

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Adejare, R. A. (2014). The Manifestation of Mood and Modality in Texts. *English Linguistics Research*, 3(1), p18. <https://doi.org/10.5430/elr.v3n1p18>
- Aini, Y. S. N., Baskoro, B. R. S., & Firmonasari, A. (2021). "Pro-Whom?": A Critical Discourse Analysis Of President Donald Trump's Immigration Policy Speeches. *LITERA*, 20(2), 234–249. <https://doi.org/10.21831/ltr.v20i2.34478>
- Alfonso, N. L., & Germani, M. P. (2007). A Systemic Functional approach to literature: a preliminary study of two postcolonial texts. *Anuario N° 8-Fac. de Cs. Humanas-UNLPam* (261-276).
- Amalia, R., Hamsa, A., & Saleh, M. (2022). Analisis Penggunaan Klausa Dalam Rubrik Opini Pada Surat Kabar Harian Tribun Timur Makassar. *BISAI: Jurnal Bahasa, Sastra, Dan Pengajaran*, 1(1), Article 1. <https://doi.org/10.30862/bisai.v1i1.27>
- Aydın-Düzgıt, S. (2016). De-Europeanisation through Discourse: A Critical Discourse Analysis of AKP's Election Speeches. *South European Society and Politics*, 21(1), 45–58. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13608746.2016.1147717>
- Bates, D. (2023). 'The jobs all go to foreigners': A critical discourse analysis of the Labour Party's 'left-wing' case for immigration controls. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 20(2), 183–199. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2022.2041451>
- Billig, M. (2008). The language of critical discourse analysis: The case of nominalization. *Discourse & Society*, 19(6), 783-800.
- "Encyclopedic Entry Border". <https://education.nationalgeographic.org/resource/border/>. Diakses pada 18 Desember 2023. Pukul 17.15 WIB.

- Buras, A., Schunk, C., Zeiträg, C., Herrmann, C., Kaiser, L., Lemme, H., ... & Menzel, A. (2018). Are Scots pine forest edges particularly prone to drought-induced mortality?. *Environmental Research Letters*, 13(2), 025001.
- Bozoki, A. (2016). Mainstreaming the Far Right: Cultural Politics in Hungary. *Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest*, (4), 87-116.
- Bryman, A. (2016). *Social Research Methods*. Oxford University Press.
- Burke, P. J. (2004). Identities and Social Structure: The 2003 Cooley-Mead Award Address. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 67(1), 5–15.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/019027250406700103>
- Caldas-Coulthard, C. R. (Ed.). (1996). *Texts and practices: Readings in critical discourse analysis* (1. publ). Routledge.
- Campani, G., Fabelo Concepción, S., Rodriguez Soler, A., & Sánchez Savín, C. (2022). The Rise of Donald Trump Right-Wing Populism in the United States: Middle American Radicalism and Anti-Immigration Discourse. *Societies*, 12(6), 154.
<https://doi.org/10.3390/soc12060154>
- Charmilasari, C. (2019). Modalitas Pada Wacana Kelas: Kajian Linguistik Sistemik Fungsional. *Jurnal Onoma: Pendidikan, Bahasa, dan Sastra*, 4(2), Article 2.
<https://doi.org/10.30605/onoma.4.2.2018.1122>
- Chu, R.-X., & Huang, C.-T. (2021). The day after the apology: A critical discourse analysis of President Tsai's national apology to Taiwan's indigenous peoples. *Discourse Studies*, 23(1), 84–101. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445620942875>
- Csehi, R. (2021). *The Politics of Populism in Hungary*. Routledge.
- Csehi, R. (2022). *The politics of populism in Hungary*. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

