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LINGUISTIC INTERFERENCE IN CONTACTING LANGUAGES OF GERMAN-RUSSIAN BILINGUALS

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Abstract

Modern linguistic studies give a lot of attention to the issue of language forms. It is especially concerned with the multi-factor description of the forms of existence of a language associated with different territories. These forms represent relatively autonomous languages which have their specific features, norms and speakers. The dialects of the Russian Germans of the Kirov region are trans migratory; they are often described as disappearing dialects of the German language – a kind of a supra-regional form of the language. The relevance of their study results from the linguistic significance of language interaction at the present stage of development of the German language in Russia, where it has developed and modified in the conditions of language enclaves for many decades.

Keywords

Interference – Bilingualism – Language island – Contact variantology

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Introduction

The modern linguistic view of the world is characterized by active language interaction processes generated by redistribution of scientific, cultural, economic, and political contacts and priorities. It has led to the formation and intensive development of the branch of linguistics called contact variantology¹. As a result, the concept of variants of national languages such as English, German, and Spanish, which was extensively developed in the second half of XX century, has turned to a new direction: the study of modifications of systematic and normative nature in contact languages spoken beyond their historical areas. The basis of this variation is interaction between the region's substrate language and the language of interethnic communication, usually English, in the context of a particular communication sphere. They can be spheres of science, politics, etc. The systemic nature of variants even allows for defining English as a combination of languages or 'Englishlanguages'².

Language variants which appear as a result of overlapping of two or more languages are not a new phenomenon in language variation. Similar phenomena can be observed in conditions of language or dialect islands, for example, the German language islands in Russia, Argentina, Venezuela, the USA, and other regions. Modern migration flows and communities are characterized with similar processes. Island variants are language islands where the 'alien' language spoken by the people for whom this language is native functions in the same situations together with the local non-native language, i.e., we have two peoples and two languages. Thus they differ from contact variants which are described by modern contactology as the ones used only in specific situations that require constant use of a foreign language, e.g., English in science, i.e., people of one nationality speak two languages, one of which is non-native for them. What unites these two approaches is that in both cases a person speaks two languages, i.e., he/she is bilingual. Bilingualism of immigrants, with several generations having lived in a non-native language environment, differs from the modern one, as it is not a result of training, but it has developed in the process of family communication and communication in mixed ethnic groups, i.e., it has developed in a natural way.

The issues of functioning of the German language within the language island of the Vyatka region of Russia are not purely historical in nature. Investigating the German language in the Russian-speaking environment allows us to envisage possible development of both other languages of immigrants/migrants and of the Russian language in the regions of their continuous contact. There has been a lot of research in this field in Russian and German Linguistics; however, there are still quite a lot of problems to be addressed. It is no coincidence that the authoritative information portal called Ethnologue (Ethnologist) does not have any information on the German language islands in Russia and Kazakhstan; it only has information about the variants of the German language of Venezuela (LaColoniaTovar) and the USA (PennsilfaaniDeutsch)³. One of the major targets of the study of any contact language variant is speech activity of bilingual speakers and the mechanisms of interaction between the languages they use. This mechanism is interlanguage interference.

¹ B. B. Kachru, *The Alchemy of English: The Spread, Functions and Models of Non-native Englishes* (Oxford, 1986).

² V. V. Fedorov, *Lingvisticheskie i ekstralingvisticheskie parametry angloyazychnoy gazetno-zhurnalnoy publitsistiki Vostochnoy Azii* (Nizhny Novgorod, 2019) y Z. G. Proshina, *Kontaktnaya variantologiya angliiskogo yazyka: problemy teorii*. World Englishes Paradigm (Moscow, 2017).

³ Ethnologue. Retrieved from <https://www.ethnologue.com>

Interference as a mechanism of interaction between contacting languages

In linguistics, the term “interference” is usually used to describe the changes observed in the speech of bilinguals resulting from interaction of different language systems. It should be noted that there is no uniform understanding among linguists of the essence of this phenomenon. Some researchers associate interference with the linguistic norm while others associate it with the changes in the system of contacting languages. Some linguists have a broader interpretation of this phenomenon including borrowings; others talk only about the changes in speech norms. It is necessary to give a more specific definition of this phenomenon for the purpose of describing interference in conditions of a language island.

