Theodore Lidz

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e-Book 2016 International Psychotherapy Institute

From *The Person* by Theodore Lidz

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CHALLENGES AND TASKS

As babies emerge from infancy and start to walk and talk, they enter a phase in which the crucial problems involve the imbalance between their new-found motor skills and their meager mental capacities. They are driven by impulsions to use their new abilities and to explore their surroundings, but their verbal and intellectual abilities lag far behind their motor development. They are also caught between their needs for their mothers and their wishes to separate from them and have more autonomy. Limits must be placed upon these little children for their own safety and for the preservation of their family possessions. They have little, if any, ego of their own; the past and future are nebulous, and parenting persons must now, more than at any other time, function as surrogate egos for them. But toddlers do not understand; they are only beginning to tolerate delay and frustration; it is not possible to talk things over with them. Children now find themselves in a different sort of relationship with their parents than previously. During infancy their parents had nurtured them, provided for their needs, and encouraged their expansiveness: but now they must be delimited. The parents expect their babies to respect limits and renounce immediate gratifications in order to maintain a satisfactory relationship with them. Parents now set expectations for the toddlers to meet. It is not a simple transition for an unreasoning and unreasonable baby to make.

The baby has emerged from the passivity of infancy, and now seems both driven by an inner impulsion to activity and pulled by the attraction of new stimuli in the surroundings—by a need to gain mastery over his or her body and to explore the environment. Whereas during the first year much of the infant's food intake went into physical maturation, now an increasing amount goes into fuel for the physical activity that reaches prodigious proportions by the middle of the second year. Gains in height and weight slow down markedly. The annual increments in weight are less between two and five than at any other time before the attainment of adulthood.

The baby is now moving away from the need for complete care and a symbiotic existence with a

mothering person. It is a phase that is critical to the establishment of a basic *trust in the self* and a *sense of initiative.*[1] Children are in the process of establishing boundaries between themselves and their mothers, both physical boundaries and a sense that they can do things as separate individuals. But in this process of separation and individuation they increasingly recognize that parents are separate persons from them and their vulnerability inevitably evokes anxieties. They cannot yet come to feel that they can care for themselves.

The dangers, as always, lie on both sides. Children cannot yet really be responsible for themselves, and they are far from being independent. Indeed, toddlers' venturesomeness depends upon having close at hand the shelter of a parent's arms and lap to which they can retreat when they overreach themselves. A mother who finds too anxiety provoking those activities of her child that lead into a world full of very real dangers—stairways, gas burners, lamps that topple, car-filled streets—may overlimit and surround the child with gates, fences, and a barrier of "no's" that stifle initiative and self-confidence. Parents who have little confidence in their abilities to guide and control their child are apt to project such feelings and magnify the child's incapacity to care for the self. Parents who cannot tolerate disorder, or who overestimate babies' capacities to conform and regulate their impulses, can convey a sense of "being bad" to the child, and thereby provoke a sense of guilt or shame that undermines feelings of worth and self-trust. The child may be led into an overconformity that satisfies the parents but covers hostile resistance and stubbornness.

In psychoanalytic theory, this period of life is the *anal phase* of psychosexual development in which the investment of the child's libido has shifted from the oral zone to the anal region. The child now gains erogenous pleasure from passing or withholding bowel movements that stimulate the libidinized anal mucosa. Giving or withholding, compliance or stubbornness, and related behaviors become important and influence character formation. For many children in Western societies, the conflicts that arise because of the need to conform and comply with the wishes of others, in contrast to infancy when needs were satisfied by parental figures, can focus on bowel training, particularly on premature bowel training. The demands for bowel control can epitomize all of the requirements imposed by early socialization—the need to rescind gratification and the freedom to give in to impulsions and accept a need to control the self. Ever since Freud published his essay "Character and Anal Erotism," it has been recognized that there is a clear connection between anal erotic gratification, conflicts over bowel training, and certain

configurations of personality traits. However, bowel training need not take place during the second year; it is neither a biological nor a social necessity. Certain of the problems conventionally associated with anal erotism and bowel training seem more clearly related to the developmental tasks pertaining to conflicts between initiative and conformity.[2] Therefore, the anal aspects of the period will be discussed after the broader developmental characteristics have been considered.

The period will terminate toward the end of the third year, when children have gained sufficient vocabulary and adequate syntax to comprehend much of what is said to them and when they have become reasonably separate individuals. Their linguistic abilities and knowledge will help them brook delays, because they can anticipate future goals and benefits. They can now maintain a mental image of their parents and emotional bonds to them during separations that are not lengthy. They will have internalized enough of their worlds to understand expectations, to begin to reason, and to listen to reason.

Although a smooth passage from fifteen to thirty-six months is not impossible, it is unlikely. The toddler's developmental situation almost inevitably creates difficulties for both child and parents. The extent and nature of the problems, and just when they arise, vary with the child, the parents' sensitivities, and the child-rearing practices they utilize. Although the more manifest problems usually involve difficulties in control and the expectations for self-control of some form of behavior—bowel training, eating, or physical initiative—and the child's reactive temper outbursts, resistance, and negativism, the less apparent anxieties about separation from the mothering person also create difficulties. However, another critical task of the period that has received far less attention in the literature demands attention. It concerns linguistic development—how it is influenced by children's interactions with their parents and how parental and cultural value systems become involved in the process. There is a contrapuntal-like development of these two themes—the increasing physical capacities and the slower acquisition of language. Both involve the child's expanding abilities. The developmental phase ends when a reasonable equilibrium between the two is established.

THE TODDLER'S CAPACITIES AND BEHAVIOR

Sometime before fifteen months the baby really walks, even though in a stumbling, wobbly manner.

Although skills increase rapidly, it will take more than a year for walking to become fully automatic. As toddlers progress through their second year into their third, they can be a delight to watch as they move with earnest intent from one activity to another. They are sources of constant interest as new abilities and skills follow one another rapidly and they become increasingly responsive to verbal exchange. The babyish speech is still amusing, for no more is expected from the toddler. They are venturesome and venture constantly but still remain babies who enjoy giving and receiving demonstrable affection. They are unfolding to become individuals with ways of acting and expressing themselves that are distinctively their own. As they approach two the pace quickens and, typically, they are into everything. They begin their "love affair with the world" (Greenacre, 1957). Anything precious or potentially harmful must be kept out of their way. While intriguing to watch develop, toddlers, particularly boys, can also readily become sources of despair to the mother, whose energy and wits are taxed to the limit as she tries to keep up with her little boy and find ways either to control him or to arrange the surroundings for him. A toddler girl can also be highly exasperating in her innocence, for in the flash of an unguarded moment she can light into something forbidden, turn the living room into a shambles, or vanish from sight. The impulsion to activity outruns not only mastery of the body, but even more the child's knowledge of what he or she can do or may do.