- Demata, M., et al. (2020). *Euro-American Relations in the Age of Globalization: Risks and Opportunities*.
- Dijk, T. A. van. (2009). *Society and discourse: How social contexts influence text and talk*. Cambridge University Press.
- Eggins, S. (2004). *An introduction to systemic functional linguistics* (2nd ed). Continuum.
- Elyas, T., Aljabri, A., Mujaddadi, A., Almohammadi, A., Oraif, I., Alrawi, M., AlShurfa, N., & Rasheed, A. (2023). Politicizing COVID-19 Lingua in Western and Arab Newspapers: A Critical Discourse Analysis. *International Journal for the Semiotics of Law - Revue Internationale de Sémiotique Juridique*, 36(2), 869–892.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11196-022-09933-2>
- Ettinger, A. (2018). Trump’s National Security Strategy: “America First” meets the establishment. *International Journal*, 73(3), 474–483.
- Fairclough, N. (1992). Discourse and text: Linguistic and intertextual analysis within discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society*, 3(2), 193–217.
- Fairclough, N. (1995a). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (1995b). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203697078>
- Fairclough, N. (2013). Critical discourse analysis and critical policy studies. *Critical Policy Studies*, 7(2), 177–197. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19460171.2013.798239>
- Fairclough, N. (2015). *Language and power* (3. ed). Routledge.

- Firmonasari, A., Udasmoro, W., & Mastoyo, Y. T. (2020). Understanding Secularism and National Identity in French Political Discourses. *Jurnal Humaniora*, 32(2), 135.
<https://doi.org/10.22146/jh.55450>
- Gil-Bonilla, J. F. (2020). Critical Discourse Analysis of Trump Across Time. *Sustainable Multilingualism*, 16(1), 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.2478/sm-2020-0001>
- Gödri, I. (2015). International migration. *Demographic Portrait of Hungary*.
<https://demografia.hu/en/publicationsonline/index.php/demographicportrait/article/view/892>
- Gordon, P. C., & Searce, K. A. (1995). Pronominalization and discourse coherence, discourse structure and pronoun interpretation. *Memory & Cognition*, 23(3), 313-323.
- Halliday, M. A. K., & Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (2004). *An introduction to functional grammar* (3rd ed). Arnold ; Distributed in the United States of America by Oxford University Press.
- Halliday, M. A. K., & Matthiessen, C. M. I. M. (2013). *Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar* (0 ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203431269>
- Hanks, W. f. (1989). Text and Textuality. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 18, 95–127.
<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.an.18.100189.000523>
- Hart, C. (2010). *Critical discourse analysis and cognitive science: New perspectives on immigration discourse*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hart, C., & Cap, P. (Eds.). (2017). *Contemporary critical discourse studies* (First published in paperback). Bloomsbury Academic, an imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc.
- Haryatmoko. (2017). *Critical discourse analysis: (Analisis wacana kritis), landasan teori, metodologi dan penerapan* (Cetakan 2). Rajawali Pers.

- Hasanudin, C. (2018). Kajian Sintaksis Pada Novel Sang Pencuri Warna Karya Yersita. *Jurnal Pendidikan Edutama*, 5(2), 19. <https://doi.org/10.30734/jpe.v5i2.191>
- Heywood, A. (2017). *Political ideologies: An introduction* (6th ed). Palgrave.
- Hidalgo Tenorio, E. (2011). Critical Discourse Analysis, An overview. *Nordic Journal of English Studies*, 10(1), 183. <https://doi.org/10.35360/njes.247>
- Janks, H. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis as a Research Tool. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 18(3), 329–342. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0159630970180302>
- Jørgensen, M., & Phillips, L. (2002). *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. SAGE Publications Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781849208871>
- Kadim, E. N. (2022). A critical discourse analysis of Trump's election campaign speeches. *Heliyon*, 8(4), e09256. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2022.e09256>
- Kékesi, M. Z. (2017). Hungary: Migration and the policy of closed borders. *Praha: Association for International Affairs*, 7.
- Kovecses, Z., & Szabco, P. (1996). Idioms: A View from Cognitive Semantics. *Applied Linguistics*, 17(3), 326–355. <https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/17.3.326>
- Kridalaksana, H. (1986). *Kelas kata dalam bahasa Indonesia*. Gramedia.
- Kristeva, J. (1986). *The Kristeva reader* (T. Moi, Ed.). Columbia Univ. Press.
- Lakoff, G. (1993). The contemporary theory of metaphor. In A. Ortony (Ed.), *Metaphor and Thought* (2nd ed., pp. 202–251). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139173865.013>
- Levitsky, S., & Ziblatt, D. (2018). *How democracies die* (First edition). Crown.

