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## **LEXICAL AND GRAMMATICAL INTERFERENCE BETWEEN FRENCH AND DUTCH IN BELGIUM**

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The article represents an analysis of lexical and grammatical interference phenomena, which arise between French and Dutch under active bilingualism in Belgium. A language contact in the social environment and in the consciousness of an individual is the reason for active mixing of these two language systems, whilst a regular, mostly consensual transfer of lexical units or grammatical constructions results in their gradual entrenching in the language variants and coming into usage. The investigation is primarily concentrated on the cases of insertions from French into the Flemish variants of Dutch and on the description of interference peculiarities in this situation. The article gives a special attention to the language situation and its backgrounds in Belgium, as well as to the statistical data on the number of those speaking the main languages of the country. In addition, an assumption is made that the multitude of the languages of migrants constantly inhabiting Belgium is a threat to the Belgian bilingualism. The cases of lexical interference are divided according to the categories of parts of speech. Most often interference occurs in case of nouns or verbs; adjectives, adverbs, conjunctions and interjections reveal this phenomenon rarer. The lexical interference is represented by the cases of direct borrowings or calquing (semantically or morphologically). Classifying these lexemes thematically is rather difficult, because in the most cases they cover all possible themes of everyday communication. The grammar interference primarily reveals in altering the standard word order in the Flemish variants of Dutch (especially, in French Flemish) under the influence of French syntax, as well as in the situations, when double negation is used.

**Keywords:** language interference, Belgium, Flanders, French, Dutch.

## INTRODUCTION

The scientists have been studying linguistic interference for several decades already. The provisions and terminological apparatus of this theory continue to be developed, refined, and expanded due to researches that consider new pairs of languages in contact, as well as taking into account the changing conditions of the process.

The concept of linguistic interference was first formulated by U. Weinreich as a phenomenon of deviation from norms in one language due to its interaction with another language system [Weinreich, 1979, p. 1]. In the work "Language Contacts", the American linguist describes the conditions for the emergence of language contact, its sociocultural environment, as well as the mechanisms and structural conditioning of interference. Thus, in particular, U. Weinreich notes that the phonetic, lexical and grammatical relations and phenomena in two languages should be equated in the mind of an individual, which leads to the natural transfer of elements of one language into another, or to the distortion of a certain structure of language A under the influence of language B. Another important point of the scientist's theory is the distinction between individual interference, which arises in the speech of a speaker as a result of his personal acquaintance with another language, and interference in the language itself, which, due to repeated appearances in the speech of bilinguals, becomes habitual and rooted in usage. Interference can eventually lead to the complete mixing of language systems, forming a new language variant, or it can lead to the transfer of a lexical unit into the language dictionary as a borrowing. Also it can manifest itself at the occasional level, but most often all interfered units are in the status of an *intermediate* between language and speech, representing the living spontaneous process of juxtaposition of two languages.

The scientists who continued the development of this theory (J. Bagan, Yu. A. Zhluktenko, A. Martinet, V. Yu. Rosenzweig, I. A. Samokhina, E. Haugen) mostly adhere to the definition of interference as a violation of the rules of one language by a bilingual, its deviation from the norms of one language under the influence of another, or as a process of imposing one language system on another, often carried out involuntarily, and also the scientists turn to the definition of interference as a process rather than as a result.

The most common is the classification of linguistic interference, proposed by W. Weinreich, according to the levels of language at which it manifests itself: 1) phonetic; 2) lexical; 3) grammatical.

Phonetic interference is understood as a situation of mixing languages in which the phoneme of one language is perceived and realized through the prism of the influence of the phonetic rules of another language. At the same time, U. Weinreich notes that the sounds resulting from mixing are located in the “neutral zone between two phonemic systems” [Weinreich, 1979, p. 14]. In other words, the resulting sounds simultaneously belong to two language systems, and at the same time are unique formations.

Lexical interference is the intrusion of lexical units of one language into the structure of another language in the process of speech.

Yu. A. Zhluktenko identifies three subtypes of lexical interference: 1) borrowing — phonemic transfer of components of one language into another language; 2) calque — transferring models of elements constructing from one language to another language; 3) semantic interference — semantic changes in one language under the influence of another language [Zhluktenko, 1974].

