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QUALITATIVE HYPERCORRECTION

THE QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF LINGUISTIC FACTORS PLAYING A ROLE IN THE GENESIS OF QUALITATIVE HYPERCORRECTION IN THE CASE OF (BV), (BVN) AND (INDICATIVE MOOD OF *-T* FINAL VERBS), (IMPERATIVE/SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD OF *-T* FINAL VERBS) VARIABLES

ABSTRACT OF PHD DISSERTATION

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1 THE AIM, STRUCTURE AND TOPIC OF THE DISSERTATION

The study of qualitative hypercorrection in the Hungarian language community dates back approximately 20 years. The landmarks of it are associated with the names of PLÉH et al (PLÉH, 1985, 1990 and 1995; BÁNFAI, BODOR and PLÉH, 1987; and PLÉH and BODOR, 2000 and 2001) and also KONTRA (1998 and 2003).

The current paper is written with two aims in mind. On the one hand I aim to review the existing foreign and Hungarian hypercorrection studies. By doing so I can summarise the findings of previous hypercorrection research and thus reiterate what we know about the phenomenon. I can furthermore shed some light on their deficiencies – highlighting areas that have either not, or scarcely been targeted thus far. On the other hand I aim to open up a new dimension in hypercorrection studies by drawing attention to the fact that not only social but also inner, linguistic constraints may play a role in the genesis of hypercorrection. My main aim is to summarise and also expand hypercorrection studies.

The study is divided into six main chapters. The first one is an introduction. The second chapter summarises what we know about hypercorrection today. In this part besides defining and comparing qualitative and quantitative hypercorrection I review both the Hungarian and also foreign hypercorrection studies. This is followed by an illustration of the social attitude towards hypercorrection by making use of the comments found in two language cultivation books, and also the findings of two pilot studies (MITRING, in preparation, a and b). The next section comprises three models depicting the various phases during the emergence of hypercorrection, accentuating the uncertainty inherently available in the language; the intention to emulate, and the changes in the mental state, which can all play a decisive role in the process.

The third chapter – after citing several examples from the vernacular, spoken register – gives a categorization method based on the linguistic factors playing a role in the genesis of hypercorrection.

The fourth chapter provides the description of a sociolinguistic study as well as the analysis of its findings with the help of quantitative methods. In this part I account for all the important details of the study, e.g. independent variables, participants, hypotheses and applied methods.

Finally I summarise the dissertation in Hungarian and English as well.

The topic of the dissertation is, on the one hand, to introduce qualitative hypercorrection. It is essential to distinguish this kind of hypercorrection from Labov-hypercorrection. The hypercorrection, or overgeneralization targeted in the present paper leads to qualitative changes. It can be manifested in the appearance of completely new forms or – which characterises the targeted variables – contextually incorrect variant-use. On the other hand I also describe a quantitative study. Hereby I examine the impact of linguistic, independent variables (word order, the distance between the verb and its complement, the number of possible complements, *-szt* vs *-t* final verbs) on four dependent linguistic variables – two locative (bV) and (bVn), and two showing verbal mood – (indicative mood of *-t* final verbs) and (imperative/subjunctive mood of *-t* final verbs).

Now I intend to focus on those parts that show my contribution to the better understanding of the phenomenon and the broadening of the field of research. Thus I introduce a new figure based on the figure of PLÉH (1990: 58), which provides a clearer picture of the variant–variable relationship. Moreover I extend my research into a field – i.e. child language – which has not been targeted thus far from the point of view of hypercorrection. Analysing the studies accounting for hypercorrection among bilinguals I argue that these findings can be exploited for the description of bilinguals' mental lexicon. My biggest invention is to broaden the research of hypercorrection to a non-targeted field. I intend to prove that – contrary to the target of previous studies – not only social but also linguistic factors play a role in the genesis of hypercorrection. At the same time I provide a new categorization frame for sentences containing one of the relevant variables.

2 THE STAGES IN THE GENESIS OF HYPERCORRECTION

It is highly desirable to understand how hypercorrection evolves if we want a fully fledged understanding of the phenomenon. Abroad JANDA and AUGER (1992: 210), in Hungary PLÉH (1990: 58) and ÁGEL (1991: 84) provided a model representing the different stages. I start off from the model of PLÉH and develop it. With the help of my model (figures 1a and 1b) we can achieve a better understanding of how hypercorrection occurs, since it gives a more precise insight into the correlation of the four variables and their variants participating in the process.

