“Chatty listeners”
Listener feedback on language cultivation in Hungarian radio

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Abstract
Language cultivation is an integral part of Hungarian culture, the diversity and complexity of which cannot be compared to that of other countries. Kossuth Radio's programme Édes anyanyelvünk ‘Our Sweet Mother Tongue’ is an important forum for Hungarian language cultivation. Letters sent to the editors from the listeners comprise an instructive document of lay linguistics. In this pilot study, we processed three months' worth of letters, looking for answers to questions about who, what and how they ask, while also examining attitudes towards the mother tongue.

1. Introduction
In our study we deal with one of the most prominent and long-standing forums of Hungarian language cultivation. Hungarian language cultivation has a long tradition. The history of thinking about the mother tongue as a matter of national interest goes back several centuries and still permeates public thinking today.

Language cultivation is a special concept which cannot be fully compared to the language planning activities of other countries. Language

1 We would like to thank Zsuzsa Vladár (head of department and associate professor) for the huge amount of advice during the preparation of the research.
cultivation can be considered as part of applied linguistics. Its aim is to disseminate knowledge of mother tongue culture and linguistic literacy and to raise awareness of language use (linguistic norms, customs, and their variations) and, to expand and enrich the vocabulary (recommendations for language users). In addition, language cultivation is increasingly supplemented by the issue of communication, the need for style and, also the problem of linguistic decorum (Blankó 2022a: 10).

Hungarian linguists are constantly thinking about language cultivation. Among linguists, there is an ongoing debate about the need to intervene in the life of the language. I will quote here only a few of its proponents, outlining the main stages in the development of language teaching over the last fifty years. According to László Deme (1954), language cultivation is “the correct way to keep the development of a language today on track”. Géza Bárczi (1974) makes a similar point, saying that it is “the conscious control of the development of language which takes place unconsciously on the lips of speakers, independently of their will”. He adds that language cultivation is “the conscious intervention in the life of language, the confinement of the development of language within certain rational limits, and even the control of this development” (Bárczi 1974: 16). In 1974, Géza Bárczi developed a language-centred, grammar-based approach to language teaching, while Lajos Lőrincze in 1980 thought in terms of a people-centred approach to language teaching, focusing on the language user (Lőrincze 1980). László Grétsy took this further when he announced the principle of nation-centred language teaching for the whole of Hungary (Grétsy 1993).

The main radio channel of the public media, Kossuth Radio, has been broadcasting the programme Édes anyanyelvünk ‘Our Sweet Mother Tongue’ for almost one hundred years – since the foundation of Hungarian public media (Blankó 2022b: 16). The great social function of this type of forum is also shown by the considerable interest the public shows in language issues (Tauli 1974: 49).

The aim of our study is to show the sociolinguistic profile of the listeners of these language cultivation programmes based on a large sample, to gain an understanding of their questions and comments, and their attitudes towards language use. This area has been less addressed in the Hungarian literature, with previous results on the subject (Blankó 2023).

Miklós Blankó, one of the authors of the study has been responding to the letters of listeners sent to the Kossuth Radio audience service twice a week to the programme Édes anyanyelvünk. The present study is based on a corpus of listener letters. This pilot study investigates the profile, language attitudes and motivations of the lay audience interested in language issues, using the letters of listeners to the programme Édes anyanyelvünk.
2. About language cultivation on the radio

Language cultivation in radio programmes is a platform for thinking about language, interpretation of norms, communication about science and language awareness which is made interactive by the listener letters. On the one hand, the letters show the issues of concern to the audience and on the other hand, they reflect the effectiveness of language cultivation programmes. They are important indicators of thinking about language, attitudes towards language, and lay linguistics.

The history of Hungarian radio broadcasting began in 1925. At that time, there were very few listeners, but by the late 1920s and mid-1930s, language programmes were added to the broadcast schedule (H. Varga 2015: 391). After the Second World War, radio broadcasting became a mass-market media, and its heyday came in the 1970s (H. Varga 2015: 391). Radio became a new forum for language cultivation in the 20th century, and a catalyst for renewal, as it became a platform for delayed dialogue with listeners. The tools of radio were also at the service of the language cultivation movement (Fábián 1984: 92-93). Language cultivation could and still can perform the function of language gatekeeper through mass communication, such as radio and television, which gave these activities the most visible publicity (Balázs 1999: 23).

