SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN LINGUISTIC DISCRIMINATION BETWEEN SLOVAK AND HUNGARIAN TEACHERS OF HUNGARIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE[1]

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Abstract: The purpose of this study is to demonstrate the presence of linguistic discrimination in pedagogical situations, especially in pedagogical evaluation. The paper is based on a survey which involved 502 Hungarian Language and Literature teachers and teacher trainees from Hungary (N = 216), Slovakia (N = 128), Romania (N = 108) and Ukraine (N = 50). Data were primarily collected through a technique similar to matched-guise tests; however, the method of the present research had some additional complexity. The article discusses similarities and differences in linguistic discrimination between Slovak and Hungarian teachers who teach Hungarian Language and Literature. The question it raises is whether there are any differences between the two samples. The results of the mentioned research show that the presence of linguistic discrimination is powerful in both samples, but there are differences in its strength and realization.

Key words: linguistic discrimination, linguicism, pedagogical evaluation, Hungarian Language and Literature, teachers

1. INTRODUCTION

The connection between language and social class is an especially relevant issue in critical discourse studies and sociolinguistic research. In this field, Basil Bernstein's deficit or code theory is one of the most relevant and widely discussed theories. The mentioned theory claims that social class status and the family role hierarchies have potential to influence the forms of communicative language codes, with success at schools having a loopback effect on social class status. The differences in school performance arising from different linguistic codes in turn derive from social status (cf. Bernstein 1971, 1981). According to Richmond "the language which these children inherited from their families and their upbringing equipped them badly for dealing with the abstractions, the conceptualisations, the generalisations and the distinctions which were the stock in trade of the conventional

curriculum" (2017, p. 20). This statement refers to restricted code and elaborated code which influence sentence length, sentence structure, repetition and vocabulary in the performance. Based on previous research (Bernstein 1971, 1981; Holland 1981; Ivinson, 2018 and see critique of the theory in Rosen 1974) the restricted code (or language use) is characterized by shorter, simpler sentences and less varied vocabulary (more repetitions), while the elaborate code (or language use) is characterized by more complex sentences and more varied vocabulary (less repetition).

Bernstein's theory has been criticized for numerous reasons (see Labov 1972; Lawton 1975; Rosen 1974). According to the critics, the notions are too vague to have predictive power, including the concept of language code. Moreover, linguistic disadvantage can be interpreted as a delay in language acquisition, i.e. children coming from positional families may also master the elaborated code, but it may take them a longer time to do so. While these critical remarks may be justified, they clearly leave the possibility open that patterns of language use brought from the family have a significant impact on a child's rate of success at school. Indeed, several studies have systematically shown that the core of the theory holds true in education (Richmond 2017; Wells 1986). Furthermore, if the mentioned difference is associated with some kind of linguistic stereotype, and when these prejudices/stereotypes are manifested in behaviour, linguistic discrimination occurs (cf. Phillipson – Skutnabb-Kangas 1995; Skutnabb-Kangas – Phillipson 1989), which is usually based on language ideologies and heavily relies on the dominant language, usually its standard version (Skutnabb-Kangas – Phillipson 1989). The issues of language ideologies, stigmatisation and linguistic discrimination occupy special importance in the relationship between language codes and standard language. Standard language ideology is intersected with and includes assumptions about the elevation of standard language variety above others, and the reducing prestige of other (nonstandard) dialects (cf. Blundon 2016; Phillipson – Skutnabb-Kangas 1995, pp. 483–487). The mentioned concepts arise within a language when the use of nonstandard varieties (primarily vernacular dialects) causes linguistic discrimination. This type of language attitude is characteristic for the Hungarian language community and most European societies (Myhill 2004; Pieniążek – Štěpáník 2016).

I have addressed the phenomenon of language advantage and linguistic discrimination several times, from several points of view in my previous studies: the difficulties related to linguistic discrimination were introduced (Ják 2019; 2021b), a measuring instrument developed to solve these difficulties was described (Ják 2019, pp. 53–73; 2021a) and the results of research, which was carried out by the previous measuring instrument, were reported on with distinct focus points, highlighting various essential elements (e.g. Ják 2019; 2020; 2021b).