Stage I – ideal state – 1:1 correspondence

variable 1 (bVn) – variant 1 [bVn] – context 1 (inessivus)
variable 2 (bV) – variant 2 [bV] – context 2 (illativus)

Stage II – natural reduction

variable 1 (bVn) < variant 1 [bVn] – context 1 (inessivus)
variable 1 (bVn) < variant 2 [bV] – context 1 (inessivus)
(variable 2 (bV) – variant 2 [bV] – context 2 (illativus))

Stage III – stigmatisation

Context-free stigmatisation of variant [bV]

Stage IV – hypercorrection

(variable 1 (bVn) < variant 1 [bVn] – context 1 (inessivus)
(variable 1 (bVn) < variant 2 [bV] – context 1 (inessivus))
variable 2 (bV) < variant 2 [bV] – context 2 (illativus)
variable 2 (bV) < variant 1 [bVn] – context 2 (illativus)

FIGURE 1a. The stages in the genesis of hypercorrection in the case of (bV) and (bVn) variables

Stage I – ideal state – 1:1 correspondence

variable 1 (juk) – variant 1 [juk] – context 1 (indicative)
variable 2 (suk) – variant 2 [suk] – context 2 (imperative/subjunctive)

Stage II – natural reduction

variable 1 (juk) <
- variant 1 [juk] – context 1 (indicative)
- variant 2 [suk] – context 1 (indicative)

(variable 2 (suk) – variant 2 [suk] – context 2 (imperative/subjunctive))

Stage III – stigmatisation

Context-free stigmatisation of variant [suk]

Stage IV – hypercorrection

(variable 1 (juk) <
- variant 1 [juk] – context 1 (indicative)
- variant 2 [suk] – context 1 (indicative))

variable 2 (suk) <
- variant 2 [suk] – context 2 (imperative/subjunctive)
- variant 1 [juk] – context 2 (imperative/subjunctive)

FIGURE 1b. The stages in the genesis of hypercorrection in the case of (indicative mood of *-t* final verbs) and (imperative/subjunctive mood of *-t* final verbs) variables

3 HYPERCORRECTION IN CHILD LANGUAGE

In my previous study (MITRING, 2003) I intend to discover whether hypercorrection can be found in child language. I start off from one of the basic questions of child language research, i.e. whether the child creates, emulates or reconstructs the language (LENGYEL, 1981: 289). The existence of certain hypercorrect forms (e.g. *rengőr, korta, labgát, óvogába* instead of the adult language *rendőr 'policeman', torta 'cake', labdát 'ball'* and *óvodába 'into the kindergarten'*) might prove to be a counterargument for the emulation-hypothesis. I argue that the above-mentioned forms are due to hypercorrection.

During the acquisition of the mother tongue, the development of the child's phonological system follows the principle of least effort (LENGYEL, 1981: 45–46), in other words the acquisition of phonemes progresses from the ones that are easier to pronounce to the more difficult ones. Previous studies also shed light on the fact that children follow an order concerning the place and method of the articulation of phonemes (LENGYEL, 1981: 152). In a nutshell, focusing on the place of articulation, children firstly acquire labial [p], [b], then dental [t], [d], then finally velar [k], [g] phonemes. Due to this orderliness, around the age of two forms like *tutya* (instead of *kutya 'dog'*), and *dombol* (instead of *gombol 'to button'*) are not rare. Here another basic factor, the so-called secondary control enters the stage. Parents correct or prohibit these forms to a more or lesser degree. Apparently due to this – even if not consciously – children start to stigmatise or avoid the following phonemes: [p], [b], [t], [d]. Due to hypercorrection – N. B. it means the overgeneralization of a wrongly interpreted rule – children try to replace these stigmatised phonemes with more difficult ones already acquired, not only in non-normative forms (e.g. *tutya*), but also in words where the easier phonemes are appropriate. Thus hypercorrect *ukolsó* (instead of *utolsó 'last'*) and *kélapó* (instead of *télapó 'Santa Claus'*) appear.

