Discourse-oriented corpus studies as critical lexicography

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Critical Lexicography

- Focus: “The meanings of words which denote, represent, or reflect politicized concepts and phenomena – ideologically loaded items, totemic and socioculturally significant.”

- “Such words have been the frequent focus of linguistic investigations more widely, for example in corpus-led studies from a discourse analytic perspective, or sociological and cultural studies.”

- “Ideologically positioned meaning is central to the concerns of critical lexicography.”

(Moon, 2014: 85)
Core tenet: The critical examination of lexicogrammatical and discoursal patterns in context can help uncover attitudes towards particular entities (e.g. individuals, groups, issues).

Approach 1: Lexicography informing DOCS

- Dictionary definitions inform DOCS focus and/or are contrasted with DOCS findings.

Approach 2: DOCS as lexicography

- DOCS techniques and results seen as lexicographic work (e.g. Gabrielatos, 2011; Moon, 2014) → emerging definitions
- Can incorporate Approach 1: expected vs. unexpected (e.g. Krishnamurthy, 1996).
Scarce acknowledgement of the overlap in the objectives and methodology of DOCS and (critical) lexicography (cf. Gabrielatos, 2011; Moon, 2014).

The approach to lexicography that Chen (2019) proposes is what DOCS have been practising since the early 1990s (see Gabrielatos 2020).
Collocation in DOCS

Collocations “are often unavailable to intuition or conscious awareness. They can convey messages implicitly and even be at odds with an overt statement” (Hunston, 2002: 109).

- Node and collocate need not be adjacent.
- Collocation need not be (part of) a (semi-) fixed expression.
- Collocations may be calculated within, or regardless of, sentence boundaries.
- cf. practice in lexicography – due to different objectives.
- Identifying collocations not an end in itself, but a way in.

Collocational network (Phillips, 1989): Different nodes may share the same collocates.

Intercollocation: Nodes may collocate themselves.
Three cases studies

Discourse presentation (emerging definitions) in newspapers

Asylum and Immigration
Islam
Autism
**Discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK Press, 1996-2006**

CL team: Paul Baker, Costas Gabrielatos, Tony McEnery.
CDA team: Majid KhosraviNik, Michal Krzyzanowski, Ruth Wodak.

Articles: 175,139

Words: 139,510,037

Sub-corpora:
- per newspaper
- broadsheets/tabloids
- per year

Business
Evening Standard
Express
Daily Mail + Mail on Sunday
Daily Mirror + Sunday Mirror
Guardian + Observer
Herald
Independent + Independent on Sunday
Liverpool Echo
People
Star
Sun
Telegraph + Sunday Telegraph
Times + Sunday Times
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>refugee</td>
<td>Someone who has been <strong>forced to leave their country</strong>, especially during a war, or for political or religious reasons.</td>
<td>One who, owing to religious persecution or political troubles, seeks refuge in a foreign country. A runaway; a fugitive from justice, etc. <strong>rare</strong>. Someone <strong>driven from his home by war or the fear of attack or persecution</strong>; a displaced person.</td>
<td>Someone whose <strong>asylum application</strong> has been successful and who is allowed to stay in another country having proved they would face persecution back home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asylum seeker</td>
<td>Someone who <strong>leaves their own country because they are in danger</strong>, especially for political reasons, and who asks the government of another country to allow them to live there.</td>
<td>A person seeking refuge, esp. political asylum, in a nation other than his or her own. <strong>Both dictionary and RC definitions of asylum seeker make mention of asylum application</strong></td>
<td>Someone who has <strong>fled persecution</strong> in their homeland, has arrived in another country, made themselves known to the authorities and exercised the legal right to apply for asylum.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>immigrant</strong></td>
<td>Someone who enters another country to live there <em>permanently</em>.</td>
<td>• One who or that which immigrates; a person who migrates into a country as a <em>settler</em>.</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>migrant</strong></td>
<td>Someone who goes to live in another area or country, especially in order <em>to find work</em>.</td>
<td>• A person who moves <em>temporarily or seasonally</em> from place to place • A person who moves <em>permanently</em> to live in a new country, town, etc., esp. to look for work, or to take up a post, etc.;</td>
<td>[economic migrant] Someone who has moved to another country <em>to work</em>.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Forced migration**: refugees and asylum seekers
- **Voluntary migration**: immigrants and (economic) migrants

(International Association for the Study of Forced Migration)
Dictionaries

**asylum seeker:**
a refugee who has applied for asylum

**Temporal sequence:**

*refugee* → *asylum seeker*

A refugee need not become an asylum seeker.