Grammatical interference is the influence of the grammatical norms of one language system on the grammatical norms of another language system, while functional and formal characteristics are not transferred [Platonov, Tarasyuk, 2020]. Differences in the application of grammatical norms directly affect interlingual interaction.

One of the most common cases of language contact is bilingualism, which contributes to the appearance of language interference. In addition to the obvious cases of individual bilingualism, scientists turn to national bilingualism, for example, in states with several official languages, where an environment favorable for mixing languages shows up. The internal factors for the simultaneous functioning of several languages vary from country to country, and are determined primarily by the level of cultural and social assimilation of multilingual groups, by language policy in the country, and by the prestige of a particular language. The Kingdom of Belgium has a truly extraordinary linguistic situation, where for 11 million inhabitants only there are three official languages (Dutch, French, German), Belgian Dutch and the intermediate language “tussentaal”, Belgian French, five regional languages (Walloon, Picardy, Laurens, Champagne, Luxembourgish), as well as hundreds

of dialects. These languages and their variants are mixed up with the languages of migrants, who often choose Belgium as their country of residence: Arabic, Chinese, Spanish, etc., not to mention English, which is actively used in communication among employees of many international companies whose headquarters offices are located in Brussels. The Belgians themselves also turn to English, even at the political level, as a mediator language that would equalize the rights of representatives of the Dutch-speaking and French-speaking communities, which often conflict with each other.

Dutch in all the variants mentioned above — Standard Dutch (the official language), Belgian Dutch (Flemish Dutch), the Southern dialects of Dutch and “tussentaal” — is spoken as the main language by about 60 % of the population. The Dutch language spoken in the Netherlands, also called Northern Dutch and forming the basis for the Standard Dutch, is closely related to the Dutch spoken in Flanders. Rather often, the Dutch of Belgium is called Southern Dutch or Flemish. Dutch (in its standard form) is the official language of the Flemish Community and the Flemish Region (united with Flanders), as well as the Brussels-Capital Region, along with French (in its standard form) in the Brussels-Capital Region.

The main dialects of Dutch spoken in Belgium are Brabantian, West Flemish, East Flemish and Limburgish. The Brabant dialect was originally spoken in Brussels, so in the capital this dialect was particularly strongly influenced by the French language, which for a long time was the only official administrative language there. Influence of French can also be traced in the West Flemish and East Flemish dialects.

The second most common language in Belgium is French, mostly in its standard form. It is the main language of the French Community and the dominant language in Wallonia. French is also spoken in the Brussels-Capital Region (the region has the so-called “Brussels Statute”, according to which the region is officially bilingual without exceptions and without the possibility of changing anything in this area), and it is the majority language spoken there by about 75 % of the population. According to a study by Sera de Vriendt, Dutch is spoken by between 5 % and 10 %, with the majority of the Brussels population speaking two or more languages [de Vriendt, 2004]. And according to official data, between 2008 and 2018, the level of Dutch language proficiency in Brussels halved.

The close coexistence of the French and Dutch languages inevitably leads to mutual influence of these two languages, and, accordingly, to the penetration of units of one language into the other.

In the southern variants of the Dutch language, there is a significant number of lexemes and grammatical structures that came from the French language. To take into account these phenomena, special dictionaries have been created, including thousands of examples. Such a large number is due to the fact that before the final adoption of the law on linguistic boundaries in 1963 and the definition of the territorial principle of bilingualism, individual bilingualism was actively developing (by necessity) in Belgium in both Flanders and Wallonia, reaching its peak in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Today, research shows that the largest number of bilinguals is among older people, which is a consequence of language policies implemented before 1963 and then in the 1970–80s: due to life circumstances and various situations, they unintentionally and unconsciously began to mix two language codes, which led to natural bilingualism. In addition, in many families, spouses spoke different languages, and children could be raised bilingually, which led to the development of individual bilingualism. Therefore, in the French language of Belgium and French Flanders, many examples of its interference with the variants of Dutch are found [Ryckeboer, 2004]:

