DEVELOPMENT FROM REPETITION TO SYMBOLIZATION IN THE FIRST SIX YEARS OF LIFE AND ITS MIRRORING IN CHILDREN'S BOOKS

by

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Abstract

DEVELOPMENT FROM REPETITION TO SYMBOLIZATION IN THE FIRST SIX YEARS OF LIFE AND ITS MIRRORING IN CHILDREN'S BOOKS

by

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This work looks at what renders classic books of early childhood unique and appealing over decades and cross generations, in other words, what makes them "bestsellers." It is proposed that the lasting allure of classic books is based on their controlled application of repetition and the development of symbolization through the use of words, sounds, prosody, and images. The study draws on Bucci's Multiple Code Theory, centering on her understanding of Referential Activity (RA) which is the capacity to express all modes of nonverbal experience, predominantly emotional experience, in verbal form. Bucci (2002a) claims that the primary vehicle of construction of the emotion schema is a symbolizing process that involves the integration of somatic and sensory experience with images of objects and then with words. Emotion schemas emerge from repeated interactions with others, especially caregivers, from the beginning of life. They determine our expectations and perceptions of others and also our acts toward them.

In order to assess the long lasting appeal of classic books, this study compares them with a group of less popular books that fail to attract readers and consequently to sell. It is proposed that classic books, just like 'good enough' parents, are characterized by a balanced effort to resonate with the young child's emotional needs. They do so by being responsive and present while not overwhelming the infant. Saying it differently, books, like the mother's mirroring of

her child's affective states, demonstrate a capacity to modify, manage and cope with the environment. This in turn, as suggested by Fonagy et al. (1995), provides the infant with a second-order representation of experience that ultimately facilitates the development of symbolic resources by which the child can reflect on and handle his internal world.

This work found both qualitative and quantitative differences between classic books and less popular books. The first finding was a quantitative difference between best-selling and less popular books in terms of progression in RA between the three age groups (infants, toddlers, preschoolers). While in the best-selling group such progression occurred, it did not take place in the less popular group. Secondly, the exploration of RA patterns within selected books suggested some speculative differences between the groups. In addition, it presented a graphic way to ascertain the uniqueness of each book or the book's fingerprint. Thirdly, the work revealed qualitative distinctions between best-selling and less popular books in the nature of illustrations; musicality of the text (i.e. rhyming); fit between text and illustrations; and the degree to which the text allow reader and child to enjoy reading together.

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I also wish to thank my parents. Their love of books has been a value I will eternally cherish. The sweet memories of my father reading to me and to my siblings before bedtime come back to me every time I read with my own children. I am grateful to my mother for her unquenchable curiosity. I can always rely on her as a nurturing presence, to be there for me (regardless of time differences), for emotional support and for a fiery brainstorming.

Finally, I wish to thank my sons, Itai and Asaf, who inspired every aspect of this work from its prenatal stages until its birth. And my husband Udi whose love and friendship are precious to me beyond words.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

"Sometimes we discover only in analysis the strong grip that an early story has had on a person's life. Usually it is one scene of the story or one story character which is vested with emotional significance" (Peller, 1959, p. 415).

This dissertation will examine how the classic books of early childhood use verbal and visual presentation strategies to both reflect and elicit the child's developing capacities for symbolization in the first six years of life. It is proposed that the unique and lasting appeal of classic books is based on their controlled application of repetition and the development of symbolization through the use of sounds, prosody, words and images. These methods recapitulate other processes through which several central capacities develop: a sense core self and other, the ability to use transitional objects, object permanence, libidinal object constancy, and the pragmatics of language use.

It is only after I had my children that I was truly able to reflect on the significance of books to me as a child and as a mother. To me, the most precious time was just before falling asleep, listening to my father tells us stories, usually from the bible or other historical texts. He told us about the Egyptians and Moses, Noah's Arc and Abraham and also about Israel's Independence war, the Holocaust, and his life in the kibbutz. In a different way, my mother shared with us her passion for books by reading together with us and discussing her favorite literature. Agnon, Freud, Zweig, Mann, and Gras became part of our everyday, representing the world, culture, language, and people my mother's family had left behind, in Europe.

Writing about children's books brings back memories and feelings that are tender and joyful at the same time. Above all, this topic resonates with the most important and precious people in my life: my two sons, Itai and Asaf, and my husband, Udi.