Making use of my own model I distinguish the following stages in the genesis of hypercorrection in child language:

Stage I – ideal state characteristic for adult language, where the 4 phonemes differ from each other minimum in one distinguishing feature.

form 1 /t/ ------- [+stop +dental -voice]
form 2 /d/ ------- [+stop +dental +voice]
form 3 /k/ ------- [+stop +velar -voice]
form 4 /g/ -------- [+stop +velar +voice]

Stage II – around the age of 2 only the +/- voice contrast evolves. The features depicting the place of articulation are not interpreted yet. Therefore phonemes that in the adult language differ only in this feature (i.e. place of articulation) are not different here. In this stage there is no difference between the phonemes: /p/-/t/-/k/ and /b/-/d/-/g/. The child follows the "one contrast at a time" rule. Therefore the child while acquiring a contrast (in this case voicedness) does not start to acquire another one – in our case that of the place of articulation (LENGYEL, 1981: 149). JAKOBSON also notes that contrasts are universal in the sense that children – regardless of their mother tongue – firstly acquire the easier, then the more difficult ones. (LENGYEL, 1981: 150). If we assume that for the child there is no difference between the members of the phoneme triads, then how can we account for the fact that children use labial and dental phonemes instead of velars but not the other way round? To answer this question we also need to exploit the notion of orderliness. According to this principle children follow a certain order, not only when acquiring contrasts but, within contrasts as well. Consequently while acquiring the place of articulation they firstly acquire labials then dentals then finally velars. Due to the principle of least effort children use dentals instead of velars appearing later.

form 1 /t/ [+stop ? place of articulation -voice] → /t/ [+stop +dental -voice]

form 1 /t/ [+stop ? place of articulation -voice] → /k/ [+stop +velar -voice]

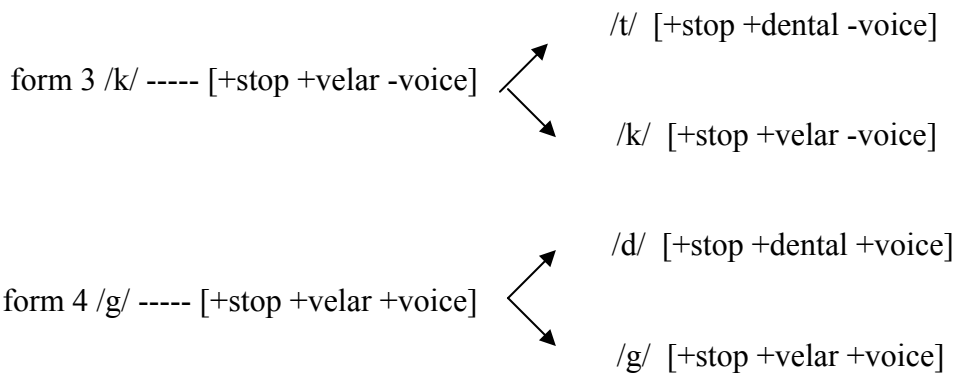
form 2 /d/ [+stop ? place of articulation +voice] → /d/ [+stop +dental +voice]

form 2 /d/ [+stop ? place of articulation +voice] → /g/ [+stop +velar +voice]

In the repertoire of children words like *tutya* and *dombol* appear .

Stage III – stigmatisation of /t/ and /d/ frequently used in stage II, which is manifested in correction, repetition and mainly prohibition.

Stage IV – by the age of 2.5–3 the contrast of the place of articulation is developed. The members of the above-mentioned phoneme triads – /p/-/t/-/k/ and /b/-/d/-/g/ – are not mutually interchangeable any more. Children tend to avoid the stigmatised /t/ and /d/ in every context. The overgeneralised, exaggerated, hypercorrect use of /k/ and /g/ evolves.



In the repertoire of children words like: *kélapó* and *oga* appear.

FIGURE 2. The genesis of hypercorrection in child language

4 HYPERCORRECTION AS A MEANS OF DETECTING THE MENTAL LEXICON OF BILINGUALS

One of the most fundamental questions of bilingual studies is the description of bilinguals' mental lexicon. The aim is to detect whether these speakers' language systems are stored independently or if they depend on each other. In other words these studies aim to answer the question as to which group, from WEINREICH's (1953) tripartite categorization, their language systems belong to.