Initially, the phenomenon of interference was often associated with the interaction “... between structures and structural elements of two languages in the process of communication of bilingual populations”⁴. Uriel Weinreich’s classic definition is as follows: Interference is “those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which **occur in the speech** [*emphasis added*] of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language”⁵. Since we are talking about the “linguistic deviation in speech”, this may suggest that changes occur in the language which is non-native for bilinguals. The concept of deviation from the norm has been employed in many definitions of interference, usually having a negative connotation. For example, Meng, in his work on the language integration of Russian Germans, defines this phenomenon as ‘language corrosion’ (Sprachkorrosion) which appears as language changes in one language under the influence of another⁶. Vereshchagin defines interference as a violation by bilingual speakers of the rules of correlation between the contact languages which is manifested in their speech as deviation from the norms of the language⁷.

The factor of the linguistic norm draws attention of almost all researchers in the field of language contacts. For example, Karlinsky distinguished two forms of deviation from the norms of the contacting languages: intercalation and interference. The former appears in the speech of bilinguals in their native language under the influence of the foreign language, and the latter appears in the foreign language speech under the influence of their native language⁸. Mikhailov stressed the fact that interaction between contacting languages can flow both ways. He emphasized that interference in the speech of a bilingual person (or a polyglot) occurs due to restructuring model patterns of one language along the model patterns of the other language. It can flow in one or both directions between the languages, i.e., models of both native (L1) and non-native (L2) languages can be subjected to interference⁹.

The possibility of existence of various norms is considered when contact languages having different systems and their functioning are analyzed. Contact variantology pays a lot

⁴ Yu. D. Desheriev y I. F. Protchenko, *Osnovnye aspekty issledovaniya dvuyazychiya i mnogoyazychiya*. In *Problemy dvuyazychiya i mnogoyazychiya: sb. nauch. tr.* (pp. 26–42). (Moscow, 1972).

⁵ U. Weinreich, *Yazykovye kontakty: sostoyaniye i problemy issledovaniya* (Blagoveshchensk, 2000).

⁶ K. Meng, *Russlanddeutsche Sprachbiografien. Untersuchungen zur sprachlichen Integration von Aussiedlerfamilien* (Tübingen, 2001).

⁷ E. M. Vereshchagin, *Psikhologicheskaya i metodicheskaya kharakteristika dvuyazychiya (bilingvizma)* (Moscow, 1969).

⁸ A. E. Karlinsky, *Problema teorii yazykovykh kontaktov*. In *Yazykovye kontakty i interferentsia* (pp. 110–114) (Alma-Ata, 1985).

⁹ M. M. Mikhailov, *Dvuyazychie (Printsipy i problemy)* (Cheboksary, 1969).

of attention to this problem distinguishing between endo- and exonorms¹⁰. The first refers to the rules for implementing the standard, and the second one includes the elements of the contacting language.

It should be noted that in linguistic literature there is broad and narrow understanding of interference. Interference in the broad sense is a change in the structure of the language system resulting from the contact of two languages. Interference in the narrow sense is a change in the norms of language use in bilingual speech. It is necessary to distinguish between interlingual and intralingual interference. Interlingual interference is characteristic of natural and artificial bilingualism, while intralingual interference, according to the generally accepted view, is understood as the result of interaction between a dialect and the literary language; it is manifested in the form of regional variants or varieties of literary speech¹¹.

Differences between contact languages at any linguistic level may cause interference, since unrelated languages have their own systems of phonetic, lexical, and grammatical means. The main reasons for interference in the German language islands are: 1) differences in the systems of the German and Russian languages; 2) historically low linguistic competence of immigrants, ethnic Germans; 3) lack of possibilities to use the German language in professional, official, and even everyday communication; 4) socio-demographic factors: age, education, marriage, gender; and situation factors: communication topic, social environment, relations between communicators, etc.¹². An important issue in describing interference is selection of the language material.

Interference is manifested to a higher degree in oral speech of bilinguals. The pronunciation variants deviating from the codified norm of the standard or from the norm of the original German immigrant dialect are perceived by native speakers as an accent. Phonetic interference affects both segmental and suprasegmental levels and generates the so called 'negative language material'¹³ in bilingual speech which affects the degree of understanding by the native speakers and the final result of speech communication. Therefore, a lot of researchers do not go beyond the phonetic level of interference.

