

Deixis in Gusdur's Presidential Speech Government Statement on the 2000 Draft State Budget

Waladdin Panggabean¹, Fathu Rahman², Harlinah Sahib¹

¹Universitas Balikpapan, Indonesia

²Hasanuddin University, Makassar, Indonesia

Co-email: fathu.rahman@unhas.ac.id

Abstract: This research investigates the use of deixis in *Presidential Speech: Government Statement on the 2000 Draft State Budget to the House of the People's Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia* delivered by Abdurrahman Wahid. The primary objective of this study is to analyze the deictic expressions employed in the speech and to explain how they construct meaning within the political and socio-historical context of Indonesia's reform era. Drawing on the pragmatic framework of Levinson (1983) deixis is categorized into personal, temporal, spatial, discourse, and social deixis. The method used is qualitative descriptive analysis, in which the speech text is examined to identify deictic expressions and interpret their functions. The findings reveal that personal deixis, particularly the pronoun *we*, is frequently used to build a sense of solidarity and collective responsibility between the government and the people. Temporal deixis, such as *today* and *in the future*, situates the nation's economic challenges and policies in a temporal framework that emphasizes continuity and planning. Spatial deixis highlights the institutional setting of the address, while discourse deixis organizes the flow of argumentation. Social deixis, including honorific forms and respectful address, reflects Indonesia's cultural norms of politeness and institutional hierarchy. This study concludes that deictic expressions in Wahid's speech are not merely linguistic devices but powerful rhetorical tools. They construct meaning by framing national identity, affirming political authority, and fostering unity in a period of democratic transition. The analysis underscores the significance of deixis as both a pragmatic and political strategy in Indonesian presidential discourse.

Keywords: Deixis, pragmatics, political speech, Abdurrahman Wahid, State Budget 2000.

I. INTRODUCTION

Language is a powerful instrument in political communication, especially when delivered in formal settings such as presidential speeches. Political leaders use language not only to inform but also to persuade, unify, and establish authority. Among the many linguistic features that shape political discourse, deixis plays a particularly crucial role. Deixis refers to words and expressions whose interpretation depends on the context of the utterance, such as pronouns, time markers, spatial terms, and honorifics (Levinson, 1983; Sujoko et al., 2023; Andini et al., 2021). In the context of a presidential speech, deixis helps the leader anchor ideas in time, construct relationships with the audience, and frame the nation's identity.

According to Yule (1996), deixis is an essential part of pragmatics because it connects linguistic expressions to the context in which they are spoken. Without contextual information, deictic expressions such as *we*, *now*, or *here* cannot be fully understood. This is why deixis in political speeches carries strategic weight: it allows leaders to signal inclusivity (*we* as a nation), authority (the Government), or urgency (*today*). In a similar vein, Fillmore (1997) emphasizes that deixis functions as a "linguistic pointing device," directing listeners' attention to specific times, places, participants, or parts of the discourse itself.

Political speeches are highly dependent on context because they are delivered in particular historical, cultural, and institutional settings (Chilton & Schäffner, 1997). In Indonesia, the political context of Abdurrahman Wahid's presidency (1999–2001) was marked by democratic transition and

efforts to stabilize the nation after the fall of Suharto's New Order regime. His Government Statement on the 2000 Draft State Budget is therefore not just a financial policy announcement, but also a symbolic message to the House of the People's Representatives (DPR RI) and to the Indonesian people at large. Deixis in this speech becomes a tool for framing crises, presenting solutions, and reinforcing unity during a fragile period in Indonesia's history.

Deixis can be classified into several categories: personal deixis, temporal deixis, spatial deixis, discourse deixis, and social deixis (Levinson, 1983; Huang, 2007; Sukmawaty et al., 2022). Personal deixis, expressed in pronouns like I, we, you, is one of the most important in political speeches. For example, we can include both the government and the people (inclusive we), or it can refer narrowly to the government alone (exclusive we) (Lyons, 1977). In Wahid's speech, the pronoun *we* is frequently used to highlight solidarity and collective struggle, thereby legitimizing government actions as shared responsibility. Temporal deixis situates the message in time (today, nowadays, first, next stage). This is important in budget speeches, which always deal with past challenges, present decisions, and future plans. As Bühler (1990) explains, temporal deixis ties discourse to a "here-and-now" reference point, while simultaneously projecting forward or backward in time. Spatial deixis (here, there, this, that) also plays a role, although less frequently in written speeches. In this case, references to the House or this plenary session are spatially anchored to the institutional setting where the speech was delivered. Discourse deixis, meanwhile, refers to other parts of the speech itself, such as before proceeding to the substance or as was agreed upon. These expressions organize the flow of ideas and connect sections of the text (Levinson, 2004).

Social deixis is especially important in Indonesian presidential speeches. It marks respect, status, and relationships, as seen in expressions like the Honourable Leadership and Members of the House. Brown and Levinson (1987) argue that politeness strategies, including honorifics, are crucial in maintaining harmonious relations between speaker and audience. Wahid's speech reflects this through consistent use of respectful address terms, acknowledging both religious diversity (Merry Christmas, Happy Eid al-Fitr, Happy Galungan) and institutional hierarchy.

