Some Linguistic Resources of Subjectivity in Media Discourse: A Study in BBC English News Reports and their Arabic Counterparts.
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ABSTRACT

Subjectivity-objectivity dichotomy is widely of interest to scholars in general, and to linguists in particular. It becomes especially so when it comes to journalism, that vital vehicle of communication which is in daily contact with people to tell them about the world around them. One way of fulfilling objectivity in media is through informing readers of different languages equally by media institutions having multi-language services. To see whether it is the case, a number of English hard news stories and their Arabic counterparts from BBC are subjected to analysis. The analysis is carried out on the level of inserting or avoiding a number of subjective categories put by Iedema et. al. (1994). The study has shown that impartiality and even-handedness, although a goal frequently claimed to be followed by media institutions, is frequently violated.

1. Introduction.

Journalism plays a very important role because it is in daily contact with people. It is generally intended to fulfill two functions: to inform people about events in the different fields of life (news reporting) and to analyze, interpret, explain and evaluate events (argumentative texts) (Iedema et.al., 1994:1). The first function is characterized by objectivity, whereas the second is necessarily subjective, for it includes analyses and opinions. However, a pilot investigation has shown that this is not the case. Rather, it has been noticed that news reporting includes subjective instances, a case which violates the journalistic code of ethics. To see the influence of subjectivity-objectivity in journalism, let us consider two ways of expressing the same idea and the possible consequences associated with each. A 'pro-life' reporter writing on the technology of abortion could use the emotionally-charging phrase "kill the baby" or the mitigated one "terminate the fetus" (Taflinger, 1996). The former is likely to create serious problems, whereas the latter is more neutral.

Much consideration has been given to investigating 'objectivity' in media, both at the linguistic and extra-linguistic levels. All the linguistic studies, however, have focused on analyzing the text as an end by itself. The present paper takes another turning; it will investigate parallel news stories across different languages within the same media institution. The aim of such analysis is to show the possible consequences of informing potential readers of various languages of the same media institutions differently, a situation that renders institutional objectivity questionable. For this purpose, BBC media institution is chosen because of its worldwide coverage of news and also because it is one of rare media institutions that give services in many languages.

Subjectivity-objectivity opposition has been of interest for many scholars in different fields. This interest has led the topic to be extensively investigated, and this has resulted in having opposing views.

The present paper addresses this issue in relation to news reporting. The study begins with discussing various views available on the topic. Then it moves to critically review a set of categories of subjectivity in news reporting suggested by Iedema et al. (1994). This critical review ends up with a number of amendments for the categories in terms of merging some categories together and rearranging others. The resulting categories are then applied to English news reports and their Arabic counterparts taken from BBC.

2.　Subjectivity vs. Objectivity: A Preliminary Note.

This section is intended to survey the available views on the notions of *subjectivity* and objectivity in relation to media in an attempt to have a clear idea of what they mean and here their limits lie.

To begin with, there has been much controversy over the notion of objectivity. Franklin (2005:177) sets down three principles which any objective journalism should meet; these are:

1.　The separation of facts and opinion.
2.　A balanced account of a debate.
3.　The validation of journalistic statements by reference to authoritative others.

The first point repeats the generally held view of distinguishing between *news reports* and *argumentative texts* mentioned earlier. The second characteristic implies that any account should be made along straightforward line. The third point indicates the importance of detaching one's adoption of others' opinion. This last point, according to Van Dijk (1991), is achieved through putting others' expressions into quotes.

Strict objectivity seems to be a troubled area. Davis (1990), for instance, opines that "The limits of objectivity make the search for alternative viewpoints crucial". This entails, among other things, that objectivity is too restrictive to achieve. In line with this trend of discussion, Naomi (2008) states the following non-linguistic constraints to objectivity of the news reports:

1.Decisions of Newsworthiness: decision of what news story to tell and what to leave out.
2.Decisions of Priority: decision of what news stories to be given first and what to be delayed.
3.Decisions of News Framing: concerned with how to tell a story, which part of the story to begin with, etc.
4.Decisions of Marketability: decision of the conflict between newsworthiness af a news story and its marketability.