- *Il pleut encore toujours* — Southern (Flemish) / Northern Dutch: *Het regent nog altijd*; Standard French — *ça continue à pleuvoir / il pleut encore* — ‘it is still raining’;

- *Rester droit* — Flemish: *Rechte blijven* “*Rechttop blijven staan*”; Standard French — *Rester debout* — ‘to stand’;

- *Faire une vie* — Flemish: *een leven maken* “*lawaaï maken*”; Standard French — *faire du bruit, du tracas* — ‘to make noise’;

- *Devenir tout drôle* — Flemish: *alhele aardig komen* “*ongesteld worden*”; Standard French — *se sentir indisposé* — ‘to feel unwell’.

This article gives a special attention to the cases of influence of French on Dutch in Belgium.

## 1. LEXICAL INTERFERENCE

The use of interferential lexical units of another language is explained by several possible functions, while the same unit can perform several functions at the same time: nominative (for lacunary

concepts), expressive-stylistic, or as an indicator of belonging to a certain group.

The process of lexical interference consists of identifying units of language *A* with units of language *B*, more often expressed as direct borrowings, in contrast to the process of grammatical interference, which is more likely to be characterized by the integration of foreign units through calquing.

Using a directed sampling method, 224 cases of interference between the French and Dutch languages were selected from the dictionaries “Typisch Vlaams 4000 woorden en uitdrukkingen” [Permentier, Schutz, 2015] and “Vlaams-Russisch woordenboek” [Waegemans, Ronin, 2018]. It is interesting to note that in the “Typisch Vlaams” dictionary out of 4,000 words and phrases, 462 are classified as colloquial forms; 969 word usages are marked as not used in the Standard Dutch; 332 are of Romance origin, indicating strong lexical interference between the Belgian variants of Dutch and French.

The cases of lexical interference were divided into four groups according to the categories of parts of speech: nouns, adjectives/participles, verbs, interjections/prepositions/adverbs. The selected lexical units are classified as cases of interference, since they are not present in glossaries of the Dutch language. Among lexical insertions, cases of direct borrowings of a lexical unit and calquing are distinguished (for cases of calquing, examples are presented in the following sequence: the result of interference with French; Standard Dutch; Standard French).

#### **Nouns:**

- *roze collant met bloemenprint* — ‘pink tights with floral print’;
- *ge hebt chance dat... Wat een chance!* — ‘you are lucky that... What luck!’;
- *coureur ben je pas als je een klassieker hebt gewonnen* — ‘you will only become a racer after you win a cool race’;
- *als enige folie?* — ‘as the only madness?’;
- *we kunnen malchance hebben* — ‘misfortune may happen to us’;
- *...een dubbel malheur... Ze is per malheur uit het venster gevallen terwijl ze de ruiten aan ‘t kuisen was!* — ‘double misfortune... she unfortunately fell out of the window while she was washing the windows’;
- *voor het Fortisgebouw leek afbraak de beste piste* — ‘demolition seemed to be the best solution for the Fortis building’;

- *tante Jeanne gaat **dodo** doen* — ‘Aunt Jeanne is going to bed’;
- *de dag van vandaag* — *tegenwoordig, vandaag de dag* — *au jour d’aujourd’hui* — ‘today’;
- *ingangsexamen* — *toelatingsexamen* — *examen d’entrée* — ‘entrance exam’;
- *kindertuin* — *crèche, peuterschool, peuterspeelzaal* — *jardin d’enfants* — ‘kindergarten’;
- *levensduurte* — *de kosten van levensonderhoud* — *coût de la vie* — ‘cost of living’;
- *op de minuut* — *stipt* — *à la minute* — ‘minute per minute’;
- *oppensioenstelling* — *pensionering* — *mise à la retraite* — ‘retirement’;
- *ordewoord* — *leus, devies, parool* — *mot d’ordre* — ‘slogan’;
- *het grootste part* — *het grootste deel* — *pour une bonne/large part* — ‘to a large extent’;
- *in plan laten* — *in de steek laten* — *laisser en plan* — ‘to leave’;
- *in promotie* — *in de aanbieding* — *en promotion* — ‘on sale / at a discount’;
- *sociale promotie* — *social klimmen* — *promotion sociale* — ‘moving up the social ladder’;
- *sneeuwklas* — *periode waarin een klas lessen volgt afgewisseld met wintersport* — *classes de neige* — ‘the period during which lessons related to winter sports are held’;
- *verkoopzaal* — *veilinghuis, veilingruimte* — *salle des ventes* — ‘sales hall’;
- *verplaatsing* — *reis, dienstrit* — *déplacement* — ‘travel, movement’;
- *wegcode* — *verkeersreglement* — *code de la route* — ‘traffic rules’;
- *winteruur* — *wintertijd* — *heure d’hiver* — ‘winter time’;
- *zomeruur* — *zomertijd* — *heure d’été* — ‘summer time’.

