

Pronunciation of Hungarian Proper Names in Czech¹

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Abstract

This paper is devoted to the analysis of the pronunciation of selected Hungarian proper names in Czech – anthroponyms and toponyms considered rather well-known in the Czech context (e.g. *Lajos Kossuth*, *Imre Kertész*, *Harkány*, *Pécs*) and which contain potentially problematic sounds (e.g. the digraphs *ly*, *gy* and *ny*). These names were incorporated into simple sentences (e.g. *This year I want to visit the famous spa Harkány*), which were read by 65 Czech respondents with no knowledge of Hungarian. For some names in particular there was – considering the number of respondents – a great number of registered pronunciation variants, e.g. in the case of the Hungarian anthroponym *Rákóczi*, there were 14 different pronunciations, e.g. [ra:ko:tsɪ], [ra:kotʃɪ], [ra:kofʃ], [ra:kostsɪ], etc. The analysis of the recordings revealed that Czech speakers do not have a strong awareness of the pronunciation of potentially problematic sounds. Czech pronunciation guides recommend that the pronunciation of loanwords is based on the pronunciation in the original language, e.g. in the case of the digraph *gy*, the pronunciation [j]. In other words, the guides recommend the phonological approximation principle. The Czech respondents, however, far more often utilized the spelling pronunciation principle. Furthermore, a correlation between the appropriate pronunciation (i.e. using the phonological approximation principle) and the respondent's prior familiarity with the given name was revealed.

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Introduction

In this paper, I would like to share the results of my research on how Czech respondents pronounce selected Hungarian proper names. I focused on those Hungarian anthroponyms and toponyms, which are considered familiar in the Czech context. To start with, (1) I will give an overview of all the variants in pronouncing the selected Hungarian names; then (2) I'll discuss to what extent the recorded variants depend on the respondents' previous knowledge of these names; and finally (3) I will explore the principles that the respondents employed when pronouncing these loanwords.

Method

Selected Hungarian names appeared in so-called test sentences, which the respondents had to read out. The total number of respondents was 65, out of which 37 were men and 28 women, all with secondary or university education. Their reading was recorded on a dictaphone Sony ICD-UX534F. In the test sentences, I chose such Hungarian names that could be quite

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familiar (from school, media, and so on) and at the same time could include some problematic sounds for Czech speakers. Here are the sentences:

- *V roce 2002 získal Nobelovu cenu za literaturu maďarský spisovatel Imre Kertész.*
(In 2002 the Nobel Prize was awarded to the Hungarian writer Imre Kertész.)
- *Spisovatel Sándor Márai prožil značnou část svého života v emigraci.*
(The writer Sándor Márai spent most of his life in exile.)
- *Pécs má český název Pětikostelí.*
(Pécs is called Pětikostelí in Czech.)
- *Básníci Sándor Petőfi a János Arany byli dobří přátelé.*
(The poets Sándor Petőfi and János Arany were good friends.)
- *Ferenc Rákóczi II. má pamětní desku na pražském Malostranském náměstí.*
(Ferenc Rákóczi II has a memorial plate at the Prague's Malostranske namesti.)
- *Hudební skladatel Ferenc nebo také Franz Liszt je znám svými Uherskými rapsodiemi.*
(The composer Ferenc or Franz Liszt is known for his Hungarian Rhapsodies.)
- *Lajos Kossuth je zásadní osobností maďarských dějin, konkrétně roku 1848.*
(Lajos Kossuth was a major figure in Hungarian history, in particular after 1848.)
- *Současným maďarským prezidentem je János Áder.*
(János Áder is a current Hungarian president.)
- *V letech 2005–2010 byl prezidentem Maďarska László Sólyom.*
(Between 2005 and 2010, the president of Hungary was László Sólyom.)
- *Bedřich je německy Friedrich a maďarsky Frigyes.*
(The Czech name Bedřich is Friedrich in German and Frigyes in Hungarian.)
- *Spisovatel a básník Dezső Kosztolányi mimo jiné přeložil do maďarštiny Romea a Julii Williama Shakespeara.*
(The writer and poet Dezső Kosztolányi translated Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* among others.)
- *V divadelní hře Kočičí hra, kterou napsal István Örkény, svého času excelovala Dana Medřická.*
(The Czech actress Dana Medřická starred in the drama *Catsplay* written by István Örkény.)
- *Letos chci navštívit vyhlášené termální lázně Harkány.*
(This year I want to visit the renowned thermal Baths Harkány.)

