

**How Norwegian Learners of English and English
Native Speakers use the modal auxiliary MUST and
the quasi-modal HAVE TO:
A Contrastive Study**

Ole Beute



UiO : University of Oslo

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**Department of Literature, Area Studies and
European Languages
Faculty of Humanities**

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Abstract

This thesis compares how native speakers of English and Norwegian learners of English use the modal auxiliary MUST and the quasi-modal HAVE TO in order to express different types of modality. The data needed was gathered from the Louvain Corpus of Native English Essays, which contains essays by English students; and the Norwegian International Corpus of Learner English, which holds essays by Norwegian learners of English. The data was divided into the categories of root and epistemic modality. Epistemic modality expresses the speaker's judgment of the truth of an utterance or notion. Root modality is an umbrella-term which includes permission, obligation, volition, and ability. Root modality was further divided into the categories of deontic modality, which comprises necessity borne of imposition; and dynamic modality, in which the necessity is rooted in circumstances. My analysis suggests that Norwegian learners generally tend to use HAVE TO more than MUST, whereas native speakers appear to use them more evenly. In terms of epistemic modality, both groups seem to prefer MUST over HAVE TO. As far as root modality is concerned, both groups tend to use MUST more frequently as deontic modals, and HAVE TO as dynamic modals.

1.0 List of Tables

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2.0 Terms and Definitions

Deontic modality: ‘Connotes the speaker’s degree of requirement of, desire for, or commitment to the realisation of the proposition expressed by the utterance’ (SIL 2020)

Deontic necessity: Marks strong imposition, such as obligation and prohibition. (Ole Beute)

Dynamic modality: Dynamic modality concerns ‘the ability or volition of the subject of the sentence, rather than the opinions (epistemic) or attitudes (deontic) of the speaker (and addressee)’ (Palmer 1990, p. 36).

Epistemic certainty: Necessity borne of the speaker’s confidence in the truth of a statement (Ole Beute).

Epistemic modality: ‘Epistemic modality is concerned with the speaker’s assumptions or assessment of possibilities, and in most cases it indicates the speaker’s confidence or lack of confidence in the truth of the proposition expressed’ (Bybee and Fleischman 1995, p. 55).

Epistemic necessity: Epistemic necessity signifies the speaker’s assessment of the truth of a statement or notion based on logical inference (Ole Beute).

General importance (deontic): Deontic necessity expressed by the speaker (Ole Beute)

Modality: ‘Modality is about a speaker’s or a writer’s attitude towards the world. A speaker or writer can express certainty, possibility, willingness, obligation, necessity and ability by using modal words and expressions’ (Cambridge 2020).

Modals: Linguistic devices used to express modality, such as auxiliary verbs, adjectives, adverbs etc. (Ole Beute).

Root modality: Root modality encompasses meanings such as permission and obligation, and also possibility and necessity (Bybee and Fleischman 1995, p. 55).

Quasi-modal: ‘The quasi-modals of English form a somewhat heterogenous set of periphrastic forms that are formally distinguishable from, but semantically similar to, the modals’ (Collins, 2009, p. 281).

Weak dynamic necessity: General importance borne of circumstances rather than inference (epistemic) or imposition (deontic) (Ole Beute).

Strong dynamic necessity: Necessity borne of circumstances rather than inference (epistemic) or imposition (deontic) (Ole Beute).

3.0 Introduction

When asked what is essential to teaching English, most people probably do not think of modality in linguistics. Yet, I would argue that modality is a central part of English, and any other language for that matter. Choosing the right words is important if one wishes not only to speak English fluently, but to sound more like a native speaker. Recognising differences and nuances between modal devices could help pupils articulate their views more accurately. In my personal experience as a substitute teacher of English, I have noticed that modality is rarely a point of focus, and most pupils do not seem to know much about it. I chose to focus on the modal devices **MUST** and **HAVE TO**, as they are semantically very similar. **HAVE TO** is by some considered a marginal modal, and is often used interchangeably with **MUST** by both native writers and learners of English. While there is plenty of research on the nuances between these two modal devices in native communication, little research has been focusing on how non-native speakers deal with modality when writing in English.

MUST is a modal auxiliary verb which is ‘used to say that [something] is necessary or very important (OALD 2015, p. 1021). **HAVE TO** has a similar definition, it is ‘used to show that you must do [something]’ (Ibid, p. 1021). Based on these definitions, **MUST** and **HAVE TO** may seem identical. However, there is one key difference: **HAVE TO** is not considered a true modal auxiliary, but rather a quasi-modal construction. Collins defines quasi-modals as ‘forms that are formally distinguishable from, but semantically similar to, the modals’ (Collins 2009, p. 281). Quasi-modals differ from modal auxiliaries in that they may be used in conjunction with modal auxiliaries proper, e.g. **WILL NEED TO**, **MAY HAVE TO**, and so on. Moreover, negated quasi-modals typically change the base meaning, whereas negated modal auxiliaries do not.

The aim of my research is to investigate how native speakers and Norwegian learners of English use the modal auxiliary **MUST** and the quasi-modal construction **HAVE TO** in order to express different kinds of modality. Modality tends to be split into the categories of root and epistemic modality. Epistemic modality may be defined as ‘the speaker’s assumptions or assessment of possibilities, and [...] the speaker’s confidence or lack of confidence in the truth of the proposition expressed’ (Bybee and Fleischman 1995, p. 55). In other words, epistemic modality encompasses the realm of probability. Root modality is a commonly used umbrella-term which denotes possibility and necessity determined by an agent or circumstance external to the speaker. While both root and epistemic modality operate in

terms of possibility and necessity, root modality does not reside within the realm of probability. In epistemic terms, possibility and necessity refer to weak and strong probability, respectively. In root terms, possibility refers to permission and ability; and necessity refers to obligation and importance.

Root modality may be split into sub-categories, based on the nature of the possibility or necessity expressed. One of the more common sub-categories is deontic modality, which is defined as ‘the speaker’s degree of requirement of, desire for, or commitment to the realisation of the proposition expressed by the utterance’ (SIL 2020). In other words, deontic modality encompasses permission, obligation, and volition. Palmer and Collins operate with yet another sub-category of root modality, which they refer to as *dynamic* modality, and which is ‘subject-oriented in the sense that it is concerned with the ability or volition of the subject of the sentence, rather than the opinions (epistemic) or attitudes (deontic) of the speaker (and addressee)’ (Palmer 1990, p. 36).

The research is corpus-based, as corpora allow for the quick culling of large quantities of data. The data needed for this study was gathered from two corpora: the Louvain Corpus of Native English Essays, a large corpus which contains essays written by English students, and the Norwegian International Corpus of Learner English, a somewhat smaller corpus which consists of essays by Norwegian learners of English.

The corpora contained a total of 1140 entries with MUST and HAVE TO. The LOCNESS contained 321 entries with MUST and 275 entries with HAVE TO, and the NICLE contained 157 entries with MUST and 387 entries with HAVE TO. Of these entries, one third were culled and categorised, and most of them expressed root modality. Despite the differences in frequency of MUST and HAVE TO, both corpora had more deontic entries with MUST and more dynamic entries with HAVE TO. An overwhelming majority of the epistemic entries contained MUST, as there were only three entries with epistemic HAVE TO.

4.0 THEORY

4.1 Dictionary Definitions of MUST and HAVE TO

4.1.1 Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary

According to the ninth edition of the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (OALD), the modal auxiliary MUST is 'used to say that [something] is necessary or very important (OALD 2015, p. 1021). In a section called 'grammar point', MUST is said to cover the notions of necessity and obligation, as well as certainty. When negated (MUST NOT), MUST expresses prohibition; i.e., someone is not allowed to do something (Ibid p. 1021). HAVE TO is defined in a similar fashion as MUST: 'used to show that you must do [something]' (Ibid, p. 1021).

It is worth noting that HAVE TO and MUST are not synonymous in negated clauses: 'MUST **not** is used to tell somebody not to do something ... **Don't** HAVE TO is used when it is not necessary to do something' (Ibid, p. 1021). MUST NOT expresses strong obligation to refrain from performing a particular action, whereas DO NOT HAVE TO merely expresses that the action is optional, as in the following example sentences:

- 1) You MUST not smoke cigarettes here.
- 2) You do not HAVE TO smoke cigarettes here.

Although the most common interpretation of example 1 is that smoking is prohibited, example 2 merely states that smoking is not obligatory (but still allowed).

The dictionary definitions of MUST and HAVE TO seem to suggest another, more subtle difference between the two, namely that HAVE TO puts more emphasis on the obligation of the speaker, whereas MUST revolves around the importance of the action itself (Ibid, p. 1021):

- 3) You MUST take out the rubbish.
- 4) You HAVE TO take out the rubbish.

Examples 3 and 4 both communicate the same message, but the former would likely be a response to a question along the lines of 'What am I supposed to do?', whereas the latter could be a response to something akin to 'Do I have to take out the rubbish?'.

Furthermore, the grammar point section of the dictionary states that in British English, **MUST** is used to express the desire of the one imposing the obligation, e.g. ‘You must do your homework’ (Ibid, p. 1021). It is the speaker’s desire that the listener perform a certain task, in this case ‘do their homework’. **HAVE TO**, on the other hand, is used to express what is required of someone as determined by an external source, be it norms or rules, or the desire of someone other than the speaker or listener (Ibid, p. 1021). In the sentence ‘We **HAVE TO** be in bed by nine’, the speaker does not impose an obligation on the listener, but speaks as if there is some sort of mutually recognised authority which compels both speaker and listener to conform; i.e., the source of necessity is external to the discourse.

4.1.2 A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language

In *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language (CGEL)*, **MUST** is said to have two core meanings: epistemic necessity, and root modality of obligation or compulsion (Quirk et.al. 2012, pp. 224-225). Epistemic **MUST** ‘implies that the speaker judges the proposition expressed by the clause to be necessarily true, or at least to have a high likelihood of being true. *Must* in this sense implies that the speaker has drawn a conclusion from things already known or observed’ (Ibid, pp. 224-225). This is shown in the following example sentence:

- 5) The ground is wet, so it **MUST** have been raining.

Here, the speaker draws the conclusion ‘it **MUST** have been raining’ from observed fact: ‘the ground is wet’.

The other use of **MUST**, which is to mark obligation or compulsion, is explained as follows: ‘there is the implication, to a greater or lesser extent, that the speaker is advocating a certain form of behaviour. Thus *must*, unlike *have (got) to*, typically suggests that the speaker is exercising his authority’ (Ibid, pp. 224-225). According to *CGEL*, there is seemingly an exception to this, namely when the subject is in the first person. In the sentence ‘I must remember to lock the door’, one could argue that the speaker is not exercising his or her authority, but rather acting according to a perceived sense of necessity. *CGEL* states, however, that this can very well be seen as some sort of self-imposed obligation (Ibid, p. 225).

The quasi-modal **HAVE TO** (referred to as *have (got) to*) is explained as being very similar to **MUST**, and may, in positive clauses, replace the modal with little to no change in meaning (Ibid, p. 226). When signalling logical necessity, the only noted difference between **HAVE**

TO and MUST is that the former is seen as expressing stronger necessity and being more objective than the latter. In terms of obligation or compulsion, the main difference is that HAVE TO is more impersonal and tends to be used when there is an external source of obligation (Ibid, p. 226). This can be illustrated with the following sentences:

15) I MUST tend to the garden.

16) I HAVE TO tend to the garden.

In the first sentence, the speaker imposes an obligation on him- or herself. In the second sentence, the speaker feels a sense of duty or necessity, but it is not self-imposed.

4.1.3 Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English

According to the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* [LDCE], MUST is a modal auxiliary which is used to express a wide range of meanings, the first being necessity borne of either obligation, ‘to have to do something because it is necessary or important, or because of a law or order’ (LDCE 2015, p. 1204); or prohibition, ‘used in negative sentences to say that something should not happen, determined by a rule or a law or by the situation (Ibid, p. 1204). MUST may be used to express high likelihood as well: ‘used to say you think something is very likely to be true or very likely to have happened’ (Ibid, p. 1204). MUST may also express notions with varying degrees of necessity or importance, such as suggestions (‘we must do this again’), confessions (‘I MUST say, it gave me quite a shock’), to express one’s annoyance at someone else (‘MUST you spoil everything’), to grant permission while expressing disapproval (‘if you MUST smoke, please go outside’), to stress the importance of an experience (‘a MUST-read novel’), and finally to answer an impolite question (‘well, if you MUST know, I’m thirty-six’) (Ibid, p. 1204). It should be noted that in the cases where MUST is used as part of a noun phrase (*must-read, must-watch* etc), it no longer functions as a modal auxiliary, as it has changed word-class through derivation.

HAVE TO, much like MUST, may be used to express obligation: ‘if you HAVE TO do something, you MUST do it because it is necessary or because someone makes you do it’ (Ibid, p. 846). It may also be used to express a neutral necessity or importance: ‘There will HAVE TO be a complete ceasefire before the Government will agree to talks’ (Ibid, p. 846), as well as giving instructions on how to do something: ‘First of all you HAVE TO mix the flour and the butter’ (Ibid, p. 846) HAVE TO may also be used to express the speaker’s certainty that something has happened, or that something is true: ‘House prices HAVE TO go

up sooner or later' (Ibid, p. 846). The degree of certainty expressed by HAVE TO is apparently weaker than that of MUST, though, as the former is used to 'say that you are sure that something will happen or something is true (Ibid, p. 846), whereas the latter is used to 'say that you think something is very likely to be true or very likely to have happened' (Ibid, p. 1204).

In the same way as MUST, HAVE TO may be used to express annoyance at something ('Lieutenant, do you HAVE TO keep repeating everything I've just said'), and confessions ('I HAVE TO say I don't know the first thing about computers') (Ibid, p. 846). There may potentially be slight differences if MUST is used in lieu of HAVE TO in these environments, but such nuance seems too vague to be consistently measured. Finally, HAVE TO may be used to express annoyance at negative events which seem to happen when one least needs them to ('Of course, it HAD TO happen today, when all the shops are shut'), and to say that only a particular item or person meets a subjective standard ('for Francesca it has to be the Ritz – nowhere else will do') (Ibid, p. 846)

Finally, MUST seems to have a more specific source of necessity, whereas HAVE TO does not seem to require a particular source of necessity. This is explained in the thesaurus section, where *MUST do something* is said to be used 'when saying that it is very important that someone does something, because someone in authority or a rule says this, or because of the situation', whereas *HAVE/HAS TO do something* is defined as 'to need to do something because it is necessary or important' (Ibid, pp. 1204-1205).

4.2 Modality in Linguistics

In order to compare how Norwegian students and native speakers use MUST and HAVE TO, a brief look at the definition of modality itself is necessary. In the second edition of *The Oxford Dictionary of English Grammar*, modality is defined as follows:

The semantic concept of modality is concerned with the expression of notions such as possibility, probability, necessity, likelihood, obligation, permission, and intention, typically by modal auxiliary verbs, but also by other linguistic means (e.g. modal adjectives, adverbs, and nouns) (ODEG).