The above-mentioned research has been based on a survey which involved 502 Hungarian Language and Literature teachers and teacher trainees from four

countries. The research has produced important lessons and conclusions both linguistically and pedagogically. However, there are some aspects of the topic that I have dealt with only tangentially.

The conclusion of the research was that students were rated differently depending on content, language variety and mode of language use. The present article looks at some underlying factors of the above-mentioned research. On the one hand, the study focuses on the main results of the Slovak and Hungarian samples and the main conclusions that can be drawn from them.

On the other hand, the study describes similarities and differences in linguistic discrimination between Slovak and Hungarian teachers who teach Hungarian Language and Literature. The key question it raises is whether there are any differences between the two samples and if so, then what they are. The main hypothesis was that Hungarian teachers beyond the borders of Hungary are less prejudiced than teachers within the borders of Hungary.

The paper is structured as follows. In Section 2, the theoretical framework and the key issues are discussed. In Section 3, the research context is introduced, regarding the special language situation of Hungarians. In Section 4, the study's methodology is briefly presented. Section 5 discusses the results. Finally, Section 6 offers a short summary and concluding remarks.

2.   THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF LINGUISTIC DISADVANTAGE AND LINGUISTIC DISCRIMINATION

One fundamentally problematic issue in the educational process concerns the evaluation of students by teachers. The problems arise from the fact that this process can be influenced and negatively affected by many factors. The gravest issue is when the teacher's evaluation does not reflect on the actual knowledge that is supposed to be measured but rather on the teacher's partly or fully fictive ideas about this knowledge. An eminent example of this is when teachers assess and evaluate students' linguistic abilities instead of their knowledge. Although they generally do this unconsciously, they discriminate against students on the basis of language.

Just as in sociological and psychological contexts, linguistic "otherness" also typically incurs disadvantages as it is bound up with various prejudices and stereotypes (more broadly, language ideologies). However, such prejudices do not necessarily result in linguistic discrimination. While prejudices involve attitudes, opinions and emotional dispositions (i.e. affective factors) and stereotypes concern cognitive aspects thereof, discrimination consists in actual behaviour targeted at another individual or group (cf. Giddens 2006, p. 381; Lippmann 1965, p. 59). In other words, linguistic otherness first needs to be associated with some kind of linguistic prejudice and/or stereotype so that linguistic disadvantage can be said to exist, and when these prejudices/stereotypes are manifested in behaviour, linguistic

discrimination occurs (cf. Giddens 2006, pp. 490–497; Kozmács 2020; Ladegaard 1998, pp. 251–253). When a speaker speaks differently than dictated by the norms of a particular speech community (e.g. her vernacular dialect is different), this does not invariably produce linguistic disadvantage. However, when this language variety is negatively evaluated by another speaker or the community, when these latter have a negative attitude to such speakers, then linguistic otherness becomes linguistic disadvantage. This is especially so when the negative attitudes are rationalized at a cognitive level by stereotypes (e.g. dialectal speakers have not mastered their mother tongue properly, perhaps because their cognitive skills are inadequate).

Linguistic disadvantage is the phenomenon when there is a communicative problem, deficit or gap which limits or inhibits personality development and/or social success (e.g. in school). Basically, differences in linguistic repertoires or resources (see Blommaert 2016; Pennycook 2016 and cf. e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas – Phillipson 1989) do not constitute linguistic disadvantage by themselves. When they are related to some language ideologies, stereotypes and attitudes, later it leads to disadvantage and linguistic discrimination. Linguistic discrimination (in other words linguicism or language-based discrimination) is an extensive manifestation, activity: the phenomenon when there is a negative or positive discrimination between individuals or groups on the basis of their language varieties or language use (cf. Phillipson – Skutnabb-Kangas 1995, pp. 483–513; Skutnabb-Kangas – Phillipson 1989, p. 455).