Within this frame of opinions, Downing (2009) goes further than the above-mentioned in maintaining that objective writing is unrealistic. In this connection, he writes:

McElory argues that subjective writing is sometimes considered
by readers to be more credible than objective writing. Michael
Kinsley of State Magazine argues, saying that while objectivity
is an ideal, it is utterly inhuman to be totally without opinion.

Thus Downing (Ibid) continues "…readers may find subjective writing more believable, because readers identify with the writer as another human". This last argument can be true of argumentative texts, but can hardly be justified in relation to news reports.

Iedema et al. (1994:3) mention a publicly held view that 'objectivity' in media "…reflects the commonly held view…that there is some fixed reality which can be observed and recorded without bias. This view implies that there is only one valid way of looking at and talking about the world". This can hardly be adopted to be the case. In the then discussion, they (Ibid) explain their viewpoint about why attaining 'objectivity' in media is a difficult task by saying:

The way events are observed, interpreted and reported will
always be conditioned by the social background and ideological
perspective of journalists, editors and management. Even the
most ostensibly "factual" report will be the product of numerous
value judgements.

After a pretty lengthy discussion of the two notions of 'subjectivity' and 'objectivity', Iedema et al. (Ibid: 4) give definitions of these two notions. They maintain that 'subjectivity' means that "…at least some of the author's value judgements are explicitly revealed in language'. By analogy, 'objectivity' indicates that a "…text is constructed in such a way that

there is no explicit linguistic evidence of the author's value judgements". This last argument makes the word 'explicit' the key for differentiating between the two notions. This view is adopted in this paper and the categories of 'subjectivity' in the next section are accordingly discussed.

3.   **Iedema et al.'s Categories of Subjectivity.**

This section is designed to review critically the categories of subjectivity forwarded by Iedema et al. (1994). This review ends up with a more refined way of categorizing these linguistic resources, through relaxing interference and eliminating repetition.

In (1994) Rick Iedema, Sausan Fees and Peter White conducted a research paper under the leadership of Jim Martin. One of the main concerns of their research is to set down criteria of 'subjectivity' and 'objectivity' in journalism. They begin their study by investigating the journalistic discourse, and then move on to explore subjectivity-objectivity opposition in relation to the different journalistic roles of 'reporter', 'correspondent', and 'commentator' (p.1). They maintain that objectivity "…implies that there is only one valid way of looking at and talking about the world" (p.3). Subjectivity, on the other hand, "…adopts the "relativist" position, in which certain people are recognized as having their own way of observing and interpreting reality" (Ibid). They continue their discussion by further elaborating on these two notions; here objectivity means reporting "…on what has been seen", and subjectivity means "…including personal thoughts, judgements, and feelings (Ibid, p.5). The former they term "Reporter "voice, whereas the latter "Writer" voice (Ibid). They then move on to delimit a number of meanings that imply subjectivity when forced into a news story. For the purpose of precision, each meaning is considered a separate category in this study.

Iedema et al. (1994) propose five major categories which are: Judgement, Modality, Measure, Affect, and Intensity. The first two categories are considered primary, whereas the other three are secondary. The primary categories include a number of subcategories as discussed below. The categories will be reviewed first, and then they will be subjected to amendments.

1. **Judgement:**

This indicates explicit evaluation of others and their actions (p.8). Explicit evaluation is strongly associated with subjectivity. Judgemental meanings can take a variety of dimensions, such as indicating what is right and what is wrong, inserting a system of behaviours, etc. It should be noticed here that in news reporting quoting other's judgement is not an instance of subjectivity; rather it is an act of being true to the exact wording used. Thus, 'judgement' in news reporting should be handled carefully.

