## Deixis As Pragmatic Markers: A Comparative Analysis Of The Victory Speeches Of Sharif And Trump

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#### **Abstract**

In studying pragmatics deixis play an important role. With the help of deixis it become easy to interpret the meaning of certain sentence according to the context. In simple words it is said that it simply means pointing or asserting something via language. Through the use of deictic expressions, the readers understand the speaker's deictic centre, his language strategies in time and space, his use of personal pronouns and allusions for the particular people in variety of social contexts. In the political speeches person deixis can be significant part of the speech and can have persuasive as well as strategic political functions for constructing positive self and negative others. Keeping in view the above idea the study intends to investigate which personal deixis are used in the victory speeches of Nawaz Sharif and Donald Trump for constructing positive slef and negative others. Furthermore, it also focuses on the differences in the use of deixis by the two winners belonging to two different cultures for the re-construction of their and their party's identities.

The data is comprised of victory speeches of both the winners; retrieved from net and then transcribed and translated. From the five types of diexis (e.g., person deixis, place deixis, time deixis, social deixis and Discourse deixis.) presented by Levinson (1983: 68-94) only the person diexis are selected for the analysis. A mixed method approach (Qualitative and Quantitative) is adopted. Expressions are sorted out accordingly.

The results show that both the speakers most frequently used personal pronouns 'I, We and You'. The pronoun 'I' and 'we' are used to construct a positive self image. The results also reveal that in the game of politics there is no difference in the strategic use of deixis for the construction/deconstruction of identities on the basis of culture and cross boundaries. Both the winners have used the deixis in one and the same manner to achieve their goals and positive self and negative other's constructions.

**Keywords:** Political speeches, Identity, Deixis, Us vs Them.

#### Introduction

Deictic expressions are significant part of linguistic analysis. Deixis describes words or expressions based on conceptual understanding. Lyons (1977) defines Deixis "as linguistics expressions, whose referent has to be found in the situation relative to their act of utterance". Levinson (1983: 68-94) divides deixis into five

manin types; person, time, place, social and discourse deixis.

Irimiea (2010) states that throughout the history, in the political speeches deixis have always been playing a very pivotal role (p. 2). While Allen (2007) opines that the main purpose of using deitic expressions is to create a positive self-image and a negative representation of the opponents (p. 2). Therefore, person deixes can be

a significant part of the speech and can have persuasive as well as strategic political functions. Politicians manipulate their use of person deixis or pronominal choices based on the context and the topic of their speeches, as well as their intentions or goals that they want to achieve through their speeches. Van Dijk (2006) states that person deixes can also be used to assign any positive aspect to oneself and negative aspect to the other which results in "positive self-presentation and negative other presentation" or "the polarization of us versus them.

For the better understanding of utterances, the knowledge about the relationship between the language used and the context in which the utterances occur is very important. Thus, while communicating with oneother it becomes very easy for people to understand the meaning of particular utterances. The politicians manipulate the use of pronouns to create good effects on the audience, such as to highlight their achievements, to shorten the distance with the audience, to deny or distance them from the responsibility for particular political action, and to encourage solidarity. They use different deictic expression for cobsturction and reconstruction of self and other identities. Thus, this very important role of deixis motivates the researcher to investigate what sort of person deixis are used by Sharif and Trump in their victory speeches and why? Furthermore, the study is interested in finding out is there any change in the use of deictic expression of the two leaders belonging to two different cultures. The study also shows interest in investigating how Sharif and Trump reconstruct their political identities? The data is analyzed by adopting mix method (qualitative & quantitative) approach.

In the research field a lot of work is done on deixis. Some of the related studies are briefly discussed below.

#### Literature Review

Brown and Gilman (1960) in their study have discussed that the speaker and listeners relation matters a lot in the selection of person deixis in any speech. When a person address you in the same manner as you address him, is the representation of equality. While showing respect and honor in addressing someone is the sign of high status and inequality. Such social differences are the part of every society (p. 1ff). They further have discussed about different variables such as age, sex, physical strength, role in family, state, church etc. which are helpful in determining the status of a person (p. 1f)

In the political discourse the pronoun us and them are used to create a boundary. The pronoun us and we are used to construct a positive self-image the speaker. While the pronouns they and them are used to construct a negative image of the opponents.

