CHAPTER 4
LEXICO-SEMANTIC REDUPLICATION

In this chapter the researcher will describe and analyze Lexico-semantic Reduplication, which is the first category which has been sub-divided into sub-categories. The following section will analyze the data under Lexico-semantic Reduplication. Wherever possible, the findings will be compared with similar findings of previous researchers on non-native lexis.

Anthonysamy(1997), used the term 'Lexico-semantic Duplication' to refer to the repetitive use of a word juxtaposed within the same sentence such as 'long-long time ago' and 'different-different countries'. There are two main differences between Anthonysamy's categorization and the present researcher's. Firstly, Anthonysamy categorized Lexico-semantic Duplication as a sub-category of lexico-semantic redundancy. However, the present researcher has improved on this by adapting Lexico-semantic Duplication as a main category in itself, namely, 'Lexico-semantic Reduplication, and 'Lexico-semantic Redundancy as another main category. In addition, while Anthonysamy seems to have identified only one sub-category without realizing it, namely 'Juxtaposed Reduplication', the present researcher has come up with four new sub-categories, namely:

4.1 Juxtaposed Reduplication
4.2 Non-juxtaposed Reduplication
4.3 Root Sound Reduplication
4.4 Lexical 'Double Effects'

4.1 Juxtaposed Reduplication

In the first sub-category the reduplicated word is juxtaposed with the original word. Leo(1995) mentions examples of this feature as 'hearing
double' and he explains it as being part of an 'infant talk list' of Singaporean English. Examples given are `Eat your porridge hot-hot.' In this example, the use of repetition is to intensify the sense of `while it is still hot'.

While Leo has appropriately described this feature as 'hearing double', it has been established as a common aspect of not just 'infant talk' in Singaporean English. Platt and Weber(1980) refer to it as 'Repetition', and describe it as a common feature of adult Singaporean English as well. Pandharipande(1987) notes that it is also a common feature of Indian, Kenyan and West African English. She has mentioned the following examples of this feature in non-native Englishes:

- 'small small' meaning 'slowly' or 'bit by bit'
- 'slow slow' meaning 'slowly does it'
- 'quick quick' meaning 'as quickly as possible'

This type of reduplication of non-native lexis was also found in the present Malaysian English data. In the following section the researcher will describe the examples in alphabetical order. The first example is seen in the following comment made by the researcher's husband:

'One of the brothers got married early early and he was outcast by the family.'

The reduplication 'early early' was utilized by the speaker to convey a sense of intensity, namely 'very early'.

The second example of Juxtaposed Reduplication was heard during a Toastmaster's meeting when a speaker was inviting someone in the audience to speak: 'Lastly someone who is seated far far left on my side.'

As in the case of the earlier example, she was using Juxtaposed Reduplication to convey the sense of intensity - she meant 'very much to my
left'. The third example of Juxtaposed Reduplication differs from the earlier ones in that, two identical words were combined with the conjunction 'and'.

The expression 'grow and grow' was heard during an Oral English Interaction test:

'Why are you giving rooms for the problem to grow and grow?'

This expression means 'grow out of proportion'. It conveys a sense of abundance rather than intensity. In fact, Pandharipande mentions that 'frequency' and 'abundance' are other functions of reduplication which can also be expressed through Lexico-semantic Reduplication. Examples quoted by her are:

Abundance: 'All I did was eating eating.'
Frequency: 'twenty twenty times.'

In the same way, examples of Lexico-semantic Reduplication expressing frequency and abundance in the researcher's data are as follows:

Abundance: 'Actually we can hear him in many many voices.'
Frequency: 'However, there have been signs that the foreign inter-fund managers are getting more and more interested in the Malaysian equity market(Also more and more experienced')

An example of Juxtaposed Reduplication from a Toastmaster's meeting which has the function of conveying a sense of intensity is as follows:

'If you had slowed down towards the end, I'm sure you would have slowed down much much better.'

There is a tendency for Malaysians to often use the expression 'much much better' in their spoken English. In addition, there is another example of Reduplication in the above sentence. This is the repetition of 'slowed down'
which can be categorized as\ Non-juxtaposed Reduplication (see "Non-juxtaposed Reduplication" in the next sub-section). Other examples in the data are:

'Give one-one item to everyone.'
'...going up and up...'
'I think it over and over.'