**refugee:** potentially temporary

**asylum seeker:** potentially permanent

Refugee Council

**refugee:**
a successful *asylum seeker*

**Temporal sequence:**

*asylum seeker* → *refugee*

A refugee has been an asylum seeker.

**refugee:** potentially permanently

**asylum seeker:** potentially temporary

If newspapers operate according to the dictionary definitions, then ...  

- *asylum seekers*, seen as seeking permanent or long-term residence, would perhaps be expected to share a large proportion of collocates with *immigrants/migrants*.
- *refugees*, seen as probably transient, would be expected to show little overlap in collocates with *immigrants/migrants*.

(Gabrielatos, 2007: 7; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008: 17)
Similar proportions of shared collocates indicate similar discourses on two different types of migration (forced/voluntary).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Definition and examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Provenance / transit / destination</td>
<td>Used to refer to all forms of RASIM. Words referring to the country, region or continent that RASIM come from (provenance) e.g., Iran, Lebanon, Pakistan, Turkey, China; or the country, region or continent they want to go to (destination) e.g., UK, or the place that they temporarily stay, or are held, while waiting to be allowed go to their place of destination, or while waiting for their case to be decided (transit) e.g., France. As the same word may refer, in different texts, to more than one sub-category (e.g., France is both a country of destination and transit), these collocates were grouped together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Used mainly to refer to refugees, these are words denoting their large number (e.g., flooding, pouring, streaming).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entry</td>
<td>Used mainly to refer to refugees, asylum seekers and migrants. Verbs denoting entry to the country of destination/transit (e.g., arrive, come, enter), verbs denoting their journey (e.g., cross), verbs denoting their (illegal) attempts to enter (e.g., trying), verbs denoting their being in transit (e.g., waiting), or the place of entry (e.g., borders, Dover).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic problem</td>
<td>Mainly used on asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants, these are words denoting either that they are a financial burden, because they receive state benefits (e.g., benefits, claiming, receive), or a financial threat, because they compete for jobs with existing citizens (e.g., jobs, working).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence</td>
<td>Mainly used on refugees and asylum seekers. Words denoting their residence during transit (e.g., camp, shelter, temporary), or in the destination country (e.g., housed, settled), or verbs used to express opposition to the latter (e.g., allowed, granted).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Return / repatriation</td>
<td>Mainly used on refugees and asylum seekers. Words referring to RASIM returning, or being made to return, to their country (e.g., back, refused, return, sent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legality</td>
<td>Mainly used on asylum seekers and immigrants, these are words concerning the legal status of RASIM. They are either direct, that is, attributive (e.g., bogus, genuine, illegal), or indirect, that is, they imply their illegality (e.g., caught, detained, smuggled).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plight</td>
<td>Mainly used to refer to refugees. Words referring to the situations that necessitated their leaving their country (e.g., fear, forced, persecution), the manner of their leaving (e.g., escape, fleeing), their current/recent state (e.g., displaced, homeless), or their current needs (e.g., aid).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shared c-collocates: Categories</td>
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<td>--------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>refugees</strong></td>
<td><strong>asylum seekers</strong></td>
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</table>
| **refugees** | \[
\text{ENTRY NUMBER} \\
\text{ECON. BURDEN} \\
\text{RETURN}
\] | \[
\text{ENTRY} \\
\text{RESIDENCE}
\] | \[
\text{ENTRY}
\] |
| **asylum seekers** | \[
\text{ENTRY} \\
\text{PLIGHT} \\
\text{NUMBER} \\
\text{RETURN}
\] | \[
\text{ENTRY} \\
\text{LEGALITY} \\
\text{PTD} \\
\text{RESIDENCE}
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\text{ENTRY}
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| **immigrants** | \[
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\text{PLIGHT} \\
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\text{ENTRY} \\
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\text{RESIDENCE} \\
\text{LEGALITY}
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| **migrants** | \[
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\text{ENTRY} \\
\text{RESIDENCE} \\
\text{ECON. THREAT} \\
\text{LEGALITY}
\] |
Consistent intercollocations of RASIM

Figures indicate the number of annual sub-corpora in which terms intercollocate.
WHAT a horrific, callous man Perry Wacker is to let those 58 Chinese migrants suffocate in the rear of his truck. If our Government had stood firm and made it difficult to enter Britain - turning migrants back instead of looking after them - they would not try to smuggle themselves here. Then this tragic waste of life and the anguish of the people who found them might not have happened. The manslaughter charge should have been shared by the Government for not sorting out the problem.