Bramley (2001) states that in the political speeches the speaker uses I to present himself as an individual to construct their positive image in the eyes of the people by representing their good qualities and accomplishments (p. 259). While the pronoun you, a generic pronoun is used to address the audience in a general way (Bramley 2001:261f). In political speeches the pronoun they is used to divide the people in groups and for the construction of negative image of the opponents (Bramley 2001:262). According to Bramley (2011) the selection of pronominal choices made by the speaker is in fact the reflection of his individual or collective identity (263). Furthermore, Bramley states the main purpose of using all these pronouns is to motivate the people to follow their views and construct the reality according to their own perspective.

De Fina (1995) in her study showed that the selective choices made by the speaker in the political speeches not only reflect his identity but it is also a strategy to show his closeness to the audience. The pronoun we is mostly used for sharing the burden and for creating a sense of

collectivity. The speaker with the use of we represents himself a representative of any group or organization. (De Fina1995:24f). With the use of pronoun I the speaker not only creates his authority and supremacy but also expresses more of a commitment to the audience. De Fina (1995), further states that in political speeches there is a lack of second person pronoun you as there is no clear appeal to specific groups as addressees. According to De Fina (1995) the pronouns in political speeches are always considered in their context that how and for what purpose they are used (24f).

In the previous researches although the deixis in the political speeches have been analyzed with different perspectives but the present research is unique in its stance as it is based on the comparative analysis of use of deixis in the Urdu and English political speeches.

## **Theoretical Underpinning**

In this section some useful insights about pragmatics and deixis are discussed to give the data analysis a direction.

Pragmatics focuses on the use of language in any society according to the conditions of a society (Mey, 2001: p. 6). Its main concern is intention of the speakers involved their worldly knowledge.

Deixis are not only the context-dependent properties of natural languages but also are pervasive feature of languages than normally recognized one. Yule (1996) defines deixis as one of the most basic things done by people through their utterances. According to Richards and Schmidt (2002) deixis are word or phrase used by the language users for pointing, refring or relating their utterances to some specific time, place or person (p. 147).

For the presentation of person deixis, personal pronouns are used most commonly. Cruse (2000) and Yule (1996) make some distinction between person deixis on the basis of making a distinction between the speaker; the first person (I), the

addressee, the second person (you), and other important participants, known as the third person (he, she, it, they). I and we pronouns refer to the speaker or to a group of people that includes the speaker and his party. While the pronoun you refer to the addressee or to a group of people that includes the addressee. The pronpoun they is used for addressing the third person or the opponants.

## Aim of the Study

The study aims to investigate which person deixis are used in the victory speeches of Sharif and Trump and what is the purpose of using these deixis. Furthermore, the study focuses that how these deixis are used for the construction of positive self and negative other representation.

## **Delimitations of the Study**

Politics is just like the bread and butter in every country. Every politician makes speeches and thousands speeches are over there. There is a large number of victory speeches, but the researcher has delimited the work on the victory speeches of Nawaz Sharif and Donald Trump.

## **Methodology**

The linguistic framework of any linguistic research serves as a tool for the analysis of data. A mixed method approach is used for data analysis. The study employs a descriptive qualitative method. However, this study also incorporates a simple quantitative method to calculate the number of each type of person deixis and its occurrences.

## **Research Objectives**

- To find out which personal deixis are used in the victory speeches of Sharif and Donald Trump and why
- 2. To search out the differences in the use of deixis in the two speeches on the basis of cultural differences
- 3. To investigate how they re-construct their political identities

#### **Research Questions**

- 1. Which personal deixis are used in the victory speeches of Sharif and Trump and why?
- 2. What are the differences in the use of deixis in the two speeches?
- 3. How do they re-construct their political identities?

## Significance of the Study

The study will be a contribution in the field of pragmatic researches. The research aims at pragmatic understanding of deixis in the field of politics. The underlying assumption is to reveal that how the politicians use personal deixis for positive self-construction and construct the negative image of their opponents. This study will provide a useful insight to people in understanding how with the use of pronouns the politicians achieve their political goals by positive self-identity construction.

#### **Data Collection**

The data is collected from two victory speeches in Urdu and English. The Urdu speech is from Pakistan Prime minister (Nawaz Sharif's victory speech on 11<sup>th</sup> May 2013). The other speech is from American President (Donald Trump's victory speech on 9<sup>th</sup> November. 2016). Both the leaders belong to different countries and cultures, so it is interesting to analyze their speeches to find out the difference in their use of personal pronouns.