As for the problem of grammatical interference, some scientists¹⁴ believe that grammatical structures of the contacting languages are impenetrable. Some others¹⁵ support the idea that grammatical structures of different languages can influence each other. The most typical example of grammatical interference in bilingual speech is making grammatical constructions of a non-native language similar to the models taken from the native language.

¹⁰ B. B. Kachru, *The Alchemy of English: The Spread, Functions and Models of Non-native Englishes* (Oxford, 1986).

¹¹ L. V. Bondarko y L. A. Verbitskaya. (eds.). *Interferentsiya zvukovykh sistem* (Leningrad, 1987).

¹² O. V. Baykova, *Nemetskie ostrovnye dialekty v usloviyakh yazykovoy interferentsii* (Kirov, 2009) y L. I. Moskalyuk, *Sovremennoye sostoyanie ostrovnykh nemetskikh dialektov* (Barnaul, 2002).

¹³ L. V. Shcherba, *Izbrannyye raboty po yazykoznaniiu i* (Leningrad, 1958).

¹⁴ L. I. Barannikova, *Sushchnost interferentsii i spetsifika ee poyavleniya*. In *Problemy dvuyazychiya i mnogoyazychiya: sb. nauch. tr.* (pp. 88–102) (Moscow, 1972); A. Meye, *Sravnitelny metod v istoricheskom yazykoznanii* (Moscow, 1954) y V. M. Schirmunski, *Nemetskaya dialektologiya* (Moscow, Leningrad, 1956).

¹⁵ Yu. D. Desheriev y I. F. Protchenko, *Osnovnye aspekty issledovaniya dvuyazychiya i mnogoyazychiya*. In *Problemy dvuyazychiya i mnogoyazychiya: sb. nauch. tr.* (pp. 26–42) (Moscow, 1972); V. Yu. Rosenzweig, *O yazykovykh kontaktakh*. In *Voprosy yazykoznaniiya* (pp. 57–66) (Moscow, 1963); U. Weinreich, *Yazykovye kontakty: sostoyanie i problemy issledovaniya* (Blagoveshchensk, 2000) y Yu. A. Zhluktenko, *Lingvisticheskie aspekty dvuyazychiya* (Kiev, 1974).

Syntactic interference is defined as a direct transfer of patterns for combining words or constructing sentences from one language into another. In the case of German and Russian, it is, particularly, word order, especially in complex sentences.

The lexical and semantic interference is quite frequent. Its typical reasons are differences in some composition; differences in the meaning of words; national colouring when words, identical in meaning, perform different functions in different languages and are used in the meaning not characteristic of the recipient language. The result of interference at the lexical and semantic level is gradual convergence of both linguistic units of a certain level and of the structures which they constitute. These processes can be observed both in L1 and L2. The lexical and semantic interference first appears in bilingual speech of an individual, but in case of collective bilingualism it can also move to the supra-dialect sphere making modifications in the composition of the lexical inventory of a particular language.

The following research tasks can be set on the basis of the theoretical issues related to interference between German and Russian in the Vyatka language island: 1) determining the direction of interference between the languages of the bilingual population of the island: from Russian to native German or from native German to Russian or in both directions; 2) how active the units of different linguistic levels (phonetic, grammatical, lexical and semantic) are in the process of interference.

The material for the study is the recordings of interviews with descendants of former German immigrants in the Vyatka region. The informants are 26 people (10 men and 16 women aged 75 to 90) who still use their native dialect in everyday life. The audio archive contains the language material which consists of informants' stories about their life, conversations on free topics, translation of 40 sentences from literary German into the German dialect according to the standard questionnaire of the German dialectologist Georg Wenker, and translation of 200 separate word forms from literary German into the dialect according to the questionnaire by Schirmunski¹⁶.

Interference in German speech of bilingual Germans caused by the non-native Russian language

One can observe penetration of the Russian language norms into the native German language as a result of interaction between the Russian and German languages in the speech of the German bilinguals. This kind of interference is most commonly observed at the morphological and syntactic levels of the German language. The phonetic aspect of the speech of the German bilinguals mainly corresponds to the norms of their dialect, and the frequency of deviations is very low. Similarly, the analyzed material does not allow us to talk about statistically significant trends in the lexical and semantic impact of the Russian language on the native language of the bilingual speakers. The most common kind of interference is interference at the morphological level. The structure of the German language of the bilinguals undergo simplification under the influence of the Russian language; a tendency towards the use of the common case is observed. If we take the following sentence as an example: *də fʋəstr ən də mamə, də zən jəkome ɛndə vɛrtsək jo:rən...; ən grosva:drə' sən khɛnt ɛst oux kftourbə...* we can observe a case of unification when the ending *-es* is replaced with the endings *-en* or *-e*. This occurs due to a lack of speech experience in operating in the native language, so the speakers fail to remember deviating forms. Deviations or exceptions remain beyond the speakers' attention and gradually drop out.

