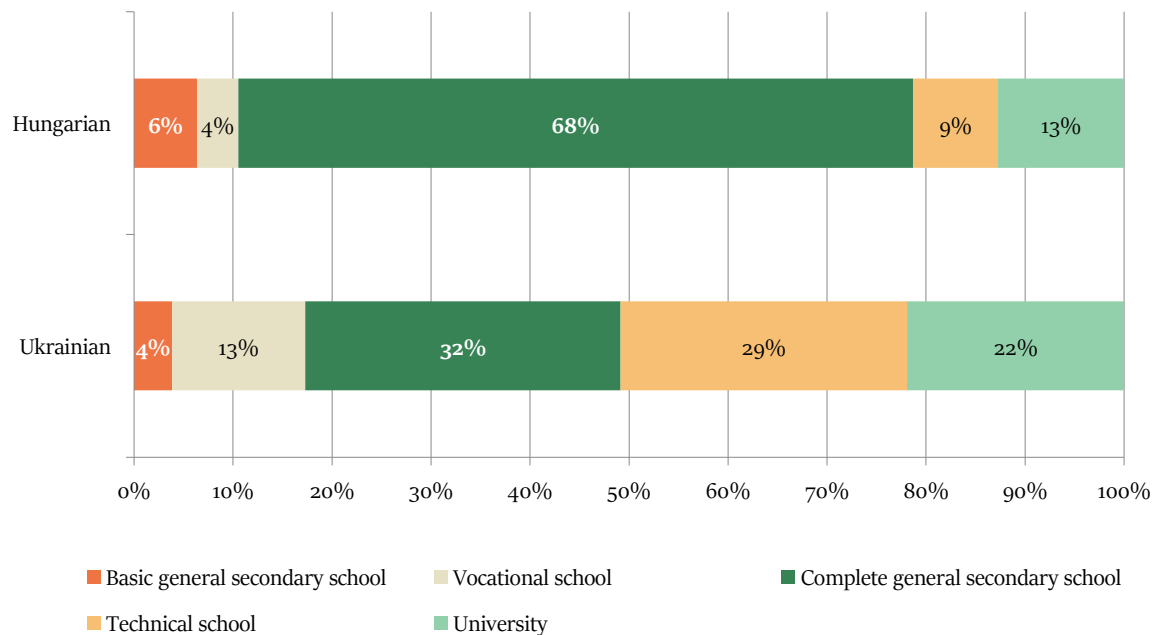
Source: Csernicskó et al. (2020a: 17).

After the founding of the Ferenc Rakoczi II Hungarian College of Transcarpathia in 1996, its first graduates were released in 2001 (Beregszász–Csernicskó–Orosz 2001: 53–58, Orosz 2005: 178). Compared to the students of the Hungarian-Ukrainian Institute of Education and Science of the National University of Uzhorod, the graduates of the Hungarian-language college significantly improved the educational attainment of the Hungarian population in Transcarpathia: the proportion of people with higher education in Transcarpathia especially among the younger generations (Figure 13).

Through the new Law on Education (ЗУ2017) voted in 2017 and related legislation, Ukraine aims to reduce the role of the mother tongues at all levels of education and direct citizens towards training in the Ukrainian language. As a result of the new legislation, from 2023 onwards, and from 1 September 2020 in the case of Russian-language institutions, children will no longer be able to learn some of their subjects in their mother tongue (Table 4). In the cells of Table 3, 100% means that all other subjects are still taught in the mother tongue today, with the exception of foreign language lessons and Ukrainian language and literature lessons.

Nameplate in Ukrainian and Hungarian on the building of the Berehove Education Department

Figure 13. The highest educational attainment among Hungarians in Transcarpathia by age group in the light of SUMMA 2017 research data

Legend: less than general, general, secondary, higher
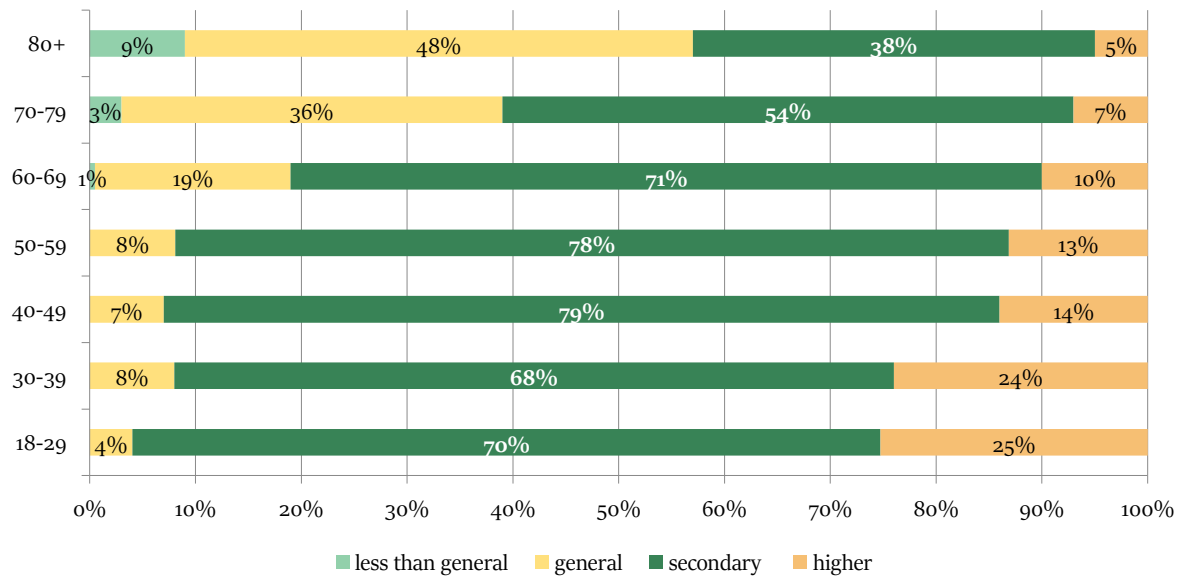
Source: Tátrai et al. (2020: 38).

Table 4. Maximum proportion of mother tongue at different levels of public education under section 7 of the Law on Education of 2017, section 5 of the General Secondary Education Law and section 21 of the State Language Law

	Forms 1-4	Form 5	Form 9	Forms 10-12	Whom does it concern?
representatives of the majority nation	100	100	100	100	Ukrainians
indigenous people	100	100	100	100	Crimean Tartars
national minorities whose language is an official language in the EU	100	80	60	40	Hungarians, Romanians
national minorities whose language is NOT an official language in the EU	100	20	20	20	Russians, Belarusians

Source: Brenzovics et al. (2020: 51).

3. Churches and the possibilities of using the Hungarian language

Based on our data from contemporary censuses, we can see what the religious composition of the region's population was at the beginning of the 20th century (Map 5).

The census in Ukraine does not include data on the religious and denominational composition of the population. However, we know from various sociological surveys that the majority of the population of Ukraine is Eastern Christian, i.e Orthodox (Table 5), but the absolute majority of Hungarians are believers in Western Christian churches. Most of the Hungarians in Transcarpathia are Reformed (Calvinist), but a significant proportion are Roman or Greek Catholic (Figure 14, 15, 16, Csernicskó–Soós 2002: 126, Veres–Ruff 2018: 400).

The reformed church in Vary

Map 5. Distribution of religious denominations in Transcarpathia based on the data of the 1941 census
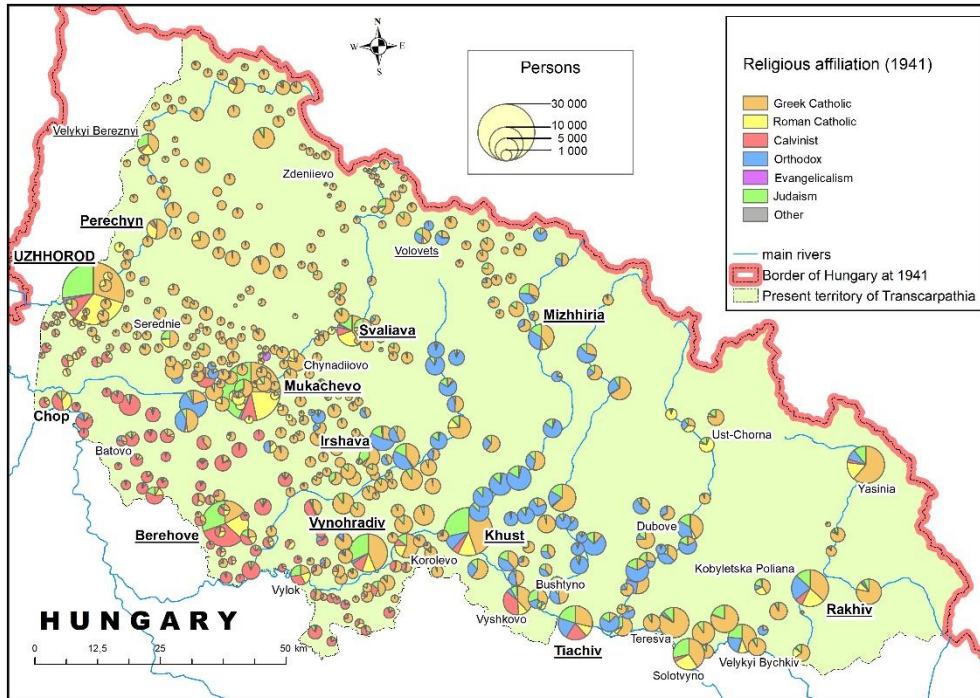
Made by: István Molnár D.

Table 5. Distribution of the population of Ukraine by ecclesiastical denomination based on the data of a sociological survey (2019)

Church denomination	%
Orthodox	79%
Roman Catholic	1%
Greek Catholic	9%
Protestant	1%
other	3%
atheist	4%
no answer	3%
total	100%

Source: Csernicskó et al. (2020a: 22). Compiled on the basis of: Конфесійна структура населення України... (2019)

Figure 14. The denominational composition of the Hungarian community in Transcarpathia based on the data of various sociological researches
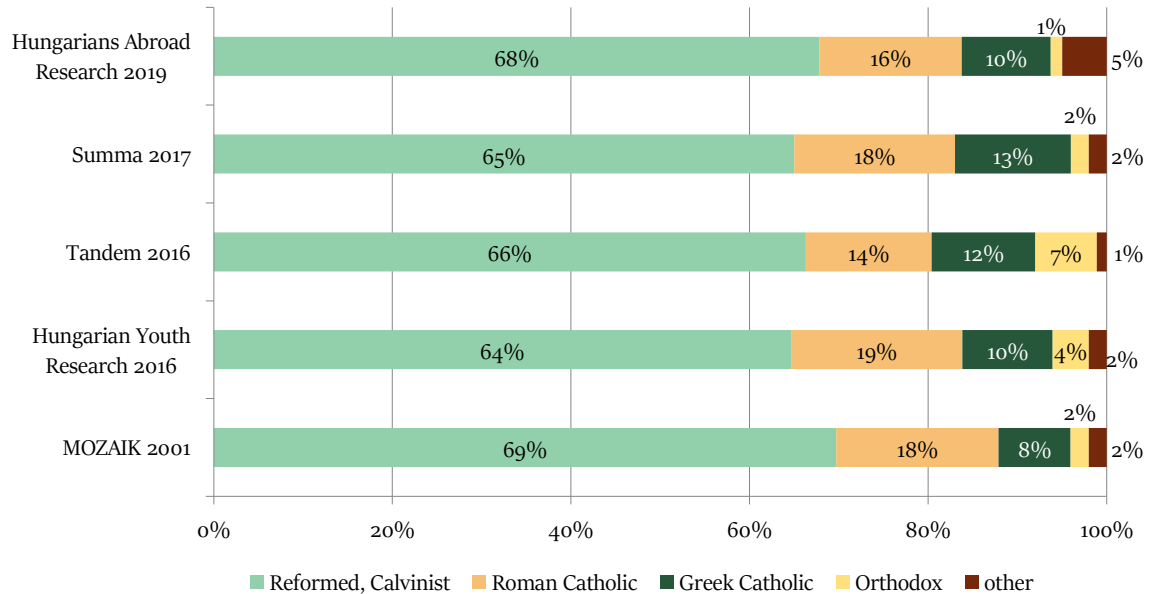
Source: Csernicskó et al. (2020a: 23).

Figure 15. Frequency of church visits of Hungarians in Transcarpathia in 2007 and 2016 (%)
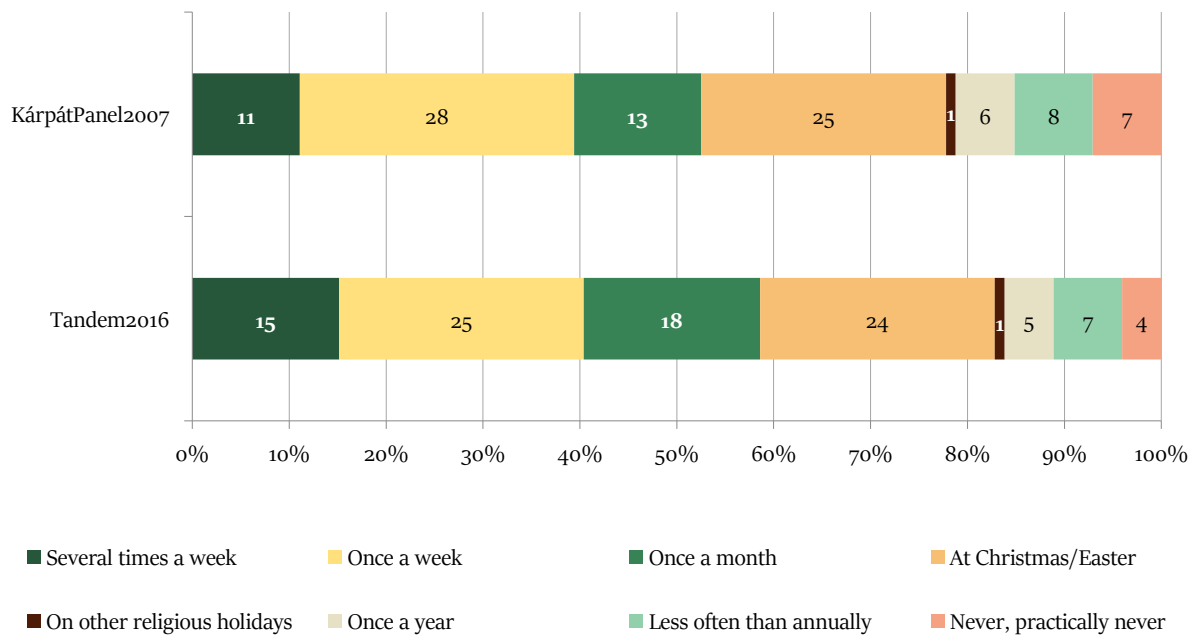
Source: Hires-László (2021: 777)

Figure 16. Church attendance of Transcarpathian Hungarian youth based on sociological research in 2001 and 2016

MOZAIK2001: 11% several times a week, 21% once every week, 16% two or three times a month, 6% once a month, 31% a few times a year, 6% once a year, 7% less often than annually, 3% never

Hungarian Youth Research 2016: 11% several times a week, 23% once every week, 22% two or three times a month, 10% once a month, 21% a few times a year, 6% once a year, 5% less often than annually, 2% never

Legend:
- several times a week
- once every week
- two or three times a month
- once a month
- a few times a year
- once a year
- less often than annually
- never

Source: Hires-László (2021: 777)

4. Language rights, policies

The territory of th present-day Transcarpathia was divided during the 20th century by several states, each with its own language policy. Different languages in the region had state and/or official status in different political eras. Until the treaties that ended the First World War (in the Kingdom of Hungary belonging to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy), Hungarian was the state language; between 1918 and 1938 the state language was the „Czechoslovakian Language". At that time, although Ruthenian autonomy was not realized in practice, Ruthenian was also an official language in the territory of Podkarpatska Rus. In Carpathian Ukraine (1939), Ukrainian was defined as the state language. For a short period of time (1938/1939–1945), Hungarian and Ruthenian were once again the languages used as the state language/official languages in the area of present-day Transcarpathia. In the pseudo-state known as Transcarpathian Ukraine, both Ukrainian and Russian were used as official languages. Although the Soviet Union did not have an official state language codified in the constitution or language law, from 1945 until Ukraine's independence (or the adoption of the Ukrainian language law in 1989), Russian practically performed this function, and Ukrainian functioned as an official language alongside Russian in the USSR. In the territory of Ukraine, which became independent in 1991, Ukrainian became the only state language and official language (for more information, see Csernicskó 2013, 2016, 2017a, Csernicskó–Fedinec 2014, Fedinec–Fisherman–Tóth 2016, Fedinec–Vehes Editor-in-Chief 2010: 553–627, Vehes–Fedinec Editor-in-Chief 2010: 629–703).

According to an internationally well-known anecdote, a Transcarpathian uncle turned up in several states during his lifetime without moving out of his native village (Batt 2002). These state changes have always been accompanied by a change in the state language/official language. In other words, most of the people living in Transcarpathia have personally lived at least two states with two different official languages.

Language policy also determines the status and use of minority languages. According to Heinz Kloss (1967: 15), the legal status of languages can be characterized by six levels (Table 6):

- (5) The language of a minority throughout the country is the state language or an official language.
- (4) The official language of a smaller or larger regional unit (part of a country, province, autonomous region, county, district).
- (3) The use of the language in public communication is allowed, it appears in education, cultural life, in the press, in some cases it can also be used in official situations, although the language has no official status.
- (2) The use of language is tolerated in private life, possibly in church life and in private schools, but may not (or only to a limited extent) be used in state-controlled settings.
- (1) The use of the language is prohibited by laws and regulations.
- (0) They do not recognize the existence or independence of language.

Bilingual (Ukrainian-Hungarian) inscription on the building of the Berehove Cultural Center

Table 6. Legal status of the languages used in today's Transcarpathia (1868–2020) on a 6-point scale

Languages → States ↓	Ruthenian	Ukrainian	Hungarian	Russian	Slovak	Romanian	Gipsy	Yiddish
Kingdom of Hungary in Austro-Hungarian Monarchy	3	3	5	3	3	3	0	0
(First) Czechoslovak Republic	4	4	3	3	5	3	2	3
Czechoslovak Republic	2	4	3	3	5	3	2	3
Carpatho-Ukraine	2	5	2	3	2	2	2	2
Kingdom of Hungary	4	1	5	3	2	2	2	2
Ukrainian Transcarpathia	0	5	2	5	2	2	2	2
Soviet Union	0	4	3	5	3	2	2	2
Ukraine (1991–2012)	0	5	3	3	3	3	2	2
Ukraine (2012–2018)	2	5	4	3	3	3	2	2
Ukraine (2019-)	0	5	2	2	2	2	2	2

Source: Csernicskó (2013: 435). Compiled on the basis of: Nádor (2002) and Csernicskó (1998)

And although Kloss (1967: 15) does not mention this, there are also cases when the existence or independent status of a language is not recognized. We consider this to be the lowest (zero) degree.

The summary table shows that:

- The legal status of the languages used in today's Transcarpathia has changed several times over the last hundred years.
- None of the languages used in the region have had a constant status over the last hundred years.
- State turns have rearranged the hierarchy between languages in all cases.
- The official language has changed 6 times in the last hundred years, bringing change in all cases, forcing people in the region to adapt.
- If we take a closer look at the status of the Hungarian language and its changes, we can see that its language policy situation in the independent Ukraine is not constant either.
- The Language Law of 2012 brought a favorable change, but the state language law passed in 2019 also reduced the status of the Hungarian language in Transcarpathia compared to the state of 1991.
- Over the last century, several state formations have made it possible for minority languages to be used as official languages at regional and/or local level.
- The Ukrainian State Language Law of 2019 revoked the regional official language status of the Hungarian language, and the language cannot be used as an official language in the work of county, district or local governments, not even in the settlements inhabited by nearly one hundred percent Hungarians (Table 7).

Table 7. Language(s) serving as official language at national, regional and local level in today's Transcarpathia (1868–2023)

	at the national (imperial) level	regional level	at the local (municipal) level
Kingdom of Hungary in Austro-Hungarian Monarchy	German	Hungarian	the language of the local majority
(First) Czechoslovak Republic	Czechoslovak	Czechoslovak, Rusyn/Ruthenian	besides Czechoslovak, the language whose speakers reached 20%
Czechoslovak Republic	Czechoslovak	Czechoslovak, Rusyn/Ruthenian	the language whose speakers reached 20%
Carpatho-Ukraine	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	Ukrainian
Kingdom of Hungary	Hungarian	Hungarian, Hungarian-Russian (Rusyn/Ruthenian)	Hungarian, Hungarian-Russian (Rusyn/Ruthenian)
Ukrainian Transcarpathia	Russian, Ukrainian	Russian, Ukrainian	Russian, Ukrainian
Soviet Union	Russian, Ukrainian	Ukrainian	Russian, Ukrainian
Ukraine (1991–2012)	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	besides Ukrainian, the language of a national minority which exceeds 50%
Ukraine (2012–2018)	Ukrainian	Ukrainian, Hungarian	in addition to Ukrainian, the language whose native speakers reach a 10% ratio
Ukraine (2019–)	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	Ukrainian

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

The status of minority languages, including Hungarian, may change or decrease even today, in the 21st century, because current international law unfortunately does not codify adequate protection mechanisms for speakers of minority languages. Ukraine, for example, is not fully meeting its commitments under the 2017 ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, according to the 2017 monitoring of the Council of Europe's Committee of Experts (CE2017).

The Committee of Experts used a 4-point scale in its assessment of liabilities:

- (4): Implemented: policies, legislation and practice meet the requirements of the Charter.
- (3): Partially fulfilled: policies and legislation fully or partially comply with the provisions of the Charter, but the commitment is only partially implemented in practice.
- (2): Formally fulfilled: policies and legislation are in line with the Charter, but commitments have not been implemented in practice.
- (1): Not fulfilled: no action has been taken by the authorities in the field of policy, law and practice to fulfill the obligation, or the Committee of Experts has not received any information on their implementation for several monitoring cycles.

Examining the report of the Committee of Experts issued in 2017 (CE2017), it turns out that Ukraine has not fully fulfilled its commitments during the ratification of the Charter. Based on the articles in its section II and III, Tables 8-15 summarize how the Committee of Experts assessed Ukraine's compliance with its obligations in Chapter 2 of its 2017 report.

Table 8. Fulfillment of the commitments undertaken in the ratification of the Charter in Ukraine according to the independent evaluation of CE2017 – Article 7 of the Charter: Objectives and Principles

	1.a	1.b	1.c	1.d	1.e	1.f	1.g	1.h	1.i	2.	3.	4.
Belarusian	4	4	1	1	–	1	1	3	3	4	3	3
Bulgarian	4	4	3	3	–	3	1	3	3	4	3	3
Crimean Tatar	4	4	-	3	–	3	4	4	–	4	4	–
Gagauz	4	4	3	3	–	3	1	4	1	4	3	3
German	4	4	1	3	–	3	4	3	3	4	3	3
Greek	4	4	1	3	–	3	4	3	3	4	3	3
Hungarian	4	3	3	3	–	3	3	4	3	4	3	3
Moldovan	4	4	1	3	–	3	4	3	3	4	3	3
Polish	4	4	3	3	–	3	4	3	3	4	3	3
Romanian	4	4	3	3	–	3	1	4	3	4	3	3
Russian	4	4	3	4	–	4	4	4	4	4	3	3
Slovak	4	4	1	3	–	3	1	3	3	4	3	3
Yiddish	4	4	1	1	–	3	1	3	1	4	3	3
Karaim	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Krimchak	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Romani	4	4	1	3	–	1	1	1	1	4	3	3
Ruthenian	3	4	1	1	–	1	1	1	1	4	3	1

Source: Csernicskó et al. (2020b: 77).

Table 9. Fulfillment of the commitments undertaken in the ratification of the Charter in Ukraine according to the independent evaluation of CE2017 – Article 8 of the Charter: Education

	1.a.iii	1.b.iv	1.c.iv	1.d.iv	1.e.iii	1.f.iii	1.g	1.h	1.i	2.
Belarusian	1	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	1
Bulgarian	1	3	3	1	4	4	1	3	1	4
Crimean Tatar	3	3	4	1	4	3	–	4	1	3
Gagauz	1	3	3	1	4	1	–	3	4	1
German	3	3	3	1	4	4	1	3	1	1
Greek	3	3	4	1	4	4	–	3	1	4
Hungarian	4	4	4	1	4	4	3	4	1	1
Moldovan	3	4	4	1	4	4	1	3	4	1
Polish	3	4	4	1	4	4	1	4	1	4
Romanian	3	3	3	1	4	4	1	4	1	1
Russian	4	4	4	4	4	4	–	4	1	4
Slovak	4	3	3	1	4	1	1	3	1	1
Yiddish	3	1	1	1	4	4	–	1	1	1

Source: Csernicskó et al. (2020b: 78).

Table 10. Fulfillment of commitments undertaken in Ukraine upon ratification of the Charter according to the independent evaluation of CE2017 – Article 9 of the Charter: Justice

	1.a.iii	1.b.iii	1.c.iii	2.c	3.
Belarusian	1	1	1	–	1
Bulgarian	2	2	2	–	1
Crimean Tatar	2	2	2	–	3
Gagauz	2	2	2	–	1
German	1	1	1	–	1
Greek	1	1	1	–	1
Hungarian	3	3	2	–	1
Moldovan	1	1	1	–	1
Polish	2	2	2	–	1
Romanian	3	3	2	–	1
Russian	4	4	4	4	4
Slovak	2	2	2	–	1
Yiddish	1	1	1	–	1

Source: Csernicskó et al. (2020b: 79).

Table 11. Fulfillment of commitments undertaken in Ukraine upon ratification of the Charter according to the independent evaluation of CE2017 - Article 10 of the Charter: Administrative authorities and public bodies

	2.a	2.c	2.d	2.e	2.f	2.g	4.c
Belarusian	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bulgarian	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Crimean Tatar	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Gagauz	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
German	1	1	1	1	1	3	1
Greek	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Hungarian	3	1	1	1	3	3	1
Moldovan	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Polish	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Romanian	3	1	1	1	1	3	1
Russian	4	4	4	4	4	3	–
Slovak	3	1	1	1	1	1	1
Yiddish	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Source: Csernicskó et al. (2020b: 80).

Table 12. Fulfillment of commitments undertaken in Ukraine upon ratification of the Charter according to the independent evaluation of CE2017 – Article 11 of the Charter: Media

	1.a.iii	1.b.ii	1.c.ii	1.d	1.e.i	1.g	2.	3.
Belarusian	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1
Bulgarian	3	1	1	1	4	1	4	1
Crimean Tatar	–	–	–	1	–	1	4	1
Gagauz	3	1	1	1	1	1	4	1
German	3	1	1	1	1	1	4	1
Greek	–	1	1	1	1	1	4	1
Hungarian	3	4	4	1	4	3	4	1
Moldovan	3	1	1	1	4	1	1	1
Polish	3	4	1	4	4	1	4	1
Romanian	3	3	1	1	4	3	4	1
Russian	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3
Slovak	3	3	1	1	1	1	4	1
Yiddish	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Source: Csernicskó et al. (2020b: 81).