- Liu, Q. (2021). Metaphors addressing the relationship between Chinese and Western cultures in Mao's speeches. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 18(2), 207–225.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2019.1692048>
- Martin, J. R., Matthiessen, C. M. I. M., & Painter, C. (2010). *Deploying functional grammar*. Commercial Press.
- Megawati, E. (2021). Analisis Wacana Kritis Model Fairclough Dan Wodak Pada Pidato Prabowo (Critical Discourse Analysis of Fairclough' and Wodak's Model Within Prabowo's Speech). *Kandai*, 17(1), 75. <https://doi.org/10.26499/jk.v17i1.1551>
- Mollan, S., & Geesin, B. (2020). Donald Trump and Trumpism: Leadership, ideology and narrative of the business executive turned politician. *Organization*, 27(3), 405–418.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1350508419870901>
- Musolff, A. (2004). *Metaphor and political discourse: Analogical reasoning in debates about Europe*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Nyíri, P. (2003). Xenophobia in Hungary: a regional comparison. Systemic sources and possible solutions. Central European University (CEU) - Center for Policy Studies
- O'Shea, T., & Ramón, C. (2018). Immigrants and public benefits: What does the research say. *Bipartisan Policy Center, Washington, DC*.
- Palmer, F. R. (2001). *Mood and modality* (2nd ed). Cambridge University Press.
- Pavković, A. (2017). Sacralisation of contested territory in nationalist discourse: A study of Milošević's and Putin's public speeches. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 14(5), 497–513.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2017.1360191>
- Piper, K. <https://www.e-ir.info/2010/07/14/john-gray-and-the-idea-of-progress/>. 'John Gray and the idea of progress'. Diakses pada 20 Januari 2024. Pukul 13.17 WIB

- Rajcsányi, G. (2018). Viktor Orbán's Hungary: Orbanist Politics and Philosophy from a Historical Perspective. *Echle, Christian–Kliem, Frederick–Sarmah, Megha. Political Change, Panorama: Insights into Asian and European Affairs. Singapore, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung*, 123-134.
- Roberts, C. W., Zuell, C., Landmann, J., & Wang, Y. (2010). Modality analysis: A semantic grammar for imputations of intentionality in texts. *Quality & Quantity*, 44(2), 239–257. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-008-9194-7>
- Rovny, J. (2016). Is Eastern Europe Uniformly Anti-Immigrant? Not so fast. *LIEPP Policy Brief*, (24).
- Sanchez, G. (2020). *Beyond the wall: US immigration policy under Trump*. Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale.
- Sanders, R., & Jenkins, L. D. (2023). Patriarchal Populism: The Conservative Political Action Coalition (CPAC) and the Transnational Politics of Authoritarian Anti-Feminism. *The International Spectator*, 58(3), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03932729.2023.2225660>
- Szabó, I. (2019). Law I of 1920 and the Historical Constitution. *A History of the Hungarian Constitution*.
- Searle, J. R. (2010). *Expression and meaning: Studies in the theory of speech acts* (Nachdr.). Cambridge Univ. Pr.
- Sentinel, B. (2017, June 14). *Hungary's transit zones are prisons where pregnant women are handcuffed and children go hungry*. The Budapest Beacon. <https://budapestbeacon.com/hungarys-transit-zones-are-prisons-where-pregnant-women-are-handcuffed-and-children-go-hungry/>