The *Cambridge Online Dictionary* defines modality in a similar way:

Modality is about a speaker's or a writer's attitude towards the world. A speaker or writer can express certainty, possibility, willingness, obligation, necessity and ability by using modal words and expressions. (Cambridge 2020)

Based on these two definitions, modality may be summed up as the ways in which someone can express their judgement of the likelihood of an event (possibility, probability, certainty etc), and their attitude towards an event (permission, obligation, intention etc). This raises the important question of whether modality is governed by the semantics of the modal devices themselves, such as modal verbs and auxiliaries, adjectives, nouns, and so on, or whether it is determined by the surrounding contextual factors. In *On Modality in English: A Study of the Semantics of the Modals*, Lars Hermerén poses the following question: 'Is meaning dependent on inherent value ascribed to a word, or [rather on] the surrounding context?' (Hermerén 1978, p. 68). Context is key to understanding any given message and will certainly have an impact on what the modals mean. The book provides the following examples when explaining how the modal SHALL is perceived by some to carry different values based on context:

- 6) If you pass your examinations, you shall have the bicycle you want.
- 7) You shall have such a whipping if you ever do this again' (Hermerén 1978, p. 70).

Some would argue that SHALL expresses different notions in these examples, specifically that of a promise in the first example and a threat in the second. The author points out, however, that both instances of SHALL, whether they signal the promise of a reward or a threat of punishment, can in both cases be understood as 'certainty of fulfilment' (Ibid, p. 70). While SHALL may be used to convey many different meanings, such as intention, threat, decision and so on, it will always retain the core meaning of 'promise of an action or event'. Despite this, modality is not unaffected by context, and the linguistic environment in which modal verbs are used will determine the type and degree of modality expressed. This is shown in the two following example sentences:

- 8) You MUST be home by nine.
- 9) He MUST be home by now.

While both instances of MUST semantically speaking express some type of necessity, the messages they convey are different. In the first sentence, the necessity expressed by MUST is in the form of an imposition, meaning that the ‘you’ is obligated to be home at a specific time. In the second sentence, the necessity is not imposed onto a person or object, but rather borne of a speaker’s logical evaluation of an event. The speaker, based on his or her knowledge of particular circumstances, has determined that the ‘he’ is very likely to have made it home, probably because the amount of time required to make it home from a certain distance has passed. The MUST in both examples has a core meaning of necessity, but the context determines whether this underlying necessity expresses root modality of obligation or epistemic modality of some kind of likelihood. In other words, the context determines the type of modality expressed.

4.3 Root and Epistemic Modality

In *Modality and the English Modals*, Palmer has the following to say when comparing modality to other grammatical phenomena: ‘The situation with modality is rather different, because there is no simple, clearly definable, semantic category, such as time and enumeration’ (Palmer 1990, p. 2). Yet, most sources seem to agree that modality may be divided into two different types, namely that of root and epistemic modality.

In *The Semantics of the Modal Auxiliaries*, Jennifer Coates says that ‘Epistemic modality [...] is concerned with the speaker’s assumptions or assessment of possibilities and, in most cases, it indicates the speaker’s confidence (or lack of confidence) in the truth of the proposition expressed’ (Coates 1983, p. 18). Coates does not consider root modality as clearly definable, though, but she points out that the meanings of root modals of necessity may range from general importance to direct imposition, and that they in all cases can be paraphrased as ‘it is necessary that...’ (ibid, pp. 20-21).

The following excerpt from *Modality in Grammar and Discourse* explains the distinction between root and epistemic modality as follows:

Epistemic modality is concerned with the speaker’s assumptions or assessment of possibilities, and in most cases it indicates the speaker’s confidence or lack of confidence in the truth of the proposition expressed. Root modality encompasses meanings such as permission and obligation, and also possibility and necessity (Bybee and Fleischman 1995, p. 55).

In other words, both root and epistemic modality may be divided into the categories of possibility and necessity. Root possibility does not seem to encompass the probability of an event, but rather whether someone has permission to do something. Likewise, root necessity seems to entail that of obligation, prohibition, and other notions where the necessity stems from imposition. Coates goes on to list CAN and MAY as examples of root permission and possibility, as well as epistemic possibility. MUST and HAVE TO are used to show root obligation and necessity, respectively, as well as epistemic necessity (Ibid, p. 55).

She also provides examples of root obligation:

10) You MUST finish this before dinner'

and of epistemic necessity:

11) 'I MUST have a temperature' (Bybee and Fleischman 1995, p. 57).

In the root sense, the necessity is one of duty and obligation; something which has to be done in order to achieve or avoid a certain outcome. Yet, using the label of 'obligation' would not be sufficient here, as the notion of necessity may be expressed without obligation or duty. This can be illustrated with two examples from Frank Palmer's *Modality and the English Verb* (Palmer 1990, p. 2):

12) You MUST keep everything to yourself, be discreet.

13) The government MUST act. It MUST make up its mind about priorities.

Palmer states that the first sentence expresses necessity through obligation; the speaker urges the addressee to 'be discreet'. In the second example, however, Palmer points out that the speaker does not hold any authority over the government, nor are there any external factors which force the government to act – it is simply an observation based on what the speaker deems necessary. Therefore, the term *obligation* does not always cover root necessity, as necessity may be expressed in other ways than through imposition.

Epistemic necessity, on the other hand, has no need for a distinction between different types of necessity, as the epistemic dimension merely deals with the likelihood of an event occurring or the probability that something is the case. Hence, the only meaningful aspect to account for would be the degree of subjectivity expressed by the epistemic modal. Even if all modals expressing epistemic necessity convey some sort of 'guaranteed likelihood', the level of certainty they express may still vary, as is shown with the following examples:

14) 'He MUST feel devastated after such a significant loss'.

15) 'It HAS TO rain at some point'.

Although both examples express a strong degree of necessity determined by the logical inference of the speaker, the former differs from the latter in that it is more subjective – it is understood as the opinion of the speaker, and therefore contains a slight degree of uncertainty. The necessity is borne of what the speaker *thinks* to be the case. It may be paraphrased as 'while I do not know for certain, I am fairly sure'. The latter, on the other hand, seems to be more objective. The necessity implied in this statement is not expressed as the speaker's opinion, but rather as the only logical conclusion in a given context. The statement may be paraphrased as 'this is the only possible outcome'. Thus, the distinction between subjectivity and objectivity appears to denote the degree of epistemic necessity expressed by a statement. One could argue that no statement will be purely objective, as all conclusions reached through logical inference are based on the speaker's ability to rationalise. Yet, the distinction between subjective and objective statements seem to be sufficiently measurable. Therefore, the terms 'epistemic certainty' and 'epistemic necessity' will be used for subjective and objective epistemic modality, respectively.

Root modality tends to be used as an umbrella term which covers modals of ability, volition, permission, necessity, and obligation; however, some linguists divide this branch of modality into more specific subtypes. One of the more common types is known as *deontic* modality, which, according to the *Glossary of Linguistic Terms* [SIL], 'connotes the speaker's degree of requirement of, desire for, or commitment to the realisation of the proposition expressed by the utterance' (SIL, 2020). In other words, it denotes the necessity for the speaker to perform an action. Palmer offers a similar definition: 'Deontic modality is essentially performative. By using a deontic modal, a speaker may actually give permission (MAY, CAN), lay an obligation (MUST) or make a threat (SHALL)' (Palmer 1990, p. 69).

There seems to be a slight disagreement between SIL's and Palmer's definition on deontic modality. While SIL states that deontic modality governs a speaker's desire to fulfil a proposition, Palmer claims that the volition is governed by a third type of modality, which he refers to as *dynamic* modality. Palmer defines dynamic modality as concerning 'the ability or volition of the subject, rather than opinions (epistemic) or attitudes (deontic) of the speaker' (Palmer 1990, p. 36). It all depends on how one defines volition and desire. The MUST in the sentence 'I must fight for the motherland' could, if applying either SIL's or Palmer's

definition, be categorised as a deontic modal of necessity. According to SIL, it would probably be counted as an example of a desire to fulfil a proposition; whereas Palmer would not necessarily categorise MUST as expressing volition; yet, he would probably still call it a deontic modal, as it appears to be a self-imposed type of obligation.

The distinction between epistemic, deontic, and dynamic modality is illustrated in the following examples:

16) She left quite a while ago, so she MUST be home by now.

17) You MUST submit your draft no later than midnight.

18) He MUST be able to lift more than half a tonne if he wishes to stand a chance against his competitors.

The MUST in example 16 has epistemic modality and is speaker-oriented. It says something about the speaker's judgement of the validity of the statement 'she is home'. The speaker is not explicitly mentioned, but rather exists in-between the lines as 'the one who regards this sentiment to be true'.

The MUST in example 17 is also speaker-oriented, as it says something about the speaker's attitude towards (imposition put on) the listener, rather than the judgement of the likelihood of an event. In other words, it is a deontic modal.

It should be noted that deontic modality is not simply speaker-oriented, but *discourse-oriented*, as can be seen in the following sentence:

19) Do I HAVE TO do my homework now?

In this example, the speaker is not imposing an obligation, but rather checking whether an obligation has been imposed on him or her. In other words, the deontic source is in this case not the speaker, but the listener, which is often the case for questions and requests. (Palmer 1990, p. 36).

Example 18 however, has a different focus than the examples 16 and 17: The necessity of being able to lift more than half a tonne is not based on likelihood, nor is it performative. Rather, it expresses a circumstantial necessity of sorts. So, while dynamic modality is often subject-oriented, it is not discourse-oriented; it is not the product of logical inference (epistemic modality), nor does it express necessity through imposition (deontic). As mentioned above, the Cambridge dictionary defines modality as 'a speaker's or a writer's

attitude towards the world.’ At first glance, one may think that dynamic modality is not concerned with the speaker’s attitude towards the world, but rather with the surrounding circumstances that compel the action of the speaker. Yet, a counter-argument would be that dynamic modality, rather than being governed by circumstances outside of the speaker’s control, is a product of the speaker’s assessment of the circumstances, meaning that it is indeed the reflection of a speaker’s or writer’s world-view.

According to Palmer, MUST may be either deontic or dynamic depending on the context, whereas HAVE TO is never deontic (Ibid, p. 113). Thus, the sentence ‘He must cross the river if he wants to get to the cabin’ would express dynamic modality regardless of whether the modal auxiliary MUST or the quasi-modal HAVE TO is used, as both may revolve around the abilities of the subject. However, in the sentence ‘You HAVE TO get up at eight’, Palmer would argue that HAVE TO expresses dynamic modality, and that MUST, used in the same sentence without further context, would express deontic modality. While the necessity in both cases is realised as an imposition on the addressee, the difference is that HAVE TO signals a source of necessity external to the discourse (e.g. ‘You HAVE TO get up at eight because *mother* says so’). The use of MUST, on the other hand, implies that the source of the necessity – in this case the speaker – is a part of the discourse (‘You must get up at eight because *I* say so).

In a study on modals and so-called quasi-modal constructions in *World Englishes*, Peter Collins finds that there has been an increase in the use of quasi-modals, and a decrease in the use of modal auxiliaries proper (Collins 2009, 281). Collins defines quasi-modals as ‘a somewhat heterogenous set of periphrastic forms that are formally distinguishable from, but semantically similar to, the modals’ (Collins 2009, p. 281). Collins lists the following conditions for determining what constitutes a modal auxiliary proper:

Auxiliaries are inflectionally distinctive in having contracted negative forms (*won’t*, *can’t*, *mightn’t*, etc.) and in their capacity to be used in the four so-called ‘NICE’ constructions: **n**egation, **i**nversion (of subject and auxiliary), **c**ode (post-verbal ellipsis dependent for its interpretation upon previous context), and **e**mphasis (emphatic polarity involving the use of contrastive stress) (Ibid, p. 281).

All of the NICE-constructions are applicable to MUST, hence making it a true modal auxiliary. HAVE TO, on the other hand, does not meet all of these requirements. HAVE TO

cannot have subject-verb inversion on its own, and would in such cases need *do*-support when negated or in questions:

20) MUST I work?

21) *HAVE TO I work (Do I HAVE TO work)

Furthermore, only MUST may be negated; HAVE TO requires *do*-support:

22) You MUSTN'T sit here.

23) *You HAVEN'T TO sit here (You don't HAVE TO sit here)

Also noteworthy is the fact that quasi-modals change meaning when negated, whereas real modal auxiliaries do not. If the examples above were to be *not* negated, MUST would still retain its core root meaning of obligation. The quasi-modal NEED TO, for instance, would change from meaning 'not necessary' to 'obligatory' ('it is not necessary' versus 'it is necessary').

Most authors seem to accept the distinction between root and epistemic modality. Epistemic modality is concerned with the speaker's judgement of the validity of a statement or the likelihood of an event, and root modality encompasses possibility or necessity borne of impositions or circumstances. Palmer and Collins further divide root modality into deontic and dynamic modality, in which the former governs impositions and the latter circumstances.

4.4 Previous Research on MUST and HAVE TO

Michael R. Perkins, in *Modal Expressions in English*, explains that MUST can express both deontic and epistemic modality (Perkins 1983, p. 36). When looking at the differences in application between MUST and HAVE TO, Perkins notes that other notable authors in the field of modality, such as Leech and Palmer, claim that MUST is used when the speaker is the source of authority, whereas HAVE TO denies the involvement of the speaker, making the source of authority external to the discourse (Ibid, p. 60). He showcases this by pointing to Leech's comparison of 'You must be in camp by ten' and 'You have to be in camp by ten', in which Leech argues that the former would probably be said to a soldier by someone of superior rank, whereas the latter would have been part of spoken communication between soldiers of equal rank (Ibid, p. 60). Perkins states, however, that such a distinction is 'problematical in that the "lack of speaker's involvement" expressed by HAVE (GOT) TO may be overridden by the pragmatic component of an utterance' (Ibid, p. 60). He goes on by

claiming that HAVE (GOT) TO is more impersonal, and may be used in contexts in which MUST could be seen as too forceful, while still making it clear that it is indeed the speaker who is the source of authority (Ibid, p. 60).

In terms of the epistemic sense of the modal HAVE TO, Perkins writes that ‘If MUST is substituted for HAVE TO [...] the forcefulness of the sentence appears to be reduced, which can be accounted for on the grounds that HAVE (GOT) TO expresses *objective* epistemic modality’ (Perkins 1983, p. 61). On the concept of negation, Perkins mentions that combining MUST with a negator leads to the negation of the given proposition itself, while negating HAVE TO almost always negates the modality (Ibid, p. 61).

In *The Semantics of the Modal Auxiliaries*, Jennifer Coates states that MUST has two main meanings; the root meaning of obligation and necessity, and the epistemic meaning of logical necessity and confident inference (Coates 1983, p. 31). She provides the following examples of root and epistemic modality: ‘“You must play this ten times over,” Miss Jarova would say, pointing with relentless fingers to a jumble of crotches and quavers’ (root modality) (Ibid, p. 31) and ‘That place must make quite a profit for it was packed out and has been all week’ (epistemic modality) (Ibid, p. 31). In the first sentence, MUST expresses obligation, which is confirmed by the context that follows. In the second sentence, MUST may be interpreted as a marker of logical necessity, since ‘that place must make quite a profit’ is explained by the observation ‘it was packed out and has been all week’.

In terms of root meaning, Coates states that MUST covers a spectrum of both weak and strong obligation, ranging from ‘importance’ to ‘necessity’, respectively, but that it may always carry the superordinate meaning of ‘it is necessary for...’ (Coates 1983, p. 32). In terms of epistemic meaning, Coates claims that ‘In its most normal usage, Epistemic MUST conveys the speaker’s confidence in the truth of what he is saying, based on a logical process of deduction from facts known to him (which may or may not be specified)’ (Ibid, p. 41). Epistemic MUST has two meanings: that of logical inference, and that which accentuates the extent to which the speaker expresses his confidence in the truth of this inference (Ibid, p. 41). In other words, MUST covers ‘I confidently infer...’, ‘given what is known, it is necessarily the case that...’, and everything in between (Ibid, p. 41). MUST is very rare in informal language (Ibid, p. 42).