Language cultivation programmes on radio also fulfil several social functions of the media according to Lasswell’s model (Lasswell 1948: 1). They provide information about the state of the language, its development and new phenomena; 2. They participate in socialisation, the creation of social links and consensus building. 3. They aim to create and maintain linguistic values and a community of values, based on the function of continuity. 4. And, they provide entertainment and colour for leisure activities (adapted from McQuail 2003: 77). Language cultivation programmes can also be seen as a tool for language planning. Haugen’s language planning model can also be used to analyse language cultivation on the radio (Haugen 1983; Blankó 2023: 336-337).

Radio language cultivation programmes perform the functions of information, briefing and advertising (Buda 1985: 7, Bajomi-Lázár 2006). The aim of the experts who speak on the radio is to promote their own field of knowledge (Veszelszki 2022: 28). But at the same time, their aim may also include the refutation of pseudo-scientific information (linguistic superstitions) (Thorson 2016, Veszelszki – Fayuna 2019). Besides the mere appearance of experts, their positions, professional knowledge and personalities also shape their prestige (Laza – Pintér 2022: 6-8). However, as language programmes are asynchronous communication due to the format of
most radio, the scientific communication activities of experts are only rarely reflected upon (Aczél – Veszelszki 2018: 7).

In addition to speaking about different linguistic topics, the show also gives listeners the opportunity to send in letters to maintain the traditions of the show. The letter writers can also participate in shaping the image of their mother tongue, but experts answer questions based on their personal scientific convictions (Laza – Pintér 2022: 15).

The live nature of the radio makes it speak to the moment. The fact that broadcasts can now be replayed online for 40 days changes this. Listeners are not present at the time of the broadcast – their reactions (if any) are delayed. However, this is in line with the expectations of spoken cultures: the power of the spoken word is reinforced (Ong 2005: 31). It has the great advantage of being more vivid, reaching the mind more quickly than the alienating, distancing written text (Ong 2005: 149). This helps to create a personal tone and permissive approach to advisory programmes.

3. The question of the linguistic norm

In addition to professional writers and the educational system, the media plays a major role in the dissemination of the linguistic norm, the standard (Sándor 2006: 961). The specificity of mass communication is that it "codifies a dominant use of language and extends it to a wider section of society." (Buda 1985: 10). Thus, all language programmes aim at transmitting the vernacular norm. We use the term linguistic norm as a set of linguistic, social and behavioural rules that determine the language user’s choice between language variants in a given situation (based on Tolesvai Nagy 1998 and Kugler – Tolesvai 2000: 173). In language cultivation, we can observe a shift from a single linguistic norm to multiple linguistic norms in the approach to issues of language appropriateness (Blankó 2022a). The sociolinguistic approach is becoming increasingly strong, and in this light, the concern with language also extends to the modification of linguistic units and the sociopolitical status of language (Haarman 1990: 103).

A clear trend in the 20th century was that language cultivation gradually moved away from the earlier model of blame and stigmatization towards advice (Blankó 2022a: 38). Radio broadcasts created a forum for language cultivation and language users to "meet" through letters and responses. Regular broadcasts, in turn, play a role in integrating people's thinking about language and their mother tongue culture into their everyday lives.

4. Research question and methodology

The following research questions were formulated:
1. What is the sociological profile of the listeners like?
2. What are the characteristics concerning the content and form?
3. How do listeners relate to their mother tongue, and what is their motivation?
4. Is there a connection between sociological profile, question type and motivation?
5. What are the most frequently used words and collocations?

We conducted a quantitative and qualitative pilot analysis of the letters received in 3 months (15. December 2022. – 15. March 2023). 111 letters and 11038 words were included in the analysis. The treatment and linguistic analysis of the letters were conducted by Miklós Blankó and the statistical analysis was conducted by Gábor Gyenes using IBM SPSS Statistics 22 software. The letters contain implicit and explicit information, which were handled together. Data was annotated by hand; variables were specified based on the data.