The first example seems to imitate the repetitive act of giving an item to each person seated in a group: 'one-one'.

The second example intensifies the 'upward' movement. The third example seems to repeat the repetitive act of thinking over something in order to possibly arrive at a decision. An utterance heard involving Juxtaposed Reduplication was:

'After the fall, my hand has been paining, paining, paining.'

The speaker wanted to emphasize the intensity and duration of the pain in his hand, after he had a fall. In the following sentence 'put' is reduplicated three times:

'When you put put put, actually it is enough. No point putting more.'

The speaker used Juxtaposed Reduplication to emphasize the repetitive act of putting.

Another example of Juxtaposed Reduplication which conveys the sense of intensity or degree was uttered by a deejay on the Mixed FM radio channel:

'Our featured song is coming up with the sexy sexy Shakira.'

Here the deejay meant that the singer Shakira is a very sexy person.
Other examples of Juxtaposed Reduplication are seen below:

'It's not about you talking talking.'
'He was a very very young man.'

In the first example, 'talking talking' means 'mere talking and not doing anything about it' while 'very very young' means 'extremely young'. As in the Singaporean English example, repetition here has the function of intensifying the meaning intended.

Finally, besides the above three functions of expressing intensity, abundance and frequency, lexico-semantic reduplication can also have a specific meaning such as in the case of 'last last' in the following sentence:

'I think it was last last Friday.' The unique feature of 'last last' was that the speaker was not expressing intensity, frequency or abundance but was actually using reduplication to mean 'two Fridays ago'.

4.2 Non-juxtaposed Reduplication

For this sub-category of Lexico-semantic Reduplication the repeated word is not juxtaposed with the first occurrence of the word but occurs in another part of the utterance or sentence. In the following section, examples of Non-juxtaposed Reduplication have been arranged in alphabetical order. The first example was the Non-juxtaposed Reduplication of 'actually' heard at a presentation at a conference:

'First, actually before zeroing in on this case, I actually went through many other cases.'

The following examples contain both Juxtaposed and Non-Juxtaposed Reduplication. The first example was uttered during an Oral English Interaction Test:

'They have to write about the little little details about the Discipline Board.'
While 'little little' is an example of a Juxtaposed Reduplication, in the same sentence, 'about' has also been subjected to Non-Juxtaposed Reduplication. In the following sentence, the speaker, who was a facilitator at a Leadership Camp organized by the Sai Baba organization, also used both types of reduplication in the same sentence:

'Make sure you write your name there also, big big also.'

The Juxtaposed Reduplication are the words 'big big' while the repetition of 'also' is an example of Non-juxtaposed Reduplication. Another example was the Non-juxtaposed Reduplication of 'against' in a group essay by undergraduates:

'Another element in fruit is phytochemical such as Hesperidens which helps against heart diseases, and ellagic acid is known to protect against cancer.'

The following sentence was heard during a panel discussion of students in class:

'After all what I heard from all of you, I would like to touch on the main issue.'

The word 'all' has been reduplicated in the above sentence. During a briefing for secondary school teachers, on the benefits of being a Toastmaster, the following comment was heard:

'Toastmasters benefits people who are at whatever level that they are at.'

In the above comment, the word 'at' has been reduplicated under Non-juxtaposed Reduplication in the above comment.

In the following sentence heard during a conference on the English language, the word 'basically' has been subjected to Non-juxtaposed Reduplication:
'Basically' what Dr. Bolitho spoke about is basically about critical thinking.'

The above sentence was heard in spoken discourse. However, the sentence below was seen in formal written discourse, namely a Business news article.

The Non-juxtaposed Reduplication this time is of the word 'both':

'Both Wembley and Ayer Malek are both penalised RM10,000 each for breaching Section 60(B) of the existing requirements.'

The following was heard during a panel discussion among students who were role-players:

'This discussion has sparked discussions, recommendations and measures from people of the public.'