Coates writes the following about HAVE TO regarding ROOT modality:

‘Earlier studies of the modals (in particular Leech 1971 and Palmer 1974) have emphasised the contrast between root MUST and HAVE TO in terms of speaker’s involvement. My analysis of the data confirms that the two words are distinct in terms of subjectivity: with MUST, the speaker has authority, while with HAVE TO the authority comes from no particular source’ (Coates 1983, p 55).

She also takes a similar stance to other works referenced in this thesis regarding the difference in meaning between negated MUST and HAVE TO, namely that negated MUST indicates that something is prohibited, whereas negated HAVE TO suggests that something is not obligatory (ibid, p. 54). While Coates does not consider HAVE TO as a modal, she does indirectly confirm that the expression does carry some degree of modality when she claims that HAVE TO is not a ‘true’ modal (Ibid, p. 52). The ‘true’ would suggest that there is some similarity between HAVE TO and modal auxiliaries such as MUST, whether in terms of semantics or usage in text and speech. With regard to epistemic modality, Coates explains that HAVE TO occurs very rarely, and she considers such usage to be that of an Americanism and associated with ‘teenage sub-culture’ (Coates 1983, p. 57).

According to Palmer, MUST is used to express epistemic, deontic, and dynamic modality. In the epistemic sense, MUST marks *necessity*, and may be paraphrased with ‘the only possible conclusion is that...’, or ‘it is not possible that ... not ...’ (Palmer 1990, p. 53). An example would be ‘he must be excited for the big day’, which could then be paraphrased into ‘the only possible conclusion is that he is excited for the big day’, or ‘it is not possible that he is not excited for the big day’.

Deontic MUST marks necessity and obligation. While epistemic MUST signals what the speaker deems true or false based on logical inference and prior knowledge, deontic MUST conveys necessity imposed by the speaker. ‘[D]eontic necessity usually implies that the speaker is in a position to lay the obligation, and is thus in a position of some authority’ (Palmer 1990, p. 73). An example of this would be a teacher telling his pupils that they ‘must turn in their homework on Friday’, as the teacher is in a position to impose such an obligation on his pupils. MUST is also sometimes used in conjunction with verbs related to conversation, e.g. ‘I must admit’. Palmer still views these instances of MUST as deontic, as they are still somewhat discourse-oriented: ‘The speaker either imposes the obligation on himself (I must admit = I do admit), or else asks his hearer to behave in a similar fashion’ (Palmer 1990, p. 74).

Dynamic MUST is similar to epistemic MUST in that it too may be paraphrased as ‘it is necessary that...’. The difference is that whereas epistemic MUST is concerned with the speaker’s view of the probability of an event, dynamic MUST expresses a sort of neutral cause-and-effect relation. This can be illustrated by using one of Palmer’s examples of dynamic necessity: ‘Now I lunched the day before yesterday with one of the leaders of the Labour Party whose name must obviously be kept quiet – I can’t repeat it’ (Palmer 1990, p. 113). In this example, the identity of the leader in question must be kept secret, as it seems to be confidential information, and mentioning his or her name will most likely lead to some sort of consequence. Note that dynamic MUST is not discourse-oriented, as the source of the necessity is not the speaker nor the listener, but rather some external notion or entity.

While MUST can express all three types of modality, Palmer claims that HAVE TO can only be used to express epistemic or dynamic modality. While HAVE TO may be used to signal obligation, the source of the obligation would be external. This means that HAVE TO can never be used deontically, as deontic modality is discourse-oriented, and would require the source of the obligation to be either the speaker or the listener: ‘The difference between deontic and dynamic modality is that the former is performative or ‘discourse-oriented’, the latter is not’ (Palmer 1990, p. 69) ‘HAVE (GOT) TO specifically denies any involvement by the speaker, and is, therefore, never performative’ (Ibid, pp. 69-70). Palmer writes very little about epistemic HAVE TO, but mentions that it functions as a modal of necessity in the epistemic sense (Ibid, p. 56). In the dynamic sense, Palmer states that HAVE TO often expresses that the ‘circumstances compel’, and signifies of the existence of an external source of necessity (Ibid, p. 114). An example of this would be ‘I have to take my leave now, or I risk being late to the party’. Here, the speaker is motivated by the necessity of ‘not being late’. Unlike MUST, HAVE TO does not express self-imposed obligation. This is illustrated in the following examples:

24) I MUST pay him what I owe.

25) I HAVE TO pay him what I owe.

In example 24, the speaker is driven by self-imposed obligation; a sense of duty. Not paying the debt would conflict with the speaker’s sense of what is morally right. In example 25, however, the motivation seems to be external: ‘If I don’t pay him, there will be consequences.’

In *An Empirical Grammar of the English Language: Modal Verbs*, a grammar based on authentic data gathered from various corpora, Dieter Mindt observes that MUST is primarily used to express obligation, inference and deduction, as well as necessity, but may also express certainty and prediction (Mindt 1995, pp. 116-118). An overwhelming 95% of all entries pertain to real events, and only 5% to hypothetical scenarios. The majority of the entries on MUST also have an intentional subject, which is in agreement with the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary's* view that MUST expresses the speaker's or the listener's wants. Additionally, Dieter finds that negated MUST is most commonly used to express prohibition (Ibid, p. 120). This once again is in line with the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, which states that negated MUST is used to express what someone is *not* allowed to do (as opposed to HAVE TO, which merely suggests that doing something is not required).

While Mindt's work does not contain the quasi-modal HAVE TO, it does account for a similar construction: HAVE GOT TO. Mindt finds that HAVE GOT TO is used to convey a sense of necessity in 67% of cases, one example being: 'we've got to get her away to some other place as soon as we can' (Mindt 1995, p. 155). HAVE GOT TO is also used to communicate obligation 19% of the time: 'I've got to be back at the talkshop by ten' (Ibid, p. 155). It is also sometimes used to signify inference or deduction (7%), such as: 'yonder has got to be some deer' (Ibid, p. 155).

Peter Collins' book, *Modals and Quasi-Modals in English*, reports the findings of a corpora-based study of the meanings of the modals and quasi-modals carried out through the use of three parallel corpora of British English, American English, and Australian English. It is worth noting that, for the modals of necessity and obligation, there was a higher frequency of quasi-modals than modal auxiliaries proper. Also noteworthy is the fact that Collins' findings indicate the existence of deontic HAVE TO. This clashes with Palmer's claim that only MUST can be deontic, as HAVE TO is not a discourse-oriented modal. The difference lies in what they consider to be *deontic*. Collins views deontic modality as follows:

The most common and arguably important type of root modality is 'deontic', which occurs when the factors impinging on the actualization of the situation referred to in the utterance involve some type of authority – as when a person or a set of rules or a social convention is responsible for the imposition of an obligation or a granting of permission (as in 'You must/may leave at 3pm') (Collins 2009, p. 22).

The key difference here is that Collins views modals as deontic even if they are not discourse-oriented, as opposed to Palmer, who claims that the source of the authority must be a participant of the discourse in order to be deontic. The following example highlights their differing views: ‘All military personnel have to be ready in two hours’. Based on Collins’ definition of *deontic* modality, HAVE TO could here be interpreted as a deontic modal of necessity, as the military personnel are required to do abide by the rules established by a governing body. Palmer would, however, view HAVE TO as a dynamic external modal of necessity, as he claims that the deontic source must be discourse-oriented, and that HAVE TO denies any involvement from the speaker: ‘HAVE (GOT) TO specifically denies any involvement by speaker, and is, therefore, never performative; MUST, on the other hand, may or may not suggest his involvement’ (Palmer 1990, pp. 69-70). Shortly put, they both agree that HAVE TO points to an external source of necessity, but Collins would regard HAVE TO as a deontic modal so long as it is performative, whereas Palmer would also require the source of necessity to be part of the discourse.

5.0 METHODOLOGY

5.1 Method

In order to compare how native speakers of English and Norwegian learners of English use MUST and HAVE TO, a significant amount of data had to be gathered. The data were culled from the Louvain Corpus of Native English Essays [LOCNESS] and the Norwegian International Corpus of Learner English [NICLE]. The advantage of using corpora in linguistic research is one of practicality. ‘Corpus methods can organize huge masses of data, and make visible patterns which were only, if at all, dimly suspected’ (Stubbs 2002, p. 221). Corpora offers the ability to collect large amounts of data within a very short time frame, making it ideal for quantitative research. The LOCNESS consists of 324 304 words, of which 60 209 come from British A-level essays, 95 695 words come from essays by British university students, and 168 400 words come from essays by American university students (<https://www.learnercorpusassociation.org/resources/tools/locness-corpus/>). The corpus was founded by Gaëtanelle Gilquin, Sylviane Granger, Fanny Meunir, and Magali Paquot, all based at the Centre for English Corpus Linguistics [CECL] of the Université Catholique de Louvain in Belgium (<https://www.learnercorpusassociation.org/about/>).

The NICLE is the Norwegian sub-corpus of the International Corpus of Learner English [ICLE] and is tied to the University of Oslo. The production of this sub-corpus was initiated and overlooked by Stig Johansson and Lynell Chvala (<https://uclouvain.be/en/research-institutes/ilc/cecl/icle-partners.html>). The ICLE is a collaborative compilation of argumentative essays authored by upper-intermediate to advanced non-native learners of English. The first edition was published in 2002 and consisted of 2.5 million words taken from 11 different mother tongues. Today, the ICLE is made up of more than 5.5 million words from 25 different mother tongues (<https://uclouvain.be/en/research-institutes/ilc/cecl/icle.html>).

The chosen samples do not consist of orally produced/recorded material, as this could introduce too many confounding variables, and written material is easier to separate into categories such as purpose behind the text, degree of formality etc. Every 3rd entry on MUST and HAVE TO were used from both corpora. This was to ensure that most of the entries will be produced by different authors, since multiple entries from the same author could skew the results.

The data gathered from the corpora have been entered unedited. The reason for this choice is that editing the data could alter the message the original author wishes to convey, potentially skewing the results of the analysis. So, some entries will have typographical errors and concord mistakes. Furthermore, only entries in which **MUST** and **HAVE TO** are interchangeable have been used. The aim of this study is to see which modal device the speakers use in a linguistic environment in which both **MUST** and **HAVE TO** are grammatically correct. Although **HAVE TO** can be combined with other modal auxiliaries, such as **WILL** and **SHALL**, **MUST** cannot, meaning that entries with **HAVE TO** in conjunction with other modal auxiliaries have not been included. The exception to this is the construction of **HAVE TO** plus the **DO**-auxiliary. This is because the **DO**-auxiliary does not change the meaning at all and is merely a grammatical auxiliary used to support quasi-modals in subject-verb-inverted constructions, such as questions. Cases with **DO**-auxiliary have only been counted if they occur in the present tense, as **MUST** cannot express past or future tense.

The extracted data were analysed based on the type of necessity expressed. Entries which signalled/conveyed necessity through the speaker's judgment of the probability of a notion or an event were labelled as epistemic. Entries which expressed necessity in the form of an imposition, or necessity borne of surrounding circumstances, were labelled as root. Entries on root modality were further categorised as being either deontic - expressing necessity through obligation, requirement, prohibition etc. – or dynamic, expressing necessity borne of circumstances surrounding the subject of a clause.

The different definitions of epistemic modality do not vary much from one another, and they may all be summarised as the writer's judgment of the validity of a notion or event, concluded by their logical inference. The only point of contention is whether strong epistemic modality should be seen as signifying the certainty of the speaker, or if it should be seen as expressing the logical necessity of a statement. While both categories revolve around the logical inference of the speaker, epistemic certainty may be defined as a speaker's presumptions about a notion, based on their knowledge about the world or certain events, whereas epistemic necessity may be defined as a speaker's observation about the logical conclusion of an event or notion. Thus, the main difference between these categories is that epistemic necessity does not account for alternative possibilities; epistemic certainty does.

The following entries from the **LOCNESS** illustrate this difference:

- 1) Optimism stated that, as the world was created by god, ,who is a perfect being, all that happens in it MUST be for the best (LOCNESS: MUST 76).
- 2) This is all very interesting you may say, but these geneticists MUST feel some moral obligation (LOCNESS: MUST 199).

The first entry is an example of epistemic necessity. The speaker's assessment is based on a logical observation, and regardless of whether the speaker is right, the notion is presented in such a way that it does not account for alternative possibilities. The second entry is an example of epistemic certainty. It is presented as a speaker's assumption about a notion or event. The conclusion is not drawn based on an objective observation, but rather the speaker's own expectations. While one could argue that human assessment will always carry an element of uncertainty, the categories of certainty and necessity are not based on whether the speaker is right or wrong, but rather how they express their judgment of the probability of an event. Therefore, both epistemic certainty and epistemic necessity are relevant categories for the epistemic entries.

Root modality is widely accepted as an umbrella term which covers necessity, imposition, permission, volition etc. However, some authors divide this term into further sub-categories, one of which tends to be that of deontic modality – a modality type which entails the performative aspect, which revolves around permission, obligation and prohibition.

There appears to be an important difference in how Palmer and Collins define deontic modality, though. Palmer claims that one of the defining traits of deontic modals is that they are discourse-oriented – the deontic source must be part of the discourse. Collins, on the other hand, argues that deontic modality covers all modal devices which express necessity in the form of imposition regardless of whether they are internal or external to the discourse. Thus, while they both agree that HAVE TO always points to either an external or a neutral source of necessity – never internal to the discourse – Palmer would argue that HAVE TO may never be deontic, whereas Collins would argue that it can be. For the purposes of this thesis, Collins' distinction is preferable, as it provides a clear and tidy separation between modal devices based on the type of necessity they express in a given context.

The third categorisation used is that of Palmer's and Collins' dynamic modality. Dynamic modality is different from deontic modality in that the necessity is not imposed by any particular source, but rather has its roots in the circumstances surrounding the subject. The following excerpts illustrate the difference between dynamic and deontic modality:

- 3) Food and shelter are fundamental needs a person **MUST** have in order to survive (LOCNESS: MUST 220).
- 4) To enforce these rules athletes **MUST** be drug tested (LOCNESS: MUST 103).

In sentence 3, **MUST** is used to express a need borne within the subject of a clause. It is necessary that a person finds food and shelter if he or she wishes to survive. The necessity is not imposed by a particular source and may be seen as an objective fact. In sentence 4, **MUST** expresses an obligation; athletes are required by some governing body to be drug tested. This is not a need rooted in the athletes themselves; they do not depend on drug tests to be capable athletes. Rather, the necessity is warranted by an external source.

5.2 Research Question

The purpose of this research is to identify any recurrent patterns in Norwegian learners' use and native speakers' use of the modals studied/examined and compare these trends and check for significant differences.

The analysis is based on the following research question: 'How do native speakers and Norwegian learners of English use the modal auxiliary **MUST** and the quasi-modal **HAVE TO**, and how do their usages compare to one another?'

The data was gathered with a view to perform a quantitative analysis. This thesis aims to compare and identify differences or asymmetries in how Norwegian students of English use **MUST** and **HAVE TO** compared with native speaker usage.

This study is based on both an inductive and a deductive approach. The theoretical framework in Chapter 4 serves as a template for what to expect, and the aim of the study is not to test whether the choices made are in line with current recommended or 'correct' usage, but rather to see if there are any conspicuous differences between native speakers' and Norwegian learners' use of the modals. Thus, this study will have a deductive base, but an inductive research approach.