Importantly, the main problem in this process is not with teaching the standard variety but rather with the personal bias that feeds into this process, going hand in hand with the teachers' ignorance of their students' linguistic background. One of the most notable differences among students concerns their linguistic backgrounds: their linguistic resources may be very different. Their language varieties are not the same (see the notions of vernacular, standard, slang, etc. – cf. Blundon 2016; Coupland 2007, pp. 34–40) and their language use may vary (in terms of vocabulary, sentence structure, use of stereotypical or abstract expressions, etc. – cf. Bernstein 1977; Richmond 2017). All of this has a profound influence on their chances of progress in the educational system (Phillipson – Skutnabb-Kangas 1995, pp. 483–487).

As can be seen from the above, language has a privileged role in education. First of all, language is the primary means of passing on knowledge at schools. Therefore, the successful completion of tasks (such as understanding the teacher's instruction or passing a test in reading comprehension) crucially requires and presupposes linguistic competence and resources, as determined by the teacher, including previously acquired language skills. However, as a function of their socialization, not all children possess the linguistic knowledge and skills necessary to perform specific tasks (cf. Vančo – Gergelyová 2020). In addition, when a student does not have a good command of a particular language variety, she may have comprehension problems; and even when she has mastered it as a non-vernacular variety, she may be stigmatized on a linguistic basis (Blundon 2016; Skutnabb-Kangas 1995).

3.   RESEARCH CONTEXT

The term *határon túli magyarok* [Hungarians beyond the border] primarily refers to Hungarians living in present-day Austria, Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania, Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia.[2] The largest proportion of Hungarians beyond the border lives in Romania, with the population of minority Hungarians numbering 1,240,000 people according to the official census. In Slovakia this number is much lower. According to the 2011 official census, the number of Hungarian citizens was approx. 411,000. This is the second highest number among Hungary's neighbouring states and makes Hungarians the largest minority ethnic group in Slovakia. However, the number is constantly decreasing, thus preserving the cultural and linguistic identity of ethnic Hungarians living in minority status is becoming more and more difficult (Sándorová – Vančo 2020; Satinská 2016).

In a bilingual and minority context, what is meant by "Hungarian language" is different from what we find in Hungary. The overwhelming majority of ethnic Hungarians beyond the borders do not speak the standard dialect but rather some vernacular dialect or language variety. Although this vernacular variety generally interiorizes elements of the local official language (e.g. Slovak), in the ethnic identity of minority Hungarians there is a strong sense of belonging to the Hungarian speech community. Therefore, language shift usually goes hand in hand with a shift in ethnicity (cf. Satinská 2016). As a result, for Hungarians beyond the border to survive/remain, the preservation of their language is extremely important and can only be achieved if Hungarian is not relegated to the spheres of private life (cf. Csernicskó – Szabómihály 2011). Education, and especially the teaching of Hungarian as a school subject, has an indispensable role in this context (for details, see Vančo 2020). Schools using Hungarian as a language of instruction, whose number keeps shrinking, are of strategic importance, and the role and responsibility of teachers of Hungarian working there cannot be overstated.

4.   BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE METHODOLOGY

The primary goal of my research which ended in 2018 had been to verify the hypothesis that teacher trainees and teachers of Hungarian were demonstrably prone to linguistic discrimination to a significant extent (for details, see Jánk 2019). Beyond proving the existence of the phenomenon, I also sought to gain data about linguistic prejudices, since the latter (as we have seen above) plays a key role in the

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[2] In the wake of World War I, Hungary was forced to sign a peace treaty known as the Trianon Treaty. As a result, new state borders were created in accordance with the big powers' interests and political bargains, often irrespective of ethnic boundaries. Thus, territories with an overwhelming Hungarian majority were also assigned to the new states, and around 3 to 3.3 million Hungarians ended up living outside of Hungary's new borders.

interpretation of linguistic discrimination and in the study of linguistic disadvantage in pedagogical processes.

For the research I used a method similar to the verbal guise technique, which I had modified significantly as dictated by the research goals. The method has been discussed in detail in several papers (see e.g. Jánk 2021a, 2021), therefore here I give only a brief overview of the method and the measuring tool.