Table 13. Fulfillment of the commitments undertaken in the ratification of the Charter in Ukraine according to the independent evaluation of CE2017 – Article 12 of the Charter: Cultural activities and cultural facilities

	1.a	1.b	1.c	1d	1.f	1.g	2.	3.
Belarusian	4	3	1	4	3	3	1	1
Bulgarian	3	1	1	4	3	3	1	1
Crimean Tatar	4	1	1	4	3	1	4	3
Gagauz	3	1	1	1	3	1	1	1
German	3	1	1	4	4	1	1	–
Greek	3	1	1	3	3	1	–	1
Hungarian	4	1	3	4	3	4	1	1
Moldovan	3	1	1	4	3	1	1	3
Polish	4	1	3	4	4	4	4	3
Romanian	4	1	1	4	3	3	1	3
Russian	4	4	4	4	4	–	4	–
Slovak	4	1	1	4	3	1	1	1
Yiddish	3	1	1	1	4	1	1	1

Source: Csernicskó et al. (2020b: 82).

Table 14. Fulfillment of the commitments undertaken in the ratification of the Charter in Ukraine according to the independent evaluation of CE2017 – Article 13 of the Charter: Economic and social life

	1.b	1.c
Belarusian	4	–
Bulgarian	4	–
Crimean Tatar	4	–
Gagauz	4	–
German	4	–
Greek	4	–
Hungarian	4	–
Moldovan	4	–
Polish	4	–
Romanian	4	–
Russian	4	–
Slovak	4	–
Yiddish	4	–

Source: Csernicskó et al. (2020b: 83).

Table 15. Fulfillment of commitments undertaken in Ukraine upon ratification of the Charter according to the independent evaluation of CE2017 – Article 14 of the Charter: Cross-border exchanges

|	a	b
Belarusian	4	4
Bulgarian	4	3
Crimean Tatar	3	–
Gagauz	1	1
German	4	–
Greek	4	4
Hungarian	4	4
Moldovan	4	4
Polish	4	4
Romanian	4	4
Russian	4	4
Slovak	4	4
Yiddish	1	1

Source: Csernicskó et al. (2020b: 84).

If the figures in Tables 8–15 are treated as grades (as in the school system), we can examine how the Committee of Experts assessed the fulfillment of Ukraine's commitments. If the Ukrainian government had fully complied with all its obligations by ratifying the Charter, it would have to be 4 in each cell of the above tables (where a number is given). However, it is clear that this is not the case. If we consider the evaluation of the Expert Committee as scores, it turns out that Ukraine has fulfilled its obligations mostly in relation to the article 14th (85.4%), 7th (66.2%), 8th (61.9%) and 12th (58, 4%). The Kyiv government has fulfilled its international commitments the least in Articles 9 (44.8%), 10 (34.3%) and 11 (48.8%) of the Charter. Taking into account all the articles of the Charter (with the exception of Article 13), Ukraine has fulfilled its obligations in practice under ratification of the international instrument by 59.5% (Figure 17). (The maximum points that can be obtained, i.e. 100%, would be shown in the figure if all cells had a value of 4).

If we examine, on the basis of the method used above, how Ukraine has complied with its international obligations with regard to the languages protected by the Charter, we can conclude that Ukraine has complied with the Charter in an outstanding proportion of 95.7% as regards to the Russian language. Kyiv has fulfilled more than 60% of its commitments in Hungarian, Polish, Romanian and Crimean Tatar, and least in Yiddish, Belarusian and Gagauz, with less than 50% (Figure 18).

Figure 17. Percentage of fulfillment of commitments undertaken by ratification of the Charter in Ukraine as assessed by the Committee of Experts according to the Articles of the Charter
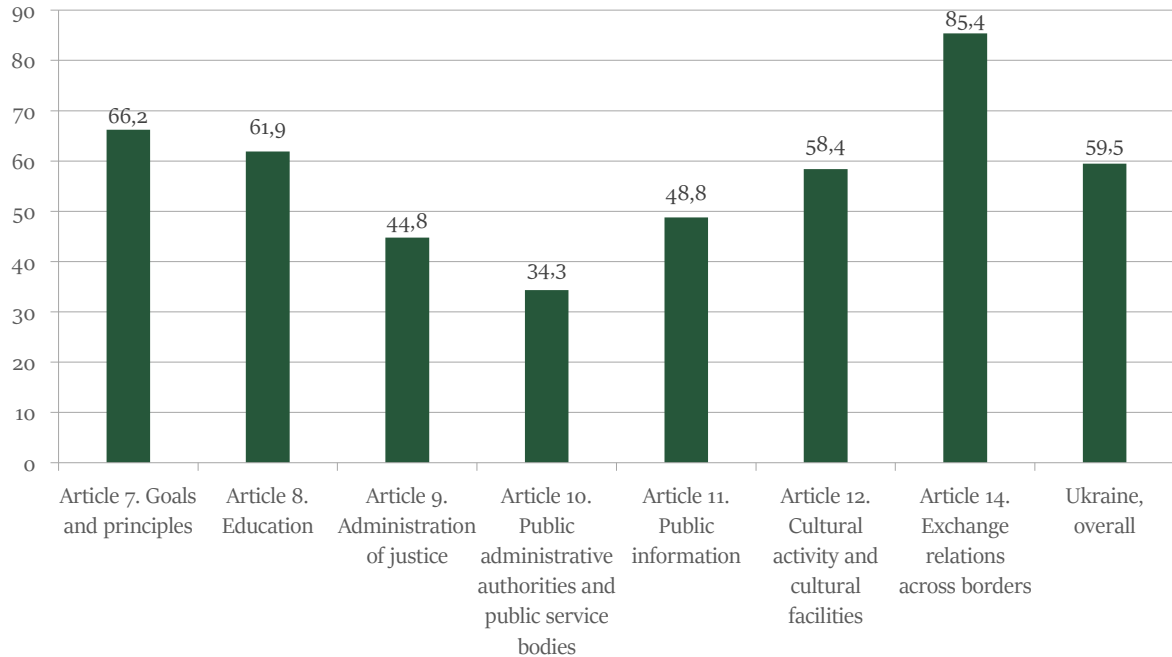
Source: Csernicskó–Tóth-Orosz (2020: 149).

Figure 18. Percentage of fulfillment of commitments undertaken by ratification of the Charter based on the assessment of CE2017 in Ukraine by language
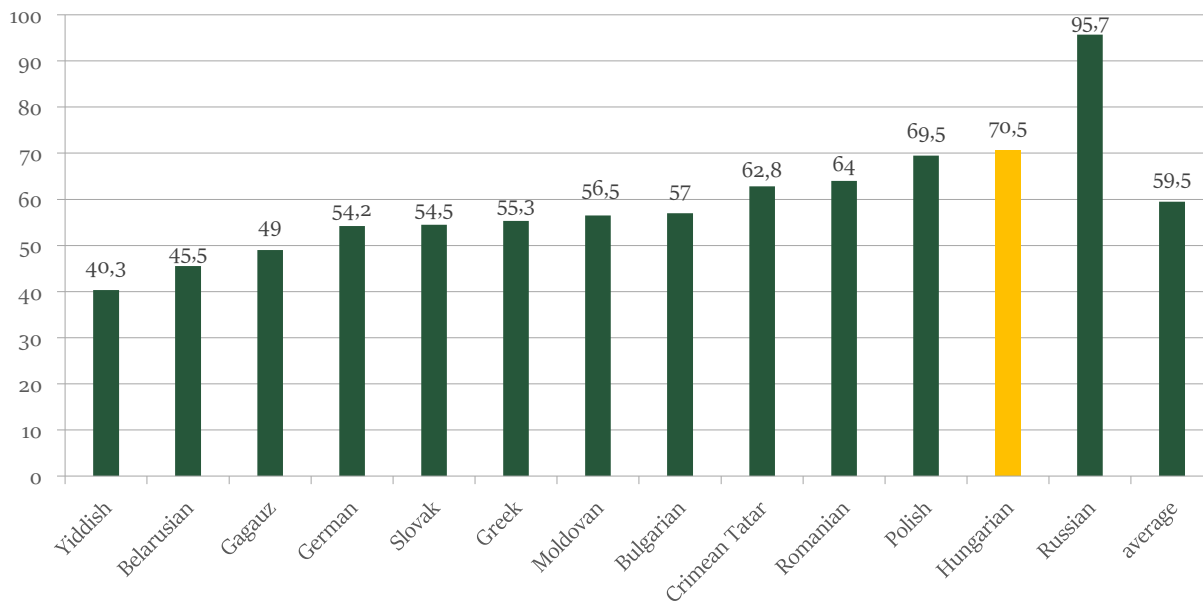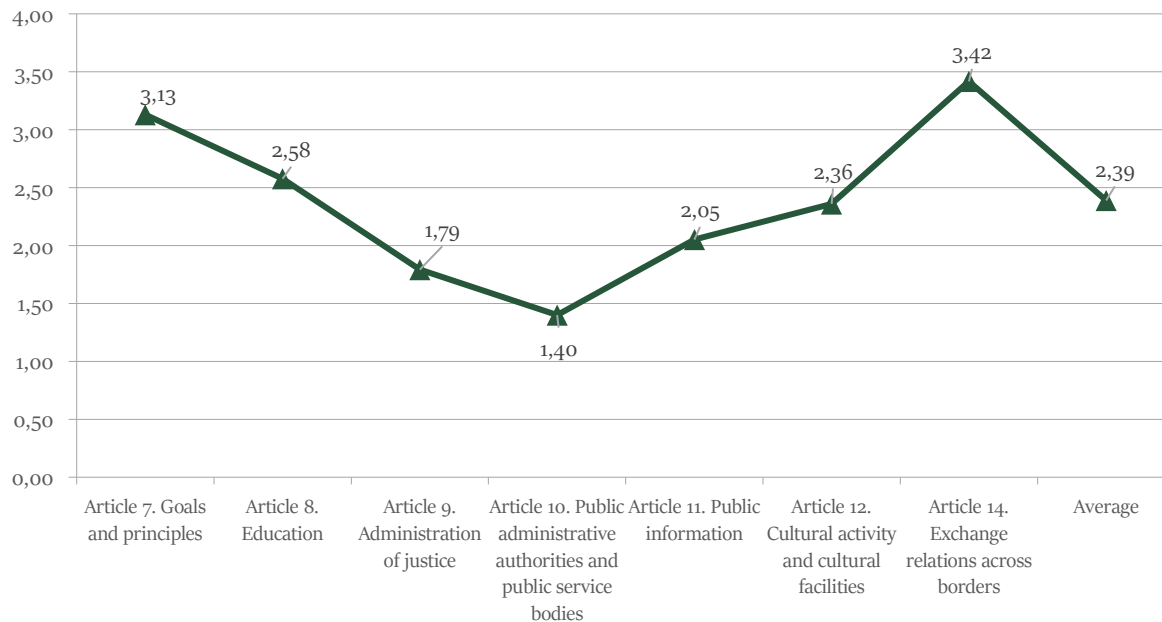

Source: Csernicskó–Tóth-Orosz (2020: 149).

If we calculate averages on the basis of the scores, it becomes clear that Ukraine has partially fulfilled its obligations under Articles 14 and 7 of the Charter; in the case of Article 8, the government is closer to a partial assessment than to a formal assessment. Unfortunately, however, for Articles 12, 11 and 9, the average value is closest to the value that has formally fulfilled its obligations, which means, according to the report of the Committee of Experts, that "policies and legislation are in line with the Charter, but in practice the commitments have not been implemented". Ukraine has not complied with its commitments under Article 10 in practice, as the average value is closest to that of non-compliance, which means that "no action has been taken by the authorities in policy, law and practice to fulfill the obligation, or the Committee of Experts has not received any information on their implementation over several monitoring cycles"(Figure 19).

Ukrainian Language Policy Gone Astray: an Analytical Overview of Ukrainian Language Policy in Hungarian, Ukrainian, English and Russian

Figure 19. How Kyiv has fulfilled its obligations to support regional or minority languages by ratifying the Charter according to the 2017 evaluation of the EC Committee of Experts
*(4: completed; 3: partially completed; 2: formally completed; 1: does not meet the requirements)*

Source: Csernicskó–Tóth-Orosz (2020: 150).

After 2014 the Kyiv government has adopted a number of new laws that significantly narrow the right and possibility to use regional or minority languages. For example:
- Law of Ukraine "On Civil Service" (2015).
- Laws changing the language of electronic media (2017).
- Law of Ukraine "On Education" (2017).
- Law of Ukraine "On Complete General Secondary Education" (2020).
- Law of Ukraine "On Supporting the Functioning of the Ukrainian Language as the State Language" (2019).
- Law of Ukraine "On National Minorities (communities)" (2022).

The repeal of the Language Law adopted in 2012 in 2018 also significantly reduced the rights of speakers of regional or minority languages (2018).
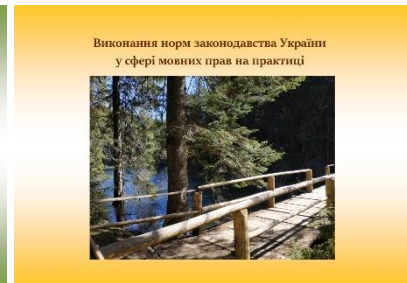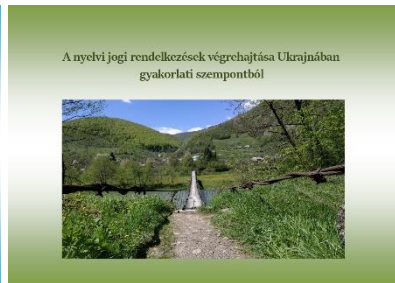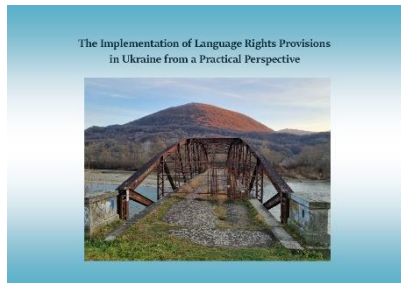
The Implementation of Language Rights Provisions in Ukraine from a Practical Perspective

The language policy decisions of Ukraine have many consequences in everyday life. In 1996, 2010 and 2016, we surveyed a sociologically representative sample of Hungarians living in Transcarpathia on the language or languages used in the administration of local governments. An informant could indicate more than one language.

As we can see (Figure 20), in the first years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, very few people used the Hungarian language in this situation. It can also be seen that slightly more people used the Russian language than Ukrainian. In 2010 and 2016, the use of the Russian language decreased significantly and the choice of Hungarian and Ukrainian increased. However, after the adoption of the Law of Ukraine on Supporting the Functioning of the Ukrainian Language as the State Language, the use of the Hungarian language will be excluded from local governments. Article 12 of the law only allows the use of the state language in the work of local governments.

The first Language Law of Ukraine (1989) permitted the use of minority languages in addition to the state language in the work of municipalities where the proportion of minority representatives exceeded 50 percent. The Language Law of 2012 allowed the use of minority languages in the work of local governments where minority language speakers have reached 10 percent.

In 2010, fifty-three, in 2015 seventy-six local governments were visited by us, where, according to the laws in force, it was possible to use the Hungarian language in the work of local governments. In each settlement, we asked local representatives whether citizens could submit applications in Hungarian to the mayor or the representative body.

The results show that in 2010, 56%, 5 years later already 75% of the surveyed municipalities provided this opportunity to tax-paying citizens (Figure 21). However, the law on the protection of the state language adopted in 2019 no longer allows the use of minority languages in the work of local governments.
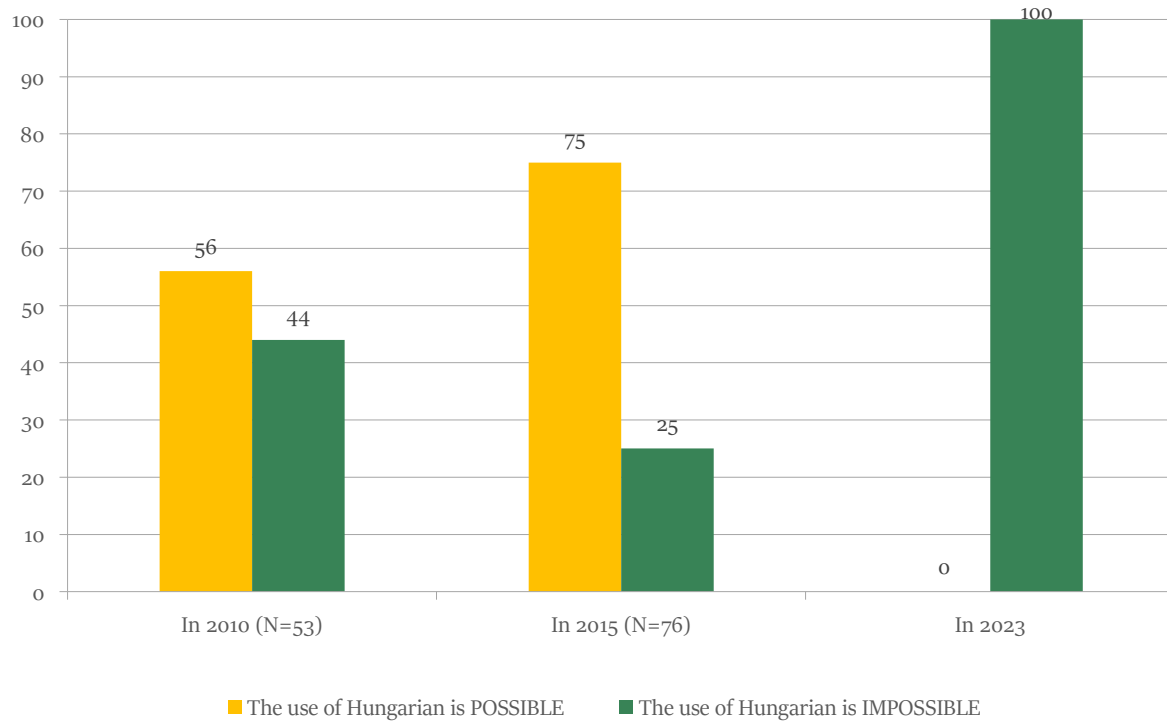
The Venice Commission has been severely critical of this law.

Figure 20. The language choice of Hungarians in Transcarpathia in local administrative authorities (%)
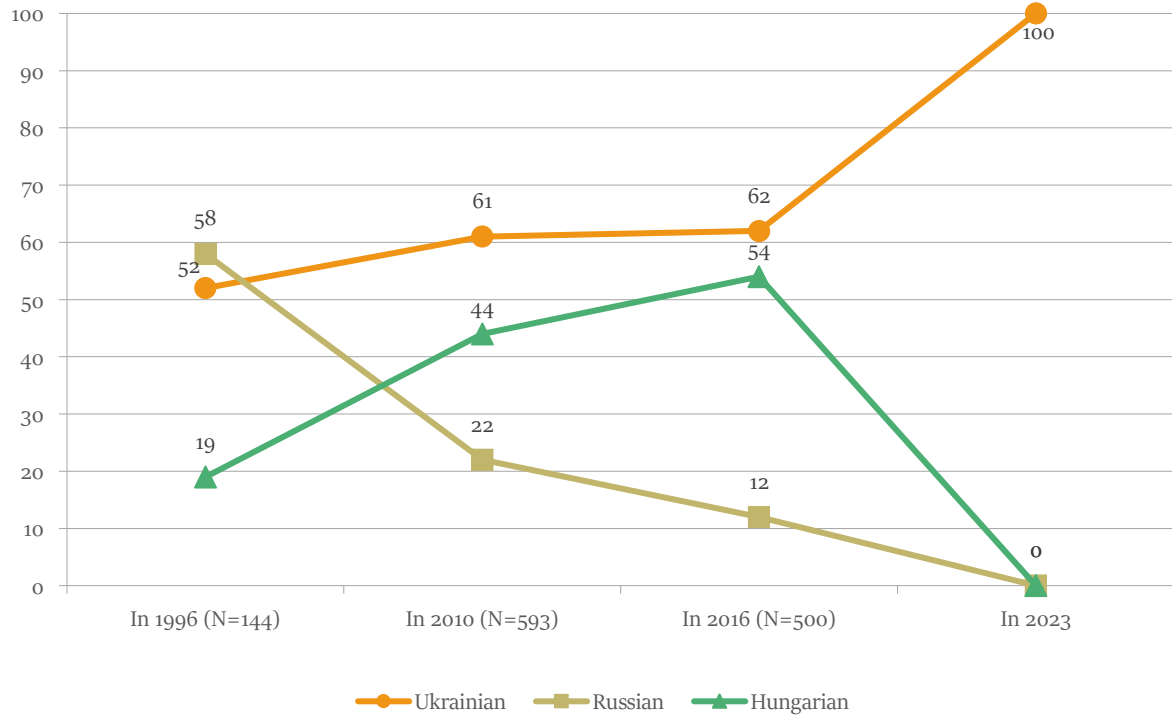
Figure 21. Local governments, where the Hungarian language appears in administration in Transcarpathia

Legend: The use of Hungarian is POSSIBLE · The use of Hungarian is IMPOSSIBLE

Article 12. Working language in the operation of government authorities, authorities of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, local self-government authorities, State- and community-owned enterprises, institutions and organisations

1. The working language in the operation of government authorities, authorities of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, local self-government authorities, State- and community-owned enterprises, institutions and organisations, including the language of conferences, events, meetings and the day-to-day communication language, shall be the State language. The working language in the operation of foreign diplomatic institutions of Ukraine and other state missions abroad shall be the State language.

2. Where a language other than the State language is used during a conference, event or a meeting, translation into the State language must be provided.

3. The working language of international events, conferences and meetings shall be the State and/or other language specified by organisers or an international treaty. During conferences, meetings or day-to-day communication between a designated group of persons and foreigners or stateless persons, other language, acceptable to the parties may be used.

4. The requirements laid down in this Article shall apply subject to the specifics set out in Articles 21–23 of this Law.

According to Article 11(3) of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, "In areas traditionally inhabited by substantial numbers of persons belonging to a national minority", states ratifying the document will endeavor to "the framework of their legal system, including, where appropriate, agreements with other States, and taking into account their specific conditions, to display traditional local names, street names and other topographical indications intended for the public also in the minority language when there is a sufficient demand for such indications".

Transcarpathia is undoubtedly a region of Ukraine with a traditionally significant number of national minorities and there is a sufficient demand for place-name signs, street-name signs, etc. to be displayed in Hungarian, German and Romanian. Those who visit Transcarpathia today can see bilingual place name plates on the outskirts of many towns and villages. There are Ukrainian–Hungarian, Ukrainian–Romanian, but also Ukrainian–German signs.

Ukrainian–Romanian

Ukrainian–German

Ukrainian–Hungarian

Article 41. Use of the State language in geographical names and names of toponymic sites

1. Geographical names, as well as names of public gardens, boulevards, streets, lanes, descents, passages, avenues, squares, plazas, embankments, bridges and toponymic sites shall be made in the State language.

2. Names of toponymic sites shall not be translated into other languages and shall be conveyed in official documents, mass media, cartographic, reference, encyclopaedic, educational and other publications in the letters of a relevant alphabet according to pronunciation thereof in the State language.

3. When used in Ukraine, names of geographic sites and toponymic sites located within other states, as well as those of geographic sites and toponymic sites that are not under sovereignty or jurisdiction of any state, shall be conveyed in the State language in transcription from the original language, subject to the specifics of Ukrainian phonetics and spelling. Where the name of such geographic site or toponymic site has a Ukrainian origin, such name may be used instead of or along with its foreign-language version. Names of Ukrainian origin shall be given preference in official documents.

4. Within Ukraine, inscriptions on road signs, signboards and other directional signs of geographic and toponymic site names shall be conveyed in the State language. In addition to names in the State language, directional signs of geographic and toponymic site names may contain versions thereof in Latin alphabet. Inscriptions in Latin letters should be made smaller and located on the right-hand side or at the bottom.

Unfortunately, however, Article 41 of the State Language Law only allows the use of the state language. Bilingual signs will disappear. Thus, by replacing bilingual signs with monolingual ones, Ukraine is in clear violation of the quoted article of the Framework Convention.

2020   *2021*

Before adopting the Law of Ukraine on Supporting the Functioning of the Ukrainian Language as the State Language

The names of the streets, squares according to Article 41 of the State Language Law:
only in Ukrainian

Article 39, Part 3 of the State Language Law provides that the name plates of state authorities, municipal bodies, state and municipal enterprises and institutions shall be in the state language. Para. 4 of the same Article allows that, in addition to the state language, these designations and inscriptions may also appear in English. The quoted part of the law also allows in principle for the name plates of local government bodies, enterprises and institutions to appear in Crimean Tatar and the languages of national minorities in addition to the state language. However, the second paragraph of Article 39(4) of the Law states that the use of minority languages in this area is regulated by a separate law.

It is worrying, that in several settlements of Transcarpathia, several formerly bilingual signs on the facades of state authorities, local government bodies, state and municipal enterprises and institutions have been replaced.

The photos show, for example, that the former Ukrainian and Hungarian signs have been replaced to only Ukrainian signs. The photos on the next page show that the signs in Ukrainian–German and Ukrainian–Romanian have been replaced by Ukrainian signs.

Building of the Vilok Municipal Council, 2021

2020 – Ukrainian and Hungarian

2021 – only in Ukrainian

2016 – Ukrainian
and German

2021 – only
in Ukrainian

2016 – Ukrainian and
Romanian

2021 – only in Ukrainian

Article 39. Names of government authorities, authorities of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, local self-government authorities

1. The proper name of the sole body of legislative power in Ukraine shall be the "Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine". This name shall be conveyed in other languages by transliterating the words "Verkhovna Rada" in the letters of the respective alphabet according to pronunciation thereof in the Ukrainian language and by translating the word "Ukraine" in the respective language.

The State facilitates the introduction of the name "Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine" into other languages, in compliance with the first indent of this paragraph.

2. Official names of government authorities, authorities of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, local self-government authorities, State- and community-owned enterprises, institutions and organisations shall be made in the State language.

3. Official names of government authorities, authorities of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, local self-government authorities, State- and community-owned enterprises, institutions and organisations shall be inscribed on seals, stamps, postmarks, official letterheads and signboards in the State language.

4. In addition to the State language, official names of government authorities, authorities of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, local self-government authorities, State- and communityowned enterprises, institutions and organisations may be indicated in the English language. The names made in the English language shall be located on the right-hand side or at the bottom of signboards and official letterheads.