The data for both the speeches are transcribed after downloading from net. The total amount of data for the study contains 2916 words; Nawaz Sharif's speech contains 1,143words and Donald Trump's speech consists of 1,773 words.

Both the speeches are lengthy so only those sentences are extracted which fulfill the purpose of the study. In the course of analysis, the two speeches selected are labeled as NS and DT to make the analysis clear and easy to understand.

The Urdu speech is translated into English by the researcher in the appendix for the convenience of the non-native readers.

**Data Analysis Procedure:** For the data analysis a mix method (Qualitative & Quantitative) approach is adopted. For the quantitative analysis only occurrences of each person deixis is presented in the tabular form, while in qualitative analysis the implementation and the purpose of using all these person deixis is analyzed.

## **Data Analysis**

## **Analysis of Sharif's Speech**

1NS بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

**Transliteration:** Bismillah Hirahmaniraheem **Back translation:** Bismillah Hirahmaniraheem

2NS- عزیز دوستو،ساتهیوں ،بہنوں ،میرے بھائیوں۔ اسلام علیکم!۔

## Transliteration: Aziz dosto, sathioo, behno aur merae bhaioo asslamoalikum! Back translation: Dear friends, colleagues,

sisters and my brothers! assalmoalikum!

#### **Analysis**

The speaker begins the speech with the name of Almighty Allah to take a good start. He with the use of Personal pronoun Merae (mine) shows closeness with the audience and constructs a strong bond. Merae (mine) is used for only those people who are considered to be the dearest one. Here the use of this pronoun presents that the speaker is well aware of the psychological effect of this word that's why he has started the speech with this pronoun to get the attention of the people.

## The use of Mai (I) and its variants

3NS مجھے یہ کہنے دیجئے کہ مجھے کمپین میں جگہ جگہ آپ کی وہ محبت ملی ہے جو میرے دل کے اندر ایک نقش کر گئی ہے کہ پاکستان کے، پاکستان کے عوام نواز شریف سے کس قدر محبت کرتے ہیں

**Transliteration:** <u>Mujae</u> yeh kehnae dijaje kae <u>mujae</u> campaign mae jaga jaga app ki wo muhabat mili hae jo mera dil kae under aik naksh ker gae hae kae Paksiatistan kae awam Nawaz Sahrif sae kis kader mohabat kertae hain.

## **Analysis**

In the above sentence with the use of person pronoun 'Mujhae' (me) Nawaz Sharif as the power sign is indicating position of a winner in country's election. He is creating a positive self image by showing him so polite and the most loveable personality. He is in fact assuring the people that he is well aware of their love for him. He infuses his popularity among the people. He is giving them the impression that he is well aware of the support, love and affection of the people. Further he wants to make them clear that whatever efforts they have been doing for him he is well aware of those too. Use of personal pronoun Merae (mine) is the reflection of his intention that he loves them a lot and they live in his heart. He is creating an affiliation with the people. He is showing his amazement that he was not expecting such love from the nation. It is a sign of admiration and self-praising. He is manipulating the feelings. With the use of the words Merae dil main naksh ker gae hae, he in fact strengthens his position in the minds of the people.

18NS میں میں سب کو اپیل کرونگا آؤٹیبل پر آکربیٹھومیں سب کو ،آپ کے لئے ، اپنی ذات کے لئے نہیں، اپنی ذات کی بات ہوتی، اپنی ذات کی بات ہوتی تو میں یہ بات کرتا بھی نہ، میں قوم کی خاطر، آپ کی خاطر، پاکستان کے اٹھارہ کروڑ عوام کی خاطر، اس بدبخت لوڈشیڈنگ، بے روزگاری ،غربت، مہنگائی ،اس کو ختم کرنے کی خاطر، میں ان کو کہتا ہوں آؤمیرےساتھ بیٹھو،

**Transliteration:** To <u>mai mai</u> sub ko appeal karoon gaa aoo table per betho mai sub ko app kae liae, <u>apni</u> zaat kae liae nahi, **apni** zaat ki baat hoti to <u>ami</u> ye baat kerta bhi nahi, mai koom ki khatir, is badbakhat loadshedding, mehngai iss ko kuatam kernae ki hatir, <u>mai</u> in sub ko kehta hoon kae aoo **merae** saath bethoo.