The reduplication of 'discussion' here is non-native. A native speaker would have said 'further discussions'. In addition, a native writer would use 'members of the public' so 'people of the public' could be regarded as an example of Similar Expression Substitution (see 'Similar Expression Substitution'). Secondly, the word 'measures' does not collocate with 'sparked' (see 'Collocational Variation'). Another example of Non-juxtaposed Replication was seen in an entry in a student's Interactive Journal:

The entire course will be a development of this entire programme.'

During an Oral Interaction Test, an undergraduate made the following remark: 'First of all, I will talk to the students first.'

It was observed that 'first' was subjected to Non-juxtaposed Replication in this sentence.

Another example of Non-juxtaposed Replication was heard during an Oral Interaction Test: 'Hindus and Buddhists they have moral classes in school - so they avoid being influenced by negative influence such as drugs.'
At a Sai Baba meeting, the following comment containing Non-juxtaposed Reduplication of 'more' was heard:

'No more raising this any more.'

Two more examples of Non-juxtaposed Reduplication were heard at Toastmasters' meetings:

'Tonight is Chap Goh Meh's night'
'May I name out all the names or some of the names?'

The following instruction was seen in the test-paper for an Oral Test for undergraduates:

'Ignore the offence as it is their first offence, but make them return the clothes they have taken, and make a public apology to the rightful owners.'

The situation was focussed on discussing a suitable form of punishment for the theft of laundry by some students. The word 'offence' has been repeated in the above sentence, and can be categorized as Non-juxtaposed Reduplication. During a talk given by staff members on the requirements needed before a certain faculty was awarded ISO status, the following comment was made: 'If you feel this is not suitable, we will find other experts from other universities.' The first occurrence of the word 'other' seems to be redundant in the above sentence, due to the occurrence of 'other universities' in the second part of the sentence.

Yet another example of Non-juxtaposed Reduplication was seen in a group essay written by undergraduates who are in-service teachers:

'This will create an awareness for the parents about their responsibilities as a parent ...'

During a radio interview, the host made the following comment:

'As a regular people, the lay people and people of the public....'
The repetition of the word 'people' could be considered 'Non-juxtaposed Reduplication'. Another example of Non-juxtaposed Reduplication was seen in the Interactive Diary of a student:

'If the question is there, you just read where it is, find where it is and answer the question.'

Another non-native feature in the above sentence is 'find', which can be categorized under 'Variation of Reciprocals'. As pointed out in the earlier sub-section under 'Juxtaposed Reduplication', another example of Non-juxtaposed Reduplication was heard at a Toastmaster's meeting, in a sentence which also contains an example of Juxtaposed Reduplication:

'If you had slowed down towards the end, I'm sure you would slowed down much much better.'

While the repetition of 'slowed down' can be considered Non-juxtaposed Reduplication, 'much much better' is an example of Juxtaposed Reduplication. In the following sentence seen in the Interactive Journal of a student, the word 'trouble' has been subjected to Non-juxtaposed Reduplication:

'The trouble is she keeps on seeing the wrong guys and trouble arises when she goes depressed over what happened.'

In addition, the word 'goes' has also been used in a non-native way (see 'Similar Word Substitution'). Another example of Non-juxtaposed Reduplication was heard during a presentation at a conference:

'In this session the participants were asked what they understood by what "taking a break" means.'
In a student's examination script, the following sentence was seen:

'Because of the same way of learning reading, it makes me stucked in the same way of reading which puts me into bored situation.'

The repetition of the phrase 'the same way' can be considered an example of Non-juxtaposed Reduplication. In addition, there are two more examples of non-native usage in the above sentence. The first one is 'stucked' which may be considered an example of 'Derivational Variation' (see 'Derivational Variation'). The second one is 'in a bored situation' which may be considered an example of Similar Expression Substitution (see 'Similar Expression Substitution')

In the following sentence heard during a panel discussion among some undergraduates, the words 'river', 'source' and 'water' have all been repeated:

'The main objective of the campaign is to educate, create awareness and motivate civic-conscious among the people on the importance of maintaining the river clean as we know that the river is the source of water and water is the source of mankind.'

The repetitions of 'river', 'source' and 'water' in the above sentence can be categorized as examples of Non-juxtaposed Reduplication.