Even before my first child was born, I used to read to him and play classical music for him as I had been told that it would enhance our attachment and improve his communication skills. When I was pregnant with my second son, I used to read and play music to both of them. After they were born, we continued to read to them. The first books were *Pat the Bunny, I See, Touch and Feel* books and *The Very Hungry Caterpillar*. Later we read *Goodnight Moon* and *Go Dog Go*. Now it is *Dr. Seuss*'s books, *Elmo Goes to School,* and fairy tales. Perhaps Pine (1985) comes closest to articulating the meaning of this constant and ongoing immersion in words and sound when he talks of those background moments, more low key than the affectively intense central moments around which phases form. While they are less dramatic, these ongoing moments also help organize in discrete ways the child's ongoing developmental potentials.

Underneath the love of reading is the love of language and the reading of books is inherently intertwined with the learning of the "mother tongue" both in its literal and metaphorical meaning. In the process of language acquisition, my children struggle and play with three languages. English is my children's "outside" language, Spanish is their "secret" language which they have learnt from their beloved babysitter, and Hebrew is our language at home and outside and also our "emotional" language. It is the only language we speak between ourselves and it is clearly the language we feel most passionate about, talking, reading and writing. Each language represents different

relationships and provides us with various channels of interactions that are inseparable from the language. Yet, Hebrew represents our roots, culture and passion, and it is also a connection to Israel and to our families. As a mother, my children's ability to express themselves, the mistakes they make, their desperate efforts to be understood, their frustration and joy with words, are one of the most intriguing phenomena.

Conclusion

Children's books create diverse opportunities for the child and the parent to work through issues such as separation, loss, and love. They do it using visual images, colors, texture, content, and words. They do it by creating a shared intimate space for the child and the parent to experience together novelty of knowledge, emotions, intellectual achievements, and closeness.

When one begins the inquiry "what makes some children's books bestsellers?" numerous questions follow. For example: What developmental needs do they meet? Why do books function as a stabilizing factor in the development of the self? What makes repetition so significant in children's books? How do books help develop symbolization? What is the significant rhythm of a given book and how different and similar is it to other favorite books? What is the correct balance between fantasy and reality?

"For a story truly to hold the child's attention, it must entertain him and arouse his curiosity. But to enrich his life, it must stimulate his imagination; help him to develop his intellect and to clarify his emotions; be attuned to his anxieties and aspirations; give full recognition to his difficulties, while at the same time suggesting solutions to the problems which perturb him. In short, it must at one and the same time relate to all aspects of his

personality – and this without ever belittling but, on the contrary, giving full credence to the seriousness of the child's predicaments, while simultaneously promoting confidence in himself and his future" (Bettelheim, 1975, p. 5).

The introductory part of the project will first review general psychological literature on the topic of children's books and their developmental, psychological, and cultural importance. It will concentrate on dominant themes such as: childhood fears; parental and societal values; reading together as a vehicle to enhance attachment and closeness; and developmental stages and their reflection in the literature.

The second part will deal with repetition and its significance in achieving familiarity and obtaining mastery. This part will focus on the development from "primal repetition" that has pre-symbolic and pre-verbal nature and represents the earliest affective dyadic interactions between caregiver and infant during the pre-Oedipal stage, into "symbolic repetition" which is based on symbolic mediation, mostly words. This review will focus on psychoanalytic literature, mainly the psychologies of drive, ego, object relations and self, and on cognitive research.

The third part will concentrate on symbolization and its development from the use of words in forming a concept into, in a later stage of cognitive development, the use of words as the concept's symbols. The review will emphasize the arising of symbolic function out of an interpersonal matrix through the use of words as symbolic vehicles. Therefore, symbolization is viewed here as the outcome of equally important cognitive and psychological development.

The forth part of the review will examine Bucci's Multiple Code Theory (Bucci, 1997) as a theoretical framework of emotional information processing. Bucci parallels

the basic mechanism of the referential process (transformation from subsymbolic information to nonverbal and then to verbal symbols) with the development of symbolizing function in children, and with the analytic process in which the patient transfers emotional experience into images and words. This part will elaborate on the implications of Bucci's theory on the understanding of children's books' structure and content. Based on Bucci's theory, this study will explore how books correspond with the child's emotional and cognitive development from repetition to symbolization.

The last part of this review will present the methods and the key hypotheses that integrate all four parts in an attempt to understand the significance of children's literature to the development of the child, the parent, and the eternal bond between them.