Iedema et al. (p.9) isolate five subcategories of 'judgement'; *normality*, *capacity, tenacity, veracity, and propriety*, each of which can take a positive or negative value. The five subcategories are discussed below briefly.

a. Normality: a category which includes evaluations as to the compliance with or deviation from certain *established* norms. The evaluations range from *normal*, on the one hand, to *extraordinary*, on the other. It includes such terms as *unexpected*, a*verage*, *consistent* etc.

b. Capacity: involves terms like *capable*, *gifted*, *stupid*, etc. (p.12). Such terms indicate assessments of 'ability'. Terms of 'aesthetic' and 'social' ability such as *fashionable*, *unfashionable*, *entertaining* are also included in this subcategory since they indicate estimation of one's ability to achieve certain social goals (Ibid).

c. Tenacity**:** determines whether a particular state of mind and/or action is positively or negatively perceived. Some positive terms include *brave*, *indefatigable*, *energetic*, etc.; negative terms include *cowardly, obstinate*, *unreliable* etc. (p.13).

d. Veracity: deals with truth or falsity and their respective value judgements. More specifically, it deals with levels of deviation from the truth. Positive values include terms

such as *honest, credible, trustworthy*, etc., whereas negative values include terms such as *unconvincing, hypocritical*, etc. (Ibid).

e. Propriety: a subcategory which "assesses compliance with or defiance of a system of social necessity" (Ibid). Terms of compliance with include *good, moral, ethical,* etc. Terms of defiance include *evil, corrupt, cruel,* etc. (Ibid).

2. **Modality:**

Modality is a well-defined notion in the linguistic system of English. It addresses the speaker's/writer's involvement in orienting him/herself positively or negatively towards the information given. Its subjectivity is well-acknowledged, for in its very basic definition it is the speaker's assessment towards what he is saying. In this connection, Lewis (1986:45) mentions that modality '… allows the speaker to introduce a personal interpretation of the non-factual and non-temporal elements of the events".

Iedema et al. (p.10) set down five types of modality; *usuality, potentiality, inclination, probability,* and *obligation*. Each will be discussed briefly below.

a. Usuality: marks non-absolute commitment as to the event at hand (Ibid). It is an estimation of the frequency of occurrence of a particular event, and consequently of its usuality. It is usually realized through frequency adverbs such as *usually, always, frequently* etc.

b. Potentiality: covers what is traditionally termed as 'ability'. It is elucidated through an individual's capacity to perform some function. It includes such terms as *capable, able* etc.

c. Inclination: indicates that an action is likely to take place, and this estimation is based on "an assessment of the state of the mind, the application of the will, or the emotional disposition of the relevant participant" (Ibid). It includes such terms as *determined to*.

d. Probability**:** refers to a scale ranging from strongly probable to almost improbable. In other words, it indicates lack of commitment to either 'yes' or 'no'. The more it is away from either, the more modal it is and consequently the more subjective. In fact, 'probability' is the core of modality (Halliday, 1976: 189-213). It includes such terms as *probable, probably* etc.

e. Obligation: indicates expectation that something is necessary to be done. This expectation is based on some circumstantial logic. It means that it is necessary that the action in question is performed. It embraces such terms as *necessary, must*, etc.

So far, five major categories of *modality* have been discussed. Before moving to the minor categories, it is worth mentioning that modal meanings can be expressed verbally or lexically (i.e. by means of modal auxiliaries *can*, *may* etc. or by modal adjectives or adverbs *probable*, *probably* etc.) with the former type being more frequent (Lyons, 1977:802).

3. **Measure:** indicates unlimited quantity or time (p.7). It includes such words and phrases as *a little, lots, for ages*, etc.

4. **Affect:** covers psychological terms such as *sad, desperate, confident* (Ibid).

5. **Intensity:** covers adverbs that map various degrees of intensifying quality and/or quantity such as *very, somewhat*, etc.

Up to this point, Iedema et al.'s categories of introducing subjectivity into text have been fully surveyed. It is important, at this juncture of the discussion, to point out that there is a considerable overlap among the categories. In what follows the overlap among the categories is elucidated in an attempt to integrate among them to end up with a more refined set of categories.

1. *Normality* shares much with *usuality*, for they both indicate estimation of the degree of frequency of an event; therefore, the former will be subsumed under the latter.

2. Judgemental *capacity* has much in common with the modal *potentiality*, for both indicate *ability* with the former referring to *mental ability* and the latter to *physical ability*. The

modal *potentiality* can be expanded, for the purpose of the present study, to include the judgemental *capacity*.