The sociolinguistic variables were sex, age, residence, occupation. The topics were grouped and measured as following: grammar-stylistics, meaning, spelling-grammar, foreign words. Motivational variables were analysed in two aspects: A) The purpose of the letter (motivation) - the reason and motivation of the letter sent to the editors of the Édes anyanyelvünk. This could be: language protection – to protect the mother tongue from the "harmful" effects of the "21st century", from the effects of foreign languages, and from the language use of young people, etc.; interest – a general question about some linguistic phenomenon; conflict – to settle some language-language dispute at school, at work, in the family, with the help of the answer received. B) By type of letter: letter of complaint – formulating a linguistic phenomenon as a complaint; question – asking a general question about a phenomenon; appeal – making an appeal to the editors and students in defence of the language. Sociolinguistic variables were compared to topics, motivation, and the length of the letters.

The fifty most common words of the corpus were collected, from which we selected the relevant terms (12 words). Then, we used the Sketch Engine program (W1) to examine the immediate context of the words. Based on the results obtained, we used sentiment analysis to create 1) attribution of value, 2) deprivation of value and 3) neutral categories and statements made on the relationship with mother tongue-language use, mother tongue literacy and the ideologies found.

5. Sociological profile (sociolinguistic variables)
The sex of the letter writers is known in 105 cases: 65 men and 40 women wrote letters to the editors of Édes anyanyelvünk. The proportion is therefore 62% for men and 38% for women.

The age of 32 letter writers were determined, 24 of them were elderly (retired) and there were 8 young or middle-aged (active) person, with 75% in the elderly and 25% in the young and middle-aged category.

We have precise data on place of residence in 35 cases. 7 of them live in a village (20%), 14 in a rural town (40%), 7 in the capital (20%) and 7 belong to a Hungarian community of a city or town beyond the border or live in the diaspora (20%). The programme reaches Hungarian language users by geographical location, with a proportionate number of letter writers from each type of area (capital, rural, cross-border and diaspora) sending messages to the editors of Édes anyanyelvünk.

The occupation of only 16 people is known. All of them are intellectuals, and 6 of them (38%) are teachers (active or retired). The proportion of teachers is high: this social group is more interested in language issues and is more likely to ask questions and interact (probably because of the situations they are in school).

Figure 1: Socio-linguistic characteristics (authors' own figure)

6. Content of the letters (topic variables)
Out of 111 letters, 25 letters focus on semantic issues (23%). 18 letters focus on spelling and grammar (16%). The largest group of 51 letters address grammatical-stylistic issues (46%). The largest proportion of writers want to know what is correct and incorrect, that is which forms of language are considered grammatically correct and which are not, and they are interested in the style and stylistic nuances of words or phrases. The second most common question is about the meaning of words: what they mean, or in what context they are used, and what synonyms they may have. The number of questions of a spelling-grammar nature may also be lower because most of
these types of questions are answered quickly by an Internet search engine, only more complex questions are asked. The questions on foreign words all relate to the explanation of words, which is a key feature of language protection.

**Figure 2:** Topics (authors’ own figure)

**Grammar-stylistics**

1. "I ask you: why does so much have to be 'avoided'?

2. "Lately, unfortunately, the terms *kaja* ‘sl meal’ and *kajálni* ‘sl to eat’ have become increasingly common, regardless of social class. It is very offensive to hear such things, as we have so many beautiful and varied words to express eating."

**Semantics**

3. "It has been bothering my ears for years that the words *esélye* and *lehetősége* have almost completely replaced the word *veszélye.*"

4. "What exactly does this proverb mean: *Fenn az ernyő nincsen kas?*"

**Spelling-grammar**

5. "I read the name of my choir in official documents in two different ways, I would vote for *Diósdi Nőikar.* But unfortunately, the *Diósdi Női Kar* was suggested!"

6. "Please inform me about the use of *J* and *LY.* I can’t find any reason for it. If the use is a hereditary habit, it would be advisable to use only one of them! E.g. *J*"

**Foreign words**
(7) "We are facing a revolution. A revolution in artificial intelligence. I ask you to help me explain mesterséges intelligencia ‘artificial intelligence’ by talking about it in one of your programmes. How nice to find a good word for it! In a few years (or maybe months), it will be as inescapable in use as our word honlap ‘homepage’ is today."