Since compound nouns are common in Dutch, it is interesting to note how French phrases are converted into one word. So, in the case of two words, the calque semantic centers change places, for instance, *ordewoord* — *mot d’ordre*. However, the transformation of French phrases into Dutch is also associated with a rearrangement of semantic centers, for instance, *sociale promotie* — *promotion sociale*. When calquing, the French word order can also be preserved, for example, *op de minuut* — *à la minute*.

### **Adjectives/adverbs:**

- *opplooibaar — opvouwbaar — pliable — ‘folding’;*
- *de voorraad is uitgeput — de voorraad is op — le stock est épuisé — ‘the stock has run out’.*

Dutch adjectives are chosen to be close to the French ones in terms of similarity of root or lexical meaning.

### **Verbs:**

• *ik ontsnap niet aan de indruk, dat... — ik kan me niet aan de indruk onttrekken, dat... — je n’échappe pas à l’impression que... — ‘I can’t help but feel that’;*

• *zich opdringen — dringend nodig zijn — s’imposer — ‘to be urgently needed’;*

• *een onderzoek openen — een onderzoek starten — ouvrir une enquête — ‘start an investigation’;*

• *je laten opmerken — willen opvallen, in de kijker willen lopen — se faire remarquer — ‘to stand out / to become noticed’;*

• *opzoekingen doen — onderzoek/naspeuringen doen — rechercher — ‘to explore’;*

• *je in orde stellen — alle formaliteiten vervullen — se mettre en ordre — ‘to complete all formalities’;*

• *uitgeven op — uitkomen/uitzien op — donner sur, dans — ‘to have a view on’;*

• *je (kunnen/mogen) verwachten aan iets — iets (kunnen/mogen) verwachten — s’attendre à quelque chose — ‘expect something, prepare for something’;*

• *eten voorzien — eten ter beschikking stellen — prévoir à manger — ‘to provide a snack’;*

• *weerstand aan iets — iets weerstaan — résister à quelque chose — ‘to resist to something’;*

• *een situatie ontmijnen — de conflictstof wegnemen, de angel eruit halen — déminer la situation — ‘settle the situation’;*

• *je tijd passeren — je tijd doorbrengen — passer son temps — ‘to spend time’;*

• *schrik hebben — bang zijn — avoir peur — ‘to be afraid’;*

• *op secret plaatsen/zetten — in eenzame opsluiting houden — mettre au secret — ‘to keep secret’;*

• *een eind stellen — een eind maken aan, afronden — mettre fin à quelque chose — ‘to complete’;*



- *iemand teken doen* — *iemand een teken/seintje geven* — *faire signe à quelqu'un* — 'to give a sign to someone';
- *ziek vallen* — *ziek worden* — *tomber malade* — 'to get sick';
- *akkoord zijn* — *akkoord gaan, het eens zijn* — *être d'accord* — 'to agree'.

In French and Dutch, complex verb units are not uncommon, and for Flemish Dutch there is a kind of parallelism with French, for example, *schrik hebben* — *avoir peur*. It is also interesting to pay attention to how the Dutch verb, following the French model, takes a preposition, for instance, *weerstand aan iets* — *résister à quelque chose* or borrows the semantics of the verb, for example, *iemand teken doen* — *faire signe à quelqu'un*. Some reflexive pronouns are added to the Dutch verbs, for instance, *zich opdringen* — *s'imposer*.

