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Grammatical Functions of the Non-auxiliary *Can* in Singapore English Texting

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1. Introduction

Colloquial Singapore English (CSE)¹ or *Singlish* has been extensively studied and discussed in the past decades for its features that distinguish it from other standard varieties of English. As a contact variety, CSE shows non-standard features of English and a strong influence from substrate languages. Some lexical and grammatical uses of CSE have also been the subject of much research, such as the function of discourse particles (Gupta 1992) or the different functions of CSE *must* (Bao 2009). Much research has also taken into account the comparison of characteristics between informal spoken form and virtual communication with the support of electronic devices (Sand 2013, Ong 2017, Rajah-Carrim 2009)

This paper focuses on the non-auxiliary functions of the word *can* in CSE by analysing data from a live SMS corpus. Much research has already been done on CSE; Alsagoff & Ho present a grammatical system of CSE with its own rules (2012). By looking at some socio-cultural phenomena, the idiomatic use of modal verbs, Hackert et al. (2013) shows evidence that varieties of spoken English such as CSE, Trinidadian or Jamaican English show greater variability than native English varieties in the use of modals such as *can/could*. Little research has been carried out on the particular function of CSE *can*, such as Hiramoto (2012) has highlighted the two functions of CSE *can* in sentence-final position as a pseudo-tag question marker and a discourse marker. Nonetheless, the word *can* is also found in medial position, or it stands alone as an affirmative response, which clearly shows non-auxiliary functions as in the following example taken from the SMS corpus:

(1) should be *can*.. provided i get up on time..heehee..

(2)

Let's meet anytime.

Can, im stayin at j.E st24 blk244

Due to the dynamics of linguistic contact between English and local languages spoken long before English, the modal verb *can* has independent grammatical features from Standard English, which does not only hold the modal function. The further usage is illustrated in the following example from the SMS Corpus:

(3)

Monday *can*. Tuesday should be *can*. Wednesday *can oso*. Saturday *can anot*?

Can.²

1 Some scholars prefer the term Singapore Colloquial English (Gupta 1992) while many other prefer Colloquial Singapore English (Hiramoto 2012, Leimgruber 2016, Alsagoff & Ho 1998). To avoid confusing, the latter case will be used hereafter.

2 This is an example from a Malaysian speaker who explained me how he uses the CSE *can*

Thus, the meaning varies depending on its position: standalone, in the position for verbs, medial and final-sentenced position. It is necessary to examine the pragmatic roles of *can* according to its position in the sentence. This paper aims to discover the function of the non-auxiliary element *can* in CSE by analysing the divergent usage patterns found in sentences from the SMS corpus provided by the Department of Computer Science at the National University of Singapore. The purpose of this research is to find answers to the following questions: Does CSE *can* have independent grammatical features in comparison to Standard English³? What functions besides an auxiliary verb can be found in the corpus?

The rest of the paper is organised as follows: In the second section, the linguistic situation in Singapore, the function of the modal verb in Standard English and CSE, as well as the influence of the substrate languages will be investigated in order to distinguish between the elements *can* as a modal auxiliary verb and the non-auxiliary element in the data. The third section will present the data analysis methodology and the analysis's constraints. The analysis result will be presented in the next section, followed by a discussion and an attempt to classify the function of the non-verbal element *can*.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Linguistics situation in Singapore

Colloquial Singapore English (CSE) is a vernacular form of English used in Singapore that mirrors a rich multicultural background with different local languages in Singapore, such as Cantonese, Hokkien, Mandarin, Malay and Tamil. The complex language situation results from ethnic, socioeconomic and educational factors from the past and the present. According to Platt, even though English was used quite early in the colonisation, the main varieties remained Chinese dialects such as Hokkien, Cantonese, Teochew, Hakka and Hainanese, Indian languages such as Dravidian and Indo-Aryan and Malay. Bazaar Malay was the main lingua franca for inter-ethnic communication instead of Pidgin English⁴ (1975: 364). Singapore English was first popular among the upper class, and many children from wealthy families attended English spoken Government schools where they were trained in English. After independence, unlike other Southeast Asian countries that sought a national language in the post-colonial period, Singapore intentionally advocated a bilingual system, which allows Singaporeans to retain their mother tongue alongside English (Tan 2020: 154). Consequently, English has become Singaporean citizens' first or second language.