The specifics of conveyance by local self-government authorities and communal enterprises of their names in the Crimean Tatar language or other languages of indigenous peoples and national minorities of Ukraine are laid down by the law on the procedure for the exercise of rights of indigenous peoples and national minorities of Ukraine.

When, on June 17, 2022, the European Commission decided to support Ukraine's application to join the European Union, it did not forget about the issue of minorities. On page 13 of the document it says:

> „The rights of persons belonging to minorities are constitutionally guaranteed in Ukraine. The respect for rights of persons belonging to national minorities in the field of education and language and their representation in elected bodies in all levels of public life needs to be ensured by fully implementing the recommendations of the Council of Europe's Venice Commission on the education law, implementing those on the State language law and taking into account the last monitoring cycle of the Framework Convention on National Minorities. While Ukraine has taken steps to implement the recommendations of the Venice Commission, it needs to finalise its reform of the legal framework for national minorities and to adopt effective implementation mechanisms."

The document states clearly (pages 20-21):

> „The Commission, therefore, recommends that Ukraine be granted candidate status, on the understanding that the following steps are taken:
>
> (…)
>
> finalise the reform of the legal framework for national minorities currently under preparation as recommended by the Venice Commission, and adopt immediate and effective implementation mechanisms".

In order to fulfill this condition, the Supreme Council of Ukraine adopted the Law on National Minorities (communities) of Ukraine (ЗУ2022) on December 13, 2022 . With the adoption of the law, Kyiv took a step towards paying off its old debt, as the government already undertook to create a minority law in 2019 (in the state language law).

However, the new Law on National Minorities (communities) is not suitable for settling the situation of minorities in a satisfactory manner. For example, the new law effectively strengthens provisions contained in the Law on Education or the State Language Law that restrict the rights of minorities. It is typical that Kyiv did not meaningfully consult the representatives of the minorities before adopting the law. Kyiv did not send the draft law to the Venice Commission for revision either.

Bilingual nameplate of a school with Hungarian language of instruction in Berehove

5. Language use

At the turn of the 19-20th century, the absolute majority of Hungarians in Hungary and in Ung, Bereg, Ugocsa and Máramaros counties were monolingual, but there was also a significant proportion of Hungarians living in Transcarpathia who spoke another language(s) in addition to their mother tongue. Although it is true that in the period between 1880 and 1910 the proportion of multilingual Hungarians decreased somewhat in all four mentioned north-eastern counties, in 1910 almost half of the Hungarian native speakers in Máramaros, almost two-fifths in Ung, one-fifth in Ugocsa and one-sixth in Bereg (at least) were bilingual (Table 16). Meanwhile, between 1890 and 1910, the proportion of Hungarian-speakers among non-Hungarians also increased significantly in the north-eastern region of Hungary (Figure 22).

Bilingual poster of the 1st St. Martin Wine Festival and Goose Feast of Berehove

Table 16. Percentage of the native-speaking Hungarian population in Hungary and the four counties surveyed (1880–1910)

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Hungary	17,5	18,6	20,5	18,6
Ung	38,3	37,5	33,9	37,4
Bereg	23,3	18,2	16,3	16,3
Ugocsa	26,9	27,7	20,8	22,0
Máramaros	51,6	51,5	49,2	45,9

Source: Csernicskó (2017a: 29). Compiled on the basis of Népszámlálási Digitális Adattár – Központi Statisztikai Hivatal Könyvtára

Figure 22. Change in the proportion of the Hungarian-speaking population whose mother tongue is not Hungarian, between 1880 and 1910 based on census data (%)
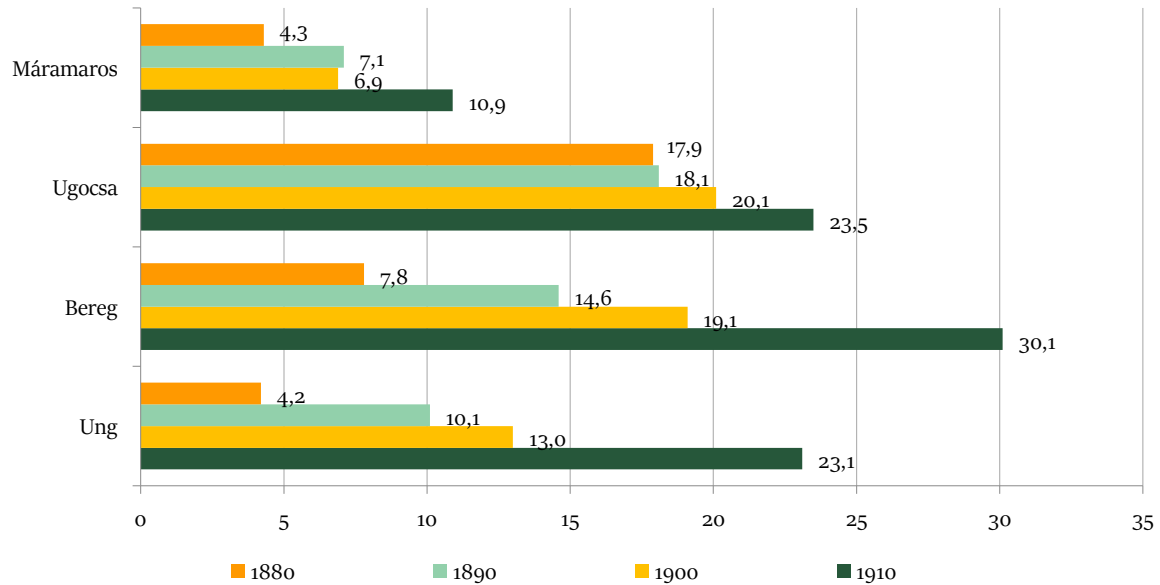
If we compare the data in Table 16 and Figure 22 (i.e. the proportion of Hungarian native speakers who were bilingual, the proportion of non-Hungarian native speakers who spoke the state language), it turns out that the proportion of bilingual Hungarians is higher than the proportion among those nationalities, who spoke Hungarian. Based on the data of four censuses held at the turn of the 20th century, it turns out that the proportion of those who spoke the state language among the Ruthenians living in Hungary has increased from 5.5% in 1880 to 14% in 1910, but in the four counties we examined knowledge of the Hungarian language did not spread rapidly among the Slavic population. In 1910, only in Bereg did the proportion of Hungarian-speaking Ruthenians reach 25% in the four counties. Moreover, the proportion of Hungarian-speaking speakers of the Ruthenian language was almost as high as vice versa (Table 17). In Máramaros, for example, the 1910 census stated that almost a quarter of Hungarian-speaking Hungarians in the county spoke Ruthenian, while only 8 percent of the Ruthenian population spoke Hungarian. In this county, all four contemporary censuses stated that the Slavic languages were spoken by more Hungarians than by other minorities (Csernicskó 2017a: 30).

*Postcard about Uzhhorod with trilingual
(Ruthenian, Czech and Hungarian) inscriptions*

Table 17. Percentage of speakers of each other's language among Ruthenians and Hungarians

	1880		1890		1900		1910	
	Rusyns in Hungarian	Hungarians in Rusyn	Rusyns in Hungarian	Hungarians in Rusyn	Rusyns in Hungarian	Hungarians in Rusyn	Rusyns in Hungarian	Hungarians in Rusyn
Ung	2.9	2.7	4.1	3.7	8.1	5.0	16.0	8.9
Bereg	5.3	7.9	10.7	7.6	15.2	7.9	25.6	14.1
Ugocsa	19.6	12.8	17.4	11.5	18.7	15.4	22.0	15.6
Máramaros	3.4	17.9	5.6	22.2	4.8	18.6	8.0	24.4
Kingdom of Hungary	5.5	0.3	7.3	0.3	8.4	0.3	14.0	0.5

Source: Csernicskó (2017a: 30). Compiled on the basis of Népszámlálási Digitális Adattár – Központi Statisztikai Hivatal Könyvtára

It can be seen from the above tables that at the turn of the 20th century, the hierarchical relationship between languages in the region away from the centers was much more influenced by the regional and local majority-minority relationship, the on-site usefulness of languages, and not by state language and education policy. And if we look at the data on language skills, from the turn of the 20–21 th century, a similar picture emerges. According to the data of the 2001 census (Tables 18 and 19), in Transcarpathia, in addition to their mother tongue, most spoke Hungarian (36 thousand) and Russian (31 thousand) as second languages. Most of the non-ethnic Hungarians spoke Hungarian, and most of the Ukrainians and Hungarians spoke Russian. Almost two-thirds (63%) of Transcarpathians spoke only their mother tongue fluently (Figure 23).

Inscription in Hungarian and Ukrainian on the stands of the Yanoshi football field

Table 18. Language skills of the population of Transcarpathia based on the data of the 1989 and 2001 censuses (peolpe)

Languages	Mother tongue		Second language		In total		Do not speak	
	1989	*2001*	*1989*	*2001*	*1989*	*2001*	*1989*	*2001*
Ukrainian	972,827	1,016,268	48,106	19,699	1,020,933	1,035,967	224,685	218,647
Hungarian	166,700	158,729	12,500	38,694	179,200	197,423	1,066,418	1,057,191
Russian	62,150	36,412	670,046	32,877	732,196	69,289	513,422	1,185,325

Source: Csernicskó (2013: 35).

Table 19. Language skills of the population of Transcarpathia based on the 1989 and 2001 censuses (percentage of the total population)

Languages	Mother tongue		Second language		In total		Do not speak	
	1989	2001	1989	2001	1989	2001	1989	2001
Ukrainian	78.10	81.00	3.86	1.57	81.96	82.57	18.04	17.43
Hungarian	13.38	12.65	1.00	3.08	14.39	15.74	85.61	84.26
Russian	4.99	2.90	53.79	2.62	58.78	5.52	41.22	94.48

Source: Csernicskó (2013: 35).

Figure 23. Percentage of native speakers in Transcarpathia by nationality according to the 2001 census
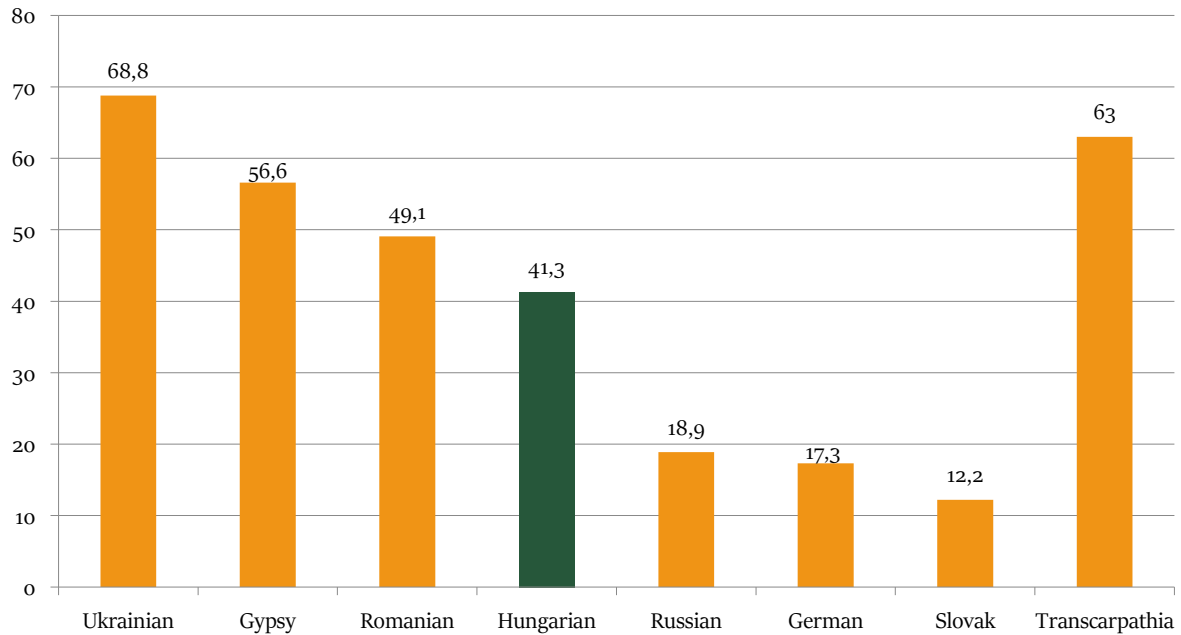
Source: Csernicskó et al. (2020a: 40). Compiled on the basis of: Csernicskó (2013: 35)

The language skills of Hungarians in Transcarpathia have also been examined in a number of studies (for a summary, see Csernicskó 2013: 25–49), from which we know for example that the use of the Hungarian language is limited outside Hungary.

In situations that are not controlled by the state (for example, in the church or in the family), the prevalence of the Hungarian language is high and the state language is low.

But the opposite is also true: in situations where state control is high (workplace, health care, office, police), the proportion of Hungarian is declining in each region, and the use of majority languages is growing significantly (Figures 24 and 25).

Ukrainian-Hungarian street sign, and a Hungarian inscription on the facade of a restaurant in Koson

Figure 24. Percentage of the users of Hungarian among the Hungarian population of four countries
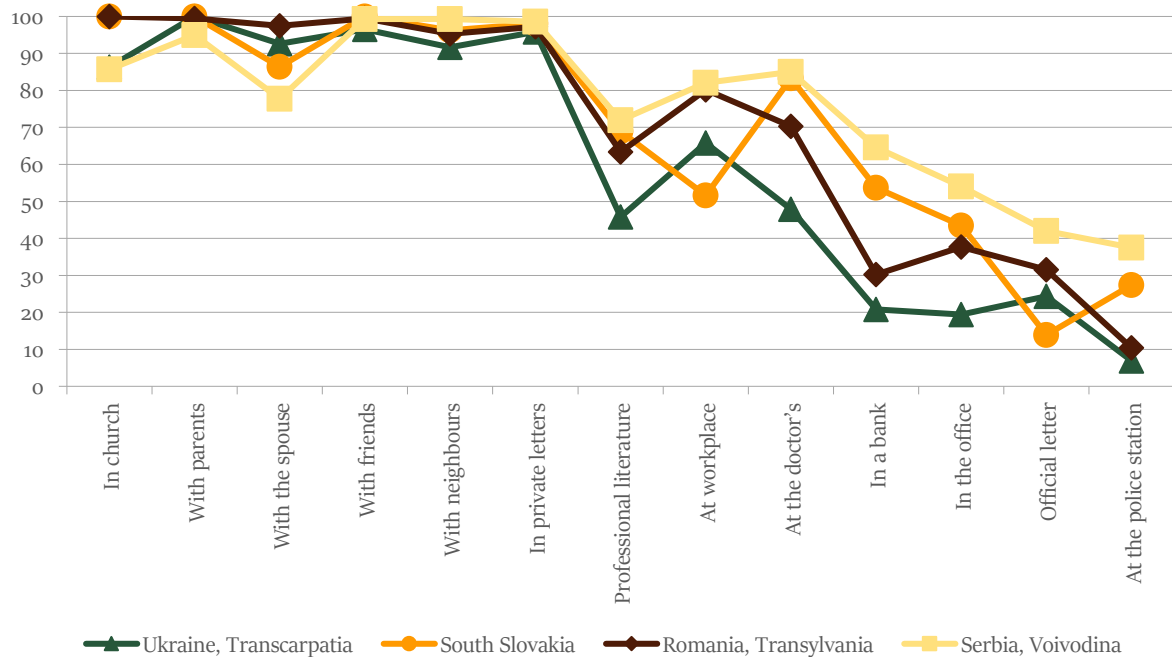
Source: Beregszászi–Csernicskó (2004: 62).

Figure 25. Percentage of the users of majority languages among the Hungarian population of four countries

Source: Beregszászi–Csernicskó (2004: 62).

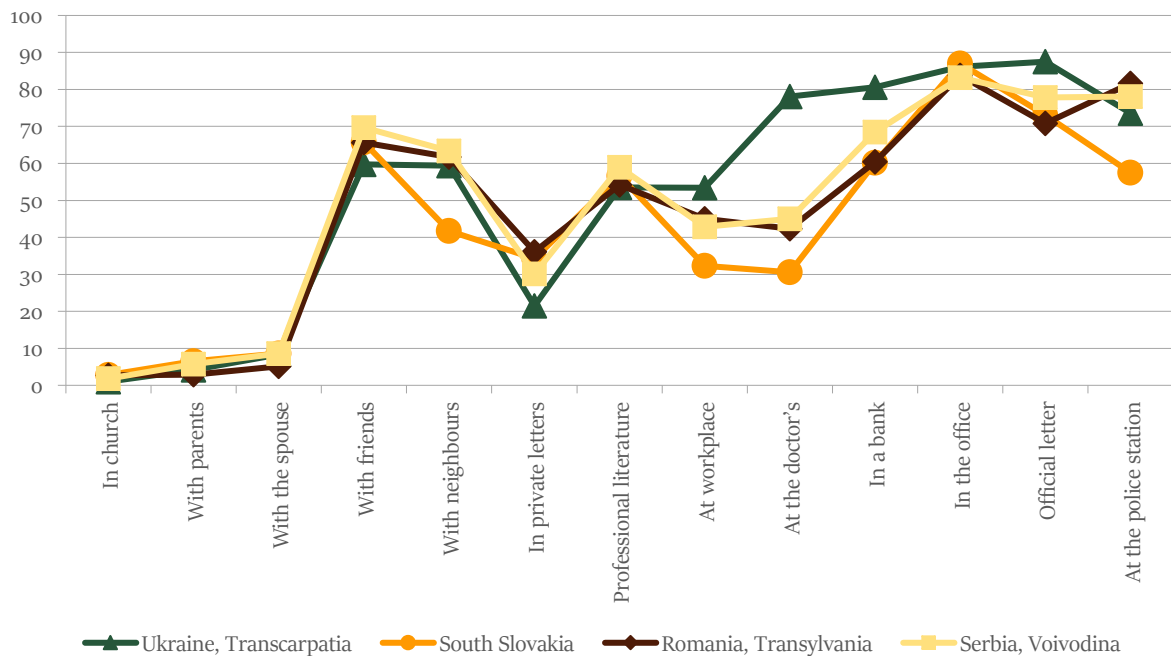Based on the census data and questionnaire surveys, which are also based on self-reporting, two conclusions can be drawn. One is that the vast majority of Hungarians in Transcarpathia are bilingual: they can communicate in at least one other language in addition to their mother tongue. On the other hand the language skills of Hungarians in Transcarpathia are very diverse: some speak a language other than their mother tongue at a relatively high level, but many are only able to communicate in their mother tongue, and there are numerous transitional categories between the two extremes.

In 2019, during a questionnaire survey of a representative sample of Hungarians aged between 18 to 65 in Transcarpathia, for example 771 people answered that they speak (at least) one language in addition to their mother tongue, and 225 gave a negative answer (4 informants did not answer). However, when they had to judge their own language skills on a ten-point scale (where 1 = I don't speak the language at all, 10 = I know the language), out of a thousand respondents, only 101 respondents circled answer 1. And this means that even the vast majority of those who otherwise answered the previous question that they do not speak Ukrainian have some level of Ukrainian language proficiency.

Respondents rated their own knowledge of the Hungarian language at a significantly higher level than their knowledge of the state language. Hungarians in Transcarpathia rated their knowledge of Hungarian on average at the level of their mother tongue (average value of 9.78), while the average level of knowledge of Ukrainian was average at 5.34 (Figure 26).

Figure 26. The average level of knowledge of Ukrainian and Hungarian according to the data of a representative sample of 1000 Hungarians in Transcarpathia between the ages of 18 and 65 in 2019
(On a 10-point scale, where 1 = I don't speak the language at all, 10 = I know at the native level)
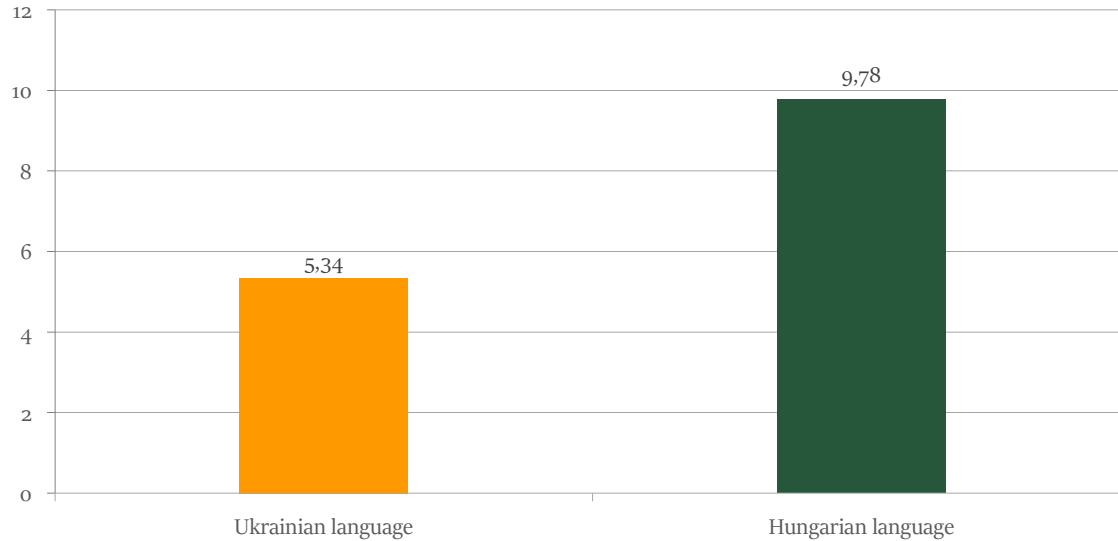
Source: Complex quantitative and qualitative research on Hungarians living abroad (2019). SzázadvéG

Linguistic legal conditions have a decisive influence on which languages are mandatory, permissible or even prohibited in certain situations. A survey of Transcarpathian Ukrainians and Hungarians in 2016, involving a total of 1,200 informants, found that native-speakers of Ukraine can use only Ukrainian in statistically significantly more situations and to a greater extent, and are generally not forced to use another language (Csernicskó–Hires-László 2019). At the same time, it can be seen that the proportion of those who use only the Hungarian language is outstanding only in situations which can be classified as being private. Hungarians use only the Hungarian language more often than the informants of the Ukrainian sample when communicating only with their neighbors, friends, schoolmates and on the social network. Thus, in most situations, Hungarians are forced to use another language in addition to or instead of their mother tongue (Figure 27).

Hungarian and Ukrainian street "menu"
in the main square of Berehove

Figure 27. Exclusive appearance of the mother tongue in different language use scenes in the Ukrainian and Hungarian samples based on Tandem 2016 research data (%)

Legend: ■ Hungarian patern only Hungarian ■ Ukrainian pattern only Ukrainian

Category	Hungarian pattern only Hungarian	Ukrainian pattern only Ukrainian
At work	40,5	69,7
When shopping	31,5	63,1
At doctor	21,4	85,6
At offices	24,0	89,3
With neighbor	59,9	38,5
With friends	58,4	37,6
With schoolmates outside of school	74,8	56,8
While watching TV	62,3	65,4
When reading newspaper	75,5	79,1
When listening to the radio	61,7	77,5
When browsing web pages	59,3	60,7
Facebook, other community...	75,4	56,5

Source: Csernicskó–Hires László (2019: 69).

Language use norms in a bilingual or multilingual situation do not usually work in such a way that everyone uses their own language exclusively. More or less people living in such a mixed language environment know and rarely use the language of the other group. The verbal repertoire of bilingual or multilingual communities thus includes several languages (and their variants). Under verbal or linguistic repertoire, all languages, language variants, style variants, etc. are included that a particular community uses in communication (Gal 1987: 286). Among the elements of the verbal repertoire, the speakers describe the situation, the partner, etc. they make appropriate choices based on their communicative competence.

The division of the Hungarian language area into several states naturally also has linguistic consequences, for instance in the vocabulary.

- In Transylvania, for example, *cáp* is known as 'a glass of beer', *motorina* 'diesel, crude oil', *punga* 'bag, sachet'.
- In Southern Slovakia, the words *baszi* means 'prison', *preglejka* 'plywood' are used.
- The *duduk* 'dunderhead' and *kuluk* 'work' are widespread among Hungarians living in Vojvodina.
- In Transcarpathia (Ukraine) everyone knows that *csurma* is a 'prison', a *pápka* is 'file, a dossier', and *váfli* is 'wafer'.
- People living in Croatia use the lexemes *ixica* 'student card', *penalka* 'pen', *vozácska* 'driver's license'.
- In the Mura region in Slovenia, the child in a pre-school is a *cicibán*, the ice lolly is a *lucska*, and the outgrown root of dyed hair is *narasztek*.
- In Burgenland, Austria, mulled wine is called by Hungarians *glüvájn*, and an MOT test for cars is *pikkelli*.
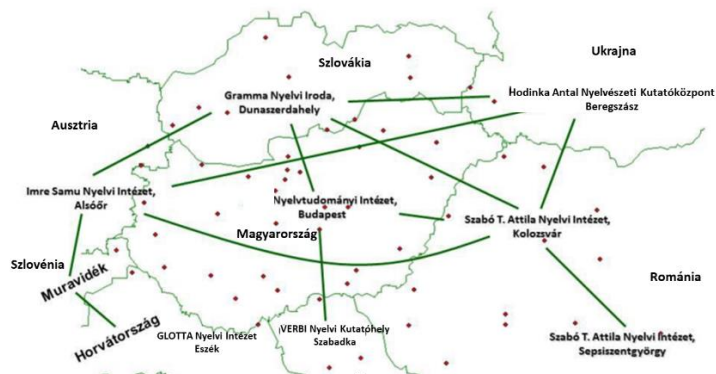
None of the above examples from *cáp* used by Hungarians in Transylvania, Romania, to *pikkelli* used in Austria are intelligible to monolingual Hungarians in Hungary.

Among the lexical borrowings of the Hungarian language - as a result of centuries of contacts between the Hungarian and Slavic languages - the Slavic origin forms the largest layer (Gerstner 2003: 124–126). A significant part of the lexical elements of Slavic origin is widespread throughout the Hungarian language area, many words are part of the Hungarian standard.

There are many lexical elements of Slavic origin in the language versions used in today's Transcarpathia. Most of them are widespread throughout the Hungarian language area (Gerstner 2003). Some of the Slavic lexical borrowings used only regionally in Transcarpathia were borrowed before the peace treaties ending World War I (Lizanec 1993, Lanstyák 2008): when Hungarian was the language of the majority and the languages in contact with it had minority status. However, the specific elements of the vocabulary of the Hungarian language variants in Transcarpathia mainly include those Slavic lexical borrowings that entered the Hungarian language versions of the region after the change in the direction of linguistic contacts (Szilágyi 2008: 110, Lanstyák 2008: 129–130), i.e., after Hungarian became a minority language.

