

Kamala Harris and Mike Pence Personal and Social Deixis Analysis in US Vice Presidential Debate

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ABSTRACT

Personal and social deixis have been the key factors in how people can engage in a conversation or discourse. From Hamdaoui (2015), it is known that deixis is one of the linguistic techniques that politicians emphasize a lot. Any linguistic theory can study it, but pragmatics must since it informs the analyst about the context of language production, including who is speaking, to whom, when, and where (Triki, 2010). Thus, this study used personal and social deixis theory in modern linguistics to answer several research questions, such as what deixis the candidates use and what are the effects. The research aims to see how each candidate effectively draws people's attention in a presidential debate through the analysis of social deixis. Kamala Harris chooses to be more populist by using expressions such as exclusive 'we' or 'us' and 'you'. Meanwhile, Mike Pence focuses on presenting himself and Trump through the use of expressions such as I and inclusive 'we' or 'us'. Moreover, the distant relationship with Trump's Administration that Kamala Harris has shown to the public can be a factor in how Americans see Joe and Kamala as different figures from their predecessors.

Keywords: deixis, Kamala Harris, presidential debate

INTRODUCTION

Cited by Khalifa (2018), politicians attempt to remove themselves from their constituents through political language. They use various methods to call upon the political and governmental authorities (Reyes, 2015). Presidential elections have become the media for the presidential candidates to attract voters to vote for them. In the US, this practice is open to the public so that people can evaluate the candidates. According to Isotalus (2011), the US presidential debate has been intensively studied since 1960. The presidential debate is one of the strategies for how candidates present themselves to the public. They use language as a political marketing tool for the candidates. Taken to Clementson, Pascual-Ferrá, and Betty (2014), in developing a campaign's message, political marketing theory emphasizes rhetorical devices, language strategies, and discursive tactics (Cwalina, Falkowski, & Newman, 2012). Retrieved from Nextar Media Wire (2020), the 2020 U.S. presidential debates between the leading contenders in the 2020 U.S. presidential race, Joe Biden and Donald Trump, are sponsored by the Presidential Debates Committee. The first debate was held on 29 September 2020. Then, on October 7, the vice-presidential debate between Kamala Harris and Mike Pence took place (Siders, 2020).

The researcher picked the debate between Kamala Harris and Mike Pence because they both were clear with their points, polite, and less-judgemental rather than the presidential debate. Moreover, this year's vice-presidential debate is more important than before. Harris is known as someone who criticizes Biden in Democratic debates. In this debate, Biden and



Harris want to show that they are different from their opponents. Meanwhile, Pence is always known as Trump's loyalist (Mondschein, 2020). Hudak (2020) also states that this year's vice-presidential election is the most important vice-presidential debate in American history. Since he predicted that one of the vice presidents will likely be a president in the future. That is why the vice presidential debate is worth studying. Politicians employ deictics for a variety of goals, from personal to political to persuading to manipulative, all of which are largely influenced by the environment in which they are used and the speaker's intentions. The study of the language used by politicians covers those areas (Adetunji, 2006).

The study of pragmatics is related to context, utterances, and meaning. To get the meaning in utterances, the study of pragmatics does not disregard the context of who speaks the utterances, who is the addressee or the hearer, the location and circumstances, and other factors that contribute to utterances' meaning. As a study, pragmatics covers the study of language use and linguistic communication about language structure and utterances (Haag et al., 1997). Based on those understandings, it can be concluded that the study of pragmatics caters to those who want to search for meaning with several approaches. One of the approaches is Deixis. The idea of deixis is 'pointing'. This term is borrowed from the Greek word δεικτικός (deiktikos), meaning "able to show, showing directly" (Culpeper, 2014). Deixis consists of several parts namely, Person Deixis or Personal Pronouns, Demonstrative Deixis, and Spatial Deixis. Besides the deictic expressions that have been mentioned, there are also some other Deixis namely Gestural and Symbolic Deixis. Gestural and Symbolic deixis can contain personal pronouns, demonstratives, and adverb deixis.