**Back translation:** So, I will make an appeal to all to come to the table, I will call them all for you not for myself. If I considered myself then I had no need to talk about this. I, for the sake of nation and for you, for eighteen crore people of Pakistan, for this load shedding, unemployment, poverty and dearness to finish it.

## **Analysis**

The speaker with the use of pronoun Mai (I) is presenting himself as a well-wisher of whole the nation. He almost takes the responsibility of resolving all the petty issues between him and his opponents. He by presenting himself as a peace loving person pretends to be ready for shaking hands with his opponents. The pronoun Mai (I) gives him individual power and voice to share his personal opinion. With the frequent use of Mai (I) he imposes the idea that this is his utmost desire to do something for the people. He is requesting his opponents to come and resolve the issues.

# The use of personal plural pronoun You (App) and its variants

5NS جس محبت س<u>ے آپ نے ہمیں</u> نوازا، جسس<u>ے آپ</u> نے مسلم لیگ ن کو نوازا، میرے پاس الفاظ نہیں ہیں کہ میں <u>آپ</u> کا شکر یہ ادا کر سکوں

**Transliteration:** Jis mohabat sae <u>app</u> nae humain\_nawaza, <u>app</u> nae Musllim League N ko nawaza, <u>merae</u> pass ilfaz nahi hain kae main\_<u>app</u> ka shukria adda ker akoon.

**Back translation:** The love which you have shown for me, Muslim League (N), I have no words to thank you.

## **Analysis**

In the above expression the pronoun You (app) is used for his supporters who helped him in getting the success. As the speech was delivered in front of his party workers, so the speaker is paying tribute to those people and thanking them for their love and affection for him and his party. He is assuring them that his and his party's success is due to the people's support. He makes them

believe that he is having no words to thank them for their support.

22NS ہم ہم سمجھتے ہیں الله تعالیٰ الله تعالیٰ نے جو یہ کامیابی عطا فرمائی ہے آپ سب آپ سب اس کے حضور سر جھکاؤ آپ سب اس کے حضور سر جھکا کر اس کا شکر ادا کرو۔ 24NS۔انشاءالله اگر سر جھکا کر شکر ادا کروگے الله تعالیٰ اس مینکامیابی عطا فرمائے گا اور اور آپ سے آپ سے نواز شریف نے مسلم لیگ ن نے ،شہباز شریف نے جو وعدے کے بیں ایک ایک وعدے انشاءالله پورا کرینگے۔

Transliteration: Hum hum samjatae hain Allah Tallah nae humain jo yee kamyabi atta fermae hae app sub app sub us kae hazoor sir khukaoo app sub us kae hazoor sir jhuka ker us ka shuker ada karoo. Insha Allah agar sir jhuka ker shuker ada karo gae Allah Tallah iss mae kamyabi atta fermae aur aur app app sae app sae Nawaz Sharif nae Muslim League noon nae Shahbaz Sharif nae jo wadae kia hain eik eik wadae Insha Allah pura karain gae.

Back translation: We, we thank that the success which Allah has gifted us. You all, you all bow before Allah and pay thanks to Him. Insha Allah, when you will bow before Him, Allah will bless us with success and all the promises which Nawaz Sharif, Muslim league and Shahbaz Sharif have made with you will fulfill each and every promise Insha Allah.

#### **Analysis**

The Speaker uses pronoun You (app) for his party workers and requests them to bow before Allah and say thank to Him. He is strengthening his position of being a true Muslim by advising his party workers to be thankful to Allah. He strengthens the belief of the people that by thanking Allah they will get more. He is further assuring them that he and Shahbaz will fulfill all the made promises. This is a strategy of positive self-projection. He is strengthening the idea in the minds of the people that he and his party always take care of made promises.