6.0 Analysis

In order to find all entries with MUST and HAVE TO, the search tags ‘must*’ and ‘(have|has) to’ were employed. The asterisk following ‘must’ is a wildcard which is used to include zero or more strings. This ensures that entries on MUST in compound constructions such as ‘musn’t’, ‘must-have’ etc will be included in the search results. The vertical bar which separates ‘have’ and ‘has’ is used to get all entries which contain either ‘have’ or ‘has’, and ‘to’ is placed outside the parentheses to ensure that both ‘have’ and ‘has’ will be immediately followed by ‘to’. Entering these search tags into the LOCNESS and NICLE corpora yielded 478 total entries with MUST and 662 total entries with HAVE TO. One third of these samples were culled and categorised, which gave the following result:

Table 1: Total number of culled entries with MUST and HAVE TO

	LOCNESS	NICLE
MUST	107	53
HAVE TO	92	129

6.1 Epistemic Findings

There were remarkably few entries on epistemic modality among the selected entries from both corpora. The table below shows the distribution of the epistemic modals in the LOCNESS and NICLE:

Table 2: Frequency of epistemic modals in the LOCNESS and NICLE

	Total MUST	Epistemic MUST	Total HAVE TO	Epistemic HAVE TO
LOCNESS	107	7	92	1
NICLE	53	16	129	2

In the LOCNESS, which had the highest number of entries on MUST, a mere 7 out of 107 selected entries expressed epistemic modality, giving it the fairly low relative frequency of

6.5%. Five of these entries have been placed under the category of epistemic certainty, as they appear to be based on the speaker's presumptions about a notion or event. The two following entries are part of the five entries on epistemic certainty:

- 1) Physicians, nurses, and others are often witnesses to death. People who go into these fields **MUST** have had to deal with this issue in their training (LOCNESS: MUST 223).
- 2) There is now another body empowered to legislate for the UK and its legislation has been held by our courts to be of a binding nature, and to prevail over national law. This **MUST** surely be seen as a clear loss of sovereignty for Britain (LOCNESS: MUST 292).

In the first entry, the speaker assumes that physicians, nurses, and other healthcare personnel have been prepared to witness death through their training. While this is very likely to be true, the conclusion is not drawn based on undeniable fact, but rather on realistic expectations. In the second entry, the speaker assumes that Britain has experienced a loss of sovereignty now that an external body may overrule national law. While this entry may be interpreted as expressing epistemic necessity, the addition of the adverb *surely* weakens the modality, making it clear that the speaker is presenting an assessment of the situation as likelihood rather than fact.

The two remaining entries on epistemic **MUST** are as follows:

- 3) His belief is that everything is for the best, even the death of two hundred thousand in the earthquake at Lisbon is deemed as God's will and for the good of mankind. For Pangloss every cause **MUST** have an effect, for example at the beginning of the story, Cunégonde dropping her handkerchief, led to Candide kissing her and therefore the beginning of his path of misery (LOCNESS: MUST 217).
- 4) Optimism stated that, as the world was created by god, ,who is a perfect being, all that happens in it **MUST** be for the best (LOCNESS: MUST 76).

In example 3, the speaker states that Pangloss believes every event causes an effect. The speaker presents it in a way that makes this notion seem inevitable in Pangloss' eyes; a cause without an effect is a logical impossibility. Similarly, the necessity in example 4 is presented as a logical truth: 'if A, then B'. If God created the world, then everything that happens in it

must be for the best. This does not have to be true in reality, but it is nonetheless presented as a logical truth, meaning that the MUST expresses epistemic necessity.

In the NICLE, 16 out of the 53 selected entries of MUST express epistemic modality. This gives epistemic MUST a relative frequency of 30%; a significant increase from the 6.5% in the LOCNESS. Similarly to the LOCNESS findings, most of the entries have a primary reading of epistemic certainty, one example being as follows:

- 5) One can argue that Linda MUST feel hopeless after having lost her husband (NICLE: MUST 91).

The speaker infers that 'Linda' is likely to feel hopeless after the loss of her husband. This is a fair assumption, given that the loss of a loved one tends to cause sorrow. Even so, there is no guarantee that this has to be the case, as the chance of Linda not feeling hopeless is still present. Therefore, the necessity expressed by MUST seems to emphasise the certainty of the speaker rather than the necessity of the outcome.

While most of the NICLE entries on epistemic MUST express epistemic certainty, there is one clause which expresses epistemic necessity:

- 6) Before a new invention can be seen in our physical world, it MUST have been in someone's head as an idea (NICLE: MUST 100).

The argument that all inventions come to life as thoughts in someone's head is a notion based purely on logic. While one could create a hypothetical scenario in which someone accidentally invents something, the speaker does not reach a conclusion based on presumptions about the world, but rather based on logical inference. The statement in question is presented as the only possibility, meaning that MUST is used to express epistemic necessity.

A couple of the NICLE entries on epistemic MUST did have two possible interpretations, which is illustrated with the following entry:

- 7) Indeed the popularity of the science fiction movies Star Wars, MUST also mean that people have an interest in the unreal (NICLE: MUST 10).

One possible interpretation is that the MUST expresses epistemic necessity. The speaker's argument may be paraphrased as 'if you like science fiction, you are interested in the

imaginary’, or ‘if you are not interested in the imaginary, you do not like science fiction’. Another interpretation could be that the MUST expresses epistemic certainty, and the speaker is simply speculating that people who enjoy the *Star Wars* movies probably take an interest in fiction in general. Despite this ambiguity, the second interpretation seems likely to be the correct one.

There were extremely few entries on epistemic HAVE TO in both the NICLE and the LOCNESS, with two entries from the former and one entry from the latter. The following entry was taken from the LOCNESS:

- 8) The essence of a person is only the sum of his actions and as a person is free to change the way he acts it HAS TO be the sum of his actions when he dies, as that is where the choices end (LOCNESS: HAVE TO 214).

The most likely interpretation is that of epistemic necessity, as the necessity expressed by MUST is rooted in logical deduction rather than mere assumption. The NICLE has the two following entries on epistemic HAVE TO:

- 9) The purpose, I repeat, is to compare students and test their knowledge on the semester curriculum and lectures. Isn't this preparing for the real world? The answer HAVE TO be 'no', because real life is not theoretical (NICLE: HAVE TO 28).
- 10) For thousands of years we've locked criminals up in prisons. There HAVE TO be other solutions (NICLE: HAVE TO 34).

Entry 9 expresses epistemic necessity. The speaker reaches the conclusion that testing students does not prepare them for the real world. The speaker presents this notion as the only logical conclusion. Entry 10 seems to express epistemic necessity as well. The speaker is convinced that there is more than one way to punish criminals. This entry may also be interpreted as signifying epistemic certainty, though, as it could be read as the speaker hoping that there are other solutions.

While this modality type contained few entries, there are a couple of interesting observations to explore; one of which is that there were very few entries on epistemic HAVE TO in either corpora. One possible explanation for this could be that HAVE TO is not yet as commonly used to express epistemic modality as it is deontic or dynamic modality. When carrying out his own corpora-based study of the modals, Peter Collins registered the following about

epistemic HAVE TO: ‘The ascendancy of *have to* over *must* that is in evidence with root meanings does not extend to epistemic necessity, with tokens of epistemic *have to* accounting for less than 1% of all tokens’ (Collins 2009, p. 63). Collin’s findings, as well as the findings of this thesis, would suggest that native speakers seldom use HAVE TO epistemically. Whether this is subject to change is difficult to say; however, Collins does point out that other studies consider epistemic HAVE TO as an innovation (Collins 2009, p. 63). This is further supported by Jennifer Coates, who considers epistemic HAVE TO as an Americanisation used by younger speakers (Coates 1983, p 57).

6.2 Root Findings

Most of the samples gathered on both MUST and HAVE TO from both corpora express root modality. The table below shows the distribution of root modals in the LOCNESS and NICLE:

Table 3: Frequency of root modals in the LOCNESS and NICLE

	Total MUST	Root MUST	Total HAVE TO	Root HAVE TO
LOCNESS	107	98	92	58
NICLE	53	36	129	97

There are far more entries on root MUST in the LOCNESS than in the NICLE, with the former containing roughly three times the entries of the latter. One could argue that this significant difference in frequency may be due to the fact that the LOCNESS samples contained 107 total entries on MUST, whereas the NICLE samples contained only 53 total entries on MUST. This difference in total frequency of MUST does not fully explain the discrepancy in the frequency of root MUST; however, as root MUST has a relative frequency of approximately 92% in the LOCNESS and 67% in the NICLE. This further strengthens the notion that there is a significant difference in the usage of deontic MUST in the LOCNESS and the NICLE.

The entries on root HAVE TO are in a similar position. While there are more total entries on root HAVE TO in the NICLE than in the LOCNESS, the relative frequencies must be taken into consideration. In the LOCNESS, 27 out of 92 total entries on HAVE TO signify root

modality. In the NICLE, 36 out of 129 entries on HAVE TO signify root modality. This gives root HAVE TO a relative frequency of 29% in the LOCNESS and 28% in the NICLE, meaning that both corpora have a fairly even distribution of root HAVE TO.

6.2.1 Deontic Findings

Deontic modality conveys the ‘speaker’s degree of requirement of, desire for, or commitment to’ something (SIL, 2020).

6.2.1.1 LOCNESS

There were a total of 75 entries with deontic MUST in the LOCNESS, most of which express a fairly weak degree of necessity. The necessity takes the form of an imposition, but the source of the imposition does not seem to hold any authority over the addressee. Therefore, rather than giving the listener an order, the speaker expresses the urgency of taking action or emphasises the importance of a notion. This is illustrated in the following examples:

- 11) For now, we MUST deal with the short comings of humanity's use of Einstein's ideas: atomic weapons (LOCNESS: MUST 169).
- 12) If we have trouble understanding or realizing how we got our education, we MUST list the people who helped us along the way (LOCNESS: MUST 232).
- 13) In order to understand each other, sympathize and grow as a nation, we MUST take special attention to the lives of those around us (LOCNESS: MUST 295).

These entries, although categorised as deontic, may have a dynamic interpretation as well. This is perhaps more apparent in entry 12 and 13, as these constructions are conditional. One interpretation is that the speaker does not make an imposition, but simply states that the circumstances compel the speaker *we* to act. Yet, the more probable interpretation is that the speaker conveys an opinion on what he or she deems important. The circumstances outlined in these entries do not seem to force anyone to take action; they are not presented as absolutes, but rather as recommendations or solicitations.

Other cases of deontic MUST of general importance take the shape of a comment in which the speaker simply states that something is important:

- 14) Britain MUST not concern itself with loss of sovereignty but gain of the European equivalent (LOCNESS: MUST 247).

15) People **MUST** be made aware of the actual spending of the lottery (LOCNESS: **MUST** 82).

16) Rather, the problem can be solved only by providing more training and retraining of low-skilled workers for the kinds of jobs demanded by our advancing technology. However, the job training **MUST** be realistic (LOCNESS: **MUST** 127).

The speakers in these entries emphasize the importance of certain notions; yet they do not impose a direct obligation on anyone. Entry 14 expresses negative necessity, and may be paraphrased as ‘It is necessary that Britain does not concern itself with...’. Out of context, this statement may be seen as an imposition. However, it is unlikely that any one person has the authority to impose such an obligation on an entire nation, meaning that the reasonable interpretation is that the speaker is not issuing a command, but merely recognises the importance of not doing something. Entry 15 has a similar reading; while there is a possible interpretation of the speaker imposing an obligation on the listener, the likely understanding is that the speaker states the general importance of informing people about how the lottery works. Entry 16 is less ambiguous than the two other ones, as the speaker is simply explaining that job training should be relevant.

While the majority of the entries on deontic **MUST** express a weak degree of necessity, there are a couple of entries which carry a stronger degree of necessity, namely obligation:

17) By the end of each fiscal year the government **MUST** pass thirteen essential bills in order for the government to continue to operate (LOCNESS: **MUST** 256).

18) They should make the Ph.D.s go through a program similar to the one graduate teaching assistants **MUST** pass (LOCNESS: **MUST** 259).

19) All physicians are bound by the Hippocratic Oath. Each physician **MUST** pledge to adhere to the Hippocratic oath while performing their duties as a physician to society (LOCNESS: **MUST** 262).

The deontic necessity in these entries appear to come from some sort of external source of obligation. In entry 17, the source of necessity seems to be in the form of a requirement made by the law: The government is legally bound to perform a certain set of tasks each year in order to not be abolished. In entry 18, the source of obligation is that of an educational standard set by a governing body. Similarly, in entry 19, the necessity arises from a job requirement.

There are also two entries in which the necessity is expressed as a type of concession:

- 20) It **MUST** be said that he does so without exerting any of the force of his personality on the work in any overt manner and although the constant recurrence of people supposed to be dead is at times absurd the light humour of the novel overcomes any indignation or hostility on the part of the reader (LOCNESS: **MUST** 58).
- 21) However it **MUST** be stated that Voltaire gives Candide the chance to experience many different views on philosophical optimism by meeting different people who have all had different experiences in life, before he makes a decision (LOCNESS: **MUST** 118).

These entries have both a deontic and a dynamic reading. One could argue that the **MUST** in these entries expresses dynamic modality, and that it does not refer to an imposition put on the speaker or the addressee, but rather that it marks a neutral necessity. The other argument could be that **MUST** expresses the speaker's desire to comment on something, probably a type of self-imposed obligation, which would make **MUST** express deontic modality. The deontic interpretation seems more probable, however, as 'it must be said' could be paraphrased as 'I must say'.

24 of the root samples with **HAVE TO** were deontic. Like **MUST**, some of the LOCNESS entries with deontic **HAVE TO** express that of general importance:

- 22) We **HAVE TO** question whether independant action, such as Britain is undertaking in the Gulf at the moment, will be permitted (LOCNESS: **HAVE TO** 157).
- 23) In this day and age though, any increase in co-operation between nations **HAS TO** be welcomed (LOCNESS: **HAVE TO** 220).

In entry 22, the speaker is urging the listener to think critically. In entry 23, the speaker outlines the necessity of cooperation between nations. The speaker seems to be more concerned with the fulfilment of the notions outlined, rather with the listener's duty to fulfil them.

In addition to general importance, **HAVE TO** is frequently used to express stronger degrees of necessity, with nine out of 24 entries signifying obligation or requirement:

- 24) Nebraska is in the Big Eight Conference and Big Eight champion HAS TO go to the Orange Bowl (LOCNESS: HAVE TO 241).
- 25) If there is no visitation at all, guest of the opposite sex HAVE TO be out of the rooms at certain time (LOCNESS: HAVE TO 58).

In examples 22 and 23, the necessity is expressed as the speaker's view of the importance of certain events or actions. In examples 24 and 25, however, an obligation is directly imposed on the addressee. While the speaker is not the source of the obligation, the speaker does in both cases implicitly refer to a source of necessity external to the discourse.

The LOCNESS samples also contain three entries which express negated obligation:

- 26) When two o'clock rolls around she doesn't HAVE TO leave, because she is a female in an all female dorm it is assumed that she lives there (LOCNESS: HAVE TO 133).
- 27) We don't have to let society coerce their opinions of beauty onto us, we don't HAVE TO let the media make us believe that we're not good enough, or pretty enough (LOCNESS: HAVE TO 136).
- 28) He tells them: so that they do not HAVE TO repent for his crime (LOCNESS: HAVE TO 163).

Rather than expressing prohibition or signalling the necessity of refraining from performing an act, the negated HAVE TO merely signifies a lack of necessity. In entry 26, if the speaker stated that *she* 'must not leave', the sentence could be paraphrased as 'she is prohibited from leaving or 'it is necessary that she does not leave'. Since the speaker used HAVE TO, the sentence may instead be paraphrased as 'she is not required to leave', or 'it is not necessary that she leave'.