- Siefring, J., & Speake, J. (Eds.). (2004). *The Oxford dictionary of idioms* (2. ed). Oxford University Press.
- Simonovits, B. (2020). The Public Perception of the Migration Crisis from the Hungarian Point of View: Evidence from the Field. In B. Glorius & J. Doomernik (Eds.), *Geographies of Asylum in Europe and the Role of European Localities* (pp. 155–176). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-25666-1_8
- Susilo, I., Putri, R. A., & Azizah, N. (2019). United States's Intervention against the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant. *Indonesian Journal of International Relations*, 2(1), 58–67. <https://doi.org/10.32787/ijir.v2i1.20>
- Syartanti, N. I., Satyawati, M. S., & Sumarta, I. W. A. (2020). The Use Of Theme And Rheme's Structure In Bali's Folklore Pan Belog: Systemic Functional Linguistic Study. *Prosiding Seminar Nasional Linguistik dan Sastra (SEMANTIKS)*, 2(0), Article 0.
- Tepfenhart, M. (2011). Right-wing Extremists in Europe. *Comparative Civilizations Review*, 65(65).
- Torre, C. de la (Ed.). (2018). *The Routledge handbook of global populism*. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Udasmoro, W.. dkk. (2021) *Kontestasi Wacana dalam Politik Identitas Prancis*. Fakultas Ilmu Budaya UGM.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1990). Discourse & Society: A New Journal for a New Research Focus. *Discourse & Society*, 1(1), 5–16. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926590001001001>

Van Leeuwen, T. (2008). *Discourse and practice: New tools for critical discourse analysis*.

Oxford University Press.

Wijaya, A. R., & Baskoro, B. R. S. (2022). Representasi Islam dalam Pidato Presiden Prancis

Terkait Kebijakan Melawan Separatisme. *Metahumaniora*, 12(1), 73.

<https://doi.org/10.24198/metahumaniora.v12i1.36643>

Wodak, P. R., & Meyer, M. (2001). *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. SAGE.

Wodak, R. (2015). Critical discourse analysis, discourse-historical approach. *The*

international encyclopedia of language and social interaction, 1-14.

Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (Eds.). (2016). *Methods of critical discourse studies* (3rd edition).

SAGE.

Wu, J. (2011). *Understanding Interdiscursivity: A Pragmatic Model*. 6(2).

Sumber Acuan Internet

"Cambridge Online Dictionary". <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/>. Diakses pada November

2023 - January 2024.

"Collins Online Dictionary". <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/>. Diakses pada October 2023

- February 2024.

"Meaning of **bosom buddy** in English".

<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/bosom-buddy>. Diakses pada 24

Januari 2024. Pukul 13.40 WIB

"Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary". <https://www.merriam-webster.com/>. Diakses pada Oktober 2023 - Januari 2024.

"UNHCR | Emergency Handbook" <https://emergency.unhcr.org/>. Diakses pada 3 Februari

2024. Pukul 15.48 WIB

“About Migration and Human Rights”. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/migration/about-migration-and-human-rights>. Diakses pada 17 Februari 2024. Pukul 15.00 WIB

“*CRIMINAL Definition & Meaning—Black’s Law Dictionary*”(2013, March 28). The Law Dictionary. <https://thelawdictionary.org/criminal/>

“*ILLEGAL Definition & Meaning—Black’s Law Dictionary*”. (2011, November 9). The Law Dictionary. <https://thelawdictionary.org/illegal/>

“*International Migration Law No. 34—Glossary on Migration.*” (2019).
<https://publications.iom.int/books/international-migration-law-ndeg34-glossary-migration>

“Universal Declaration of Human Rights”. <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights>. Diakses pada 17 Februari 2024. Pukul 14.30 WIB

Bolter, J. *Explainer: Who Is An Immigrant?*.

<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/content/explainer-who-immigrant>. Februari 2019.

Diakses pada 12 Januari 2024. Pukul 11.43 WIB.