CHAPTER II: BACKGROUND

Children's Books – General Psychology Literature

Introduction

Research on children's books and their contribution to the development of children has typically revolved around major psychological themes. Some researchers concentrate on developmental stages and how they are tackled in books. For example, Stein (1997) looks into separation anxiety while Peller (1959) follows the different psychosexual stages of development and their correspondence in the literature. Other writers have looked into books according to main developmental themes. Sarafino (1986) explores childhood fears and Spitz (1999) writes on unconditional love, sleep, and the process of mourning in childhood. Many writers focus on the importance of shared reading and its significance to the child-parent bond. Reading together is often portrayed as a physical, emotional, and intellectual experience which enriches the child, the parent, and the relationship between them in an unmitigated way. Another aspect of the research on children's books is books' impact on play and curiosity. Peller (1959) writes that books are valued part of the play process as they assist in the development of imagination and provide situations through which children can explore their feelings in a safe way.

Considerable literature is devoted to books as a medium to transfer values and their influence on the naïve mind of the child. Issues such as race, gender, aging, religion and illness, mental or physical, are central. For example, Ruumet (1999) writes on values in the best-selling children's books in the United States and how they represent the Western value system. Closely related is research that covers common social, familial,

and cultural difficulties. Divorce, death in the family, wars, and natural disasters are part of the topics represented in this section.

The contribution of reading to cognitive development is surveyed in the area of cognitive and neuropsychological study. The influence of exposure to classical music and books on infants and its implications for learning disabilities, reading and writing quality and other intellectual abilities is explored and has so far reached diverse conclusions.

This review will start with psychoanalytic research which generally concentrates on stages of development and the major challenges they bear and their reflection in children's stories. The review will also focus on the research on the importance of reading together with the child and the potential created in that unique space between the adult, usually a parent, and the child. Finally, the review will tackle the more sociological aspects of the literature centering on values and other messages that are being carried out by children's books.

General Psychoanalytic Research

Peller (1959) explores typical childhood fantasies and the stories that are constituted on them. Organizing them by developmental epochs, she starts with the "fantasy of loss and return," in which the child loses his mother or caregiver and, after perilous ventures, reunites with them. The hero of these stories is usually an animal into which children can place their cannibalistic fears and fantasies. This group represents the relationship between the child and the pre-Oedipal protective mother. The young child cannot fight the mother; he can only escape her and return to her, separate and reunite

with her. Peller connects this fantasy to early play activity, such as the peek-a-boo game.

The second fantasy discussed by Peller is the "fantasy of the reversal of roles" in which the young, less-appreciated, weak son not only succeeds at a dangerous mission after his older friends or brothers have failed, but also saves them. The peak of these stories is the unexpected reversal: from being the victim, the brother rises to glory. This fantasy reflects the Oedipal conflict that is represented in the siblings' relationships and in the father's image of strength and greatness.

The hero and heroine fantasy is a more direct representative of the Oedipal tension. The child in this theme lives as a grownup and struggles against unpleasant conditions. "The bad boy story" is a third variation on the same Oedipal fantasy. Yet, the bad-boy's victory is short-lived and quickly accomplished as opposed to the hero's victory which is infinite and slowly completed. In her discussion of Oedipal themes, Peller emphasizes a crucial factor in storytelling, which is the ability to fulfill primal wishes in a disguised form through the story. This factor becomes operative during the Oedipal phase as it is during this period that the distinction between conscious and unconscious ideation becomes a critical factor in the resolution of this central crisis. The resolution of the struggle also leads to a new capacity for symbolization.

"The fantasy of having a twin" is constituted on the disappointment the latency child experiences in his parents. As a result, the child looks for a partner who will provide him with love and companionship. This fantasy represents an escape from a seductive parent or sibling's rivalry in a search for an alter ego. The fantasy has also narcissistic gratifications that are more obvious in the case of an animal companion, in which self-love is veiled by object love or the love of the always-loving, faithful animal.

The last group Peller discusses contains unique stories, "universal favorites" (p. 425) that cannot be replicated: *The Story of Dr. Dolittle, Mary Poppins,* and the *Wind in the Willows*. Peller identifies some principles that unite these books and make them so loved. In each one, there is a group of loyal friends who carry the story with their super-power protector who stays offstage; their love is conflict-free with no jealousy; every member of the group has special skills and faults; there are no sex or age definitions of the heroes. Yet, their characters are unique and distinctive; the characters, as opposed to characters in Oedipal tales, do not change, they do not improve or develop.