3 By saying Standard English, I prefer to standard varieties of English such as British English, American English and Australian English which are classified in the *Inner Circle* according to Kachru

4 The name of Singapore English at that moment

CSE is a particular case compared to other varieties of language contact. Platt has argued that Singapore English did not develop from a pidgin because some characteristics of the languages of different ethnic groups were transferred to the English acquired by schoolchildren in primary and secondary schools (1975: 367). CSE differs from a pidgin such as Bazaar Malay or local Pidgin English since Singapore English does not drastically reduce in lexicon or syntax. He also explains that Singaporean English is a variety that has developed a continuum from a basilect, barely comprehensible to speakers of British, American or Australian English, to an acrolect whose status is the most prestigious of all varieties in Singapore English. (Platt 1975:363). Standard Singapore English is a variety of English that closely resembles standard British English, while non-standard Singapore English is a variety that differs from Standard British English (Alsagoff & Ho 1998: 127).

CSE is often seen as a Singaporean identity even though the government attempts to suppress it. The language is constantly considered ‘bad’, ‘corrupt’, or ‘broken’ and discouraged by the government through the *Speak Good English Movement*. This led to the fact that Singaporeans are often confused about whether to view CSE as a cultural treasure or a national embarrassment (Wang 2020:100). Alsagoff & Ho defend that such a definition of broken language also reflects social inequality where British English still holds a superior place (1998: 128). Nevertheless, Singaporean speakers have hardly any negative attitude towards CSE even though the language is still believed to be broken English. Most Singaporeans deem it ‘heart-warming’ or ‘familiar’ when they hear CSE (Wang 2020: 106). Tan defines CSE as “a language that comes from the people, a language in which the nation speaks, and a language that can speak for the nation” (2020: 168).

2.2. The modal verb *can* in CSE

Modality is one of the most complicated linguistic categories of meaning concerned with the expression of necessity and possibility. From this category, *can* and *could* are the most common modal forms used in Standard English (Leech et al. cited in Hackert et al. 2013). The following is the definition of *can* in standard English from the Oxford Learning Dictionary:

can, modal verb.

- A. used to say that it is possible for someone or something to do something or for something to happen
- B. used to show that someone is allowed to do something
- C. used to say that someone knows how to do something
- D. used to say what somebody/something is often like

In Standard English, modal auxiliaries in general and *can* in particular have distinctive grammatical properties compared to lexical verbs. Huddleston has formulated three distinctive points: The modal verbs have only tensed forms and cannot occur in the position of a non-tensed form. Unlike lexical verbs, they do not have different present tense forms to agree with a different subject, which means there is no distinction in the form for the first and the third person singular. As an auxiliary verb, they can appear at the position of the first verb in an unreal conditional construction (1984: 129)

There are similarities and differences in using modal auxiliary *can* between Standard English and CSE. The modal auxiliary *can* carries different meanings, which occur in both CSE and standard English under three major types: *Epistemic* (necessary and possibility), *Deontic* (require and permission) and *Dynamic* (Huddleston 1984: 170). Hackert et al. (2013) report a much higher frequency of the modal *can* used in the expression of ability, followed by possibility and a lesser frequency in the expression of permission. The CSE *can* is used predominantly in relation to the modal verb *could* with a ratio of 8.8:1, whereas this ratio is relatively lower in standard British English with 2.4:1.

These semantic functions above prove that CSE has undergone an alteration due to language contact. Hiramoto argues that speakers of the CSE substrate languages quickly adopted the modal auxiliary function in their English use since such modality also exists in substrate languages such as Cantonese, Hokkien, Bazaar Malay and Baba Malay (Hiramoto 2012: 894). In other words, it is possible to find words in these languages that correspond to standard English *can* and, as a result, speakers are likely to adopt the features that exist in the substrate languages in their use of English.

3. Methodology

The primary data used in this paper comes from a corpus of SMS messages collected for research purposes at the Faculty of Computer Science, National University of Singapore (Chen & Kan 2015). Initiated in 2004, the project was relaunched in 2010 as a live corpus for SMS in English and Mandarin Chinese in order to keep pace with technology. The number of entries increases as the collection progresses. The 2012 version was considered the largest live corpus of English and Mandarin SMS in the public domain (Chen & Kan 2012: 302). More than 71,000 SMS messages (55835 in English and 15165 in Mandarin Chinese) were registered in the corpus by 9 March 2015.

This corpus is chosen for its close correspondence with the type of dataset desired for analysis. There is ample evidence that computer-mediated communication (CMC) promotes the use of non-standard varieties of writing (Sand 2013; Androutsopoulos 2006; Hinrichs 2006). Rajah-

Carrim emphasises the consistent use of Mauritian Creole in text messaging and emails, arguing that CMC also provides opportunities to write non-standard languages, which are often limited to the spoken domain (2009: 505). Androutsopoulos states that “the CMC provides a new empirical arena for various research traditions in sociolinguistics” (2006: 423). Migge (2020) used the YouTube show - *Radio Wie Loetoe* - as an example of how Eastern Maroon varieties are an important unifying medium for communication. Encouraged by these findings, the live SMS corpus is chosen in the hope of shedding light on the use of CSE in writing.

