

PHONETIC INTERFERENCE IN THE CONDITIONS OF RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN BILINGUISM

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The report is devoted to the nature, tendencies and specific features of phonetic interference, inevitable in the conditions of the active related bilingualism. The conclusions are based on the author's field research, as well as on the data of the oscillographic, palatographic and radiographic analysis of the Russian speech in the Ukraine.

By interference we understand any linguistic phenomenon resulting from interaction of two languages, two communication systems. Each phenomenon of this kind should be treated not in isolation, but in system. Thus the notion of interference includes not only the given linguistic fact, as, for example, a new quality of an allophone, but also the totality of system relations, either modified or qualitatively new, emerging from a breach (modification) of structure.

According to Soviet and foreign authors two types of interference are realized in morphology and syntax-latent and overt, but only the latter is represented on the phonetic level. This phenomenon is based on the specific features of the phonetic level: rigid interrelation of all the elements of the structure, their strict hierarchy, practical absence of synonymy and variation which make exclusion from speech of any unit, even more so a group of units impossible.

The present linguistic situation in the Ukraine is characterized by active Russian-Ukrainian bilingualism, which means that the overwhelming majority of Slavic population in the Ukraine uses both systems of communication - the Ukrainian and Russian languages. The measure and character of their use are undoubtedly different and the range of difference is wide enough: from genuine command of both languages in their codified form to the use of a peculiar intermediate variant that differs from both systems.

The genetic community, which brings about structural, articulation and acoustic proximity of the related languages,

Russian and Ukrainian, creates especially favourable conditions for their transposition and interference in the process of interaction.

Phonetic interference which is registered in the Russian speech in the Ukraine is characterized by exceptional stability. Even in the cases when the system of the Russian language is mastered sufficiently enough and is practically identical in functioning with the native language, the Ukrainian influence in pronunciation is quite strong.

It is necessary to emphasize that the quality of the Russian speech in the Ukraine is noticeably varied, depending not only upon age, education and profession of speakers, but also upon the district and region, i.e. there are a few local variants of Russian in the Ukraine. However, alongside with local peculiarities there exist common features resulting from interaction of the two related languages.

The results of active bilingualism are evident in practically all the sections of the phonetic structure: the set of phonemes, phonological correlations and oppositions, quality and quantity of an allophone, articulation and acoustic characteristics of separate sound units, accentual and rhythmic organization of words, sentence intonation etc.

The system of vowels. The allophones /o/ and /a/ are characterized by a more backward articulation, and the phoneme /e/ by a more open and backward articulation. There is a considerable range of deviations from the norm in the pronunciation of the phoneme /u/. According to the majority of authors, the Russian phoneme /u/ is a central high vowel (in some cases its articulation may be somewhat backward). Instrumental analysis shows that in the Ukrainian language this is a front higher-mid vowel. According to palatographic analysis the most typical for Russian speech in the Ukraine is the central /u/, but noticeably lower, than the normative sound.

The universal peculiarity of the Russian speech in the Ukraine is the different principle of changes of unstressed

vowels. In the overwhelming majority of cases the sounds pronounced instead of /o/ and /a/ in the first pretonic syllable do not coincide in quality: the sound pronounced instead of /a/ is approaching /ʌ/, which is more open and long, than the normative Russian /ʌ/.

A somewhat fronter and higher /e/ is pronounced after palatalized consonants, while in the Russian literary pronunciation the sound approaching /ɛ/ - /ɛ/ is the norm.

Thus the system of vocalism of the first pretonic syllable in the Russian speech in the Ukraine is represented by the sounds: /ʌ/, /a/, /ʌʰ/, /e/, /ɛ/, /ɛʰ/, /y/. It obviously differs from the realization in the same position of vowel phonemes in normative Russian: in the Russian speech in the Ukraine vowels in the first pretonic syllable in their quantity and especially quality approach stressed vowels. Though these vowels are reduced, the character of reduction is different: the sounds do not lose their main quality. The influence of the Ukrainian norm here is obvious.

There are other deviations from the Russian orthoepy in unstressed syllables in the Russian speech in the Ukraine.

In modern Russian the second pretonic syllable allows considerable (though not maximum) reduction of a vowel. The system of vocalism in this position is represented by only five vowels: /ɪ/, /ɪʰ/, /y/, /ɘ/, /ɘʰ/.

The system of vocalism in the second pretonic syllable is different too. The short /a/ is pronounced instead of /o/, /a/, and often /a/, pronounced instead of /o/, is somewhat labialized, as in the first pretonic syllable: /маг з'и́н/, /лаб'ора́нт/ etc.

Vowels /e, a/ that follow palatalized consonants also differ in their pronunciation in the second and other pretonic syllables: /в'ент'и́л'а'т'ь'ор /, /н'езнако́мь' /, /м'аса́'функа' /.

Thus, the reduced sounds /ɘ/, /ɘʰ/, so typical in this position in the Russian orthoepy, are practically non-existent in the Russian speech in the Ukraine.