The categories that are mentioned before are common deixis categories. Besides the traditional categories: of person, place, and time, there are also additional deixis such as social, discourse, and empathy deixis (O'Keffe, Clancy, Aldoph, 2011). Those deixis categories are suggested by Levinson, Lyons, and Filmore. Information structure and deixis have been important elements as the reference points that connect reality and how we understand and name it (Rambaud & Goded, 2012). By using deixis analysis, it is expected that the researcher can see the attitude, opinion, and knowledge of the speaker. In this case, the speakers are the vice-presidential candidates, Kamala Harris and Mike Pence. To answer that, the research only focuses on personal and social deixis. According to Stephen (1985), personal deixis encodes the role of participants in the speech event. Meanwhile, social deixis encodes the social relationship between the speaker and the hearer.

The personal deixis consists of three categories include, first person (I and We), the singular pronouns (I, me, myself, and mine), and plural pronouns are used to express the first person deixis, which refers to the speaker or both the speaker and the referent when they are combined with the speaker (we, us, ourselves, our, ours).

Second-person pronouns are persons or people who are addressed in the second person, as in you, yourself, yourselves, your, or yours, are referred to as the addressee. Third person deixis is a deictic reference to a referent (or referents) who are not the speaker or addressee and usually implies the gender of the subject of the utterance, as in he, she, they, him, himself, her, herself (Levinson, 1983).

According to Levinson (1979), there are two types of social deixis. The forms in Absolute Social Deixis are designated for two distinct categories of speech act participants: authorized speakers and authorized addressees. The standard situation involves a speech from or to a royal person. Such phrases are primarily used in monarchical nations. For instance (your majesty, your highness, my lord,...etc).

The most significant social deixis is relational, and it can be expressed with honorifics. Honorifics involve the use of specific lexemes to convey the participants' actual status. The relationships between the speaker and the referent (referent honorifics), the addressee (addressee honorifics), the bystander (bystander honorifics), and the setting are all included (levels of formality).

Numerous researches related to deixis have been done on various subjects, such as movies, newspapers, and speech. A paper from Nur Kholis examines the deixis found in a movie entitled “Deixis Analysis of the Good Dinosaur the Movie”. This research also uses personal deixis analysis. The result of this paper is that the usage of personal deixis is related to the point of view of each actor (Kholis, 2016). This study is also in line with Deixis's Analysis of The Song Lyrics of Ed Sheeran's “Divide” Album. The personal deixis is related to the role of the actor that is involved in the text or story (Ilmi, 2018). However, this research is different from the previous research since this research uses a different object and the aim is to prove why Kamala, who appears to be more populist than Pence and set distance from Trump's Administration, can appeal to people's attention to choose her and Joe instead of Trump and Pence. The aim is proven through the analysis of deixis used by the candidates.

METHOD

This research is intended to answer the questions related to the usage of personal and social deixis from both vice-presidential candidates and what is the result of the usage of such deixis. The first thing to do was watch the full 2020 vice presidential debate video which aired on 8 October 2020. Later, the subtitle is extracted to .srt format to read and gain the data. After that, the result was counted and classified in the table within the categories of personal deixis and social deixis. However, other personal pronouns such as he, she, it, and they, although on occasion deictic, are typically anaphoric in their reference (O'Keffe, Clancy, Aldoph, 2011). Thus, the researcher only focused on the deixis I, you, we, plural you, etc. Then, the data was analyzed to see the result and finally to reach the conclusion of why candidates use such deixis in their speeches.

The study was conducted in both qualitative and quantitative methods to answer the research questions. In quantitative research, an issue or event is explained by collecting data in numerical form and evaluating it using mathematical techniques, particularly statistics (Aliaga & Gunderson, 2002). Meanwhile, the quantitative method is used to answer the frequency of deixis that may appear in their speech, and the qualitative method is employed to elaborate the reason behind the usage of the personal and the social deixis. This study needs both methods so there would be an understanding of how politicians use personal and social deixis in political discourse. Not only to understand the data, the methods combined are the tools to make connections between ideas and find the gap so this study can be elaborated or there would be a new synthesis (Hart, 2000). Intangible factors that may not be immediately apparent in the research problem can be identified using qualitative methods, such as social norms, socioeconomic status, gender roles, ethnicity, and religion (Mack *et al.*, 2005). Thus, from the analysis, there would be a clear conclusion of the result of using personal and social deixis in political discourse.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Kamala Harris Deixis analysis

The first sub-part analyzes the personal deixis used by Kamala Harris in the US Vice Presidential Debate 2020. This part separates the analysis into Personal Deixis Subject, Object, and Possessive Pronoun. The three types of Deixis are the Deixis that exist in the utterances. The analysis of Personal Deixis can reveal how Kamala Harris delivered her ideas about certain cases that asked Susan Page as the moderator, whether she made the listener feel involved in her speech. Not only does the way the candidate appeals to the public, but this analysis also can help the researcher to conclude Kamala Harris' attitude and point of view towards certain cases. To begin with, the first analysis is Personal Deixis: Subject.