Several scholars have emphasized the role of deixis in political discourse. Wodak (2001) explains that deixis helps politicians construct group identity by emphasizing inclusivity (we as a nation) or creating distance (they, the opposition). Fairclough (1995) further stresses that deictic choices are ideological, shaping how audiences perceive power relations and social roles. In Indonesian studies, Nababan (1993) and Djajasudarma (1994) note that deixis reflects cultural norms of respect and collective identity, both of which are prominent in Wahid's speech.

Given this background, examining deixis in Abdurrahman Wahid's Government Statement on the 2000 Draft State Budget is significant both linguistically and politically. Linguistically, it provides a detailed look at how deictic expressions operate in Indonesian political discourse. Politically, it shows how a president at a critical moment in Indonesia's reform era used language to unite a diverse nation, affirm institutional respect, and frame national resilience.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Deixis is the use of words and phrases whose meaning is dependent on the context of the utterance, specifically the speaker, the time, and the place of speaking. These context-dependent terms, also known as deictic expressions, fundamentally function as "pointing" or "indicating" devices within language. They are essential for establishing a shared understanding by linking utterances to the physical and social circumstances in which they are produced. Deixis is part of Pragmatics. Pragmatics is the study of meaning in context (Yule, 1996; Yusuf et al., 2025; Adam et al., 2024). It explores how utterances are understood not only from their linguistic form but also from the context of use.

One of the most important aspects of pragmatics is deixis, which ties language directly to the context in which it is spoken. The term deixis derives from the Greek word meaning "pointing" or

“indicating.” According to Levinson (1983), deixis is a phenomenon where understanding the meaning of certain words requires contextual information. Based on the theory there are five types of deixis. They are: Personal deixis, Temporal deixis, Spatial deixis, Discourse deixis and social deixis. Personal deixis Refers to participants in the speech situation through pronouns such as I, we, you, they (Levinson, 1983) Temporal deixis Refers to time relative to the moment of utterance, e.g., today, yesterday, now, then. Spatial deixis Refers to location relative to the speaker, e.g., here, there, this, that. Discourse deixis Refers to parts of the discourse itself, e.g., this statement, the following, as mentioned before. Social deixis Refers to social relationships and roles expressed in terms of address, titles, or honorifics, e.g., the Honourable Members, Mr. President.

III. METHODS

This research uses a qualitative descriptive method to analyze deictic expressions found in Presidential Speech: Government Statement on the 2000 Draft State Budget to the House of the People’s Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia delivered by Abdurrahman Wahid. The objective of the study is to identify and interpret the use of deixis in the speech and to explain how these deictic expressions construct meaning in the socio-political context of Indonesia’s reform era. The primary data of this study is the official transcript of Wahid’s 2000 Draft State Budget speech. Secondary sources include relevant books, journal articles, and previous studies on deixis, pragmatics, and political discourse. The data were collected through documentation. The speech transcript was carefully read and segmented into units of analysis where deictic expressions appeared. Each expression was then classified into the five categories of deixis: personal, temporal, spatial, discourse, and social deixis (Levinson, 1983)

The data were analyzed using a pragmatic framework. First, deictic expressions were identified and grouped according to type. Second, each occurrence was interpreted in its context to reveal its meaning and function in the speech. Finally, the findings were discussed in relation to how deixis contributes to constructing political authority, solidarity, and rhetorical meaning. The procedure consists of five stages: (1) data identification, (2) Categorizing the deictic expressions according to Levinson’s theory. (3) Analyzing the meaning of each expression in relation to the context of the speech. (4) Interpreting the function of deixis in conveying the political message (5) Drawing conclusions on how deixis contributes to the overall communicative strategy of the President.

IV. RESULTS

A. Findings

This section presents the findings and discussion of the study on deixis in *Presidential Speech: Government Statement on the 2000 Draft State Budget to the House of the People’s Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia* delivered by Abdurrahman Wahid. The objective of this research is to analyze the deictic expressions used in the speech and to explain how they construct meaning in the political and social context of Indonesia in the year 2000.

The analysis identifies five types of deixis are personal, temporal, spatial, discourse, and social deixis as outlined by Levinson (1983) Each category of deixis functions as a linguistic strategy that not only anchors the speech in its immediate context but also frames the President’s message to highlight solidarity, authority, national identity, and future orientation. The data are as follows:

Data 1

Today, it gives **me** great pleasure to discharge one of the constitutional duties of the President, namely to submit the Year 2000 Draft State Budget to the House. (p.1)

Temporal deixis, The word “Today” presents the utterance in a specific time. It indicates the moment of speaking and situates the event (the budget submission) as occurring in the present, from the perspective of the speaker. Personal deixis found in the pronoun “me” refers directly to the

speaker, in this case the President. It personalizes the statement and highlights the speaker's role and responsibility. Social deixis in the phrase "the President" carries a formal social deixis, pointing to the institutional role and authority of the speaker rather than the individual identity. It emphasizes status and duty. Discourse deixis in the expression "the Year 2000 Draft State Budget" refers to a specific text/document within the discourse. Similarly, "the House" refers to the House of Representatives, relying on shared knowledge between speaker and audience.