There was also a deontic entry on HAVE TO which signifies concession:

- 29) I HAVE TO agree that many times these worth-while causes are sometimes being used to satisfy an individual's greed; but I am sure that most if not all funds donated are used for the purposes intended in those agencies and programs which are reputable (LOCNESS: HAVE TO 4).

The speaker feels compelled to agree with a notion. Even though one could argue that this entry has a dynamic reading as well, the more likely interpretation seems to be a deontic one,

as the necessity does not appear to stem from the surrounding circumstances, but rather from the speaker's desire to speak on a subject.

6.2.1.2 NICLE

The NICLE contained 27 entries with deontic MUST – significantly fewer than the LOCNESS. This does not appear to make a difference in terms of the degree of necessity expressed, as an overwhelming majority of the NICLE entries signify general importance:

30) We MUST never forget to dream and imagine, especially not now a days when work and pressure tend to take up most of our time (NICLE: 121).

31) Politicians MUST own up to their responsibilities and start financing courses that prepare students for actual professions, and they must radically increase the capacity for educating workers that are skilled for tomorrow's (and indeed today's) job market (NICLE: MUST 133).

In this type of deontic modality, the speaker does not seem to impose an obligation. In example 30, the speaker does not appear to have a specific addressee, as the pronoun *we* seems to refer to people in general. The speaker is urging anyone who reads his or her message to remember to dream. In entry 31, the speaker is unlikely to hold any authority over the politicians mentioned in the entry. Thus, the likely interpretation is not that the speaker commands politicians to act, but simply comments on what they *should* do.

Among the NICLE entries, there was only one entry which clearly signals obligation:

32) But all males MUST serve, unless his physical or psychic health makes it impossible for him (NICLE: MUST 148).

In this case, the speaker is referencing some obligation imposed on men by a governing body.

There was also a slightly ambiguous entry with deontic MUST:

33) You MUST remember that they are highly skilled at what they do (NICLE: MUST 142).

The MUST in this example could be interpreted as conveying obligation, but it seems more likely that the speaker just states the importance of something.

The NICLE also has two entries that convey concession:

34) I must confess, I belong in the last category (NICLE: MUST 82).

35) However, it MUST be said that daydreaming also creates idleness (NICLE: MUST 46).

In the same way as entries 20 and 21 from the LOCNESS, these entries appear to express the speakers' desire to speak their minds. Entry 34 is a confession by the speaker, and entry 35 may be paraphrased as 'I must say'.

There were 36 root entries in the NICLE with deontic HAVE TO. A majority of these entries express that of general importance:

36) They will probably feel more lost than ever, and we will end up breaking them down. No, we HAVE TO work with them when they've served their time (NICLE: HAVE TO 307).

37) What is the use of such teachers? One HAS TO think about those who suffer damage namely the pupils (NICLE: HAVE TO 382).

While the necessity in these entries takes the form of impositions by the speaker, the necessity is not directly imposed on any particular person or instance. Both the pronoun *we* in the first entry and the *one* in the second entry simply refer to people in general.

Ten of the entries on deontic HAVE TO signify obligation:

38) Norway, as many other countries have what we call a system of military service. That means that a number of the population HAVE TO spend a certain amount of their time learning to defend the country, or maybe even fight a war (NICLE: HAVE TO 259).

39) In these countries the criminals either get placed in prison or they HAVE TO do community service, it depend on the crime (NICLE: HAVE TO 94).

In example 38, the necessity is borne of an obligation imposed on able-bodied people by the government. In example 39, the necessity stems from the predetermined consequences of breaking the law. Criminals are required to serve a sentence.

Two of the entries on deontic HAVE TO were negated, making them express a lack of necessity:

40) I think that one time in the future this problem will be preferable, because I think more people will understand that when you have done something wrong you don't HAVE TO be punished with prison (NICLE: HAVE TO 40).

41) You do not HAVE TO be in any good physical condition to join in, any ages above 16 are accepted and the "teams" are always recruited (NICLE: HAVE TO 49).

In example 40, the speaker claims that it is not necessary to be imprisoned for acts of wrongdoing, as there are other means of punishment available. In example 41, the speaker explains that a good physical condition is not a requirement to join the army. In accordance with similar findings in the LOCNESS, these entries do not express prohibition, but rather a *lack* of obligation.

Finally, one of the entries on deontic HAVE TO signify some sort of concession:

42) And I HAVE TO admit there were some evenings when I could almost have killed for a TV (NICLE: HAVE TO 7).

The speaker feels compelled to confess to an intense desire for a television set. This entry may be paraphrased as either 'I feel obligated to admit...' or 'It is necessary that I admit', and expresses a self-imposed obligation, making it deontic.

The LOCNESS contained roughly three times more entries with deontic MUST than the NICLE. Despite this, most of the entries from both corpora seem to express weak necessity in the form of general importance. There were also a few entries of obligation and concession in both the LOCNESS and the NICLE. While the LOCNESS contained the most entries with deontic MUST, the NICLE had more entries with deontic HAVE TO. Both corpora had numerous entries with both general importance and obligation, but the NICLE had more of the former, and the LOCNESS had more of the latter. There was also a single entry of deontic HAVE TO which signifies concession in both corpora.

6.2.2 Dynamic Findings

Dynamic modality encompasses 'the ability or volition of the subject of the sentence, rather than the opinions (epistemic) or attitudes (deontic) of the speaker (and addressee)' (Palmer 1990, p. 36).

6.2.2.1 LOCNESS

There were 23 entries with dynamic MUST in LOCNESS. Most of these express a weak degree of necessity. Like weak deontic necessity, weak dynamic necessity expresses some sort of general importance. The main difference is that dynamic necessity is not expressed as an imposition, but rather as a necessity borne of the surrounding circumstances. The following examples express weak dynamic necessity:

- 43) A spouse MUST weigh his or her options (LOCNESS: MUST 313).
- 44) You MUST work hard and be very patient before you can succeed in this country (LOCNESS: MUST 316).
- 45) If the criminal can only expect to earn minimum wage in a legal job, then crimes can earn less to justify time spent. If a criminal is well educated and could function in one of the professions, then his crimes MUST earn more (LOCNESS: MUST 187).

Example 43 simply states the importance of weighing ones' options before entering into matrimony. While this example may be seen as expressing deontic modality, the speaker does not seem to urge anyone to take action. Rather, he or she seems to just point out the importance of considering ones' options. Example 44 is conditional. The speaker does not impose an obligation, but simply states that if one wishes to succeed, one must work diligently. In example 45, the speaker infers that criminal activity tend to generate more income than legitimate employment. This example also has an epistemic interpretation, but the more likely interpretation seems to be that 'in order for someone to consider committing a crime, the crime in question must be worth the risk'.

Although most of the entries on dynamic MUST express a weak degree of necessity, there are a couple of examples which express strong dynamic necessity. Strong dynamic necessity may be comparable to epistemic necessity in the sense that it describes a notion as being the only viable option.

Unlike epistemic necessity, however, dynamic necessity does not express probability:

- 46) Eating is something everyone MUST do (LOCNESS: MUST 184).
- 47) Food and shelter are fundamental needs a person MUST have in order to survive (LOCNESS: MUST 220).

Both of these entries describe needs which are crucial for survival. The aforementioned examples on weak dynamic necessity may be paraphrased as ‘it is important that...’; entries 46 and 47 may be paraphrased as ‘it is vital that...’.

There were 34 entries with dynamic HAVE TO. While most of the entries on dynamic MUST in the LOCNESS expressed weak dynamic necessity, the entries on dynamic HAVE TO in the LOCNESS primarily express strong dynamic necessity as in the following examples:

- 48) No matter how much artificial intelligence a computer may be able to show, it still HAS TO rely on the human brain to programme it and to put it into operation (LOCNESS: HAVE TO 265).
- 49) People walking or using a bike are not protected from the elements and, until cars and buses are banned, HAVE TO breathe everybody else’s exhaust fumes (LOCNESS: HAVE TO 67).
- 50) All colleges want this little pay-cut, but for a player to receive this award he HAS TO produce record-breaking numbers, and for him to produce record-breaking numbers he has to play a long time in each game (LOCNESS: HAVE TO 262).

All of these entries detail situations in which there is only one viable option. In example 48, computers have no choice but to rely on human programming as the development of artificial intelligence has not yet reached a point of complete independence. In example 49, cyclists and pedestrians will inevitably end up inhaling polluted air, as they have no protection against airborne pollution. Example 50 states that the only way to receive a particular award is by breaking records.

There were also two entries on weak dynamic HAVE TO in the LOCNESS:

- 51) They HAVE TO learn the importance of their lives and therefore want to preserve it and make the most of it (LOCNESS: HAVE TO 130).
- 52) People could be encouraged to use public transport by improving the service of buses and trains or by introducing car-free city centres where trains or buses HAVE TO be used (LOCNESS: HAVE TO 64).

These examples seem to convey weak dynamic necessity. The message in example 51 may be paraphrased as ‘it is important’, and the likely interpretation is that the speaker merely stresses the importance that *they* realise that their lives are meaningful. In example 52, people would need to use public transit if they wished to travel, but they are not required to travel.

Some of the entries were negated:

- 53) In conclusion, the American culture should allow both men and women to be who they want-, are or choose to be , and not HAVE TO aspire to fit into the traditionalist definition of who they should be (LOCNESS: HAVE TO 13).
- 54) This just shows that profit will come in the long run and that they do not HAVE TO rush into the money (LOCNESS: HAVE TO 169).
- 55) When using abstinence, a person does not HAVE TO worry about getting pregnant because they will not be in the game (LOCNESS: HAVE TO 208).

Unlike negated MUST, which signifies prohibition, negated HAVE TO simply signify a lack of necessity. This is apparent in examples 53, 54, and 55, which may all be paraphrased as ‘it is not necessary that...’.

6.2.2.2 NICLE

There were only nine entries with dynamic MUST among the NICLE samples, all of which express weak dynamic modality. This is illustrated with the following entries:

- 56) The universities and politicians have a difficult job deciding what to teach the students, and MUST therefore be prepared to receive critics, like the statement claiming that most university degrees are too theoretical (NICLE: MUST 154).
- 57) The students need to realize that they MUST take an active part in forming their own education (NICLE: MUST 151).

The necessity expressed in example 56 is weak. People in any position of authority should expect criticism, but receiving criticism is not a vital part of their professions. The MUST in example 57 indicates weak dynamic necessity for a similar reason: while it would probably be wise for students to actively take part in shaping their education, it is not strictly necessary for them to do so. The MUST in both examples may also be labelled as deontic modals signifying general importance, as one could argue that the speaker urges the listener to act. The more probable interpretation, though, is that the speaker recognises the necessity of doing something.

Two of the entries on dynamic MUST were conditional:

- 58) The arguers claim that in order to prevent new or repeated crimes from the prisoner after release, one MUST provide a good environment for rehabilitation

and not just put him in a box and forget about him until the day comes when freedom is at hand (NICLE: MUST 136).

59) I would like to conclude this essay by pointing at what is, as I see it, the only way to achieve more equality. First, there MUST be a radical redistribution of wealth, effected by significant changes in world economy, as well as several other measures within each country, to ensure material equality (NICLE: MUST 22).

Example 58 also has a deontic interpretation, and one could claim that the *arguers* to which the speaker refers urge the listener to do their part in creating a good environment for rehabilitation; however, the likely reading seems to be dynamic, as the sentence may be paraphrased as ‘if one wishes to prevent repeat offenders, a good environment for rehabilitation will have to be ensured’. Entry 59 also appears to express weak dynamic necessity. It may be paraphrased as ‘in order to achieve equality, it is necessary that certain measures be taken’.

There were 61 entries with dynamic HAVE TO among the NICLE samples. Many of these express weak dynamic necessity, as illustrated in the following examples:

60) We HAVE TO fight and be strong if we want to earn respect (NICLE: HAVE TO 118).

61) It is hard to say, because there are so many different aspects that HAVE TO be looked at in order to come up with a good answer, if there is such a thing as a good answer (NICLE: HAVE TO 64).

62) To be able to so, you HAVE TO know what makes a child or youth behave in the way as they do (NICLE: HAVE TO 166).

All of these examples are conditional; a specific action must be taken in order to achieve something.

A handful of the entries convey strong dynamic modality:

63) We HAVE TO eat to get energy (NICLE: HAVE TO 109).

64) The man she hates the most she HAS TO face every day in her child's eyes (NICLE: HAVE TO 364).

65) Those women who choose to go through with an abortion HAVE TO live with this choice for the rest of their lives, and so it is a big and often hard decision to make (NICLE: HAVE TO 184).

Example 63 is self-explanatory. All living beings must eat in order to stay alive. In example 64, the speaker states that *she* is bound to be reminded of her child's biological father because of the child's genetic traits. In example 65, the speaker says one will have to live with the consequences of getting an abortion with the rest of one's life, since the procedure is irreversible.

Some of the entries were difficult to label, as they do not seem to express a particular degree of dynamic necessity, and may perhaps better be described as expressing a vague or 'neutral' type of necessity:

- 66) There's always something you have to do or some place you HAVE TO be (NICLE: HAVE TO 67).
- 67) The husband is also exhausted because nowadays he also HAVE TO do his duties at home which in earlier days was done by the wife (NICLE: HAVE TO 100).
- 68) I believe we HAVE TO consider whether the way in which we are going are leading towards a development to the better (NICLE: HAVE TO 85).

Example 66 is too vague to interpret as expressing either weak or strong modality. Example 67 is in a similar position; the degree of necessity expressed is hard to determine, as it depends on the importance of the chores themselves. In example 68, HAVE TO is weakened by the preceding verb *believe*, which makes the degree of necessity unclear.

There were also entries on negated HAVE TO:

- 69) The stress is really in our minds, it doesn't HAVE TO affect us if we don't let it (NICLE: HAVE TO 10).
- 70) You can take use of the Internet whenever you HAVE TO, and you don't have to let it control your life (NICLE: HAVE TO 175).
- 71) You actually don't HAVE TO think at all (NICLE: HAVE TO 289).

Unlike the entries on negated dynamic MUST, all of the entries on negated dynamic HAVE TO express a lack of necessity rather than prohibition.

There was one entry on dynamic HAVE TO which appears to express the desire of the subject rather than the necessity of a notion:

72) It has been seen from time to time that some persons HAVE TO watch every episode of a certain soap opera and these individuals might be very upset if they for some reason cannot watch it (NICLE: HAVE TO 301).

This example may be interpreted in two ways. One interpretation is that HAVE TO conveys people's desire to watch a certain program, meaning that the necessity is imposed by the will of the subject rather than by external circumstances. Another interpretation could be that people in general are addicted to TV to the point of developing symptoms of withdrawal if they are prevented from watching their favourite programs, meaning that they indeed are compelled to watch TV. The first interpretation seems more likely, though.

The LOCNESS contained 23 entries with dynamic MUST. Most of the entries with MUST express weak dynamic modality. Similar findings were made in the NICLE, which contained nine entries with dynamic MUST – all of which had weak dynamic modality. The LOCNESS had 34 entries with dynamic HAVE TO. These entries primarily expressed strong dynamic modality. The NICLE had almost twice the amount of dynamic HAVE TO than the LOCNESS: Many of these entries were weak, some of them were strong, and some of them were assigned a neutral label, as they were difficult to categorise.