Motor Skills

The toddler is a strange admixture of grace and awkwardness; the graceful and well-proportioned body somewhat comical in its rapid stumbling movements, body tilted slightly forward, ankles somewhat stiff, and both arms waving in extraneous movements. Until the child is well past two, arm movements are apt to accompany many activities, and when one hand is used the other accompanies it until unilateral differentiation of muscular control is well established. When the small child pounds on a pan with a block held in one hand, both arms will be in movement. The gross movements of the arms and legs are mastered long before fingering, which requires a great deal of practice. The toddler is apt to carry small objects tucked under the arm rather than in the hand. It takes practice to time the release of objects, as in throwing or rolling a ball, perhaps to the annoyance of the father who wishes to start training his son to be a ball player as soon as he emerges from the cradle.

Through play which appears to be so random, the child is gradually learning muscular

coordination and is exploring one item after another as is necessary to gain understanding of the surrounding world. Even movements that seem completely natural to adults require lengthy practice before they can be carried out automatically and without concentration. A girl of two sitting down in a chair appropriate for her size takes care and expends effort. She may climb into it laboriously and then let her feet down, or she may carefully measure the distance by sighting through her legs and then let down her rump while still watching herself. Skills do not come simply through maturation but through countless repetitions that go on day after day and which are necessary to enable children to learn coordination and to measure the space in which they live.

Cognitive Capacities

Similar considerations apply to perceptual and cognitive development. 'The child is endowed with organs that register sensations, but must learn to organize the sensations that impinge upon them, utilizing the concordance of various sense modalities and sensori motor schemata to build the sensations into perceptions, and then with the help of words learn what are discrete things, and what various things are. Children of this age are very distractible, as their attention shifts from one stimulus to another, taking the body along with it. To some observers the child's naiveté seems surprising. A little boy may, for example, try to grasp the line made by a crack in the floor and reach for things well beyond his range. It is a very new world that distracts from any continuity of effort. A girl leaves a toy to touch a kitten, only to move toward the sound of her mother in the next room, but she may be waylaid by the carpet sweeper in the hall that demands her attention. Still, they learn very rapidly and as they gain skills they will be fascinated by repeating over and over again what they are mastering. The circular reactions of the sensori-motor period are still major means of learning (see Chapter 5). A toddler will place one block on another and repeat it, and can keep amused piling colored rings on a stick until such tasks are thoroughly assimilated and become so simple that they are meaningless, and then are part of the schema that is ready to assimilate more complex activities. Attention becomes firmer, bringing a period of relative calm until still greater skills enable the child to move more rapidly about the house and to a wider range of exploration. Parents unconsciously become alert to the sound of their child's activities and chatter; they learn that silence must be investigated because it may well indicate that something new has attracted and held the child, who is likely to be exploring something that is potentially dangerous, or to

which the child is a danger.

Routines can become time-consuming and try the parents' patience. Children develop their own ideas about what should be done, their own interests, their own pace, They can refuse to be hurried as they messily feed themselves and become more interested in play than in food. Hands may be too occupied to be lifted into the armholes of an undershirt or sweater. The mother must exert ingenuity to keep the toddler either interested or distracted while being fed, bathed, and dressed. The toddler is attentive to songs and soon likes to listen to simple stories, even though they may not be understood. The crib ceases to confine as the child learns to clamber out of it; and even though everyone else in the house may be thoroughly fatigued by bedtime, the child may be reluctant to end the day. On the other hand, if things have gone well, toddlers are usually delighted and full of laughter when others pay attention to them and participate in some activity with them.

Gradually, children keep themselves occupied for longer periods, but preferably with a parental figure close at hand. They may happily play with a couple of pots, listen to a phonograph record repeat itself, or page through a picture book, occasionally glancing at the mother while she works in the kitchen. Water often holds a particular fascination for toddlers, who can keep busy pouring it from pot to pot, filling containers in the sink, or playing with the contents of the bath. They imitate more and more, and like to "help" their mothers with household chores if the mother can good-naturedly and appreciatively accept the interfering aid. Left without a parental figure, the child is apt to lose ebullience and turn inward. Both boys and girls identify with the mother at this stage, picking up her ways of doing things, her intonations, and her likes and dislikes. Of course, a child will also enjoy being with the father and share his work of tinkering with the car or gardening. Often less alert than the mother to the child, a father may suddenly realize that the child is no longer at his side and become shaken when he locates the two-year-old climbing a tree, or stumbling along carrying a pruning knife, oblivious to the danger.

Control and Conflict

As children's motor abilities and their urges to use them have temporarily outrun their comprehension and experience, parents must provide the guidance and set the limits. The parents' own contentment, the prerogatives of other children, and the preservation of the household, as well as the

child's safety, must be taken into account when judging what latitude can be permitted the child. Providing the proper guidelines always presents problems to parents. Babies' logic at eighteen months is composed largely of their impulses to carry out their desires; life consists of the present, and they are bereft of foresight. As we have seen, "no" is learned before "yes," and it can become a major tool in the effort to preserve prerogatives. The child takes over from parents their use of "no" to refuse to comply with demands. Too much limitation, too frequent negations deprive children of a sense of initiative and enjoyment, and can lead them to become negativistic.

There are ways of avoiding collisions of wills and frequent clashes of temperament without having the family become enslaved to the baby's whims and without squelching the child. Insofar as possible an area of the house is cleared for action with all dangerous and valuable things removed but with enough left to permit interesting exploration. Children's energies are channeled into nondestructive activities. Toddlers are highly distractible, and drawing attention to some new activity can often serve better than a "don't" or a physical restriction. The parents are bolstered by a realization that the phase will pass. Still, this is not a time for offering lengthy explanations or alternatives. Somewhat older children can be given choices, but at this stage firm, pleasant, and patient guidance free from indecision solves the important matters, whereas latitude is permitted in areas that do not matter.

Now, as throughout early childhood, the mutuality between parent and child forms a major guide. It requires the indefinable judgment of a person who knows and empathizes with the child. It involves permitting children to use their abilities as they develop but not setting demands beyond their capacities. It requires a consistency from the parent that enables the child to learn how to have a pleased parent. The need for a comfortable parent, as has been noted, serves as a major directive to the child and a reward for which to relinquish immediate gratification. Still, the most devoted mother is human and has her limits and moods. These young dynamos can wear out their mothers faster than themselves and mothers cannot always be wise, consistent, and pleased.

Any attempt to consider the process of child development only in terms of an unattainable ideal is unrealistic. The parents' moods and limits require recognition as well as do the child's needs. Just as in infant feeding, the trend in setting controls has shifted from early training in obedience and conformity to a "permissiveness" that has sought to minimize frustration and the repression of self-expression.

"Permissiveness" has too often been interpreted by educators as well as by parents to connote that any restriction of children will distort their personality development. Parents have often had the notion that restricting a child indicates the presence of rejecting qualities derived from unconscious hostility to the child. The ensuing inhibition of self-expression in the mother, who often cannot admit her frustration and weariness even to herself, can produce an unnatural atmosphere in the home and a false front that has a more deleterious influence in the end. The general atmosphere created, the comfort and security of the parents in feeling that what they do is correct, and the meaningfulness of the restrictions that must be imposed are far more important than temporary parental upsets and losses of patience. Somehow the child can usually accept what the parents are convinced is proper.