The live SMS corpus consists of rich spoken, informal data of CSE that have not been influenced by any research purposes. The contributors come from different backgrounds, ages, and other geographical locations. This method of data collection, which is not limited to texting on specific topics, allows for a diversification of content. Thus, the data reveals informal private conversations and presents insight into people’s current social concerns and how CSE is used in CMC. The entries are mainly from Singaporeans and mainly from university students who volunteered and understood that their contributions would be disclosed to the public. It is important to note that there are 23 different countries of origin of the contributors, of which 62.5% are SMS from Singapore, 19.6% from India and 9.9% from the US (Chen & Kan 2012: 311). In addition, only 67.4% of the contributors from Singapore are native English speakers. For this research on Singaporean English, only entries written in English by Singaporeans who are English native and non-native speakers will be taken into account.

As a first step, all sentences that contained the word *can* in the live SMS corpus and met the requirements - written in English and originating from Singaporean speakers - were collected to form a dataset for analysis. Manual sorting was applied in order to filter irrelevant entries such as the wrong orthography, abbreviation and homographic word *can* with the meaning ‘metal container’. The research was also adapted to include some features of informal texting, such as the omission of apostrophes so that *can’t* becomes *cant*. All negative and past forms of *can* were included, such as *cannot*, *can’t*, *cant*, *could not*, *couldn’t* and *couldn’t*. Additionally, the identical entries were listed as ‘repeating’ and removed from the data. In a second step, the sentences containing *can* were divided into two main groups according to their grammatical functions: auxiliary and non-auxiliary. Like other auxiliary verbs, modal verbs can be located in the first position in the verbal phrase (1a). This also means that they are systematically located to the left of another verbal element and/or negative adverbs and other preverbal adverbs (Language Centre, University of Cambridge n.d.). It is important to notice the auxiliary verb in the yes-no question can be used as a respond (1b). On the contrary, the non-auxiliary *can* is the

verb whose positions are different from those of the auxiliary verb (1c) and their entries were noted for later analysis.

(1a) Hey we *can* go jazz power yoga hip hop kb and yogasana

(1b) Yes, I *can*.

(1c) Ok la.. March *also can* ...

The lack of punctuation in text messages was one of the drawbacks of using this live SMS corpus. Since SMS contributors often do not follow punctuation rules, it is not always possible to determine each element's position and grammatical function in a sentence. In other words, a sentence may end without a full stop; a question may not require a question mark.

4. Result

4.1. General finding

Among the 55,835 SMS messages written in English, only 36081 messages were sent by Singaporean contributors, from which a dataset of 1121 tokens containing the word *can* was established. An overview of the frequency of auxiliary and non-auxiliary features of *can* in the live SMS corpus is given in Table 1. The result reveals that the element *can* is used predominantly as a modal auxiliary verb. A total of 167 entries were found with the non-auxiliary function, which represents about 15% of the corpus. Only 17 entries with *could* were in the auxiliary position, and none were used as non-auxiliary. This result is in line with a previous study by Hackert et al. (2003), which has stated that Asian English speakers prefer the non-past modal *can* over the past modal *could*. In other words, the modal verb *can* as a non-modal auxiliary element appears only in the infinitive form in the dataset.

Table 1. Frequencies of auxiliary and non-auxiliary *can*.

Function	Auxiliary		Non-auxiliary		Total
	Entries	Percentage	Entries	Percentage	
<i>can</i>	937	85	167	15	1104
<i>could</i>	17	100	0	0	17

The non-auxiliary element *can* occurred in three positions: stand-alone, medial or final-sentenced as seen in Table 2. The majority with 67 tokens was found where *can* appeared alone as an independent sentence, followed by 51 tokens where *can* appeared in a final-sentenced position and in two different sentence types: declarative and interrogative as in examples (3a)

and (3b). Among the 49 tokens where *can* was in medial position, only four were found with a copula (4a), while 45 tokens appeared without subject or copula (4b).

Table 2. *Position of non-auxiliary can*

Position	Alone		Medial		Final-sentence position	
	Token	%	Token	%	Token	%
	67	40	49	29	51	31

(3a) Or ü go buy wif him then i meet ü later *can*?

(3b) Ok... I tell u later *can*...

(4a) Thk *shld b can*... Ya, i wana go 4 lessons... Haha, can go for one whole stretch...