"Termini" is a network of research institutes of Hungarian linguistics

The Termini Research Network, a network of Hungarian linguistic research institutes operating in the states neighboring Hungary, was established in 2001 (Benő–Péntek ed. 2011, Péntek 2009). Partner institutions: Gramma Language Office

(Slovakia); Attila T. Szabó Language Institute (Romania); Antal Hodinka Linguistic Research Center (Ukraine); Imre Samu Language Office (Austria and Slovenia); Verbi Language Research Workshop (Serbia); Glotta Language Institute (Croatia).

One of the joint research programs is the collection and analysis of specific vocabulary elements of the Hungarian language variations spoken and written outside Hungary. In the dictionary database, which has been available online since 2007, we collect loanwords (usually from the state language of the Hungarian contact variety of the given region) generally used in the Hungarian communities in Hungary's adjacent countries. In addition to the words and phrases used exclusively in a state neighboring Hungary, we also collect in the database the words that are also used in Hungary, but in a different meaning (Lanstyák–Benő–Juhász 2011, Benő–Juhász–Lanstyák 2020). In January 2023, a total of 5,356 entries were available in the online database, with a breakdown by region in Figure 28. Each abbreviation refers to Hungarian communities in the following countries: SK: Slovakia, UA: Ukraine, RO: Romania, SRB: Serbia, HR: Croatia, SLO: Slovenia, A: Austria, HU: Hungary.

This online list contains direct phrases from many languages in contact with Hungarian in the Carpathian Basin (mainly the official languages of the neighboring countries: Slovak, Ukrainian, Russian, Romanian, Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, German). The database contains Hungarian and Indo-European languages and is a rich source for examining contacts. As it is not a paper-based database, but an Internet dictionary database, there are practically no size limits when editing individual articles, so the many examples and the rich context make it possible to separate the nuances of meaning and refine the style classifications. In an easy-to-search database, keywords can be listed in a number of ways: region, style, donor language, part of speech, sense etc.

Figure 28. Distribution of entries by region in the Hungarian-Hungarian dictionary of Termini
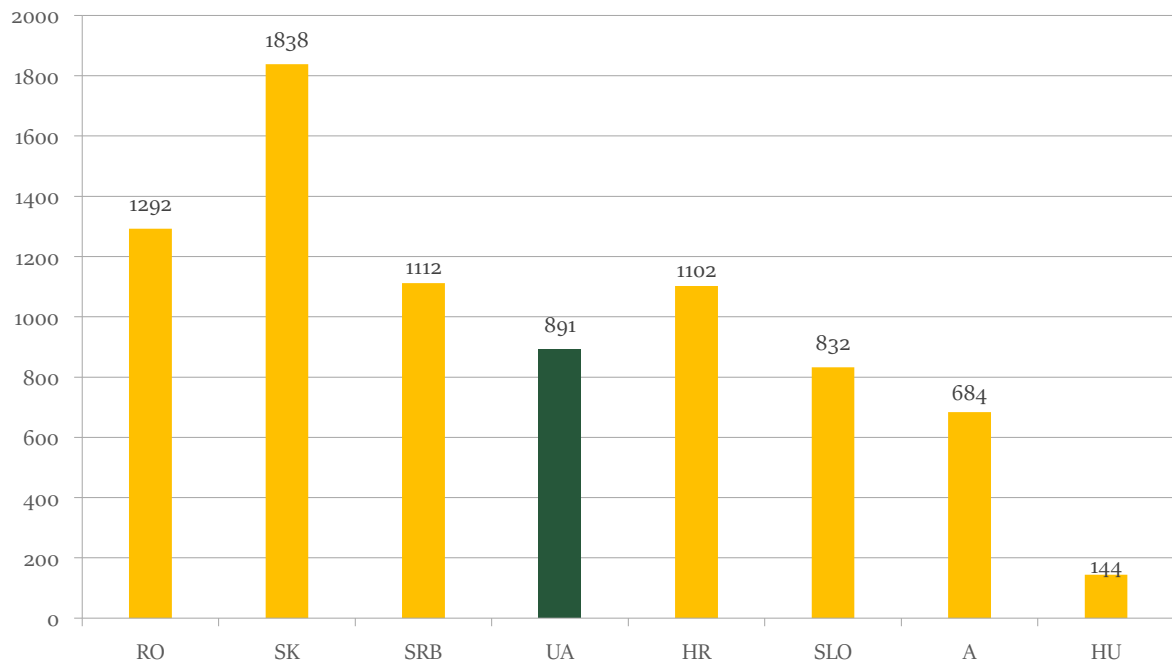
Source: Based on the Hungarian-Hungarian online dictionary of Termini.

The analysis of the online dictionary database has revealed that a number of loanwords used in the Hungarian language variants in countries neighbouring Hungary are known not only in one but also in several other regions. Thus, for example, the word *"influenza"* is a direct borrowing in all regions, and these words are strongly similar-sounding in most regions: RO, SRB, HR, SLO *gripa*, UA *gripp*, A *grippe*, SK *chripka* (Standard Hungarian: *influenza*). Likewise, we have also found similar words for *"polo shirt"* or *"sleeveless sporting"*, in several regions: RO *majó* 'sleevless singlet/undershirt', UA *májka* 'vest', SRB, HR *majica* 'sleeveless singlet, vest' SLO *májca* 'polo shirt'. The names for a variety of soft drinks are also similar in most regions: RO *szukk* 'soft drink', 'syrup', UA *sok* 'fruit juice' SLO *sok* 'fruit juice, soft drink, syrup', HR *szók* and SRB *szokk* 'fruit juice', soft drink, syrup'.

There are also words in the dictionary that are named with the same word in all regions and are used in a similar, identical meaning except for Hungary: a duplicate of an official document of equal value to the original; a *duplikát* is 'a copy of an official document of equivalent value'; a *balkon* is a 'balcony'. Of particular interest are the loan elements that appear to be commonplace, but are used in a different sense by speakers by speakers in neighbouring countries. For example, in Transcarpathian Hungarian, the UA word *gyertya* (meaning 'candle' in Hungary) means 'rectal suppository'; *bánya* ('mine' in HUN) means 'bath, sauna', a *csepegtető* ('dropper in HUN') means 'infusion', and *szoknya* ('skirt' in HUN) is used to mean 'to dribble the ball between the legs of an opponent in soccer' (for which Hungary-Hungarians use *kötény* 'apron'); bál means 'score, result; telephone-denominated (monetary) units'.

Logo of the research network

Termini Kutatóhálózat

| Termini | Ht-online kezdőoldal | Ht-fórum | Linkek | Kapcsolat |

Keresés [   ] 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)

Főmenü
A Termini szótár bemutatása
Szerkesztőség
Keresés a szótárban
Bejelentkezés
Regisztráció

Bejelentkezés
Felhasználó
[   ]
Jelszó
[   ]
Bejelentkezés

Még nem regisztrálta magát?Regisztráljon most!

2007 óta on-line is elérhető szótárunkba azokat a magyarországiaktól eltérő, idegen eredetű szavakat igyekszünk összegyűjteni, amelyeket a Kárpát-medencében, az országhatáron túl élő magyarok használnak. A szótár mind a hét, Magyarországot körülvevő ország magyarlakta régióinak szavait tartalmazza (**Erdély, Felvidék, Vajdaság, Kárpátalja, Horvátország, Muravidék, Őrvidék**). Tájszavakat és olyan szavakat, melyeknek egyik eleme sem idegen eredetű szó, egyelőre nem teszünk közzé.

Célunk egyrészt az, hogy lehetővé tegyük a felhasználóknak, hogy megismerhessék más magyar nyelvváltozatok sajátos szavait és szójelentéseit (pl. **buletin, hranolki, bambusz, gruscsik, cicibán, melanzs**), másrészt az, hogy e régiók beszélői megismerhessék e szavak közmagyar megfelelőit (ha vannak ilyenek).

Ezenkívül szótárunk a határon túli (ht) nyelvváltozatok tudományos kutatásának is forrása, ill. eszköze, ezért olyan jelöléseket is tartalmaz, amiket esetleg a hétköznapi használó fölöslegesnek tarthat, az anyag tudományos hasznosíthatóságát viszont nagyban növelik.

Ha szócikket szeretne javasolni, írjon az oldal alján található e-mail címre. Ha regisztrál, és bejelentkezik, megjegyzéseket fűzhet hozzá a szócikkekhez; minden tárgyszerű megjegyzésért nagyon hálásak vagyunk. Szeretnénk, ha a szótár a belső munkatársak és a külső felhasználók közös munkájává válna.

A Ht online és a Ht fórum használatához külön-külön kell regisztrálni.

Részletesebb tudnivalók a szótárról, annak munkatársairól, a szótár használatáról stb. itt találhatók.

The homepage of the Termini Hungarian-Hungarian online dictionary
(Available: http://termini.nytud.hu/htonline/htlista.php?action=firstpage)

Termini Kutatóhálózat

| Termini | Ht-online kezdőoldal | Ht-fórum | Linkek | Kapcsolat |

Keresés   szesztra   [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)

szesztra (fn) ~k, ~t, ~ja
(Orv) (Munka) **Fv** *(nép) (közh) (biz),* **Va** *(id+nép) (közh) (biz),* **Ka** *(ált) (közh) (biz),* **Hv** *(ált) (közh) (köz),* **Mv** *(ált) (közh) (biz)* (kórházi) nővér, ápolónő ♥• *A vért a szesztra is levéheti.* (Tallósi szótár) ◀ ⇑ ・ ♥• Fv *Legalább fővénnének szésztránok, én vónék a legboldogabb.* (Tallósi szótár) ◀ ⇑
Fotó.

szesztra
Forrás: http://www.webklinika.rs/files/images/nurse-appreciation.jpg

[szrb sestra 1. 'nővér, nőtestvér', 2. 'unokatestvér, unokanővér', 3. '(ápoló)nővér, ápolónő', 4. 'nő'],
[~hrv (medicinska) sestra (fn-f) 'ua'← medicinska (mn-f) + sestra (fn-f) 'lánytestvér'],
[szln sestra (fn-f) 'ua']
(→gyerekszesztra, medszesztra, szesztrícska)
Módosítás. Modlista. Email. Megjegyzés hozzáadása.

An entry in the online dictionary

When languages interact, code switching is another common phenomenon in language use. Code switching within discourse is seen as a means of expressing identity, defining roles within a group, or marking a change in situation (Gumperz 1982: 70; Gal 1988: 247). Based on the corpus and audio materials collected during our research, it can be stated that the code switching in the Hungarian Transcarpathian community is characteristic of the Hungarian conversation with Hungarian only in certain situations (Beregszászi 2004, Márku 2013). This can probably be explained by the fact that a significant part of the Hungarians in Transcarpathia live within a homogeneous block, their sense of identity is strong, they use almost exclusively Hungarian in intergroup communication.

If a speaker switches between languages in a communication situation, s/he always has pragmatic, communication goals: the communication situation changes, an explanation is needed, s/he does not remember the appropriate expression, s/he authenticates, repeats, explains, translates it into another language, or just humor, style effect, language playfulness, and group solidarity, or the exclusion of others from the conversation may be the goal (more on Márku 2013). For example:

Quoting, recalling: the speaker recalls the dialogue previously spoken in another language, uses it to support his/her words, almost personalizes and authenticates what s/he has to say.

(1) Nem győztük azt elvárni, mindig mondták, hogy **szkoro igyos domoj, szkoro igyos domoj**, de bizony a *szkoro igyosbu* három esztendő lett! (P. Punykó 1993: 33). [They always said they you could "go home soon", but "soon" turned out to be three years.]

Exclusion: Exclude someone from the conversation.

(2) Exclusion of a Hungarian-speaking Hungarian customer from the conversation:

A1: What is this?
E1: Halva. [Meaning '*Turkish delight*' in Ukraine, but '*s/he is dead*' in Hungary].
A2: Really? Couldn't it be alive?
E2: **Дай йому покуштувати! [Give them a taste!]**
E1: It's so much **pokustuválé, scso májzse ne osztálosz.** [It has been tasted so many times that almost none has been left] (Berehove, market, 2008).

Loans and code changes are also present in the internet language use of Hungarians in Transcarpathia. Their appearance is mainly present in community forums as a typical and mostly conscious communication strategy. The pragmatic aim of these is to play the language game, the multilingual code set, the creative use of language resources to shape the message, the humor, the mockery, to make the message funny. So, for example, bilingual elements often appear in memes, comments and posts because of the style effect, and for speakers to express their identification with their own (ethnic, linguistic) group, the majority nation (existing / lost political order) and the languages associated with them (Márku 2016, 2017, see also: Gazdag 2019, 2021).

However, the differences in language and language use do not threaten the unity of either the Hungarian language or the Hungarian nation:

- A significant part of the differences between the Hungarian language varieties is due to the fact that the Hungarian language is used by people living in different social, political and economic systems of several states.

- However, Hungarians across the borders consider themselves to belong to the Hungarian nation, and the Hungarian language is one of the most important symbols of their Hungarian identity.
- As long as Hungarian speakers want to maintain national unity, differences between the contact varieties of Hungarian cannot be an obstacle.

Inscription in Hungarian and Ukrainian at a bus stop in Berehove

6. Use of names

Personal names in Transcarpathia show some differences compared to e. g. the ones used in Hungary. The patronymics in Russian are called *отчество (otchestvo)* and in Ukrainian *по-батькові (po bat'kovi)*. The patronymic name appears in the 10th century Slavic sources. In the 14th century, however, the use of the patronymic was common among the Eastern Slavs and was derived from the father's given name. For males, it was formed by adding the suffix ending -ов (-ov) 'son of' to the father's original name.

For females, they were formed by adding the suffix ending -ова (-ova) 'daughter of' to the father's name. By the end of the 14th century, to denote upper-class positions the suffix -ov added to the father's name was changed to the honorable suffix -ович/-евич (-ovych/-yevych), for females: -овна/-евна (-ovna/-yevna). Later, the use of the father's name was so widespread that these three-element denominations became formal first in Russia, then in the Soviet Union and also in Ukraine, even for non-Slavic people (Máté–Csernicskó 2020). The function of paternal names in official documents is primarily to differentiate between citizens of the same family name and first name: there is little likelihood that citizens with the same family and first name would have the same patronymic.

After Transcarpathia was annexed to the Soviet Union in 1945, the use of the three-element names of the Eastern Slavic pattern was also extended to the Transcarpathian Hungarians (Csernicskó 1997). Every Soviet citizen's father's name had to be registered, regardless of nationality. This means that Béla Nagy, whose

father is Sándor Nagy is listed on his official documents as Nagy Béla Sándorovics or Aleksandrovich. Therefore, unlike Hungarians living in other countries, all Hungarians in Transcarpathia have their so-called *отчество (otchestvo)* or *по-батькові (po bat'kovi)*. Indicating all the three-elements of the personal name of Hungarians in Transcarpathia is not limited solely to official documents. During the period of its existence, in the Soviet Union this form of addressing individuals was not unusual in formal public Hungarian conversations. It was compulsory to call people in executive positions and teachers by their patronymic (Beregszászi–Csernicskó 2010: 104–106). The local Hungarian press also used these name versions (Beregszászi–Csernicskó 2011).

Use of patronym in the Red Flag newspaper, 1947

Campaign poster in Hungarian for the regional candidate of the All-Ukraine Party in the parliamentary elections in Berehove, 2012

The information contained within the internal passports of citizens in Ukraine included the holders' name both in Ukrainian and Russian in Cyrillic letters on the first and second pages, respectively. The Ukrainian identity cards issued recently contain the official version of the owner's name in Cyrillic letters and its transliteration from Ukrainian to English, and also, the patronymic. Furthermore, every Hungarian person in Transcarpathia has, of course, a Hungarian name: this is the name form that Hungarians identify themselves. It is therefore this name form which is used to write the full name in Hungarian.

Hungarian and Ukrainian name of the department head of the Berehove District Public Administration Unit, 2010

Lajos Kossuth Lyceum in Berehove, a teacher's name in Ukrainian and Hungarian on the classroom door, 2022

In official documents the names of Hungarians living in Ukraine (Transcarpathia) are written in Cyrillic letters. However, transliteration often alters the original name forms considerably (see Table 20). If we look at the example of a Hungarian name *Barkáts Jenő*, whose mother tongue is Hungarian and citizenship is Ukrainian, we can see that his name in his identification document is *Боркач Євген Ілліч*. The patronymic is added to the forename and surname according to eastern Slavic traditions. So, if the fathers name of *Barkáts Jenő is Illés* then the *Боркач Євген Ілліч* form is entered in the official documents. In the passport of Ukrainian citizens the transliterated form of the Cyrillic version is written in the Latin alphabet. It means that the name of *Barkáts Jenő* is written in the *Borkach Yevhen* form. Table 21 summarizes the names of a Hungarian man and woman in Transcarpathia.

The names of the departments and their heads
at the Ferenc Rakoczi II Transcarpathian College of Higher Education in Ukrainian and Hungarian

Table 20. Name versions of Hungarian men and women in Transcarpathia (Ukraine)

		Male	Female
1.	Passport of the citizen of Ukraine, 1st page (in Ukrainian)	*Боркач Євген Ілліч* 'Borkach Yevhen Illyich' (last name / first name / patronymic)	*Дярмотій Моніка Василівна* 'Diarmotiy Monika Vasylivna' (last name / first name / patronymic)
2.	Passport of the citizen of Ukraine, 2nd page (in Russian)	*Боркач Евгений Ильич* 'Borkach Yevgenyiy Ilyich' (last name / first name / patronymic)	*Дярмотий Моника Васильевна* 'Diarmotiy Monika Vasilyievna' (last name / first name / patronymic)
3.	Ukrainian international passport, a transliterated version of the Cyrillic Ukrainian name-form	*Borkach Yevhen* (last name / first name)	*Diarmotiy Monica* (last name / first name)
4.	Hungarian name	*Barkáts Jenő* (last name / first name)	*Gyarmathy Mónika* (last name / first name)

Source: Máté–Csernicskó (2020: 70)

Regulations of name change upon marriage are not identical in Hungary and Ukraine. The differences between the regulations in the two countries are summarized below in Table 21.

As a consequence, the name usage of married Hungarians living in Hungary or Transcarpathia is not similar. The difference is observed in name usage of women upon marriage. The name forms of a woman upon marriage are regulated by § 4:27 of Act V of 2013 in the Civil Code of Hungary. In Ukraine, it is regulated by Article 35 of the Family Code of 2002. In Hungary, type 4 (adding suffix -*né* to the husband's family and first name) is the most common married name form (Debreceni–Balogh 1995: 341–342). In Ukraine, however, this name type (and also the all types with suffix -*né*) cannot be registered.

Table 21. The name forms that can be chosen by women upon marriage in Hungary and in Ukraine: *Éva Kis*, whose father is *Péter*, is married to *Pál Nagy*

| N | Forms of name that can be chosen by wife. | Ukraine | | Hungary |
		Official name	Hungarian (non-official) variant	
1.	The wife takes up her husband's last name and attaches it to her first name.	*Надь Єва Петрівна*	*Nagy Éva*	*Nagy Éva*
2.	The wife takes up her husband's last name (with hyphen), and attaches to her own last name.	*Надь-Кіш Єва Петрівна or Кіш-Надь Єва Петрівна*	*Nagy-Kis Éva or Kis-Nagy Éva*	*Nagy-Kis Éva or Kis-Nagy Éva*

| N	Forms of name that can be chosen by wife.	Ukraine		Hungary
		Official name	Hungarian (non-official) variant	
3.	The wife keeps her original last name after marriage.	*Кіш Єва Петрівна*	*Kis Éva*	*Kis Éva*
4.	The wife takes up her husband's full name by referring to being married by an attachment to the first name of the husband (with the suffix -né, which indicates the marital status).	*Cannot be registered.*		*Nagy Pálné*
5.	The wife takes up her husband's full name by referring to being married by an attachment to the first name of the husband (with the suffix -né, which indicates the marital status), but she also takes up the own full name (first and last name).	*Cannot be registered.*		*Nagy Pálné Kis Éva*
6.	The wife takes up her husband's last name by referring to being married by an attachment to the first name of the husband (with the suffix -né, which indicates the marital status), but she also takes up her own full name (first and last name).	*Cannot be registered.*		*Nagyné Kis Éva*

Source: Máté–Csernicskó (2020: 72)

7. Time zones in Transcarpathia

The use of time is a component of regional identity in Transcarpathia. Most of the territory of Ukraine – over 90% – belongs to the Eastern European time zone (EET) which means a +2-hour difference from Coordinated Universal Time (UTC). Thus when in Greenwich it is 12 o'clock (noon), in Kyiv it is already 14:00 (UTC + 2). However, the eastern and western ends of Ukraine stick out of EET (Map 6). In the east, the Luhansk region completely, the majority of Donetsk county and the east area of Kharkiv county can geographically be classified into the Moscow time zone (MSK, which is UTC + 3), whereas the western corner of Transcarpathia rather belongs to the Central European time zone (CET, which is UTC + 1).

The changes of state affiliation of Transcarpathia not only altered the state borders, but the capital, the official language (Csernicskó–Ferenc 2014: 399–425), and the currencies, as well (Beregszászi–Csernicskó 2016: 1–23). For the purposes of this chapter it is relevant that – as the Kingdom of Hungary belonging to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Czechoslovak Republic and the Kingdom of Hungary invariably used Central European time (CET) – the first discrepancy between the biological clock of Transcarpathians and the official time following political borders was experienced after the region had become annexed to the Soviet Union. In the area of today's Transcarpathia, Moscow time was introduced on November 5, 1944. Moscow time was used throughout the whole territory of Soviet Ukraine. The two-hour difference between the official (UTC + 3) and the local (UTC + 1) time has led to the development of a specific time perception strategy in Transcarpathia with its related linguistic forms. The official Moscow time had its own designation in Russian, Ukrainian and Hungarian as well (Russian: '*po Moskovski*', Ukrainian: '*za Moskovs'kym chasom*', Hungarian: '*Moszkva szerint*' [according to Moscow]). Similarly, the time used in Transarpathia had its own name in all three languages (Russian: '*po mestnomu*', Ukrainian: '*za miscevym chasom*', Hungarian: '*helyi idő szerint*'

[according to local time]). In official, formal situations of language use Transcarpathians used the official (Moscow) time. Conversely, in informal private discussions they usually used the local time, or when the situation was not clear, they added a distinctive phrase which made it clear whether the time was told '*according to Moscow*' or '*according to local time*' (Csernicskó–Fedinec 2019).

Map 6. Geographical time zones on the territory of Ukraine
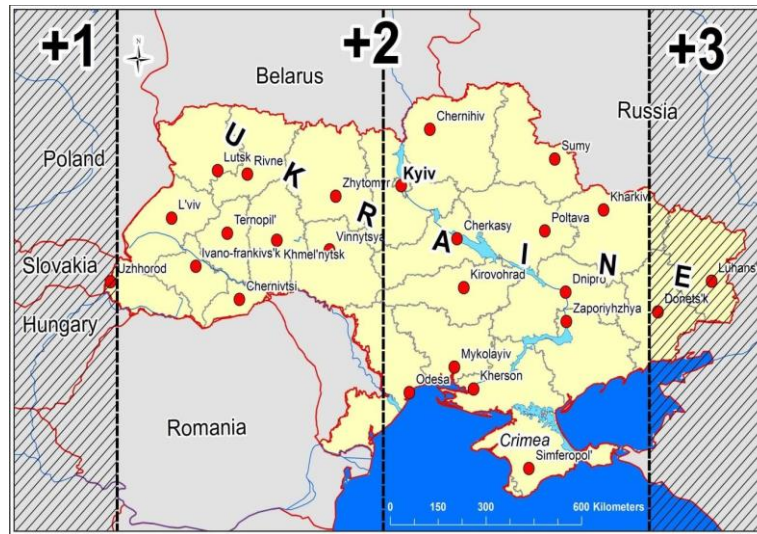
Source: Csernicskó–Fedinec (2019: 8)

A parallel example of marking the time is an invitation card, according to the Ukrainian text of which guests were invited to the wedding dinner at 19:00 (7:00 p.m.). The Hungarian text also displays 19:00, but there is a distinguishing phrase '*m. idő sz.*' (acc. M. time = according to Moscow time). Its function is to indicate that guests should appear at the event not at 7 o' clock in the evening, but at 5 o' clock in the afternoon, according to local time. This distinction would not have been necessary if everyone in Transcarpathia had used official Moscow time in those days (Fedinec–Csernicskó 2021).

Dual marking of time on a Transcarpathian wedding invitation from 1985

An excerpt from the Hungarian-language newspaper *Vörös Zászló* [Red Flag] of the Berehove District Organization of the Communist Party of the Ukrainian SSR, where we see an announcement of a meeting of voters in Berehove (Hungarian: Beregszász) in the 11th issue of February 7, 1946. The announcement of the beginning of the meeting is indicated by the addition of the words "moszkvai idő szerint", ie. "Moscow time" (Fedinec–Csernicskó 2021).

Decision No. 15-XII of 11 June 1990 of the Ukrainian parliament made the Kyiv time (EET) official from 1st of July on the territory of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. This was one of the first steps on the road to Kyiv's independence from Moscow. Since then, the official time in Transcarpathia has become EET. Compared to the Soviet era, the difference is no longer two hours, but only one: EET ('Kyiv time') continues to be UTC + 2, while local time remains UTC + 1. The designation of the official time in Ukrainian is 'za Kyi'vs'kym chasom', in Hungarian 'kijevi idő szerint' (according to Kyiv time) or simply, 'po Kyi'vs'ki' and 'Kijev szerint' (according to Kyiv). The locals continue to apply confidently the rule settled for decades: whatever their clocks show, they know very well whether they must use the official (Kyiv) or the informal (local) time (Fedinec–Csernicskó 2021).

The use of Moscow time in the columns of the Red Flag newspaper in Berehove, 1946

Transcarpathians will not get embarrassed if they are informed about opening hours of e.g. a shop in different versions. If the Hungarian-language sign states that the shop is open from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. according to *local time* (CET), then the Ukrainian version will most probably show 11 a.m. to 11 p.m., according *to Kyiv time* (EET).

In the summer of 2016 we carried out a sociological survey in the region. A total of 1,212 informants were interviewed at 74 research points. 814 of them answered the questionnaire in Ukrainian, and 398 in Hungarian. 59.6% (721 people) and 37.6% (455 people) of the participants declared themselves as ethnic Ukrainians and ethnic Hungarians, respectively. All respondents were Transcarpathians and citizens of Ukraine. The interviewers were students of Transcarpathian universities. The interviewers spoke standard Ukrainian and standard Hungarian during the survey. During the interview field workers asked the respondents what the exact time was, and entered the answers into the questionnaire. The interviewer also encoded whether the informant gave his or her answer according to official Kyiv time (EET) or unofficial local time (CET). At the end of the survey respondents were asked again what the time was, their answers being registered in the relevant heading of the questionnaire, with the type of timekeeping which they used being encoded.

At the beginning of the survey 45.0% of the total sample, at the end 48.9% used Kyiv time, the majority (55.0% vs. 51.1%), however, used local time. There was a significant difference between those responding to the questionnaire in Ukrainian and Hungarian, respectively. Respondents who answered in Ukrainian used Kyiv time (EET) in a much higher proportion than those who replied in Hungarian (Table 22).