SEPARATION-INDIVIDUATION

Children are now moving away from the symbiotic union with the mother while still having her close to provide for their needs—becoming members of a family rather than primarily members of a mother-child unit. The process involves both separation and individuation (Mahler, *et al.,* 1975). Separation concerns the child's disengagement and differentiation from the mother. Individuation involves the development of a stable inner representation of the mother, a time sense, a capacity for testing reality, and an awareness that others have an existence discrete from the child's. We have already examined the first stages in which the infant differentiates and tentatively moves away from the mothering person.[3] As children become toddlers they may seem rather independent of the mother as long as she is near. However, when left without the mother or some other very familiar person they take less interest in the surroundings, their activities slow down, and they appear preoccupied. If the child becomes upset, an unfamiliar person has difficulty in comforting the child, but when the mother returns the "toned down" state terminates, though sometimes only after a brief spell of crying (Mahler *et al.,* 1975, p. 74).

Then, as children grow more clearly aware of their mothers' separateness, they may seem to regress and seek more attention from her and greater closeness to her. In this *"rapprochement* phase" they are apt to follow their mothers about, "shadowing" them and wanting the mothers to play and interact with them. A mother might become annoyed with her child's increased demands and the apparent recrudescence of babyishness. However, the children have not regressed but are now forming a more real

relationship rather than simply requiring their mothers' presence. Children now want to do things together with a parent rather than just play near them. Now the mother's absence usually leads to greater rather than diminished activity; it seems as though active play can help the child master the separation anxiety. However, in the nursery school, it does not always suffice for a child to realize that an absent mother is nearby where she can be found or that she will soon return. A child may cling to a teacher and become too miserable to play. When a teacher seeks to provide comfort, the child mar become drowsy or even fall asleep, withdrawing from the unhappy situation, or may complain and reject even thing the teacher (or babysitter) does to distract and comfort the child.[4]

As improvement in children's linguistic and cognitive capacities enables them to communicate better with persons other than family members and to understand parental assurances, as well as to retain relationships with absent parents, both their separation anxiety and the insistence of their demands diminish. Children begin to have ambivalent feelings toward the same person rather than, as formerly, "split" the mother into a "good" and a "bad" mother according to the feelings the mother arouses at the time, as we shall consider later in the chapter. Now, too, children begin to fear loss of a parent's love rather than simply the loss of the parent, and behavior becomes more consistent in order to maintain the parents' love—a topic we shall pursue further in Chapter 8 when considering superego formation.

FAMILY MEMBERSHIP

The home is the center of toddlers' lives and in this sheltered environment they try themselves out, gain the feel of their bodies and how to use them, and acquire confidence in themselves. Although children can do well in nursery settings and even nursery schools before the age of three, they usually develop more comfortably when they learn to relate to others through experiences with family members before the need to interact with others becomes of primary importance. Even within the home the child is constantly moving against the limits that are safe and into conflicts with the rights of others. Children properly learn the essential delimitations of behavior under the aegis of parents who seek to foster their welfare and cherish them, who know their ways and can tolerate their trespasses, and who comfort them when they overreach themselves. Their intense bonds with their mothers and their need for their mothers meliorates the restrictions that are placed on them tolerantly and lovingly. The onus of

delimitation is offset by the satisfaction of pleasing the mother. Theoretically, at least, they live in tolerant and understanding homes in which the consistence of the parents leads to consistence in themselves. Behavior that would produce a rebuff from outsiders is not only acceptable but is expected within the home. Here temper outbursts need cause no lasting shame and tears no loss of face as they will when the children move into the world of childish compeers.

Although the home and the family are the center of children's lives, they increasingly move into contact with new places and persons. They go walking with their parents and get into things on the way. There are important things that they cannot resist exploring and examining until they learn to anticipate the more intriguing goal of a playground or store. While they may refuse to ride in their strollers, feeling grown up enough to walk just like their mothers, they can, at first, use the support of pushing the stroller along and are glad to have it as a vehicle when they tire.

PEER RELATIONSHIPS

In one way or another a child meets other children and at first may simply regard them as objects to be explored, and so the child feels, pats, and pushes them. Even later, toddlers will not play together but go about their own activities, enjoying the presence of others. The solitary play of several two-year-olds in the same room or yard will be broken by sudden, silent tugs of war or outbursts of screams and tears as one encounters the outrage of another who wants to use the same toy or space. At home, unless there are siblings of similar age, toys are the child's own possession. In another few months children will engage in parallel play in which two or more play at the same thing but still not with one another. The presence of other children of the same age is important to the child as he or she passes the age of two. A child will watch another play, enjoy observing briefly, and may then imitate the other. The boundaries of the self are still far from clear, emotionally as well as physically, and the exuberance, laughter, or tears of one child may become infectious to another. An older toddler may empathize with, and seek to comfort, a crying child.

Activities with other children provide new essential experiences through which they learn their role. They gain new perspectives of themselves through seeing other children, and eventually begin to see themselves through the eves of other children, which is a very different matter from seeing the self

only as a child in an adult world in which one is small, relatively helpless, and unequal to what others can accomplish.

As children approach three they begin to move beyond the confines of the home where they are the center of attention, and into the world with others. Even though it will be a very protected world for another few years, how a child fits into it depends upon the security and initiative gained at home. A basic trust in the self provides the foundation for relating to other children, including the freedom to express and assert oneself and the tacit assumptions of finding friendliness.

Toddlers are now rapidly expanding the range of their activities and their knowledge of the world, but the expansion has necessitated delimitation by their parents. Learning what is permissible and what is forbidden, what pleases and what displeases parents, is part of the process of socialization. The child is becoming more of a social creature through the limitation of drives and desires. There is an unfortunate element of confusion in the process. Some activities are prohibited simply because they are dangerous to a baby and not because they are otherwise unacceptable, whereas some behaviors are banned because they are contrary to the mores. Unless parents distinguish between what a child must or must not do for the child's safety, the societal rules, or the parents' passing feelings, the child's ethical development may become confused.

LEARNING LANGUAGE

Concomitantly, babies are learning to talk. They are now acquiring the adaptive technique that is uniquely human. It constitutes a major expansion of their capacities and a major aspect of the process of enculturation, but it also presents difficulties and frustrations as well as pleasures to little children. The delimitations in using language that the parents impose upon children are not as apparent as the bounds they set upon their actions, and they are not as likely to create feelings of frustration, but they are very real.

During the first year and a half, the baby's cognitive capacities develop essentially by progressive expansion of sensori-motor schemata, as has been outlined in the preceding chapter. The nurturing persons play a part primarily through keeping the child's tensions and emotional upsets minimal and by

supplying gratifying stimulation and opportunities for new experiences. Learning language, however, is a very different matter. It involves the acquisition of an existing complex system of sounds, meanings, and syntax through interaction with tutors, primarily the family members. Although it depends upon the prior elaboration of sensori-motor schemata, it is not a direct continuation of this earlier type of cognitive development. Learning language requires the assimilation of schemata that have been built up by others. The development of verbal communication requires a new start, so that language will at first play a relatively small part in directing the baby's behavior.