One possible reason for Non-juxtaposed Reduplication could be the ME speakers may have lacked the language skill of using appropriate pronouns instead of repeating the words used earlier. In any case Non-juxtaposed Reduplication seems to be a very common feature of spoken Malaysian English and the examples were uttered so quickly and naturally that they could easily have been missed. It was only after recording them down that they were recognized as Non-juxtaposed Reduplication.
4.3 Root-Sound Reduplication

The third sub-category of Lexico-semantic Reduplication is where pairs of words occur in the same sentence, both of which are different derivatives of the same root. The effect of this is the repetition of root sounds creating the 'echo' effect similar to poetic assonance or alliteration and this feature has been named 'Root-Sound Reduplication'.

The following paragraphs contain examples of this feature, arranged in alphabetical order. The first example was taken from an utterance at a Toastmasters' meeting:

'These factors have been amply amplified in the recent Club Officers' Training.'

The word 'amplified' already conveys the meaning of 'emphasizing what one has already said about an idea' (BBC English Dictionary) so 'amply' can be considered redundant when it precedes it. In addition, the assonance is in the repetition of 'a' and 'i' sounds and the alliteration is in the repetition of 'p' and 'l' sounds.

The second example was heard over a radio interview with an environmentalist:

'I think the basic thing basically we have to do is don't purchase too many things.'

In this sentence the word 'basic' already conveys the sense of 'the fundamental thing'. Hence 'basically' is a redundant Root-Sound Reduplication of the word 'basic'. The other unusual non-native feature in the above sentence is the idea of not doing something being something one has to do! A native speaker would probably have said: '...the basic thing
we should not do is to purchase too many things.'

The third example of Root-Sound Reduplication is 'birthday day' in the following sentence: 'It will be my birthday day.'

This Root-Sound Reduplication is in the repetition of the word 'day'. Perhaps the speaker wanted to emphasize that it will be the birthday itself and not any other day. Here 'birthday' refers to the concept while 'day' refers to the day itself. A native speaker would probably have considered the word 'day' as being redundant as 'birthday' already conveys the same idea. The fourth example of Root-Sound Reduplication is shown below:

'If we take careful care of the plants, it won't be a problem'

In this sentence, 'care' already has the sense of 'being careful', so 'careful' is redundant here. As 'careful' is from the root 'care', it is Root-Sound Reduplication. The fifth example of Root-Sound Reduplication was heard at an AGM of a Sai Baba organization:

'Questions and solutions must be followed by informed information.'

Once more, there seems to be redundancy in the Root-Sound Reduplication. The speaker probably meant 'Questions and solutions must be based on information, and not followed by informed information'. The sixth example was heard during a Toastmasters' meeting:

'Her ideas are just flowing in into her.'

The seventh example was seen in the Interactive Journal of a student:

'Actually, before my sister gave me a visit, I was in a moody mood because I am still in a homesick situation.'

The above sentence contains 'moody mood', which can be considered
an example of 'Root-Sound Reduplication'('moody mood'). A native speaker would say, 'bad mood' and not 'moody mood'. In addition, the word 'gave' has been used non-natively in the above sentence. Under 'Collocational Variation' it will be pointed out that from the native viewpoint, 'gave' does not collocate with 'visit'. A native speaker would have said 'me a visit'. The sentence also contains a Redundant Expression, namely 'still in a homesick situation'(see 'Redundant Expression').

The eighth example of 'Root-Sound Reduplication' was heard during a Toastmaster's meeting:

'The noise level which they describe as noisy.'

In the sentence above, the word 'noisy' already means at a high noise level, so 'noise level' is redundant here.

The ninth example was heard during a Toastmaster's evaluation speech contest:

'You can notice that she displayed very good posture position.'

The juxtaposition of 'posture' and 'position' could also be considered an example of 'Root-Sound Reduplication'. This can also be categorized under 'Redundant Synonyms' (see 'Redundant Synonyms').

The tenth example of Root-Sound Reduplication was heard at a conference on Language and Empowerment:

'Perhaps there are factories producing products.'