(8) "I'm not sure if I actually heard the phrase plussz ficsor correctly twice on the Trendidők show? If I didn't mishear it, it is astonishing how a university education professional can use his mother tongue so carelessly, and even use it in this way when teaching young people. What does this term actually cover, according to the interviewee? The English word feature means ‘sajátság, tulajdonság, vonás, jellegzetesség’. Why is the term új vonás not a good one?"

7. Purpose and type of letters (motivation variables)

When examining the purpose and motivation of the letters, we found that in 42 cases the main purpose of the questions was to express interest (38%). A total of 9 letters were intended to resolve a conflict in the family, at school or at work arising from a language issue (8%). The majority of the letters, 60, were written to protect the language (54%). The letters about protection of the language all contain elements expressing protection of the mother tongue. The letter-writers are asking the professional to stand by them, to be their “mouthpiece” in safe-guarding the mother tongue or in the "fight" to defend the language. We do not know the real purpose of the letters of enquiry, only that they are seeking an answer to some linguistic question. The reason could be pure curiosity, a professional question about a language-related issue, a conflict not shared with the editors. Letters seeking to resolve a conflict are just as likely to ask about a specific issue, but also to share the conflict for which they are contacting the expert. The prestige of the expert's knowledge is the key to resolving the language conflict.

In terms of the type of letters, 20 are of an appeal (18%), 44 are questions (40%) and 47 are complaints (42%). Those who write an evocating letter do not expect a real response, but rather a “proclamation” to the radio editors, urging them to take effective action on a specific issue that protects the language. The authors of the questions expect a real, professional response, knowledge, information, context, and arguments that they do not possess. And those who write letters of complaint criticise the use of language by others (e.g. young people, the media) and expect a kind of remedial affirmation from the respondent.
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Language protection

(9) "The “eeee-ing” [too much e] and “erm-ing” [too much ö] in public discourse, on radio and television is becoming increasingly unbearable. Please take this unpretentious way of speaking off the air. I can only hope that you don’t approve, and it does not become accepted."

Enquiry

(10) "Which is the correct form? Would I be curious or am I curious?"

Conflict

(11) "My husband and I have been trying to figure out the correct spelling of the names our grandchildren use. This is particularly important now because we write them an annual storybook about what happened to them in our grandchild camps, which they are slowly reading. So far, we have spelled it as Ági mami and Kari papi, with regard to the spelling of e.g. Mátyás király. One of my daughters thinks that both should be spelled with a capital letter: Ági Mami and Kari Papi, as in e.g. Tamás Atya. My other daughter thinks both are fine, it depends on the situation, but she really couldn’t tell me the rule, she "feels" it, e.g. when addressing or signing with capital letters. e.g. With love: Ági Mami, but e.g. in a sentence, as a reference, e.g. Ági mami and I cooked a delicious meal."

Complaint

(12) "I would like an answer to the question of the increasing use of foreign words in the everyday speech of young people today. I am not referring to words of foreign origin, but specifically to words borrowed from other languages, many of which, painfully, they do not even know
the equivalent in their sweet mother tongue. Could this lead to the deterioration of the Hungarian language, or will these words become part of our language over time? Or what is the cause of this drift away from the mother tongue?"

**Question**

(13) "While discussing the Hungarian language, we had an exchange of views on the "Our Father..." Thy name..." prayer phrases. According to my Hungarian language teacher – priest – interlocutor, it is not necessary to use pronouns, since the infinitives of nouns carry the person of the "possessor". In my opinion, however, these words are not mere superpositions, but emphatic prepositions of the personal pronouns. Could the use of these pronouns really be omitted in our cases?"

**Appeal**

(14) "The HUNGARIAN LANGUAGE is more beautiful without foreign words than with them! It is better to use the old (forgotten) words rather than incorporating foreign ones! Whoever gives something to his speech avoids foreign words by far. Every unnecessarily used foreign term is an "assassination" against the HUNGARIAN LANGUAGE! Let's stick to the HUNGARIAN LANGUAGE using as few foreign words as possible. After all, the nation lives in its language."