In learning language, children not only are learning to communicate verbally but are also assimilating the culture's system of meanings and its ways of thinking and reasoning. As noted in an earlier chapter, each society categorizes experience somewhat differently, and the vocabulary of its language forms a catalogue of the categories it uses in perceiving, thinking, and communicating. We have also noted that the family is the society's major enculturating agency. Babies are extremely dependent upon parental tutors, particularly their mothers, to mediate between them and the language of the society. Parents, as we shall see, interpret the baby's primitive words into words of the language and also interpret the language to the child. It is a lengthy and involved process and we shall be able only to touch upon some of the highlights. Thus, at this phase of life when toddlers are gaining greater initiative and strive to do more and more things for themselves, they become very dependent upon the mother, or some other person who is very familiar with them, for verbal comprehension. In order for babies to gain the language facility essential for the development of good intelligence, they need someone who is thoroughly familiar with their behavior, and who can interpret their needs, gestures, and primitive usage of words with reasonable accuracy and teach them, albeit often unknowingly, how these things can be conveyed linguistically, patiently working with them to build up their language. The consistency of the tutor's interaction with the child is extremely important, as also is the tutor's ability to suit the teaching to the child's capacities. More is involved than the speed and fluency of linguistic development; the child must now develop a trust in the utility and reliability of verbal communication and thereby a trust in the value of rationality. We will amplify this topic in the next chapter. As we examine a few salient aspects of the process by which the child acquires language, the importance of the mothering person or persons will become apparent.[5]

The Origins of Words

The foundations upon which the acquisition of language is built are laid down in the first year along with the mutual understanding between child and parents of needs, wishes, feelings, and intentions. The capacity to develop speech is an innate human attribute and all infants start to babble. However, the babbling must be reinforced by hearing it, and the deaf child soon stops babbling. The sounds that children make stimulate them to repeat the sounds and then to vary them. In Piaget's terms the sounds are aliments that stimulate circular reactions (see Chapter 5), and the vocalizations of others also stimulate the child's babbling and vocal experimentation. Infants' babblings gradually shift to resemble the sounds used in the language being spoken to them and around them. However, M. M. Lewis (1964, p. 33) believes that there are six archetypal nursery words—a type of basic baby language—that are used everywhere, varying but slightly from place to place. These are repetitions of the vowel "ah" with different consonants—"dada," "nana," "mama," "baba," "papa," and "tata." Babies repeat these or closely related sounds as circular reactions to their own sounds and to their parents' modified imitations of them. Certain of the repetitive sounds such as "mamama" or "dadada" are selected out and repeated by parents and are thus reinforced. The persons around the child respond to given sounds when they are used under certain circumstances, which lead to their repetition as part of particular action patterns or circular reactions. Still, the child's early use of "mama" is far from giving a name to the mother.

The word "mama" begins to fill an instrumental function for children when they are about a rear old. When, for example, the infant drops an object from the crib, fails to reach it, and says "mama" while reaching for it, mother sizes up the situation and hands her baby the object. It also has a declarative value; after being fed, a little girl gazes at her mother and contentedly says "mamama," which induces her mother to hug her. The repetition of the syllable thus produces a response. Now we find that a generalization of the "word" occurs and it is used in a wide variety of manipulative and affective contexts. It will require another ten to twelve months until "mama" is gradually limited to a designation for the mother. Thus, Piaget recorded that his son said "mummy" at fourteen months in surprise or appreciation when his mother was swinging her body; at fifteen months he used it to indicate that he wanted something, even when appealing to his father; and at sixteen months to get his father to light a lamp, when he saw his mother's clothing in a closet, and also when his mother gave him something. Eventually, the child learns the meaning because of the consistency of the mother's response to the word,

because she and others apply the term to her, and because of other such social interactions.

The baby's speech starts with the archetypal sounds used by infants everywhere that are reinforced by the parents and made to denote something by them. The baby's language is then expanded by "words" that form a transition between the "basic baby language" and conventional words. They are two-syllable repetitions such as "tata" for "good-bye," "nana" for nurse or grandmother, etc., and then "bye-bye," "bow-wow," and other such words that the baby learns from adults who are adapting their speech to the baby's capacities.[6] The toddler cannot learn to say "mother" but only "mama" or some such similar simple utterance. "Mom" or "mommy" can then be assimilated to "mama," etc. The parents, then, are speaking baby language to the child as if they were aware that the baby can at first only imitate and learn words that they have transformed into two simple syllables. Then, in accord with the child's development, they gradually move toward using sounds that more closely approximate the real word.

The Origins of Meanings

It seems likely that each new word the child learns during this period goes through a phase of expansion before it becomes narrowed down to a usage that is approximately appropriate. Thus, Piaget (1962, p. 216) found that soon after his thirteen-month-old daughter learned "bow-wow," she pointed to a dog while standing on her balcony and said "bow-wow," and thereafter the word was used for anything seen from her balcony—including horses, baby carriages, cars, and people; and not until three months later was "bow-wow" reserved for dogs.

Let us look further at the process of expansion and contraction of word meanings. Expansions are difficult to follow. "Wawa" meaning water may be learned for a glass of water and then be used for the glass as well as the water, and then for all shiny objects, before being narrowed down to the fluid; and it may go through other such false expansions at the time it is applied to running water in a bath, and again when water is seen in an ocean. Lewis (1964, pp. 50-57) has provided an example of how the expansion and limitation of a word occurred. His son, when twenty months old, said "Tee" (Timmy) for the household cat and then, at twenty-one months, for a small dog. Soon thereafter he used "Tee" for a cow and then for a horse. At twenty-two months he learned "goggie" for his toy dog and soon also used this word instead of "Tee" for a small dog. Then he learned "hosh" for horse, and stopped using "Tee" for

cat as he had learned "pushie," but he continued to use "Tee" for cow until he learned "moo-ka" when a little over two years old. A St. Bernard dog was rather understandably termed a "hosh" until he learned that it was a "biggie-goggie." Thus, over a period of about three months, the "Tee" which had been used for a variety of animals was replaced by words that classified animals in a manner that was reasonably similar to that used in the culture. He learned such differentiation through experiments in establishing communication by extending and contracting the applications of these sounds under the "responsive guidance of those who share in his experiences" (Lewis, 1964, p. 57).

The word gradually gains a discrete meaning and becomes a symbol as it comes to designate the unity and identity of the object as perceived from different perspectives and in differing situations; and also when different objects with the same critical attributes are categorized together by being denoted by the same word. The first of these ways of achieving a stable meaning is obviously simpler for children. When they, at about a year and a half of age, say "mama," they are symbolizing their mothers' identity for them under various conditions. It is much simpler to use "bow-wow" for a toy dog under all circumstances than to learn what objects are properly denoted by the word. The meanings of words continue to develop, narrowing to precision of meaning and broadening to include an ever increasing number of experiences with the word and whatever it designates. Although the meanings of common words become fairly definite during childhood, they will continue to change throughout life. The word "mother" has different meanings for a person when a small child and when a college student, and a still somewhat different meaning when a psychiatrist.[7]

Early Syntactical Development

The single word used by the baby at eighteen or twenty months has a diffuse meaning, and in its diffuseness it often expresses a sentence which the mother who knows her child can understand. The baby's "mama" can mean "I am hungry" or "Give me my ball" or "I love you, Mother"; and the mother, sizing up the situation, responds as if a complete sentence had been expressed. In the process, she will often also expand the child's verbalization by saying "Tommy hungry" or "Tommy want ball?" which is part of the lengthy process of teaching language to the child, even though she knows that it may be months before the child will be able to use the expanded expression.