Data 2

On this occasion, allow **me** to invite the Honorable Leadership and members of the House to praise God the Almighty for **His** blessing which has enabled **us** to convene this plenary session of the House today. (1)

Temporal deixis is found in the expressions "On this occasion" and "today" anchor the statement in time. They mark the speech as situated in a specific ceremonial and temporal context, understandable only in relation to when the utterance is made. Personal deixis in "me" identifies the speaker (the President) as the source of the utterance, while "us" includes both the speaker and the audience in a shared activity (convening the session). This creates inclusivity between government and parliament. Social deixis for the phrase "the Honorable Leadership and members of the House" reflects politeness and respect, signaling the social roles and hierarchical relationships in the political context. Discourse deixis in "this plenary session of the House" refers to the immediate discourse situation, pointing to the specific parliamentary session taking place.

Data 3

Religious deixis (sometimes categorized under social or cultural deixis) – The invocation of "God the Almighty" reflects shared cultural-religious reference, which situates the speech in Indonesia's socio-religious context. **Before** proceeding to the substance of the Budget, however, allow **me** to convey a message of Merry Christmas and Happy New Year 2000, Happy Galungan Day and Happy Eid el Fitr 1420 Hegira.(p.1)

Temporal deixis found in the phrase "Before proceeding" situates the utterance within the sequence of discourse, marking the moment as a preface to the main topic. References such as "New Year 2000" and "1420 Hegira" explicitly anchor the statement to particular calendar times, making the greeting context-dependent. There is personal deixis in the use of "me". It signals the speaker's role as the source of the message, while the implied "you" in "allow me" addresses the audience directly, establishing an interactional relationship. Discourse deixis found in the phrase "the substance of the Budget" points forward in the text/discourse, indicating that the main discussion will follow after this preliminary greeting. Discourse deixis in the phrase "It is the hope..." signals the propositional stance of the Government within the discourse, pointing to what follows as a statement of aspiration rather than fact.

Data 4

We take this measure either to ward off the concentration and centralization of power or to provide maximum opportunities for the potentials of our nation. (p. 2)

Personal deixis for the pronoun "We" refers to the Government as speaker, but it also implicitly includes the wider political leadership working together. It positions the Government as the actor responsible for the decision. Similarly, "our" in "our nation" creates inclusivity, binding the Government and the people within a shared national identity. Discourse deixis in the phrase "this measure" points to a policy or action already introduced or about to be elaborated in the surrounding discourse. Its meaning depends entirely on the textual context of the speech. Social deixis in "our nation" highlights the collective identity of Indonesia, functioning as a marker of solidarity and shared belonging between government and citizens.

Data 5

We are facing options which are not easy to choose and which need to be well weighed before a binding decision is made. It is obvious that all of the problems which have piled up for so long cannot be solved at once. (p. 2)

Personal deixis in the pronoun “We” identifies the Government (and possibly the wider leadership) as the speaker and actor, while at the same time inviting inclusivity by aligning the challenges with a collective responsibility. Temporal deixis for the phrase “for so long” points to an extended period in the past during which problems have accumulated, while “at once” refers to the immediate present or near future, emphasizing that solutions cannot be achieved instantly. Discourse deixis in “options” and “problems” refers back to specific issues mentioned earlier in the speech, anchoring the statement within the flow of discourse rather than introducing new topics. Social deixis in the use of pronoun “We” instead of “I,” the President frames the statement as a shared responsibility between government and representatives, highlighting solidarity in decision-making.

Data 6

It is obvious that we have to take short-term safety measures first, not only for the sake of overcoming a chain of crises, but also for the sake of building a platform, from which **we** move forward to the next stage. (p. 2)

Personal deixis in the pronoun “we” signals inclusivity, referring to the Government while also implicitly including the people as part of the collective effort. It strengthens the sense of shared responsibility in facing crises. Temporal deixis for the word “first” indicates the sequencing of actions in time, while “the next stage” points to a projected future, showing how the process will unfold gradually. Discourse deixis in the reference to “a chain of crises” connects the statement with earlier parts of the speech, where the nation’s challenges have been outlined. Likewise, “a platform” is deictic in that it sets up a conceptual base for later discourse about development and progress. Social deixis for “we” and “our” (implied in collective responsibility), the President positions himself not as an individual but as part of a collective leadership and citizenry, fostering solidarity.

Data 7

=As was agreed upon in the last General Session of the Assembly, **we** must keep the preamble to the 1945 Constitution. . (p. 2)

Temporal deixis found in the phrase “the last General Session” situates the agreement in past time, anchoring the utterance to a specific historical moment. Personal deixis for the pronoun “we” expresses collective responsibility, including both the Government and the Assembly (and implicitly the nation), in preserving the constitutional preamble. Discourse deixis in the expression “as was agreed upon” refers back to a decision or resolution in the prior Assembly session, linking the present statement to earlier discourse. Social deixis in the reference to “the Assembly” highlights the institutional authority involved, marking the social and political context in which the agreement was made.