8. The connection between sociological and content formal characteristics

There is a borderline significant connection between question type and gender (p=0.51). Women ask a slightly higher/nearly equal proportion of questions on meaning compared to men, while men ask a significantly higher proportion of questions on the other types compared to women. Looking at the results, it emerges that women letter writers are more uncertain about the meaning of a word and have a smaller vocabulary than men letter writers.

When examining the relationship between gender and the purpose of the question, men are more likely than women to ask questions for the purpose of interest (the result is not significant). Both men and women are almost equally likely to ask for conflict resolution and language protection. Men share less information and do not involve the editors in their conflicts, while women share this kind of pieces of information.

No statistically significant connection is found between question form and gender. No statistically significant relationship is found between question type and age. Both sexes show equal interest in the protection and maintenance of the language, no gender difference can be identified.
Elderly and retired people write to a certain extent more for language protection purposes than young and middle-aged people (no statistically significant connection can be shown yet due to the low number of cases). Qualitative analysis shows that elderly people are more committed to the cause of beautiful Hungarian speech, they are more concerned about and protect our mother tongue.

There is a statistically significant connection between the type of question and the purpose of the question (p=0.010). A high proportion of both those writing letters of interest and those writing letters for language protection purposes ask questions of a grammatical-stylistic type. In addition, those writing for interest tend to send more spelling-grammar type letters, while those writing for language protection tend to send more meaning-related letters. Spelling-grammar issues are always presented as simple questions of interest, without any language protection activity. Questions of grammatical correctness and meaning, on the other hand, are often raised with language protection in mind, but they can also be simple questions without ideological overtones.

There is a statistically significant connection between the type of question and its form (p=0.003). For all form of questions, letters of the grammar-stylistic type were the most frequent, while letters of the question form were more frequently asked about spelling-grammar issues, while letters of the complaint form were more frequently asked about meaning. For letters written in the form of an appeal, the distribution is almost the same, except for the grammar-stylistic type. Questions of the grammatical correctness-stylistic type take all three forms: they can be questions, appeals or complaints. Spelling-grammar questions are formulated as genuine questions. While letters of complaint most often draw attention to perceived or real errors in the use of language, in relation to a single word and its context.

9. Characteristics of letter length
The average word count of all letters is 97.95 words. The average word count of letters written by men is 87.95, while letters written by women are higher, averaging 114.85. Statistically significant difference was not found in letter length between men and women. Qualitative analysis revealed that women explain the language problem in more detail, comment on the programme and reveal the motivation for writing the letter and personal information about themselves.

The average word count of letters written by young and middle-aged people is 71.38, while letters written by older/retired people are higher, 142.92 on average. A statistically significant difference was found in letter length.
between age groups. Letters written by elderly/retired are characterised not only by wordiness but also by a wealth of information and sometimes even irrelevant content.

10. Word frequency
Taking into account all the texts in the corpus, the following dictionary words were the most frequent (first 50). Ignoring words irrelevant to the research (article nouns, pronouns, conjunctions, etc.), we considered the context of the selected words worthy of investigation: helyes ‘correct’, kifejezés ‘expression’, kell ‘must’, magyar ‘Hungarian’, sok ‘much, many’, használ ‘use’, mond ‘say’, használat ‘usage’, szeret ‘love’, nyelv ‘language’, nagyon ‘very’, anyanyelv ‘mother tongue’.
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**Figure 4:** Fifty most frequently occurring dictionary words (authors’ own figure)
11. Context of the most frequently used relevant words

Using the Sketch Engine (W1) software, the context of the 12 relevant terms was examined. The following words are used in our study: *anyanyelv* ‘mother tongue’, *használ* ‘to use’, *helyes* ‘correct’, *nagyon* ‘much’, *nyelv* ‘language’. The diagrams of the words studied are presented in alphabetical order.