Then when the children are about two years old, they begin to use two-to four-word expressions which, despite their simplicity, greatly increase the specificity of the communication. These are expressions such as "Mommy come," "Papa go bye-bye," "Nice doggie." The words are almost always in the proper sequence (Brown & Bellugi, 1961). It is not clear whether the child can "program" only such simple expressions because of the immaturity of the nervous system or because they are a step in gradual assimilation and accommodation.[8] Here again, the parental persons are in a position to guess the meaning from the situation, or they know how to behave or question the child in order to find out. The communication is between child and parent and not between child and any person in the community. Outsiders can understand only a small fraction of what the child seeks to convey. Brown has observed that mothers will, virtually without realizing it, expand the two-or three-word sentences for the child by adding a few crucial words. They do not usually expand them into complicated sentences but judge how far the child's comprehension may exceed his capacities for expression. For example, a little girl says "Mama lunch," and the mother judges whether she means "Mother, give me lunch," "Mother is eating lunch," "Mother is making lunch," etc. The mother then adds the words that make the distinction and, in the process, is teaching the rudiments of syntax.

Questions and the Naming Game

Sometime during the third year, varying from child to child, babies begin to ask questions, and then if they have proper respondents their vocabularies and comprehension expand rapidly. The questions are of several general types, each reflecting increases in children's intellectual capacities. Perhaps most notable are the naming questions that mount to a crescendo that strains the patience of many parents. The "What's this?" or "What's that?" may be stimulated by the parent's questions. Some of the questions are a game; it is a game that children can play as well as adults. Children ask some questions about names they know in order to have an adult turn the question back and permit the child to have the pleasure of answering correctly. Sometimes it is a means of gaining attention; sometimes a search for confirmation that the name applies to another object of the same category. It appears as if the child now realizes that everything has a name that must be learned and starts seeking this important knowledge. It will be recalled that the moment Helen Keller learned that objects have names constituted the turning point in her life. Knowing the name actually bestows a new power upon a toddler. The child needs the names in

order to begin to learn through talking rather than through action and to internalize the environment symbolically so as to make possible its imaginative manipulation. Even at this early age the names permit a degree of predictability about the world. A little boy may learn that all balls roll simply by playing with them, but he cannot know what objects are “toys" and can be played with from their appearance, as toys come in very varied shapes; nor can he know what foods are “sweet” before tasting them—but the words let him know in advance (Bruner *et al.,* 1956).

The child developed some appreciation of the constancy of the object during the period of sensori motor development as illustrated by the searching for it after it disappeared. Such knowledge is often fostered by adults, who hide an object and ask the child where it has gone. At first such questions only produce action responses—the child seeks the missing ball or block—but eventually they produce verbal responses, such as “there,” or even “stairs” meaning “upstairs in my room.” The baby now clearly holds visual images of absent objects in memory, and from here it is not a very large step to references to the past and future. As the notion of the future is based upon expectations derived from past experiences, the child for some time remains somewhat confused about what is past and what future and so may, at times, say “yesterday” when meaning tomorrow, even when considerable older.

As the third birthday approaches, questions are apt to include inquiries about reasons, “Why?” and “What you doing?” At this age children do not have any real concept of cause and effect, as Piaget (1928) has pointed out, and even when they learn to reply to questions with “because” responses, they are only designating spatial or temporal juxtapositions. Still, it is a start, and, after all, the problem of causality is confusing even to philosophers and scientists.

By means of such step-by-step development that we have considered only in fragmentary form, the child’s linguistic and intellectual growth gains momentum during the third year of life. By the age of three, and sometimes even by the age of two and a half, the child has acquired hundreds of words, and some children know more than a thousand by then. According to Brown (1965), children by then may use nearly all of the syntactical forms of the language in sentences of twelve to fifteen words. They really converse, and it is sometimes difficult for adults to realize the limitations in their usage of the words. Nevertheless, children can now begin to reason, to reason among themselves, to project a simple future, to play imaginatively, and to fantasy. With such mental abilities they pass into a new phase of

development.[9]

We have seen that the child's language development depends greatly on the parental tutors, particularly the mother who can understand the child's nonverbal communication and who interacts so constantly with her child. However, not all mothers understand intuitively, not all are patient or even interested, and many mothers nurture their babies in relative silence. It appears as if paucity of interchange affects children's linguistic and perhaps their intellectual development, but the topic is now first coming under scientific scrutiny. Children's dependency upon their mothering persons for verbal understanding is great, for no one else is likely to be able to communicate as effectively with the baby. It is one reason why removal of the child of two and three from the mother is so traumatic, for the child now needs a mothering person for many such reasons. Toddlers exist in states of dependency—they may be establishing boundaries between their mothers and themselves but they are still far from autonomous. They are not yet really separate from their mothers and if separated from mother for a lengthy period they lose much of their capacities for initiative and even for survival.

THE STRUGGLE FOR MASTERY

The struggle for mastery and control often reaches a peak between the ages of two and two and a half, when children struggle with conflicting impulses within themselves as well as against parental controls. In some instances, the increase in their abilities now that they communicate in two-to four-word expressions leads parents to overestimate their comprehension and their capacities for being reasonable. The child has now learned a good deal about the household rules and regulations but is not always motivated to rescind impulses or comply as much as parents expect. Children maybe heard muttering "no" to themselves as they begin to internalize parental rules. There may be tantrums when the child can neither decide to conform nor tolerate loss of affection. Periods of negativistic behavior occur when a child does not wish to comply with anything and regression to more infantile behavior may occur.

It is said that this is a time of notable *ambivalence*—that is, an admixture of opposing feelings toward the same person. However, not until children are near the age of three can they begin to contain opposite feelings at the same time. They often vacillate from one to the other, often to the bewilderment of their parents. The toddler is apt to consider the mother who gives and bestows love as the "good mother"

and the frustrating mother as another person—the "bad mother." Similarly, the child may consider the self as two children: a good, pleasing child and a naughty, contrary one. The "good child" may wish to renounce responsibility for the "bad child." At about this time one may hear the child say "Now you my mommy" when the mother becomes pleasant after a set-to; or the "good child" will insist that not he, but the bad boy or a toy doll, had pushed the plate off the table. After all, the notion of the conservation of objects is not set firm, and a person or object may not be recognized after changing a characteristic.[10]

Toilet Training

Many of the cardinal problems of this developmental phase may focus upon the process of toilet training, particularly when premature training imposes demands that the child cannot readily master or even understand before the age of two and a half or three. Toilet training places paradoxical demands upon the puzzled child who sometimes is supposed to give in order to please, and at other times to hold back in order to please. Continence and control are demanded just when conflicts over self-control are at a height. The struggle over who is to be the master, the parent or the child, can reach an impasse on this battlefield. Like the proverbial horse who can be led to water, the child can be sat on the potty but cannot be made to defecate. Here is one aspect of interaction in which children can stubbornly have their wav—well, can almost have their way, for some parents will resort to suppositories and enemas, "for the sake of the child's health," and thus win the struggle on this front, usually only to lose it elsewhere.[11]

Actually, there is no reason why bowel training should be attempted before the age of two and a half, or why it must present anything of a problem at all. Many parents have found that if they can be patient and unmoved by the condescension of neighbors who believe that their own children were perfectly trained at the age of a year or eighteen months, the child will eventually wish to use the toilet following the example of the other members of the family or the suggestion of the parents. Children trained in this manner may never know that having bowel movements can raise a significant issue or even that such a thing as constipation exists. It is also clear that when children are toilet trained before the age of eighteen months there are often recrudescences of soiling later. Further, virtually all children are bowel-trained by the age of three, the difference being that those who have been trained strictly will continue to have preoccupations and difficulties if not certain of the characterologic problems that will be discussed below.

