

Impact of L1 on ESL (English as a Second Language) Writings of the Undergraduates of University of Jaffna

K. Sanmuganathan

English Language Teaching Centre, University of Jaffna, Sri Lanka
saneltc@yahoo.com

Abstract: The purpose of this study was to examine whether L1 had an impact on the ESL (English as a Second Language) writings of the undergraduates of university of Jaffna. Most of the scholars in the fields of language learning and teaching give evidence for the L1-L2 comparison by the learners when they confronted with difficult grammatical forms and it is natural for the learners. Since this comparison is implicit, it may result in the formation of wrong rules due to an incomplete L2 knowledge. In this study, an investigation was made to identify the impact of L1 on ESL writings of the undergraduates of the University of Jaffna. The study involved qualitative methods of data collection. The data collected from the subjects' responses were analyzed, and the findings were derived. The findings show that there are number of problems which are found to have impact on the learners' ESL writings. Evidence provided by the written samples suggests that L1 played a role in the process of beginning ESL learners' writing in English. Understanding linguistic differences between students' L1 and English may help the learners reduce the impact of L1.

Keywords: ESL writings, Grammatical Forms, Linguistic differences, L1-L2 comparison.

I. INTRODUCTION

Communicative competence is a linguistic term which refers to a learner's L2 ability. It not only refers to a learner's ability to apply and use grammatical rules, but also to form correct utterances, and know how to use these utterances appropriately. The term unifies the view of language learning implicit in the communicative approach to language teaching. So the grammatical proficiency is the foundation of better writing and speaking ability of ESL learners. Efficient grammar instruction, especially for adult learners, helps to learn English more effectively. Therefore, understanding students' learning difficulties and providing appropriate grammar instruction is the key to effective teaching for ESL teachers.

II. BACKGROUND

Writing is a complex process even in the first language. It is even more complicated to write in a foreign language. Many studies indicate that, for ESL students, there tends to be interference from their first language in the process of writing in English [2, 8]. A better understanding of the L1 influence in the process of ESL writing will help teachers know students' difficulties in learning English. It will also aid in the adoption of appropriate teaching strategies to help beginning ESL students learn English.

The language contact may cause a structural change in one or both of the languages concerned and this tendency of changing the structure is termed as interference [13]. In other words, the violation of the norms of any of the languages involved by the individual in his speech as a result of language

contact is known as interference. Interference may result into rearrangement of the definite organized structure of a language from the introduction of foreign elements such as phonemic system, morphology and syntax and certain part of vocabulary.

The learning problems and the amount of interference depend on similarities of the language in contact. Accordingly the extent of interference may vary whereas the mechanism of interference remains the same between any languages.

2.1. English language teaching at tertiary level in Jaffna

The role of English in schools and higher educational institutes, like the University and the Technical colleges, is becoming more and more important. For example, in the University of Jaffna, English is taught as a compulsory component to undergraduates in all the six faculties. In the medical, science, agricultural and management and commerce faculties, English is mostly the medium of instruction and in the arts faculty English is taught in all the first three years to students doing general and special degrees. A pass in English at all three levels (six semester examination in all) is compulsory to complete their degrees. In case a student is not successful in the English paper at any of the six semester examinations his or her results will be withheld until getting a pass in the respective semester examination.

The syllabus is typically subject oriented with special attention to all the four skills. Here the term subject oriented means that the materials for Reading, Writing, Listening and Speaking have relevance to the course that the respective group of students follows. For example, for the faculty of management studies and commerce, the students have Business English. Similarly, students in the science and medical faculties, teaching materials related to science and medical science are administrated for the communicative activities and the learning-teaching programmes. For students doing special degree attention is given to their field of choice whether it is geography, history, Tamil, Hindu/Christian civilization, sociology, humanities or linguistics. Thus, the concept of (ESP) English for specific Purposes and (EAP) English for Academic Purpose is observed and maintained in designing the syllabi and in testing and evaluation.

2.2. Need for contrastive method

Developments of language teaching over recent decades have been strongly founded on the notion of teaching methodology. Among these language teaching methodologies such as grammar-Translation method, direct method, reading approach, audio-lingual method, community language learning, the silent way and total physical response, one of the recent developments in this field is communicative language teaching.