Having read the sentences, the respondents were asked to mark each sentence and say whether they knew the Hungarian name before.

The Proper Pronunciation of the Tested Proper Names

In Czech, there are two basic rules for pronouncing loanwords. According to the first rule, if an unknown sound appears, it is replaced by the closest Czech sound. The second rule says that the stress needs to be placed on the first syllable even if it appears on a different syllable in the original language (cf. Romportl *et al.* 1978, Palková 1994, Hůrková 1995, Strahl 1999, Zeman 2006).

In accordance with these rules, the Hungarian names in the tested sentences should be pronounced as follows: *Imre Kertész* [ɪmɾɛ kɛrtɛːs], *Sándor Márai* [ʃaːndor maːrajɪ], *Pécs* [pɛːtʃ], *Sándor Petőfi* [ʃaːndor pɛtɛːfi], *János Arany* [jaːnof araj], *Ferenc Rákóczi* [fɛrɛnts raːkoːtʃi], *Ferenc Liszt* [fɛrɛnts list], *Lajos Kossuth* [lajof koʃut], *János Áder* [jaːnof aːdɛr], *László Sólyom* [laːsloː ʃoːjom], *Frigyes* [friːɟɛʃ], *Dezső Kosztolányi* [dɛʒɛː kostolaːɲi], *István Örkény* [iʃtvaːn ɛrkeːɲ], *Harkány* [harkaːɲ].

The recordings show that while in Czech some consonants are represented by one grapheme, in Hungarian they are written as digraphs. This difference between Czech and Hungarian is notable in palatal sounds: *ly* [j], *gy* [ɟ], *ty* [c], *ny* [ɲ], and in sibilants: *sz* [s], *s* [ʃ], *zs* [ʒ] or affricates: *cs* [tʃ]. If a Hungarian name contains one of those consonants, in Czech it needs to be pronounced as indicated in the square brackets. In other words, we follow the principle of so-called phonological approximation (that will be explained in detail in Part 3).

When pronouncing Hungarian vowels, the situation may seem slightly unclear because two principles are employed: the principle of phonological approximation and the principle of spelling pronunciation (graphical). Unlike Czech, Hungarian has rounded vowels: *ö, ő, ü, ű*,² which are replaced by Czech sounds: *ö* [ɛ], *ő* [ɛː], *ü* [ɪ], *ű* [ɪː] according to the principle of phonological approximation in labial sounds. However, there are two cases when Czech follows the principle of spelling pronunciation. The first case is the pronunciation of Hungarian long *é*, which is in Hungarian much more closed than in Czech and sounds almost like Czech long *í*. The second case is the pronunciation of Hungarian short *a*, which is more closed in Hungarian than in Czech and sounds almost like Czech short *o*. If these two Hungarian vowels appear in Czech speech, they are pronounced according to the principle of spelling pronunciation: *é* [ɛː], *a* [a].

(1) The Overview of All the Variants in Pronouncing the Selected Hungarian Names

² Similarly as in Czech, vowel length in Hungarian can indicate the meaning of a word. In Hungarian, this includes the labialized sounds, e.g. *tör* (to break) vs. *tőr* (dagger).