[Letter, The Sun, June 2001]
The representation of Islam and Muslims in the UK press, 1998-2009
Paul Baker, Costas Gabrielatos, Tony McEnery

Articles: 200,000
Words: 143 million
Spelling normalisation

Sub-corpora:
- per newspaper
- per year (1998-2009)
- broadsheets/tabloids
- political orientation

Business
Daily Express + Sunday Express
Daily Mail + Mail on Sunday
Daily Mirror + Sunday Mirror
Guardian + Observer
Independent + Independent on Sunday
People
Daily Star + Daily Star Sunday
Sun
Telegraph + Sunday Telegraph
Times + Sunday Times
Corpus tools and methodology

Tool

• **Sketch Engine** (Kilgarriff et al., 2004)
  – Originally developed for lexicographical purposes

Methodology

• Detailed wordlist analysis, keyword analysis, word sketches
• **Co-textual analysis**

Word Sketch

• Collocates of a word within a grammatical construction
  – *Muslim* _Adj + Noun_ collocates
**Sketch of Muslim used as an adjective**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>and/or</th>
<th>ADJ+num</th>
<th>num</th>
<th>adv+ADJ</th>
<th>num</th>
<th>v+ADJ</th>
<th>num</th>
<th>Natrol</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Natr-i** 6.0
- a-year | 1.65 |
- beginning | 1.68 |
- % | 1.46 |

**Ntfrom-i** 2.0
- birth | 1.52 |
- age | 1.13 |

**Nitro-i** 2.0
- agnostic | 1.60 |

**Nntn-i** 38.0
- origin | 3.22 |
- name | 3.07 |
- field | 2.13 |
- court | 2.05 |
- makeup | 1.53 |
- squadron | 1.59 |
- census | 1.47 |
- ethic | 1.32 |
- mint | 1.06 |
- th-century | 1.22 |
- neighbourhood | 1.19 |
- bid | 1.6 |
- design | 1.55 |
- prayer | 1.09 |
- character | 1.04 |

**Ntfri-i** 5.0
- chunk | 1.65 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collocates: categories and sub-categories</th>
<th>Examples of noun collocates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CONFLICT</td>
<td>extremist, fanatic, terrorist, fundamentalist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RELIGION</td>
<td>cleric, faith, festival, preacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CULTURE</td>
<td>Social practices: dress, culture, name, tradition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Education: school, teaching, education, college</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>View/attitude/emotion: opinion, anger, voice, attitude, grievance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ETHNIC/NATIONAL ENTITY</td>
<td>Population: community, population, nation, world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Area/country: country, state, area, region, land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Governance: leader, voter, MP, government, ruler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHARACTERISING/DIFFERENTIATING ATTRIBUTES</td>
<td>Age/sex: woman, man, girl, youth, child, teenager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Family/relationship: family, parent, brother, friend, wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Occupation/role: officer, patient, doctor, worker, assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ethnicity/race/nationality: Briton, Albanian, Malay, Arab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other: house, shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GROUP / ORGANISATION</td>
<td>group, organisation, association, charity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Muslim-Adj: Noun collocates - tokens

- Conflict: 14.4%
- Religion: 8.7%
- Culture: 12.0%
- Ethnic/National Identity: 37.6%
- Characterising/Differentiating Attributes: 21.7%
- Group/Org.: 5.6%
The distribution in terms of tokens may be due to some very frequent types.
Muslim_Adj: Noun collocates - types

- CONFLICT: 26.2%
- CULTURE: 18.1%
- ETHNIC/NATIONAL IDENTITY: 13.8%
- RELIGION: 9.0%
- CHARACTERISING/DIFFERENTIATING ATTRIBUTES: 29.8%
- GROUP/ORG.: 3.1%
The diagram illustrates the relationship between frequency (tokens) and lexical richness (types) for different categories. The categories are:

- **ETHNIC/NAT. ID.**
- **CHAR./DIFF. ATTR.**
- **RELIGION**
- **CULTURE**
- **CONFLICT**
- **GROUP/ORG.**

The categories are categorized into two groups based on their positions on the graph:

- **Frequent Lexically poor**
- **Frequent Lexically rich**
- **Infrequent Lexically poor**
- **Infrequent Lexically rich**

The frequency and lexical richness values are indicated on the axes:

- Frequency (tokens) range from 0 to 40.
- Lexical Richness (types) range from 0 to 35.