ANAL EROTISM

If, however, the customary practice of starting bowel training early is followed, the ensuing conflicts can then provide very ample reasons why psychoanalytic theory has termed this the *anal phase* of development.[12] Paradoxically, virtually all of the literature on child rearing emphasizes the problems of toilet training in discussing the period, even though the major problems for which mothers seek help concern feeding and temper tantrums.

Psychoanalytic theory has hypothesized a shift of libidinal investment from the oral to the anal zone toward the end of the first year of life. There is little reason to continue to hold this concept. However, the area is highly sensitive, and its stimulation can produce erotic gratification. After weaning increased attention may be given to the pleasurable stimulation provided by the mother as she cleans the soiled child. The process provides the child with another source of intimate relatedness to the mother in which she is simultaneously caring for the child and providing sensory stimulation of a pleasurable nature. In addition, cleaning the child often requires cleansing and stimulating the genitalia.

Eventually the child must renounce obtaining such care and pleasure from the mother. Actual control of defecation can be attained only after muscular control of the sphincters becomes possible through maturation of the nerve tracts in the spinal cord, and even then the achievement of coordination takes time. However, many infants are more or less conditioned to have bowel movements at a given time, perhaps after meals when the gastro-colic reflex that tends to produce evacuation after eating is activated. Perhaps it is more accurate to say that mothers are trained to set their babies on the pot when they are likely to have a movement, and then children become conditioned to do so. However, a child may find that all satisfaction derived from anal erotism need not be relinquished. Pleasure can be gained holding on to the feces until the release of the bolus stimulates the mucosa. Children can stimulate themselves while cleaning themselves, or wait until given enemas, which some children find pleasurable. In general, it has been considered that early bowel training with its premature demands and deprivation of gratification leads to a fixation at an anal level of psychosexual development and to perseverance of "anal" problems. It seems more in keeping with known facts that undue erotization of the anal area follows upon excessive maternal instinct in the problem and stimulation of the region. Many mothers continue to place considerable emphasis on proper evacuation throughout childhood and

even into adolescence.[13] Some aspects of the problems attributed to anal fixation are more clearly reflections of the more general struggles of the period concerning initiative and control that so often focus on bowel training.

When training is carried out in a relaxed and noncompulsive manner, children come to feel that they can care for these essential needs by themselves. They gain a sense of trust in themselves and in their bodily equipment. The parents who distrust their children's capacities to care for themselves and their use of initiative in play are likely to be parents who cannot trust a child's body to function properly unaided, and those who are upset by the disorder the child creates in the house are likely to be disturbed by soiling and seek early bowel training.

Early Ethical and Aesthetic Influences

Now, bowel training is particularly likely to contain ethical and aesthetic implications that will influence character structure. The child is learning basic meanings which can be influenced by the process. Whereas soiled diapers do not disturb infants or small children who seem to value their products and even enjoy the odor and feel, their parents regard the matter differently. Usually, mothers' behavior in cleaning soiled children is very different from their behavior when nursing or bathing them. They are not likely to gain pleasure from the act, and at best their attitudes are ambivalent. A mother is apt to show disgust in her facial expression; and as the child begins to understand, words such as "dirty boy," "shame," and "smelly baby" may accompany her discovery that the child is soiled. Before long the child will also say "dirty" or "shame" at such times. These are among the earliest aesthetic and ethical evaluations. Soiling and matters associated with defecation are considered shameful, dirty, and bad; and, by contrast, clean and good are equated. When children in negative moods toward their mothers soil themselves they are "bad" and feel ashamed of themselves—and such feelings spread to other contrary behaviors. A child learns to defend against such feelings by being overly clean—at least externally, particularly if feeling hostile and dirty inwardly.

"Anal" Characteristics

The problems arising from parental restrictiveness of the child's initiative, and paradigmatically

from bowel training and the renunciation of anal erotism, transcend this developmental phase and influence character formation. Various groupings of traits related to the problems that are paramount during this critical stage of early socialization have been designated as *anal characteristics.* For example, it has been repeatedly noted that persons who are constipated may also be stubborn, showing covert hostility through withholding from others in a silent and determined fashion. Not infrequently there will also be varying degrees of miserliness, pettiness about details, meticulousness, and pedanticism. A person who is meticulously clean externally may be dirty or messy underneath, or perhaps fastidious in the way possessions are arranged on the surface while those things that are out of view are disordered. Such persons have problems about holding on and letting go, and about keeping for oneself or sharing with others both possessions and information about the self. There is ambivalence about love and hate which must be concealed and is clearly connected to obsessive-compulsive character disorders. The traits may be present in various combinations as well as hidden from the self and others by reaction formation —that is, by a tendency to undo such trends by going to opposite extremes. Such characteristics are, of course, not necessarily pathological unless they dominate the total personality, and some such trends exist to a greater or lesser degree in almost everyone. In moderate degree they can have very positive value as when they contribute to perseverance, thoroughness in work, and ability to save.

As these traits develop in relationship to the all-important parental figures when basic attitudes are first being established, they are likely to permeate later interpersonal relationships. Some persons who are "anal characters" may feel that others are always trying to get something from them, or that others will shame them if they express their natural feelings or needs. They learn to keep things to themselves and cannot be open or trusting. Paranoid individuals who fear attack from others often have strong anal characteristics. The essence of the matter seems to be that a child who has been overcontrolled at this critical phase is likely to become a person who must hide the hostilities and aggressions engendered and who unconsciously feels that if one's true feelings are found out one will be rejected, hated, and in danger. Such persons develop devious ways of preserving initiative or autonomy, but it is usually a constricted and withholding way of maintaining a semblance of self-assertion.

An "Anal" Character

One often sees persons much of whose way of life seems to have been determined by the events of

this period but whose anal characteristics are not altogether pathological. For example, an excellent physicist who has made significant contributions to science has never been incapacitated by such characteristics but has turned them into assets that balance his limitations. Although a fine scientist, he is very slow in his work, carrying out his experiments with meticulous precision. Fortunately he had moved into a sphere of study concerned with physical measurement where such characteristics are highly advantageous. His colleagues know very little about what he does and his chief is often frantic because nothing seems to emerge from months of effort. If rushed, he becomes anxious and a negativistic streak appears which leads him to waste his time in unnecessary checking and endless recalculations. However, slowly and carefully his researches become productive. He is a tight-lipped man with a very pedantic manner, and even his wife knows little about what he thinks or does. At home he is constantly concerned about money, insisting upon paying the bills himself but in a manner that makes his wife frantic, as his tardiness embarrasses her with various shopkeepers. He spends hours going over the accounts and he has difficulty in making out checks. Quarrels in the home arise about matters of waste, for he insists that his wife never throw out any food, claiming that he prefers eating stale bread and drinking leftover coffee. He examines the refrigerator each night to make certain that nothing that might possible have been used has been discarded. While he appears very neat in his dress, his wife has complained that "his drawers are a mess." These words unconsciously conveyed one of her reasons for being aggravated with him. She feels that despite his oversolicitous concern about her health and welfare, he is hostile to her in many little ways, never giving or really sharing; and responding to complaints by becoming more silent and withdrawn.