#### **Interjections, prepositions, adverbs:**

- *ongelukkiglijk* — *helaas, jammer genoeg* — *malheureusement* — 'unfortunately';
- *(en) patati patata* — *enzovoort enzovoort* — *et patati et patata* — 'and so on and so forth';
- *te allen prijze* — *tegen elke prijs* — *à tout prix* — 'at any cost';
- *aan* — *het is aan mij/jou ik ben/jij bent aan de beurt* — *c'est à moi/toi* — 'this is mine/yours';
- *x meter op y* — *x bij y meter* — *quatre mètres sur six* — 'four meters by six'.

The Dutch adverbs build according to the French model are also worth noting, for example, *ongelukkiglijk* — *malheureusement*. Lexical insertions of undoubted French origin are rather frequent:

- *allez allez!* — 'come on, come on!';
- *merci en de cost* — 'thanks for nothing';
- *merde!* — 'crap!';
- *bon!* — 'fine!';
- *awel merci* — 'well, thank you!'.

Also, among the analyzed units, cases of phraseological interference were discovered, in which French phraseological units, which have their own special analogue in the Dutch language, are translated into lexical means of the Dutch language. For instance:

- *op beide oren kunnen/mogen slapen* — *je geen zorgen hoeven te maken* — *dormir sur les deux oreilles* — 'nothing to worry about';

- *in panne vallen/staan* — (motor)pech krijgen/hebben — *tomber en panne* — ‘to break’;
- *rond de pot draaien* — *eromheen draaien* — *tourner autour du pot* — ‘to beat around the bush’;
- *de gebroken potten betalen* — *voor de schade opdraaien* — *payer les pots cassés* — ‘to pay for the damage’;
- *hij zal weten aan wat prijs* — *het zal hem duur te staan komen* — *savoir à quel prix* — ‘to pay a high price’;
- *met de/twee vingers in de neus* — *met gemak, zonder moeite* — *gagner les doigts dans le nez* — ‘with ease / without effort’;
- *de violen (gelijk) stemmen* — *tot overeenstemming komen, alle neuzen één kant op krijgen* — *accorder ses violons* — ‘to come to an agreement’;
- *op antenne zijn* — *uitgezonden worden op radio of tv* — *être sur antenne* — ‘to broadcast on radio or television’;
- *dat is geen klein bier* — *dat is niet niks* — *ce n'est pas de la petite bière* — ‘that's already something’;
- *de brug maken* — *een brugdag nemen* — *faire le pont* — ‘to take a day off between holidays’;
- *het noorden verliezen* — *de kluts kwijtraken* — *perdre le nord* — ‘to get lost’.

Separately, examples of interference at the level of stable speech patterns should be noted. These include:

- *wat uur is het?* — *hoe laat is het?* — *quelle heure est-il?* — ‘what time is it?’;
- *de vraag stelt zich* — *de vraag is/rijst* — *la question se pose* — ‘a question arises’;
- *‘t is te zeggen* — *dat wil zeggen* — *c'est-à-dire* — ‘that means / that is’;
- *niets te zien hebben met* — *niets te maken hebben met* — *cela n'a rien à voir avec* — ‘to have nothing to do with’;
- *hoeveel moet ik u?* — *wat krijgt u van me?* — *combien vous do-is-je?* — ‘How much do I owe you?’.

In the analyzed examples, a clear tendency towards semantic calque using Dutch morphemes was revealed. It is quite difficult to divide the discovered cases thematically, because they all relate to completely different areas of human activity, however, with an emphasis on everyday communication.

## 2. GRAMMATICAL INTERFERENCE

Differences in language structures are the potentials for interference, which is revealed in the process of language contact. Thus, the presence of certain morphosyntactic structures in one language and their absence in other languages represents interference potential. It is fair to assume that grammatical interference most often occurs in genetically unrelated and typologically different languages.