(4b) afternoon or nite *also can*...

Apart from the auxiliary and non-auxiliary categories, the result conveys several functions of CSE *can* that are highly interactional and pragmatic. As seen in Table 3, five functions of non-auxiliary *can* elements are proposed according to their position and the type of sentences: Affirmative answer, Question tag, Verb, Discourse marker, Part of serial verb. The complete list of entries containing non-auxiliary *can* with their function and position can be found in the Appendix of this paper.

Table 3. *Functions of non-auxiliary can and their positions.*

Position	Affirmative answer	Question tag	Verb	Discourse marker	Part of serial verb
Alone	60	7	0	0	0
Final-sentenced	0	42	0	9	0
Medial	0	0	45	0	4
Total	60	49	45	9	4

4.2. Affirmative answer

One feature that marks the distinction in the use of *can* between Standard English and CSE is its function as an affirmative response. The auxiliary verb such as *can* is used to express modality and must be attached to a main verb in a sentence. Hiramoto states that *can* is mainly used as a modal verb to express epistemic, deontic and ability meanings in Standard English (2012: 892). However, the data shows a significant number of entries with stand-alone *can* as

an affirmative response, which conveys the idea of confirmation, agreement or acceptance as in the example (5). The result shows that the negation form of *can* is also used alone as a negative response (6). In other words, the elements *can* and *cannot* replaces other common affirmative and negative responses such as *yes* and *no*.

(5)

A: Ü wait 4 me in sch i finish ard 5..

B: Ok *can*...

(6) *cannot*! I got to go for tuition... You go lar... I meet you after that?

Furthermore, it is possible to combine *can* with the other constituents using the following pattern: **can + discourse particle**. In this way, *can* is evidently a motivated constituent that can be combined with discourse particles to convey different attitudes and emotions. Like the first affirmative response function, this combination with discourse particles is autonomous and represents a particular meaning depending on the discourse particles. These particles, together with CSE *can*, express the emotions or attitudes of the speakers in the discourse and help to reinforce confirmation or negation to the listener in order to make a specific relevant assumption or perform the desired action. Some examples from the live SMS corpus are taken to illustrate the point:

(7)

a. *Can la* of cos...

b. m okay wif dat, as long u want me *can liao*...

c. Hmmm... *Can lor*... So i cya there...

Although discourse particles have been discussed widely, there is still no agreement on the number of particles. In this context, the question of how many different particles the CSE *can* combines and whether they convey distinct meanings is unclear and requires further research.

4.3. Question tag

Another consistent pattern in the data is interrogative functions in tag questions. In Standard English, it is not unusual to add an interrogative element to a declarative or imperative clause to create an interrogative construction. A tag question is also commonly used to query the addressee for confirmation or denial of a statement. Furthermore, the structure of tag questions in Standard English is often variable depending on the subject and auxiliaries in the clause (Alsagoff & Ho 1998: 150). In Table 3, forty-nine interrogative sentences were found, in seven of which the *can* element stood alone, while forty-two tokens were found in which *can* occupied the final position of the sentence (8). Similar to the case of the tag marker *is it* mentioned by

Alsagoff & Ho (1998), the question tag *can* is likely consistent and does not need to be attached in a clause if the context is retrievable like in the example (9)

(8)

tml eat lunch together? arts canteen? ard 1230 *can*?

pls dun disturb me *can anot*?

(9)

Its gotta be canvas or cloth.Cuz its 4 golf.*Can*?

Furthermore, *can anot* question found in the data is an alternative question-tag marker, which denotes a demand for the addressee's approval or opinion on the possibility of what is being asked (Alsagoff & Ho 1998: 150). Hiramoto has proposed that the original use of the pseudo-tag question marker⁵ *can* is initiated by the structure *can or not*, as they can be used interchangeably without a dynamic shift in meaning (2012: 896). What should be noticed is that the question tag *can anot* is only associated with meaning of permission, deontic and ability. Thus, they can be attached only to utterances that convey the actions but not information as in following example: **The movie was boring, can/can or not?*⁶

4.4. Lexical Verb

One other function of *can* that distinguishes CSE from the Standard English is its use as a non-auxiliary verb. As mentioned above, the modal auxiliary verb cannot be used independently and must be attached to a non-finite verb. Nevertheless, forty-four tokens were found where the element *can* occupied the verb position in a sentence without any non-finite verb. The following examples illustrate the function of *can* in sentences:

(10)

Ü say until like dat i dun buy [.] ericsson *oso cannot oredi* lar...

When? Today *cant leh*...