The first essential phase in the method is that teachers (after filling in a background questionnaire about their basic data) receive the instruction to read the outline of a short, simple and familiar excerpt from a teaching material (for example about the notion of verbs or nouns). As a next step, they need to evaluate the recording of a student's (imitated) spoken performance about the same topic. This step is then repeated several times in the course of the survey, with varied teaching material excerpts and recordings.

Thus, the reading of each teaching material excerpt is followed by the participant listening to a recorded spoken performance and then filling in an evaluative questionnaire. Crucially, the spoken performances have been recited by children speaking different language variants on the basis of texts written by myself. Accordingly, the study incorporates three variables, i.e. spoken performances vary along the following dimensions:
  (1) the language variant in which they were told (standard or vernacular dialect),
  (2) mode of language use (restricted or elaborated, with variation in sentence length, sentence structure, repetition vs. the use of synonyms),
  (3) how much of the crucially important information they contained (all or only 60%).

As an independent variable, (1) pertains to level of compliance with the standard language variety. In the first case, the recording came from a child speaking the standard variety, in the second case from a child who was speaking a vernacular dialect (namely the Eastern Palóc vernacular dialect, cf. Rási 2020). They were 12–13 years old. I produced the texts myself and they were read out loud during the recordings.

Mode of language use (2) as an independent variable affects sentence length, sentence structure, repetition, use of abstract expressions and vocabulary in the recorded mock verbal exam or performance. I modelled two modes of language use: restricted and elaborated. The restricted mode of language use was characterized by shorter, simpler sentences and less varied vocabulary (more repetitions) and abstract expressions, whereas the elaborated mode involved more complex sentences and more varied vocabulary (fewer repetitions) and more abstract expressions.

Amount of crucial information (3) as an independent variable concerns how much of the base text's relevant information was reproduced. Again, I created two

versions. The first version was a content-wise complete performance, containing all necessary information (number of missing pieces of information is 0). The other group consisted of content-wise incomplete performances which were lacking important content (the number of missing pieces of information was 4).

Teachers and teacher trainees participating in the survey had to evaluate the performances in a variety of ways. First, they only assigned a grade to a given performance, then they also gave a verbal justification for the grade. Subsequently, they were asked to evaluate statements about the performance on a Likert scale. Statements in the questionnaire can be divided into two groups, the first concerning the performance itself (e.g. "The student was fully prepared" or "The student supplied all crucial information") and the second concerning the student (e.g. "This student has a good mind" or "The student is hard-working"). In the last case, the questionnaire was slightly modified, with the option "I can't decide" also appearing beyond the five-point scale. This was critically important because it prevented subjects from being forced to make evaluations that did not reflect their attitudes.

Linguistic discrimination can be primarily verified and measured on the basis of grades assigned to spoken performances, whereas linguistic prejudices can be detected in the ways that subjects evaluate statements in the questionnaire.

5. THE RESULTS OF THE SURVEY IN HUNGARY AND SLOVAKIA

5.1. The sample

The above-mentioned research and its results are based on a survey which involved 502 Hungarian Language and Literature teachers and teacher trainees from four countries (all of them have Hungarian nationality). The numbers of participants were the following: 216 informants from Hungary, 128 informants from Slovakia, 108 informants from Romania and 50 informants from Ukraine. The main phase of data collection was carried out in 2017 and 2018. In the following, the Slovak and the Hungarian sample will be analysed.

The first part of the questionnaire included eight dependent (background) variables. In addition to the usual sociological variables (e.g. gender, age, place of residence) and other types of data (e.g. number of active years spent as a teacher or the type of school they worked at) were also asked. The data can only be regarded as largely homogeneous along with the variable of gender, with 90% of informants from Hungary and 85% of informants from Slovakia being women.

With regard to age groups, a relative majority from the sample of Hungary 61.1% of the informants were between 30 and 65 years of age, with informants under 30 having a share of 37% (and those above 65 accounting for only 1.85%). In the sample from Slovakia, a relative minority, 43% of informants were over 30 years of age; the majority, 57% were under 30.