In Sri Lanka, since the introduction of English to the school curriculum as a second language in the early 1950s, the Direct Method followed by Grammar-Translation Method was used for teaching English. The Direct Method teaches the target language in the target language context while the Grammar-Translation Method teaches the target language in the students' mother tongue. However, experience shows that these methods have not been successful in improving English proficiency of Sri Lankan school students [6]. This view is further supported by the study on the students' proficiency in English at tertiary level [14]. His findings show that at the tertiary level in Jaffna, students learning English as a second language do not have equal proficiency in the English language skills, i.e., as listening, speaking, reading and writing.

At this juncture, it has been noticed that teachers of English language ask themselves why students are unable to excel in learning English and why they struggle or ignore it. Teaching English language to the students cannot be considered an easy task. Every teacher of English language finds teaching English a pedagogically strenuous task.

Notwithstanding enough serious efforts have been taken in all aspects of the educational setup, still there are some bottlenecks in the road of learning English language. There are host of factors, which come into play in second language learning. The factors such as teacher's competence, motivation and attitude of learners, teaching methods, instructional materials, the structural similarities and differences between L1 and L2 etc., can be the variables that can significantly affect second language learning and teaching.

One of the common and accepted approaches to language teaching is through contrastive method. In other words, the language specific features of both mother tongue of the learner and the second languages are studied thoroughly before and an attempt is made to teach the second language and to prepare instructional materials for second language teaching. The contrastive analysis emphasizes the influences of the mother tongue in learning a second language in phonological, morphological and syntactic levels. Examination of the differences between the first and second languages helps to predict the possible errors that can be made by L2 learners [7].

2.3. Morphosyntactic features of English and Tamil for contrastive study

The case for contrastive analysis of morphosyntactic features of English and Tamil is worth attempting. The learners of English have a great deal of problems in modifying one pattern into another due to the differences, which are too many between English and Tamil. The sense is conveyed not only by the dictionary meanings of words, but also by their arrangement in their patterns. A sentence is not just a linear string of words; it is a sequence grouped in a particular way. The way groupings are ordered is important for understanding the sense. Each linguistic community has its own rules and procedures for transforming its "inner concepts" into "outside manifestations" as speech or writing. Selection of restriction features is to be observed for all natural languages. In case of syntactic feature in the languages, a category, for example, English "preposition" can be used in Tamil as "postposition". While the former occurs before nouns, the latter is used after nouns in sentence.

III. LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Contact and Interference

Suntharesan [13] has quoted that the language contact may cause a structural change in one or both of the languages concerned and this tendency of changing the structure is termed as interference. In other words, the violation of the norms of any of the languages involved by the individual in his speech as a result of language contact is known as interference. Interference may result into rearrangement of the definite organized structure of a language from the introduction of foreign elements such as phonemic system, morphology and syntax and certain part of vocabulary.

The learning problems and the amount of interference depend on similarities of the language in contact. Accordingly the extent of interference may vary whereas the mechanism of interference remains the same between any languages.

Chidambaram [3], in his study, has investigated the morphosyntactic errors committed by his students. He has identified the errors due to L1 interference.

Sample 1:

- 1). The next day going to Madurai Meenakshi temple.
- 2). The last time going to Chennai.
- 3). I don't never smoke.

The student has used the adverbs like 'next day', 'last time' as the subjects in the place of subject position and the required subjects are deleted. This kind of expressions may be due to the mother tongue influence.

In Tamil, sentences can be produced without subject and the adverb is placed in the initial position of the sentence. The subject can be understood through the PNG marker.

For example,

naalaikkuvatukireen
Tomorrow, I am coming
'Tomorrow coming PNG.'
neettupoonaan
Yesterday he went.
'Yesterday went PNG'

So this type of L1 syntactical structure appears in the L2 learner performance as shown in the above examples.

The comments of Agesthalingam [1] on the difficulties of a Tamil student of ESL are presented below:

“Another kind of problem that one has to encounter while teaching English to Tamil students is due to the difference in the structure of Tamil and English. While learning a second language in adolescence and in adulthood it is very difficult to get rid of the influence of the structure of one's own mother tongue. We try to find out one to one correspondence between the target language and the mother tongue.”

A Tamil student of ESL may form grammatically wrong sentences by using a wrong preposition. For example, he may construct a sentence, “Mohan comes to school inbus.” instead of the correct form, “Mohan comes to school by bus.” This wrong sentence construction is the result of the student's positive transfer from Tamil into English. In Tamil, the form, “Mohan paaTacaalaikku pasil vatukiraan” (Mohan comes to school by bus) is grammatically correct. Here in this sentence, the inflection '-il' occurs with the word, 'pas' which is an English borrowing in Tamil, meaning 'bus'. The direct and usual English prepositional equivalent of this inflection '-il' is 'in'.