7.0 Conclusion

The aim of this research was to investigate how native speakers of English and Norwegian learners use MUST and HAVE TO in order to express different kinds of modality. Although there does not seem to be absolute agreement on the different kinds of modality in the theory, the distinction of root and epistemic modality was used, as most researchers settle for those categories. Epistemic modality governs the speaker's assessment of the truth of a notion, case or event, and root modality deals with the possibility and necessity arising from imposition or circumstances. The root category was further divided into deontic and dynamic modality, where the former encompasses modals which signal necessity through imposition, and the latter comprises necessity imposed by no source in particular, but rather by the surrounding circumstances.

The data seems to suggest that native speakers tend to use MUST and HAVE TO fairly evenly, as the data culled from the LOCNESS contained 107 entries with MUST and 92 entries with HAVE TO. Norwegian learners of English, on the other hand, appear to use HAVE TO more frequently than MUST, since the NICLE samples yielded 53 entries with MUST and 129 entries with HAVE TO.

Interestingly enough, in terms of epistemic modality, native speakers and Norwegian learners of English appear to use MUST and HAVE TO in a similar way. Epistemic MUST is primarily used to express epistemic certainty rather than necessity in both the LOCNESS and the NICLE. Moreover, both corpora have remarkably few entries on epistemic HAVE TO, with only one entry from the LOCNESS and two entries from the NICLE. The only real difference between the corpora resides in the frequency of epistemic MUST. Although the LOCNESS corpus has roughly twice as many total entries on MUST as the NICLE, the former only has seven entries with epistemic MUST, whereas the latter has sixteen. This suggests that Norwegian learners, despite the fact that they tend to use MUST less often, use MUST more frequently than native speakers when expressing epistemic modality.

As far as root modality is concerned, both groups appear to use MUST for similar purposes for both deontic and dynamic modality. Most of the entries with deontic MUST from both corpora express a general importance or urgency, and most of the entries with dynamic MUST convey weak dynamic modality. Furthermore, deontic and dynamic MUST have

fairly similar relative frequencies across both corpora, as approximately 75% of the samples with root MUST are deontic, and roughly 25% are dynamic for both corpora.

The main differences between the two groups seem to be related to the use of HAVE TO. In the LOCNESS, the samples with deontic HAVE TO frequently express both general importance and necessity. The NICLE samples with deontic HAVE TO mostly conveyed general importance. In terms of dynamic modality, the LOCNESS entries on HAVE TO primarily express weak dynamic necessity, and the NICLE entries express both weak and strong dynamic necessity. Several of the NICLE samples were also categorised as neutral, as they did not seem to express neither weak nor strong dynamic necessity.

So, globally, the main differences in use appear to lie in the use of HAVE TO. The only real differences in the use of MUST seem to be mainly one of frequency.

Given the scope of the present thesis, these results are not exhaustive, but rather indicative of a general trend among both learners and native speakers. Hopefully, my work can serve as an inspiration for further comparative research projects.

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9.0 Appendices

9.1 LOCNESS: MUST

LOCNESS: must*				
Order of appearance	Modality	Culled entries		
130	Ambiguous	...hopes into a machine which runs off electricity. The brain	must	be exercised to allow for this possible clanger, if we are...
4	Deontic	...to operate at the best of its ability, the representatives	must	act as one. Many Americans are now seeing that this state...
7	Deontic	...to pass and be made into a law, the president and congress	must	agree on it. The president has the right to veto congress...
13	Deontic	... to quickly dismiss cases that they deem frivolous. Judges	must	also be mandated to waste no time with these cases. Once a...
16	Deontic	Welfare reform	must	also be linked to behavioral changes by recipients, such a...
19	Deontic	...w that there must be some restrictions, for example, there	must	always be rules laid down as to the manner and form of Par...
22	Deontic	...eriously consider the implications of the work he does, as	must	any person who works at the forefront of any field. These ...
25	Deontic	... embark before they can truly embark on any others. We all	must	attempt to understand the self as children of God so we ca...
28	Deontic	...stinence is the only safe way to prevent AIDS, but society	must	be realistic. Children are becoming sexually active at th...
31	Deontic	Today, Prejudice	must	be hidden it just isn't accepted in our society. We may pr...
34	Deontic	... literature to be considered "ethnic", a seperate culture	must	be delt with. And aspects of these different cultures have...
37	Deontic	...ething from him or her within a class period. This person	must	be dedicated to teaching and to helping any and every stud...
40	Deontic	...ss has become an intense problem in the United States that	must	be solved. There is an agreement between all opposing view...
43	Deontic	...elessness instead of simply saying there is a problem that	must	be fixed. An abundant amount of families are on the brink ...
49	Deontic	...ance of the trust bond between the reporter and the source	must	be realized. All of the interviews a reporter gets are ba...
52	Deontic	...more than that - an active attempt to remedy the situation	must	be made. Caligula does just this, and it has been argued t...
55	Deontic	...eir problems are completely different in most respects, it	must	be clear that the arguments must be kept seperate.
58	Deontic	...ow Voltaire tackles the issue of optimism in the novel. It	must	be said that he does so without exerting any of the force ...
61	Deontic	...of a contradiction between the two, European Community law	must	be abided by. This first aspect of Britain's membership of...
64	Deontic	... a single monetary union will go is still debatable but it	must	be seen as a real possibility.
67	Deontic	In practice however, it	must	be accepted that sovereignty has been lost, at least to a ...
70	Deontic	... light, and reflects his devotion to the cause. However it	must	be remembered that Hugo was more concerned with principals...
73	Deontic	...rying out even the simplest of tasks. Therefore, the child	must	be taught to be independent before being introduced to com...

82	Deontic	...of the scratch-cards, and their aggressive marking. People	must	be made aware of the actual spending of the lottery * and ...
85	Deontic	...however, in a modern "force" thinking society where people	must	be allowed to choose their own future, the choice lies wit...
88	Deontic	The television strength	must	be realized, however, as it does have the power to reach s...
94	Deontic	... Single Europe mean a loss of sovereignty for Britain? It	must	be remembered that not only does Britain have a small popu...
97	Deontic	...mbers of victims who support this ideology. These feelings	must	be understood because of the amount of rage that these peo...
100	Deontic	...the objective of arguing this topic as a question of value	must	be thrown out. furthermore, the issue of looking at this a...
103	Deontic	...ional sports associations. To enforce these rules athletes	must	be drug tested. As John Chaplin, an Olympic track official...
106	Deontic	...to save people's lives, one way or the other. The decision	must	be made that a human's life is more important than an anim...
109	Deontic	...t want life to be ;tl&*;tg&. It is a personal decision; one that	must	be taken very seriously, for there's no turning back. If t...
112	Deontic	...strict morals, strong work ethic, and self pride and esteem,	must	be taught and reinforced, both to parents and children of ...
115	Deontic	...with. However, the problem is not one sided, and therefore	must	be looked at from different viewpoints. Studies reported o...
118	Deontic	However it	must	be stated that Voltaire gives Candide the chance to experi...
124	Deontic	...ce and discrimination are not consciously learned but they	must	be unlearned. Together as a society, and as a much larger ...
127	Deontic	...ded by our advancing technology. However, the job training	must	be realistic. It must take into account the strengths and ...
133	Deontic	... as mad cow disease and by law any cow showing these signs	must	be destroyed and not sold for meat. The problem is however...
136	Deontic	...clearly so that students can grasp the knowledge-. Points	must	be made accessible to the students in order for communicat...
139	Deontic	...y which rightly worries the British public. This situation	must	be changed to rid the Council of its secrecy and to transf...
142	Deontic	...akest economies, for example Italy. This means legislation	must	be adopted to further these aims and this means that by jo...
145	Deontic	The fundamental flaw in saying scientists	must	bear the major burden or moral responsibility for their wo...
151	Deontic	...s and so on. If society changes its way of living then it	must	change its traditions also. As time goes on certain thing...
154	Deontic	...re constantly being viewed as a potential sex partner. One	must	consider what it would be like for one woman to share a ba...
157	Deontic	...ing the 'putsch' of the Generals in Algeria. The President	must	consult the Prime Minister, the presidents of the two asse...
160	Deontic	...t the only truth we know is death and though we still, and	must	continue to, strive for other truths we will never find an...
166	Deontic	...d by Ivan Karamazov. Camus also believed however, that man	must	create certain values so there is some order in the world....
169	Deontic	...ings) our notions would be radically changed. For now, we	must	deal with the short comings of humanity's use of Einstien'...
175	Deontic	If we have defined life, then we	must	define death. <*>. In time the focus was on breathing. Lat...
196	Deontic	...med. In order for this to happen successfully, each nation	must	experience a loss of sovereignty to some degree, since Nat...
208	Deontic	...are reform is the answer. Nevertheless, a crucial question	must	first be answered: Why does welfare exist?

214	Deontic	... life. Animal testing is a crucial part of our society and	must	go on, if human's want to continue as the superior species...
226	Deontic	...en to be productive and good citizens, is that not enough?	Must	I go instead into the streets to save the homeless man or ...
229	Deontic	... stays away from the making of policies or does it mean he	must	intervene and play an active role?
232	Deontic	...le understanding or realizing how we got our education, we	must	list the people who helped us along the way. Everyone tha...
235	Deontic	...er, the awareness of Britons to Europe must increase. They	must	look into the future and consider possible effects. Will B...
238	Deontic	After the physical effects are realized we	must	look at exactly what Marijuana does to the mind. "There a...
241	Deontic	...derate Surgeon. He said, "We must get racism behind us. We	must	move forward. We must realize we live in America today." (...
244	Deontic	... lottery * and the actual changes of a lottery win; people	must	not be made to feel, by advertising, that they will probab...
247	Deontic	... and that it will continue to do so is guaranteed. Britain	must	not concern itself with loss of sovereignty but gain of th...
256	Deontic	...iscal year. By the end of each fiscal year the government	must	pass thirteen essential bills in order for the government ...
259	Deontic	... a program similar to the one graduate teaching assistants	must	pass. The Ph.D.s who prove to know a sufficient amount of...
262	Deontic	...ysicians are bound by the Hippocratic Oath. Each physician	must	pledge to adhere to the Hippocratic oath while performing ...
265	Deontic	...tic research and its application could be detrimental, one	must	present a very strong argument. This argument must contain...
268	Deontic	...ransport our natural resources. Along with this effort, we	must	push to make large corporations, such as Exxon accountable...
271	Deontic	...rid and completely, morally inexcusable, but eventually we	must	realize that suicide will never cease to exist and the bes...
274	Deontic	...ctrine of Parliamentary supremacy and sovereignty. UK law	must	recognize that the Community organs have the right to make...
280	Deontic	...ies that have had profound effects on modern day life. We	must	remember, however, that the field of technology is not the...
283	Deontic	...d arguments on either side, however, in the end the choice	must	rest upon the shoulders of the individual.
289	Deontic	...ociety. While taking the Hippocratic Oath, every physician	must	state this: <*>. These words of the oath are altered by ma...
295	Deontic	...understand each other, sympathize and grow as a nation, we	must	take special attention to the lives of those around us. We...
298	Deontic	...the restoration of the "American Family", and it's values,	must	take the front seat in the drive towards Welfare Reform. T...
301	Deontic	...echnology. However, the job training must be realistic. It	must	take into account the strengths and weaknesses of the peop...
304	Deontic	...rs and in order to keep their certifications current, they	must	thaech swim lessons. these organizations could funnel thei...
307	Deontic	...en and women are naturally different, the laws of the land	must	treat everyone equally. With fairness alone in mind there...
310	Deontic	...rejoicing in the fact that she is not allowed to marry and	must	watch her true love marry her sister in order to service t...
46	Dynamic	...The-problem will not disappear and cannot be hidden. There	must	be immense time and effort placed into the situation for i...
79	Dynamic	...e been told since the beginnings of our literary education	must	be present in order for any good work to exist? Am I corre...
121	Dynamic	...gh plastic bags are ultimately better than paper, if paper	must	be used, please make the effort to recycle and contribute ...

148	Dynamic	...r something to be ethical, the person it actively concerns	must	believe that it is morally correct. On the other hand, whe...
163	Dynamic	...s in the mirror and recognises that even if he is wrong he	must	continue. He can not go back as there have been <quote>. H...
172	Dynamic	...place. Why should students at school be separated if they	must	deal with learening to work together with the opposite sex...
178	Dynamic	...nce, as in Caligula, evryone is guilty of something as all	must	die. Human existence is futile, as Clamence discovers afte...
181	Dynamic	An Aristotelian Tragic Hero	must	display good qualities in order for the readers to have sy...
184	Dynamic	...which is essential nowadays. Eating is something everyone	must	do. This device has sped up one of our most important act...
187	Dynamic	... could function in one of the professions, then his crimes	must	earn more.
190	Dynamic	...f finding out who one is is the quest that all individuals	must	embark before they can truly embark on any others. We all ...
193	Dynamic	...artless answer is that we live in a market economy, demand	must	equal supply and the punters demand to see the bigger, and...
202	Dynamic	...roles were clear-cut guidelines for behavior. Now, couples	must	figure out their own roles. This can be another source of ...
205	Dynamic	...n the society. Celie, the protagonist of The Color Purple,	must	find inner strength to overcome the hardship placed on her...
211	Dynamic	...age, then one of the partners will not feel like he or she	must	get out of the marriage to be involved in an equal exchang...
220	Dynamic	...d to life. Food and shelter are fundamental needs a person	must	have in order to survive. A percentage of the population o...
250	Dynamic	...le have a hardert time just being openly prejudice. People	must	now justify their actions not only to themselves but to ot...
253	Dynamic	...its lack of acknowledging the true feelings that teenagers	must	overcome in order to be able to use those phrases. The pro...
277	Dynamic	...y years have so little work experience that social workers	must	rehearse them with scripts so that they will remember to s...
286	Dynamic	... is afraid of the other side of the mirror and the side he	must	somehow compromise with. We have sympathy with Caligua des...
313	Dynamic	...useful to discuss divorce is the exchange theory. A spouse	must	weigh his or her options. If they get divorced, what are t...
316	Dynamic	...tom line is that money and riches are hard to come by. You	must	work hard and be very patient before you can succeed in th...
319	Dynamic	...e's lives drastically. No longer are the times when people	must	write a paper manually, or even with a simple typewriter. ...
10	Epistemic	...he fact the Cherea's life continues, while Caligula's ends	must	also suggest Camus believes he is right.
76	Epistemic	...ed by god, ,who is a perfect being, all that happens in it	must	be for the best. All individual suffering must be attribut...
91	Epistemic	... referring to Dr Pangloss' teachings and saying that there	must	be someplace everything is for the best. But Voltaire's Ca...
199	Epistemic	...is all very interesting you may say, but these geneticists	must	feel some moral obligation. The actual work of genetic eng...
217	Epistemic	...will and for the good of mankind. For Pangloss every cause	must	have an effect, for example at the beginning of the story,...
223	Epistemic	... often witnesses to death. People who go into these fields	must	have had to deal with this issue in their training. I thin...
292	Epistemic	...f a binding nature, and to prevail over national law. This	must	surely be seen as a clear loss of sovereignty for Britain....
1	N/A	...have transportation and clothing, the almighty dollar is a	must	.