Tested name and number of the recorded variants	Proper pronunciation of the tested name	Recorded pronunciation and number of the respondents, who pronounced the tested name this way
Ferenc 3	[fɛrɛnts]	[fɛrɛnts] 63 [fɛ:rɛnts] 1 [fran] 1
Liszt 6	[lɪst]	[lɪst] 53 [lɪsts] 5 [lɪts] 3 [lɪft] 2 [lɪts] 1 [lɪsɔzɔtɔ] 1
Rákóczi 14	[ra:ko:tʃɪ]	[ra:ko:tʃɪ] 2 [ra:ko:tʃi] 28 [ra:koʃi] 11 [ra:kotsɪ] 9 [ra:ko:tʃi] 2 [ra:kostʃi] 1 [ra:koʃ] 3 [ra:kostʃɪ] 3 [ra:kosɪ] 2 [rako:tʃi] 1 [ra:kocəzi] 1 [ra:dotʃi] 1 [ra:ko:tʃi] 1
Sándor 7	[ʃa:ndor]	[ʃa:ndor] 28 [sa:ndor] 24 [sando:r] 5 [sandor] 4 [ʃando:r] 1 [sandor] 1 [ʃa:ndor] 1
Petőfi 17	[petɛ:fi]	[petɛ:fi] 23 [petɛ:fi] 12 [petofi] 4 [petœfi] 1 [pœ:tœ:fi] 1 [pœtœfi] 1 [pœ:tœfi] 1 [pœ:ftœfi] 1 [petro:fi] 1 [pœ:tofi] 1 [petofɪ:] 1 [petɛ:f:] 1 [petœfi] 1 [petœfi] 1 [pœtœfi] 1 [pœ:tœfi] 1 [pœtœ:fi] 1
Pécs 10	[pɛ:tʃ]	[pɛ:tʃ] 38 [pɛ:c] 14 [pɛ:cs] 3 [pɛ:tʃ] 2 [pɛ:] 1 [pɛ:sc] 3 [pɛ:cs] 1 [pɛ:] 1 [pɛscɛ:] 1 [pɛtʃ] 1
Lajos 6	[lajoʃ]	[lajoʃ] 43 [lajoʃ] 3 [lajos] 9 [la:jos] 9 [la:o] 1 [lajoj] 1
Kossuth 14	[kofut]	[kofu:t] 13 [kofut] 15 [ko:fut] 1 [kosut] 20 [kosu:t] 7 [kazux] 1 [kofʃut] 1 [kasux] 1 [kofutʃ] 1 [kozut] 1 [kosu:s] 1 [kostup] 1 [kotʃux] 1 [kosuthə] 1
Harkány 7	[harka:n]	[harka:n] 7 [harka:ni] 53 [harka:nɪ] 1 [harkanɪ] 1 [harke:ni] 1 [herka:ni] 1 [harka:n] 1
Frigyes 35	[frɪjɛʃ]	[frɪgjɛs] 8 [frɪgis] 5 [frɪjɛ:ʃ] 4 [frɪgɛs] 4 [frɪgjɛʃ] 3 [frɪgjɛ:s] 3 [frɪgɛ:s] 3 [frɪ:gis] 3 [frɪjɛʃ] 2 [frɪjɛ:s] 3 [frɪjɛs] 2 [frɪgɪ:s] 2 [frɪ:ks] 1 [frɪjɛ:] 1 [frɪ:jɛs] 1 [frɪk] 1 [frɪgjɛ:ʃ] 1 [frɪgjɛʃ] 1 [frɪgɪ:ʃ] 1 [frɪgɛs] 1 [frɪjɛ:zə] 1 [frɪgɛ:s] 1 [frɪgjɛ:ʃs] 1 [frɪgjɛ:rs] 1 [frɪgɪks] 1 [frɪjɛgjɛs] 1 [frɪgjɛs] 1 [frɪgœ:s] 1 [frɪgjɛ:c] 1 [frɪgjɛ:ʃ] 1 [frɪ:gɛs] 1 [frɪgɪʃ] 1 [frɪgajɪs] 1 [frɪdɔʒɛs] 1 [frɪgɛ:ʃ] 1
Arany 11	[arɒn]	[aranɪ] 40 [ara:nɪ] 11 [arɒn] 5 [a:ra:nɪ] 2 [ara:nɪ] 1 [ara:nɪ:] 1 [ara:n] 1 [adranɪ] 1 [a:ra:n] 1 [a:raj] 1 [ere:nɪ] 1
Áder 3	[a:der]	[a:der] 62 [ade:r] 2 [a:dR] 1
Dezső 28	[dɛʒɛ:]	[dɛʒo] 10 [dɛʒo:] 9 [dɛ:ʒo] 7 [dɛ:so] 4 [dɛʃo:] 3 [dɛso:] 3 [dɛʒo] 2 [dɛʒœ:] 2 [dɛ:ʃo] 2 [dɛʃœ:] 2 [dɛ:ʃɛ:] 1 [dɛ:sko] 1 [dɛ:ʃœ] 1 [dɛstʃɛ:] 1 [dœ:sɛ:] 1 [dœ:ʒɛ:] 1 [dɛzœ:] 1 [dɛʒɛ:] 1 [dɛ:ʒɛ:] 1 [dɛʃɛ:] 1 [dɛʃo] 1 [dɛʒɛ] 1 [dɛsco] 1 [dɛ:ʃo:] 1 [dɛzso:] 1 [dɛzo:] 1 [dɛ:zo] 1 [dɛdɛ:] 1
Kosztolányi 20	[kostola:nɪ]	[kostola:nɪ] 22 [kofɒtola:nɪ] 7 [kostola:nɪ] 7 [kostola:nɪj] 5 [kofɒtola:nɪ] 5 [kofɒtola:nɪj] 2 [koscola:nɪ] 2 [kostolɪja:nɪ] 2 [kostolani] 1 [kostozla:nɪ] 1 [kostola:n] 1 [kostɪlja:nɪ] 1 [kacolɪja:nɪ] 1 [kostala:nɪ] 1 [kostozola:nɪ] 1 [ka:stola:nɪ] 1 [kostla:nɪ] 1 [koscotla:nɪ] 1 [kozontla:nɪ] 1 [kostalɪ:nɪ] 1
István 6	[ɪʃtva:n]	[ɪʃtva:n] 53 [ɪstva:n] 6 [ɪstvan] 2 [ɪstja:n] 1 [ɪsva:n] 1 [ɪsta:n] 1 [ɪʃtvan] 1
Örkény 21	[ɛrke:n]	[ɛrke:nɪ] 18 [orke:nɪ] 12 [œrke:nɪ] 6 [orkenɪ] 4 [œrke:n] 3 [ɛrke:n] 3 [œ:rkenɪ] 2 [ɛrke:nɪ] 1 [œrke:nɪ] 1 [œrke:nɪ] 1 [œrknɛnɪ] 1 [orke:n] 1 [ɛ:rekenɪ] 1 [ɛrke:n] 1 [œkrɛ:nɪ] 1 [ɛ:rkenɪ] 1 [œrken] 1