The cases of grammatical interference are particularly noticeable in one of the versions of West Flemish dialect, the so-called French Flemish, which is residually functioning in French Flanders. Excellent examples are presented in the book “Frans-Vlaams / Taal in stad en land”. Analysis of these examples shows that grammatical interference is found in cases where the standard word order of the Dutch language changes in texts with inclusions or calques, when certain features of the French syntax are taken over.

Interjections, prepositions and adverbs as insertions are much more common than other parts of speech, and at the same time they introduce a special word order that is more usual for French than for Dutch. Such an example can be adverbs of French origin: *d'abord* — ‘at the beginning’, *par contre* — ‘at the same time’, *justement* — ‘exactly’, *puis* — ‘then’, *surtout* — ‘especially’, *n'importe* — ‘it doesn't matter’, *d'ailleurs* — ‘by the way’, and others; interjections: *quoi* — ‘what’, *admettons* — ‘we agree’, *oui* — ‘yes’, *bien entendu* — ‘taken into account’, *dis-donc* — ‘tell me’, *et voilà* — ‘and here’, and others; prepositions: *à force de* — ‘because of’, *grace à* — ‘thanks to’, *malgré* — ‘despite’ and others. The cases are given in the following order: the result of interference with French (including the influence on the dialects of Flanders) — the Standard Dutch.

• **Donc**, *die mensjchen moeten ga(r)s kweeeken* — *Die mensen moeten dus gras telen* — ‘So, these people have to grow grass’;

• **Et puis** *z'en dat al weer opevuld* — *Ze hebben dat bovendien allemaal weer opgevuld* — ‘Moreover, they filled it all in again’;

• **Par contre** *e moeder en et azo geen erte* — *Een moeder daarentegen heeft niet zo'n hart* — ‘Mother doesn't have such a heart’;

• **Bien entendu** *j'et er die nooit kontent en zien* — *Je hebt er natuurtijk die nooit tevreden zijn* — ‘Of course, there are those who are never satisfied’;

• *'k En zeeer in me rik, à force van eeele daagen to stuupen — Ik heb pijn in mijn rug door mij hele dagen te bukken — 'My back hurts because I bend over all day';*

• *'t Is grace van neur dan 'k er ekregen en — Het is dankzij haar dat ik er gekregen heb — 'Thanks to her, I got this';*

• *Malgré dat den professeur ook e Vlamiensk was, me wòdren algeliek epunierd omme Vlamsj klapsten — Hoewel de leraar ook een Vlaamssprekende was, werden we toch gestraft als we Vlaams praatten — 'Even though the teacher also was Flemish speaking, we were still punished if we spoke Flemish'.*

In Standard Dutch, double negatives are considered grammatically incorrect and are not used. Sentences like

• *Ik ken deze man niet — 'I don't know this person';*

• *Hij heeft geen geld — 'He has no money'.*

adhere to this standard, where only a single negation marker is allowed. However, in both French Flemish and other Flemish dialects, there is a deviation from this norm and the use of double negation is allowed — a syntactic feature that at one time was characteristic of the Dutch language as a whole, and which remained in Flanders, probably not without the influence of French language. The following expressions can be the examples:

• *M'en en moo vuuf minuten nie meeë (West-Vlaams) — We hebben maar vijf minuten meer — 'We only have five minutes left';*

• *E zei dat 'n nuus nie ezieën en adde (West-Vlaams) — Hij zei dat hij ons niet gezien had — 'He said he didn't see us'.*

In these cases, the use of double negation to emphasize the negated statement is obvious.

During the analysis of specialized guidebooks on the Flemish variant of the Dutch language, we also found examples in which the word order completely corresponds to the French word order or approaches it. In particular, this concerns the place of the verb in a sentence. This phenomenon is observed primarily in Brussels. The examples are presented in the following order: the result of interference with French — Standard Dutch — Standard French.