JANDA and AUGER (1992) show in their study that hypercorrection might appear among French bilinguals studying English as a second language. This hypercorrect *h*-intrusion is due to overgeneralization, which appears as a counter reaction to the stigmatised *h*-deletion. In one of my manuscripts (MITRING, manuscript, a) I argue that the mere existence of hypercorrection can be an argument to prove that the language systems of bilinguals cannot be stored separately since neither of the languages would have an impact on the other, consequently neither stigmatisation nor hypercorrection would appear.

5 THE QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF LINGUISTIC FACTORS PLAYING A ROLE IN THE GENESIS OF QUALITATIVE HYPERCORRECTION IN THE CASE OF (BV), (BVN) AND (INDICATIVE MOOD OF *-T* FINAL VERBS), (IMPERATIVE/SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD OF *-T* FINAL VERBS) VARIABLES

5.1 Antecedents in the Hungarian hypercorrection studies

While summarising the Hungarian (and also foreign) hypercorrection studies the question of embeddedness might arise. The problem of embeddedness is one of the key demands of research methodology. The study of each language variation or change can only be considered adequate, if and only if, it meets the following requirement: it is supposed to account for the impact of both outer (social) as well as inner (linguistic) factors. To see what the existing Hungarian hypercorrection studies targeted it is worth reviewing them in a table format (table1).

Author(s)	Year	Findings/innovations
PLÉH	1985	-The rejection of stigmatised forms and hypercorrection increases with rising educational level and age. Special first language education can counterbalance hypercorrection.
BÁNFAI, BODOR and PLÉH	1987	-Increased self-awareness (mirror) decreases hypercorrection and leads to more norm-conform behaviour.
PLÉH	1990	-The model of the genesis of hypercorrection. -In the genesis of hypercorrection phonetic, morphological and also semantic–cognitive uncertainties play a role. -Variables are stigmatised to different degrees. The most stigmatised is *-suk*, followed by *-nák*, *-szák* then finally *-ba.*
PLÉH	1995	-The production of speakers is closer to the norm than their grammaticality judgements, i.e. hypercorrection more affects judgements than actual performance because it is less conscious.
PLÉH and BODOR	2000 and 2001	-The metaphoric and psychological model of hypercorrection. Superego – Ego – Id punishes balances hypercorrection norm stigmatisation
KONTRA	1998	-Direct and indirect judgements are not equal. Inferring hypothesis cannot be proved, e.g. if a person rejects a hypercorrection-sensitive sentence we cannot deduce that he would accept a hypercorrect one. -From a judgement on a certain variable we cannot deduce another judgement on the same variable occurring elsewhere.
KONTRA	2003	-From the point of view of hypercorrection: • Education has a significant role: more educated people are more normative (except in the case of judging hypercorrection-sensitive suksük forms, where they are more hypercorrect). • Place of residence also proves to be significant: people living in the capital are more standard. • Sex does not play a significant role. • Age plays a significant role in half of the cases: younger people are more standard (except in judging hypercorrection-sensitive suksük forms, where they are more hypercorrect).
ÁGEL	1991	-State-of-mind model of the genesis of hypercorrection.
MITRING	2000	-The punishing Hungarian language education plays a role in the genesis of hypercorrection.

TABLE 1. The summary of Hungarian hypercorrection studies focusing on their main findings

The summary of Hungarian hypercorrection studies proves that inner, linguistic factors have not been studied thus far with quantitative methods.

5.2. The aim of the quantitative study

With the help of my study I try to investigate whether there are any inner, linguistic constraints – apart from the targeted outer, social ones – which might play a decisive role in the genesis of hypercorrection. The existence of such factors can be anticipated because e.g. PRESTON (1991) states that independent variables, factors do not account for variability to the same degree. There is hierarchy in the decisive role of these in such a way that we can expect the biggest impact from linguistic, then social and finally stylistic factors.

5.3. Categorisation of sentences

The categorisation of sentences comprising one of the four dependent variables is primarily based on my previous data-collection. This grouping mainly reflects how hypercorrection can be explained, the causes of linguistic uncertainty, and the genesis of various endings.

(bV) and (bVn):

Category 1: "no explanation". The safe (originally inessive) [bVn] appears instead of the stigmatised (originally illative [bV]). Overgeneralization can only be explained with the process explained in figure 1a.