In the above sentence the words 'producing' and 'products' are derivatives of the same root 'produce'. In the eleventh example shown in the sentence
below, the speaker, uses 'Root-Sound Reduplication' in 'Ready, already?' and 'Juxtaposed Reduplication' in 'Come, come, come!':

'Ready already? Come, come, come!

The existence of sentences such as the one above illustrates the fact that Malaysian speakers sometimes use both types of Lexico-semantic Reduplication one after the other even without realizing what they are doing!

At a leadership seminar organized by the Sai Baba organization, the following sentence was heard at a presentation of group logos:

'This symbol symbolizes the universe.'

This seems to be the twelfth example of Root-Sound Reduplication. A native speaker would probably have said, 'This symbolizes the world.' The thirteenth example recorded at a Toastmasters' meeting, shows the presence of 'Root-Sound Reduplication' in the repetition of the root 'time':

'Can I invite our first-time timer.'

The 'timer' who is a role-player who keeps track of the time taken by each speaker, was doing his role for the first time. The 'Toastmaster of the Evening', invited him to explain his role to the members present and inadvertently used 'Root-Sound Reduplication' when addressing him.

The fourteenth example was heard during another Toastmaster's meeting:

'You know them at the tips of your fingertips.'

A native speaker would have said: 'You have them at your fingertips.'

The fifteenth example of Root-Sound Reduplication was uttered by a student at a class presentation:
"I think that the usage of coloured chalk is very useful and effective in teaching English words."

The word 'usage' here means 'the degree to which something is used or the way in which it is used' (BBC English Dictionary) and the word 'effective' is sufficient to describe 'usage'. From the native viewpoint, there is no need for the synonym 'useful' to be used as well. Besides being a Redundant Synonym, 'useful' is also a derivative of 'use', just as 'usage' is thus rendering this an example of Root-Sound Reduplication.

The sixteenth example of Root-Sound Reduplication is 'a young youth'. This is due to the fact that 'young' and 'youth' are from the same root and convey the same sense.

These sixteen examples of Root-Sound Reduplication are sufficient proof that this sub-category of Lexico-semantic Reduplication is common in colloquial Malaysian English. They indeed justify the creation of this new sub-category.

4.4 Lexical 'Double Effects'

Basically 'Juxtaposed Reduplication' and 'Non-juxtaposed Reduplication' involves the repetition of words while 'Root-Sound Reduplication' concerns the repetition of sounds, namely vowel and consonant sounds.

Another type of Lexico-semantic Reduplication which involves the repetition of consonant or vowel sounds is what the present researcher has termed Lexical 'Double Effects', which involves repetition of sounds or other features. One type is the use of numerals one after the other, often starting with the same syllable. This is shown in the following sentences heard in informal conversations:
"One-two hairs will always escape my attention."
"Ten-twelve years it will pass by."
"I was there for four-five years."
"We have just started our term about two-three months ago."

The first utterance was made by a person who was dyeing another person's hair. In the second, third and fourth examples, the speakers may not have wanted to commit themselves by using exact figures. They may have used the 'Double Effects' to indicate a sense of approximation or as Malaysian speakers like to say - 'something like that'.

Another type of Lexical 'Double Effects' occurs when pairs of words are used with similar sounds or syllables as shown in the sentences below:

'Please wonder and ponder on this area.'
'This is to enable students to plan and practise before the competition.'
'This precious moment is also solely for oneself only.'
'each and everyone'

The last two examples have also been categorized under 'Redundant Synonyms'(see 'Redundant Synonyms').

In native usage the figurative expression 'here and there' means 'in various places'. However, in a comment made by my husband while talking on his hand-phone the expression was extended to 'there and here' as well:
'Now I realize these fellows are giving here and there and there and here.'

This non-native adaptation of 'here and there' has the effect of 'Lexical Double Effects' with a difference – there is a reduplication of the sound effects of 'here and there' in the non-native 'here and there and there and here'.

Lastly, the following sentence heard during a panel discussion by students, contains Non-juxtaposed Replication as well as Lexical Double Effects:
'We believe, through played serious campaign and roles played by all parties concerned, the public in general are now well-informed of the responsibilities and role they have to play in creating a clean, smooth-flowing and crystal clear river that they can inherit to their children.'