Table 1. Variants in pronouncing Hungarian names

(2) The Role of Previous Knowledge in Recorded Pronunciation

As I have already mentioned, after the respondents finished reading the tested sentences, they marked whether they knew the words before (for example from media). Two groups were formed: those who knew the words and those who did not. First, I analysed the first group (pronunciation of the respondents who knew the name before) and then the second group (those who did not know the name before). The next step was to compare the two groups to find if their previous knowledge played some role when pronouncing each and every name. The following overview shows the number of respondents who marked respective name as known before and the number of respondents who did not mark it (number in brackets):

Tested name	Prev. knowledge yes (no)	Tested name	Prev. knowledge yes (no)
Imre Kertész	8 (57)	Lajos Kossuth	24 (41)
Sándor Márai	9 (56)	János Áder	5 (60)
Pécs	25 (40)	László Sólyom	4 (61)
Sándor Petőfi	29 (36)	Frigyes	3 (62)
János Arany	11 (54)	Dezső Kosztolányi	4 (61)
Ferenc Rákóczi	31 (34)	István Örkény	19 (46)
Ferenc Liszt	40 (25)	Harkány	19 (46)

Table 2. Previous knowledge of tested names

I will illustrate how previous knowledge corresponds with pronouncing the unknown names on the example of the anthroponyms *Ferenc Rákóczi* and *Lajos Kossuth*, and on the toponym *Harkány*. These names were known by a considerably high number of respondents.