Hmmm... On mon *can*... Cos my other fren oso comin to my hse on mon... Gee...

While pointing out some limitations of the comparative approach in studies of CSE syntax, Alsagoff & Ho have highlighted two main features that affect the structure of CSE: the zero constituent and the subject-comment construction (1998: 222). CSE is categorised as a pro-drop language, whose omission of constituents can be explained by the possibility of retrieving information from context. Zero topics occur relatively more often than zero objects because new information which often cannot be extracted from the context is embedded in the object

⁵ The name originates from research of Hiramoto (2012)

⁶ This example is taken from Hiramoto (2012: 896)

(Sand 2013). In addition, topic-comment construction or topicalised sentence structure has a great impact on the word order in CSE. In many cases, the structure SVO is preferably replaced by the structure OVS with zero-subject if the context is retrievable like in the following example:

(11)

When? Today *cant* leh...

‘When? Today (I) *can* ’t (come)’

4.5. Discourse marker

The presence of nine entries containing the word *can* in sentence-final position indicates that *can* also appears as a discourse particle. None of the entries with *can* in sentence final position were found combined with other discourse particles, which guarantees that *can* is a discourse particle since CSE discourse particles do not usually form serial constructions (Hiramoto 2012:898). Among discourse particles in CSE, the pragmatic functions of *lah*, *lor*, *leh*, *wat*, *hor*, *meh* and *mah* have been widely discussed. Scholars seem to agree on certain properties of discourse particles in CSE, such as sentence-final position and monosyllabic character, having certain pragmatic functions, associating with spoken language, conveying speaker’s attitude and expressing emotions to contribute to coherence (Gupta 1992, Leimgruber 2016, Hiramoto 2012). Although most discourse particles are borrowed mainly from South Chinese varieties such as Hokkien, Teochew and Cantonese, many particles are also derived from English, such as *one*, *already*, and *what* (Gupta 1992), *know*, *ya* (Wee 2010). In addition, Gupta proposes a scale of three main groups of pragmatic particles: the maximal assertive contradictory group, the assertive group and the minimal assertive provisional group (1992: 37). From this scale, Hiramoto suggests that *can* is possible as a discourse particle that convey the level of assertiveness since it is used to express a firm attitude and to convey a similar meaning ‘I want you to accept that my assertion is true’ (2012: 898). In the following examples, it is clear that there is the possibility of removing *can* from the sentence (12a); however, the sentence with *can* (12b) conveys a different attitude towards the content and towards the listener.

(12)

a. Hey meet me at law fac about 5

b. Hey meet me at law fac about 5 *can*

‘Hey I want you to accept to meet me at 5’

4.6. Serial verbs

The least common use of non-auxiliary *can* found in the data is the use as a part of a serial verb. The result unexpectedly shows a coherent pattern with only four tokens of *can* in the post-verbal position. In the following example (13), a verb phrase contains more than three verbs:

(13)

Thk shld b *can*...

‘Thanks, should be *can*...’

The serial verbal construction (SVC) is a complex predicate containing two or more verbs within a single clause. Such a typical feature can be found in many contact varieties including the Kwa language in West Africa and the Atlantic and Pacific Creole languages (Adone 2012: 144). This feature is likely derived from the substrate languages. According to Lefebvre, the concatenation structure is only found in Creoles, whose substrates have this construction (2011: 20). Li suggests the possibility that CSE speakers have applied the Chinese SVCs with English structures to extend the range of verbs, tenses and aspects (2015: 15). The post-verbal modal element indicating modal meanings such as permission and ability is found in both Cantonese and Hakka⁷ (Cheng & Sibesma 2004: 443). More research is needed to investigate whether other substrate languages also have an influence on the formation of SVC.

5. Conclusion

The results drawing from live SMS Corpus documented the existence of non-auxiliary functions of CSE *can*. Apart from its sole function as a modal auxiliary to mark *epistemic*, *deontic*, and *ability* meanings in standard varieties of English, the data shows a parallel use of *can* as a non-auxiliary element comprising 15% of the entries. Depending on its position in the sentence, five different functions of the non-auxiliary *can* that emerge from the present study are (1) Affirmative response, (2) Question tag, (3) Discourse Particle, (4) Lexical verb and (5) Part of serial verb. When standing alone, CSE *can* carries the function as a response for the non-wh question, and it is possible to combine with discourse particles. At the medial position, CSE *can* function as a lexical verb, which does not require another verb, or as a part of a serial verb. At the final-sentence position, CSE *can* function as a discourse particle or pseudo-tag marker in the tag question.