9.2 LOCNESS: HAVE TO

LOCNESS: (have has) to				
Order of app in LOCNESS	Modality	Culled entries		
4	Deontic	... the donations of money from those who are able to give. I	have to	agree that many times these worthwhile causes are sometim...
25	Deontic	... you are prepared to kill one person for a cause, then you	have to	be prepared to kill many more, since otherwise their death...
34	Deontic	...s money which are not allowed to be seen by the public, or	have to	be paid for the right to see them. Monarchy is simply a tr...
52	Deontic	...center, but it was built and I like it. But other programs	have to	be stopped before they start. Programs such as this rifle ...
58	Deontic	...f there is no visitation at all, guest of the opposite sex	have to	be out of the rooms at certain time. For example, the pol...
61	Deontic	...nsible student. When it comes to rules and regulations you	have to	be fair. When they are made they should take the students ...
115	Deontic	...asures, just to please the perceived idea of beauty? Do we	have to	go through the torment, and put our bodies through such te...
118	Deontic	... a lot more in their lives. What happens is that all women	have to	go along with these feminists rules. This makes it hard, b...
127	Deontic	...ing, or when that person goes to bed at night? Why do they	have to	know and report how many hwnburgers a person eats in a day...
133	Deontic	...ver for a visit. When two o'clock rolls around she doesn't	have to	leave, because she is a female in an all female dorm it is...
136	Deontic	... society coerce their opinions of beauty onto us, we don't	have to	let the media make us believe that we're not good enough, ...
151	Deontic	...n claims lead to lower wages for workers because employers	have to	pay higher workers compensation insurance premiums. Medica...
157	Deontic	... rather than many individual ones as we currently have. We	have to	question whether independant action, such as Britain is un...
163	Deontic	...what they will. He tells them: ;tl";tg& so that they do not	have to	repent for his crime. He found his freedom in Argos, and h...
187	Deontic	...limits on your freedom and live life to the full. Again we	have to	sympathise with Caligula as he tries to find the solution ...
190	Deontic	...rowing people off the track, but if you break the rules we	have to	take you off, so that you do not hurt anybody else riding....
217	Deontic	...lem the way people see the social world in which they live	has to	be considered. Because the way in which people see the wor...
220	Deontic	...d age though, any increase in co-operation between nations	has to	be welcomed. In order for this to happen successfully, eac...
223	Deontic	...uence of the fact that Hoederers plan has been adopted) it	has to	be considered that part of Sartre's basic theory was, tha...
235	Deontic	... this clothing may require ironing, in which case she then	has to	do. By the time she has finished everything required of h...
238	Deontic	...ts current push to increase enrollment. However, Marquette	has to	face some facts. Some people don't really care whether or ...
241	Deontic	...aska is in the Big Eight Conference and Big Eight champion	has to	go to the Orange Bowl. Penn State was in the Big Ten Confe...
244	Deontic	...exual resident in the same hall has her boyfriend over, he	has to	leave when the clock strikes two. If they want to be fair...
268	Deontic	...bout to reach the top, the boulder rolls down again and he	has to	start at the beginning. This is a vivid illustration of th...
13	Dynamic	... women to be who they want-, are or choose to be , and not	have to	aspire to fit into the traditionalist defination of who th...

22	Dynamic	...chers seem to be more dedicated to teaching. I guess they	have to	be that way because students in high school seem as if the...
28	Dynamic	...rs don't do anything that is considered rewarding. All you	have to	be able to do is run and catch balls that are thrown to yo...
37	Dynamic	...e system of litigation for all these lawsuits. Courthouses	have to	be built, judges and hundreds of administrative employees ...
49	Dynamic	...le girls that its okay to be dependent on a man, you don't	have to	be independent, especially if you are nice and sweet. It ...
64	Dynamic	...by introducing car-free city centres where trains or buses	have to	be used.
67	Dynamic	...ed from the elements and, until cars and buses are banned,	have to	breathe everybody else's exhaust fumes. These methods of t...
76	Dynamic	...uld the student be restricted? Most of the time your guest	have to	come from some place far and they want to spend the entire...
82	Dynamic	...akes lives uncertain, and taking away a ruler means people	have to	decide for themselves and therefore have no-one but themse...
85	Dynamic	...removes the element of independence afforded by a car - you	have to	decide exactly when and where you want to travel in advanc...
88	Dynamic	...about thirty-eight cars riding at one time and the workers	have to	direct all the cars in one lane and slow them all down as ...
91	Dynamic	...arents. They cannot drink in their own household, so they	have to	do it somewhere their parents would not find out. Eightee...
94	Dynamic	...hing to the imagination. We have to assume nothing, all we	have to	do is look and listen. There was once a time when things w...
130	Dynamic	...n insurrection is a prolonged protest against death". They	have to	learn the importance of their lives and therefore want to ...
148	Dynamic	... right to feel that. Those with less money, however either	have to	not bother, take years saving up or adopt - but this is no...
160	Dynamic	...ompanies have to liase with each other and the train fares	have to	remain relatively cheap i.e. the same price or less as it ...
166	Dynamic	...ncrease or decrease its interest rates the other countries	have to	respond whether it is in their interests or not. The prese...
169	Dynamic	...that profit will come in the long run and that they do not	have to	rush into the money. They realized that they would have to...
178	Dynamic	...oncerned, computers are revolutionary. Students no longer	have to	spend hours trying to type their paper w/o making spelling...
193	Dynamic	...ecause the computer is 'thinking' for them, they no longer	have to	tell it what to do, and the new generation is applying the...
196	Dynamic	... are against the transport of livestock such as beef which	have to	travel for days in lorries with out a break. Also by eatin...
202	Dynamic	...game, supposeively following the women's game. The viewers	have to	wait until the eleven o'clock news to find out if Passion ...
205	Dynamic	...his means that people who are in need of real civil relief	have to	wait. The backlog of cases in the civil courts also helps...
208	Dynamic	...h is abstinence. When using abstinence, a person does not	have to	worry about getting pregnant because they will not be in t...
211	Dynamic	...ople, he knows he was born there and feels annoyed that he	has to	ask his way <quote>. Oreste typifies the existentialist vi...
226	Dynamic	... to input the original template of the piece. The man also	has to	be present during the manufacturing process of the piece i...
229	Dynamic	<*>. This explains why something	has to	change in the business world today because business has to...
247	Dynamic	...blem in today's society. Theoretically speaking, maybe one	has to	look backwards to better understand their movements forward...
250	Dynamic	...". Hugo has no clearly defined project, he is drifting, he	has to	make a conscious choice which will motivate him to action ...

259	Dynamic	...ld satisfy the most people. As a result, society literally	has to	pay for their laziness and unwillingness to work.
262	Dynamic	... little pay-cut, but for a player to receive this award he	has to	produce record-breaking numbers, and for him to produce re...
265	Dynamic	...cial intelligence a computer may be able to show, it still	has to	rely on the human brain to programme it and to put it into...
271	Dynamic	...paper, on a TV broadcast, or on the radio, the interviewee	has to	trust the reporter to be fair and honest. The interviewee...
274	Dynamic	...ith effort. Money makes things happen, and quickly. If one	has to	work hard for their salary, they most likely will spend it...
214	Epistemic	...tions and as a person is free to change the way he acts it	has to	be the sum of his actions when he dies, as that is where t...
1	N/A	... of Europe were to be unified, the naturally Britain would	have to	accept the loss of her sovereignty. It would be impossible...
7	N/A	... Many housewives would insist on its benefits, and I would	have to	agree. But the washing machine is just another invention ...
10	N/A	...market in 1992. Concerning some matters the same laws will	have to	apply throughout Europe to make this market effective. Leg...
16	N/A	The next benefit would	have to	be the fact that the drug users would be responsible for t...
19	N/A	... you have to be fused with it, otherwise there will always	have to	be a leap of the mind. In scientific theory there is alway...
31	N/A	...to the intercontinental customs control and staffing would	have to	be cut down.
40	N/A	...ms having been entirely justified, some redistribution may	have to	be effect. More money may have to be given to these good c...
43	N/A	...ortion as an income. Strict regulations on abortions would	have to	be maintained.
46	N/A	...ntly used and influential invention of the field, it would	have to	be the television. Through the television, news and infor...
55	N/A	...m involved innate principals, the idea that things did not	have to	be confirmed to be true, that a person could only come to ...
70	N/A	...ervitude, by living under the power of Jupiter he wouldn't	have to	carry the burden of his guilt alone, nor would he have to ...
73	N/A	I believe that to improve this the industry will	have to	clean up its production lines and hygiene. It is believed t...
79	N/A	...s in his article that if tuition goes much higher, he well	have to	consider going to a community college. I agree. Marquette ...
97	N/A	...ss. Instead it would be something that one would no longer	have to	do themselves. These practices could become too commonly u...
100	N/A	...n against a worker would not be allowed. The company would	have to	draw up rules for a code of practice, which would be made ...
103	N/A	...ld take either. Religion impedes on man's freedom, he will	have to	enter a relationship of servitude with a God which will in...
106	N/A	... gums, and of course stock cubes. Would all these products	have to	find synthetic or substitute ingredients?
109	N/A	...become a way of life for some people and it scares them to	have to	get out of the system" (Sliverstein 14). Some welfare cas...
112	N/A	...ilitary leaders have been in the past. But, why should he	have to	go through ad that media hoopla, just to be President of a...
121	N/A	...ny different from what they are taught. If society did not	have to	have a name or a tag for everything, numerous people would...
124	N/A	...ld find it increasingly hard to make profits as they would	have to	increase sales to keep revenue to what it was whilst also ...
139	N/A	...undo the loss or pain already inflicted. The criminal will	have to	live with his or her actions as long as they live.

142	N/A	... and this would be unfair to the child. The child may also	have to	look after the mother in her old age.
145	N/A	...der question to answer would be, "What does the government	have to	lose." None other than the Department of Agriculture admit...
154	N/A	...duties that she presently performs. The couple would then	have to	pay the house keeper for his or her services which by law ...
172	N/A	...s (in particular beef farmers) are losing out as they will	have to	sell their meat for a lower price due to the low demand. A...
175	N/A	... two helpless sons sitting in the back seat. She will also	have to	sit in the lonely jail cell and hear the two small voices ...
181	N/A	...n" mean that the monetary and also the Royal Family, would	have to	step down ? What would the consequences be if we joined "T...
184	N/A	... will come out of this. Mr. and Mrs Doe, for example, will	have to	suffer the loss of their child, a child that they raised u...
199	N/A	...e great, especially so since if he rejects Jupiter he will	have to	tread the difficult path alone. Oreste remains firm-footed...
232	N/A	Another case that	has to	do with journalists not revealing their sources is the cas...
253	N/A	...eople to be skeptical about what benefits genetic research	has to	offer and if those benefits can offset these possible repe...
256	N/A	...vision can be seen throughout the many channels that cable	has to	offer. With an average national TV viewing time of 7 1/4 ...

9.3 NICLE: MUST

NICLE: must*				
Order of app in NICLE	Modality	Data culled from the NICLE		
1	Deontic	...the approach to the concept of higher learning as such. We	must	abolish the current system of academic ivory towers with p...
4	Deontic	... professional, at least in a small country like Norway. We	must	also take into consideration the great changes the whole s...
7	Deontic	...a life of a three year old may not seem as a bad thing, we	must	also remember that we cannot take care of everybody. The h...
13	Deontic	But we	must	always remember how we got where we are today.
16	Deontic	...n has a better effect on the criminal than punishment. One	must	assume that the main goal of rehabilitation is that the cr...
46	Deontic	...be healthy and creates an abundance of energy. However, it	must	be said that daydreaming also creates idleness. Either wa...
52	Deontic	... greeting the twilight. In moments of reverie, such truths	must	be momentarily banished.
55	Deontic	...- right and wrong" is a delicate and difficult matter that	must	be handled accordingly. You can get professional help befo...
58	Deontic	...today's society and technology. The future military system	must	be based on skilled and motivated professionals, with the ...
64	Deontic	...orld will not cure the problem totally, improvements still	must	be made.
67	Deontic	...m, be tolerated. The criminals are a danger to society and	must	be kept in a place where they are incapable of doing any h...
73	Deontic	... have a good job, a nice house and a fast car, and that he	must	be kind in the sence that he is very generous to her.
79	Deontic	Things need to be done to improve rehabilitation. Citizens	must	bring improvements in job training and counselling to the ...
82	Deontic	...rtunities like ours there's no end to the possibilities. I	must	confess, I belong in the last category.
85	Deontic	Every man	must	contribute to the serving of his fatherland. Women can vol...
112	Deontic	..., so do people believe television acts for many today. One	must	, however, divide television programs into quality and non-...
118	Deontic	... all time and will in some form continue to exist. What we	must	look at is therefore rehabilitation of criminals; how to h...
121	Deontic	...ust be the truth -whether it existed before or not."(1) We	must	never forget to dream and imagine, especially not now a da...
124	Deontic	...eld by different employers. The gap between theory and use	must	not be underestimated by educational institutions or auth...
127	Deontic	...ut and fictive explanations for. It has been said that one	must	not "let daylight upon magic", but fortunately or unfortun...
130	Deontic	...ictories pollute our minds in a way that makes us lazy. We	must	not let ourselves into the wrong imageries of just sitting...
133	Deontic	... private businesses in their area of teaching. Politicians	must	own up to their responsibilities and start financing cours...
139	Deontic	...he world, regardless of race, religion and nationality. We	must	remember that most scientific and technological progress, ...
142	Deontic	...bly be insulted labelled criminals in the first place. You	must	remember that they are highly skilled at what they do. The...
145	Deontic	...rehabilitation. Defenders of rehabilitation argue that one	must	see the individual who has committed the crime, and try to...

148	Deontic	...ving of his fatherland. Women can volunteer. But all males	must	serve, unless his physical or psychic health makes it impo...
157	Deontic	...ould prevent the person to do criminal acts again, but we	mustn't	forget the pure punishment side to it, the revenge as I me...
22	Dynamic	...ee it, the only way to achieve more equality. First, there	must	be a radical redistribution of wealth, effected by signifi...
25	Dynamic	... and the real world thoughts we will see that the question	must	be changed. Most university degrees are theoretical and pr...
49	Dynamic	... answer, but in a full picture of the whole mind system it	must	be there to represent the end of the line.)
76	Dynamic	The question in discussion here	must	be, does television also act as a drug on people? Does it ...
88	Dynamic	...is, to gain attentions and support, the feminists fighters	must	exaggerate, and exaggeration leads to vulgarity. Bad behav...
97	Dynamic	...take into consideration the great changes the whole system	must	go through changing from one to the other. It might end up...
136	Dynamic	...ew or repeated crimes from the prisoner after release, one	must	provide a good environment for rehabilitation and not just...
151	Dynamic	...ee of little value. The students need to realize that they	must	take an active part in forming their own education. I have...
154	Dynamic	...e a difficult job deciding what to teach the students, and	must	therefore be prepared to receive critics, like the stateme...
10	Epistemic	...ed the popularity of the science fiction movies Star Wars,	must	also mean that people have an interest in the unreal. Even...
19	Epistemic	...xclusive and that anything that goes against its doctrines	must	be untrue. Two other important aspects of the comparison b...
28	Epistemic	...alled a killer, instead of for instance swallowing a pill,	must	be as one says a quarter short of a dollar, and therefore ...
31	Epistemic	...defence does in wartime is of course very important, so it	must	be better having soldiers who care, who are interested and...
34	Epistemic	...hout the ability to escape, to get away from time to time,	must	be like being dead. My dreams and my imagination are two o...
37	Epistemic	...riminated and treated differently today. So the conclusion	must	be that George Orwell's writings are still true.
40	Epistemic	...ough he got caught I couldn't help thinking of how easy it	must	be to steal if you just use your head and plan in advance ...
43	Epistemic	...fact. So why does humanity still refuse to pay heed? There	must	be a lot of selfish people in the world, thinking what can...
61	Epistemic	...ome far. The imagination is significant in the way that we	must	be able to visualize how situations might appear in the fu...
70	Epistemic	The main reason	must	be to keep the state in question safe from attack from a f...
91	Epistemic	One can argue that Linda	must	feel hopeless after having lost her husband. Even though h...
100	Epistemic	...fore a new invention can be seen in our physical world, it	must	have been in someone's head as an idea. The idea is the ca...
103	Epistemic	...where a delinquent member of society ends up after a crime	must	have come about as an elaboration of the reaction to a cri...
106	Epistemic	At that point I understood that the time she grew up in	must	have bee like another world if I were to enter it today. C...
109	Epistemic	...he revolution of science technology and industrialisation,	must	have been hard to handle.
115	Epistemic	...to Norwegian censorship. The reasons for these differences	must	lie in different moral and ethic values. In comparison, De...
94	N/A	... evil creatures as well as walk through pictures, is now a	must	for, not only children of all ages, but also many adults, ...