'Played' is reduplicated in the earlier part of the sentence, and its present tense form 'play' is also used in the later part thus creating Non-juxtaposed Reduplication. In addition, there seems to be a repetition of the 'r' sound in 'responsibilities' and 'role' as well as the 'cl' sound in 'clean' and 'clear', and the 'cr' sound in 'creating' and 'crystal'. All these create the effect of Lexical Double Effects.

The word 'inherit' is also non-native in this sentence, and has been identified as an example of 'Variation of Reciprocal' (see 'Variation of Reciprocals').

4.5 The Reasons for Lexico-semantic Reduplication

One possible reason for the usage of Lexico-semantic Reduplication could be lack of language proficiency as the ME speakers whose data was collected for this study may have lacked the language skill of using appropriate pronoun reference and thus may have resorted to repeating the words used earlier. This could be the case with Non-juxtaposed Reduplication.

However, in the case of Juxtaposed Reduplication, the ME speakers could have come under the influence of mothertongue influence of the other Malaysian languages such as Bahasa Malaysia and Cantonese in which reduplication is commonplace. In fact, according to Asmah(2001), in Bahasa and other Austronesian languages reduplication has the grammatical function of creating plurality.
She gives the example of 'orang-orang', whereby 'orang' means 'person' and 'orang-orang' means 'people' (Asmah, 2001). Certain lexical items such as 'rama-rama' and 'kupu-kupu' also reflect reduplication. Likewise, Pandharipande (1987) observed that reduplication in Indian English may be due to the influence of Hindi or other Indian languages.

What lexico-semantic functions does Reduplication have? As mentioned earlier, researchers have indicated the three functions of Lexico-semantic Reduplication in the New Englishes which will be described in the next section.

4.5.1 A Sense of Intensity

Pandharipande (1987) gave the example of 'hot hot coffee' in Indian English, as meaning 'very hot coffee.' In Malaysian English there are a few examples of Juxtaposed Reduplication which convey the same sense. For example, 'very very' in the following sentence also conveys a sense of intensity: 'He was a very very young man.'

In the following sentence 'much much' conveys the same sense of intensity:

'If you had slowed down towards the end, I'm sure you would have slowed down much much better.'

Other examples are shown in bold in the following sentences while the functions are shown in brackets:

'Make sure you write your name there also, big big also. (very large words)'

'Lastly someone who is seated far far left on my side.' (very much to my left)

'After the fall, my hand has been paining, paining, paining.' (a sense of being in great pain for a long time)
'Our featured song is coming up with the sexy sexy Shakira.'
(very sexy person)

The above examples further confirm the observations of the earlier Asian and African researchers that a sense of intensity may be a common reason for using Reduplication, although in the researcher's opinion, it is confined to only Juxtaposed Reduplication.

4.5.2 A Sense of Abundance

Platt and Weber (1980) gave 'F F F' and 'beehive beehive' as examples of non-native repetition creating a sense of abundance in Singapore English. The first one creates a sense of large numbers of red marks all over the report card and the second one the sense of numerous holes scattered over the honeycomb.

In the corpus of this study, there are examples of both Juxtaposed and Non-juxtaposed Reduplication which convey the sense of abundance. In the following sentence 'grow and grow' gives the sense of abundance of 'becoming larger and larger':

'Why are you giving rooms for the problem to grow and grow?'

In the following sentence 'entire' is an example of Non-juxtaposed Reduplication which conveys a sense of abundance:

'The entire course will be a development of this entire programme.'

In the following sentence, the repetition of 'little little' creates a sense of the abundance of 'little details':

'They have to write little little details about the Discipline Board.'
4.5.3 A Sense of Frequency

Pandharipande (1987) gives 'find find find' in Singaporean as an example of a sense of frequency. It conveys the sense of the numerous attempts of the person looking for something in various places. In the present study, a sense of frequency or repetition is conveyed in the Juxtaposed Reduplication in the following ME sentences:

'When you put put put, actually it is enough. No point putting more.'
'I think it over and over.'
'By and large, I have to be ready to complete assignments after assignments.'