Personal Deixis

The subjects that were used by Kamala Harris are served in Table 1:

Table 1. Personal deixis: Subject

Type of deixis	Person		Accumulation
personal deixis: subject	Singular	1st person	I 94
		2nd person	You 76
	Plural	We	inclusive 38
			exclusive 41
		2nd person	You 5

From the table, it is known that Kamala Harris uses I 94 times, You 76 times, Inclusive We 38 times, Exclusive We 41 times, and 2nd Person You (or general you) 5 times. The breakdown of analysis is divided into the Types of Pronouns (I, You, We, and General You) to ease the understanding of the context.

The first one is the usage of I in Kamala Harris' utterances. It is probably clear that 'I' here refers to Kamala Harris herself. However, Kamala Harris only used I 94 times, which is less than Mike Pence who set the record for saying I 105 times.

Kamala Harris uses I to refer to herself when she tells her background story, delivers her thoughts or opinions, and when she is attacked by Mike Pence. The first example is taken from *insert 32:24-32:58 when she tells her background story,

- 1) "So let me tell you. First of all the day I got the call from... from Joe Biden. It was a Zoom call, um... asking me to serve with him on this ticket was probably one of the most memorable days of my life. Um... I, you know, I thought about my mother who came to the United States at the age of 19 and gave birth to me at the age of 25 at Kaiser Hospital in Oakland California, and the thought that I'd be sitting here right now I know would make her proud and she must be looking down on this."

From the example above, the usage of Personal Deixis 'I' is to show her point of view in the story. Since she talks about her past, she uses 'I', which means she is the focus of the utterances. The second example of the usage of Personal Deixis: Subject 'I' is when Kamala Harris delivered her idea or opinion, apart from speaking on behalf of Joe Biden or somebody else. This example is taken from minutes 28:42-28:52.

- 2) "If the public health professionals, if Dr.Fauci, if the doctors tell us that we should take it... I'll be the first in line to take it. But if Donald Trump tells us I should- that we should take it I'm not taking it"

Kamala Harris said this when she was asked by Susan Page whether the Americans and Kamala Harris will get vaccinated if the Trump administration approves a vaccine for COVID-19. She stated that she would not take the vaccine. She shows the deixis usage from the point of view of American people using 'we' when talking about a scenario when probably Trump is mandating the Americans to take the vaccine. Then she shifts from The Americans' point of view 'we' to herself using 'I' when she shares her point of view about not taking the vaccine as Kamala Harris.

The last example of Personal Deixis" Subject 'I' usage from Kamala is when she is directly talking to Mike Pence and Susan. In this example, Kamala Harris uses 'I' when she is attacked by Mike Pence,

- 3) "Well, let's go. I don't know, but Susan this is important and I want to add, but if... Mr. Vice President, I'm speaking... I haven't... I'm speaking. Yeah..."

This happens in the minute 23:22-23:28 when Kamala is asked by Susan Page to respond to Mike Pence's accusation of a Biden-Harris policy related to combating COVID-19.

Kamala Harris responds indirectly to Mike Pence's accusation by excluding him and making his perspective in the third person using 'he' to refer to Mike Pence, and using 'I' when she does the defense. Otherwise, she is talking to Susan using 'I' and mentions Susan's name in a second-person point of view. When Mike is cutting her speech, Kamala uses the phrase 'I'm speaking' as a sign to make Mike Pence stop interrupting her.

In this part, Kamala Harris achieves central deictic projection as she uses 'I' and continuous tense and verbs to convey that she talks about something personal.

The usage of 'you' in Kamala Harris' utterances is divided into two, singular 'you' and plural 'you'. The plural 'you' is also known as the generic 'you'. Kamala Harris uses the plural 'you' 5 times in her speech. Meanwhile most of the time, she uses the singular 'you', which is 76 times.