3. The three minor categories *Measure, Affect,* and *Intensity* all express judgement. They can, therefore, be included under *judgement*, since this major category of subjectivity comprises an open system, unlike *modality* which comprises a closed system to which new notions can hardly be added. The inclusion of these minor categories in *judgement* has two advantages:

1.To reduce the number of categories into two major ones and that facilitates reference to them.

2.To give these categories their due importance, for they are equally subjective and to consider them minor is baseless.

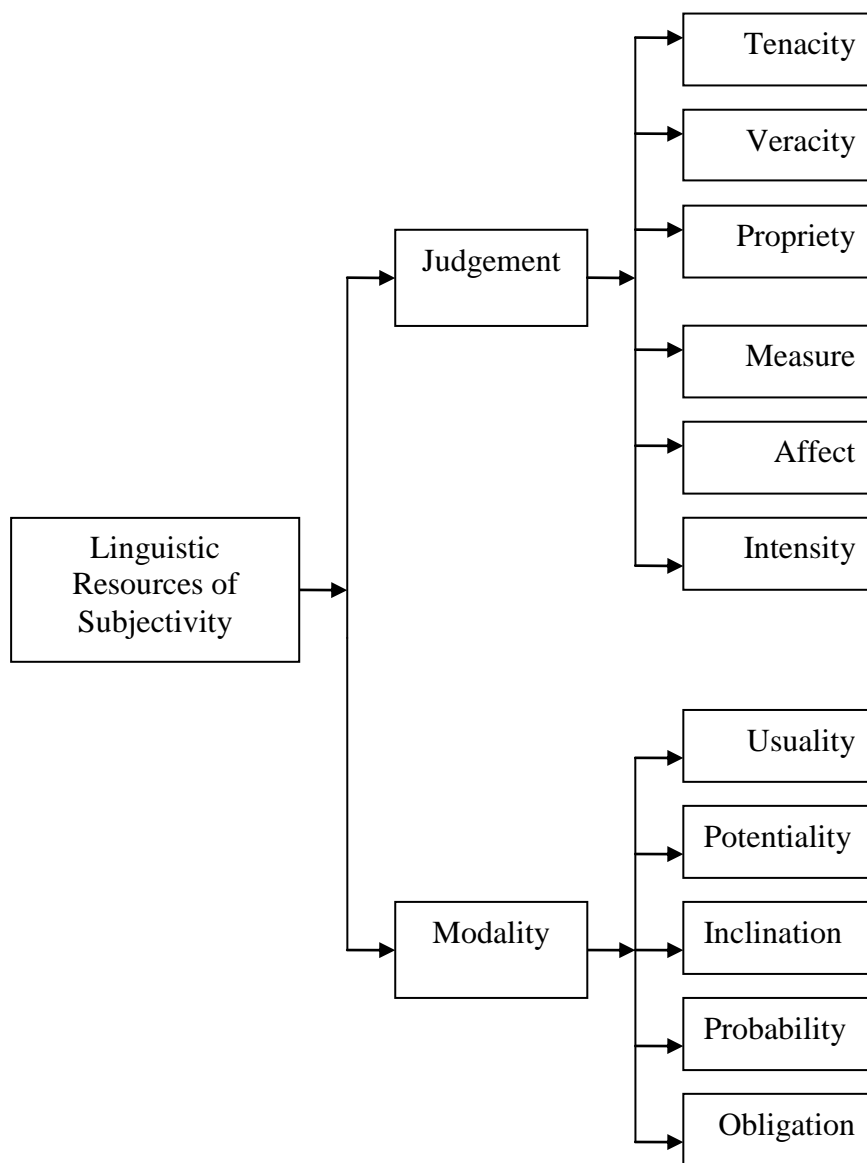　　The resulting categories can then be diagrammed as follows:

Table '1' "Categories of Subjectivity"

4. Analyzing Subjectivity in BBC English and Arabic News reports.

This section is intended to detect linguistic subjectivity in the BBC online news reports in the light of the categories discussed in the previous section. For this purpose, a number of English news reports and their Arabic counterparts are randomly selected and subjected to analysis.