(1) *Tudna filmet adni a **fényképezőgépemben***?

'*Could you give me a film **in** my camera*?'

(2) *Rengeteg embert adunk a **közigazgatásban***.

' *We give a lot of people **in** the civil service*.'

Category 2: "contamination". The genesis of hypercorrection can be explained by the fact that a directive (dynamic) predicate appears in the sentence, but it can be replaced with a locative (static) one. Moreover, in most of the cases this latter is more frequent, therefore pragmatically it is primal.

(3) *két **szemben** állított vélemény* (cf. *álló*)

'*Two opposing opinions*.'

(4) *A Tisza rádióban most kerültünk igazán **időzavarban***. (cf. *vagyunk*)

'*In Radio Tisza we are pressed for time*'.

Category 3: "whose perspective?" The biggest uncertainty is in the cases where the verb is cognitively ambiguous, i.e. perspective plays a role. Here the speaker must decide whether to choose directive or locative perspective. In most cases, apparently, when choosing between the alternatives we do not take into consideration the above-mentioned factors, but we rather choose the safe forms.

(5) *... és körmeimmel lyukat vájtam a kabátja* ***ujjában*** (where*/where to*?)

'*I cut a hole* ***in*** *the sleeve of his coat with my nails*.'

(6) *A pokolgépet egy* ***kisteherautóban*** *rejtették el*. (where*/where to*?)

'*The bomb was hidden* ***in*** *a van*'.

(indicative of -*t* final verbs) and (imperative/subjunctive of -*t* final verbs)

Category 1: "no explanation". The first [juk] form appears where the norm expects imperative (7) or subjunctive case (8) and (9).

(7) *Mohamedán országok képviselői kérik, hogy a megfelelő felszerelést* ***biztosítjuk***.

'Muslim countries ask us to provide (indicative) *the appropriate equipment'*.

(8) *Engedélyt kell kérni, hogy* ***bekapcsolhatja*** *a kék fényt.*

'Permission is to be asked to switch on (indicative) *the blue light*:'

(9) *... nem azzal a céllal születtek, hogy* ***megalkotjuk*** *a formális pragmatikát*.

'*They were not born with the intention to form* (indicative) *formal pragmatics*:'

Category 2: "real or unreal?" Uncertainty increases in those cases where after the main clause – in the embedded one – we can expect indicative and also subjunctive mood as well. Here it is up to the speaker to decide whether he intends to express something real (fact) or unreal (doubt, negation, question, possibility, uncertainty, permission, prohibition). In reality, however, the choice between the alternatives does not primarily depend on these cognitive features, we rather use the safe indicative mood.

(10) *Ennek a készítménynek nem az a feladata, hogy* ***visszafordítja*** *az öregedés folyamatait*. (Since it is said at the introduction of a new product we can only talk about its future aim).

'*The purpose of this product is to return* (indicative) *the process of ageing*.'

(11) *Megvitatjuk, hogy hogyan* ***tanítjuk*** *a csoportokat*. (At the beginning of the year we can only talk about plans, as yet unrealised tasks).

'*We discuss how to teach* (indicative) *the groups*'.

(12) *Mindennél fontosabb, hogy szemmel* ***tarthatja*** *a férjét*. (When talking about a new method to be introduced in the future only we can only talk about unrealistic things).

'*It is vital to have an eye* (indicative) *on her husband*.'

5.4. The zero-hypotheses of the study

Based on the findings of my previous pilot studies (MITRING, 20001 and 2002), and also my collected data I find the following zero-hypotheses worth observing:

(i) The distance between the verb and its complement (i.e. if there is an intervening element) does not play a role in the appearance of hypercorrection. Therefore it does not make a difference if we have to judge the grammaticality of *Behajtottunk az utcában* or *Behajtottunk, mielőtt figyelmesen körülnéztünk volna, az utcában*. '*We drove in the street*.' or '*We drove in the street without watching out*.'

(ii) The order of the verb and its complement, i.e. word order (i.e. the word order in the case of (bV) and (bVn) variables) does not prove to be decisive concerning hypercorrection. Thus it is similar if we have to judge sentences *Behajtottunk az utcában* or *Minden utcában behajtottunk*. '*We drove in the street.*' or '*We drove in every street*.'