Kamala uses the singular 'you' when she is directly talking to Pence and Susan,

- 4) "Let's talk about respecting the American people. You respect the American people when you tell them the truth. You respect the American people when you dare to be a leader. Speaking of those things that you may not want people to hear but they need to hear so they can protect themselves ..."

These sentences were spoken by Kamala when she directly responded to Mike Pence's argument about respecting the freedom of the American people. She directed the rebuttal to Pence's argument and pointed to him, therefore she used 'you' to involve Mike Pence in her speech.

Meanwhile, for general or plural 'you', Kamala Harris used it to refer to the Americans. The example is taken from minute 23:35-23:49,

- 5) "How calm were you when you were panicked about where you're going to get your next roll of toilet paper how calm were you when your kids were sent home from school and you didn't know when they could go back how calm when your children couldn't see your parents because you were afraid they could kill them"

This is the attempt of Kamala Harris to include the Americans in the topic and evoke their emotions. This is called a plural or general 'you' because this deixis does not address a certain individual.

The inclusive we and exclusive we also occur in Kamala Harris' utterances. Mostly, she uses exclusive 'we' rather than the inclusive 'we', 38 and 41 respectively. However, the gap between the usage of exclusive 'we' and inclusive 'we' is not wide, which is only 3.

Kamala Harris used the exclusive 'we' when she referred to herself and Joe Biden. The example is taken from minute 92:25-92:40,

- 6) "I appreciate that first of all having served as the Attorney General of the State of California the work that I did is a model of what our nation needs to do, and we will be able to do under a Joe Biden presidency."

In this example, the context of Kamala Harris' speech is when she defends herself after her record is attacked by Mike Pence.

The inclusive 'we' that Kamala Harris uses in her speech refers to Kamala and the hearer, which is the American people. The example is below,

- 7) "We all know about Joe. He puts it all out there. He... he is honest, he is forthright but Donald Trump, on the other hand, has been about covering up everything"

The usage of ‘we’ in inclusive ‘we’ from Kamala Harris’ speech is to evoke a common ground between Kamala Harris and the Americans. She put herself and the Americans as one unity and one point of view.

The second type of personal deixis is an object. The deixis that is used in Kamala’s are presented in Table 2 below,

Table 2. Personal deixis: Object				
Type of deixis	Person		Accumulation	
personal deixis: object	Singular	1st person	Me	10
		2nd person	You	5
			Us inclusive	8
	Plural	1st person	exclusive	2
		2nd person	You	0

The first analysis is the analysis of deixis ‘me’. Kamala Harris uses ‘me’ in her utterances 10 times. The usage of personal deixis object ‘me’ is to refer to herself as an object in the sentence, for example:

- 8) “So, let me tell you. First of all the day I got the call from... from Joe Biden, it was a Zoom call, um... asking me to serve with him on this ticket was probably one of the most memorable.”

The point of view is the same as the usage of ‘I’, which is speaking on behalf of herself. However, the focus is on the subject, who is Joe Biden, doing a certain action, which is to call Kamala. If the focus is Kamala, then probably Kamala put herself as the subject of the sentence instead of positioning herself as the object of the sentence. Then, probably Kamala would choose another form such as ‘I got a call from Joe Biden’ if she wants to put the focus on herself.

Then, the usage of the singular second person ‘you’ as an object appears in the example below,

- 9) “I’ll tell you something, Susan. I served when I first got to the senate on the committee. That’s responsible for the environment.”

Kamala uses ‘you’ here to refer to Susan. The idea is also the same with singular you in subject position, which is to let the hearer be directly included in a certain topic.

Related to the use of exclusive and inclusive ‘us’, Kamala Harris uses it 2 times and 8 times respectively. In the case of inclusive ‘us’, Kamala Harris uses this as a reference for herself and the Americans. For example,

- 10) “An American man was tortured and killed under the knee of an armed uniformed police officer and people around our country of every race, of every age of every gender perfect strangers to each other marched shoulder to shoulder arm and arm fighting for us to finally achieve that ideal of equal justice.”

The usage of inclusive deixis ‘us’ in her speech refers to Americans in general and herself. The inclusive ‘us’ has the same idea as the inclusive ‘we’, which evokes common ground as a unity with one point of view.

The exclusive ‘us’ occurs as a reference for herself and Joe Biden, such as in this example.

- 11) “The science is telling us this. You know what? Donald Trump said science doesn't know.”

