Redundancy in Malay Morphology: School Grammar versus Corpus Grammar

Zaharani Ahmad, Nor Hashimah Jalaluddin

Abstract—The aim of this paper is to examine and identify the issue of linguistic redundancy in two competing grammars of Malay, namely the school grammar and the corpus grammar. The former is a normative grammar which is formally and prescriptively taught in the classroom, whereas the latter is a descriptive grammar that is informally acquired and mastered by the students as native speakers of the language outside the classroom. Corpus grammar is depicted based on its actual used in natural occurring texts, as attested in the corpus. It is observed that the grammar taught in schools is incompatible with the grammar used in the corpus. For instance, a noun phrase containing nominal reduplicated form which denotes plurality (i.e. murid-murid ‘students’ which is derived from murid ‘student’) and a modifier categorized as quantifiers (i.e. semua ‘all’, seluruh ‘entire’, and kebanyakan ‘most’) is not acceptable in the school grammar because the formation (i.e. semua murid-murid ‘all the students’ kebanyakan pelajar-pelajar ‘most of the students’) is claimed to be redundant, and redundancy is prohibited in the grammar. Redundancy is generally construed as the property of speech and language by which more information is provided than is precisely required for the message to be understood, so that, if some information is omitted, the remaining information will still be sufficient for the message to be comprehended. Thus, the correct construction to be used is strictly the reduplicated form (i.e. murid-murid ‘students’) or the quantifier plus the root (i.e. semua murid ‘all the students’) with the intention that the grammatical meaning of plural is not repeated. Nevertheless, the so-called redundant form (i.e. kebanyakan pelajar-pelajar ‘most of the students’) is frequently used in the corpus grammar. This study shows that there are a number of redundant forms occur in the morphology of the language, particularly in affixation, reduplication and combination of both. Apparently, the so-called redundancy has grammatical and socio-cultural functions in communication that is to give emphasis and to stress the importance of the information delivered by the speakers or writers.

Keywords—Corpus grammar, morphology, redundancy, school grammar.

I. INTRODUCTION

The teaching and learning of Malay language, as a compulsory subject in school is quite challenging, especially with regard to grammar. In my view, generally, the students are exposed to two types of grammars, namely the school grammar and the corpus grammar. The former is a normative grammar which is formally taught in the classroom, whereas the latter is a descriptive grammar that is informally acquired outside the classroom. In an ideal situation, both grammars should be in agreement with respect to each other so that it can be easily learned and mastered by the students. If they were in contradiction in some aspects, it will definitely confuse the children and subsequently affect their performance in the examinations.

It was reported in the previous study [9], one of the factors that can affect student achievement in scoring good grade is a kind of questions dubbed as ‘problematic questions’ that were asked in the examination. These questions are problematic because they involved issues of inconsistency between the school grammar learned in the classroom and the corpus grammar acquired outside the classroom. For instance, the former prescriptively states that a noun phrase encompassing of nominal reduplicated form (i.e. murid-murid ‘students’ which is derived from murid ‘student’) plus a quantifier (i.e. semua ‘all’, seluruh ‘entire’, and kebanyakan ‘most’) is ungrammatical because its formation (i.e. semua murid-murid ‘all the students’ kebanyakan pelajar-pelajar ‘most of the students’) is redundant. The claim is based on the argument that no repetition of linguistic information is permitted in the grammar [7]. In this case, the linguistic meaning of plural occurs twice in the phrase, one is from the reduplicated form and the other is from the quantifier. The correct representation is either murid-murid ‘the students’ or semua murid ‘all the students’. Nevertheless, the so-called redundant structures are widely and regularly used in the corpus grammar [11], [12]. It is apparent that the students are more familiar with the corpus grammar as compared to the school grammar [9]. In what follows, this paper attempts to examine the issue of inconsistency between the two grammars in more detailed, specifically in the aspects of morphology.