Similarly, in another instance “I am drawing a picture by a pencil.” Here again, the Tamil -aal as found in the Tamil sentence, “naanpencilaalotupaTamvataikireen.” (I am drawing a picture with a pencil) is replaced by the English 'by'.

Wrong selection of preposition is caused by generalization also.

E.g., She goes to the office by bicycle. (Instead of “She goes to the office on bicycle.)

The students' familiarity with the sentences such as, "He goes to school by bus" etc. makes him generalize the prepositional rule in this manner.

Gunasekara [4] has investigated the morphosyntactic errors of fluent speakers of English in Sri Lanka and her study has yielded clues on the influence of Sinhala and Tamil syntactic structures on Sri Lankan English. She has identified the problematic areas of the tendency to pluralize collective or mass nouns, the problem with subject-verb agreement, the overuse of prepositions, the active passive confusion etc.

3.2. Some features of the system of Sri Lankan English

Suntharesan [13] has quoted some features of the system of Sri Lankan English in grammar, collocation, lexis and phonology.

In Grammar, the interference of the first Language leads to deviation in Sri Lankan English. The mother tongue interference is identifiable in interrogative sentences and tag questions. There are instances when the position of subject and auxiliary verb is not changed.

E.g., 1). Where you are going?
2). When he is returning?

In English, a tag question is formed by a statement and an attached tag. An affirmative main clause has a negative tag and a negative main clause has an affirmative tag. This rule is often neglected and tag questions are structured in a wrong manner in Sri Lankan English.

E.g., He is bathing, isn't it? (instead of "isn't he?")

In collocation, this feature can be defined in terms of semantic or syntactic characteristics. Here, words or phrases of a South Asian language may be translated into English. In Lankan English, the following examples can be quoted.

E.g., to buy and give, to jump and run, to run and come, to take and come

Further, there are collocations in which extensions or analogies derived from English are found.

E.g., Familied man

Collocations which are formally non-deviant but are culture bound, context bound or register bound can be found in the most productive class.

E.g., Funeral house, Festival season

In one productive syntactic process, a unit of higher rank is reduced to a lower rank.

E.g., welcome address (instead of address of welcome)

Examples for other such formations in Lankan English are also quoted.

E.g., break rest, bull work, to give a person bellyful

Sivagurunathan [12] has also quoted the mother tongue (L1) interference in learning English. When we learn a second language it is likely to be influenced by our mother tongue. If the target language is a foreign language and if there are no similarities between the target language and the mother tongue, then, there is all the likelihood of inference of the mother tongue in the target language.

Weinreich [15] defines “interference” as: “Those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. as a result of language contact will be referred to as interference phenomena”.

In the case of learning of English by Tamil students, the target language does not belong to the Dravidian family of language. It belongs to the indo-European family and both languages have different phonological, morphological and syntactic systems. Hence, the target language bound to be interfered with.

Most of the Tamil students have difficulties in constructing English sentences. The syntactic structure and the grammar are found to be influenced by their mother tongue. ThiruKandaiah (as cited in [12]) has given the following example for Lankan English (English that is influenced by the native language, Tamil).

- Five years his brother spent on the course.
- The talk is at what time?
- Today no news paper
- Straight away shall I do it?
- All the books the boy collected and went home.
- Mangoes he likes very much.
- For the smell the rats must have gone.

The students mostly formulate the structure in Tamil and construct English sentences. They adopt mostly the Tamil word-order for English too which is said to be Sri Lankan English.

Shanmugadas [11] has investigated the concord between subject and predicate in English and Tamil sentences. Concord is found to be essential when words are arranged as constituents. In English, concord is formed on the basis of number between subject and predicate. For example, the singular subject ‘He’ takes the singular verb ‘runs’ but the plural subject ‘they’ takes the plural verb ‘run’. This type of concord is found only in the present. At the same time, there is no concord between the subject and predicate in the past tense.

For example, He ran, They ran.

On the other hand, In Tamil, the concord is formed on the basis of grammatical categories such as animate/ inanimate, gender, number etc.