Another psychoanalytic based approach is taken by Sarafino (1986) whose book *The Fears of Childhood,* discusses children's books as a tool for preventing and reducing childhood fears. Sarafino uses "bibliotherapy" – the use of books in treating behavioral and emotional problems – to help curtail children's fears. The approach involves being aware of the fears and specifying them, and then selecting appropriate reading material and discussing it with the child while reading together. Sarafino believes that books provide explanations to unrealistic fears and help children see that other children have the same fearful experiences. At the same time, Peller (1954) rejects books that hide or disguise the unpleasant realities of the child's life as those can end up causing the child greater feelings of guilt and isolation.

In a paper on repetition and the mastery of separation Stein (1997) uses *Goodnight Moon* to show how separations are being mastered through the book and ultimately in the analytic setting. Stein describes sleep as the baby's first experience of separation from mother. The mother's presence can be evoked by words or images: "it is easy to imagine a toddler repeating the words of *Goodnight Moon* in the dark as sleep

approaches, as internal reassurance that familiar faces and belongings will be there in the morning" (p. 929). Stein claims that Margaret Wise Brown, utilizing both verbal and visual presentation techniques, reflects and extracts the developing capacities of the child to overcome separations of bedtime. The writer depicts how the book models intersubjective opportunities that promote the internalization of a parental presence and a feeling of a benevolent environment. Stein proposes that the long-lasting charm of the book is rooted in Brown's controlled use of repetition of sounds, prosody, words and images in a continued soothing atmosphere, which helps the child master separation. Moderate changes in the physical world as represented in *Goodnight Moon* correspond with the theme-and-variation processes that characterized the acquiring of many early developmental capacities such as: the growth of a sense of core self and other, the capacity to use transitional objects, libidinal object constancy, object permanence, and language skills.

Spitz (1999) in *Inside Picture Books*, thematically explores some picture books according to psychological, ethical, and aesthetic lines. The writer discusses four central ideas in a child's world. First, Spitz (1999, 2003) talks of books that deal with separation through themes like bedtime (*Goodnight Moon*, *Wait Till the Moon is Full*); the contrast between the child-all-alone and the parents' togetherness and intimacy (*Bedtime for Frances*); mother-child relationship (*The* R*unaway Bunny*); fears; and aggression as a continuing struggle for parents and children.

Spitz's (1999) second theme involves stories that comprise of disturbing topics like the death of a pet (*Zlateh the Goat*), wars and death (*The Wall*). Ordal (1983-1984) evaluates thirty-four children's books that deal with death in terms of their usefulness in

helping children understand and cope with this concept. She claims that all books explain death in a positive way. Using direct and concrete words, books emphasize the importance of feelings' manifestation and the acknowledgment of the grieving process. Additionally, all books end on a hopeful note with the characters getting on with life. Kronick (1985), highlighting the value of accepting both negative and positive feelings when dealing with loss, adds the importance of the child's exposure to others expressing their feelings in the face of death. It is agreed (Sarafino, 1986) that vicarious experience of death mediated through books and stories enables children to release, sort out, and make sense of their feelings about separation and loss. Books can teach children about the natural process of change and death. Moreover, books that appeal to the child's developmental and emotional needs encourage empathy with people who are dying or have encountered death.

Spitz's (1999) third theme, "behave yourself," deals with children's playfulness, wish, curiosity, and impulse that propel them to go beyond the limits set by society and parents (*Where the Wild Things Are*, *Angry Arthur*).

Spitz's (1999) last theme, "I like you just the way you are," is dedicated to the impact of culture on the way we think, desire, perceive, and interact with each other. The writer discusses gender, imperfections, issues of color, and the effect of media on their expansiveness. She shows the importance of female heroines and cross-gender roles in books like *Wee Gillis* and *Now Open the Box* and also the representation of unconditional love and loyalty in the books *Corduroy* and *The Runaway Bunny*.

Spitz's (1999) aspiration is three-fold. First, she wants to enhance communication between children and adults. The writer recommends using books as scripts while the

adult serves as a mediator between child and culture. In doing so, adults take part in the communication of culture from one generation to the next. Second, Spitz desires to expose adults to the unique ways children read and understand books. Children react to books differently according to their developmental stage and the specific environmental circumstances they face. Through conversational reading, the dialogue created by the formation of alternate stories to the same pictures, adults and children can play with the text and its meanings and enrich each other. Third, Spitz assumes that classic books meet some emotional needs of the child by integrating fantasy and reality to build a basis for future cultural and artistic interactions.