The categories are plotted according to their frequency and lexical richness values, showing their relative positions in the context of conflict-related vocabulary.
Emerging patterns

• Muslims are usually presented as a homogeneous group.

• *Muslim_Adj is* used much more often as a national/ ethnic/cultural attribute than a religious one → they are ‘different’.

• The direct mention of armed/social conflict is both very frequent and lexically rich.

• Other uses of *Muslim_Adj* are usually embedded within discussions of conflict.

(Baker, Gabrielatos, McEnery, 2013a, 2013b)
A LEADING barrister says Sharia law in Britain is "inevitable", despite 95% of Daily Star readers insisting it is wrong in our phone poll yesterday. Most of our readers believe that Britons should not have to live under the controversial Muslim code in their own country, which includes stoning to death for adultery and cutting off hands for theft. But former Chairman of the Bar Council Stephen Hockman said there was no reason why Sharia law could not be applied here. He said: "Given the world situation and our own substantial Muslim population, it is vital that we now look at ways to integrate Muslim culture into our own traditions."

[Daily Star, 05.07.2008]
Portrayals of Autism in the British Press 2011-2020

Costas Gabrielatos, Themis Karaminis, Ursula Maden-Weinberger

Articles: 24,000
Words: 19 million
Sub-corpora:
- per newspaper
- per year (2011-2020)
- broadsheets/tabloids
- political orientation

Daily Express + Sunday Express
Daily Mail + Mail on Sunday
Daily Mirror + Sunday Mirror
Guardian + Observer
Independent + Independent on Sunday
Daily Star + Daily Star Sunday
Sun
Telegraph + Sunday Telegraph
Times + Sunday Times
**Autism: sources of definitions**

- Five general online dictionaries

- Autism Diagnosis Criteria: DSM-5 (‘deficit’ approach)
  ([https://www.autismspeaks.org/autism-diagnosis-criteria-dsm-5](https://www.autismspeaks.org/autism-diagnosis-criteria-dsm-5))

- Autistica ([https://www.autistica.org.uk](https://www.autistica.org.uk))
- ‘diversity’ approach
What is autism?

-- Both ‘deficit’ and ‘diversity’ approaches reflected:

• developmental, common, complex, lifelong, genetic, challenging, neurological

• disability, disorder, condition

• [manifests in] difficulties, problems, special needs, issues, challenges

• [affects] social interaction, behaviour, communication, sensory experiences

(Maden-Weinberger et al., 2021)
Who has autism?
- *son, boy, child, adults*
- Only from 2015 onwards is *girl* a collocate of *autism*
- Since 2018: *daughter, babies, students, pupils, teenagers*

Autism is mentioned together with:
- *learning disabilities, ADHD*
- *mental health disorders, schizophrenia, depression, anxiety, bipolar disorder, psychiatric conditions, dementia, Tourette’s syndrome*
- *epilepsy, cerebral palsy, diabetes, asthma, multiple sclerosis*

(Maden-Weinberger et al., 2021)
Corpus analysis: Emerging patterns (3)

No/little agency:
• Autistic people (regardless of age) are not presented as representing themselves, but they are spoken about.

Mothers are the carers
• 5 times more frequent collocates than fathers

Autistic children are presented as
• "attributes" of mother
• represented by mother
• the reason for mother's actions/activism/advocacy
• a ‘burden’/‘problem’ for carers/society

(Maden-Weinberger et al., 2021)
A burden for carers
• Having spent much of her childhood as a carer to her disabled father, the discovery of her son's autism was, Lucy says, a heavy blow. (*Daily Mail*, July 2011)

Discourse Comorbidities + Nature of autism
• More mental illness 'in children of older dads': Greater risk of autism, ADHD and schizophrenia. (*Guardian*, February 2014)

No agency - parent is representative
• He also established the Strategic Autism Initiative, which he ran with Polly Tommey, a British mother with an autistic son. (*Independent*, May 2018)

‘Cure’
(Expressed directly or indirectly – sometimes because of choice of words, e.g. ‘therapies’, or the polysemy of ‘treatment’)
• Thanks to special classes and therapies and indeed her father's tireless work raising autism awareness, Mia learned to speak when she was seven years old and eventually she made the transition into regular school. (*Daily Mail*, May 2018)
• We are meeting in a west London cafe to talk about her new project, a centre for the treatment of children with autism. (*Times*, August 2018)
References