4.1. Tenacity.

1. Israel's <u>controversial</u> announcement of plans to build 1,600 more homes in East Jerusalem has inflamed tensions in the region and between Israel and the US.
(http://www.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/8577633.stm)

٢- ويقول مراسل بى بى سى في القدس بأنه من المتوقع أن يوجه بان كى مون كلمات وصفها بالقوية حول قضية الخلاف الرئيسية بين الجانبين فإسرائيل ترفض وقف بناء مئات الوحدات السكنية فى مستوطنات يهودية فى القدس الشرقية والاراضى المحتلة.
وأما عن الفلسطينيين فقد أثارت الخطط الإسرائيلية غضبهم وقالوا إنهم لن يستأنفوا المحادثات حتى تعيد إسرائيل النظر في القرار الذي وصفوه بأنه عقبة في طريق السلام.
(http://www.bbc.co.uk/arabic/middleeast/2010/03/100320_ban_kimoon_middleeast_tc2.shtm)

The Arabic version of the news talks about the Palestinian side which has decided to stop negotiation with the Israeli side because of the Israeli decision to build 1,600 new homes in the occupied East Jerusalem. In the English version, however, the word *controversial* is introduced. According to <u>Oxford Advanced</u> <u>Learner's Dictionary of Current English/7</u>[th] <u>Edition</u>, this word means "causing a lot angry public discussion and disagreement". In American English, however, this word has a less strong through introducing the word *likely* "causing or likely to cause disagreement" <u>Cambridge Dictionary of American English, 2</u>[nd] <u>Edition</u>. Thus, the meaning nuances of *controversial* display controversy. The English version thus attaches a doubt to a fact. The Arab reader is thus informed of total disagreement over the Israeli decision, a universally-acknowledged fact, whereas the English reader is informed of a possible approval of such move (i.e. a lower degree of disagreement). Moreover, the use of this word violates one of the principles of journalism, for "An objective reporter should not use adjectives or adverbs, unless they are part of a quotation".
 (see http://www.honestreporting.com/a/media_objectivity.asp)

In another news report (3) by the same institution on the same issue, it is made certain that this Israeli move is unanimously opposed, an indication of personally inserting the highly subjective controversial in (1).

 3. The international community last week strongly condemned Israel's announcement of planning permission for 1,600 new homes in East Jerusalem, occupied by Israel since 1967.
(http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8578611.stm)

4.2. Veracity.

4. The SPLM has already withdrawn its candidate from the presidential poll. The elections beginning on Sunday are <u>supposed to be</u> Sudan's first multi-party vote since 1986.
(http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/africa/8606326.stm)

٥-يتوجه الناخبون غدا في السودان إلى صناديق الاقتراع للإدلاء <u>بأصواتهم في أول انتخابات تعددية منذ ٢٤ عاما</u> والتي تعتبر محطة رئيسية في إطار اتفاق السلام الشامل الموقع عام ٢٠٠٥ والذي انهي ٢٢ عاما من الحرب بين الشمال والجنوب. (http://www.bbc.co.uk/arabic/middleeast/2010/04/100410_sudan_vote_tc2.shtm)

The English version includes the redundant *supposed to be* which raises doubt as to the credibility of the multi-party nature of Sudan's election. Such estimation is not available in the Arabic version of the news, where structure of factuality is used. Another English version of the Sudanese election utilizes a factual structure and thus gives a further evidence of the reporter's own interference and estimation.

6. US envoy to Sudan Scott Gration is holding a second day of crisis talks after a boycott threatens <u>Sudan's first multi-party national poll in 24 years</u>.
(http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/mobile/africa/8599567.stm)

4.3. Propriety.

7. They have fought together in the capital against government forces and the AU peacekeepers, but in southern Jubba regions the groups continue to fight each other.

The dispute began last year when al-Shabab <u>forcibly</u> took control of Kismayo from Hizbul-Islam.

(http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8577986.stm)

أطلق مسلحون مجهولون النار على قائد عسكري في حركة الشباب الصومالية واردوه قتيلا في مدينة كسمايو التي تسيطر عليها الحركة.