II. ISSUES ON MALAY MORPHOLOGY

Generally, morphology is a study and description of how words are formed in a language. In Malay, word formations are derived by two productively morphological processes, namely affixation and reduplication. Affixation is a process of forming words by adding morphemes (affixes) to the base root. Affixed morphology can be grouped into four types, namely prefixation, suffixation, infixation and circumfixation. Reduplication on the other hand is a process of copying the base root, and it is categorized into three types, that is full reduplication, partial reduplication, and rhyming and chiming [1], [8]. Most of the time reduplication comes together with affixation. The combination generates complex words with a variety of semantic nuances which basically denote the meanings of plurality, repetition, continuity, intensity, extensiveness, and reciprocity. Although the language is
furnished with diverse forms of words, some of them are regarded ill-formed by the normative grammar. However, the so-called ungrammatical words which are discarded by the school grammar are indeed widely used by the native speakers as attested in the data-based corpus. In sum, structural diversity is acceptable in the corpus grammar but not the school grammar. Hence, this will raise the issue of incompatibility between the two grammars.

III. MALAY NORMATIVE GRAMMAR

A grammar that is regarded as normative grammar or reference grammar of Malay is Tatabahasa Dewan [7], [8]. This grammar is taught in school at all levels, starting from primary school up to tertiary level, hence it is commonly dubbed as the school grammar. The grammar is described and analyzed based on transformational generative grammar. As commonly known, the underlying thesis of generative grammar is that linguistic structures or forms are generated intuitively by a subconscious set of procedures. These procedures are part of the speaker’s mind, and the goal of linguistic theory is to model these procedures in generative grammar the means for modeling these procedures is through a set of formal grammatical rules. Hence, a grammar is defined as a set of rules that governs the construction of linguistic structures or forms.

In linguistic analysis, rules are formalized based on regular patterns that are observable in the language under study. Regularity in language demonstrates that there is an underlying system that regulates how language works, and the system is governed by rules. It must be noted that regularity is not essentially unique and uniform. Most often regularities in linguistic structures, such as words, phrases and sentences are constructed in diverse forms or constructions. In prescriptive grammar, deviations from the norm are considered to be error and ill-formed [12]. It is must be noted that in the school grammar there is a normative rule called redundance which is not permitted in a construction. Examples of words or structures violating the redundance rule will be discussed in details in the following discussion. Trask [10] defines redundance as “The central property of speech and language by which more information is provided than is strictly necessary for the message to be understood, so that, if some information is lost or misheard, the remaining information will still often be sufficient for the message to be received correctly”.

IV. CORPUS GRAMMAR

Corpus grammar is a descriptive grammar depicting the structure of a language based on its actual used in natural occurring texts by using a corpus-based technique of analysis. A corpus is a collection of texts or parts of texts upon which some general linguistic analysis can be conducted [5], [6]. A study on the aspects s of Malay corpus grammar was carried out by a group of linguists from the National University of Malaysia headed by Zahari [11]. The study is based on DBP data-based corpus. Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (DBP) literally translated as Language and Literary Agency is set up by the government in 1956. Its main task is to enhance the development of the Malay language which involved publications of books, dictionaries, glossaries, standardizing the grammar, conducting research, coining new words and terminologies, etc. Since DBP is engaged in dictionary making and coining new terminologies, it is crucial for the organization to have its own data-based corpus of the Malay language. The data based was first set up in 1987 with a half million words. From 2001 -2005 the collection has increased from 30 million words to 100 million words in length. The corpus does not have any structural and grammatical markup. It is just a collection of texts consists of various types of written Malay. The types of texts recorded in the DBP corpus (dbp.gov.my) are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table I</th>
<th>THE COMPOSITION OF THE DBP CORPUS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Writing types</td>
<td>Number of words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>52,988,703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books</td>
<td>27,797,010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magazines</td>
<td>12,229,373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional texts</td>
<td>2,440,258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>3,363,772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translation</td>
<td>1,886,106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100,645,222</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the purposes of this study, only five million words were selected for analysis. The words were accessed and analyzed by available software of concordancing program called Wordsmith tools. The program will be able to search specific target words in the corpus, and provides exhaustive list for the occurrence of the word in context. Concordance lines bring together many instances of words or phrases that can be observed and analyzed. This study primarily focuses on structures which are claimed to be redundant in the school grammar, and accordingly verifies their subsistence and usage in the corpus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table II</th>
<th>THE COMPOSITION OF THE DBP CORPUS FOR THE PRESENT STUDY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Writing types</td>
<td>Number of words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>2,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utusan Malaysia</td>
<td>1,250,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berita Harian NSTP</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harakah</td>
<td>250,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magazines</td>
<td>1,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Published by DBP</td>
<td>500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other publishers</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fictions</td>
<td>500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonfictions</td>
<td>500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>5,000,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