Data 8

In the midst of restless and nervous situations in facing the many national problems nowadays, **we** should be thankful to God that there are initial convincing indications that as a nation **we** still have the endurance and potentials to re-awaken. . (p. 2)

Temporal deixis for the word “nowadays” locates the challenges in the present time, showing that the problems described are ongoing rather than past or future. Personal deixis – The pronouns “we” and “our” (implied in “as a nation we”) create inclusivity, binding the speaker, the government, and the people into a collective identity. Social deixis in the reference to “God” reflects shared religious and cultural values, positioning gratitude as a collective moral duty of the Indonesian people. Discourse deixis in the phrase “the many national problems” points to issues previously

mentioned or assumed to be known within the national discourse, anchoring the utterance within a larger narrative of crisis and recovery.

Data 9

The endurance and potentials are obviously the synergistic effects which arise from the combinations of all of the forces owned by the diverse Indonesian nation. **We** should also be grateful to God that friendly countries understand the gravity of the problems that **we** must solve, and **they** welcome the national policy which **we** have agreed upon in facing the future. (p. 2-3)

Personal deixis in the pronoun “we” emphasizes inclusivity, aligning the Government and the people as one collective body responsible for solving national problems. The use of “we” in “we must solve” and “we have agreed upon” strengthens the sense of shared responsibility. Social deixis for references to “the diverse Indonesian nation” and “friendly countries” mark social and political relationships. The first highlights Indonesia’s internal unity in diversity, while the second signals international recognition and support. Discourse deixis in the noun phrases “the problems that we must solve” and “the national policy which we have agreed upon” point to matters previously introduced in the wider context of the speech, connecting the statement to ongoing discourse about national crisis and policy response. Temporal deixis for the phrase “in facing the future” projects the nation’s efforts forward in time, showing a forward-looking orientation.

Data 10

“Following up the results of the audit on Pertamina, it is expected that by March this year the Company will have completed its restructuring program to economize its overhead budget, including measures to fix inefficient posts found by the auditing, and at the same time preparing Pertamina to be more competitive in the international market” (p. 20),

There can several deictic expressions be identified in the data, they are as follows: Temporal deixis, discourse deixis, spatial deixis and personal deixis. Temporal deixis in the phrase “*by March this year*” situates the expectation within a specific timeframe. The reference to “*this year*” is context-dependent, tied to the year 2000 when the speech was delivered. The phrase “*the results of the audit on Pertamina*” points back to a previously mentioned or on textually known event, presenting the statement in earlier parts of the discussion. Spatial deixis for the reference to “*the international market*” signals a broader economic space beyond Indonesia, contrasting the local context with the global arena. Personal deixis in the use of the impersonal construction “*it is expected*” avoids direct attribution, but implicitly refers to the government or leadership as the source of the expectation.

B. Discussion

The analysis of deixis in Abdurrahman Wahid’s *Government Statement on the 2000 Draft State Budget* reveals that deictic expressions play a crucial role in constructing political meaning, strengthening solidarity, and legitimizing authority during Indonesia’s early reform era. The findings demonstrate that Wahid employed five types of deixis—personal, temporal, spatial, discourse, and social—to organize his message contextually and pragmatically. Each type of deixis contributes to shaping the President’s rhetorical stance and the audience’s interpretation of national identity, responsibility, and progress.

The most dominant type of deixis found in the speech is **discourse deixis**, with 152 instances. This indicates that Wahid placed significant emphasis on textual cohesion and logical sequencing throughout his address. Expressions such as *as was agreed upon*, *before proceeding to the substance*, and *this measure* guide the audience through the flow of the argument, creating coherence between different sections of the speech. According to Levinson (1983), discourse deixis functions as a textual reference that helps listeners track the speaker’s ideas within the discourse. In Wahid’s speech, it also

reinforces a sense of continuity between past policies, present conditions, and future goals. This strategy is particularly important in political contexts, where clarity and logical progression strengthen the perceived rationality of government actions.

The second most frequent type, **personal deixis**, appears 78 times and serves as a tool for establishing solidarity and inclusivity. Wahid's consistent use of the pronouns *we* and *our* blurs the boundary between the government and the people, presenting national challenges as collective responsibilities. This inclusive rhetoric reflects what Wodak (2001) calls the "construction of national identity through linguistic inclusion." In contrast, the absence of exclusive pronouns such as *I* or *they* minimizes individualism and division, aligning with Wahid's leadership style that emphasized pluralism and cooperation. For instance, in statements like *we are facing options which are not easy to choose*, the pronoun *we* projects both empathy and shared accountability, a significant rhetorical move in the post-New Order political climate.

Temporal deixis, with 55 instances, situates the speech within a dynamic temporal framework, linking the present (e.g., *today*, *nowadays*) with both past struggles and future aspirations. As Bühler (1990) and Fillmore (1997) highlight, temporal deixis ties discourse to a "here-and-now" point while extending the listener's attention forward or backward in time. In Wahid's case, expressions such as *first*, *next stage*, and *in facing the future* signal a progressive vision of reform. They reflect his pragmatic recognition of immediate crises alongside long-term national rebuilding. This temporal structure mirrors Indonesia's political trajectory at the time—a nation emerging from authoritarian rule and navigating the uncertain beginnings of democracy.