Ferenc Rákóczi

The name *Ferenc Rákóczi* was marked as known by 31 respondents, which means almost half. However, out of these 31 respondents only two pronounced the name properly, i.e. [ra:ko:ɽɪ]. The most frequent recorded pronunciation of this surname was [ra:koɽɪ] (16), followed by [ra:koɽɪ] (5), [ra:kotɽɪ] (3), [ra:ko:ɽɪ] (2), [ra:kostɽɪ] (1), [ra:ko] (1), and [ra:kostɽɪ] (1). The pronunciation of the Hungarian digraph *cz* [ɽ] is a result of historical spelling, which the respondents found particularly unusual. That is why they pronounced it mostly as [ɽ], sometimes [ʃ], but not as [ɽ]. The pronunciation of *cz* as [ɽ] can be in case of Czech speakers influenced by Polish or English, in which *cz* is pronounced as [ɽ]. The recordings also reveal that the respondents often change the length of the vowel when pronouncing the surname *Rákóczi*. Long *ó* in the second syllable is often shortened. Such shortening is common in other Hungarian names with long *ó* and could be explained by the fact that long *ó* basically does not exist in Czech with the exception of words with foreign origin or emphatic pronunciation. To sum up, in the case of the surname *Rákóczi*, the proper pronunciation [ra:ko:ɽɪ] corresponds little to previous knowledge. Although the respondents often know the historical figure Ferenc Rákóczi II, the most frequent pronunciation of this name is [ra:koɽɪ].

This pronunciation prevailed also in the case of the other 34 respondents who did not know the name *Ferenc Rákóczi* before and pronounced it as [ra:kotʃi] (12). Other variants were [ra:kofʃi] (6) and [ra:kotsi] (6), and among the less common ones were [ra:kof], [ra:kostʃi], [ra:kosi], [rako:tʃi], [ra:kotszi], [ra:dotʃi], [ra:ko:ʃtʃi]. In conclusion, the previous knowledge of the name *Ferenc Rákóczi* did not play any important role.

Lajos Kossuth

The name *Lajos Kossuth* was known before to 24 respondents, and its proper pronunciation is [lajof kofut]. With only one exception, all the respondents pronounced the first name *Lajos* using a long vowel in the first syllable [la:joʃ]. Only one respondent respected the length of the vowel and pronounced it [lajof]. Thus, we can observe in the name *Lajos* a similar tendency as in the name *Rákóczi*. Respondents know the name, but do not follow the proper pronunciation. The surname *Kossuth* was also subject to changes in the length of the vowel, but this time it was the second vowel that was pronounced longer. The variant [kofu:t] was recorded in nine responses; more frequent was the proper pronunciation [kofut] (12), and individual respondents used the following rare variants: [ko:ʃut], [kosut], [kazux].

As for the second group, out of the 41 respondents who did not know the name before, two of them pronounced it properly [lajoʃ], while 20 respondents pronounced it [la:joʃ], exactly as most of the respondents who knew the name before. Nine respondents pronounced it [lajos] and another nine somewhere between the proper pronunciation [lajoʃ] and the stereotypical [la:jos]. The least frequent variants were [la:o], [lajoj]. Thus, in the case of the first name *Lajos*, previous knowledge did not correspond much with the ways of pronouncing it.

But, when we look at the surname *Kossuth*, the situation is different. Out of 41 respondents who did not know the name *Lajos Kossuth* before, 19 pronounced the surname [kosut], which means they followed the principle of spelling (graphical) pronunciation. A smaller part of nine respondents pronounced it [kosu:t], four respondents pronounced [kofu:t], and three succeeded in pronouncing it properly [kofut]; other individual variants [kofʃut], [kasux], [kofʃtʃ], [kozut], [kosu:s], [kostup], [kotʃux], [kosuthə]. In sum, in the case of the surname *Kossuth*, the role of previous knowledge is highly significant. Lack of knowledge resulted in a high number of variants, and many respondents followed the principle of spelling pronunciation (graphical).³