V. REDUNDANCY IN VERBAL AFFIXATION

As mentioned, affixal morphology in the language can be classified into four types, namely prefixation, suffixation, infixation and circumfixation. These four classes can further be integrated to form complex words. It is stated that word
formation in Malay can maximally go to four layers of affixation. For instance, from the root *jatuh* ‘to fall’ the grammar will generate the words *jatuhkan* ‘to cause to fall (for)’, *perjatuhkan* ‘to cause to be fallen (for)’, and *memperjatuhkan* ‘to cause to be fallen (active)’. Although the affixes *mem-*-, *per-*, and *-kan* can interact each other, there are words which are rejected by the school grammar because they are argued to be redundant.

The suffix *-kan* is a transitive marker deriving transitive verbs by causation and benefactive. It occurs generally with verbal base forms, nominals, as well as adjectivals. The grammatical function of the suffix *-kan* is ‘causative benefactive’ which may be glossed as ‘to cause to ... (for)’ [1], [7], [4].

1. Roots Affixed forms

- *jatuh* ‘to fall’
- *soal* ‘to ask’
- *hamba ‘slave’*
- *besar ‘big’*
- *dekat ‘near’*

2. Roots Affixed forms

- *perjatuh* ‘to cause to be fallen’
- *persoal* ‘to cause to be asked’
- *perbanyak* ‘to cause to be made many’

3. Complex bases Affixed forms

- *buatkan* ‘to cause to do (for)’
- *besarkan* ‘to cause to be large (for)’

4. Roots Affixed forms

- *soal ‘to ask’*
- *dengar ‘to hear’*
- *lihat ‘to see’*
- *hamba ‘slave’*
- *isteri ‘wife’*

- *mempersoalkan* ‘to cause to be asked (active)’
- *memperdengarkan* ‘to cause to be heard (active)’
- *memperlihatkan* ‘to cause to be listened (active)’
- *memperhambakan* ‘to cause to be made a slave (active)’
- *memperisterikan* ‘to cause to be made a wife (active)’

As can be seen, the circumfix *memper-kan* can occur with verbal and nominal roots to derive transitive verbs by causation. However, there is a disagreement among grammarians whether or not this circumfix can be affixed with adjectival roots to derive transitive verbs which can be glossed as ‘to cause to be more ...’, such as in (5) below.

5. Roots Affixed forms

- *luas ‘wide’* memperluas ‘to cause to be more wide’
- *kemas ‘neat’* memperkemas ‘to cause to be more neat’
- *besar ‘big’* memperbesar ‘to cause to be bigger’
- *cepat ‘quick’* mempercepat ‘to cause to be quicker’

It is argued in the school grammar, word formation in (5) is redundant, hence they should be discarded [4], [8]. Redundancy comes into play when both *per-* and *-kan* occur simultaneously in the derived words. Without the suffix *-kan*, the prefixation of *memper-* is already sufficient to derive complex verbs with the same grammatical function. By adding the suffix *-kan* to the complex base forms with *memper-* is therefore superfluous. This construction is argued to be redundant and it is not permissible in the normative grammar. The correct forms are those without the suffix *-kan*.

6. Roots Affixed forms

- *luas ‘wide’* memperluas ‘to cause to be more wide’
- *kemas ‘neat’* memperkemas ‘to cause to be more neat’
- *besar ‘big’* memperbesar ‘to cause to be bigger’
- *cepat ‘quick’* mempercepat ‘to cause to be quicker’

Now let us verify which forms (5 or 6) represent the real usage of the words as attested in the data-based corpus.

Concordance analysis demonstrates that both forms are used, as shown in (7), and their distribution is in (8) as indicated in the bracket.

7. Concordance lines

- *luas* modal aset seperti ***memperluas*** pengagihan
- *permai*an baru, ***memperluaskan*** produk
- *berhasil***memperbesar*** dan mengukuhkan
- *Daud* turut bercadang ***memperbesarkan***
- *Jabatan* Imigresen dapat ***mempercepat*** pelaksanaan
- *perbankan dan ***mempercepatkan*** pembinaan keyakinan.