The findings show a subtle systematic change in grammatical usage of *can* in informal spoken communication. Substrate languages have certain influences on the non-auxiliary function of *can* in CSE, as some features exist in certain contact varieties only when the structure exists in

⁷ The variety of Hakka discussed is Hailu Hakka, which is spoken in Taiwan. Without knowledge of the language, I cannot confirm whether the post-verbal modal element *can* behaves similarly in the Hakka spoken in Singapore.

substrate languages. The difference in the use between Standard English and CSE should not be regarded simply as texting typos or a threat to proper grammar use. In this case, the features of contact varieties, CSE, should be considered a national identity marker. Following up on studies of contact varieties, this paper has also provided evidence that CMC promotes CSE in written usage, especially among the young generation. The sociolinguistic situation in Singapore creates the necessary condition for solid substrate influences, in which the non-auxiliary functions of *can* is a significant example. The analysis demonstrates the use of CSE in daily communication and the development of written colloquial language. CMC data is closely a suitable type of data to analyse the characteristics of contact varieties of written forms for future research.

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Appendix

Sentence	Position	Type
Can a not?	Alone	Interrogation
I prefer my free days... Tues, wed, fri oso can...	Medial	Lexical Verb
Juz now havent woke up so a bit blur blur... Can?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
Ok can...	Alone	Affirmative
Can. Dunno wat to get 4 her...	Alone	Affirmative
Or ü go buy wif him then i meet ü later can?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
Nothing. Can...	Alone	Affirmative
Can also but lunch will only b ready at 1 smth 2... U hungry?	Alone	Affirmative
Can... Best is u eat until fat fat, haha...	Alone	Affirmative
m okay wif dat, as long u want me can liao...	Alone	Affirmative
Aiyah actually if u all say earlier then i go out earlier can liao..	Alone	Affirmative
But got tell can already.	Alone	Affirmative
Yupz... Can...	Alone	Affirmative
Yupz... Can... So when u reach liao den give me a call to pick u...	Alone	Affirmative
m not goin liao... Meet on mon can? Anyway, happy bdae!	Final-sentence	Interrogation
Yupz... Okie, can...	Alone	Affirmative
Oh okie la... Oso can... So c u all at 11 den...will joan joan b comin?	Alone	Affirmative
Oh ya... 5 plus get can?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
Can la of cos...	Alone	Affirmative
Huh... Cant, oh die liao... Thgt can... Haiz, resign to my fate.	Alone	Affirmative
Cant lor... Today bz... U wana go town 4 wat...	Alone	Affirmative
Mayb e following sat perhaps. Actually wkdays oso can lor, 4 dinner...	Medial	Lexical Verb
Hmmm... Can watch wu jian dao... Others oso can la, c which ur prefer...	Medial	Lexical Verb
Hmmm... Lk tt oso can lor... But ur bro so cool, will ans anot...	Medial	Lexical Verb
Hmmm... Can lor... So i cya there...	Alone	Affirmative
Huh... Really ah... Hmmm thk can la...	Alone	Affirmative
Hmmm... Can lor... Den might as well eat in town lor ...	Alone	Affirmative
Ya la... E academy la... Can, neva specify who wat...	Alone	Affirmative
Can... He gave us namecards, juz say u r his model can oredi...	Alone	Affirmative
tell u later can ?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
Why u so ke qi with me, ... I set on tues can?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
s not in sg now. I help u ask when she back, can?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
Paiseh monday or tues can? Wed i drivin, thurs need to pack	Final-sentence	Interrogation
THe doc says at least a wk before can liao.	Medial	Lexical Verb
tml lec u bring the notes last week can?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
afternoon or nite also can...	Medial	Lexical Verb
tml eat lunch together? arts canteen? ard 1230 can?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
hey tml i go amk find u can? eed ask u smth...	Final-sentence	Interrogation
c if convenient then help me buy 2-3 cans, can? thx a lot!	Final-sentence	Interrogation
Wed? can?	Alone	Interrogation
....But not interested in any yet.Can la lets meet any time.	Alone	Affirmative
Can, im stayin at j.E st24 blk244	Alone	Affirmative
12 can? I got to leave before 2.30.	Final-sentence	Interrogation
pls dun disturb me can anot?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
Ok la.. March also can ..	Medial	Lexical Verb
Ok can	Alone	Affirmative
can.. c u at ps...	Alone	Affirmative
If u dun think its too far for u, can lor. Ang Mo Kio ok for u?	Alone	Affirmative
Please? Bu yao zhe yang ma? Gimme some face. Can?	Alone	Interrogation
if u al wan 2 bring ur bf oso can.. coz me ran out of ideas	Medial	Lexical Verb
Guys!tmr ard 2pm can?where u feel lk goin?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
you confirm with me one day before can?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
Can. how about yours and wils?	Alone	Affirmative
up 2 u loh...u wanna play in sch also can...i can book court 4 us...	Medial	Lexical Verb
Huh?? 730 can?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
help me print can?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
...U feel like going anot? If u wan, i go with u lor... Tmr oso can..	Medial	Lexical Verb
I am having lessons now at lt 15 meet me there at 5 can	Final-sentence	Discourse marker
Hey meet me at law fac about 5 can	Final-sentence	Discourse marker
...Or come back tmr oso can.	Medial	Lexical Verb
Can loh...i dun mind...wed 10 to 12 rite?	Alone	Affirmative
when shall I go ah? afternoon can?	Final-sentence	Interrogation