Use of pronoun We (hum) and its variants

وہ ابھلا کہا ہے۔ ہم ہم وہ سب کچھ معاف کرتے ہیں ہم نے کسی کو گالی نہیں نکالی ہم نے کسی کو گالی نہیں نکالی ہم نے کسی کو گالی نہیں نکالی ہم نے کسی کو گالی نہیں کہا۔ ہم نے گالیاں سنی ہیں۔ لیکن ملک کی خاطر گالیاں سنی ہیں۔ لیکن ملک کی خاطر ہم ان سب گالیونکو فراموش کرتے ہیں۔ ملک کی خاطر پاکستان کی خاطر ہم وہ ہم وہ سب کچھ سنا جو ہم نے،سنا جو ہم ہم ان سب کو معاف کرنے کو تیار ہیں اور ہم چاہتے ہیں ہم چاہتے ہیں چاہتے ہیں پاکستان کی قسمت الله تعالیٰ بدلے ہم چاہتے ہیں کہ پاکستان کو مشکلات سے باہر نکالیں۔ ہم دل سے چاہتے ہیں ہمارا ایک اے ایجنڈا کی ہمارا ایک پروگرام ہے وہ پروگرام ہے اس قوم کی حالت کو بدلنے کا۔

Transliteration: <u>Hamari</u> party ko bura bhala kaha hae hum hum vo sub wo sub khuch moaf kertae hain <u>hum</u> nae kisi ko gali nahi nikali, <u>hum</u> nae kisi ko gali nahi nikali kisi ko bura bhala nahi kaha. <u>Hum</u> nae galian suni ahin alkin mulik ki hatir <u>hum</u> in sub galioon ko faramosh kertae hain mulik ki hatir Pakistan ki hatir, Pakistan ki hatir. <u>Hum hum</u> wo sub khuch jo <u>hum</u> nae suna <u>hum</u> nae jo suna <u>hum</u> in saab ko muaf kernae ko tayar hain aur <u>hum</u> chahtae hain kae Pakistan ki kismet Allah Tallah badlae. <u>Hum</u> ye chahtae hain kae Pakistan ko mushkilat sae bahir nikalain. <u>Hum</u> dil sae chahtae hain. <u>Humara</u> eik agenda hae humara eik program hae, wo program hae is koom ki halat badlane ka.

Back translation: Those who called bad names to our party we forgive all those. We did not abuse anyone. We did not say bad words to anyone. We listened the abuses but for the sake of our country w forgive those abuses for the sake of our country, for Pakistan. We are ready to forgive whatever we heard and we wish that may Allah change the fate of Pakistan. We wish to drag out Pakistan from the problems and we wish it heartily we have an agenda. We have a programme and that is to change the condition of this country.

## **Analysis**

In the above expression the purpose of using Hum (we) by the speaker is that he does not want to take the liability of the action. Speaker's use of

pronoun Hamari (our) has shown the difference between the nation and his party. The pronoun Hum (we) refers to his party not other people. He is projecting a positive image of his party by telling the fact that they have been abused but they did not response back to those who abused them. He is giving the impression that they are very generous and forgive those abusers. He is also constructing a self-image of him and his party of being so loyal to the country that for the sake and betterment of their country they are ignoring all those abuses. The speaker is well aware of the youth's psyche so he is emotionally black mailing them by giving them the hope that they have plans not only for the country but also for the youth as well.

#### **Analysis of Trump's Speech**

**DT1:** Thank <u>you</u>. Thank <u>you</u> very much, everyone. Sorry to keep <u>you</u> waiting; complicated business; complicated. Thank <u>you</u> very much.

#### **Analysis**

The speaker begins the speech with a good introduction. He thanks the Americans for his electoral victory and apologies them for keeping them waiting. Further he makes them realize that to be a President is not an easy task. He has to go through a hard and complicated business. You a generic pronoun is used for all the people of the nation.

#### The Pronoun I and its variants

**DT5:** <u>I</u> say it is time for us to come together as one united people. It's time. <u>I</u> pledge to every citizen of our land that <u>I</u> will be president for all Americans, and this is so important to me.

#### **Analysis**

The above extract shows that Trump uses I to show his passions as a president, in a way that he is the only one who can unite the divided nation. He is inviting people to come together to make a strong united nation. Obviously, he can play a key

role in uniting the nation but in this statement Trump uses I in an authoritative manner and calls the people to make a united nation. He has presented the idea that previously America was divided into groups. He is creating a positive self-image by making the statement that he will make the people united by working for all of them. The pronoun I again refers to his authority that he will be the president and being a president he has the right to rule over all the people whether Democrats, Republicans or Independents and they have to obey his orders. He assures the people that he will work for everyone and there will be no discrimination at any level.