(http://www.bbc.co.uk/arabic/middleeast/2010/03/100320_somaliaalshabableader_tc2.shtml)

The Arabic version is much more objective than the English version, for the English version clearly indicates a defiance of social necessity through using the item *forcibly* to indicate an unethical measure followed in taking control over Kismayo, an indication not manifested in the Arabic version.

4.4. Measure.

9. The Liberation and Justice Movement (LJM)- a newly formed umbrella of <u>10</u> <u>movements</u>- signed the framework deal paving the way for further talks.

(http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8574195-stm)

١٠. وقعت الحكومة السودانية الخميس في العاصمة القطرية الدوحة اتفاقا مع حركة التحرير والعدالة التي تضم <u>عددا من الفصائل</u> المتمردة الصغيرة.

(http://www.bbc.co.uk/arabic/middleeast/2010/03/100317_darfur_talks_doha_tc2.shtml)

In the English version of the news, the exact number is used while in the Arabic version the word عددا is used. Mentioning the exact number is highly objective, whereas عددا opens the way for a number of probabilities (i.e. any number more than *one*).

4.5. Intensity.

11. Correspondents said gang violence connected to illicit alcohol is on the increase in the UAE, where the sale of such drink is <u>controlled</u>.

(http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/8592724.stm)

١٢. ويقول المراسلون إن مثل هذه الجرائم ذات الصلة بتجارة الكحول غير القانونية تعرف تزايدا في الإمارات، حيث بيع المشــــروبات الكحوليــــة جـــدا مقـــنن.

(http://www.bbc.co.uk/arabic/middleeast/2010/03/100329_uae_alcohol_crime_tc2.shtml)

The intensifier جدا is added in the Arabic version and thus a tougher picture of the situation is portrayed. Such intensification is not found in the English version of the same institution, which is an indication of personally assessing the situation.

4.6. Usuality.

13. The row over Israel's plans for homes in occupied East Jerusalem has caused one of the worst crises in US-Israeli ties <u>for decades</u>.

(http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/rss/-/2/hi/middle_east/8586405.stm)

١٤- ويرى مراقبون إن إعلان إسرائيل عن خطة بناء ١٦٠٠ وحدة سكنية في القدس الشرقية سبب احد أسوء الأزمـات في العلاقات بين البلدين.

(http://www.bbc.co.uk/arabic/middleeast/2010/03/100325_netanyahu_tc2.shtm)

This report talks about US-Israeli relations and the recent disputes between the two sides over peace resumption. Both the English version and its Arabic counterpart clearly indicate that Israel's decision of building new settlements in the occupied East Jerusalem is the point which initiated the dispute. The English version, however, includes the additional *for decades* which portrays a more positive image of the ties between the two sides through indicating the rarity of such a level of dispute (i.e. that it is unusual for such a dispute to happen). This indication is not present in the Arabic version. Consequently, the Arab and the English readers are given different entailments over the same news item.

4.7. <u>Potentiality.</u>

15. In a televised address, Mr Abhisit said the move – which gives <u>sweeping</u> new powers to the security forces to tackle protesters – would help restore order.

    (http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/8607267.stm)

١٦. وقـال فيحاجينـا فـي خطـاب تلفزيـوني إن الخطـوة ستسـاعد "علـى عـودة هـذه الأمـور إلـى طبيعتهـا".

)http://www.bbc.co.uk/arabic/worldnews/2010/04/100407_thailand_emergency_tc2.shtm(

This news story talks about the red-shirt protests in Thailand and the government's move to restore order through declaring emergency. The English version, however, assesses the effect of such move through describing the powers given to the security forces here as being *sweeping*, and thus the report implicitly indicates the ability of such move on restoring order. The Arabic version avoids such an assessment, and thus it is more neutral.

4.8. <u>Inclination.</u>

17. Israel insists the Jerusalem <u>will</u> remain its undivided capital.

    (http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/rss/2/hi/middle_east/8588444.stm)

١٨. وتصر إسرائيل على إن قرارها بتجميد مؤقت للاستيطان على بناء المستوطنات في الضفة الغربية لا يمكن أن يمتد إلى القدس الشرقية حيث <u>تعتبر</u> إسرائيل إن كامل المدينة هي عاصمة للدولة العبرية.