Can, but meet so early?	Alone	Affirmative
i watchin movie at 9 plus leh.. hiya, thk cant lor..	Alone	Affirmative
Ok meet me at d arts canteen.. Can..	Alone	Affirmative
Anythin la... Nice can liao...	Alone	Affirmative
I meet ü at orchard mrt at seven can?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
5 can?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
Can.Hehehe but u gotta dress in a cute santarina suit.	Alone	Affirmative
Ok... I tell u later can...	Final-sentence	Discourse marker
We meet at 1115 instead can?...	Final-sentence	Interrogation
i dunno. later at 10 go online, my fren say 15 mins can liao..	Alone	Affirmative
Cant la, v sian of workin oredi, haha,..	Alone	Affirmative
Yun e exhibit see on wed can?wif me mom.siqi wee tin. Shu zhen.	Final-sentence	Interrogation
...Eh ü ask him can... My fingers tired liao...	Final-sentence	Discourse marker
..me going bugis temple now u fix e time n place i anywhere also can.	Medial	Lexical Verb
Waitress or somethin, lk work in cafe... Telemarketin oso can lor...	Medial	Lexical Verb
Haha... As long as e person who likes her dun mind can liao lor...	Alone	Affirmative
Any time in btw or before can?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
If got n cheaper, then buy 4 me can?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
Yup can... But tmr i haf 2 go home 1st... Cos i bringin laptop to sch...	Alone	Affirmative
Ya...Cuz i tink e vet shld b closed oredi...Hey so tmr wat time u can?	Medial	Lexical Verb
When is the actual date and time? Can lah. Dont be scared...	Alone	Affirmative
We meeting 7.30 at serangoon garden 4 dinner can? U stil in sch?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
Il meet4lunch@12@expo dat mrt stn..so can?	Alone	Interrogation
Cant leh. Or u go edit the pg homepage.	Alone	Affirmative
Hmmm... okay.. can.	Alone	Affirmative
Will not be so luck one la.There so big..Can la..	Alone	Affirmative
No one look after me or give me thing to do..I think call u also can le.hehe..	Medial	Lexical Verb
cannot! I got to go for tuition... You go lar... I meet you after that?	Alone	Affirmative
m not too sure leh... U check e map? Thk 197 oso can lor...	Medial	Lexical Verb
I anytime also can. Once u ready den u come lah.	Medial	Lexical Verb
Okie la...Im totally dressed down can. Haha...	Final-sentence	Discourse marker
Can can?	Alone	Affirmative
m on e bus already. Almost reaching. Er... Meet ü near lt 26 can.	Final-sentence	Discourse marker
..Sat go book my basic with me..Can ma..Hehe....	Alone	Affirmative
Sat lor. Can?	Alone	Interrogation
Aiyo... Go out again ah...Cant la, v tired...	Alone	Affirmative
. aiya,sure can one la.we live near each oèr stil	Alone	Affirmative
Today? Cant la, i din even brin e notes out...	Alone	Affirmative
Make it more explicit can?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
Hee... Me free so any day go also can.	Medial	Lexical Verb
No need gd luck liao. I fail de hen can... Yup same place	Final-sentence	Discourse marker
Damn slack can, then the chicken wing damn nice somemore	Final-sentence	Discourse marker
Ok can, i wil upload again. But u make changes to carfinal1.Clp is it?	Alone	Affirmative
m gonna bug u.Irritate u.Can?Wat show u watchin?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
Wat time u finish w ziping? Lets hv supper tonight n talk. U can?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
Just realised got dance class at 4 ñ rushing a term paper. Tml can?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
Erm...I nv bring wallet...Mac muffin can nt?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
I oso wan shop, but cant leh, parents dun let me go out liao...	Alone	Affirmative
Fri can?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
No need. ic. Go there fill form can liao	Alone	Affirmative
On mon can... Cos my other fren oso comin to my hse on mon...	Medial	Lexical Verb
Not heavy metal can liao, no preference la..	Alone	Affirmative
Hmmm... I thk can...	Medial	Lexical Verb
Aiyo, i thought t webpage say can. Then now how?	Medial	Lexical Verb
Its gotta be canvas or cloth.Cuz its 4 golf.Can?	Alone	Interrogation
When? Today cant leh...	Medial	Lexical Verb
Ok can..	Alone	Affirmative
...hmm will let u noe by fri can?take care ya...	Final-sentence	Interrogation
cannot la.. long hair not nice..	Alone	Affirmative
Dunno also leh...É rest can? Thurs will be at nite...	Final-sentence	Interrogation
545 can... Cos i finish work at tis time...	Final-sentence	Discourse marker
Tmr night? Cannot lah... You go and have fun...	Alone	Affirmative
Hey... Tmr we go your house play mahjong can?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
Sharis,tmr how?confirm by tonite can?	Final-sentence	Interrogation