The context of the utterances is climate change and the global warming issue. Kamala Harris argues that science serves facts about climate change and global warming, and science helps Joe Biden and Kamala Harris in creating environmental policy. Therefore, to refer to Joe Biden and herself, Kamala Harris uses the exclusive ‘us’.

The last type of personal deixis analysis is the possessive pronoun. Kamala Harris also uses the possessive pronoun deixis in her speech. The data result is presented in the table below.

Table 3. Personal deixis: Possessive pronoun

Type of Deixis	Person			Accumulation	
personal deixis: Possessive pron.	Singular	1st person	My	6	
		2nd person	Your	6	
	Plural		Our	inclusive	51
				exclusive	8
		1st person			
		2nd person	Your		12

Kamala Harris uses Personal deixis possessive pronouns ‘my’, ‘your’, ‘our’, and general ‘your’. The use of deixis ‘my’ to refer to something or someone personal to her. For example:

- 12) “Not only but I want to talk about the connection between what Joe and I will do in my record which includes I was the first statewide officer to institute a requirement that my agents would wear body cameras and keep them on full time”

Kamala Harris uses ‘my’ in referring to her record when she was an Attorney in San Francisco. To refer to the agents who worked with her when she was an Attorney, she also uses ‘my’ to make it more personal.

The deixis usage of singular ‘your’ and general ‘your’ appears in her speech 6 times and 12 times respectively. An example of a singular ‘your’ in her speech is:

- 13) “And to your point, Susan, that the issues before us couldn't be more serious there's the issue of choice and I will always fight for a woman's right to decide on her own body it should be her decision”

Kamala Harris uses ‘your’ to refer to Susan’s question related to abortion. Since it is directed to Susan, the reference is considered singular ‘your’.

Then, the plural ‘your’ occurs in minute 77:15-77:27,

- 14) “With pre-existing conditions, this means that over 20 million people will lose your coverage. It means that if you're under the age of 26 you can't stay on your parents' coverage anymore.”

The plural deixis ‘your’ here is addressed to the Americans, especially the young Americans. Since the deixis is not directed towards a certain individual, therefore it is a plural ‘your’.

Kamala Harris uses the plural ‘your’ creating the same effect as the usage of plural ‘you’, which is to make the hearers included in the topic.

Social Deixis

Social deixis is commonly used in utterances. Kamala Harris mainly uses first name or name deixis and title and surname. The other social deixis is a deixis referring to a group of people. The result is presented in the table below,

Table 4. Social deixis

Actors	Social Deixis Type		
	First Name/Name	Title and Surname	Other
Joe Biden	68	0	0
Donald Trump	29	0	0
Mike Pence	0	17	0
Susan Page	10	0	0
Others	4	1	28

Kamala Harris uses her first name name deixis mostly to refer to Joe Biden and Donald Trump, and the least social deixis name appears when she refers to Susan Page and others. Understandably, Joe Biden and Kamala Harris are close to each other as their relations are presidential and vice presidential candidates. The example of Kamala Harris using Joe Biden's name appears in minutes 33:01-33:13,

- 15) “You know, Joe and I were raised in a very similar way we were raised with values that are about hard work about the value and the dignity of public service, and about the importance of fighting for the dignity of all people”

In her utterances, Kamala Harris only uses Joe Biden's first name to refer to him. This indicates that she is close to Joe Biden, especially when the context is talking about Joe Biden and Kamala Harris' common ground.

However, different from Kamala Harris referring to Joe Biden, the way she refers to Donald Trump by using Trump's name does not indicate that she is close to Trump.

- 16) “You have Donald Trump who measures the strength of the economy based on how rich people are doing which is why he passed a tax bill benefiting the top one percent and the biggest corporations of America leading to a two trillion dollar deficit that the American people are going to have to pay for on day one”

Instead of perceiving the way Kamala Harris addresses Donald Trump only by his name as a sign of a close relationship, it is perceived as a distant relationship. She shows different respect to Trump compared to Mike Pence. Especially the context of Kamala Harris calling out Trump that way because she wants to point out Trump's failure on tax policy.

It is interesting how Kamala Harris never calls Mike Pence by his name. She always attaches “Mr. Vice President” before calling Mike Pence, or even omits his name, only the title.