¹⁶ Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Fond 1001. List of files 1. Item number 38.

The articles seem to be left out quite often in the investigated language material: *ən fr̥e:lən ha:t mən meç ən trudarme gnomə*; *vot, khã:m of savot*; *so arveitə vie ən kolxos*. It makes the structure of the German dialects in question more unified.

One of the most characteristic phenomena that distinguishes the German language of Russian Germans from the standard and puts it together with many other German dialects is polynegation. Two or more negative words in one sentence used to be common in German until the end of the Middle High German period, later they disappeared with the development of the German language standard. They have survived in the language of the German Russians, and the Russian language has played its role in this case as it allows the use of several negative words in one sentence. For example, the simultaneous use of negative particles *kein* and *nicht*: *məin papa sən pruodr hat kainə t̥çtr ən s̥ənə niç*.

It is believed that bilingualism leads to homogeneity in morphology and produces a more simple language system. For example, impersonal sentences are formed according to the model of the Russian language as one-member sentences: the impersonal pronoun *es* and the linking verb *sein* are omitted: *fv̥e:r tsəidə* – “*Es sind schwere Zeiten*”. The loss of the linking verb or the subject expressed by a pronoun is also a characteristic feature of the speech of ethnic Germans of the region in question: *Məin papa k̥storbə fr hung̥r. Als meçanikr k'arvət. J̥ets fon n kolxos guot*. Thus, as a result of interaction between the languages, the grammatical relations existing in one language disappear as there are no such relations in the other language.

Apart from parenthetical words and conjunctions which are responsible for connecting segments of speech, an important function in phrase formation is performed by prepositions. The prepositional phrases in the speech of the Russian Germans of the Kirov region are extensively influenced by the Russian language; as a result, prepositional phrases are often built in accordance with the Russian language patterns and represent calques. The Russian preposition *na* (*at, on, ...*) is often substituted with the German preposition *auf*: *of noja:r* (*at New Year*), *uf gbursta:k* (*on my birthday*), *zu* is normally used in the German language in these cases; *iç b̥en j̥ets of p̥ense* (*I am retired now*) where we can see the word-for-word translation of the Russian phrase *byt' na pensii* with the preposition *auf* and the word *pensia* borrowed from Russian. There is also a phrase *of d̥ə flu:s* (*at the river*) which requires the preposition *an dem* (*am*) *Fluß* in the German language in this case.

It should be noted that the functional word *als* may be omitted in the speech of Russian Germans when preceding a Russian borrowed word: *f k̥lxo:zə meçan̥kom hat ̥r k'arvət* (*im Kolchos hat er als Mechaniker gearbeitet*). The study has also shown that the particle *zu* is often omitted in the pattern *zu + Infinitiv*: *zə ənfã: ŋ wəinə* “*Mila, fto t̥e d̥e:lajef!*” (*sie fing an, zu weinen – Mila, what are you doing!*), which can also be considered the result of the Russian language influence.

It is necessary to mention the phrases consisting of nouns and numerals whose patterns in Russian and German are completely different. The material of the study contains some patterns each deviating from the norms of the German language due to the Russian language influence. The following example is a complete calque from Russian: *ən ̥ntõ:zənuihõ:drtsv̥eiontfi:rt̥səçstə ja:r, ən tsv̥eiontfi:rt̥səçstə ja:r* (*v 1942 godu – in 1942*), almost the same with the other example: *iç ben gbo:rə naints̥əhondrfinfonzv̥əzəç ja:r* (*ya rodilas' v tsysyacha devyatsot dvadsat' pyatom godu – I was born in 1925*) where the informants use the ordinal numeral and then puts the word *year* after it in accordance with the Russian pattern, the preposition *v* (*in*) is omitted. Another example is *iç ben gbo:r on*

nuintsəhondrtsvəiontsvantseç (ya rodilas' v 1922 – I was born in 1922) where the informant uses the preposition *on* (*in*) which is not used in German and drops out the word *Jahr*.