Spatial deixis, though less frequent (8 instances), also serves important rhetorical functions. References such as *this plenary session of the House* or *the international market* anchor the speech within both national and global contexts. They help the audience situate the President's words within physical and institutional spaces, reaffirming his role as a national leader addressing a legislative body while also acknowledging Indonesia's interconnectedness with the wider world. Chilton (2004) argues that spatial deixis in political discourse is used metaphorically to position the speaker and audience within ideological space. Wahid's selective use of spatial deixis reflects this dual purpose—grounding his authority within domestic institutions and extending his vision toward international engagement.

Social deixis, with 10 instances, underscores the cultural and hierarchical aspects of Indonesian political communication. Phrases such as *the Honourable Leadership and Members of the House* and *God the Almighty* express politeness, respect, and shared moral values. These forms of address resonate with Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory, which views honorifics as strategies to maintain social harmony and avoid face-threatening acts. In Wahid's case, social deixis not only upholds institutional decorum but also projects his inclusive religious tolerance, as seen in greetings like *Merry Christmas*, *Happy Eid al-Fitr*, and *Happy Galungan*. Such expressions signal recognition of Indonesia's multicultural and multi-faith identity—an important political stance in reinforcing unity during a period of social fragmentation.

When viewed collectively, these deictic strategies illustrate how Wahid used language to perform three interrelated functions: **(1) constructing authority**, **(2) fostering solidarity**, and **(3) promoting national continuity**. Through personal and social deixis, he builds relational and moral credibility; through temporal and discourse deixis, he organizes information and situates it within Indonesia's reform narrative; and through spatial deixis, he positions Indonesia within a broader, globally aware context. This combination of deictic functions supports Fairclough's (1995) argument that political language is inherently ideological—shaping not just what is said, but how relationships and responsibilities are framed.

In conclusion, the discussion highlights that Wahid's deixis was not a mere linguistic feature but a strategic communicative tool. His deliberate use of context-dependent expressions aligned his leadership with collective national effort, reaffirmed institutional respect, and projected optimism

toward the future. The interplay among personal, discourse, and temporal deixis in particular underscores the pragmatic complexity of political communication in transitional Indonesia—where words served both to stabilize and to inspire.

V. CONCLUSION

This research analyzed the use of deixis in Presidential Speech: Government Statement on the 2000 Draft State Budget to the House of the People's Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia delivered by Abdurrahman Wahid. The main objective was to identify deictic expressions and to examine how they construct meaning within the political and social context of Indonesia in the year 2000. The analysis revealed that five types of deixis, personal, temporal, spatial, discourse, and social deixis were employed throughout the speech. Personal deixis, especially the frequent use of *we* and *our*, was dominant, highlighting collective responsibility and solidarity between the government and the people. Temporal deixis located the speech within the present challenges and future aspirations, while spatial deixis situated the address in the institutional space of the House and, at times, in broader international contexts. Discourse deixis provided cohesion by linking current arguments to prior statements, and social deixis reflected Indonesian cultural values of respect, hierarchy, and politeness.

The findings of the study indicate that deixis is a central feature in Abdurrahman Wahid's Government Statement on the 2000 Draft State Budget. The analysis identified a total of 303 deictic expressions, consisting of 78 instances of personal deixis, 152 instances of discourse deixis, 55 instances of temporal deixis, 8 instances of spatial deixis, and 10 instances of social deixis. Among these, discourse deixis was the most frequently used, suggesting that Wahid's speech relied heavily on connecting statements, arguments, and references within the text to ensure cohesion and clarity. Personal deixis ranked second in frequency, showing the President's effort to create solidarity and inclusiveness by positioning himself alongside the people and government institutions through pronouns such as *we* and *our*. Temporal deixis highlighted the urgency of current national challenges and projected future expectations, while spatial deixis, though less frequent, situated the speech in institutional and global contexts. Social deixis appeared in the form of honorifics and respectful address, reflecting Indonesia's cultural norms of politeness. These findings demonstrate that Wahid's use of deixis served as both a linguistic and rhetorical strategy to construct meaning, foster unity, and legitimize political authority during a critical period in Indonesian history.

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Conflict of Interest

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest.