Feeding Problems

Problems of "orality" and difficulties with feeding are not confined to infancy. Feeding problems are a major reason why mothers consult pediatricians about their two-and three-year-olds. 'The contemporary emphasis upon the child's vitamin, mineral, and protein intake, particularly in television commercials, abets such concerns. However, mothers commonly unconsciously relate feeding with bestowing love and care. Food is something tangible they can give that enters into their children and fosters their growth. Some children learn very early that eating is a function that also enables them to assert their independence. A little boy can stubbornly refuse to open his mouth, avert his head, spit out

food, and even vomit what has been put into him. If he has felt neglected, his dawdling or fussing about eating can provoke his mother and hold her attention. Feeding can become the arena in which the struggle for mastery and initiative takes place. Such conflicts are, of course, unnecessary. Children seek relief from the tensions produced by hunger, and soon learn to eat sufficiently if the food is removed when they begin to dawdle unduly or when they become negativistic. However, the mealtime is usually a social occasion for both child and parents, a time when they can relate happily and the child cannot be expected to consume meals in a playless mechanical routine.

When a mother conveys to her son that he will eat if he loves her, or that her little girl must eat to show her love, difficulties are very likely to ensue. Such patterns often last into late childhood, and mothers who continue to feel that an adult offspring is still a child may try to show their affection and concern through insisting that the child cat all they provide. Occasionally, serious disturbances arise because a mother does not follow the child's needs but her own emotional needs or insecurities in feeding her child. Hilde Bruch (1961) points out that the child must learn the relationship between the physiological indication of hunger and the ability of food to still such sensations. If a mother feeds her infant whenever the baby cries, and continues to act as if any unhappiness of the small child can be allayed by food, the child may never learn to recognize hunger, or learn that food is a means of satisfying hunger feelings rather than a way of coping with one's own or one's mother's unhappiness or anxieties.

The Influence of the Parents and Their Relationships

The parents' basic attitudes toward their child reflect their own personalities and upbringing and not simply their acceptance or rejection of the child. They are affected profoundly by their relationship with each other, by the satisfactions they gain from their marriage and their sexual fulfillment in it. A husband's behavior as a father cannot but influence his wife's behavior as a mother: must she protect the child from his jealousy or annoyance with the child; must she "cover up" for the child, or begin to cover up for the father to his children? The father is essentially the first intruder into the mother-child entity, and as such is probably always resented to some extent, but he can also be welcomed as someone who adds enrichment and enjoyment to the child's life.

The parents' ways of relating to their child and their basic attitudes about child rearing extend

across the years rather than being limited to a single developmental phase—though almost all parents are likely to be more concerned about some developmental tasks and have greater problems in coping with one developmental phase than with others. A mother who could not feel that her milk would properly nourish was also afraid to bathe her son lest she drop him, later thought he needed frequent enemas to move his bowels, and could rarely let him play outside of a fenced enclosure; and when he was a schoolboy, she constantly sought additional help for him from teachers. However, some mothers who feel very insecure in handling a helpless, frangible infant become more relaxed with an older child; but, perhaps more commonly, mothers who are at ease as long as they can care for a child completely become apprehensive when the child begins to venture on its own. For such reasons the essential mother-child harmony is often disrupted during the period of early ambulation, and the anxieties provoked in the mother concerning the child's initiative and the dangers of the world are conveyed to the child. The anxieties may lead to regressive trends toward the securities of the oral phase accompanied by fears of venturing beyond attachment to a feeding and protecting mothering figure.

Some parents limit the child excessively not because of anxieties concerning physical harm but because they cannot tolerate the child's unknowing infractions of rules, which they consider expressions of innate evil that must be overcome before they become habitual. Many generations of persons in our society have been raised on the assumption that the basic evil in people must be countered by discipline and prayer. Such indigenous belief systems have tended toward the production of somewhat guilt-laden children who must either achieve salvation or demonstrate that they are one of the elect who will be saved through good deeds or achievement. In general, a moderate sense of guilt commensurate with the Protestant ethic is deemed desirable in our society. However, some parents, because of ignorance or impatience, seriously constrict and foster undue hostility in the child by reinforcing a barrier of "don'ts" with impatient grabs, slaps, and glances.[14] As children cannot win in overt conflict with parents, they find covert means of combat; but, as they are still closely identified with one or both parents, hostility and aggression toward a parent is always also aggression toward the self. And as children not only need their parents but also seek to love them, it is also often better to feel guilty and turn the hostility against the self.

A child's innate tendencies to be particularly active and explorative may aggravate such problems when one or both parents can cope well only with a quiet and conforming child. As boys are generally more active than girls, the difficulties between the boy toddler and his parents may be greater than the

girl's unless the parents enjoy a child's outgoing activity.[15]

In discussing children's development between the ages of fifteen and thirty-six months, we have emphasized the problems that arise because of the imbalance between the toddlers' motor skills and their abilities to communicate verbally, to understand, and to think. The parents must set limits on their children's impulsions to be active, to explore, and gain mastery over their world. The cardinal tasks of gaining a sense of initiative and of confidence in their own competence are likely to be countered by the manner in which children are controlled, which can foster inhibition of action and lack of self-confidence. Some struggle between child and parents over control is almost inevitable and often focuses on bowel training or feeding. The child's overt compliance and conformity is often accompanied by suppressed anger, heightened ambivalence to parental figures, covert resistance and stubbornness that can exert lasting influences upon the personality. The child is simultaneously acquiring the ability to use language, and we have sought to outline the beginnings of the complex process that will enable the child to communicate needs and wishes verbally, to acquire new knowledge from others, and to gain the cognitive abilities required to direct and control one's own behavior. At the end of the period a relatively good equilibrium has been established between the children's motor and linguistic abilities, and they are ready to gain a more definite autonomy from their mothers and find their places as members of the family. At this toddler stage children's lives interdigitate so closely with their mothers' that prolonged separation from the mother affects them profoundly, causing physiological and depressive disturbances, very much along the lines discussed in the preceding chapter. The reader may have noted that we have scarcely differentiated between the two sexes in this chapter; the differences between boys and girls have not been forgotten or disregarded. Indeed at this age the differentiation of the genders is becoming very clear. The topic has simply been skirted to permit a more focused discussion in the next chapter.