- 17) “I will always fight for a woman's right to decide on her own body. It should be her decision and not that of Donald Trump and Vice President Michael Pence”

The example above shows how Kamala addresses her distance from Mike Pence. Kamala omits the title ‘president’ from Trump, showing she has lost her respect towards him. Meanwhile, Pence shows her respect and also distance. The distance she shows to the public can be perceived as a signal that Kamala has a different idea and image from her opponent since she uses this deixis expression when she disagrees with her opponent's point of view.

Mike Pence Deixis Analysis

The analysis of Mike Pence's personal deixis use shows a quite distinctive result compared to Kamala Harris' personal deixis usage. Mike Pence uses more 'I' and 'you' compared to Kamala Harris and so on. Before analyzing the social deixis usage, the first analysis is on personal deixis.

Personal Deixis

As stated before, Mike Pence tends to use 'I' and 'you' more than Kamala Harris. The gap between the exclusive 'we' and inclusive 'we' is also big. To begin with, here is the data served in the table.

Table 5. Personal deixis: Subject

Type of deixis	Person			Accumulation
personal deixis: subject	Singular	1st person	I	105
		2nd person	You	64
			We inclusive	18
	Plural	1st person	exclusive	58
		2nd person	You	0

The number of personal deixis 'I' in Mike Pence's speech is higher than in Kamala Harris'. Mike Pence uses 'I' in his speech 105 times. Meanwhile, Kamala Harris only uses 'I' 94 times.

However, the purpose of the Personal Deixis 'I' usage is not different from Kamala Harris, which is to put himself at the center of the topic. Mike Pence tends to be more likely to have himself as the point of view. Here is one of the examples:

- 18) “My wife, Karen, and I were there and honored to be there many of the people who were at that event Susan were tested for Coronavirus and it was an outdoor event which all of our scientists regularly and routinely advise”

However, the usage of Deixis Personal 'you', from Mike Pence is less than Kamala Harris'. Mostly, Mike Pence uses the deixis 'you' to point at Kamala Harris when he tries to attack her record several times. Here is an example,

- 19) “The fact that you continue to undermine public confidence in a vaccine if the vaccine emerges during the trump administration I think it is unconscionable”

Personal deixis 'we' usage in Mike Pence's speech is also divided into exclusive and inclusive 'we'. Mike Pence uses exclusive 'we' the most, which is 58 times. Meanwhile, he only uses inclusive 'we' 18 times. Compared to Kamala Harris, she also mostly uses exclusive 'we' rather than inclusive 'we'. However, the number of inclusive 'we' from Kamala Harris is higher than Pence's.

- 20) “We learned from that they left the strategic national stockpile empty they left uh an empty and hollow plan but we still learn from it.”

Unlike Kamala, Mike Pence's tendency to exclude 'we' is higher since in his arguments and opinion he likes to deliver the record of the Trump administration during his year of ruling as US President. He has a different approach from Kamala. He does not put himself as the one

who has the same point of view as the Americans, but he tends to serve the achievement of the Trump administration.

Moving to the second type of personal deixis. It is a personal deixis: object. The data result is shown in the table below.

Table 6. Personal deixis: Object

Table 3: Personal deixis: Object				
Type of deixis		Person		Accumulation
personal deixis: Object	Singular	1st person	Me	10
		2nd person	You	12
	Plural	1st person	Us inclusive	8
			exclusive	2
		2nd person	You	2

From this data, it is evident that Pence tends to use singular you, me, and plural deixis inclusive 'us'. Pence uses 'you' to refer to Susan or Kamala Harris. The example is

- 21) "I must tell you, Senator, your party has spent the last three and a half years trying to overturn the results of the last election. It's amazing when Joe Biden was vice president of the United States."

The general 'you' or plural 'you' in his speech reflects or refers to the Americans. The example is,

- 22) "But, America, you just heard Senator Harris tell you on day one that Joe Biden's going to raise your taxes. It's really remarkable to things. I mean right after a time where we're going through a pandemic that lost 22 million jobs"

Pence uses the general 'you' because in the utterances he involves the Americans. That is why it appears as the object of the sentence.

The usage of inclusive 'us' mostly refers to Pence and the Americans. The example is,

- 23) "That decision alone by President Trump bought us invaluable time to stand up the greatest national mobilization since World War II."

The reason why 'us' here is considered an inclusive 'us' deixis, is because Pence's speech context tells about the American position in the trade war with China. It makes sense that he prefers to use 'us'.