Harkány

The toponym *Harkány* was previously known to 19 respondents, but only four of them achieved to pronounce it properly [harka:ɲ]. The prevailing tendency was to pronounce it according to the spelling [harka:ni], but there were also individual variants [harka:nɪ] and [harkani]. Out of 46 respondents who did not know the word before, most of them also pronounced it [harka:ni] (40), three respondents pronounced it properly [harka:ɲ], while

³ The pronunciation variant [la:joʃ] can be perhaps explained as an erroneous analogy with the pronunciation of the first name *János* [ja:noj].

individual respondents pronounced it [harke:ni], [herka:ni], or [harka:n]. Thus, in the case of the name *Harkány*, the role of previous knowledge was quite insignificant. Both groups of respondents pronounced the name in accordance with the spelling [harka:ni].⁴

Generally speaking, considering all the tested names, it can be said that previous knowledge of a particular name had some influence on the pronunciation. If the respondents knew the name from the past, they pronounced it more properly, in other words, they tended to apply the principle of phonological approximation or original pronunciation in more cases than the respondents who did not know the word before, especially in the case of the name *Lajos Kossuth*. However, in the case of the discussed names *Rákóczi* a *Harkány*, previous knowledge did not play any important role in their pronunciation.

(3) Pronunciation Principles Employed by the Respondents

I have already mentioned several pronunciation principles, namely the principle of phonological approximation, the principle of original pronunciation and the principle of spelling pronunciation. These principles, together with another five principles, give a thorough overview of alternatives that exist when pronouncing loanwords and foreign proper names.⁵

⁴ Considering this toponym, the pronunciation [harka:ni] is on increase, as can be seen not only from this research but also from the webpages of the Czech travel agencies that offer holiday in the thermal spa Harkány. For example, the following citations: *Vážení klienti, naše cestovní kancelář ve spolupráci s cestovní kanceláří Thermal Travel v Harkánech přichází v roce 2013 s několika změnami, o kterých bychom Vás rádi informovali.* (<http://www.eichlerbus.cz/Pendulum.aspx>) [2014-05-05]; *Naše cestovní agentura Vám nabízí ubytování v Harkánech ve více než 46 hotelech, apartmánech a penzionech a to nejen přímo ve městě, ale i v okolí Harkán, kde najdeme města Siklós, Matty, Ócsárd, Nagyharsány a Palkonya. A pokud například hledáte pouze hotely v Harkánech, vyzkoušejte záložku Ubytování pro upřesnění výběru.* (<http://harkany.b-madarsko.cz/>) [2014-05-05]. / *Dear clients, our travel agency in cooperation with the travel agency Thermal Travel in Harkány wants to inform you about the following changes in the year 2013.* (<http://www.eichlerbus.cz/Pendulum.aspx>); *Our travel agency offers accommodation in Harkány in more than 46 hotels, suits, and guest houses not only in town but also at the outskirts of Harkány, in the towns Siklós, Matty, Ócsárd, Nagyharsány and Palkonya. If you look only for hotels in Harkány, you can click on Advance search of accommodation.* (<http://harkany.b-madarsko.cz/>).

⁵ These eight principles (from Duběda *et al.* 2014: 315-316) are as follows:

1. Phonological approximation. This process, which is the most frequent and is presented as the default method in pronunciation manuals, denotes the substitution of non-native sounds with their nearest counterparts in Czech, together with the application of Czech prosodic, phonotactic, and morphological rules, e.g., *Windows* [wɪndəʊz] → [vɪndəʊs].
2. Spelling pronunciation. According to this principle, Czech pronunciation rules are applied to the foreign spelling form (e.g., *Superman* [sʊpɛrman], but *Batman* [bɛtmɛn] and *Spiderman* [spajdɛrmen], pronounced according to Principle 1, probably because they are more recent).
3. Original pronunciation. This kind of pronunciation, according to which the phonological and phonetic rules of the donor language are maintained, is sometimes used in citations (*Výslovnost spisovné češtiny* 1978: 30), in scientific communication (Hůrková 1995: 69).
4. Analogy with the donor language. In this case, the adapted form is the result of the (often incorrect) application of a phonetic analogy from the source language (e.g. *Robert* [rɔʊbrɛt], a widespread pronunciation variant, commonly heard in the media, may be considered a hypercorrect form of [rɔbrɛt]).
5. Analogy with the recipient language. According to this principle, the phonological changes made to the word that has been adopted are motivated by analogy with Czech words, or, more generally, by analogy with sufficiently integrated words of any origin. This principle accounts for what is usually called *folk etymology*; for example, the word *protežovat* (Engl. ‘to favour’ < French *protéger*) is often pronounced (and even spelled) as [‘procežovat], under the influence of Czech words such as *vytěžovat* and *zatěžovat*, which share a number of semantic features.