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Notes

1 Erikson (1950) considers this period in the child's life vital to the development of autonomy, with the negative trend being the development of a lasting sense of shame and doubt, and he considers "initiative" vital to the subsequent phase. The child is clearly beginning to establish autonomy and as Margaret Mahler (1975) has demonstrated the processes of separation and individuation from the mother are a major task of these years. However, I believe that the problems of autonomy reach their zenith in the next developmental phase, and that the achievement of initiative precedes the capacity really to move toward

autonomy. The difference is partly a matter of word meanings as well as of emphasis. There is always a danger in using single phrases to epitomize the involved tasks of a complex developmental period. The reasons for my not focusing on "autonomy" will become apparent (I trust) in the way we shall consider the oedipal period. However, I wish to stress that other, crucial tasks arise and require resolution in this stage of life—particularly certain aspects of language learning and their impact on cognition and ethical development.

2 Erikson's observations of the Yurok Indians cannot be passed over casually. The Yuroks place great emphasis upon the acquisition of wealth, holding on to possessions, rituals for controlling nature obsessively, etc., which, according to psychoanalytic theory, would carry with it an expectation of unusual emphasis on anality and rigid bowel training. Yet there seems to be only the most casual type of bowel training. On the other hand, there are ritualized regulations about eating and obtaining food that demand premature self-control from the child.

3 Mahler distinguishes four subphases: differentiation, which starts at about the fourth month, when the infant moves from an autistic, self-contained phase into symbiosis with the mother; the practicing period, which lasts from around the eighth to the fifteenth month, when the child can crawl and then begin to walk away from the mother; the rapprochement period, which lasts until the child is about two; and an open-ended period, during which the baby is "on the way to object constancy.'' The phases concern a sequence rather than specific time periods and their duration varies from child to child. Mahler's work has greatly furthered our knowledge of child development even though done in a nursery rather than in the children's homes. At home among familiar surroundings, the little child's relations with the mother are likely to be rather different and temporary absences of the mother are not as likely to upset the child as much. The findings and inferences were also influenced by the absence of the father and by the paucity of information concerning the parents' relationships and the family transactions.

4 Other methods of coping with separation were: sitting in the chair mother had sat in; going into the cloakroom, which formed a transitional place between home and nursery; eating large quantities of cookies, i.e., replacing the feeder with food; being read to or looking at books to distract themselves or to place themselves in a relationship similar to a usual relationship with the mother (Mahler et al., 1975, p. 100).

5 Piaget can be followed only in part. Piaget's studies of intellectual development between the end of the sensori-motor period and the later preoperational period when the child is three and a half or four are very meager. His studies seem to consider the period very much as he did the sensori-motor period, with a relative lack of appreciation of words as carriers of categories developed by the culture and of the interactional nature of the learning process. His theories of the period of preoperational intelligence are more suited to the later portions of the period when the child is between three and seven. Fortunately, M. M. Lewis (1964) has collated many of the studies made of children's language between one and three years and has furnished numerous observations of his own.

6 The child is not only learning meanings but also to accommodate his vocal sensorimotor schemata to pronouncing words.

7 Miss Sullivan's major concern in teaching Helen Keller was to convey the knowledge that words stood for categories of things and not single objects. The reader may also be interested in the ingenious manner in which Dr. Itard in 1797 taught the wild boy "Victor" that words stood for categories, and the limited success he attained.

8 As Brown (1965) points out, the words used are "contentives"—that is, words with content that can be used to designate things or actions; and the words left out are "functors"—articles and prepositions, and perhaps forms of "to be."

9 Children spend time practicing using language very much as they repeat motor activities over and over until they are mastered and can be incorporated into more complex schemata. The linguist Ruth Weir (1962) studied the speech of her son while he was alone in his bedroom prior to falling asleep by making tape recordings of his productions at about two and a half years of age. The child's language development was somewhat precocious, as might be expected of the child of a linguist who was particularly interested in language development. As Roman Jakobson notes in the introduction to Weir's book, "Many of the recorded

passages bear a striking resemblance to . . . exercises in text books for self-instruction in foreign languages: 'What color—What color blanket—What color mop—What color glass . . . Not the yellow blanket—The white . . . It's not black—It's yellow . . . Not yellow—Red . . . Put on a blanket—White blanket—and yellow blanket—Where's yellow blanket . . . Yellow blanket—Yellow light . . . There is the light—Where is the light—Here is the light' " (Jakobson, 1962). The recordings reveal many fascinating aspects of linguistic development.

Of course, some children say very little until they are two years old, or occasionally even older, and yet their language usage is not retarded when they start to speak. Such development is likely to occur most frequently when there are other young children in the family and the child hears a great deal of simple speech. One little boy, who had clearly comprehended a great deal but said very little, announced shortly after his second birthday, "I can talk now," and soon showed that he had assimilated a fairly extensive vocabulary and proper syntactical forms.

10 We can note, for example, that Piaget's daughter, J., at two years and seven months, upon first seeing her younger sister, L., in a new bathing suit and cap, asked, "What's the baby's name?" Her mother explained that it was a bathing costume but J. pointed to L. herself and said, "But what's the name of that?" and repeated the question several times. As soon as L. had her dress on again, J. exclaimed very seriously, "It's L. again," as if her sister had changed her identity with her clothes. (See J. Piaget, Play, Dreams and Imitation in Childhood, p. 224.) At two years and four months in looking at a picture of herself as a younger child she asked, "Who is it?" When told it was she when she was small, she said, "Yes, when she [J.] was L."

11 A young woman of eighteen, for example, was admitted to the hospital because of serious fecal impaction and for study of why she was unable to move her bowels. She related that she had never defecated spontaneously in her life. Soon after her birth her mother had used suppositories and, when these became ineffective, enemas. Enemas are likely to lead to other types of difficulties. For most children they are more painful than pleasurable and can stimulate sadistically toned fantasies of being controlled and attacked; others find the sensuous quality of the stimulation, and being controlled while passive, highly seductive.

12 Parents' wishes to bowel train early have become less compelling since the institution of diaper services, washing machines, and disposable diapers.

13 A set of seriously disturbed adolescent twins claimed that whenever one had a fight with their mother, she gave them both enemas simultaneously, insisting that they were "contrary" because they were constipated. The procedure was carried out in a highly ritualized and erotized manner. Both twins insisted that they had believed that "constipation" meant "being angry at mother."

14 The author recently interviewed a mother who sought advice concerning her six-year-old who stammered severely. She brought her two-and-a-half-year-old with her, as he could not be trusted to remain in the waiting room with his older brother. The child sat quietly on her lap for ten minutes and then wiggled to get up. The mother shook him and impatiently exclaimed, "Can't you stop fussing about?" A few minutes later she apologized and put him down. As he walked to look out of the window, she called, "Stay away from the radiator, you'll burn yourself." When he put his hand on my desk to pick up a ruler, "Why do you always have to be a nuisance?" stopped him. Then his thumb went into his mouth, but his mother pulled it out saying, "Aren't you ashamed to let the doctor see you suck?" Then, as he climbed into a chair, she smacked him on his rear with a "Why can't you be still for a moment?" It seemed clear why his older brother stammered.

15 Little boys apparently receive more attention from their mothers than do little girls, but it is not clear whether this comes about because boys are innately more active and thus stimulate mothers to provide more attention, or because their activity requires more attention, or because, in a general way, mothers are likely to lavish more attention on boys than on girls. Fathers, who are frequently harsher than mothers, often treat girl toddlers more gently and less punitively than they do boys.