It is interesting to note that after /ж/, /ш/, /щ/ in pretonic syllables other than the first, the sound approaching /ɪ/ is pronounced instead of the vowel e: /шис'л'ес'ат /, /шырст'ано́ /, /жыр'еб'е́ц/, /цыл'ова́да / . The use of the vowels и, ъ, у generally corresponds to the norm.

The system of vowels in the third and fourth pretonic syllables is the same as in the second pretonic syllable. On the contrary, in the absolute beginning of the word all the vowels are pronounced very distinctly, especially the vowels /a/ and /o/. This distinction is preserved even in those cases when in other pretonic

syllables these vowels coincide:

/очев'идно /, /отбла'гад'ит' /.

So the difference between the system of the first and other than the first pretonic syllables, so prominent in the Russian orthoepy, is less noticeable in the Russian speech in the Ukraine.

In modern Russian the degree of reduction of vowels in posttonic and pretonic syllables is of graduated character: there are syllables with a stronger and weaker reduction.

The maximum reduction is registered first of all in the first posttonic syllable. In this position the complete reduction is also the most frequent.

In the Russian speech in the Ukraine the general tendency of vowel reduction in a posttonic syllable is normally the same. This reduction is mainly quantitative.

Of special interest are the data characterizing the principles of accentual and rhythmic organization of the word. The comparison of accentual and rhythmic structure of the word in Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian, originally related but now functioning as separate languages, makes it possible to show common and specific typologic tendencies in East-Slavic accentuation. The common tendency is, above all, the centralizing function of stress. In all the languages stress is the distinctive feature of the word, which determines its accentual and rhythmic structure. However, the realization of the dominating influence of a stressed syllable on the other parts of the word are not the same in Russian and Ukrainian. Oscillographic analysis shows that the principles of accentual and rhythmic organization of the Russian speech of the Ukrainian population does not fully coincide with any modern normative East-Slavic language.

Preserving length as the main correlative of stress, the phonetic word in the speech of bilinguals is normally characterized by entirely different quantitative correlations between stressed and unstressed vowels and between unstressed vowels of different degree of reduction, which is one of the reasons of the specific Ukrainian accent, i.e. a more noticeable degree of vocalization of speech, its melodiousness.

The system of consonants. The system of consonants in the Russian speech of the Ukrainian population is close to the norm with the exception of the backlingual consonants. Thus at present /kʰ/, /xʰ/, /ɣʰ/ in the Russian speech of the Ukrainians do not have the status of phonemes but are variants of non-palatalized /k/, /ɣ/, /x/. This peculiarity finds its explanation in the fact that in Russian orthoepy palatalized /kʰ/, /ɣʰ/, /xʰ/ became phonemes only recently

and are still positionally limited in comparison to other palatalized consonant phonemes.

One of the most common and noticeable deviations from the orthoepic norm in the Russian speech in the Ukraine is the quality of the plosive voiced backlingual

. Observations show that in the absolute majority of cases this consonant is substituted with the fricative /ɣʰ/. In its articulation and acoustic characteristics the sound is approaching the South-Russian dialectal /ɣʰ/, but it is noticeably different from the corresponding consonant in the Ukrainian /hʰ/.

As a result the fricative, voiced in the Russian speech of the Ukrainians, is devoiced not into /k/, as in the normative speech, but into /x/. This deviation from the norm is even a more constant peculiarity than the fricative /ɣʰ/.

There are certain peculiar features in the system of labial consonants too. There is only one labiodental consonant in the Russian normative speech - the consonant b. In the Russian speech in the Ukraine the phoneme /b/ is very often realized in two variants: labiodental /b/ and bilabial /w/. It should be noted that the confusion of /b/ and /w/ may occur quite frequently in the speech of the same person and it is difficult to trace any tendencies here.

In the system of labial consonants in the Russian speech of the Ukrainians the consonant /b/ often remains unpaired in the opposition of voiced and voiceless consonants, because it does not alternate with /bʰ/ in the word-final position and in the end of the syllable, followed by a voiceless consonant, thus differing from other voiced phonemes.

In word-final positions the labial consonants are, as a rule, velarized: /кроу́/, /суп' /, /с'ем' /, /голу́п' /, /руп' /, /стау́ /, /вос'и́м' / . It is known that of all lax labial consonants in Russian and in some Russian dialects only the sonorous /m/ is velarized. In the other dialects and also in the Ukrainian and Byelorussian languages the process received further development, and all the labial consonants in the absolute word-final position were velarized. So the tendency is not new, what we see in this case is a somewhat specific development of the long-standing Russian (East-Slavic) tendency.

Experimental phonetic investigation of the Russian speech in the Ukraine testifies to the fact that in the conditions of the related bilingualism the tendency is not towards the mixture of the sound systems but towards their genuine interaction resulting in emergence of a qualitatively new language phenomenon, which has no absolute analo-

gue in the contacting languages.

In the conditions of the active related bilingualism the interference is realized not only in the system of sounds but also in their distribution.

The specific result of such interaction is enrichment of the basis of articulation. We assume that the main reason of this phenomenon, its certain precondition, is the genetic community of the languages, creating the community of the articulation basis.