In line with this, 56.6% (Hungary) and 43% (Slovakia) of the informants were experienced teachers, with at least five years of experience. Teachers at the beginning of their careers (with less than 5 years of experience) made up 16.2% (Hungary) and 17.2% (Slovakia) of the sample, whereas teacher trainees were represented by 29.2% (Hungary) and 39.8% (Slovakia).

Most informants from Hungary were teaching in the capital (17.1%), the rest working in small (17.1%), medium-size (16.7%) or large cities (14.8%) and 24.3% of participants were not teaching at the time of the research. By contrast, in the Slovak survey, less than 3% of informants were teaching in the capital (0.8%) or large cities (1.6%), the majority were teaching in medium-size (14.1%), small (14.8%) or tiny villages (37.5%), with 31.2% not teaching at the time of the survey.

Data analysis was performed by the SPSS statistical software, within that primarily Repeated Measures variance analysis and simple variance analysis. For determining significance levels, the Bonferroni test was adopted.

5.2. Comparative analysis of the samples from Slovakia and Hungary

In the remainder of this study, I present the results of two samples, Slovakia and Hungary. No attempt is made at an exhaustive treatment, as my primary focus is on numerical data obtained for Hungary and Slovakia. The reason for this is that a comprehensive analysis of all data (e.g. including the verbal justifications of grades) would be beyond the scope (and space limitations) of the present paper.

The data about grades in the two samples, Slovakia and Hungary are reported below. The consecutive bar graphs show the distribution of grades. The columns show the different grades' percentage. Evaluations were performed on a five-point Likert scale. In Hungary, five is the best, one is the worst mark, whereas in Slovakia, the opposite is true. I standardised these two methods for easier interpretation, so both are following the Hungarian conventions, thereby five (5) is the best, one (1) is the worst mark (failed exam).

The figures also include terms that need explication. "100%" refers to content-wise complete, "60%" to incomplete performances. "Dialect" means vernacular variety and "Standard" stands for the standard language variety. The results can be visualized through the following two figures.

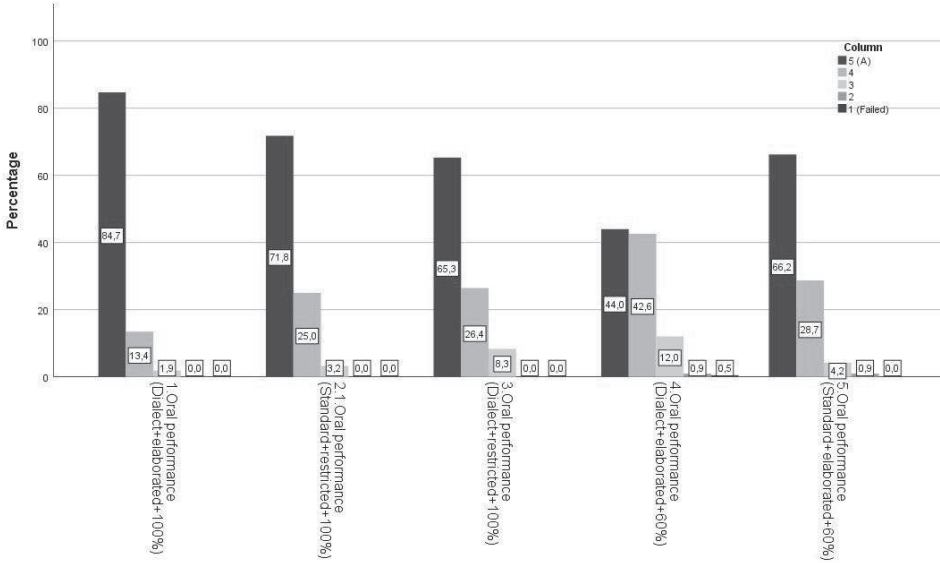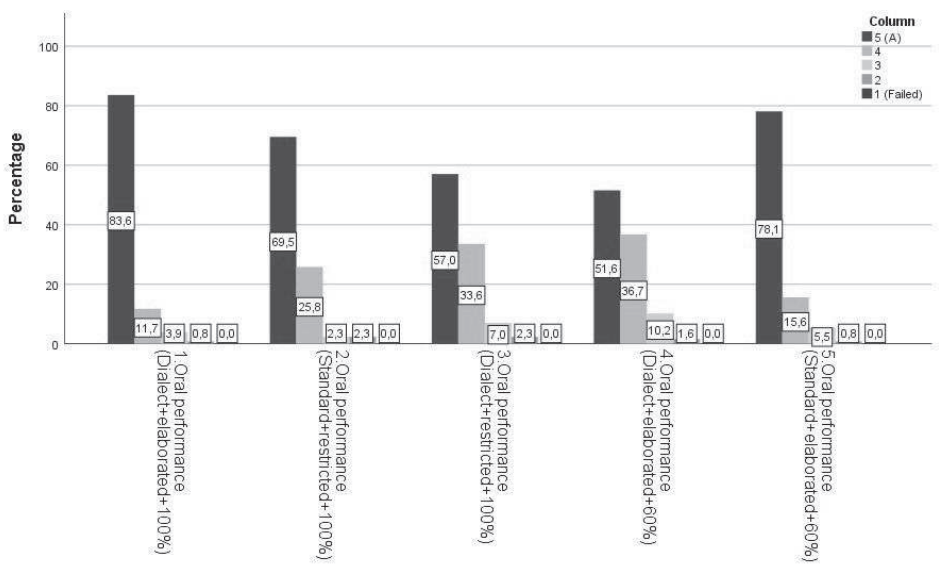**Figure 1.** Distribution of grades in the sample of Hungary (n = 216)