• *Waailen emme gewacht tot neigen eure — We hebben tot negen uur gewacht — Nous avons attendu jusque neuf heures — 'We waited until 9 o'clock';*

• *Woè essem goen daan vis kuupe? — Waar is hij die vis gaan kopen? — Où est-il allé acheter ce poisson? — ‘Where did he go to buy this fish?’*

Also, it is worth noting that the Southern dialects of Dutch reveal an analogy with the French language, where, if a sentence begins with a subordinate clause, the direct word order remains in the main clause (*S’il pleut, nous restons à la maison — ‘If it rains, we stay at home’*). This is a phenomenon related to the position of the verb in complex sentences (in this case, if the first part of the sentence begins with a subordinate clause, then in Standard Dutch the inversion is required after the subordinate clause):

• *As g’em schreijf(,) ei antwooude aa nuut ni — Als je hem schreef, antwoordde hij je nooit — ‘When you wrote to him, he never answered you’;*

• *A’k em gezeid em damme gewonnen aaien(,) ei wilden et ni geluuve — Toen ik hem zei dat we gewonnen hadden, wilde hij het niet geloven — ‘When I told him that we won, he didn’t want to believe it’.*

Such cases are not so frequent; mostly in the Belgian variants of the Dutch language the standard word order is retained. It should be noted that French Flemish does not allow inversion in declarative sentences — no matter how the sentence begins, the word order always remains direct.

## CONCLUSION

The interference of French and Dutch is an inevitable linguistic process in the context of Belgian bilingualism and the close coexistence of the two language systems. The intensity of interference varies from province to province, depends on whether we are talking about urban or rural residents, and is also determined by a number of extralinguistic factors that are important for each individual speaker: family traditions, linguistic environment, personal preferences, each specific linguistic situation. However, the cases of lexical and grammatical interference collected in dictionaries and language reference books on the Flemish variants of Dutch indicate clear trends towards the consolidation of these linguistic transformations in “tussentaal” and Belgian Dutch. As part of the thematic analysis of vocabulary, we conclude that it is impossible to identify any more or less frequent topics in which lexical interference occurs, since among the examples there are lexemes related

to a variety of topics and areas of everyday life. Also, speaking about the trends and prospects for the development of bilingualism in Belgium, it should be noted that at the moment in the Kingdom there is, in addition to the three official languages, a large number of languages brought from outside, which threatens the existence of traditional French-Dutch bilingualism, in particular in big cities.

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## ЛЕКСИКО-ГРАММАТИЧЕСКАЯ ИНТЕРФЕРЕНЦИЯ В ПАРЕ ФРАНЦУЗСКИЙ — НИДЕРЛАНДСКИЙ ЯЗЫКИ В БЕЛЬГИИ

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В статье представлен анализ явления лексико-грамматической интерференции в паре французский — нидерландский языки, возникающего в условиях активного двуязычия в Бельгии. Языковой контакт в социальном пространстве и сознании индивидов обуславливает активное смешение этих двух языковых систем, а регулярный, зачастую произвольный, перенос лексической единицы

или грамматической конструкции из одного языка в другой приводит к ее постепенному закреплению в языковых вариантах и переходу в узус. Исследование сосредоточено в первую очередь на случаях франкоязычных вставок во фламандские варианты нидерландского языка и на описании особенностей интерференции в этой ситуации. Особое внимание в статье уделяется языковой ситуации в Бельгии, предпосылкам возникновения ее двуязычия, статистическим данным по количеству владеющих двумя главными языками страны, а также высказывается предположение о возможной угрозе традиционному бельгийскому двуязычию, которую представляет множество языков мигрантов, постоянно проживающих в Бельгии. Случаи лексической интерференции разделены по категориям частей речи. Чаще всего интерферируют существительные и глаголы; прилагательные, наречия, союзы и междометия демонстрируют это явление реже. Лексическая интерференция представлена случаями прямых заимствований или же калькированием (семантическим и морфологическим). Тематически классифицировать эти лексемы представляется затруднительным, так как в большинстве своем они охватывают всевозможные темы бытового общения. Грамматическая интерференция проявляется в первую очередь в изменении стандартного порядка слов во фламандских вариантах нидерландского языка (особенно во французском фламандском) под влиянием французского синтаксиса, а также в ситуациях использования двойного отрицания.

**Ключевые слова:** лингвистическая интерференция, Бельгия, Фландрия, французский язык, нидерландский язык.

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