(iii) The number of expected noun-endings and verbal moods (i.e. whether there are different endings due to perspective, or various endings of the sentence depending on reality) in other words which category the sentence belongs to (see 5.3.) does not affect the frequency of the appearance of hypercorrection. Consequently we judge with the same normative sense the following sentences: *Nem engedte, hogy leállítják a gépet* (category 1) and *Fontos, hogy a kormány támogatja a szegényeket*. (category 2) '*He did not let them stop the machine*.' and '*It is important that the government support the poor*.'

(iv) *-t* vs *-szt* final verbs (contrary to their differing evaluation, see KONTRA, 2003; and MITRING, in preparation, b) do not have an effect on how frequently hypercorrection evolves.

(v) In the different study tasks (see error-correction and sentence-completion) hypercorrection appears in the same rate. In other words the chance of passive (interim) and active hypercorrection is the same.

5.5 The participants and methods of the study

202 secondary school students participated in the linguistic survey. The participants had to solve two tasks:

1. grammaticality judgement and error-correction,
2. written sentence-completion.

When choosing the methods I party follow the trend and partly use new methods compared to the ones used in previous studies. In the first task I merge two types of exercise, the so-called grammaticality judgement and written error-correction. My decision is justified by my suspicion that this method leads to fewer misleading results. I am not convinced that participants – in pure grammaticality judgement – make decisions based on the features relevant to the study. The second type of task can also be found in earlier studies as well (see e.g. KONTRA, 2003).

Written testing, naturally, does not and cannot give a fully-fledged picture of the language use in the Hungarian language community from the point of view of hypercorrection. On the other hand, elicitation is a suitable means to show tendencies, and explain which linguistic factors contribute to what extent to the genesis of hypercorrection in writing and consequently probably in speech as well.

I decided to use a writing test for two reasons. Firstly, quantitative hypercorrection is a rather marginal phenomenon, therefore testing it orally would be extremely time-consuming. Secondly, and primarily, this way I am completely in control of the frequency and combination of the targeted linguistic, independent variables. This would entirely be impossible making use of oral test only. An argument against written testing is, of course, the demand to avoid the observer's paradox.

5.6 The targeted independent variables

The targeted, inner, linguistic variables, also introduced in the zero-hypotheses, can have the following combinations:

Location:

Category 1 = no explanation	Category 2 = contamination	Category 3 = whose perspective?
Category 1 + distance	Category 2 + distance	Category 3 + distance
Category 1 + word order	Category 2 + word order	Category 3 + word order
Category 1 + distance + word order	Category 2 + distance + word order	Category 3 + distance + word order

TABLE 2a. The inner, potentially influencing factors in case of variables (bV) and (bVn)

Table 2a shows that in case of variables (bV) and (bVn) we have 12 possible combinations. To examine the impact of each and every inner, linguistic factor we have to compare cases which differ from each other only in one distinguishing feature, therefore they can be considered minimal pairs.

Verbal mood:

-*t* final verb category 1 = no explanation	-*t* final verb category 2 = real or unreal?
-sz*t* final verb category 1	-sz*t* final verb category 2
-*t* final verb category 1 + distance	-*t* final verb category 2 + distance
-sz*t* final verb category 1 + distance	-sz*t* final verb category 2 + distance

TABLE 2b. The inner, potentially influencing factors in case of variables (indicative mood of -*t* final verbs) and (imperative/subjunctive mood of -*t* final verbs)

Table 2b shows that in the case of the other targeted variable pair (indicative mood of -*t* final verbs) and (imperative/subjunctive mood of -*t* final verbs) we have 8 different combinations.

5.7. Findings

Instead of providing a detailed account of the survey results I will depict general tendencies. While analysing the findings I manage to prove that all the five zero-hypotheses can be discarded:

(i) The distance between the verb and its complement (i.e. if there is an intervening element) does play a role in the genesis of hypercorrection. The longer the distance, the more intervening elements we have, the bigger the chance of hypercorrection.

(ii) The order of the verb and its complement, in other words the word order (i.e. word order in case of (bV) and (bVn) variables) also proves to have an impact on the generation of hypercorrection. If the verb does not precede but follows its complement, then uncertainty is bigger, therefore people more likely accept and produce hypercorrect forms.