Figure 2. Distribution of grades in the sample of Slovakia (n = 128)

The first figure shows the distribution of grades in the sample of Hungary, while the second one in the sample of Slovakia. The grades and averages of grades clearly demonstrate that the vernacular dialect and the restricted code constitute a disadvantage for students when evaluated on the content of their verbal performance by teachers even when they are fully prepared and demonstrate this to their teachers. Moreover, we can see that the restricted code is more disadvantageous than a vernacular language variety.

In the case of the first two verbal performances, 15.3% and 28.2%, respectively, of teachers from Hungary, and 16.4%, 30.5% of teachers from Slovakia gave one grade lower to students than what would have been expected on the basis of content. In the case of the third performance, this figure was 34.7% (Hungary) and 43% (Slovakia). All of these differences are statistically significant ($p < 0.001$; Wilk's $\Lambda = 0.009$; $N^2 = 0.991$ and $p < 0.001$; Wilk's $\Lambda = 0.005$; $N^2 = 0.991$). This means that linguistic discrimination is remarkable in both samples, though more robust in the case of Slovakia.

At the same time, in the cases of incomplete-content performances (4th and 5th performances), 44% and 66.2% (Hungary), respectively, and 51.6% and 78.1% (Slovakia) of the respondents gave at least one grade higher despite the shortcomings. These results in the sample of Hungary indicate that there is no statistically significant difference in terms of mean of grades between the third (vernacular, restricted and 100%) and the fifth (standard, elaborated and 60%) performance ($p = 0.596$). This shows that linguistic discrimination is present in teachers' evaluation of students. Nevertheless, this phenomenon is more powerful in the sample of Slovakia. The evaluation of the last verbal performance was better than the third (dialect, restricted and 100%) and the second one (standard, restricted and 100%). This is indicative of extremely strong linguistic discrimination.

It is also important to discuss the teachers' written justifications of their grades. All answers had been evaluated by informants separately, hence the entire research material consisted of more than 1100 written justifications. Most of them belonged to the Hungarian sample: 550 written justifications were received from informants, which means that at least half of the teachers and teacher trainees justified their grades. In the sample from Slovakia, the number of participants was much lower ($n = 128$) than in the Hungarian sample, which was also reflected in the number of written justifications for grades. Around 240 teachers and teacher trainees supplied justifications which in terms of proportions is close to the results obtained in Hungary.

The following can be ascertained: a) written justifications correlate with the grades, b) two opposite attitudes (positive and negative) emerge in relation to vernacular dialect; c) justifications typically highlight the structure and manner of execution, thus language use in the performance in addition to attitudes to vernacular dialect.