Sorry.. but i pass ya notes to u after ur driving can?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
U any day oso can rite? But u not scared they anyhow cut?	Medial	Lexical Verb
Can i can put u in. but can ü give me ur particulars.	Alone	Affirmative
Ya... Go gym oso can lor... But u dun wan nvm lor...	Medial	Lexical Verb
Need 2 shop. We c when u come back can?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
I asked if can stay out after 12... Cannot	Alone	Affirmative
Huh? Alone? How can? Ask ur jiejie lah...Or get vcd! Haha	Medial	Lexical Verb
ben say meeting change to next fri can or not ?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
Yes can...U go atm machine can liao	Alone	Affirmative
Hmm ok lor. But if tomw u can or not?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
Yogasana oso can...	Medial	Lexical Verb
Oh... Lk tt den we take e one tt ends at cine lor... Dun wan yogasana oso can...	Medial	Lexical Verb
Ü say until like dat i dun buy ericsson oso cannot oredi lar...	Medial	Lexical Verb
Of meet 4 lunch den u n him meet can already lor.	Medial	Lexical Verb
Cannot u eat i mus eat too...	Alone	Affirmative
But no need to go very early wat... Juz reach ard 12 can oredi wat...	Medial	Lexical Verb
I dont think sun fire can lor cos u it cant run jsp like t.	Medial	Lexical Verb
Thurs or fri oso can la, but evening den can...U all leh...	Medial	Lexical Verb
Anything lor... Today can oso...	Medial	Lexical Verb
Yeh.but make it on sat k.can?	Alone	Interrogation
Later in da nite lor... I always cant dial in one... Muz no pple then can...	Medial	Lexical Verb
if can later i jus go over to ya hse to take later in e nite also can.. heh	Medial	Lexical Verb
Eh...Can...No prob...Hehe =)	Alone	Affirmative
Sounds gd... Haha... Can... Wah, u yan jiu so fast liao...	Alone	Affirmative
Yup... From what i remb... I think should be can book...	Medial	Serial Verb
Sun ah... Thk mayb can if dun have anythin on	Medial	Serial Verb
Thk shld b can...	Medial	Serial Verb
Can meh? Thgt some will clash... Really ah, i dun mind...	Alone	Affirmative
Huh? 6 also cannot? Then only how many mistakes?	Medial	Lexical Verb
I havent lei.. Next mon can?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
If e timing can, then i go w u lor...	Medial	Lexical Verb
Huh, like dat also cannot ah?	Medial	Lexical Verb
Hmmm... Tonite cant...	Medial	Lexical Verb
Okie lor... Den we just go tanglin can liao... Tsk tsk, drivin oso can forget ah...	Medial	Lexical Verb
Il b bookin tmr morn, u 2 and 4pm oso can rite...	Medial	Lexical Verb
Opps... Wrong msg... Haha... So 11 can?	Final-sentence	Interrogation
Hmmm... Shld b can la... Got any buses?	Medial	Serial Verb
Got la! Hehe confirm can...	Medial	Lexical Verb
At the moment, you, me, jay, nigel, bruce and pits all can...	Medial	Lexical Verb
should be can.. provided i get up on time..heehee	Medial	Lexical Verb
I thk tonite cannot... Another day...	Medial	Lexical Verb

Affidavit

„Hiermit versichere ich, dass ich die vorliegende Arbeit selbständig verfasst und keine anderen als die angegebenen Hilfsmittel benutzt habe. Aus fremden Quellen Übernommenes ist kenntlich gemacht.“



[15/08/2022] [Anh TO]