**DT10:** <u>I</u>'ve spent my entire life and business looking at the untapped potential in projects and in people all over the world. That is now what  $\underline{I}$  want to do for our country.

#### **Analysis**

With the use of pronoun I Trump is giving a glimpse of his personal life to the audience. It is also a strategy to make the people perceive the speaker as an ordinary individual and not only a leader. In political speeches introducing one's self is a way to show closeness and solidarity with the people. It becomes easier for the speaker to get approval from the people who listened to the speech. With the use of pronoun I the speaker give the confidence to the listeners that he is one of them and they are very dear to him, that's why he is sharing his personal life with them. It is a strategy of showing closeness and affiliation with the people. Trump simply states his entire life's struggles. In the above structure with the use of pronoun I he is in fact trying to infuse in the minds of the people that he is a very hard working and experienced man who deserves this seat. He has the experience of working for people throughout the world and by selecting him president people have made the right choice. Further, he portrays that he is very loyal person and wants to do something for his country.

## The use of 'We' and its variants

**DT14:** <u>We</u> will embark upon a project of national growth and renewal. I will harness the creative talents of our people and <u>we</u> will call upon the best and brightest to leverage their tremendous talent for the benefit of all.

## **Analysis**

Trump in the expression given above uses pronoun we gives the impression that the nation building plans are not only the plans of the president but they are united ideas. Using we in this sense is also a trick to exclude one's self and share the burden. The speaker by showing closeness to the people makes them believe that he will do all the works for their betterment. He is assuring them that he along with his party will focus on increasing the job opportunities for the talented people to benefit whole the nation.

**DT15:** <u>We</u> have a great economic plan. <u>We</u> will double <u>our</u> growth and have the strongest economy anywhere in the world.

#### **Analysis**

The speaker with the use of pronoun we tries to create unity both in his party and the other people. It in fact refers to the fact that everybody will work together in the nation building program. The pronoun We does not refer to who are actually going to double the growth. He is making the fact that the country has the strongest economy in the world. By using we he is in fact indirectly criticizing the previous government who did not benefit from the strongest economy of the country. He is making the people dream a new and economically a more strong country.

## A comparative analysis of the usage of pronouns in by the two Political Leaders:

<b>Pronouns with their variants</b>	Sharif	Trump
I/ My/ Me/ Mine	13/ 05/ 13	13/ 0/7/ 0
We/ Our/ Us	15/ 13/ 06	22/ 17/ 02
You/ You/ Your	0/ 14/ 13	0/ 32/ 02
They/ Their/ Them	00	11/0/0

Table 1: The occurrences of personal pronouns in the speeches

After having an analysis of Sharif's speech, the results show that he uses the personal deixis I, We, Me, You more frequently to construct the positive image of his party workers and himself. He has used the pronoun I at the places where he wants to construct his positive image and his personal opinions. He with the use of pronoun I makes the speech subjective. He uses I or me to make a commitment and personal involvement especially when positive news is delivered. He uses the pronoun we inclusively to refer to himself and his administration. With the use of pronoun we he expresses an institutional identity.

He tries to convey the image of his political party as a team and shares the responsibility. Sharif uses the plural pronoun you for his party workers and leaves the space for the audience to decide if they view themselves as part of that group or not.

The results show that Trump in his speech used the pronoun I and we more consistently to construct not only his identity but also of his party. He has used I to construct a positive self-image and highlight his personal qualities. With the use of personal pronoun I he imparts himself from others. This also shows his authority and leadership. The use of we is more in occurrence.

He uses We inclusively to refer to himself, the audience, and the whole nation of America. He speaks on the behalf of his party and nation. He also shares the responsibility of sensitive issues on others with the use of pronoun we.

#### Conclusion

The study shows that the use of deixis is an important part of the political discourse. The speakers most frequently use personal pronouns I, We and You to construct negative or positive images. The personal pronouns help the speakers (winner) to construct positive identity and reality favorable to make them appear more eligible for the position. Furthermore, speakers intensions are communicated either directly or indirectly and a single utterance can have more than one pragmatic meaning and force in it. In the game of politics the socio-cultural background does not matter. The study reveals that there is no major difference in the use of personal pronouns in the two speeches made in different cultures. Both the speakers used almost the same pronouns to construct their positive image.

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