8. The frequency distribution of *memper-* and *memper-kan*

- *memperluas* (28)
- *memperkemas* (152)
- *memperbesar* (6)
- *memperkemas* (34)
- *memperbesar* (3)
- *mempercepat* (12)
- *mempercepat* (25)
- *mempercepatkan* (168)

As can be seen, the so-called redundant forms with the circumfix *memper-kan* are prominently used by the speakers.
as compared to the correct forms established in the school grammar. This is not an unusual finding because previous studies have confirmed that memper-kan can be affixed with adjectival base forms [1]-[3]. It is affirmed that redundancy has grammatical and socio-cultural functions that is to confer emphasis on the linguistic information to be conveyed. It also gives an amplified effect on communication to indicate the importance of something [12].

VI. REDUNDANCY IN NOMINAL REDUPLICATION

Reduplication is a process in which some phonological material is repeated within a single form for lexical or grammatical purposes. As mentioned, there are three types of reduplication in Malay which are dubbed as full reduplication, partial reduplication and rhyming and chiming. Words of all categories (i.e. nominal, verbal and adjectival) can undergo the process of reduplication, whether it is partial, full, or rhyming and chiming. For the purposes of this paper, we will be discussing on nominal reduplication, particularly on the last two types, because they are relevant to the issue of morphological redundancy.

Nominal reduplicated words, either full or rhyming and chiming forms, typically denote plural, as exemplified below. 9. Roots Reduplicated forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roots</th>
<th>Reduplicated forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lesen ‘license’</td>
<td>lessen-lesen ‘licenses’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huruf ‘letter’</td>
<td>huruf-huruf ‘letters’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bukit ‘hill’</td>
<td>bukit-bukau ‘hills’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuhi ‘cake’</td>
<td>kuhi-muih ‘assortment of cakes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gunung ‘mountain’</td>
<td>gunung-ganang ‘mountains’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cucu ‘grand child’</td>
<td>cucu-cicit ‘grand children’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since the reduplicated words have already conveyed the grammatical meaning of plural, they cannot co-occur with lexical quantifier denoting quantity, such as semua ‘all’, kebanyakan ‘most’ because plurality will be repeated in the construction. This repetition is construed as redundancy, and therefore nominal phrases containing lexical quantifiers followed by reduplicated words are discarded in the school grammar. Examples of redundant phrases are shown below.

10. Ungrammatical forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lesen ‘license’</td>
<td>*semaa lessen-lesen ‘all licenses’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buku ‘book’</td>
<td>*kebanyakan buku-buku ‘most of the books’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bukit ‘hill’</td>
<td>*kebanyakan bukit-bukit ‘most of the hills’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unlike English, plurality in Malay can be represented either by lexical morpheme (i.e. quantifier) or grammatical morpheme (i.e. reduplication) but cannot be both. The correct forms of plural constructions in Malay are as follows:

11. Grammatical forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Forms</th>
<th>Words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rumah-rumah ‘houses’</td>
<td>semua rumah ‘all houses’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buku-buku ‘books’</td>
<td>kebanyakan buku ‘most of the books’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bukit-bukit ‘hills’</td>
<td>kebanyakan bukit ‘most of the hills’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In stark contrast to the normative rule prescribed in the school grammar, the so-called redundant constructions are attested in the corpus. Concordance analysis shows that constructions with quantifiers plus reduplicated words have 136 occurrences, and constructions with quantifiers plus roots have 1296 occurrences. It is apparent that what is prohibited in the school grammar is still allowable in the corpus grammar, as exemplified below.

12. Concordance lines

1) ***Semua lesen-lesen*** perjudian dan tempat hiburan
2) ***Lesen-lesen*** perjudian yang dikeluarkan
3) ***Semua lesen*** pemandu yang sudah tamat
4) ***Kebanyakan huruf-huruf*** adalah sama.
5) ***Huruf-huruf*** yang hilang
6) ***Kebanyakan huruf*** telah diganti.

According to Nor Hashimah’s analysis [9], there is a significant difference between the two phrases. Semantically, the phrase containing a quantifier with reduplicated word denotes indefinite plural, whereas the phrase consisting a quantifier with the root signifies definite plural. The different between the two is that in the latter the reference is very specific and unambiguous, whereas in the former the reference is general and unidentifiable. In sum, the two phrases are not redundant, and they have different functions in the grammar.