(iii) The number of possible noun and verbal endings (i.e. if it is possible to have various endings depending on perspective, or various continuation of the sentence from the point of view of the degree of reality) – in other words which category the context belongs to – has influence on the occurrence of hypercorrection. The higher the number representing the category, the higher the level of uncertainty, which leads to a higher degree of hypercorrection.

(iv) Verbal ending at *-t* vs *-szt* final verbs (coupled with the fact that the social evaluation of the stigmatised form in case of the latter one is less rejecting) influences how possible the genesis of hypercorrection is. Based on the result we can say that we can expect a higher degree of hypercorrection in the former case.

(v) In different types of tasks, hypercorrection does not appear at the same rate. Judgements are more influenced by hypercorrection, which can also be due to the carelessness of the participants.

Recapping, we can conclude that we can expect a higher degree of hypercorrection if any disturbing factor (e.g. distance, word order, various possible endings) interferes, especially if they are combined. We can also anticipate a higher level of hypercorrection among *-t* final verbs opposed to -sz*t* final verbs. We also find that our production resists the forces of hypercorrection more than our judgments.

I also argue that judging from the survey findings, we can state that – besides the frequently studied social factors – we can now circumscribe the group and role of inner, linguistic factors that do have an impact in the appearance of hypercorrection.

I also make a number of general statements:

1 When analysing the data we cannot ignore that written and oral testing differ from each other at least in two fundamental features:
    a) In written testing – though I ask the participants to fill in the survey questionnaire considerably quickly and do not correct their first ideas – they still have a chance to reinterpret the sentence or even make corrections. In a number of cases it can be seen that during the sentence-completion task, the informants initially choose the hypercorrect version, only to subsequently change it for the hypercorrection-sensitive but normative one. Probably this would not happen at all when speaking or only to a much lesser degree.
    b) In real life the categorisation of contexts is far more obvious, since there it is clear if we talk about something realistic or not yet realised. In the test either there is no clue about that or I hint on futurity with some key words (e.g. *new, tomorrow, strategies* cf. *Nem az a feladata ennek a piacra kerülő új készítménynek, hogy lefogyasztja a fogyni vágyókat 'The purpose of this new product is to help people to lose weight'*).
2 Some cases are better not to be treated like clear examples of hypercorrection but rather the exploitation of safe forms. These are the cases of the situations belonging to the highest categories, where nothing refers to which ending is more appropriate. Consequently both of them can be considered normative. In case of expressing location it is only up to the perspective of the speaker if they opt for the version answering the question of *where*? or *where to*? In case of expressing verbal mood nothing refers to the expected modality, consequently both the indicative and the subjunctive moods are normative depending merely on if we want to express something already realised or to be realised in the future only.
3 The difference is the most striking – in both types of exercise – when comparing cases which differ from each other in more distinguishing features.

5.8 How to go on?

In this section I draw attention to the demand for expanding the field of hypercorrection studies to the field of child language. The first step would be to involve more children in the research.

I point out that bilingual research is the field where the mere existence of hypercorrection and also its precise description can function as a means to detect the controversial issue of categorising the mental lexicon of bilinguals.

When analysing the findings of the linguistic survey the question arises: whether there are some further linguistic factors (e.g. if the expected ending contains an imperative or indicative mood; verbal number and person) which might have some further impact on the frequency of the occurrence of hypercorrection. The present dissertation does not aim to answer these questions but they can form the basis for future research.

We can anticipate that when comparing the expected subjunctive or imperative mood (in case of *-t* vs *-szt* final verbs) we would see that the chance for hypercorrection is bigger in the former one. The explanation for this might lie in the fact that the verbal prefix does not get separated here unlike in case of the imperative mood, which otherwise looks formally alike.

It is also possible that verbal number and person can have an impact, as well as the categorisation of HETZRON (1972). Comparing the A–F categories of the table we can speculate that stigmatisation, and consequently hypercorrection would not have the same force in case of all the six categories.

It would be advisable to examine whether a preceding normative, inessive [bVn] or indicative [juk] in a sentence facilitated the occurrence of hypercorrect, illative [bVn] or imperative/subjunctive [juk] respectively.

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