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List of Appendix

Number of Data	Data	Type of Deixis
1	The Government is fully aware that sociopolitical and security problems constitute national priorities which we must handle, the reason being that the solution of those problems is a prerequisite for restoring our economy. . (p. 3)	Person Deixis
2	Nevertheless, on this occasion of submitting the statement on the Year 2000 State Budget which will be effective for only nine months, namely from 1 April to 31 December 2000, allow the Government to focus its attention to the handling of economic issues. . (p. 3)	Person Deixis
3	The following statement encompasses, sequentially, the main points on the general conditions of our economy, the Government's vision on the medium-term economic framework, the prerequisites needed for the development of our national economy, and the main underpinnings for the drawing up of the	Person Deixis

- Year 2000 Draft State Budget as the short-term economic framework. . (p. 3)
- 4 In spite of the fact that there are indications of improvement, grave problems still pose before **us**. In the FY 1999/2000, the capital flow, which encompasses the Government's capital flow and private sector's capital flow, is expected to undergo a deficit of US\$ 3,476 million. (p. 4) Person
Deixis
- 5 As the underlying attitude and point of departure, **we** find it necessary to develop the people's economic power as the backbone of the national economic development. It is imperative in this regard to bring into being more just and equitable opportunities for all of the people to seize and at the same time to create more efficient and shock-proof economy. (p. 5) Person
Deixis
- 6 Third, the labour market is expected to be more flexible; in order to sustain **it**, various labour regulations need to be rectified. (p. 6) Person
Deixis
- 7 Hospitals should be provided with an impetus to finance **their** activities, so that limited funds can be allocated for the improvement of community health programs and for the prevention of contagious and infectious diseases. (p. 6) Person
Deixis
- 8 The goal that **we** want to achieve is that education be able to yield skilled and professional labour. In the context of improving skills, the role of the skill training schools run by the private sector should be enhanced. (p. 6) Person
Deixis
- 9 **We** are aware that the economic progress of a country is not only determined by the availability of the production factor, namely capital and labour, but is determined more by the improvement of economic productivities. (p. 7) Person
Deixis
- 10 With those authorities each of the Regional Governments is expected to develop **its** creativity, to produce various policies, to improve the quality of services, to bring into being a conducive climate for the empowerment of the community in various walks of life, and to develop infrastructures as well as social, economic and cultural means. In this context, it should be understood that the discussion on the regional autonomy should not be focused only on the topic of the division of incomes between the Central Government and Regional Governments. (p. 7) Person
Deixis
- 11 **Before** proceeding to the substance of the Budget, however, allow me to convey a message of Merry Christmas and Happy New Year 2000, Happy Galungan Day and Happy Eid el Fitr 1420 Hegira.(p.1) Discourse
Deixis
- 12 In accordance with direction in the Guidelines, the draft state budget is a draft for the state budget in the transitional period of the 1 April to 31 March Fiscal Year (FY), which **will become** the calendar year. (p. 2) Discourse
Deixis

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|----|--|---------------------|
| 13 | In spite of the fact that the Year 2000 Draft State Budget is meant as the transitional budget, in drawing up the draft the Government was not in the least abandon the good mechanism of cooperating with the House. This transitional provision is indeed highly important and there is indeed an objective need for that. (p. 2) | Discourse
Deixis |
| 14 | However, as regards the system of the government which regulates the relationships between and among various state-running institutions, it has been felt that it needs to be restructured. | Discourse
Deixis |
| 15 | The basic policies concrete measures still need to be developed further by forging close cooperation with the House. (p. 3) | Discourse
Deixis |
| 16 | All of those are happening when situations in various fields are still critical and cannot be fully surmounted yet. . (p. 2) | Discourse
Deixis |
| 17 | Various short-term basic policies have been, are being, and will be taken to solve those problems. . (p. 3) | Discourse
Deixis |
| 18 | As a point of departure in the drawing up of this years' state budget , it can be noted that the world economy in 1999 grew, so it is estimated, higher than it was in the preceding year. . (p. 3) | Discourse
Deixis |
| 19 | Whereas in 1998 the world economy growth was 2.5 per cent, it is estimated that in 1999 it reached 3.0 per cent. It is estimated that in 2000 the world economy will even grow higher, namely to 3.5 per cent. (p. 3) | Discourse
Deixis |
| 20 | Meanwhile , Asian countries which were hit by the economic crisis most severely, such as South Korea, Thailand, Indonesia, and Malaysia, have gradually been recovered and began to sustain a positive growth in 1999. . (p. 3) | Discourse
Deixis |
| 21 | The fairly good development in the national economy is shown by the fact that there was an expansion of 3.1 per cent in the second quarter of 1999, which was followed with an increase of 0.54 per cent in the third quarter. (p. 3) | Discourse
Deixis |
| 22 | The fairly good development in the national economy is shown by the fact that there was an expansion of 3.1 per cent in the second quarter of 1999, which was followed with an increase of 0.54 per cent in the third quarter. On the basis of this , in the FY 1999/2000, the Indonesian economy experienced, it is estimated, a growth of 1 to 2 per cent. (p. 3) | Discourse
Deixis |
| 23 | In the year 2000 state budget it is expected that the economy will grow at a higher rate of 3 to 4 percents. (p. 3) | Discourse
Deixis |