Opening hours indicated according to both local time (CET, UTC+1)
and Kyiv time (EET, UTC+2) in Berehove

Table 22. The use of CET and EET at the beginning and at the end of the survey among people answering the questionnaire in Ukrainian and Hungarian, respectively

| | Used official Kyiv time (EET) | | Used informal "local time" (CET) | |
	Answered in Ukrainian	Answered in Hungarian	Answered in Ukrainian	Answered in Hungarian
Beginning of survey	57.9%	18.7%	42.1%	81.3%
End of survey	57.4%	24.6%	42.6%	75.4%

Source: Csernicskó–Fedinec (2019: 16).

8. Language and economy

The economic situation in Ukraine, which became independent in 1991, is unfortunately unstable. It was not until 1999 that the country's GDP returned to the levels of the last years of the Soviet era. However, since the 2008 global crisis and as a result of the armed conflict in eastern Ukraine since the autumn of 2014, GDP data have shown a declining and an increasing trend (Figure 29).

Figure 29. GDP growth (annual %) in Ukraine (1988–2020)
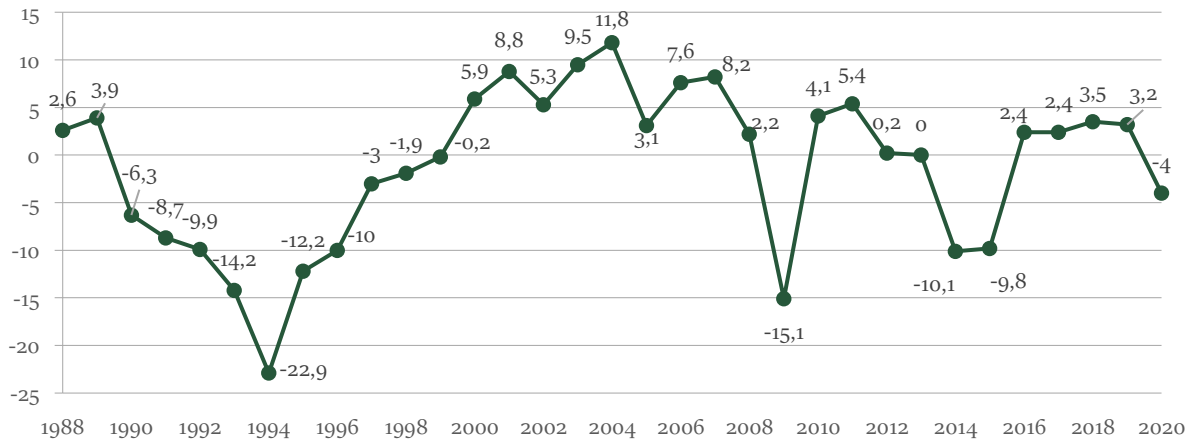
Source: World Bank

We can really get an idea of the economic difficulties of the country if we compare the data of Ukraine with similar indicators of other post-Soviet states (Figure 30).

The economic results of Transcarpathia are below the national average in Ukraine in many respects. Average incomes, for example, lag behind not only the capital, Kyiv, but also behind the national average (Figure 31).

The hierarchical relationship between the majority and the minority, as well as the legacy of Soviet politics, is reflected in the over-representation of Russians and Ukrainians in senior positions, while the proportion of Hungarians among manual workers is higher (Figure 32).

The data of the Tandem 2016 survey carried out in 2016 on a representative sample of Ukrainians and Hungarians in Transcarpathia suggest that there are improving trends, although traces of inequality can still be seen (Figure 33).

Stall selling pancakes and donuts with signs in Ukrainian and Hungarian on the main square of Berehove

Figure 30. Indicators of the successor states of the former Soviet Union: change between 1990 and 2019 (%)

The chart shows for each country (top to bottom): Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Uzbekistan, Ukraine, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Belarus, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Russia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia.

Country	GDP	GDP per capital	population
Tajikistan	-5	-45	76
Kyrgyzstan	9	-26	47
Moldova	38	49	-7
Uzbekistan	224	101	62
Ukraine	-6	10	-15
Armenia	79	114	-16
Azerbaijan	110	51	13
Georgia	7	45	-26
Belarus	41	51	-7
Turkmenista	257	121	61
Kazakhstan	161	130	13
Russia	67	69	-1
Latvia	25	75	-28
Lithuania	65	121	-25
Estonia	131	173	-15

population   GDP   GDP per capital

Source: World Bank data and HVG (16 December 2021, p. 40)

Figure 31. Average monthly income in US dollars in Ukraine, Transcarpathia and Kyiv between 2002 and 2019 based on current exchange rates
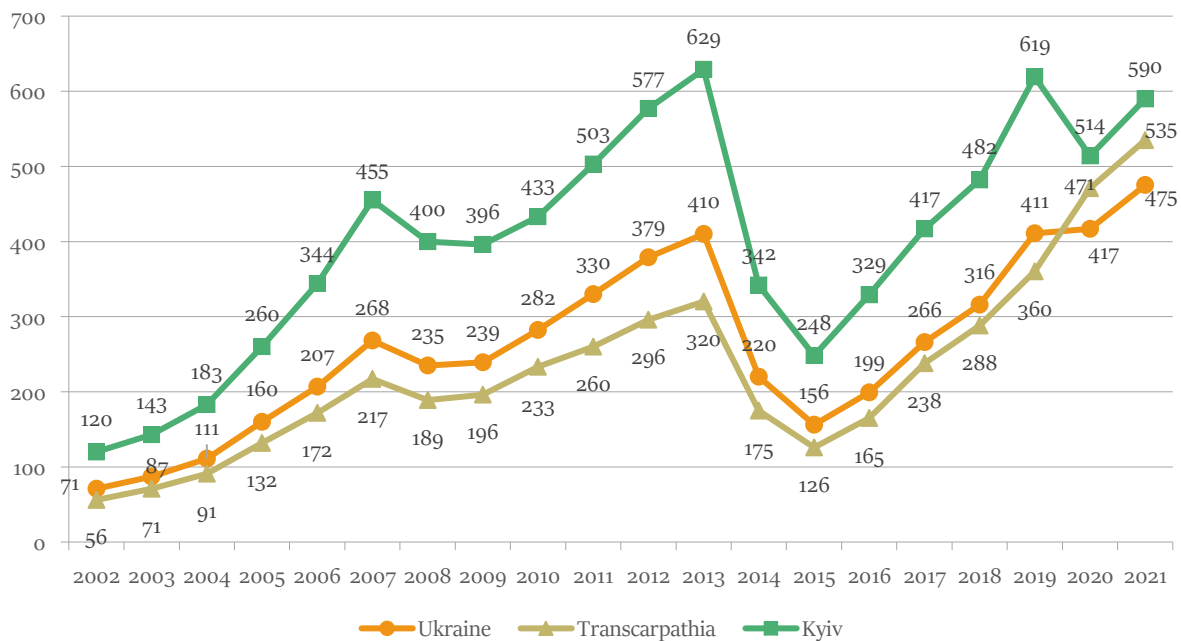
Figure 32. Individual nationalities sorted by employment in Transcarpathia according to the data of the 2001 census (%)
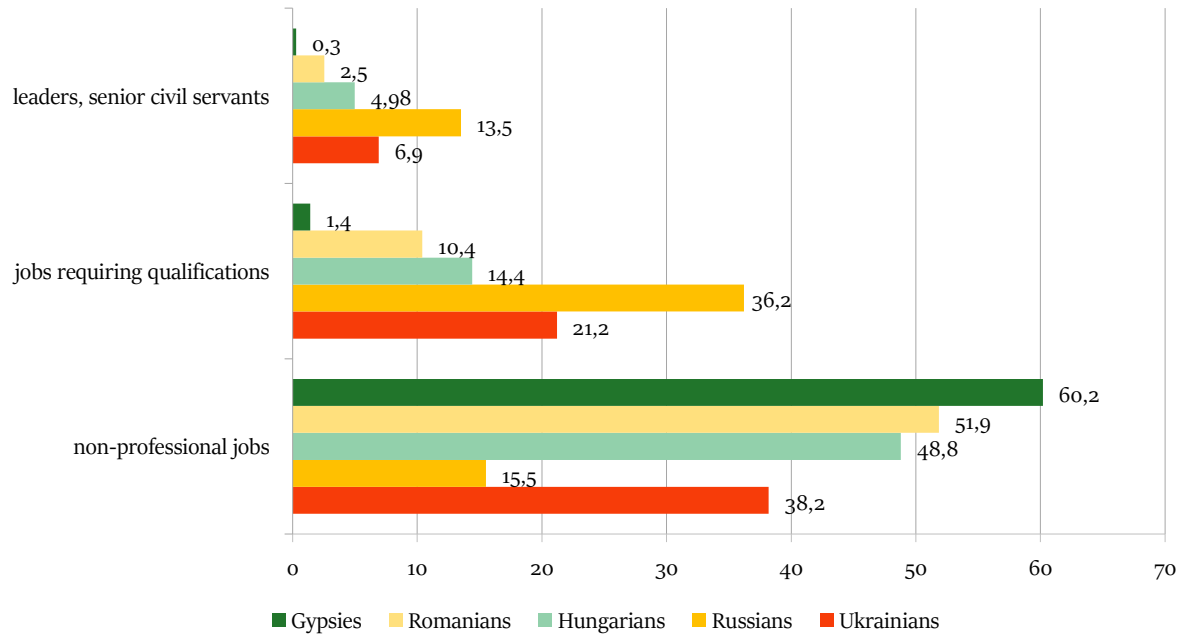
Source: Csernicskó et al. (2020a: 43).

Figure 33. Social activity of adult Ukrainians and Hungarians in Transcarpathia (based on Tandem 2016 research data; %)
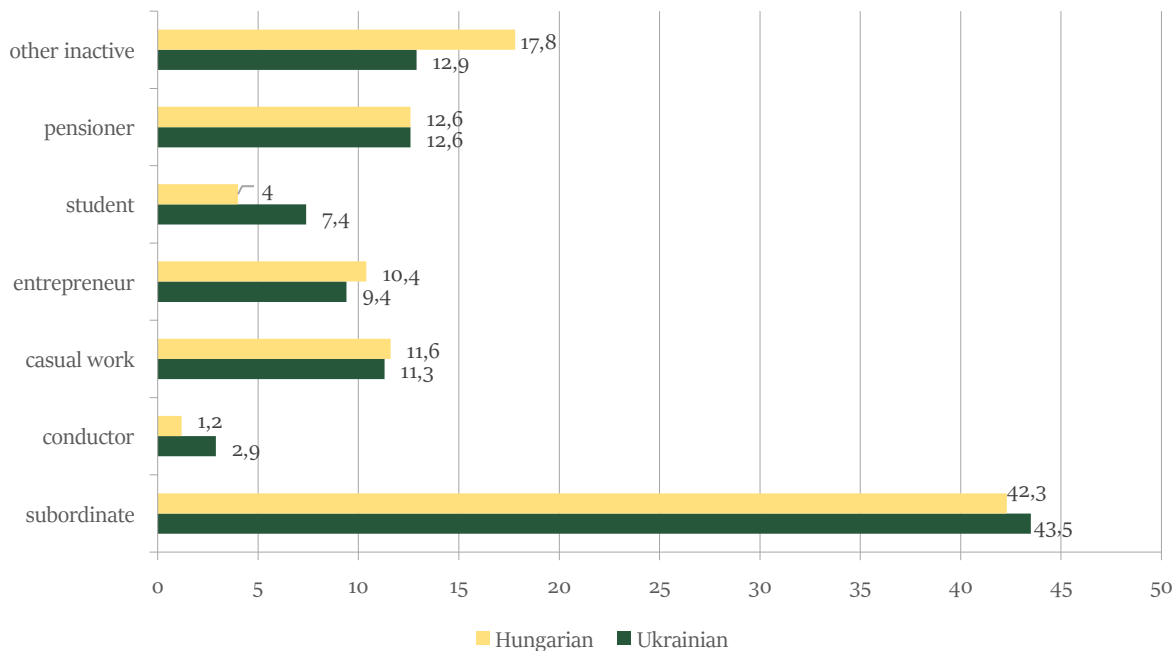
Miklós Kontra states in the chapter concluding the book The Hungarian Language in Croatia (Fancsaly et al. 2016): "If we want the Hungarians of Drávaszög to speak Hungarian in 50 years, then there are economic preconditions that will allow Hungarians to prosper in Hungarian in Drávaszög – 50 years from now" (Kontra 2016: 207).

The Egán Ede Transcarpathian Economic Development Program, launched by the Hungarian government in 2016, which is based on the strategic development plan of the Hungarian community in Transcarpathia, largely aims to improve the economic position of the Hungarian community in Transcarpathia, increase the prestige of the Hungarian language and scope of use.

The logo of the Ede Egán Transcarpathian Economic Development Center

However, the development and implementation of economic development programs supporting language maintenance and the long-term viability of the Hungarian community in Transcarpathia must also take into consideration that in Transcarpathia, where Hungarian-speaking people make up less than 13% of the region's population, existence "does not take place in a national space, but in a transnational space, where adaptation to the new situation takes place quickly along economic rationality and opportunities" (Kovály–Erőss–Tátrai 2017: 17–18). We have shown above that this reaction to the changed economic conditions is ongoing in Transcarpathia. If the Hungarian subsidies and the cross-border trade and commuting traditionally present in Transcarpathia are added to this (see, for example, Borbély 2015, Kovály–Erőss–Tátrai 2017, Tátrai–Erőss–Kovály 2017, Simonyi–Pisano 2011, Pisano–Simonyi 2016), that can strengthen the position of Hungarians and the Hungarian language in the region; but only if it is accompanied by knowledge of other languages.

The prestige and usefulness of the Hungarian language is to be strengthened by the program entitled 'Itt magyarul is' [Here we speak Hungarian too], launched by a non-governmental organization in 2013. The goals of the program are:

- Facilitating, strengthening and popularizing the use of the Hungarian language in the service network, offices, institutions and facilities of the settlements of Transcarpathia.
- Inventory of institutions, facilities and shops providing services in Hungarian, their promotion.
- Informing the Hungarian-speaking inhabitants of Transcarpathia about the possibility of using Hungarian-language services.
- Boosting tourism.
- Increasing the employment rate of Hungarian speakers.

The movement also aims to extend the use of the Hungarian language from the narrow range of family, private life and ethnically defined arenas (school, church, cultural life) to the public arena: businesses, shops and services.

Figure 34. The enterprises that joined the movement „Itt magyarul is" (IMI)

Source: https://ittmagyarulis.hu/
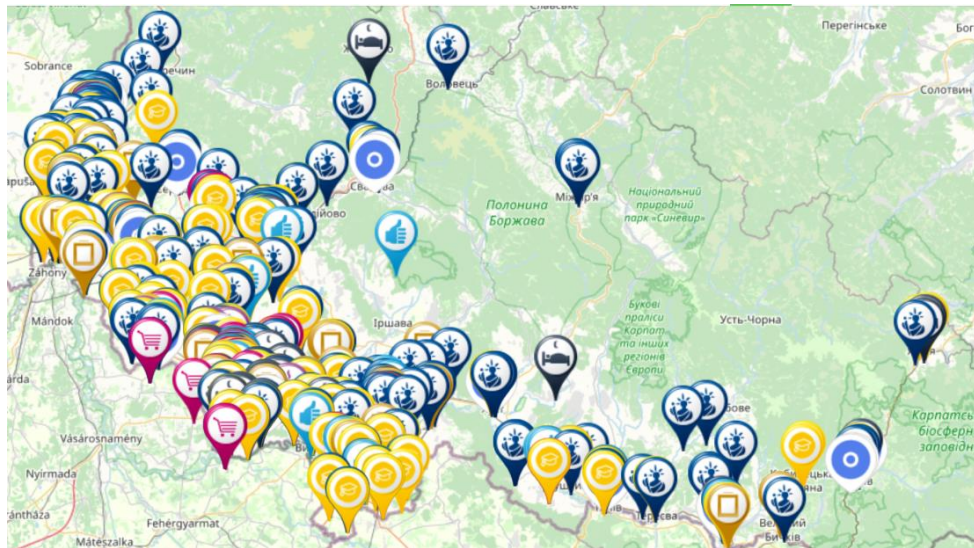
During the program, companies, service providers, shops, restaurants, institutions, etc., which have employees who speak Hungarian and who undertake to serve their visitors in Hungarian, can register on a website (https://ittmagyarulis.hu/), and thus are entered into a database. The registering companies, corporations, institutions, commercial and catering units will receive a logo, which will be displayed in a visible place: here you can also be served in Hungarian.

Ukrainian-Hungarian billboard in Berehove (2022) with the logo of "IMI"

However, these efforts of the Hungarian civil society in Transcarpathia are hampered by the Ukrainian government.

Article 30 of the Law of Ukraine "On Supporting the Functioning of the Ukrainian Language as the State Language" entered into force on 16 January 2021, paragraph 1 of which obligatorily provides: "The language of consumer services in Ukraine shall be the State language ".

According to point 3, "At the request of a client, services may also be provided to them personally in another language acceptable to the parties." Government agencies and civil activists have launched vigorous propaganda to promote Ukrainian-language services. These factsheets (see eg Figure 35 and Figure 36) call attention to the fact that if customers are not served in the state language, a high fine may be imposed. In this way, the government creates an atmosphere that destabilizes those who intend to use minority languages (including Hungarian).

The prestige, the belief in the economic usefulness is essential for the future of languages: a language that is considered worthless and useless will not be passed on to the next generation. In 2016, we asked Ukrainians and Hungarians in Transcarpathia how important our informants consider Ukrainian, Hungarian, Russian, English and German for the later prosperity of their children. The importance of each language was rated on a scale of 1 (not important at all) to 5 (very important). Both samples considered their own language very important. As the second most important language, both the Ukrainian and Hungarian samples named the global lingua franca, English. The third highest value in both samples was given to the other language: Ukrainians value the role of Hungarian and Hungarians value the role of Ukrainian in the future of their child. Both samples consider German to be somewhat more important and useful for the next generation than Russian (Figure 37).

Figure 35. Information from the "Freedom Square" volunteer movement on the obligatory use of the Ukrainian language based on the law on the protection of the state language

Figure 36. "Freedom Square" volunteer movement information in Ukrainian on the consequences of violating the law on the protection of the state language

Source: https://prostirsvobody.org/img/forall/image/movaposlug.pdf

Figure 37. Assessing the importance of languages for their child's future (based on Tandem 2016 research data; averages: *1 = not important at all, 5 = very important*)
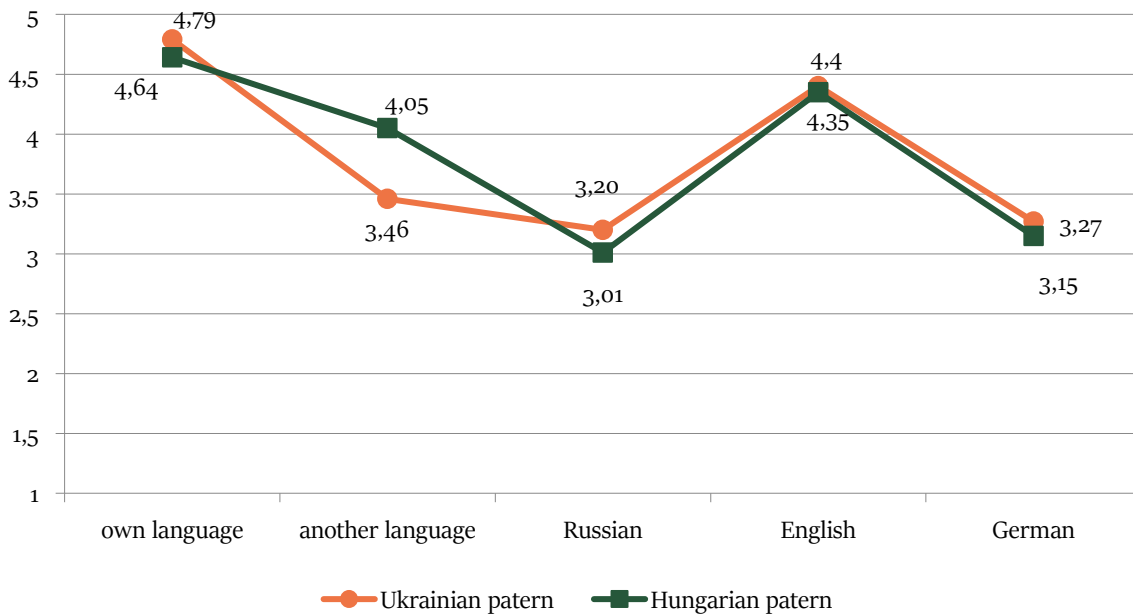
We know well from Susan Gal's research that "the appeal of a minority language increases when that language connects its speakers symbolically or practically with a more economically and politically developed part of the world" (Gal 2018: 205). For Hungarians living in Ukraine (Transcarpathia), the Hungarian language is a close symbolic and practical link towards Hungary.

In its new constitution adopted in 2011, Hungary declared: *"Bearing in mind that there is one single Hungarian nation that belongs together, Hungary shall bear responsibility for the fate of Hungarians living beyond its borders, and shall facilitate the survival and development of their communities; it shall support their efforts to preserve their Hungarian identity, the assertion of their individual and collective rights, the establishment of their community self-governments, and their prosperity in their native lands, and shall promote their cooperation with each other and with Hungary."* (Hungary's Constitution of 2011.)

Accordingly, Budapest provides increasing financial support to Hungarians living in Transcarpathia every year (Figure 38).

The 2010 amendment to the Citizenship Act states: „*In case of meeting the conditions set out in points b) and d) of paragraph (1) a non-Hungarian citizen whose ascendant was a Hungarian citizen, or who demonstrates the plausibility of his or her descent from Hungary and provides proof of his or her knowledge of the Hungarian language may – on his or her request – be naturalized on preferential terms*" (Hungarian Citizenship. Article 4, para. 3.).

Hungary, a member of the European Union and NATO, is more economically developed and stable than Ukraine. Following the amendment of the Citizenship Act, a significant number of Hungarians in Transcarpathia took the opportunity to acquire Hungarian citizenship, thus becoming citizens of an EU Member State.

Figure 38. Hungarian subsidies for Transcarpathia in 2011 and 2020

2011

2020

35 892 919 413 *f*

3 202 963 125 ₴

115 180 725 €
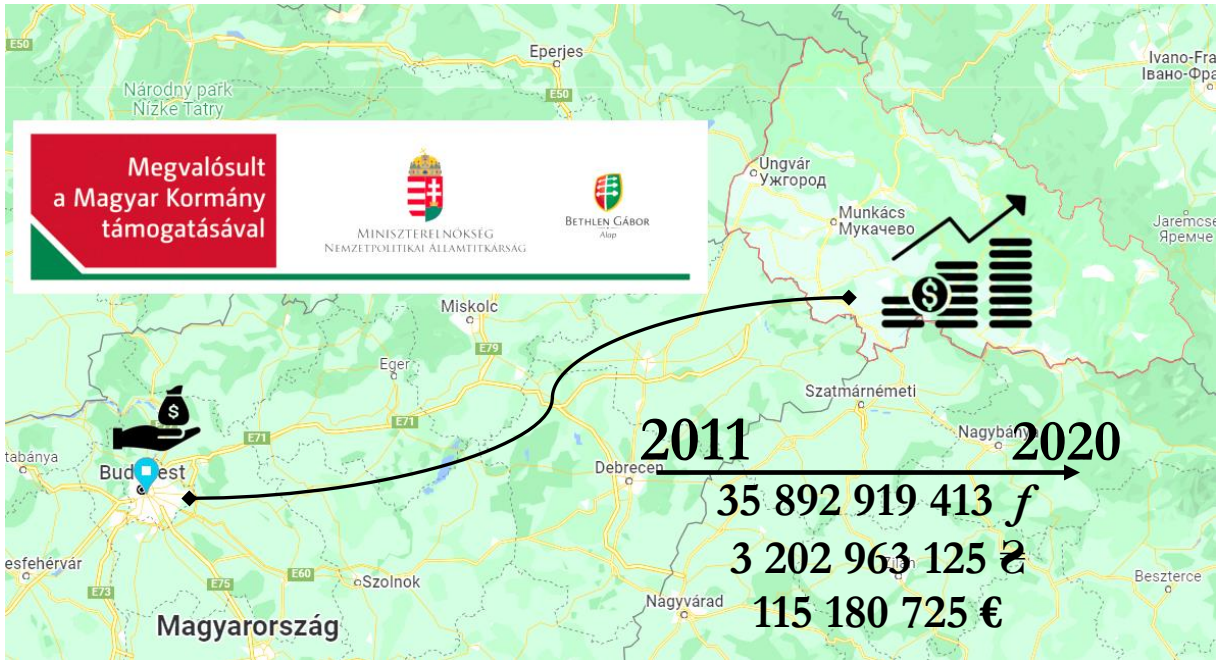
As the prestige of the Hungarian language in Transcarpathia has been high since the end of the Second World War and has been steadily increasing in recent years, it is not surprising that assimilation is particularly low among Hungarians living in Ukraine. The prestige of the Hungarian language is also shown by the fact that, according to the data of the 2001 census, in ethnically mixed marriages where one party is Ukrainian and the other is of Hungarian nationality, the children to be born will have a slightly higher chance of having a Hungarian identity than Ukrainian (Figure 39 and 40).