4.5.4 Another Possible Function

Occasionally, Juxtaposed Reduplication may have another function besides that of expressing intensity, abundance and frequency, as seen in the following sentence:

'I think it was last last Friday.'
The meaning of 'last last Friday' here is 'two Fridays ago.'

4.6 Summary of Lexico-semantic Reduplication

In this study, the term 'Lexico-semantic Reduplication' is a combination of terms used by earlier researchers, namely 'Reduplication'. Adegjiba (1987) and Anthonysamy (1997) used the term 'Lexico-semantic Duplication' while Pandharipande (1987) used the term 'Reduplication'. In this study the term used is 'Lexico-semantic Reduplication'.

The present researcher has gone further than the earlier researchers by refining this category into four sub-categories, namely 'Juxtaposed Reduplication', 'Non-juxtaposed Reduplication', 'Root-Sound Reduplication'
and 'Lexical Double Effects' due to the large amount of data collected under this category. Basically 'Juxtaposed Reduplication' concerns the repetition of words which are next to each other, while in the second sub-category 'Non-juxtaposed Reduplication', the words are located in different parts of the same sentence. In the case of the third sub-category 'Root-Sound Reduplication', the pairs of words are not identical, but have similar roots. They are different derivatives of the same root, such as 'amply amplified'.

The similar features create an 'echo' sound thus justifying the term 'Root-Sound Reduplication'. The fourth sub-category, 'Lexical Double Effects' also involves the repetition of certain sounds such as the first sounds of double numerals which also create an 'echo' effect of poetic assonance or alliteration.

The occurrence of four new sub-categories point to the fact that Lexico-semantic Reduplication is a more important feature of Malaysian English than what has been indicated by earlier researchers. In addition, while earlier researchers such as Adegiiba(1989) and Anthonysamy(1997) have categorized Lexical Reduplication as a sub-category of Lexico-semantic Redundancy, the present researcher has categorized it as a main category by itself.

Reduplication seems to be a common process among Malaysian English speakers and writers and the process itself seems to be a very creative one, often resulting in different sub-categories of Lexico-semantic Reduplication occurring within the same sentence. This tendency can be exemplified in the last sentence categorized under 'Lexical Double Effects'. Like their
counterparts in the other groups of non-native English speakers, ME users utilize Lexico-semantic Reduplication for the same three purposes - for conveying the sense of intensity, abundance and frequency. The breakdown in the numbers of non-native lexis under each of the four sub-categories is shown in Table 4.1 below:

Table 4.1

Sub-categories of Lexico-semantic Reduplication

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-categories</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>percentages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Juxtaposed Reduplication</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-juxtaposed Reduplication</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Root-Sound Reduplication</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexical Double Effects</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total No. of Non-Native Lexis</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While all the examples of Lexico-semantic Reduplication in the corpus of previous researchers such as Anthony (1997) appeared to be only those of Juxtaposed Reduplication, in the present researcher's corpus, this sub-category only consists of 15 out of 71 or 21% of the total number of non-native lexis under Lexico-semantic Reduplication.

From Table 4.1 it can be seen that the largest sub-category appears to be Non-juxtaposed Reduplication, as it consists of 29 out of 71, or 41% of the total number of non-native lexis in this category. Prior to this study, this sub-category has not been explicitly identified.

If the researcher's samples are representative of the pattern of usage of
Lexico-semantic Reduplication among ME users, it can be assumed that ME users are twice as likely to use Non-juxtaposed Reduplication than Juxtaposed Reduplication. In fact, they are also more likely to use Root-Sound Reduplication than Juxtaposed Reduplication, as the latter sub-category consists of only 21% of the data under this category, while the former consists of 23%.

Reduplication seems to be a common process among Malaysian English speakers and writers and the process itself seems to be a very creative one, often resulting in different sub-categories of Lexico-semantic Reduplication occurring within the same sentence. Like their counterparts in the other Commonwealth nations, ME users utilize Lexico-semantic Reduplication for the same three purposes - for conveying the sense of intensity, abundance and frequency. The creation of four new sub-categories points to the fact that repetition or Lexico-semantic Reduplication is a more important feature of Malaysian English than what has been indicated by earlier researchers such as Platt and Weber (1980) and Anthonysamy (1997).