- 24 In line with the initial strengthening of the exchange rate of the rupiah and with the decrease in the inflation rate, the bank interest rates also began to slide. **This** caused negative spread to slide gradually too. (p. 3-4) Discourse Deixis
- 25 In addition, the more conducive sociopolitical situation resulting from the running of the general elections and from the convening of the sessions of the People's Consultative Assembly, which **went smoothly and safely, also motivated** market actors to be active in making investment in the capital market. (p. 4) Discourse Deixis
- 26 The number of the emittent companies in the capital market **grew** to include 15 more companies, of which 9 were share emittents and 6 **were** bond emittents. (p. 4) Discourse Deixis
- 27 In addition, the composite share price index positively reflected the capital market activities. The market capitalization value also **rose** from Rp. 167.3 trillion to Rp. 451.8 trillion, rising 170.05 per cent. (p. 4) Discourse Deixis
- 28 In the mean time, the import value in the FY 1999/2000, comprising the oil and gas import and the non-oil and non-gas import is estimated to reach US\$ 32,934 million. **This figure** shows an increase of 7.3 per cent from the import value in the FY 1999/2000, which was US\$ 30,707 million. (p. 4) Discourse Deixis
- 29 In that FY, the Government's capital flow underwent a surplus of US\$ 5,446 million, while the private sector's capital flow **underwent** a deficit of US\$ 8,922 million. In FY 2000, the capital flow is estimated to have a surplus of US\$ 214 million. (p. 4) Discourse Deixis
- 30 Various improvements in the overseas trade can also be seen in the decline of the national debt service ratio (DSR), which in the FY 1999/2000 is estimated to be 54.0 per cent, compared to that in the FY 1998/1999, which **was** 57.4 per cent. In the FY 2000, the national DSR is estimated to be 47.2 per cent, comprising the Government's DSR of 12.8 per cent and the private sector's DSR of 34.4 per cent. (p. 4) Discourse Deixis
- 31 **On this occasion**, allow me to invite the Honourable Leadership and members of the House to praise God the Almighty for His blessing which has enabled us to convene this plenary session of the House **today**. Time Deixis
- 32 **Today**, it gives me great pleasure to discharge one of the constitutional duties of the President, namely to submit the Year 2000 Draft State Budget to the House. Time Deixis
- 33 In the midst of restless and nervous situations in facing the many national problems **nowadays**, we should be thankful to God that there are initial convincing indications that as a nation we still have the endurance and potentials to re-awaken. . (p. 2) Time Deixis

- 34 Nevertheless, **on this occasion** of submitting the statement on the Year 2000 State Budget which will be effective for only nine months, namely from 1 April to 31 December 2000, allow the Government to focus its attention to the handling of economic issues. . (p. 3) Time Deixis
- 35 As a point of departure in the drawing up of **this years' state budget**, it can be noted that the world economy **in 1999** grew, so it is estimated, higher than it was **in the preceding year**. (p. 3) Time Deixis
- 36 Whereas **in 1998** the world economy growth was 2.5 per cent, it is estimated that **in 1999** it reached 3.0 per cent. It is estimated that **in 2000** the world economy will even grow higher, namely to 3.5 per cent. (p. 3) Time Deixis
- 37 **Meanwhile**, Asian countries which were hit by the economic crisis most severely, such as South Korea, Thailand, Indonesia, and Malaysia, have gradually been recovered and began to sustain a positive growth **in 1999**. . (p. 3) Time Deixis
- 38 The fairly good development in the national economy is shown by the fact that there was an expansion of 3.1 per cent **in the second quarter of 1999**, which was followed with an increase of 0.54 per cent **in the third quarter**. (p. 3) Time Deixis
- 39 **In the year 2000** state budget it is expected that the economy will grow at a higher rate of 3 to 4 percents. (p. 3) Time Deixis
- 40 As the outcomes of various Government policies such as the prudent monetary policy, basic commodities are adequately available; the distribution of goods and services is smooth; and the exchange rate of the rupiah is relatively stable; and the growth of the consumers price index in forty three cities (except Dili) was, **in the first nine months of the 1999/2000 FY**, adequately under control. (p. 3) Time Deixis
- 41 and the growth of the consumers price index in forty three cities (except Dili) was, in the first nine months of the 1999/2000 FY, adequately under control.**During that period**, there is an inflation rate of minus 2.61 per cent, much lower than that in the same period in the previous FY, which was 40.70 per cent. (p. 3) Time Deixis
- 42 The prudent monetary policy strengthened the exchange rate of the rupiah **in the 1999/2000 FY** (up to November 1999) compared to the rate at the end of the preceding FY. **In the 2000 FY** (April-December 2000) is estimated to be Rp.7,000.00 per US\$ 1.00. (p. 3) Time Deixis
- 43 In line with the monetary improvement, the growth of the capital market **in the FY 1999/2000** (up to December 1999) showed an increasing trend. This was in line with there being signs towards improvements in the economic activities. (p. 4) Time Deixis