Ukrainian-Hungarian advertisement of a children's development center in Berehove, 2017

Figure 39. Proportion of Hungarians living in Hungarian-East Slavic mixed marriages in 2001 and 2017 (%)

Figure 40. Proportion of Hungarian children born in mixed marriages (%) in Hungarian-inhabited districts of Transcarpathia in 2001 and 2017
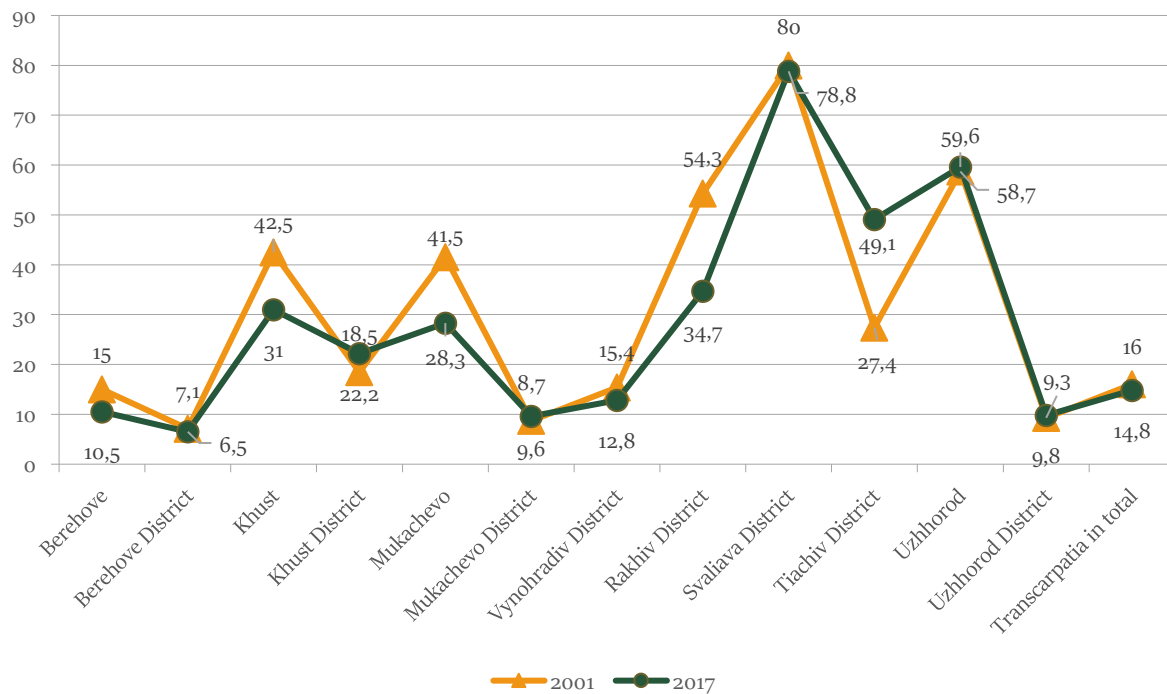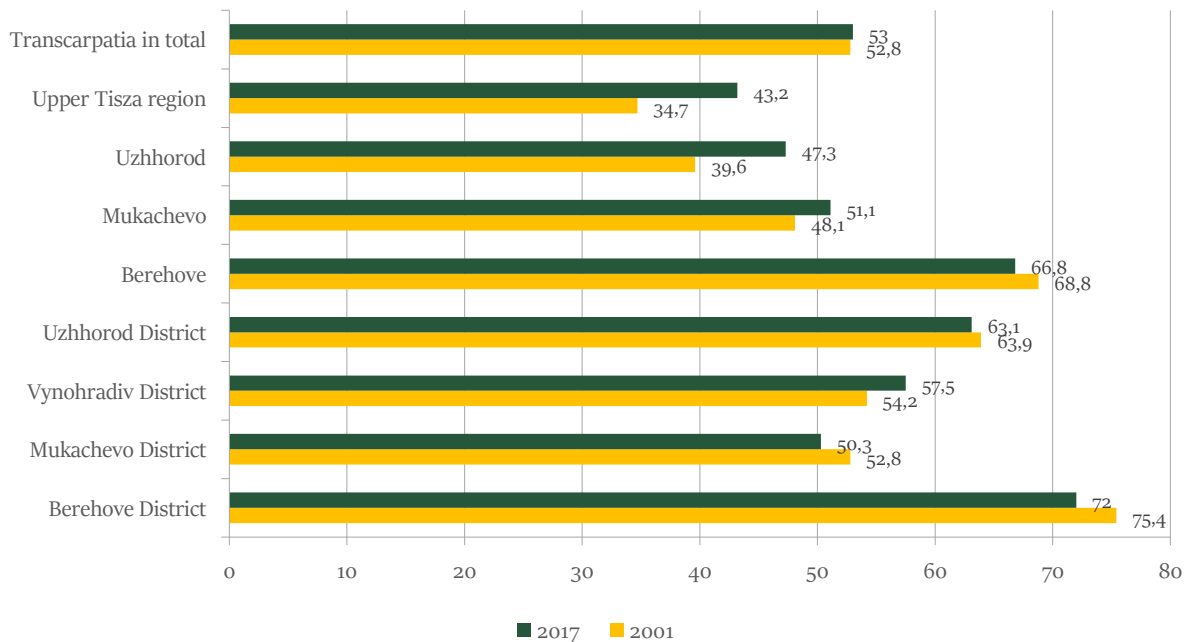
Source: about Tátrai-Molnár (2020: 62).

9. Language choice in the visual space, linguistic landscape

As for the choice of visual language, i.e. the linguistic landscape, Transcarpathia has a serious tradition of multilingualism in public space. The public areas of the region were already characterized by multilingualism in the first half of the twentieth century (Csernicskó 2013, 2019, Csernicskó–Fedinec 2014). Today, at the beginning of the 21st century, we can find Hungarian dominant visual language use where oral language choice also shows Hungarian dominance. In bilingual settlements, on the other hand, visual language use is also typically bilingual (Beregszászi 2005, Hires-László 2015, 2018a, 2018b, 2019, Karmacsi 2014a, 2014b, 2017, 2018, Tóth 2014a, 2014b, 2018, Tóth-Orosz 2019, Laihonen–Csernicskó 2017, 2019).

Advertisements in Ukrainian and Hungarian in Berehove

The inscriptions related to the central state sphere and the county administration are typically made only in the state language, but in the Hungarian-majority district of Berehove the bilingual inscription is already typical.

Monolingual signs for the public sector

Bilingual Ukrainian–Hungarian nameplates of district offices in Berehove

Large state-owned companies (such as the Ukrainian railway company) are trying to keep up, and Ukrainian–English bilingual signs appear among the captions. After the launch of the first direct Budapest–Mukachevo InterCity service on a daily basis, in addition to the Ukrainian and English signs, information signs in Hungarian appeared at the Mukachevo railway station. At smaller train stations, the operator usually only displays notices in the state language, but sometimes a bilingual information message is displayed.

Bilingual (Ukrainian–English) timetable
on the Uzhhorod–Kyiv train

Announcement in Ukrainian–English–Hungarian
at the Mukachevo railway station

Ukrainian-language settlement name and warning sign on the building of Berehove district railway stations
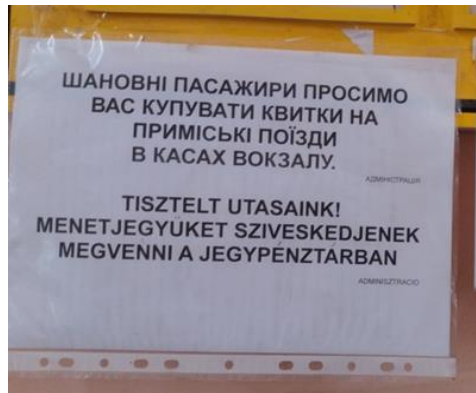
Information sign of public interest in Ukrainian–Hungarian in the building of the railway station of Berehove

Typically, inscriptions and signs that draw attention to life-threatening danger are only available in Ukrainian and Russian. The warning text in Hungarian can only be found in exceptional cases.

*Ukrainian monolingual warning sign;
the inscription: Flammable!
No smoking!*

*Russian monolingual warning sign;
the caption: Don't climb in, it can kill you!*

*Warning signs in Hungarian and Russian;
the Russian subtitle: High voltage! Dangerous!*

Inscriptions placed by the local governments of Hungarian-inhabited settlements (for example, place name signs, street name signs, signs of local public institutions) usually appear in two languages. Most Ukrainian-Hungarian nameplates are among the municipal inscriptions. In addition to the street name signs displayed by the local government, individual street name signs are also displayed, in which, in addition to the only Ukrainian and Ukrainian–Hungarian inscriptions, there is also a display in Hungarian only.

Bilingual settlement nameplates posted by local governments

Bilingual (Ukrainian–Hungarian) street signs in Hungarian-inhabited settlements posted by local governments

Ukrainian–Hungarian and Hungarian language individual street signs in Vary

*Nameplates in Ukrainian and Hungarian
in the building of the local government
of the settlements inhabited by Hungarians*

Among the arenas of public language use, the use of church language plays a decisive role in the lives of minorities. In the course of various pieces of language use research conducted in recent years, the use of the Hungarian language was the highest in the language use arenas related to church and religious life (see, for example, Csernicskó ed. 2003, 2010). This Hungarian linguistic dominance is reflected in the linguistic landscape as well.

Sign in Hungarian on the facade of a congregation house in a Reformed parish

An advertisement in Hungarian in front of the entrance of the Greek Catholic church in Hecha

The use of visual language shows the greatest linguistic diversity in the announcements related to the economic sphere. The choice of language of entrepreneurs and service providers must satisfy two types of needs: on one hand, they must comply with the legislation in force, which may make the use of the state language mandatory for public subtitles, and on the other hand, the appropriate language or languages must be selected. The announcements in Hungarian can only be found where both the person setting up/ordering the sign and the imagined reader are Hungarian, and accordingly the visual communication takes place in Hungarian (Barni–Bagna 2010).

Da Silva and Heller (2009) describe language policy as a discursive process rooted in, and inseparable from, political and economic tendencies. Recent research in Transcarpathia in the field of linguistic landscape shows that the Hungarian community in Transcarpathia can respond to changes in the economic environment by shaping the linguistic landscape of its residential area in other languages (i.e. non-Ukrainian and Hungarian). As a result, in recent years, in addition to the announcements in Hungarian and Ukrainian, the proportion of economically useful inscriptions in other languages (English, Russian) has increased. Thus, in addition to the symbolic function, economic interest also shapes language choice in the linguistic landscape (Csernicskó 2017b, 2019, Karmacsi 2017). In this way, tourism and tourists, as well as the global economy and market conditions, become indirectly the shapers of the linguistic landscape in Transcarpathia (Kallen 2009: 274, Csernicskó–Laihonen 2016, Laihonen–Csernicskó 2019, Karmacsi 2018).

Ad in three languages (Ukrainian, English, Hungarian) in Berehove
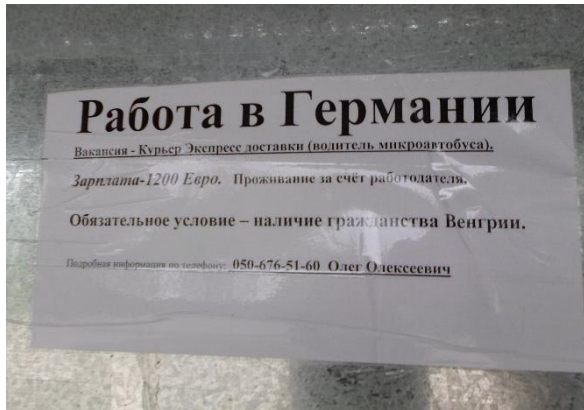
Job advertisement in Russian

*Advertisement in Hungarian in front
of the entrance of a store*

*Inscriptions in Hungarian and Ukrainian
on the building of a tire service*

*Informative signs
in Ukrainian and Hungarian*

The COVID-19 pandemic also plays a significant role in shaping the linguistic landscape, as epidemic measures have enriched the public sphere with numerous inscriptions. At least one notice calling for the mandatory use of masks has been posted at the entrances of most shops and public institutions. In addition, there are frequent warnings to keep away from people (social distancing), to disinfect their hands, and to refuse entry above the maximum number of people in the room. The linguistic distribution of the texts related to the coronavirus shows a varied picture: only Ukrainian, only Hungarian and Ukrainian-Hungarian bilingual subtitles occur. We can only find inscriptions in Hungarian in the Hungarian-inhabited villages.

The main function of the announcements related to the pandemic is the transmission of information: a text posted in both Ukrainian and Hungarian reaches more people than the same text posted only in Hungarian or only in Ukrainian. This is especially important for stores, as they or their customers can be severely fined for not complying with the regulations. By the end of 2022 it can be stated that everyone, regardless of the language, is aware that they cannot enter anywhere other than private homes without a face mask, but the average customer cannot know how many people can be in a given store at one time without proper information. The placement of multilingual texts also serves the interests of shops and entrepreneurs.

A store in Berehove informs about the obligatory use of the mask in Hungarian, while the sign "only two people may enter" is only in Ukrainian

Monolingual and bilingual signage

10. Representation of interests

In the last days of the Soviet Union, the largest cultural organization of Transcarpathian Hungarians, the Transcarpathian Hungarian Cultural Association (KMKSZ), was established, and a few years later the Hungarian Democratic Union of Ukraine (UMDSZ) was formed. Together with non-governmental organizations organized on a professional basis (e.g. the Transcarpathian Hungarian Teachers' Association, the Transcarpathian Community of Hungarian Intellectuals, the Transcarpathian Hungarian Academic Council, etc.), it can be said that the Hungarian national community is undoubtedly the most organized minority in Ukraine. The advocacy bodies of the Hungarians have made a significant contribution to the democratization of Ukraine, to the Euro-Atlantic integration path, and to the active support of its integration efforts, and will inevitably contribute to the maintenance of political stability and inter-ethnic peace in the country and Transcarpathia.

Hungarians in Transcarpathia, despite making up only 0.3% of the population of Ukraine, were represented in the 450-member Supreme Council in five of the nine parliamentary terms of Ukraine that became independent in 1991 (Table 23). Due to the change in the conditions of the election, there is unfortunately no Hungarian representative in Kyiv in the parliament elected in the summer of 2019.

Logos of Hungarian advocacy bodies in Transcarpathia

Table 23. Representatives of the Hungarians of Transcarpathia in the Supreme Council of independent Ukraine

	Period	Representative
Cycle I	April 1990– May 1994	–
Cycle II	May 1994 – May 1998	Mihály Tóth
Cycle III	May 1998 – May 2002	Miklós Kovács
Cycle IV	May 2002 – May 2006	István Gajdos
Cycle V	May 2006 – November 2007	–
Cycle VI.	November 2007 – December 2012	–
Cycle VII	December 2012 – November 2014	István Gajdos
Cycle VIII	November 2014 – August 2019	László Brenzovics
Cycle IX	August 2019 –	–

The presence of Hungarian representatives in the representative bodies of the regional (county, district) and local self-governments of Transcarpathia is continuous (Table 24 and Figure 41).

The Hungarian parties in Transcarpathia, the Hungarian Cultural Association of Transcarpathia – Hungarian Party of Ukraine (KMKSZ UMP) and the Hungarian Democratic Party of Ukraine (UMDP) in all administrative units of the region (Uzhhorod, Mukachevo, Berehove and Chop counties, Berehove, Vinohradyv, Mukachevo and Uzhhorod District Councils) were represented in the 2015 municipal elections, where a significant number of Hungarians live. In the city of Berehove and the Berehove District, the Hungarian political interest group provides the most representatives in the local governments (Figure 42).

A Ukrainian–Hungarian billboard encouraging participation in the 2020 local elections

Table 24. Hungarian representatives in the representative body of the Transcarpathian County Council

	Mandate of cycles	Total number of Members	Hungarian representatives, the number of representatives of the Hungarian faction
Cycle I	April 1992 – May 1994	60	11
Cycle II	July 1994 – April 1998	60	9
Cycle III	April 1998 – April 2002	75	4
Cycle IV	April 2002 – April 2006	85	4 (KMKSZ) and 3 (UMDSZ)
Cycle V	April 2006 – November 2010	70	5 (KMKSZ UMP) and 4 (UMDP)
Cycle VI	November 2010– December 2015	108	3 (KMKSZ UMP) and 4 (UMDP)
Cycle VII	December 2015 – December 2020	64	8 (KMKSZ UMP and UMDP joint faction)
Cycle VIII	December 2020–	64	8 (KMKSZ UMP)

Figure 41. Number of representatives of the two Hungarian parties in Transcarpathia in the administrative units inhabited by Hungarians in Transcarpathia in the 2015–2020 election cycle
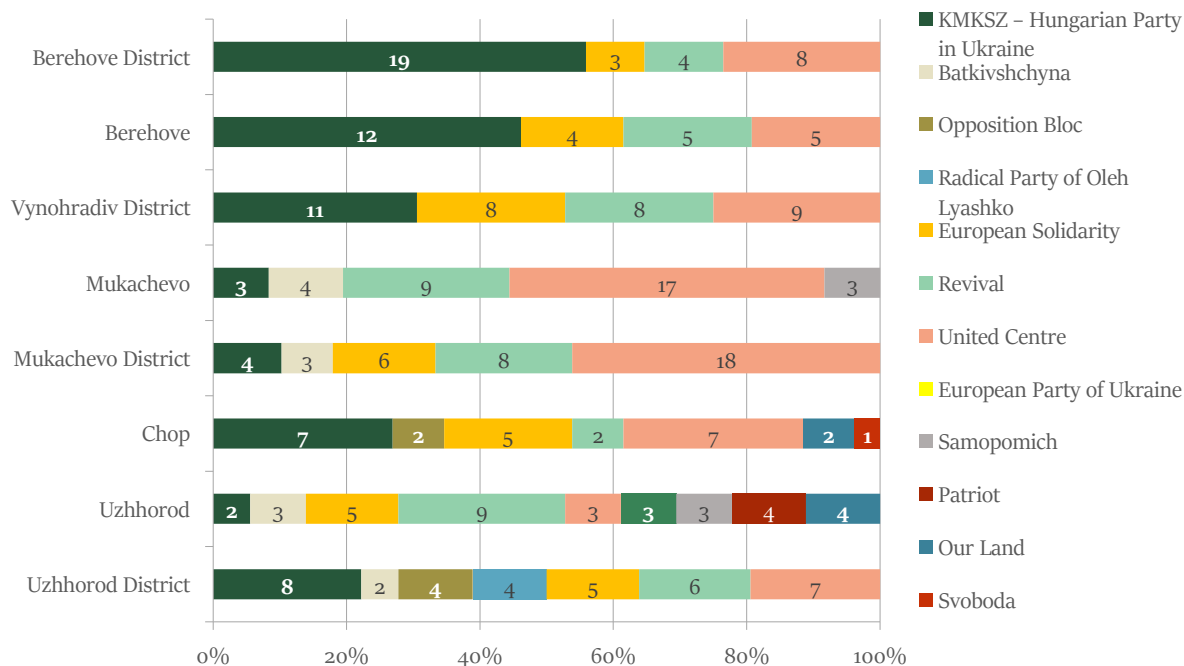
Source: Csernicskó et al. (2020a: 51). Compiled on the basis of: Ismertté vált a megyei tanács összetétele (2015)

The municipal elections held on 25 October 2020 followed the new administrative structure resulting from the decentralization reform in Ukraine (for more information on decentralization, see Chapter 11 of this volume). This time, KMKSZ UMP and UMDP did not launch a joint list. The UMDP did not nominate candidates to the county council, 8 Hungarian representatives entered the KMKSZ UMP list, similarly to the previous cycle (Figure 42).

The KMKSZ UMP nominated candidates to the Berehove, Uzhhorod, Mukachevo and Khust District Councils. Based on the election results, they won seats in the Berehove and Uzhhorod District Councils. The UMDP ran in the District Councils of Berehove and Uzhhorod, and managed to obtain a mandate in the District Councils of Berehove (Figure 43).

Among the city councils, the KMKSZ UMP is represented in Berehove, Mukachevo, Vinohradyv, Chop and Tyachiv, while the UMDP is represented in the Berehove and Chop City Councils (Figure 44).

KMKSZ thanked its voters for the support after the municipal elections

Figure 42. Composition of the county council by number of seats based on the results of the 2020 local elections
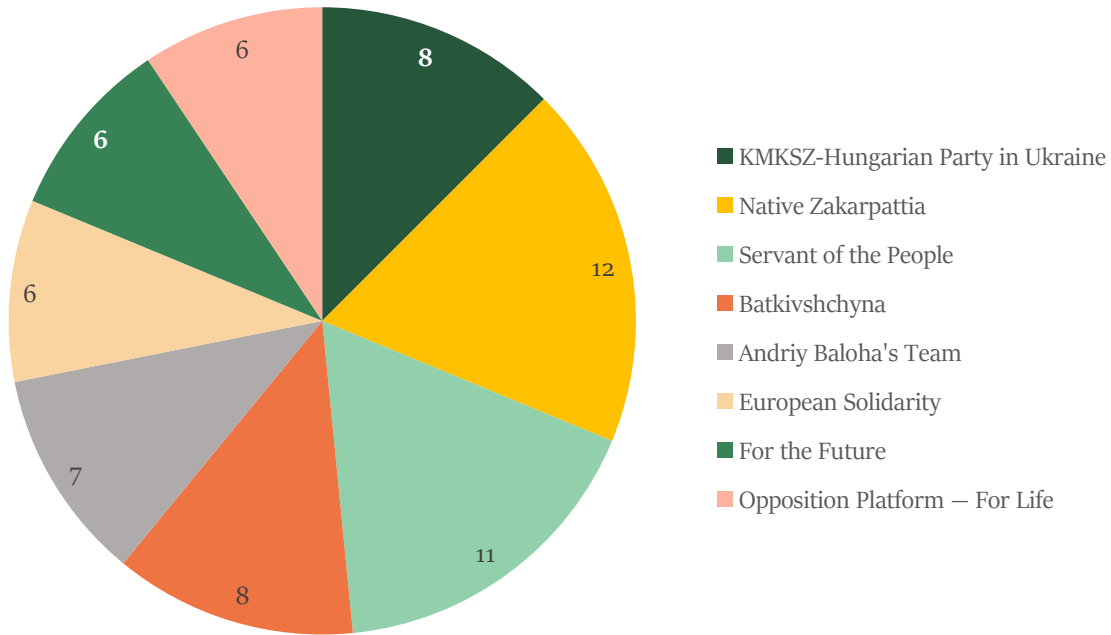
Source: Central Election Commission of Ukraine. Local election 2020; Csernicskó et al. (2021: 109)

Figure 43. Composition of district councils by number of seats after the 2020 local elections
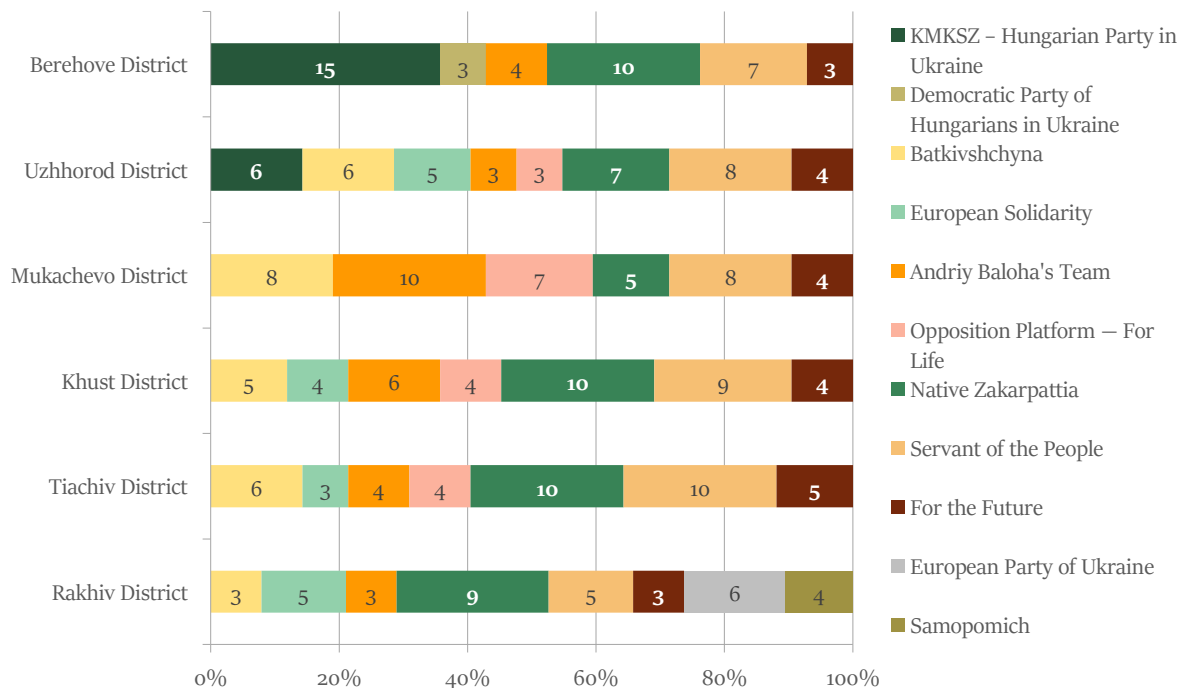
Legend:
- KMKSZ – Hungarian Party in Ukraine
- Democratic Party of Hungarians in Ukraine
- Batkivshchyna
- European Solidarity
- Andriy Baloha's Team
- Opposition Platform — For Life
- Native Zakarpattia
- Servant of the People
- For the Future
- European Party of Ukraine
- Samopomich

Berehove District: 15, 3, 4, 10, 7, 3
Uzhhorod District: 6, 6, 5, 3, 3, 7, 8, 4
Mukachevo District: 8, 10, 7, 5, 8, 4
Khust District: 5, 4, 6, 4, 10, 9, 4
Tiachiv District: 6, 3, 4, 4, 10, 10, 5
Rakhiv District: 3, 5, 3, 9, 5, 3, 6, 4

Source: Central Election Commission of Ukraine. Local election 2020; Csernicskó et al. (2021: 110)

Figure 44. Composition of the city councils, according to the number of seats, where the Hungarian party also ran during the 2020 local elections
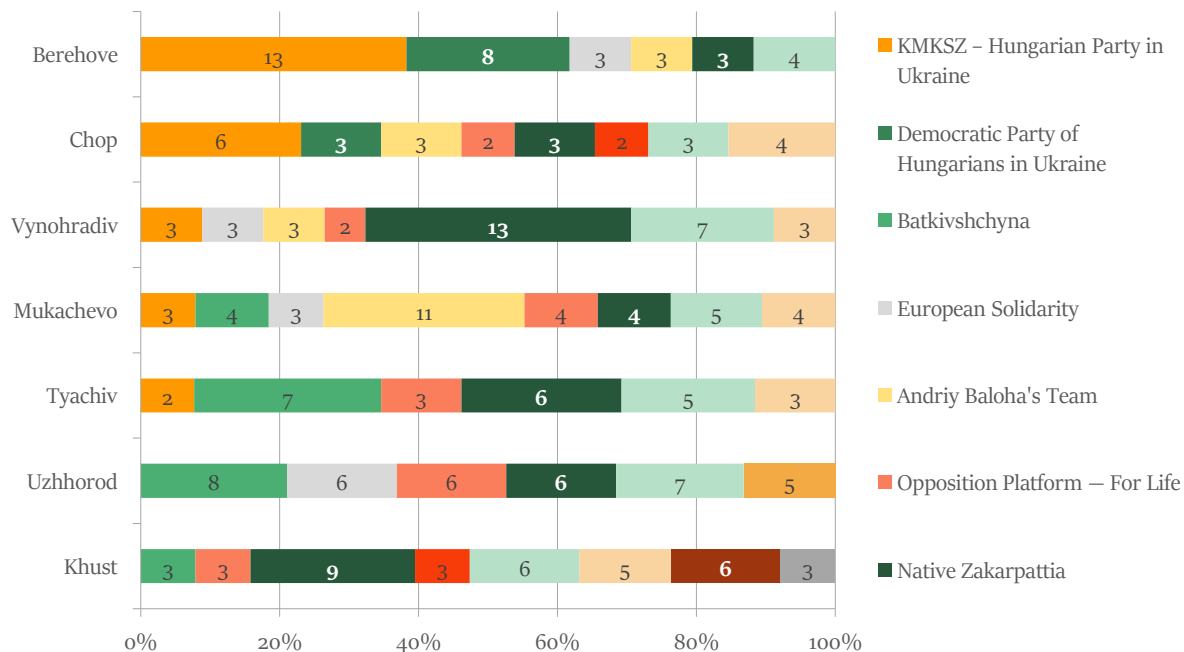
Source: Central Election Commission of Ukraine. Local election 2020; Csernicskó et al. (2021: 111)

11. Decentralization in Transcarpathia

In 2015, the Supreme Council of Ukraine adopted the Law on Voluntary Amalgamation of Territorial Communities (ЗУ2015), which launched the administrative or decentralization reform in Ukraine. As a result of the reform, local municipalities and villages had to be organized into unified territorial communities (Ukrainian: об'єднання територіальних громад – ОТГ, hereinafter – UTC, also known as micro-regions). On 17 July 2020, the Supreme Council voted the Decree on the Establishment and Termination of Districts (Постанова 2020), which closed the legal framework for the decentralization process: 490 districts in Ukraine were abolished and 136 new districts were created (see decentralization.gov.ua).