E.g., *avaḷvanṭaal*. ‘She came’ [aval-animate, female, 3rd person singular]
avanvanṭaan. ‘He came’ [avan-animate, male, 3rd person singular]
aṭuvanṭaṭu ‘It came’ [aṭu-inanimate, 3rd person singular]

The gender classification found in nouns as subjects has concord with the gender classification formed in verbs as predicate in Tamil. This feature is absent in sinhala and English.

IV. OBJECTIVES

The present study is primarily intended to identify the impact of L1 in ESL writing of learners whose first language is Tamil, and to suggest solutions to the learning problem. Since the researcher is a lecturer in English in the University of Jaffna where Tamil students are following degree programme it is hopefully assumed that he will be able to personally observe the attitude and classroom behavior of students. The objective of the study is to identify the learning difficulties of students of ESL caused by L1 and to suggest remedies to overcome such problems so as to enable them to achieve a good proficiency in English.

4.1. Implementation of the objectives

A grammar is an attempt to expose the structures of the sentences of a language. In order to communicate meaningfully, the learner must account for all and only the grammatical sentences of the language. Most of the scholars in the fields of language learning and teaching assert that, when confronted with difficult grammatical forms, learners often conduct an L1–L2 comparison and this comparison is implicit, it may result in the formation of wrong rules due to an incomplete L2 knowledge [9, 10]. It provides a kind of interlingual comparison on the basis of contrastive analysis database. Such an approach may facilitate the learning process especially if the structures are difficult with respect to the learners' L1.

The most important objective in contrastive analysis is the notion of difficulty based on the difference of the native language patterns. The deviant realizations of the target language system in the language behaviour of the learner are ascribed to the mother tongue interference. The areas of difficulty experienced by the learners are also known as “blind spots.” Such problem obtained by contrastive studies should be tested against the actual performance of the learners with a different language background.

4.2. Statement of the problem

It is a popularly recognized notion that language is rule bound and implicitly it follows that every language has its own distinctive form which is composed by its major elements such as grammar (subdivisions of two different but inter-related areas of study—morphology and syntax), vocabulary and phonological features. An infant acquires these features and becomes a fluent speaker of his mother tongue, i.e., L1 within 5 or 6 years. He may learn another language later. A learner's thorough acquaintance with his or her native language may somehow inhibit his or her capability to familiarize with the elements of a second language during the course of learning process of the L2. However, there are instances where there may be features, which are shared by both the learner's L1 and L2. If languages are moulded in part by ideas and processing capacities that all people have in common, all languages must have certain features in common, language universals. A study of the ‘error’ of the second language learning in relation to word-order, tense, prepositions, articles, choice of words etc., may be rewarding since it may produce some insights into the process involved in the learning of a second linguistics system. For, languages differ from each other. They have common properties as well as language specific properties. Because of this, L1 influences on the learning of L2. An examination of the differences between the L1 and L2 should help us to predict or at least explain errors made by L2 learners. Similarities between L1 and L2 are assumed to facilitate the learning of the L2 while the dissimilarities between L1 and L2 impede the learning of L2.

V. METHODOLOGY

This study was undertaken using qualitative method of data collection which involved an essay type test, semi structured and unstructured interview with the language teachers and the observation of the learning process of the second year students of Faculty of Arts in the University.

Table 1: SS'performance to the areas testing items in the proficiency test

Student Sample 100			
Areas of testing items	Correct (%)	Incorrect (%)	Not responded (%)
Adjective	76	24	0
Adverb	69	31	0
Preposition	13	87	0
Tense	11	89	0
Word order	21	79	0
Articles	19	76	5

5.1. Research Question

Is there any difference in students' written English error rates, as measured by a writing assessment with the comparison of students' LI and English?

5.2. Research Design

Given the research hypotheses and the scope of the study, the design and procedures employed will be discussed. This study involved an experimental group which contained the students with similar English proficiency. In this investigation, 100 undergraduates from the Faculty of Arts in the second year of the University of Jaffna were selected as samples for the study. In order to endorse the findings made from the study of writing assessment test which was designed by the researcher, the informal investigation was made through the study of the students' answer scripts, observation and focus group discussions with the students and the lecturers/ instructors in English language.

VI. FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

This study has thrown light on the potential errors that result mainly from the mother tongue due to the difference in grammatical agreement, which mainly explains those phenomena that exhibit the property of specific morphological form of a word appearing in a sentence with respect to the presence or absence of some other words elsewhere in the sentence. So it deals with the distribution of an inflected word with respect to the properties of other words in the sentence. English writing for many Tamil ESL students is a process of translation, which is confirmed by the current study as well.