VII. REDUNDANCY IN VERBAL REDUPLICATION

Generally, verbal reduplicated words are more complex as compared to nominal reduplicated forms. In addition to reduplication, most often, the bare roots concurrently undergo the process of affixal morphology, such as prefixation, suffixation and circumfixation. There are disagreements among Malay linguists in accounting for the morphological processes that involved the interaction between reduplication and affixation. Some suggested that the affixation precedes reduplication, while others claim the contrary. However, in this paper we are not going to venture in that theoretical debate, but merely focuses on the surface structures, and for the purposes of this study we assume that affixation precedes reduplication. All grammarians agree that verbal reduplicated words imply the following meanings, namely continuity, repetition, intensity and reciprocity.

13. Root Affixed forms Reduplicated forms

| lari | berlari ‘to run’ | berlari-lari ‘to run repeatedly’ |
| lari | mencari ‘to search’ | mencari-cari ‘to keep on searching’ |
| lari | tersenyum ‘smile’ | tersenyum-tersenyum ‘to smile continuously’ |
| lari | menakutkan ‘to scare’ | menakutkan-nakutkan ‘to scare repeatedly’ |
| lari | tolong ‘to help’ | tolong-tolong ‘to help one another’ |
| lari | memukul ‘to hit’ | memukul-memukul ‘to hit one another’ |

It must be noted that in the language, grammatical meaning of continuity, repetition, and reciprocity can also be derived by
a verb-forming circumfix ber-an. Examples of affixed words with ber-an are as follows.

14. Roots Affixed forms
lari berlarian ‘to run repeatedly’
tembak bertembakan ‘to shoot one another’
gugur berguguran ‘to fall continuously’
kiobar berkibaran ‘to keep on flying’
salam bersalam ‘to shake one another’s hands’

15. Reduplicated forms
berlari-larian ‘to run repeatedly’
bertembak-tembakan ‘to keep on shooting one another’
berkibar-kibaran ‘to keep on flying continuously’
bersalam-salaman ‘to keep on shaking one another’s hands’

As can be seen, the affixed verbs in (14) and the reduplicated verbs (15) have the same function and meaning, and yet the school grammar accepted them as grammatical. If the same redundancy rule were to apply, the latter should be discarded because structurally their formation is exactly similar to the case previously discussed. In this particular case, the grammatical meaning of continuity, repetition, intensity and reciprocity is repeated in these words via two morphological processes, that is, first by the affixation of ber-an and second by reduplication. As far as redundancy rule is concerned, when there is inconsistency in terms of its acceptability, this will create problem to the students. On the contrary, the following structure which is also argued to be redundant is discarded in the school grammar, that is, a verb phrase containing a content word saling ‘reciprocal’ together with reduplicated words to denote reciprocity. This situation is exactly similar to the previous case which involved redundancy of nominal phrases where quantifiers co-occur with nominal reduplicated forms. If the word saling were to be used, it can only co-occur with the affixed word not the bare root. Examples of ill-formed and well-formed verb phrases prescribed in the school grammar are as follows:

16. Well-formed constructions
Roots Complex words/phrases
hormat ‘to respect’ hormat-menghormati ‘to respect one another’
saling menghormati ‘to respect one another’
benci ‘to hate’ benci-membenci ‘to hate one another’
saling membenci ‘to hate one another’
kunjung ‘to visit’ kunjung-mengunjungi ‘to visit one another’
saling mengunjungi ‘to visit one another’

17. Ill-formed constructions
Roots Complex words/phrases
hormat ‘to respect’ saling hormat-menghormati ‘to respect one another’
benci ‘to hate’ saling benci-membenci ‘to hate one another’
kunjung ‘to visit’ saling kunjung-mengunjungi ‘to visit one another’

As previously mentioned, even though the school grammar rejected the so-called redundant forms, such as in (17), their usage is attested in the corpus, as exemplified in (18). Based on the available corpus, the occurrences of saling with reduplicated words are 66, and the occurrences of saling with affixed forms are 141.

18. Concordance lines
1) Merek a***saling hormat-menghormati*** dan
2) jangan ***saling benci-membenci***, jangan salin
3) rumah terbuka dan ***saling kunjung-mengunjungi***

Another type of repetition can be observed in a noun phrase comprises a combination of simple noun plus complex word derived by a morphological process of affixation. The derived words normally have new grammatical meaning depending on the type of affixes that are attached to the base forms. For instance, nominal words derived from pen- prefixation may have the following grammatical functions, namely agentive, qualitative, and instrumental which may be glossed as ‘doers of the action...’ (name of instruments or persons) [1].