- 44 **In the FY 1999/2000**, the value of export comprising oil and gas export and non-oil and non-gas export is estimated to amount to US\$ 54,151 million, an increase of 12.0 per cent compared to the value of export in the preceding FY, which was only US\$ 48.354 million. (p. 4) Time
Deixis
- 45 **In the FY 2000**, which is only nine months long, the export value is estimated to reach US\$ 41,552 million, comprising the export value of oil and gas, at US\$ 8,003 million, and that of non-oil and non-gas, at US\$ 33,549 million. (p. 4) Time
Deixis
- 46 In the mean time, the import value **in the FY 1999/2000**, comprising the oil and gas import and the non-oil and non-gas import is estimated to reach US\$ 32,934 million. This figure shows an increase of 7.3 per cent from the import value in the FY 1999/2000, which was US\$ 30,707 million. (p. 4) Time
Deixis
- 47 **In the FY 2000** the import value is estimated to reach US\$ 27,284 million, comprising the oil and gas import at US\$ 3,233 million and the non- oil and non-gas import at US\$ 24,051 million. (p. 4) Time
Deixis
- 48 With the improving export and import, the balance of trade **in the FY 1999/2000** is estimated to have a surplus of US\$ 21,217 million or 20.2 per cent higher than the surplus in the preceding FY, which was only US\$ 17,674 million. In the FY 2000 the balance of trade is estimated to have a surplus of US\$ 14,268 million. (p. 4) Time
Deixis
- 49 In spite of the fact that there are indications of improvement, grave problems still pose before us. **In the FY 1999/2000**, the capital flow, which encompasses the Government's capital flow and private sector's capital flow, is expected to undergo a deficit of US\$ 3,476 million. (p. 4) Time
Deixis
- 50 **In that FY**, the Government's capital flow underwent a surplus of US\$ 5,446 million, while the private sector's capital flow underwent a deficit of US\$ 8,922 million. In FY 2000, the capital flow is estimated to have a surplus of US\$ 214 million. (p. 4) Time
Deixis
- 51 **To this end**, the government will continue to be at the people's disposal to be open and transparent, promoting constructive dialogues with the House, with a view to securing long-term development as well as to preventing **us** from being trapped into short-sighted policy making. The macropolicy to support sustainable development which leads the national economy to become more just, equitable and which is followed by strong economic stability must therefore become the main consideration. (p. 22) Time
Deixis
- 52 The dialogue between the government and the House is facing the problem of limited time. In this regard, besides the principles of transparency and democracy in the deliberation of the draft, **it** is of paramount importance for **us** to keep the schedule on **its** track so as to enable the implementation of the 2000 state budget to be started **on 1 April 2000**. (p. 22) Time
Deixis

- 53 As the outcomes of various Government policies such as the prudent monetary policy, basic commodities are adequately available; the distribution of goods and services is smooth; and the exchange rate of the rupiah is relatively stable; and the growth of the consumers price index **in forty three cities** (except Dili) was, in the first nine months of the 1999/2000 FY, adequately under control. (p. 3) Place Deixis
- 54 Up to now the restructuring of banks has been felt to be sluggish in terms of handling. Among other things, **this** has been caused by the complexity of the program of restructuring debts incurred by companies. **This company** debt restructuring program involves thousands of domestic companies as well as creditors **in many countries**. (p. 10) Placea Deixis
- 55 The reforms in various sectors - albeit encountering loopholes **here and there**- have produced a synergy to overcome the crisis. Place Deixis
- 56 **At the income side**, the tax component derived from oil and gas revenues is reallocated to its original function and nature, namely at the acceptance of the income tax in oil and gas sectors. (p. 15) Place Deixis
- 57 **At the spending side**, various kinds of spending which have so far created a confusing notion, such as the program to subsidize, the interest rate of which in the previous fiscal years was grouped in the post of development spending, in this 2000 State Budget is reallocated to routine spending. (p. 15) Place Deixis
- 58 **In the draft state budget 2000**, the incomes from privatization programs, which in the FY 1999/2000 constituted 50 per cent of the government's non-tax income, are no longer included in this class of income. (p. 19) Place Deixis
- 59 Gradually, should all structural readjustment programs be carried out properly as planned, the economic growth is expected to arrive at the level of 6 or 7 per cent within **the next five years**. (p. 21) Time Deixis
- 60 Following up the results of the audit on Pertamina, **it** is expected that by March this year the Company will have completed **its** restructuring program to economize **its** overhead budget, including measures to fix inefficient posts found by the auditing, and at the same time preparing Pertamina to be more competitive **in the international market**. (p. 20) Place Deixis
- 61 Honourable Speaker, Vice Speakers and **Members of the House of the People's Representatives**, Social Deiixis
- 62 Distinguished **Guests**, Social Deiixis
- 63 Fellow **citizens** all over Indonesia Social Deiixis

64	Today, it gives me great pleasure to discharge one of the constitutional duties of the President , namely to submit the Year 2000 Draft State Budget to the House.	Social Deixis
65	In this new system, the center of the gravity of the legislative authority has been moved from the President to the House. Not only do high state institutions have the obligations to implement the State Policy Guidelines, they also are obliged to report on the implementation of the Guidelines in the yearly session of the People's Consultative Assembly. . (p. 2)	Social Deixis
66	Honourable Speaker, Vice Speakers, and Members of House (p. 3)	Social Deixis
67	Honourable Speaker, Vice Speakers, and Members of the House (p. 5)	Social Deixis
68	Honourable Speaker, Vice Speakers, and Members of the House , (p. 8)	Social Deixis
69	Honourable Speaker, Vice Speakers, and Members of the House (p. 14)	Social Deixis
70	Honourable Speaker, Distinguished Vice Speakers and Members of the House , (p. 18)	Social Deixis