In the case of both weaker (4 or lower) and the best (5) grades, justifications gave clear evidence of standardism as a language ideology in both samples. The informants produced comments like the following on performances in vernacular dialectal speech: "The wording was correct, but the student is not using standard language" or "The student also used grammatically incorrect words" (i.e. vernacular variants). Correspondingly, performances in the standard variety received praise such as "The style was nice, the student was using standard language" or "the student answered in a very sophisticated way, conforming to the standard".

It should be mentioned, though, that positive language attitudes related to vernacular dialect can also be documented in written justifications, albeit only sporadically. For instance, "The content is correct and I loved listening to her", "I really liked this »flavorous« diphthong-rich speech".

As far as the use of elaborated vs. restricted language is concerned, the situation is similar to the above. Written evaluations, justifications reinforce grades awarded to verbal performances and in many cases reflect on aspects of language use. When a child is using the restricted code, informants comment on this along the following lines: "The grade is good (4) [rather than 5] because of serious language mistakes", "Poor vocabulary, sloppy wordings", "she did not express herself well". For performances in the elaborated code that were content-wise incomplete, the following comments are typical: "Nice, fluent response, perhaps she understands the best what she is saying", "Well-prepared; she formulated the answer in a very sensible way", "Sophisticated language, so despite the missing parts: excellent (5)". The above mentioned can be observed in both the Slovak and the Hungarian samples.

It is also important to note that for all statements in the questionnaire, teachers and teacher trainees rated the performance given in the standard variety and elaborated code most positively in both samples. Regarding all characteristics – from how much the student liked the subject to his/her diligence – this was the best predictor of the highest evaluation, while the use of a regional dialect and restricted language use served as predictors of the lowest evaluations. And this was the case even though "undecided" was offered as an option among the answers, as it was selected by between one-third and half of the participants only. Here are just a few details with no claim on an exhaustive treatment:

- More than half of the informants (Hungary: 50.5%; Slovakia: 57.8%) do not even perceive missing elements of content when the student uses the standard language variety and elaborated code for reproducing the material. When standard language use is not accompanied by elaborated wording, this figure drops to 30–32%. And when the student was speaking a dialect and was using the restricted code, 41.7% and 43.8% of informants believed that the performance lacked content, even though this was actually not the case.

- Teachers and teacher trainees were the least sure about whether the student understood what s/he was talking about when the child was a dialectal speaker. In

the Slovak sample, 13.3% were convinced about this completely, and in the Hungarian one, 16.2%. The same figures for content-wise incomplete standard performances lie at 23.4% (restricted code) and 51.6% (elaborated code) in the sample from Slovakia and at 24.1% (restricted code) and 42.1% (elaborated code) in the Hungarian material.

- Around 50–60% of informants were confident enough to make inferences from a one-minute verbal performance about the extent to which the student liked grammar as a subject. This was most characteristic in the case of the 5th performance (standard, elaborated, 60%), about whom a significantly higher number of informants (p < 0.005) assumed that he liked the subject than about any other student. 34.7% of teachers from Hungary and 42.2% of those from Slovakia were completely convinced about this. The same assumption was least likely to be made about the 3rd student (dialectal, restricted, 100%); in particular, only 5.1% and 3.9% agreed completely with this statement.
- 70–80% of informants believed that they were capable of making inferences about the students' diligence. 48.1% of teachers from Hungary and 47.7% of those from Slovakia made the assumption that the student was hard-working in the case of a standard and elaborated but content-wise incomplete performance. By contrast, the student reproducing all content elements in dialect and in the restricted code was considered to be the least hard-working.

6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The goal of my study and presentation has been to demonstrate the existence of linguistic discrimination in pedagogical evaluation. The research involved a total of 502 teachers and teacher trainees, showing clearly that linguistic discrimination is strongly present in teachers' evaluation of students. Looking at grade averages and grade distributions, written justifications and evaluations of statements, we can conclude that the discriminatory effect of linguistic disadvantage is exactly the same as the benefit of students using the standard variety and the elaborated mode of language use.