In the 13 districts of Transcarpathia (Map 7) 6 districts (Uzhhorod, Mukachevo, Berehove, Khust, Tyachiv and Rakhiv Districts) remained (Map 8), while the former 337 local governments (Map 9) were organized into 64 micro-regions (Map 10). The list of the established micro-regions broken down by district and the settlements belonging to them can be viewed in the tables at the end of the chapter (Tables 25–30).

According to Article 4 (4) of the law adopted in 2015, historical, natural, ethnic and cultural aspects are taken into account in the merging of municipalities (ЗУ2015). Thus, there was a legal basis for a significant part of the Hungarian language area to be concentrated in a single administrative unit. The Hungarian community developed a proposal to establish a district with a Hungarian majority. Prior to the 2014 presidential election, presidential candidate Petro Poroshenko signed an agreement with the KMKSZ and promised to support the establishment of a Hungarian majority administrative unit. However, after being elected president, he did not abide by the agreement. The new political force that came to power after the 2019 elections put the issue of administrative reform and decentralization on the agenda again. However, the new political power did not involve representatives of the Hungarian national minority in the discussion of the

drafts (Brenzovics et al. 2020: 41). Based on the plans published by the summer of 2020, it could be concluded that the Kyiv government plans to abolish the Berehove District inhabited by 76.1% Hungarians and 80.2% Hungarian native speakers. Joining the Mukachevo District, which has a large Ukrainian population, would have meant a drastic reduction in the proportion of the Hungarian population. Instead of the three or four districts previously planned, there were eventually 6 districts in Transcarpathia, including the district of Berehove (Map 11–13).

The share of the Hungarian population also decreased in the districts and in the chromades formed from the settlement associations. The Berehove-based district, formed as a result of the decentralization reform, was formed by merging the former Berehove District, two former Mukachevo District settlements, and the Ukrainian-majority Vinohradyv District, as well as some settlements in the Irshava District, reducing the Hungarian population to about 43%, in the only Hungarian-majority district in Ukraine. The share of Hungarians in the districts of Uzhhorod and Mukachevo is also significantly decreasing: from 33% to 13% in the former and from 12% to 4% in the latter (KMKSZ 2020).

Although there is still a district centered in Berehove, the administrative units formed as a result of decentralization (both at the district and micro-regional level) adversely affect the Hungarians of Transcarpathia. The division of the Hungarian ethnic and linguistic area into several administrative units and its connection with the settlements mostly inhabited by Ukrainians hinders the advocacy activities of the Hungarian community. Undoubtedly, the change in the ethnic and linguistic composition of the administrative units will also affect the use of the Hungarian language, but due to the novelty of the situation, we cannot draw far-reaching conclusions in this regard.

Map 7. Administrative division of Transcarpathia before the 2020 decentralization

Made by: István Molnár D.

Map 8. Administrative division of Transcarpathia from 2020

Made by: István Molnár D.

Map 9. The border of the municipalities of Transcarpathia before the 2020 decentralization

Made by: István Molnár D.
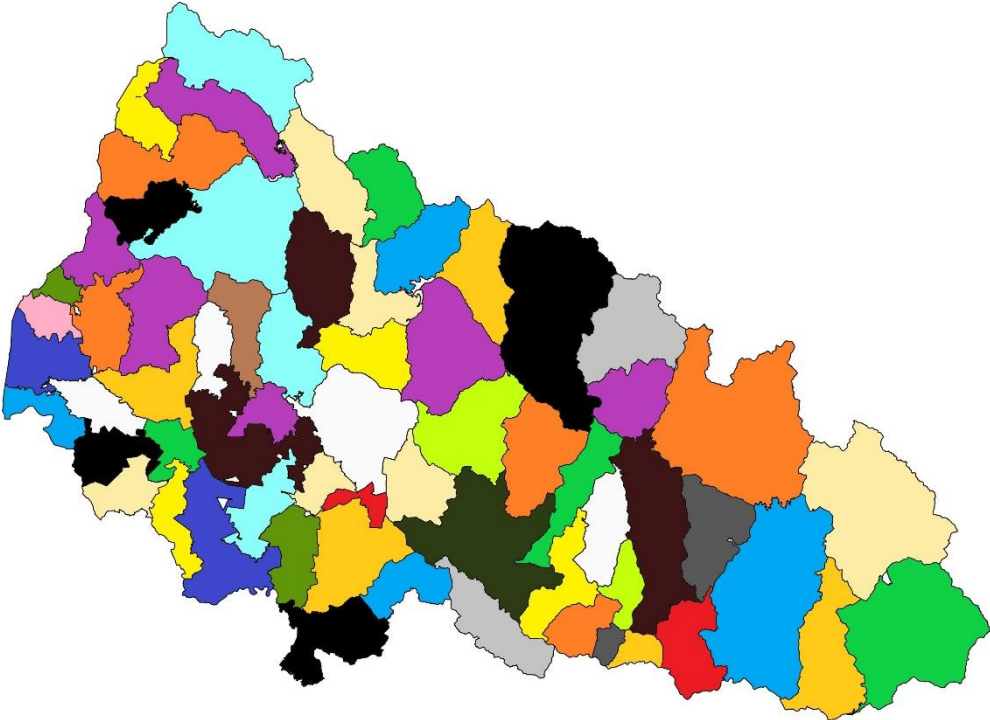
Made by: István Molnár D.

Map 11. Nationality distribution of Transcarpathia in 2001
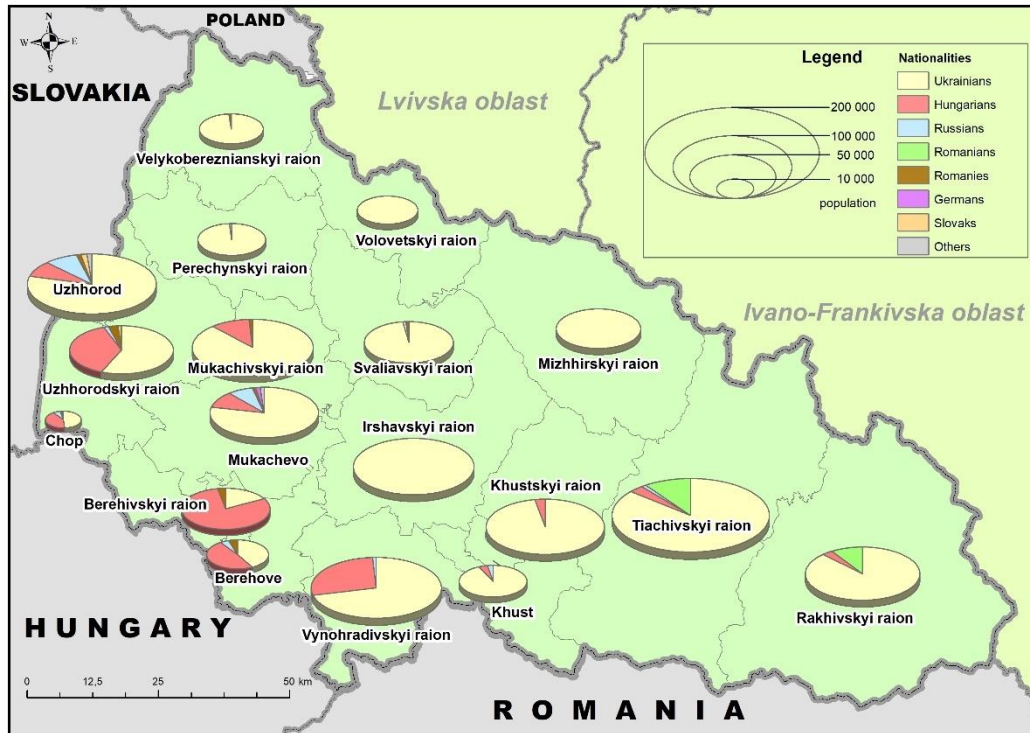
Made by: István Molnár D.

Map 12. The ethnic distribution of Transcarpathia in the new districts created as a result of decentralization
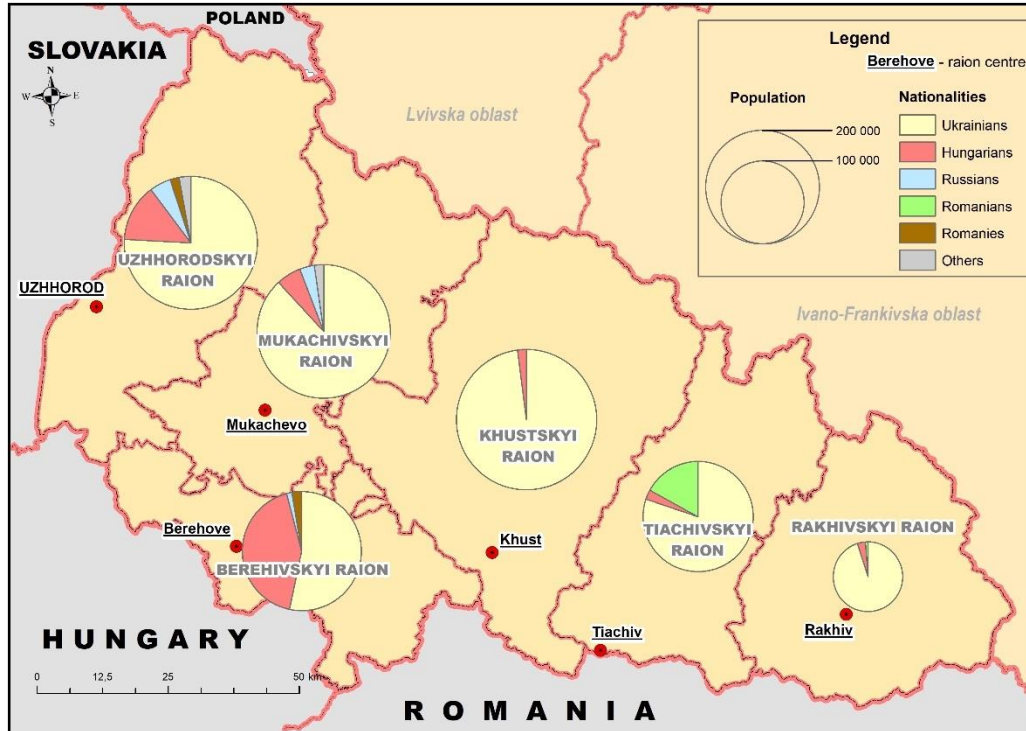
Made by: István Molnár D.

Map 13. Nationality distribution of the sub-regions created by decentralization
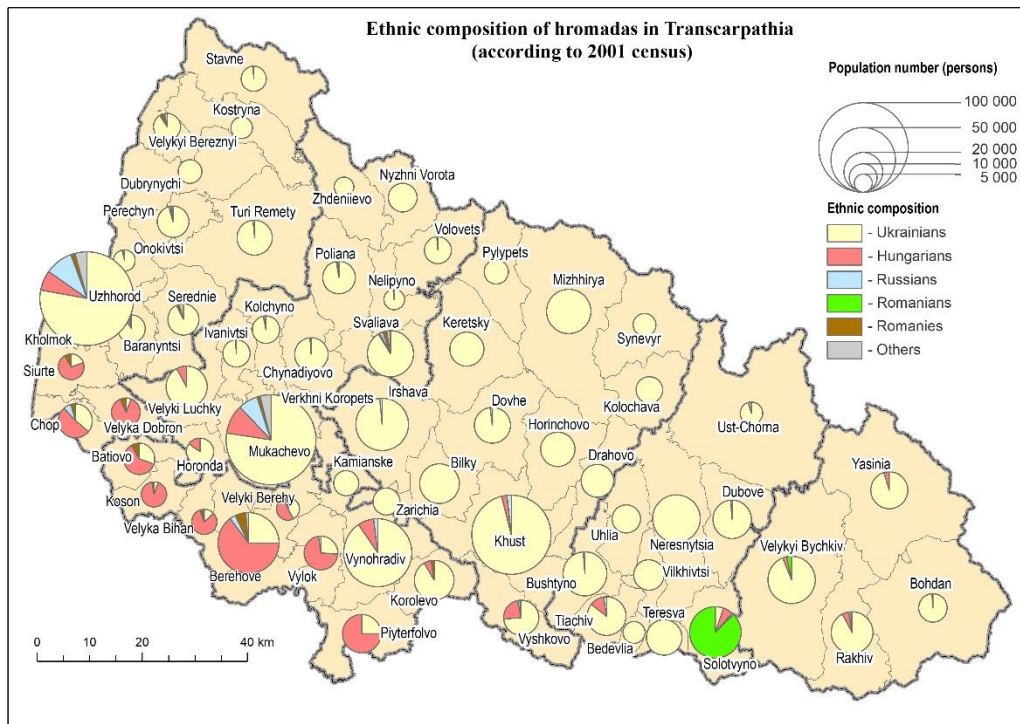
Made by: István Molnár D.

Table 25. Berehove District

N	The name of the micro-region is in Ukrainian and Hungarian	Type	Number of united municipalities	Settlements		Proportion of native Hungarian speakers (2001)
				In Ukrainian	*In Hungarian*	
1	Берегівська Beregszászi	town	15	Бадалово	Badaló	98.19
				Балажер	Balazsér	90.32
				Бене	Bene	90.63
				Берегове	Beregszász	55.87
				Боржава	Nagyborzsova	95.07
				Вари	Vári	98.09
				Велика Бакта	Nagybakta	31.23
				Галабор	Halábor	98.14
				Гать	Gát	94.20
				Геча	Mezőgecse	88.64
				Затишне	Tasnád	1.19
				Кідьош	Kígyós	86.93
				Мужієво	Nagymuzsaly	82.31
				Оросієво	Sárosoroszi	95.08
				Четфалва	Csetfalva	97.35
				Чикош-Горонда	Csikósgorond	27.50
				Чома	Tiszacsoma	87.99
				Яноші	Makkosjánosi	91.53
2	Батівська Bátyui	large village	4	Бадів	Badó	0.55
				Бакош	Kisbakos	49.70
				Баркасово	Barkaszó	86.58
				Батрадь	Bótrágy	77.19
				Батьово	Bátyú	64.64
				Горонглаб	Kisharangláb	79.05
				Данилівка	Danilovka	3.45
				Свобода	Nagybakos	33.61
				Серне	Szernye	97.47

N	The name of the micro-region is in Ukrainian and Hungarian	Type	Number of united municipalities	Settlements		Proportion of native Hungarian speakers (2001)
				In Ukrainian	In Hungarian	
3	Великоберезька Nagyberegi	village	4	Берегуйфалу	Beregújfalu	82.19
				Великі Береги	Nagybereg	87.44
				Верхні Ремети	Felsőremete	1.02
				Квасово	Kovászó	5.67
				Нижні Ремети	Alsóremete	0.81
4	Великобийганська Nagybégányi	village	5	Астей	Asztély	87.30
				Велика Бийгань	Nagybégány	87.53
				Гуняді	Hunyadi	2.77
				Гут	Gút, Kétgút	95.79
				Дийда	Beregdéda	83.41
				Мала Бийгань	Kisbégány	95.62
				Мочола	Macsola	80.15
5	Косоньська Kaszonyi	village	5	Гетен	Hetyen	98.55
				Запсонь	Zápszony	94.27
				Каштаново	Somitanya, Kastanovo	1.15
				Косонь	Mezőkaszony	96.11
				Мале Попово	Papitanya, Kispapi	97.14
				Попово	Csonkapapi	97.95
				Рафайново	Rafajnaújfalu	96.41
				Шом	Beregsom	95.23
6	Королівська Királyházi	large village	7	Веряця	Veréce	0.84
				Горбки	Rákospatak	-
				Гудя	Gödényháza	47.97
				Королево	Királyháza	5.15
				Новоселиця	Sósújfalu	0.07
				Сасово	Tiszaszászfalu	0.35
				Теково	Tekeháza	26.65
				Хижа	Kistarna	0.06
				Черна	Csarnatő	0.22

N	The name of the micro-region is in Ukrainian and Hungarian	Type	Number of united municipalities	Settlements		Proportion of native Hungarian speakers (2001)
				In Ukrainian	*In Hungarian*	
7	Виноградівська Nagyszőlősi	town	12	Боржавське	Nagycsongova	0.07
				Букове	Fakóbükk	0.05
				Велика Копаня	Felsőveresmart	0.06
				Великі Ком'яти	Magyarkomját	0.06
				Виноградів	Nagyszőlős	13.54
				Дротинці	Tiszaszirma	0.45
				Мала Копаня	Alsóveresmart	0.22
				Олешник	Szőlősegres	0.40
				Онок	Ilonokújfalu	-
				Підвіноградів	Szőlősvégardó	0.73
				Притисянське	Csonkás	3.23
				Тросник	Tiszasásvár	1.98
				Фанчиково	Fancsika	37.06
				Широке	Felsősárad	-
8	Пийтерфолвівська Tiszapéterfalvi	village	6	Ботар	Batár	96.32
				Велика Паладь	Nagypalád	97.26
				Гетиня	Tiszahetény	1.73
				Дюла	Szőlősgyula	96.06
				Затисівка	Csomafalva	12.12
				Неветленфолу	Nevetlenfalu	86.83
				Нове Клинове	Újakli	68.47
				Оклі	Akli	96.72
				Оклі Гедь	Aklihegy	97.71
				Пийтерфолво	Tiszapéterfalva	96.08
				Тисобикень	Tiszabökény	97.65
				Фертешолмаш	Fertősalmás	96.73
				Форголань	Forgolány	97.19
				Холмовець	Hömlőc	1.96
				Чепа	Csepe	66.91
				Чорнотисів	Feketeardó	32.75

N	The name of the micro-region is in Ukrainian and Hungarian	Type	Number of united municipalities	Settlements		Proportion of native Hungarian speakers (2001)
				In Ukrainian	*In Hungarian*	
9	Вилоцька Tiszaújlaki	large village	7	Вербове	Csonkás	-
				Вербовець	Verbőc	94.11
				Вилок	Tiszaújlak	81.47
				Карачин	Karácsfalva	83.25
				Матійово	Mátyfalva	66.54
				Нове Село	Tiszaújhely	68.47
				Перехрестя	Tiszakeresztúr	74.22
				Пушкіно	Puskino	1.76
				Руська Долина	Oroszvölgy	10.86
				Чорний Потік	Feketepatak	95.25
				Шаланки	Salánk	89.61
10	Кам'янська Beregkövesdi	village	3	Арданово	Árdánháza	-
				Богаревиця	Falucska	-
				Воловиця	Beregpálfalva	0.40
				Дунковиця	Nyíresújfalu	-
				Кам'янське	Beregkövesd	-
				Мідяниця	Medence	-
				Сільце	Beregkisfalud	0.03
				Хмільник	Komlós	-

Berehove
district center

209,2 thousand people
population

1,59 thousand km²
territory

105 settlements

10 UTC

Table 26. Uzhhorod District

N	The name of the micro-region is in Ukrainian and Hungarian	Type	Number of united municipalities	Settlements		Proportion of native Hungarian speakers (2001)
				In Ukrainian	*In Hungarian*	
1	Ужгородська Ungvári	town	1	Ужгород	Ungvár	7.03
2	Чопська Csapi	town	6	Есень	Eszeny	97.56
				Петрівка	Petrivka, Gólyahát	2.41
				Соловка	Szalóka	94.79
				Соломоново	Tiszasalamon	59.91
				Тисаашвань	Tiszaásvány	95.66
				Тисауйфалу	Tiszaújfalu	92.06
				Червоне	Cservona	13.46
				Чоп	Csap	41.52
3	Середнянська Szerednyei	village	6	Андріївка	Andrásháza, Andrasóc	-
				Анталовці	Antalóc	0.47
				Верхня Солотвина	Felsőszlatina	-
				Вовкове	Ungordas, Valkaja	-
				Гайдош	Nagygajdos	-
				Дубрівка	Ungtölgyes, Dubróka	0.12
				Ірлява	Ungsasfalva, Orlyava	-
				Кибляри	Köblér	0.25
				Лінці	Unggesztenyés, Iglinc	-
				Ляхівці	Lehóc	0.7
				Пацканьово	Patakos, Patkanyóc	-
				Середнє	Szerednye	0.97
				Худльово	Horlyó	0.34
				Чабанівка	Bacsó, Bacsava	-
				Чертеж	Ungcsertész	0.16

| N | The name of the micro-region is in Ukrainian and Hungarian | Type | Number of united municipalities | Settlements | | Proportion of native Hungarian speakers (2001) |
				In Ukrainian	In Hungarian	
4	Сюртівська Szürtei	village	7	Батфа	Bátfa	79.65
				Великі Геївці	Nagygejőc	91.53
				Галоч	Gálocs	87.95
				Малі Геївці	Kisgejőc	91.18
				Малі Селменці	Kisszelmenc	92.5
				Паладь-Комарівці	Palágykomoróc	88.25
				Палло	Palló	72.99
				Ратівці	Rát	80.68
				Руські Геївці	Oroszgejőc	3.17
				Сюрте	Szürte	78.77
				Тийглаш	Kistéglás	82.94
				Часлівці	Császlóc	49.88
5	Холмківська Homoki	village	4	Ботфалва	Botfalva	65.98
				Кінчеш	Kincses	20.43
				Концово	Koncháza	50.23
				Коритняни	Kereknye	3.2
				Минай	Minaj	13.47
				Розівка	Ketergény	15.88
				Сторожниця	Őrdarma	7.55
				Тарнівці	Ungtarnóc	41.85
				Холмок	Homok	48.52
				Шишлівці	Sislóc	59.59
6	Великодобронська Nagydobronyi	village	4	Велика Добронь	Nagydobrony	97.73
				Демечі	Dimicső	17.29
				Мала Добронь	Kisdobrony	98.45
				Тисаагтелек	Tiszaágtelek	98.39
				Чомонин	Csongor	97.7

| N | The name of the micro-region is in Ukrainian and Hungarian | Type | Number of united municipalities | Settlements | | Proportion of native Hungarian speakers (2001) |
				In Ukrainian	*In Hungarian*	
7	Баранинська Baranyai	village	5	Баранинці	Baranya	3.92
				Барвінок	Börvinkes, Barvinok	-
				Великі Лази	Nagyláz	0.56
				Глибоке	Mélyút, Kisluboka	0.35
				Довге Поле	Unghosszúmező	3.18
				Нижнє Солотвино	Alsószlatina	0.36
				Підгорб	Hegyfark	1.23
				Руські Комарівці	Oroszkomoró, Oroszkomoróc	16,18
				Стрипа	Sztrippa	0.21
				Холмець	Korláthelmec	51.05
				Циганівці	Cigányos, Cigányóc	0.24
				Ярок	Árok	1.24
8	Тур'є-Реметівська Turjaremetei	village	8	Вільшинки	Egreshát, Vulsinka	-
				Завбуч	Kistar	0.33
				Липовець	Hárs, Kislipóc	-
				Лікіцари	Kurucvár, Likicár	-
				Лумшори	Rónafüred, Lumsor	-
				Маюрки	Majorka	-
				Мокра	Mokra	-
				Полянська Гута	Mezőhuta, Poljanszka Huta	-
				Порошково	Poroskő, Poroskó	0.05
				Раково	Rákó	-
				Свалявка	Szvaljavka	-
				Туриця	Nagyturjaszög, Nagyturica	-
				Туричкі	Kisturjaszög, Kisturica	-
				Тур'ї Ремети	Turjaremete	0.66
				Тур'я-Бистра	Turjasebes, Turjabisztra	-
				Тур'я Пасіка	Turjavágás, Turjapaszika	0.12
				Тур'я Поляна	Turjamező, Turjapolena	-

N	The name of the micro-region is in Ukrainian and Hungarian	Type	Number of united municipalities	Settlements		Proportion of native Hungarian speakers (2001)
				In Ukrainian	*In Hungarian*	
9	Оноківська Onokóci	village	3	Гута	Unghuta	-
				Кам'яниця	Ókemence	0.48
				Невицьке	Nevicke	0.1
				Оноківці	Felsődomonya, Onokóc	1.78
				Оріховиця	Rahonca	0.17
10	Перечинська Perecsenyi	town	5	Ворочово	Kapuszög, Vorocsó	-
				Зарічово	Drugetháza	0.18
				Перечин	Perecseny	0.37
				Сімер	Ószemere	0.05
				Сімерки	Újszemere	-
11	Великоберезнянська Nagybereznai	large village	4	Бегендяцька Пастіль	Alsópásztély, Begengyátpásztély	-
				Великий Березний	Nagyberezna	0.14
				Забрідь	Révhely, Zábrogy	-
				Княгиня	Csillagfalva, Knyahina	-
				Костева Пастіль	Nagypásztély, Kosztovapásztély	-
				Розтоцька Пастіль	Felsőpásztély, Rosztokapásztély	-
				Руський Мочар	Oroszmocsár	-
				Стричава	Eszterág, Sztricsava	-
12	Дубр$и$ницько-Малоберезнянська Bercsényifalva-Kisbereznai	village	6	Буківцьово	Ungbükkös, Ungbukóc	-
				Дубриничі	Bercsényifalva	0.09
				Завосина	Szénástelek, Zauszina	-
				Малий Березний	Kisberezna	0.19
				Мирча	Mércse, Mircse	-
				Новоселиця	Újkemence	-
				Пастілки	Kispásztély	-
				Смереково	Szemerekő, Szmerekova	-
				Чорноголова	Sóhát, Csernoholova	-