In syntax, the Russian language surrounding has an influence on the structure of phrases and sentences, which, in particular, is observed in the use of prepositions, conjunctions, and other connecting elements, as well as word order. Talking about the sentence, closed-in constructions characteristic of German are often broken; the Russian Germans often fail to observe the word order rules of their native language as the word order in Russian is not fixed.

The study suggests that the Russian Germans of the Kirov Region tend to build sentences in accordance with the rules of the Russian language, breaking the closed-in construction patterns characteristic of the German language: *iç ben gbo:rə' ən ja:r nuintsəhondrensontsvantseç* (I was born in 1921), *jon hiə ha:bə' iç g(ə)arbəit ən vold* (here I already worked in the forest), *vir hā:m gəhəirət ən sosimskəm* (We got married in Sozimsky). There are a lot of such examples in the material. The auxiliary verb and past participle in these sentences do not form a closed-in construction, but they are used together in the sentence comprising a single word form which takes only one place (not two places) in the sentence which is a feature of the Russian syntax.

A vivid feature of the Russian Germans' speech is repetition of adverbs, adjectives, verbs used to enhance expressiveness, which is characteristic of the Russian spoken language. Vezhbitskaya defines this phenomenon as syntactic reduplication¹⁷: *vər vor krank langə', langə', langə'*. (we were ill for a long, long, long time), *viə mus mən, viə mus mən zə:çə' ds holts?* (how did you have to, how did you have to saw trees?).

The study results suggest that the speech of the German bilinguals of the Vyatka region is characterized with simplified grammar structure which is influenced by the Russian language. This is manifested in the omission of articles; loss of the linking verb or the subject expressed by a pronoun, and as a consequence, the German sentence can become a one-member sentence; violations of fixed word order in the sentence. The other frequent cases of interference are a tendency to use a common case / wordform; formation of irregular forms of the participle (Partizip II); non-standard use of dates; expansion or distortion of the functional meaning of some prepositions; using a few negative forms in one statement. It should be noted that the examples of Russian-German language interaction discussed above are only characteristic of the speech of ethnic Germans of the Vyatka region.

Interference in Russian speech of bilingual Germans caused by the native German language

Bilingual immigrants, the speakers of the German language in the Vyatka region of Russia, have not been able to use their native language beyond their family and household since the beginning of the 40s of the last century. As a result, a lot of features of the Russian grammar system have penetrated the German language and thereby weakened the German lexical and grammatical basis. At the same time, they have had certain difficulties in improving the communication competencies in the Russian language. Most of the immigrants have failed to develop their linguistic competencies to a sufficient extent, which suggests the possibility of deformation of the linguistic system of the non-native Russian language as well.

¹⁷ A. Vezhbitskaya, *Semanticheskie universalii i opisanie yazykov* (Moscow, 1999).

The pronunciation characteristics of the German dialect, which is the mother tongue for immigrants, mainly correspond to the norms of the German language. Naturally, it has deviations from the standard norm, but it is not a matter of interlanguage interference. Russian pronunciation, despite the fact that Russian has been used quite often and relatively a long time, retains a large number of phonetic features of the German native dialects. These features include the following.

1) The Russian Germans of the Vyatka region pronounce the consonants in the Russian words with greater intensity than the consonants of the Russian language and the regional Vyatka dialect are pronounced, e.g., deaf explosive consonants [p], [t], [k] are aspirated which is characteristic of the German pronunciation: [p]ésnya (song), pri[k]áz (order), [t]ám (there), [k]artóshka (potato), [t]ól'ko (only), [p]ámyat' (memory).

2) The pronunciation of all informants is characterized with the loss of the Russian voiced consonants which is a consequence of the German lenis articulation; the consonants in this case are perceived as semi-voiced by the Russian listeners.

3) Bilingual Germans articulate the Russian dorsal consonants with the tongue against the alveolar ridge, which is typical of the German language: **d**éti (children), **n**ás (us), **t**íkho (quiet), **f**ront (front line), **t**ám (there), **t**ánki (tanks), **d**iván (sofa).