For the exclusive 'us' it is clear that it is used to refer to Donald Trump and Mike Pence. The example is,

- 24) But when you say it hasn't worked when dr Fauci and dr Burks and our medical experts came to us in the second week of March they said if the president didn't take the unprecedented step of shutting down roughly half of the American economy that we could lose 2.2 million Americans and that's the reality."

The last analysis from personal deixis is possessive pronouns. The data of personal deixis usage of possessive pronouns from Mike Pence is served in the table below,

Table 7. Personal deixis: Possessive pronoun

Type of deixis	Person		Accumulation
Personal deixis: Possessive Pron.	Singular	1st person My	8
		2nd person Your	25
	Plural	Our inclusive	32
		1st person exclusive	14
		2nd person Your	1

It is clear that he uses 'my' deixis in a context to refer to something that belongs to him, and exclusive 'our' refers to something that belongs to him and Trump. However the usage of plural 'your' also appears in his speech once. He uses the general 'your' to refer to something that belongs to the Americans. The example is below.

Mike Pence mainly uses inclusive 'our'. He uses inclusive 'our' 32 times in his speech, mainly in the context of he refers to Americans, to attract them.

- 25) "Joe Biden and Kamala Harris want to raise taxes. They want to bury our economy under a two trillion dollar green new deal which you were one of the original co-sponsors of in the United States Senate."

The example above is the example of the use of inclusive 'our' use in Mike Pence's speech. In his speeches, by using inclusive 'our', he wants the Americans to be emotionally involved in the topic. He tries to make the Americans involved in his point of view. Thus, in this way, he can raise the emotional attachment to the Americans. More or less, this strategy has also been frequently done by Kamala Harris.

Social Deixis

Mike Pence also uses a distinct approach in pointing to several important actors in his speech. It is evident by the data that is shown in the table below.

Table 8. Social deixis

Actors	Social Deixis Type		
	First Name/Name	Title and Surname	Other
Donald Trump	0	52	0
Joe Biden	46	0	0
Kamala Harris	10	28	0
Susan Page	19	0	0
Other	2	2	52

Different from Kamala Harris, Mike Pence always refers to Donald Trump respectfully by attaching his title as the United States president. He always addresses Trump with 'President Trump', the example is below.

- 26) "About the Supreme Court of the United States let me say President Trump and I could not be more enthusiastic about the opportunity to see Judge Amy Coney Barrett become Justice Amy Coney Barrett"

The motive besides that Trump is still the US President at the time this debate happened is that Pence pays so much respect to Trump. This is also influenced by the fact that Mike Pence was Trump's current president at that time. Meanwhile, Mike Pence calls Joe Biden by only his name. It is influenced by the fact that Joe Biden at that moment hasn't had any political position in the administration or anywhere else. Different from how Mike Pence addresses Kamala Harris, he mainly uses the addresses such as 'Senator' or 'Senator Harris'. He addresses Kamala Harris only by her name 10 times. Either respect or showing distance or closeness, it should be referred to in the context when Pence uses the address.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the personal and social deixis used by the candidates tend to show dominance and differentiate their hierarchical power. This finding reflects Hamdaoui's (2015) argument that language can be a helpful instrument to challenge and subvert power as well as to change the distributions of power in the short and long terms, even though power does not always come from language. Both Kamala Harris and Mike Pence use different approaches to call the actors that are involved in the debate speech. Kamala Harris tends to use the point of view where she puts herself as the Americans and makes the Americans engaged in her topics. Kamala Harris, by using personal deixis inclusive of 'we', 'us', and 'our' can attract the emotions of the hearer and create an effect that the Americans and Kamala Harris have the same common ground because they have the same point of view. Mike Pence has a slightly different approach from Kamala Harris. He does use inclusive deixis. However, it is not as intensive as Kamala Harris. Mostly, he uses exclusive deixis and other singular deixis to justify his opinion, giving a point that he and Trump have one vision and mission. Not to mention, he attacks his opponent many times to show his dominance. That is why Mike Pence tends to use 'you' and calls Joe Biden and Kamala Harris many times more than the other deixis in his speech. Thus, it is understandable how social deixis can make someone into a populist politician when they use more inclusive deixis and set a distance from the opponent. A speech can be more appealing when the deixis is involved in the speech.

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