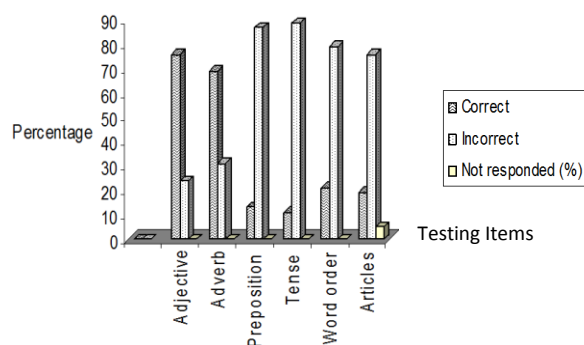


Figure 1: percentage of students who have ticked the correct and the incorrect answers in each section of the General English Proficiency Test.

It was found that the most frequent errors from this data were on the morphosyntactic and lexical levels with inadequate lexical and morphosyntactic knowledge leading to the errors, which have been ranked according to the level of difficulty. The error categories identified by the researcher based on the greatest number of errors that occurred are as follows: (i) Tense and subject-verb agreement (ii) Preposition (iii) Word order (iv) Articles (v) Adverbs (vi) Adjectives. It has been observed that most of the errors are due to the differences between Tamil and English. Within these errors, mother tongue interference and the structural transfer of L1 have been detected. These errors may result from the inadequate learning as well as the complexity of structures between Tamil and English.

In conclusion, the errors made by the students are related to language transfer. It causes problems for them in learning English language and makes the English writing process even more complicated. At the same time, it has been observed that ESL students with different English proficiencies may have different learning difficulties. More advanced learners are found to have errors, which are not related to language transfer. L1 related errors are more prevalent for the students who have less proficiency in English and are the beginners of English.

The present study has yielded valuable clues and guidelines pertaining to English language teaching. The theoretical as well as the practical aspects of the study have confirmed that there are similarities and dissimilarities between Tamil and English which cause problems to the ESL learners especially in the productive skills called as writing and speaking. It should be noted that there are, of course, many other influences at play when we learn a foreign language. But the influence that the mother tongue has on the language produced by the ESL learner, has become a very important area of study for people interested in second language learning, language teaching, ELT publishing, and language in general, and is usually referred to as ‘language interference’ ‘transfer’ or ‘cross linguistic influence’. It is suggested that language produced by ESL learners is so unavoidably influenced, and even distorted by the mother tongue of the learner.

VII. RECOMMENDATION

Communicative competence is a linguistic term which refers to a learner's L2 ability. It not only refers to a learner's ability to apply and use grammatical rules, but also to form correct utterances, and know how to use these utterances appropriately. The term unites the view of language learning implicit in the communicative approach to language teaching. So the grammatical proficiency is the foundation of better writing and speaking ability of ESL learners. Efficient grammar instruction, especially for adult learners, helps to learn English more effectively. Therefore, understanding students' learning difficulties and providing appropriate grammar instruction is the key to effective teaching for ESL teachers.

This study indicates various errors and these errors have been ranked the most frequent error categories, which can be an indication for ESL teachers to better understand what errors their students could make and provide instruction thereby. Many errors found in this study were considered L1- related. It is apparent that L1 plays an important role in the process of learning English. The participants of this study were the undergraduates of the University of Jaffna who are all eligible to express their ideas in a clear way. However language transfer caused problems for them and made the English learning process even more complicated.

Clarifying learning difficulties can be the first step that helps beginning ESL learners master English grammar. Language interference is apparently a common problem for beginning ESL learners. English teachers can help beginning ESL learners reduce language interference by specifying the differences between Tamil and English in order to make English grammar instruction more effective. Errors in the use of tense and prepositions in this study, for example, were ranked as the number one error categories where the greatest number of errors occurred. Such errors should be paid attention by ESL teachers. In addition to explaining grammatical rules of English tenses, prepositions etc. ESL teachers may also compare the differences between Tamil and English.

It has been observed that ESL learners with different English proficiencies may have different learning difficulties. When more advanced learners may have more errors which are not related to language transfer, L1- related errors are prevalent for beginning learners. English grammar instruction with comparison of Tamil and English can be a good option for ESL teachers.