4) Russian Germans pronounce the German mediolingual palatal [ç] instead of the Russian velar [x] after front vowels: í[ç] (them), zimní[ç] (winter), bré[ç]nya (lies).

5) Russian Germans pronounce the uvular [X] characteristic of the German language instead of the velar [x] after non-front vowels: vysy[X]áli (dried), ó[X]ali (groaned), polátya[X] (plank bed), u[X]á (fish soup); na sánka[X] on the sledge; slú[X] (hearing/rumour).

6) A few cases of the nasal backlingual [ŋ], which is characteristic of literary German, pronounced at the clusters of [nk], [nk'] have been registered: vále[ŋ]ki (felt boots), sá[ŋ]ki (sledge), tá[ŋ]ki (tanks).

7) The alveolar nasal [n] (instead of the Russian dorsal [ŋ], [ŋ']) is characteristic of pronunciation of the German informants: u [n]í[ç] (at their place), [n]iktó (nobody), [n]óvost' (news), divá[n]chik (sofa), m[n]ógo (many).

8) A more narrow pronunciation of the Russian stressed vowels [e] and [o] is also a feature of the Russian language spoken by Russian Germans. The stressed [e] sounds like [i] and [o] sounds like [y]: l[ú]s (forest); b[ý]l' (pain); n[ú]mtsy (Germans).

9) The German accent is evident as there are also deviations in the stress patterns of words caused by differences in the kind of stress and different prosodic norms in Russian and German. The following peculiarities should be mentioned:

- greater intensity of the stressed syllable;
- the open syllable is longer at the end of the words: bánk[ā] (bank); smén[ā] (shift); stékl[ō] (glass); lés[ā] (forest).

- the words are not linked if a morpheme starts with a vowel, which is associated with the glottal stop in the German language: 'ukáz (order), 'oráli (cried), 'ókhalí (groaned), 'avtóbus (bus), 'osóbenno (especially), 'óchen' (very).

The influence of the German language on the Russian language is also observed at the lexical level. There are some cases when Russian Germans use German words or their components to form lexemes in Russian, or there are code changes within a statement. For example, «...*Januwar* [-yanvar – January]...»; «...*Das Leben* [-life] v Rossii seichas ya tak ne obizhayus' ...» (*I do not feel resentful of life in Russia*); «...I ego privezli v *Division* [-v shtab]...» (*And he was taken to the command centre*).

As for the grammar level, there are scattered cases of gender changes and transfer of the verb case government into the Russian language: «...*Front* vezde *shla*...» (*there was a front line everywhere*); «...On menya tak nachal ved *obuchat' rusksy yazyk* ...» (*He started to teach me Russian*).

The speech behavior of the German bilingual population of Vyatka has shown that the Russian language of the German bilinguals is heterogeneous and varies from being 'practically without any accent' to sounding 'unnatural' for Russian monolingual speakers. Not all bilingual informants demonstrate lexical and grammatical interference, however, phonetic interference perceived as accented Russian speech is characteristic of all bilingual informants to a lesser or greater degree.

Deviations from the orthoepic norm of the Russian language and the Vyatka regional dialect are mainly represented by failure to contrast voiced and voiceless consonants, hard and soft consonants, as well as by orthophonic features in the articulation of all front consonants, all of which produce an impression of a foreign accent. As for lexical and grammatical interference features, they are borrowed words from the German language used as a part (component) of the Russian word, repeated use of German words when speaking Russian, frequent unconscious transition from Russian to German and vice versa.

Conclusion

The following conclusion can be made on the basis of the study. The German and Russian languages have been in contact within the Vyatka speech island for a long time. Their coexistence has been accompanied with interference from both the native German language and the Russian language. The speech of the Germans still living in the region indicates development of bilingual competencies in both languages; however, this process has been interfered with complex socio-economic and political processes. A representative fact in this regard is phonetic interference. Correct pronunciation of some foreign language sound combinations and interference in pronunciation of some others indicate that acquisition of the sound system of the second language is a time- and effort-consuming process, as it is associated with mixing the sound systems of the surrounding and receiving languages. Since this process does not involve any special training, it is based on approximation, in other words, a third intermediate system appears which does not coincide with either German or Russian and performs the function of adapting to the bilingual environment in the speaker's mind. Such development of contacting languages requires regulation and competent support; otherwise there is a danger of pidginization of this intermediate bilingual system.

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