Anyanyelv (‘mother tongue’)

![Diagram](image.png)

**Figure 5: Context of the word anyanyelv ‘mother tongue’**

The word *anyanyelv* (mother tongue) is most often associated with sweet, because of the title of the radio programme and because it evokes a constant association of words reflecting an emotional connection. *Rich, precious*, as well as *appropriate* and *correct*, also occur regularly in its context, as does the noun distance. Among verbs, *knows, uses, cherishes* and *does* appear regularly. The words in the context are "colloquial": the value-adders (sweet, rich, valuable, appropriate, correct) all refer to the mother tongue, while the value-devoid (distance) refers to the language user, as do the verbs to language users who relate to (esteem) or do something with (can, use, do) the language.
In the context of the verb *használ* (uses), the word and the phrase occur frequently. *Incorrect, wrong, sloppy, faulty*, as well as *free and consistent* appear in its context. *Situation, speech, figure, reporter, and professional* are also common in the context. The writers see language as a language-user (situation, speech, situation, figure, reporter, professional), but they use value-denying terms (incorrect, bad, sloppy, faulty) – value-appreciating terms are prescriptive (free, consistent).
The helyes (correct) adjective is most often paired with the term language use. It is also characterised using demanding, incorrect, and perhaps in its context, as well as grammatical concepts: pronunciation, tone, form, expression, description, naming. As a synonym for correct, the value-added category of demanding is contrasted with the value-depriving category of incorrect. Correctness refers to different forms of language use (use, pronunciation, tone, form, expression, description, naming). The frequent use of perhaps indicates uncertainty about the issue.
Next to the word *nagyon* (very), *many* is the most frequently occurring term. It is rich in surrounding verbs: *expect, bother, spread, love, disturb, plan, surprise, prevalent, like*. Adjectives that are likely to appear: *contrived, severe, offensive, annoying, correct*. The word *often* also occurs several times. Among the verbs, there are some that refer to emotions associated with language (value-denigrating: *expect, plan, like, surprise*; value-devaluating: *annoy, disturb*). The verb value-devaluating is used to refer to language itself. Some of the writers are therefore aware that we have an emotional relationship with language and that language is an entity, a living thing. They also use a large number of adjectives that are devaluing (*artificial, serious, offensive, annoying*) and only a small number that are valorising (*correct, curious*). The word 'often' is an imprint of generalisation: they make statements in general terms, without any particular nuance.
The word *nyelv* (language) is most often preceded by *Hungarian*. It is regularly followed by *change-changing, nation, European, German*. There are also several verbs: *understand, take, meet, cease, incorporate, live, find, have*. The adjectives *poor, adopted, and similar* are used several times. The word *irresponsibility* also occurs frequently. The link between the language and the Hungarian words is self-evident, as is the perception that it is linked to the nation. The mention of the words *change* and *changing* in the context of language shows that some of the writers are familiar with the concept of linguistic change and are aware that language is constantly changing. This is also confirmed by verbs expressing the autonomous 'actions' of language (take [over], conform, cease, incorporate, live, have), while the words *understand, find* and *irresponsible* refer to the activity of language users. *Irresponsibility* can be linked to a language-protective approach. And the terms taken over and similar expressions suggest a recognition of the flexibility of language and of the variability of linguistic elements.
12. Summary

Examining the letters from listeners of the Hungarian Kossuth Radio’s language cultivation programme Édes anyanyelvünk, we found that sociolinguistic data provided by the mostly intellectual correspondents. They are from all parts of the Hungarian language area. There is a higher proportion of male and older writers, but all age groups are represented. The sociological profile shows that there is a social demand for radio language cultivation, although this demand is only felt by intellectuals.

In terms of subject, the highest proportion of letters sent to the editors concern grammatical correctness and stylistics, in terms of motive the highest proportion of letters concern language protection, and by type the highest proportion of letters are complaints. A number of connections can be identified between the sociological profile and the topic-type of the questions and the motivation. Looking at the context of the most frequently used words reveals traces of attitudes towards language, linguistic stereotypes, and ideologies.

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As a continuation of this research, it would be interesting to compare these findings with those of other language advisory forums (see Ludányi et al. 2022) and to examine the linguistic (spelling-grammar) and formal characteristics of the letters (e.g. politeness forms, structuring). The question of vocabulary and attitudes towards linguistic ideologies needs further elaboration.
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