N	The name of the micro-region is in Ukrainian and Hungarian	Type	Number of united municipalities	Settlements		Proportion of native Hungarian speakers (2001)
				In Ukrainian	In Hungarian	
13	Костринська Csontosi	village	4	Вишка	Viharos, Viska	0.22
				Домашин	Domafalva, Domasina	-
				Кострина	Csontos	-
				Костринська Розтока	Alsórosztoka, Csontosrosztoka	-
				Люта	Havasköz, Lyuta	-
				Сіль	Sóslak	0.16
14	Ставненська Fenyvesvölgyi	village	8	Верховина-Бистра	Határszög, Verhovinabisztra	-
				Волосянка	Hajasd	-
				Гусний	Erdőludas, Huszna	-
				Жорнава	Malomrét	-
				Загорб	Határhegy	-
				Лубня	Kiesvölgy, Lubnya	-
				Луг	Ligetes	-
				Ставне	Fenyvesvölgy	-
				Стужиця	Patakófalu, Ósztuzsica	-
				Сухий	Szuhapatak, Ungszuha	-
				Тихий	Tiha	-
				Ужок	Uzsok	-

Uzhhorod

district center

255,8 thousand people
population

125 settlements

2,36 thousand km²
territory

14 UTC

Table 27. Mukachevo District

N	The name of the micro-region is in Ukrainian and Hungarian	Type	Number of united municipalities	Settlements		Proportion of native Hungarian speakers (2001)
				In Ukrainian	*In Hungarian*	
1	Мукачівська Munkácsi	town	15	Барбово	Bárdháza	0.21
				Горбок	Kissarkad	-
				Дерцен	Dercen	97.82
				Дробратово	Drágabártfalva	0.1
				Завидово	Dávidfalva, Závidfalva	0.06
				Залужжя	Beregkisalmás	0.24
				Ключарки	Várkulcsa	0.23
				Лавки	Lóka, Lauka	0.23
				Макарьово	Makarja	0.34
				Мукачеве	Munkács	9.64
				Негрово	Maszárfalva	-
				Нижній Коропець	Alsókerepec	7.66
				Нове Давидково	Újdávidháza	0.6
				Павшино	Pósaháza	13.6
				Пістрялово	Pisztraháza	-
				Ромочевиця	Romocsafalva	0.18
				Форнош	Fornos	97.04
				Шенборн	Alsóschönborn	3.18
2	Горондівська Gorondi	village	3	Горонда	Gorond	0.3
				Жнятино	Izsnyéte	63.4
				Страбичово	Mezőterebes, Sztrabicsó	0.97
3	Воловецька Volóci	large village	3	Воловець	Volóc	0.21
				Гукливий	Zúgó, Hukliva	0.05
				Канора	Kanora	-
				Скотарське	Kisszolyva, Szkotárszka	-

N	The name of the micro-region is in Ukrainian and Hungarian	Type	Number of united municipalities	Settlements		Proportion of native Hungarian speakers (2001)
				In Ukrainian	*In Hungarian*	
4	Великолучківська Nagylucskai	village	4	Бенедиківці	Benedeki	1.1
				Великі Лучки	Nagylucska	3.48
				Вінкове	Vinkó	9.21
				Домбоки	Dombok	1.22
				Драгиня	Drahinya	1.45
				Зняцьово	Ignéc	0.12
				Кайданово	Kajdanó	12.91
				Кальник	Beregsárrét, Kálnik	-
				Кінлодь	Kínlógy	-
				Кузьмино	Beregszilvás, Kuzmina	-
				Медведівці	Fagyalos, Medvegyóc	-
				Ракошино	Beregrákos	45.58
				Руська Кучава	Oroszkucsova	-
				Руське	Orosztelek, Ruszkóc	0.87
				Червеньово	Cserlenő	0.36
				Чопівці	Csapolc	-
				Шкуратівці	Bereghalmos, Skuratóc	-
5	Свалявська Szolyvai	town	4	Драчино	Újtövisfalva	0.54
				Дусино	Zajgó, Duszina	-
				Лопушанка	Lombos, Brusztópatak	-
				Мала Мартинка	Mártonka, Kismartinka	-
				Плав'я	Zsilip, Plávja	-
				Росош	Kopár, Roszos	-
				Свалява	Szolyva	1.44
				Стройне	Malmos, Sztrojna	0.07
				Тибава	Havasalja, Nagytibava	-
				Черник	Csernektelep, Csernik	-

N	The name of the micro-region is in Ukrainian and Hungarian	Type	Number of united municipalities	Settlements		Proportion of native Hungarian speakers (2001)
				In Ukrainian	*In Hungarian*	
6	Верхньокоропецька Felsőkerepeci	village	5	Березинка	Nyírhalom, Berezinka	0.48
				Буковинка	Beregbükkös	0.19
				Верхній Коропець	Felsőkerepec	0.51
				Гандеровиця	Klastromfalva	-
				Зубівка	Beregfogaras	-
				Кучава	Németkucsova	0.34
				Куштановиця	Kustánfalva	-
				Лалово	Beregleányfalva	0.31
				Новоселиця	Kisrétfalu, Kislucska	-
				Софія	Zsófiafalva	-
				Станово	Szánfalva, Sztánfalva	0.1
				Яблунів	Beregnagyalmás	-
7	Івановецька Iványi	village	5	Бобовище	Borhalom, Bubuliska	0.12
				Грибівці	Gombás	-
				Жуково	Zsukó	-
				Іванівці	Iványi	0.08
				Ільківці	Ilkó, Ilkóc	-
				Клячаново	Klacsanó	0.1
				Копинівці	Nagymogyorós	0.37
				Лохово	Beregszőlős, Lohó	-
				Микулівці	Kismogyorós	-
				Ростов'ятиця	Rosztovjática	-
				Старе Давидково	Ódávidháza	0.33
				Череївці	Cserház, Cserejóc	-
				Щасливе	Szerencsfalva	-

N	The name of the micro-region is in Ukrainian and Hungarian	Type	Number of united municipalities	Settlements		Proportion of native Hungarian speakers (2001)
				In Ukrainian	*In Hungarian*	
8	Чинадіївська Szentmiklósi	large village	5	Бабичі	Bábakút	-
				Бистриця	Repede	-
				Брестів	Ormód, Bresztó	-
				Вільховиця	Egreske, Vulhovica	0.27
				Ділок	Beregpapfalva	-
				Дубино	Dubina	-
				Карпати	Beregvár	1.28
				Косино	Kockaszállás	-
				Лецовиця	Kislécfalva	-
				Обава	Dunkófalva	-
				Плоскановиця	Ploszkánfalva	-
				Синяк	Kékesfüred, Szinyák	1
				Чабин	Csabin	-
				Чинадійово	Szentmiklós	0.29
9	Полянська Polenai	village	6	Голубине	Galambos, Holubina	0.18
				Оленьово	Szarvaskút, Olenyova	0.23
				Павлово	Kispálos, Paulova	-
				Пасіка	Kishídvég, Paszika	0.25
				Плоске	Dombostelek, Ploszkó	-
				Плоский Потік	Pataktanya, Ploszkópatak	-
				Поляна	Polena	0.22
				Родниківка	Beregforrás, Izvor	-
				Родникова Гута	Forráshuta, Izvorhuta	-
				Солочин	Királyfiszállás, Szolocsina	-
				Сусково	Bányafalu, Szuszkó	-
				Уклин	Aklos, Uklina	-
				Яківське	Jakivszke	-

| N | The name of the micro-region is in Ukrainian and Hungarian | Type | Number of united municipalities | Settlements | | Proportion of native Hungarian speakers (2001) |
				In Ukrainian	In Hungarian	
10	Жденіївська Szarvasházi	large village	5	Буковець	Beregbárdos, Oroszbukóc	-
				Верхня Грабівниця	Felsőgereben, Felsőhrabonica	-
				Жденієво	Szarvasháza, Zsdenyova	-
				Збини	Izbonya, Zbun	-
				Кічерний	Nagycserjés, Kiscsorna	-
				Пашківці	Hidegrét, Páskóc	-
				Перехресний	Pereháza, Perekraszna	-
				Підполоззя	Vezérszállás, Pudpolóc	0.25
				Розтока	Alsóhatárszeg, Nagyrosztoka	-
				Щербовець	Beregsziklás, Serbóc	-
				Ялове	Jávor, Jalova	-
11	Нижньоворітська Alsóvereckei	village	7	Абранка	Ábránka	0.17
				Біласовиця	Bagolyháza, Bilaszovica	-
				Верб'яж	Verebes, Verbiás	0.11
				Верхні Ворота	Felsőverecke	-
				Завадка	Rákócziszállás	-
				Задільське	Rekesz, Zagyilszka	-
				Котельниця	Katlanfalu, Kotilnica	-
				Лази	Timsor	-
				Латірка	Latorcafő, Laturka	-
				Нижні Ворота	Alsóverecke	0.08
				Тишів	Csendes, Tiszova	-

N	The name of the micro-region is in Ukrainian and Hungarian	Type	Number of united municipalities	Settlements		Proportion of native Hungarian speakers (2001)
				In Ukrainian	In Hungarian	
12	Кольчинська Kölcsényi	large village	3	Верхня Визниця	Felsőviznice	-
				Герцівці	Hegyrét, Hercfalva	-
				Грабово	Szidorfalva	0.68
				Жборівці	Rónafalu, Runófalva	-
				Кленовець	Nyárasdomb, Újklenóc, Frigyesfalva	-
				Клочки	Lakatosfalva, Klocskófalva	-
				Кольчино	Kölcsény	0.59
				Коноплівці	Kendereske	1.18
				Крите	Fedelesfalva	-
				Лісарня	Erdőpatak, Liszárnya	-
				Пузняківці	Szarvasrét, Puznyákfalva	-
				Тростяниця	Nádaspatak, Trosztyánica	-
13	Неліпинська Hársfalvai	village	2	Вовчий	Vocsitelep	-
				Ганьковиця	Kisanna, Hánykovica	-
				Неліпино	Hársfalva	0.17
				Сасівка	Szászóka	-

Mukachevo

district center

254,6 thousand people
population

2,05 thousand km²
territory

142 settlements

13 UTC

Table 28. Khust District

N	The name of the micro-region is in Ukrainian and Hungarian	Type	Number of united municipalities	Settlements		Proportion of native Hungarian speakers (2001)
				In Ukrainian	*In Hungarian*	
1	Хустська Huszti	town	16	Боронява	Husztbaranya	0.03
				Вертеп	Vertepa	-
				Данилово	Husztsófalva	-
				Залом	Zalom	-
				Зарічне	Túlanagyágtelep	0.26
				Іза	Iza	0.11
				Карповтлаш	Kárpótlás	-
				Кіреші	Körösös	-
				Копашново	Gernyés	-
				Кошельово	Keselymező	0.03
				Крайнє	Krajna	-
				Крайниково	Mihálka	0.19
				Крива	Tiszakirva	-
				Кривий	Krivij	-
				Липовець	Hárspatak, Lipovec	-
				Липча	Lipcse	0.03
				Лунка	Lunkapatak	-
				Нанково	Husztköz	-
				Нижнє Селище	Alsószelistye	0.03
				Олександрівка	Ósándorfalva	-
				Осава	Oszávka, Darázsvölgy	-
				Поляна	Gernyésmező	-
				Рокосово	Rakasz	0.13
				Сокирниця	Szeklence	0.1
				Стеблівка	Száldobos	0.13
				Хуст	Huszt	4.75
				Хустець	Husztecpatak	-
				Чертіж	Husztcsertész	1.12

N	The name of the micro-region is in Ukrainian and Hungarian	Type	Number of united municipalities	Settlements		Proportion of native Hungarian speakers (2001)
				In Ukrainian	*In Hungarian*	
2	Вишківська Viski	large village	2	Велятин	Veléte	0.02
				Вишково	Visk	45.26
				Модьорош	Mogyoróspatak	1.07
				Ракош	Rákos	0.44
				Шаян	Saján, Sajánfürdő	1.31
				Яблунівка	Fenes, Jablunyivka	0.55
3	Іршавська Ilosvai	town	8	Брід	Boród, Bród	0.08
				Велика Розтока	Gázló, Beregrosztoka	-
				Дешковиця	Deskófalva	-
				Дуби	Dubi	-
				Дубрівка	Cserhalom, Beregdubróka	0.18
				Загаття	Hátmeg	0.08
				Івашковиця	Iváskófalva	-
				Ільниця	Ilonca	0.03
				Іршава	Ilosva	0.36
				Климовиця	Kelemenfalva	-
				Кобалевиця	Gálfalva	-
				Крайня Мартинка	Végmártonka, Martinka	-
				Лоза	Füzesmező, Loza	0.64
				Локіть	Nagyábránka	-
				Мала Розтока	Szőlősrosztoka	-
				Осій	Szajkófalva	-
				Підгірне	Oláhcsertész	-
				Смологовиця	Kisábránka	-
				Собатин	Szombati, Szobatin	-
				Чорний Потік	Kenézpatak	-

N	The name of the micro-region is in Ukrainian and Hungarian	Type	Number of united municipalities	Settlements		Proportion of native Hungarian speakers (2001)
				In Ukrainian	In Hungarian	
4	Білківська Bilkei	village	5	Білки	Bilke	0.21
				Великий Раковець	Nagyrákóc	-
				Заболотне	Sárdik	-
				Імстичово	Misztice	0.07
				Луково	Lukova	-
				Малий Раковець	Kisrákóc	-
5	Довжанська Dolhai	village	4	Бронька	Szuhabaranka, Baranka	0.22
				Довге	Dolha	0.07
				Каллів	Kálló, Kálliv	-
				Липецька Поляна	Lipcsemező	-
				Ожоверх	Magastető, Kerektető	-
				Приборжавське	Zárnya, Zádnya	0.06
				Слоповий	Szlopovij	-
				Суха	Szuha	-
6	Зарічанська Zaricsjei, Alsókaraszlói	village	3	Вільхівка	Ölyvös	-
				Гребля	Felsőkaraszló	-
				Заріччя	Alsókaraszló	-
				Нижнє Болотне	Alsósárad	-
7	Драгівська Kövesligeti	village	4	Вільшани	Égermező, Vulsána	-
				Драгово	Kövesliget	-
				Забереж	Záberezs	-
				Забрідь	Gázló, Zábrod	-
				Золотарьово	Ötvösfalva	-
				Кічерели	Kicserela	-
				Становець	Sztanovec	-

N	The name of the micro-region is in Ukrainian and Hungarian	Type	Number of united municipalities	Settlements		Proportion of native Hungarian speakers (2001)
				In Ukrainian	*In Hungarian*	
8	Міжгірська Ökörmezői	large village	12	Верхній Бистрий	Felsősebes	-
				Вучкове	Vucskómező	-
				Голятин	Tarfalu, Holyatin	-
				Діл	Gyil, Hegyfok	-
				Завийка	Határvölgy, Zavojka	-
				Запереділля	Gombástelep	-
				Лісковець	Lengyelszállás, Lyahóc	-
				Лозянський	Cserjés, Lozánszka	-
				Лопушне	Leveles, Lopusnya	-
				Майдан	Majdánka	-
				Міжгір'я	Ökörmező	0.03
				Новоселиця	Tarújfalu	-
				Підчумаль	Podcsumály	-
				Присліп	Pereszló, Nagypriszlop	-
				Рекіти	Rekettye	-
				Репинне	Repenye, Ripinye	-
				Сойми	Vízköz	-
				Сопки	Szobki, Szopkó	-
				Стригальня	Fenyves, Sztrihálnya	-
				Сухий	Szárazpatak, Szuhij	-
				Тітківці	Titokvölgy, Titkovci	-
				Торунь	Toronya	-
9	Колочавська Alsókalocsai	village	2	Горб	Kalocsahorb	-
				Колочава	Alsókalocsa, Kalocsaláz	-
				Косів Верх	Koszóver, Rigóhegy	-
				Мерешор	Rókarét, Meresor	-
				Негровець	Felsőkalocsa, Negróc	-

| N | The name of the micro-region is in Ukrainian and Hungarian | Type | Number of united municipalities | Settlements | | Proportion of native Hungarian speakers (2001) |
				In Ukrainian	In Hungarian	
10	Горінчівська Herincsei	village	4	Березово	Berezna	-
				Гонцош	Gancos	-
				Горінчово	Herincse	-
				Ділок	Gyilok	-
				Кутлаш	Kutlás	-
				Медвежий	Medvezsij	-
				Монастирець	Monostor	-
				Нижній Бистрий	Alsóbisztra	-
				Облаз	Obláz, Forduló	-
				Посіч	Poszics	-
				Поточок	Kispatak, Patacsok	-
				Противень	Félszeg, Protiveny	-
				Ряпідь	Rapigy	-
				Сюрюк	Szjuruk	-
				Тополин	Topolin	-
				Широке	Siróka	-
11	Пилипецька Fülöpfalvi	village	7	Буковець	Bükköspatak, Bukóc	-
				Верхній Студений	Felsőhidegpatak	-
				Ізки	Iszka	-
				Келечин	Kelecsény	-
				Нижній Студений	Alsóhidegpatak	-
				Пилипець	Fülöpfalva, Pilipec	-
				Подобовець	Padóc, Podobóc	-
				Потік	Patak, Bükköskő	-
				Річка	Kispatak, Ricska	-
				Розтока	Rosztoka	-
				Тюшка	Csuszka, Tyuska	-

N	The name of the micro-region is in Ukrainian and Hungarian	Type	Number of united municipalities	Settlements		Proportion of native Hungarian speakers (2001)
				In Ukrainian	*In Hungarian*	
12	Синевирська Alsószinevéri	village	2	Береги	Berehi	-
				Заверхня Кичера	Felsőkicsera	-
				Загорб	Zahorb	-
				Свобода	Szloboda	-
				Синевир	Alsószinevér	-
				Синевирська Поляна	Felsőszinevér	-
13	Керецьківська Kerecke	village	4	Березники	Bereznek, Bereznik	0.07
				Керецьки	Kerecke	-
				Кушниця	Kovácsrét	0.02
				Лисичово	Rókamező, Ravaszmező	-

Khust
district center

269,1 thousand people
population

3,18 thousand km²
territory

143 settlements

13 UTC

Table 29. Tyachiv District

N	The name of the micro-region is in Ukrainian and Hungarian	Type	Number of united municipalities	Settlements		Proportion of native Hungarian speakers (2001)
				In Ukrainian	*In Hungarian*	
1	Тячівська Técsői	town	3	Лази	Técsőláz, Libán	0.05
				Округла	Kerekhegy	2.27
				Руське Поле	Úrmező	0.16
				Тячів	Técső	22.62
				Тячівка	Kistécső, Bologláz	0.26
2	Солотвинська Aknaszlatinai	large village	6	Біла Церква	Tiszafejéregyház	0.13
				Глибокий Потік	Szorospatak	0.07
				Добрік	Dobrik	-
				Нижня Апша	Alsóapsa	0.01
				Пещера	Pescsera	-
				Подішор	Pogyisor	-
				Середнє Водяне	Középapsa	0.04
				Солотвино	Aknaszlatina	24.3
				Топчино	Tetős, Topcsinó	-
3	Нересницька Alsóneresznice	village	6	Вишоватий	Vosovátivölgy	-
				Ганичі	Gánya	0.03
				Нересниця	Nyérésháza, Alsóneresznice	0.16
				Новоселиця	Taracújfalu, Felsőneresznice	-
				Петрушів	Petrusó, Szokolyvölgy	-
				Підплеша	Pelesalja, Pudplesa	-
				Пригідь	Prihigy	-
				Тарасівка	Tereselpatak	-
				Терново	Kökényes	-
				Тисалово	Tiszaló	-
				Фонтиняси	Fontenyásza	-
				Широкий Луг	Széleslonka	-

N	The name of the micro-region is in Ukrainian and Hungarian	Type	Number of united municipalities	Settlements		Proportion of native Hungarian speakers (2001)
				In Ukrainian	*In Hungarian*	
4	Буштинська Bustyaházi	village	7	Буштино	Bustyaháza	3.62
				Воніґове	Vajnág	0.08
				Дулово	Dulfalva	-
				Кричово	Kricsfalva	-
				Новобарово	Újbárd	-
				Рівне	Dombtelep, Rivnye	-
				Росош	Roszos	-
				Теребля	Talaborfalu	-
				Чумальово	Csománfalva	-
5	Бедевлянська Bedőházi	village	2	Бедевля	Bedőháza	0.13
				Біловарці	Kiskirva	0.1
				Глиняний	Bedőmonostor	-
				Дібрівка	Dubróka, Erdőtelep	-
				Руня	Runya	-
6	Вільховецька Irhóci	village	3	Вільхівці	Irhóc	0.03
				Вільхівці-Лази	Irhócláz	-
				Вільхівчик	Égerespatak, Vulhovcsik	-
				Добрянське	Nyágova	0.07
				Ракове	Rákó	-
				Сасово	Szászó	-
7	Дубівська Dombói	large village	3	Вишній Дубовець	Felsőpatakvölgy	-
				Дубове	Dombó	0.06
				Калини	Alsókálinfalva	-
				Красна	Tarackraszna	-
				Нижній Дубовець	Alsópatakvölgy	-

| N | The name of the micro-region is in Ukrainian and Hungarian | Type | Number of united municipalities | Settlements | | Proportion of native Hungarian speakers (2001) |
				In Ukrainian	In Hungarian	
8	Тересвянська Taracközi	village	3	Грушово	Szentmihálykörtvélyes	0.07
				Крива	Nagykirva	0.03
				Тересва	Taracköz	0.56
9	Углянська Uglyai	village	3	Бобове	Bobove	-
				Велика Уголька	Nagyugolyka	-
				Груники	Hrunyik	-
				Колодне	Darva	-
				Мала Уголька	Kisugolyka	-
				Угля	Uglya	-
10	Усть-Чорнянська Királymezői	large village	3	Лопухів	Brusztura	-
				Німецька Мокра	Németmokra	-
				Руська Мокра	Oroszmokra	-
				Усть-Чорна	Királymező	0.76

Tyachiv
district center

185,3 thousand people
population

1,87 thousand km²
territory

64 settlements

10 UTC

Table 30. Rakhiv District

N	The name of the micro-region is in Ukrainian and Hungarian	Type	Number of united municipalities	Settlements		Proportion of native Hungarian speakers (2001)
				In Ukrainian	*In Hungarian*	
1	Рахівська Rahói	town	4	Білин	Bilin	-
				Вільховатий	Kiscserjés, Vilhováti	-
				Ділове	Terebesfejérpatak, Trebusafejérpatak	0.41
				Костилівка	Barnabás	0.11
				Круглий	Körtelep, Kruhlij	-
				Рахів	Rahó	4.8
				Хмелів	Komlós, Hmeliv	-
2	Ясінянська Kőrösmezői	large village	4	Кваси	Tiszaborkút	0.06
				Лазещина	Mezőhát	0.12
				Сітний	Szitni	-
				Стебний	Dombhát	-
				Тростянець	Nádaspatak, Trosztyanec	-
				Чорна Тиса	Feketetisza	0.18
				Ясіня	Kőrösmező	8.22
3	Богданська Tiszabogdányi	village	4	Богдан	Tiszabogdány	2.29
				Бребоя	Bértelek, Breboja	0.14
				Видричка	Vidráspatak, Vidricska	0.22
				Говерла	Hoverla, Hóvár	-
				Луги	Láposmező, Luhi	0.2
				Розтоки	Nyilas, Rosztok	0.04

| N | The name of the micro-region is in Ukrainian and Hungarian | Type | Number of united municipalities | Settlements | | Proportion of native Hungarian speakers (2001) |
				In Ukrainian	In Hungarian	
4	Великобичківська Nagybocskói	large village	7	Великий Бичків	Nagybocskó	2.88
				Верхнє Водяне	Felsőapsa	0.06
				Водиця	Kisapsa, Apsica	-
				Кобилецька Поляна	Gyertyánliget	14.33
				Косівська Поляна	Kaszómező, Kaszópolyána	-
				Луг	Lonka	-
				Плаюць	Plajuc	-
				Росішка	Rászócska	-
				Стримба	Almáspatak, Sztrimba	-

Rakhiv

district center

82,8 thousand people
population

29 settlements

1,87 thousand km²
territory

4 UTC

12. Chances of survival of the Hungarian language: instead of a summary

The region now known as Transcarpathia, has belonged to 5 state formations throughout its anything but boring 20th century history. Hungarians living in the region (see maps 14–18) which has always been peripherally located in relation to the actual government, have experienced different life situations belonging to different state constitutions. The possibilities of the Hungarians in Transcarpathia (and the other nationalities living next to us) have always been shaped by the organization, national and minority policies of the current state.

In this book, we aimed to present all the important characteristics that emerge from the research results examining the situation of the Hungarians in Transcarpathia. We have also separately evaluated and analyzed the current legal framework related to the opportunities of minorities living in Ukraine. We continuously kept in mind the synthetic analysis of the research on the Hungarians living in Transcarpathia, which reveals the most important tendencies in the economy, politics, education, culture and religiosity, and the role of the Hungarian language in these fields. The Hungarians' ability to enforce thair interests, the economic forces and the Hungarian school network provide space and an opportunity for the native language used in everyday life to continue to have a high prestige value in Transcarpathia. Since its foundation, Ukraine has been fighting to consolidate the status of Ukrainian as the state language, and in the recent period, these steps have further narrowed the opportunities for minority ethnic groups and the use of the Hungarian language.

The use of the Hungarian language in everyday life has remained, despite the legal possibilities that differ from period to period, and this also applies to the current, increasingly difficult circumstances. Multilingual signs displayed individually and institutionally in public spaces also confirm this. With the series of images used as illustrations, we also wanted to illustrate that no matter what kind of area is, where

Hungarians live in the majority, the company names or informative signs are written in Hungarian as well. This practice, which has been common for decades, has not disappeared and Hungarian lives not only in spoken language in Transcarpathia, but also through inscriptions.

The socio-political, linguistic and economic events following the outbreak of the conflict in Eastern Ukraine, which can always be seen from a brief look at the situation in this peripheral and multicultural region, have greatly influenced the situation in Transcarpathia and the Hungarians living here today. We have seen that macro and micro factors have a positive or negative effect on interethnic relations, the everyday life of Transcarpathians, the possibilities of language use and the survival strategies of Hungarians.

However, it seems that as long as the value and prestige of the Hungarian language is high, as long as the intention to pass on Hungarian culture is strong, as long as there are Hungarian-language medium schools, the Hungarian language and the Hungarians will not disappear from Transcarpathia.

Inscriptions on the entrance to the Vary High School. The Ukrainian and Hungarian national colors appear on the nameplates

Map 14. The territory of today's Transcarpathia is within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy

Made by: István Molnár D.

Map 15. Transcarpathia (Podkarpatska Rus) within Czechoslovakia

Made by: István Molnár D.

Map 16. Today's Transcarpathia within the Kingdom of Hungary in 1942

Made by: István Molnár D.

Map 17. Transcarpathia in the Soviet Union

Made by: István Molnár D.

Map 18. Transcarpathia in Ukraine

Made by: István Molnár D.

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Berehove by night
(Photo by: Szabolcs Bunda)