Although the respondents should employ the principle of phonological approximation, my research showed that the prevailing principle is that of spelling (graphical) pronunciation. This tendency is perfectly understandable in the case of non-expert speakers, because respondents often do not know that some Hungarian sounds have a different graphical recording from Czech. Out of many examples of the spelling (graphical) pronunciation, I can mention the recurring pronunciation of the first name *Frigyes* [frɪgtjɛs], surnames *Sólyom* [so:lɪjom], *Arany* [arani], and toponym *Harkány* [harka:ni] among others.

The principle of phonological approximation was also employed, but to a much smaller extent. For example, considering the toponym *Harkány*, the pronunciation [harka:ɲ] was recorded only in seven cases.

Another principle that the respondents employed was the influence of universals. As for Hungarian names, this principle was repeatedly used when the respondents attempted to pronounce the Hungarian labialized vowels *ö*, *ő*. The long labialized vowel appeared in the surname *Petőfi*. It is perhaps the exotic nature of this sound that made the respondents use it not only in the second, but also in the first syllable. Such a tendency was recorded repeatedly in my research, including the variants in the vowel length: [pœtœfi], [pœtœ:fi], [pœ:tœfi]. In one case the labialized sound moved to the first syllable, while the second syllable was not labialized: [pœ:tœfi]. A short labialized vowel appeared in the surname *Örkény*, whose pronunciation was recorded as [œ:rkœn].

Exceptionally, the respondents also employed the principle of original pronunciation when they copied the Hungarian pronunciation, for example [petœ:fi].

Two cases show the influence of a third language. When pronouncing the surnames *Rákóczi* and *Áder*, the digraph *cz* in the name *Rákóczi* was repeatedly pronounced as [tʃ], which can be attributed to the influence of the third languages Polish or English (the frequent word *Czech*). Only one respondent pronounced the surname *Áder* as [a:dR], while the final *r* sounded like the English rolled *r*, so called rhotic schwa; in this case, the third language is definitely English, whose pronunciation was used when pronouncing this Hungarian name in Czech.

The last principle mentioned (Duběda *et al.* 2014) is that of unclearly motivated pronunciation. This particular research offers more cases that could be grouped in this category, for example *Harkány* [hɛrka:ni], *Imre* [imr], *Kossuth* [kostup], *Petőfi* [petɛrfi] and many others. These variants are rather uncommon in Czech and may be just individual slips or problems with optical identification of the graphemes.

In the light of the eight principles, I can conclude that in this research the respondents employed six of them.

6. Influence of a third language. Words may be affected by the phonology of a third language, either because they were adopted via this language (e.g. *lajtmant*, adopted through German *Leutnant* from the French *lieutenant*) or by analogy (e.g. *puzzle*, often pronounced as [ˈputslɛ] in Czech). This last form may have come about through analogy either with German pronunciation rules or with the similar-sounding Czech word *puclík* (Engl. ‘chubby child’; Štěpánová 2013).

7. Influence of universals. An example is the word *peloton*, which is often pronounced as [peleton] and sometimes spelled *peleton*. The presence of an [ɛ] in the second syllable can be explained by vowel harmony.

8. Unclearly motivated pronunciation. This last category, which is technically not a *principle*, includes cases for which there is no obvious explanation (e.g. *country* pronounced as [ka:ntri]).

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