19. Roots Affixed forms
lari ‘to run’ pelari ‘one who runs (runner)’
bashu ‘to wash’ pemba suh ‘one who washes (washer)’
rakam ‘to record’ perakam ‘something that records (recorder)’
padam ‘to erase’ pemadam ‘something that erases (eraser)’
malu ‘to be shy’ pemalu ‘one who is shy’

Although the prefix has a specific grammatical meaning of instrumental, the derived words can still occur with simple content words that have the same lexical meaning, such as alat ‘instrument’.

20. Roots Phrases
padam ‘to erase’ alat pemadam ‘instrument of eraser’
rakam ‘to record’ alat perakam ‘instrument of recorder’
potong ‘to cut’ alat pemotong ‘instrument of cutter’

As mentioned, the prefix pen- in the language has two grammatical functions, namely agentive and instrumental, and hence the derived form can be ambiguous whether it refers to an instrument or a person. To resolve the ambiguity, the so-called redundant information is used in the constructions. An additional lexeme (i.e. alat ‘instrument’) is required so that the reference is more specific and precisely be understood. It is apparent that redundancy has a function in the grammar.

VII. REDUNDANCY IN ADJECTIVAL AFFIXATION

In the previous discussion, we have presented grammatical redundancy pertaining to nominal reduplication and verbal sufflication. What follows is another instance of redundancy which involved an adjective-forming prefix ter-. This prefix can occur with any base belonging to the adjectival class, which denotes a superlative degree of comparison [7].

21. Roots Affixed forms
baik ‘good’ terbaik ‘best’
big ‘bears’ terbesar ‘biggest’
miskin ‘poor’ termiskin ‘poorest’
cepat ‘fast’ tercepat ‘fastest’
As common in many languages, prototypical adjectives are ‘gradable’ and as such take modifiers indicating degree. In Malay, gradable adjectives denoting superlative degree take modifiers categorized as intensifiers, such as sekali ‘most’ and paling ‘extremely’[12]. The intensifiers can be either pre-head modifier or post-head modifier, as illustrated in the following examples.

22. Adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intensifier + adjectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mahal ‘expensive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baik ‘good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>besar ‘big’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23. Adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjectives + intensifiers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cantik ‘beautiful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baik ‘good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>besar ‘big’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahal ‘expensive’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Likewise, phrases consisting a combination of two intensifiers or intensifier plus complex words with prefix ter- are regarded ungrammatical because their formation incurs a violation of redundancy rule [4], [8]. The grammatical meaning of superlative degree is repeated in the constructions that is by the prefix ter- and the content morpheme sekali ‘most’.

24. Ungrammatical forms

- terbaik sekali ‘most best’
- paling cantik sekali ‘extremely most beautiful’
- terbesar sekali ‘most biggest’
- paling besar sekali ‘extremely most big’
- termiskin sekali ‘most poorest’

And again, although the school grammar rejected the so-called redundant forms, such as (24), they are used in the corpus. As mentioned, one of the functions of redundancy is to confer emphasis on the linguistic information to be conveyed, and in this case, it gives emphasis on the superlative degree of comparison. Another interpretation that can be deduced is that the construction infers a super-superlative degree of comparison. Various forms of constructions are attested in the corpus, as exemplified below.

25. Concordance lines

1) ulasan yang ***terbaik sekali*** Muzurlah Dato’
2) negeri ***termiskin sekali*** berdasa arkan pendapatan
3) besi waja yang ***terbaik sekali*** untuk senjata.
4) yang ***terbesar sekali*** dalam dunia. Kita tidak tahu
5) yang ***paling besar sekali*** ialah lemah
6) yang ***paling baik sekali*** untuk mendapatkan

VIII. CONCLUSION

This paper demonstrates that the so-called redundant forms or structures occur regularly in the language. Regularity in linguistics implies that there is an underlying system that regulates how language works, and the system is called grammar. It must be noted that regularity is not essentially unique. Most often regularities in linguistic structures, notably words or phrases are derived in diverse forms or constructions. The so-called redundant forms are part of structural diversity in the language. Structural diversity with regular linguistic patterns in the language must be recognized and they should be incorporated in the school grammar.

REFERENCES