Both the Hungarian and Slovak sample analysis shows robustious linguistic bias and discrimination. The primary hypothesis, that teachers from Slovak sample are more linguistically tolerant than teachers from Hungary, was not confirmed, to the extent that the data rather confirmed the opposite. The results showed that language bias, a less tolerant language attitude is much more pronounced than expected in the case of Hungarian language teachers in Slovakia. It is especially true in connection to the standard variety of language.

In the case of the first two complete verbal performances, 15.3% and 28.2%, respectively, of teachers from Hungary, and 16.4%, 30.5% of teachers from Slovakia gave one grade lower to students than what would have been expected on the basis

of content. In the case of the third performance, this figure was 34.7% (Hungary) and 43% (Slovakia). This means that linguistic discrimination is remarkable in both samples, though more significant in the case of Slovakia. Simultaneously, in the cases of incomplete-content performances, 44% and 66.2% (Hungary), respectively, and 51.6% and 78.1% (Slovakia) of the respondents gave at least one grade higher despite the insufficiencies. The evaluation of the last verbal performance was better than the third (dialect, restricted and 100%) and the second (standard, restricted and 100%) performances. This is an indicative of extremely strong linguistic discrimination. In parallel, a similar trend can be observed connected to the different evaluations of statements on Likert scale. Most of statements show that there is relevant linguistic discrimination, mainly among Hungarian language teachers in Slovakia.

Student performances were rated differentially depending on primarily language variety and mode of language use, with the performances using the standard and/or elaborated code being rated the most positively. Performances using a vernacular dialect or restricted language were always rated negatively, even when in terms of content the performance was free from shortcomings. And when both kinds of linguistic disadvantage were at play, linguistic discrimination was the most pronounced and destructive.

These results indicate that students were not rated on the acquired knowledge but based on discrepancies with respect to a language variety which was mostly unfamiliar to them. Language (including variety and usage) plays a key role in determining school success and failure, and hence also the assertion of children. Linguistic repertoires and resources are absolutely irreplaceable factors in school discourse. Content is not. Students are able to cover up their disadvantage in the eyes of around two-thirds of teachers and teacher trainees. At the other end of the spectrum, students affected by linguistic discrimination receive at least one grade lower from more than one-third of the respondents despite their content-wise complete performances.

No matter how hard a student works and prepares for classes within the range of their possibilities, several teachers will not be evaluating them on the basis of how well-prepared they are. Presumably, there is a potential in extending the research to the assessment of non-linguistic knowledge by teachers of non-linguistic subjects (e.g. in history, geography, etc.), where it would be shown how much the effect of language discrimination would be manifested in education as a whole.

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Resumé

PODOBNOSTI A ROZDIELY V JAZYKOVEJ DISKRIMINÁCII MEDZI UČITEĽMI MAĎARSKÉHO JAZYKA A LITERATÚRY NA SLOVENSKU A V MAĎARSKU

Zámerom tejto štúdie je ukázať prítomnosť jazykovej diskriminácie v pedagogických situáciách, najmä v pedagogickom hodnotení. Článok sa opiera o výskum, ktorého sa zúčastnilo 502 učiteľov a učiteliek (vrátane študujúcich s touto aprobáciou) predmetu Maďarský jazyk a literatúra z nasledovných krajín: Maďarsko (N = 216), Slovensko (N = 128), Rumunsko (N = 108) a Ukrajina (N = 50). Dáta boli zbierané primárne testami podobnými technike spojených masiek (matched-guise technique), no metóda výskumu bola obohatená o niektoré pridané prvky.

Štúdia sa zaoberá podobnosťami a rozdielmi v jazykovej diskriminácii medzi vyučujúcimi maďarského jazyka a literatúry zo Slovenska a z Maďarska. Základnou otázkou je, či sa tieto dve vzorky vôbec líšia. Výsledky spomínaného výskumu ukazujú, že prítomnosť jazykovej diskriminácie je markantná v oboch vzorkách, ale rozdiely sú v jej miere a realizácii.