9.4 NICLE: HAVE TO

NICLE: (have has) to				
Order of appearance	Modality	Culled entries		
7	Deontic	...refrain from commenting on, not having seen the show. And I	have to	admit there were some evenings when I could almost have ki...
16	Deontic	...rving the nation just because there's a law that says they	have to	. And that is not a very motivating factor. Then, the time ...
19	Deontic	...fancy treatment programs with extreme flight risks. We all	have to	ask ourselves the question: do we really want these people...
22	Deontic	First and foremost I	have to	ask myself another question. What is ment by doing the the...
40	Deontic	...derstand that when you have done something wrong you don't	have to	be punished with prison. There is a reason that you did it...
49	Deontic	...t" which has been around for hundreds of years. You do not	have to	be in any good physical condition to join in, any ages abo...
52	Deontic	...al activities. They have to be given a new start, and they	have to	be given the necessary guide lines away from what they are...
94	Deontic	...ountries the criminals either get placed in prison or they	have to	do community service, it depend on the crime. After being ...
127	Deontic	... There is a reason that you did it, and it's the reason we	have to	focus on. We have enough resources to do something with th...
130	Deontic	...earning process as a teacher. A lot of the information you	have to	gain after that is also theoretical, and in this way our c...
142	Deontic	...or; its something designed for war, not something that you	have to	go through because its compulsion! If Norway would come to...
145	Deontic	...apable of doing any harm to others. Several of the inmates	have to	go through therapy. The question many ask themselves is if...
151	Deontic	...have to be qualified and that in most cases means that you	have to	have a university degree, which again means theory, but no...
169	Deontic	...And yes you could have guessed it, he got caught. I almost	have to	laugh when I think of it now. He was by god the worst thie...
187	Deontic	...t might seem as it will cost a lot in the beginning but we	have to	look at the long-term effects. It might be very economical...
190	Deontic	...ow dreaming and imagination to be a part of your life, you	have to	make a conscious choice. You can blame television for stea...
196	Deontic	...an just locking them away for a certain amount of time. We	have to	make sure they understand the wrong they have done and pre...
205	Deontic	...ey're on the inside. They've done something wrong and they	have to	pay for that. I believe it's wrong that they all that luxu...
211	Deontic	... they are in a prison and they've done something wrong and	have to	pay, but they also need rehabilitation. They have to find ...
226	Deontic	... If the prisoners aren't on terms with their families they	have to	receive family therapy.
229	Deontic	...ay is probably not as big as it was 60 years ago. Still we	have to	remind ourselves that there are conflicts going on in Euro...
235	Deontic	...nd the lack of pedagogical wisdom in Norwegian colleges, I	have to	say that it is not as bad as it sounds. Students are well ...
241	Deontic	...e action to tell this person that it is not right. Then we	have to	see each type of crime separete from other types of crimes...
244	Deontic	...that will help him or her in his or her situation they now	have to	serve time in jail for.
247	Deontic	...munity, your everyday life is about to change. Whether you	have to	serve time or do community service it will still go on you...

256	Deontic	...risons here in Norway more feared. Make the time that they	have to	spend inside, longer, at least for those who do something ...
259	Deontic	...litary service. That means that a number of the population	have to	spend a certain amount of their time learning to defend th...
262	Deontic	...e of Greenpeace's methods can be a little to extreme. They	have to	start with the most obvious and easy and don't make enemie...
265	Deontic	...olutionalis done. The earth is crying out for help, and we	have to	start treating the earth as a living thing. We have to cha...
307	Deontic	...t than ever, and we will end up breaking them down. No, we	have to	work with them when they've served their time. We have to ...
322	Deontic	...done more harm to the cause of women than good. Though, it	has to	be remembered that this is all very subjective and there w...
328	Deontic	... The decision must be thought through several times and it	has to	be the last solution. I talked with a young lonely-mother ...
331	Deontic	...r market is due to constant changes, the university system	has to	be more flexible and make an effort to readjust its course...
343	Deontic	...en as the "domestic caretakers". It is this structure that	has to	be changed. It has to be possible for all people to have b...
346	Deontic	...in prison in order to rehabilitate the criminals. The goal	has to	be more than just locking them away for a certain amount o...
382	Deontic	... it to their pupils. What is the use of such teachers? One	has to	think about those who suffer damage namely the pupils.
1	Dynamic	... may not arise some time in the future, but for no we just	have to	accept that this is a part of life on this planet.
4	Dynamic	... knew isn't the same any more after all those years. They	have to	adapt to "our new" world. This must be very difficult for...
10	Dynamic	...way from it. The stress is really in our minds, it doesn't	have to	affect us if we don't let it. It's a choice. In a stressed...
13	Dynamic	...hat absolutely do not want to become parents, a way to not	have to	? And thus maybe being able to cut down on child abuse case...
31	Dynamic	...akes the final choice, there are so many other things that	have to	be taken in consideration. What if someone is raped, or is...
61	Dynamic	...n and there is no need for me to work all day. Of course I	have to	be up in a reasonable hour and go to school. After a day o...
64	Dynamic	...d to say, because there are so many different aspects that	have to	be looked at in order to come up with a good answer, if th...
67	Dynamic	... There's always something you have to do or some place you	have to	be.
82	Dynamic	...here is too much theory at the college today. The teachers	have to	confront problems today that were not current when the sch...
85	Dynamic	I believe we	have to	consider whether the way in which we are going are leading...
88	Dynamic	... fear of being discovered. But they will, sooner or later,	have to	deal with it again: Remorse might show her face any day. P...
97	Dynamic	Crime does pay and the evidence is overwhelming. All you	have to	do is take a closer look and you will see the evidence on ...
100	Dynamic	...ld! The husband is also exhausted because nowadays he also	have to	do his duties at home which in earlier days was done by th...
103	Dynamic	... they will be in need of a lot of money. Then many of them	have to	do crimes to get enough money for drugs.
109	Dynamic	We	have to	eat to get energy. Every physiological process in the huma...
118	Dynamic	...rival of the fittest". Also when it comes to equality. We	have to	fight and be strong if we want to earn respect. We have to...
121	Dynamic	...uter games and so on provide us with so much that we don't	have to	figure out anything for ourselves anymore, and will thus m...

124	Dynamic	...udy. Then you are sent straight out in the world where you	have to	find your self a job. You get a good job because you have ...
133	Dynamic	...e breakfast issue, but if you're one of the lucky ones who	have to	get up at six AM each morning you might have some feelings...
136	Dynamic	...ompulsory military service for women. As long as the women	have to	give birth to children they shouldn't have to serve the co...
139	Dynamic	...trol your life. It is really a matter of habit - you don't	have to	go to great achievements to break away from it. The stress...
148	Dynamic	...that they have found out that to get somewhere in life you	have to	have an education.
154	Dynamic	...n get enough people to enlist voluntarily for the army. We	have to	have compulsory military service in order to get enough pe...
160	Dynamic	...dern world, if we want to. Even more important, I think we	have to	include both aspects in our everyday life. First of all we...
163	Dynamic	...o over do it a bit with all this Asian stuff, I think they	have to	just lie down on the couch and dream away every once in a ...
166	Dynamic	... of people that you are looking for. To be able to so, you	have to	know what makes a child or youth behave in the way as they...
172	Dynamic	...butions through assignments. Also, whatever you study, you	have to	learn how to gain this knowledge, how to navigate in the m...
175	Dynamic	...ke use of the Internet whenever you have to, and you don't	have to	let it control your life. It is really a matter of habit - ...
178	Dynamic	...to have access to a computer with the Internet. They don't	have to	live like the people on the outside. There is a reason tha...
181	Dynamic	...do this and that when they are in jail and then, when they	have to	live what they've learned, we just leave them to themselfe...
184	Dynamic	...ay. Those women who choose to go through with an abortion	have to	live with this choice for the rest of their lives, and so ...
193	Dynamic	...ately not everyone joins the "team" voluntarily. Some just	have to	make a living out of it to be able to survive.
214	Dynamic	...handed that is good enough. If it means that the education	have to	prepare the work-situation, it still lack plenty. This is ...
217	Dynamic	...an or English people are allowed to see. The fact that we	have to	protect the kids from not seeing everything on TV and cine...
220	Dynamic	... to be a teacher. The workload, what kind of problems they	have to	put up with, everything they have to do apart from teachin...
250	Dynamic	...n many different ways. To achieve progress in the world we	have to	shape equal knowledge into different shapes, not equal sha...
271	Dynamic	...ng they go get it and they very seldom worry over who they	have to	step on on their way up. This is typical male energies. So...
274	Dynamic	...ion. It has become the "house-altar", and uoy more or less	have to	switch it on and sit down in front of it and turn all your...
280	Dynamic	... is one thing that is easy to skip, even though it doesn't	have to	take many minutes to get something to eat.
286	Dynamic	...again... Of course it's entirely her own decision, but you	have to	think about yourself in a situation like this, and also im...
289	Dynamic	...all these conveniences provided for us. You actually don't	have to	think at all. The thought of this makes me worry about the...
292	Dynamic	...have a job outside the home, women tend to be the ones who	have to	to all the work at home as well.
295	Dynamic	... of the areas we don't touch during our education, but you	have to	use it every day when you start working.
298	Dynamic	...all day long. I do agree in that statement, but anyway you	have to	use your imagination well in a lot of datagames and datapr...
301	Dynamic	...ion. It has been seen from time to time that some persons	have to	watch every episode of a certain soap opera and these indi...

304	Dynamic	...ur materialistic and expensive society, both men and women	have to	work fulltime jobs. If we want to have a nice home, a good ...
310	Dynamic	...en we'll have more time to spend on ourselves and we don't	have to	worry about the other person, children etc. Instead of fai...
316	Dynamic	...r the purposes of punishment to be successful, the penalty	has to	be in accordance with the severity of the crime. This is e...
319	Dynamic	... as far as to say it is essential, and I do not think this	has to	be explained. As a teacher communication is probably the ...
325	Dynamic	...od reason. The life of the mother must be a risk, or there	has to	be something wrong with the embryo.
334	Dynamic	...imagine. One has to rely on other than technology, and one	has to	be creative. Dreams are protective mechanisms as well as i...
337	Dynamic	Of course something	has to	be done to prevent people from comitting crimes, and if an...
340	Dynamic	...have gotten a bad reputation. I believe though, that there	has to	be radicalism to create a norm. There are negative effects...
349	Dynamic	...ter all it is the mother who is carrying the child and she	has to	carry it for nine months.We need rules so that it doesn't ...
352	Dynamic	...s that we do not have time to anything and the information	has to	come to us as fast as possible so we do not waste our time...
355	Dynamic	...arried is very common in our modern society. Every person	has to	decide for themselves whether marriage is the right thing ...
364	Dynamic	...ld is the result of a rape? The man she hates the most she	has to	face every day in her child's eyes. What is she going to t...
370	Dynamic	... do. To this breed of soldier, peace is simply a period he	has to	live through. A good example of this is the British Para R...
373	Dynamic	...timate those elements, one has to dream and imagine. One	has to	rely on other than technology, and one has to be creative....
379	Dynamic	...ms at all. There is a huge pressure hanging over them. One	has to	take the right education, which hopefully will lead to the...
385	Dynamic	So the society	has to	well define what to put in the word "rehabilitated". Then ...
28	Epistemic	The answer	have to	be 'no', because real life is not theoretical. But the kno...
34	Epistemic	...ands of years we've locked criminals up in prisons. There	have to	be other solutions.
25	N/A	... answer yes or no. Some university degrees would naturally	have to	be more theoretical than other degrees, depending to which...
37	N/A	... technology and industrialisation, my first response would	have to	be that they sure would have to have a place. But I can al...
43	N/A	...dle. A worst case scenario is the one where amnesties will	have to	be given to selected prisoners because the system is simpl...
46	N/A	...ntent about themselves. This is a risky job, and they will	have to	be made aware of the fact that they might have to sacrific...
55	N/A	...t many men are not fit to be a soldier and they should not	have to	be either. They would probably do more harm than good when...
58	N/A	... liberties and rights, there will also to a certain extent	have to	be what we may see as the opposite, limitations and duties...
70	N/A	...put through rehabilitation instead, so the state would not	have to	build more prisons.
73	N/A	...little bit of that. But then again the school system would	have to	change its strategy. In Norway the teachers often a kind o...
76	N/A	... and just as we have to choose throughout our lives, we'll	have to	choose in this case as well. In my opinion, the question o...
79	N/A	...ple would loose their jobs when the cereal factories would	have to	close down. Bakeries would go bankrupt and milk factories,...

91	N/A	To discuss this statement, I would	have to	define the meaning. There are a lot of different college d...
106	N/A	... a way to make all our dreams come true, and then we won't	have to	dream because every dream can become a reality just by pus...
112	N/A	...hat they want to see on a specific channel, they will just	have to	except it.
115	N/A	...hose to have sex before marriage, or even after, she would	have to	face the fear of getting pregnant.Female sexuality was als...
157	N/A	...el secure, loved, valued, and get a lot of attention. Many	have to	high expectations, and get easily dissatisfied. The women ...
199	N/A	...le with modern thoughts. On the other hand, this shouldn't	have to	mean that as soon as one's passed the age of playing with ...
202	N/A	...tion I will loose my rights as a pacifist, meaning I would	have to	obey orders from a military officer. In my opinion this is...
208	N/A	...t also go up, and if there were no theft, then we wouldn't	have to	pay insurance for that at all. So crime does not pay, unle...
223	N/A	... people who need help will actually get it. When they will	have to	queue for months to get into a mental hospital, something ...
232	N/A	...ide as well as the two bottom lines, the society will have	have to	sacrifice a lot. The effort won't be worthed it.
238	N/A	...theoretical and not too practical. But all in all, I would	have to	say that the college degree I take is too theoretical, but...
253	N/A	...ple, if it wasn't sarcastic meant, people-the masses, must	have to	some extent been depended upon their "opium"-religion. So ...
268	N/A	...to fall back on after serving their sentence. Here I would	have to	state an example to make my point more clear: A notorious ...
277	N/A	...have to resign from their ordinary job, and they will both	have to	take classes an educate themselves in what to expect. For ...
283	N/A	... a community service instead). But to achieve this one may	have to	take the initiative and do a little work, so most people d...
313	N/A	...g can justify the crime for the perpetrator, so they won't	have to	worry about that pesky little thing called conscience.
358	N/A	... needs far more help than a notorious criminal, since this	has to	do with persons who are seriously mentally ill. On the oth...
361	N/A	... struggle for this rapid development? My guess is that it	has to	do with the thought that the more efficient the society is...
367	N/A	...are in fact taking away the only chance that little foster	has to	grow up. They are in the middle of a situation that is ver...
376	N/A	...ic standards in a primary and secondary school system that	has to	some extent become more of a social engineering project th...