(http://www.bbc.co.uk?arabic?middleeast/2010/03/100326_israel_policy_tc2.shtm)

Both versions mention Israel's insistence over considering Jerusalem its undivided capital. Yet, the two versions do not exhibit equal estimation, for the English version overstresses Israel's inclination through using the modal *will* which is usually associated with *willingness, insistence and intention* (Leech,1971:78). Had the reporter removed the modal *will* from the English version, it would have become equivalent in neutrality with its Arabic counterpart.

4.9.<u>Probability.</u>

19. Sheikh Ahmed bin Zayed al-Nahayan, a younger brother of Abu Dhabi's ruler, manages what is <u>thought to be</u> the world's biggest sovereign wealth fund.

    (http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/rss/-/2/hi/middle_east/8590902.stm)

٢٠. وسلطة الاستثمار التي يرأسها الشيخ احمد <u>هي</u> اكبر سلطة استثمار سيادية حكومية حيث تقدر أرصدتها بأكثر من ٦٠٠ مليار دولار.

(http://www.bbc.co.uk/arabic/middleeast/2010/03/100326_mr_ahmedbibzayed_missing_tc2.shtml)

    The English version gives a different picture of the news story than its Arabic counterpart in that it is modalized through attaching probability estimation, whereas the Arabic version is assertive through avoiding any modal construction. This in fact seems to be in line with the English and Arabic tendencies, where the former is modality-oriented and the latter is assertion-oriented (see Aziz, 1992:113-4)

4.10. <u>Obligation.</u>

21. Beijing has a close diplomatic and trade relationship with Iran, dominated by its imports of Iranian energy resources.

"China still believes dialogue and consultation are the best way to solve the nuclear issue," foreign ministry spokeswoman Jiang Yu told reporters on Thursday.

    (http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia_pacific/8610226.stm)

٢٢. وستنضم الصين إلى الولايات المتحدة وبريطانيا وروسيا وفرنسا وألمانيا وذلك من اجل المشاركة في المباحثـات التـي ستبدأ في وقت لاحق الخميس في نيويورك بشان فرض حزمة رابعة من العقوبات الدوليـة   إيران التـي تصـر علـى الطـابع السلمي لبرنامجها النووي. وقالت شيانج يو "نحن نؤمن إن الحوار هو أفضل سبيل لحل القضية".

    (http://www.bbc.co.uk/arabic/worldnews/2010/04/100408_iran_nuclear_tc2.shtml)

    In the English version of the news story, the text prior to the Chinese spokeswoman's statement is a justification of China's position towards peaceful solution of Iran's nuclear problem. Thus it is an implicit estimation of a situation that drove China to adopt such a position. In other words, the English reader is informed of one and the only reason behind such position. In the Arabic version, on the other hand, such introductory information does

not appear altogether. This indicates that the Arab readers are given a larger space of the likelihood of the motive behind China's position; political, humanistic, economic etc. Journalists in hard news should "… try to avoid adding 'comment' as far as possible in a bid to show independence and impartiality' (Barkho, 2007:14).

5. Concluding Remarks.

The present paper has come up with the following concluding remarks:

1. Although "objectivity" is the basic pillar of code of ethics in journalism and media institutions claim their adherence to the fulfillment of its requirements, it has been noticed that this notion is frequently violated. This has been made clear through this paper.

2. Some subjective instances are biased (as in 1), others are not (as in 7). The first is usually fact-challenging, whereas the latter one is fact-maintaining.

3. Subjectivity in news reports can take a variety of forms; inserting adjectives (as in 1) and adverbs (as in 2), making generalization (as in 10), intensifying an adjective (as in 12), incorporating modalities (as in 17), and over-information (as in 21).

4. Modal categories are found in the English news reports, but not in their Arabic counterparts. This can be attributed to the modal nature of English vs. the assertive nature of Arabic.

5. In expressing modal categories of subjectivity in English, modal auxiliaries are avoided. This can be attributed to the explicit subjective nature of such auxiliaries.

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