To prevent L1 interference on L2 sentence, various sentence types of both L1 and L2 should be differentiated and distinguished and should be made known to the students. The sameness about sentence types of both languages will automatically eliminate the errors in syntax. Thus, effort has to be taken to create syntactic awareness among the students. To prevent the agreement problems, the relationship between words should be taught and if the problems are due to L1 structure, the relationship and variation between L1 and L2 in sentences should be indicated to the students.

The teacher should identify the differences between English and Tamil in terms of morphosyntactic features of these languages. To this effect the structural elements found in English but not found in Tamil should be well marked. Similarly structural elements found in Tamil but not found in English also should be highlighted. The areas where structural contradictions occur between these two languages should be underlined. These are steps that would make students well aware of the structural dissimilarities between English and Tamil. Then the teacher should be conscious of the problem areas of students which are generally caused by the structural variations. Now the teacher

should adequately focus on designing tasks, and activities and exercises for students in order to enable them to overcome such problems. In this process, graded drills are recommended so that the students will be able to make progress gradually and firmly. Simultaneous concentration on the development of the four language skills, with specific focus on the problem areas caused by structural differences would effectively lead to successful learning.

For adult learners, learning a foreign language is a complex process. The confusion of language transfer is more common for beginning ESL learners. Beginning ESL learners will be benefited if provided with systematic and well-designed grammar instruction in connection with their first language, through which language differences were indicated. Aside from the comparison of Tamil and English which may facilitate the students' learning of English grammar, employing technology to facilitate language instruction is teachers' new responsibility in today's technical advancement to bring about greater learning.

The present study revealed the importance of contrastive instruction in learning English and in the light of the findings, contrastive approach and contrastive linguistic input (CLI) can be viewed as a foreign language learning facilitator of such difficult grammatical forms in foreign language settings. The study also revealed the area / areas of difficult grammatical features, which have to be taken into consideration in teaching and learning a foreign language. The importance of sound knowledge of L2 grammatical forms for the development of language skills which the learners of foreign language expect to develop for their communicative competence is strongly felt from this study.

REFERENCES

- [1]. Agesthalingam, S., "Teaching Tamil as a Foreign Language", Proceedings of the first International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies, Volume II, Malaysia, pp. 503-507, 1966.
- [2]. Chen, C. Y. and Huang, H. Y., L2 acquisition of subject-prominence by EFL students in Taiwan. *English Teaching and Learning*, 27(4), pp. 99-122, 2003.
- [3]. Chidambaram, K., "A study on the learning process of English", Ph.D Thesis, Department of Linguistics, Bharathiar University, TamilNadu, India, 2004.
- [4]. Gunasekara, M., "Morphosyntactic errors of fluent speakers of English in Sri Lanka", *Journal of Linguistics*, pp. 112-133, 2000.
- [5]. Gunasekara, M., "The post colonial identity of Sri Lankan English", University of Kelaniya, Katha Publishers, Colombo, 2005.
- [6]. Karunaratne, I.M., "Teaching English in Urban Sri Lanka: Some pedagogical issues", 9th International Conference on Sri Lankan Studies, 2003.
- [7]. Krishaswamy, S., Verma, K. and Nagarajan, M., "Modern applied linguistics", Macmillan India Press, Madras, 1992.
- [8]. Lado, R., "Linguistics across cultures: Applied linguistics for language teachers", MI: University of Michigan press, 1957.
- [9]. Robinson, P., 'Attention, memory, and the "noticing" hypothesis', *Language learning*, pp. 283-331, 1995.
- [10]. Selinker, L., 'Interlanguage', *International review of applied linguistics* 10:209-231. Edinburgh University Press, 1972.
- [11]. Shanmugadas, A., *Aspects of Tamil language and grammar*, Poobalasingham Book Depot, Colombo, 1982.
- [12]. Sivagurunathan, G. "Teaching of English as a second language at the University Level in Sri Lanka: A case study", MA thesis, University of Jaffna, 1993.
- [13]. Suntharesan, V., "Use of English vocabulary in the Jaffna Tamil society – A socio Linguistic Study", Department of Linguistics, University of Jaffna, Sri Lanka, 2002.
- [14]. Sunthareswaran, S., "Language use in Jaffna society", Department of Linguistics, University of Jaffna, Sri Lanka, 2003.
- [15]. Weinreich, U., *Languages in contact*. The Hague: Mouton, 1979.