General Social Research

Another focus in the literature on children's books is how books deal with values and the way they are transmitted and perceived by readers. This literature discusses sex-roles, the presentation of elderly, race, and multiculturalism and the way children's books deal with mental illness and retardation. Ashton (1983) measures the influence of sex-role stereotyped children's books on two to five-year-old children. She finds that boys and girls who are exposed to sex-stereotypic books more often select a sex-stereotypic toy as oppose to boys and girls who are exposed to non sex-stereotypic books. Bereaud (1975), exploring French picture books for preschoolers, reveals a male bias in the numerical representation of the sexes and a sex role stereotyping of characters. Girls learn good behavior and boys learn to cope with the environment. Turkel (2002) discusses fairy tales and their reflection of gender stereotypes. In fairytales, the heroine typically does a limited range of passive activities which include: sitting, wishing, and waiting to

get married. She has very little control over her fate and no active role in executing it. Writing on the gender of chronically ill characters in children's realistic fiction, Saad (1999) notes that four-fifths of the children's books studied, have female chronically ill characters. This supports the traditional view of the female body as inherently pathological.

Examining the importance of books when dealing with illness, mental or physical, Wykes (2003) describes the development of children's views of mental illness. Wykes claims that, at the beginning, children hold vague views of mental illness since they do not differentiate between mental illness and physical illness. As children grow, they comprehend better the existence of inner life and the relationship between unusual behavior and distress and develop negative attitudes towards people who suffer mental illness. Wykes tries to understand the source of these attitudes. Among others, she finds that media, primary school and children's books and the way they portray mental illness are largely responsible for the early development of negative attitudes.

All of the reviewed literature supports the assumption that books have the potential to implement a strong basis for development – emotional or cognitive. Freud (1908) articulates the writer's achievement: "In my opinion, all the aesthetic pleasure which a creative writer affords us has the character of a fore-pleasure of this kind, and our actual enjoinment of an imaginative work proceeds from a liberation of tensions in our mind" (p. 153). Reading together establishes a further exploration of fantasies, daydreams, aspirations, and relationships. However, why some books have a greater influence on the readers' mind and others are culture-limited is yet to be answered. In attempts at understanding these questions, this work will follow a general line of

development, from repetition to symbolization, that is relevant to the emotional and cognitive maturation of every child.

Repetition

"The different grammatical/syntactical contexts in which the same words appear facilitate the consolidation of object permanence and the establishment of connections among words, along with the toddler's real-life tactile experiences and increasing ability to name and describe the physical world" (Stein, 1997, p. 929).

Introduction

Stein, like other researchers has pointed to the importance of repetition in the development of cognitive structure as well as its significance in emotional development. In children's books, repetition is a multileveled phenomenon. Books for young children repeat simple words like "you," "I," "me," "mommy," and "bunny." In *Pat the Bunny* and in *Touch and Feel* books, repetition is motor; I do this, now you do it. Gradually, in accordance with the child's maturation, repetition becomes more subtle. In *Goodnight Moon* the illustrations of the same room are slightly varied on each page representing the different angles from which the viewer sees the room. In *But Not the Hippopotamus,* the idea of exclusion is being repeated and in *Go Dog Go* there are categories (big – small, in – out) that are repeated in various contexts. Thus, repetition plays a major role in conveying ideas, messages, and the story itself following the child's stage of cognitive and emotional development.

Children's books also allow for the emergence of rituals that include the child and the teller, the child alone, the child and a sibling, or the child and a friend. The same books are being read at the same time and the same place at bedtime or during dinner. Then, these books are read to the child by others, and then they are repeated by the child

himself in efforts to control anxiety and achieve mastery. Hence, everything involved in reading books together is based on rituals that serve to regulate the child and enable him to achieve a sense of control and self-agency as he learns to regulate himself.

Repetition as a psychological and cognitive tool that supports the growing child and provides a sense of mastery has been recognized by numerous writers. This chapter will concentrate on the evolution of the term repetition in psychoanalytic literature, starting with Freud's understandings of repetition, through the contribution of later psychoanalytic thinking. The last part of this chapter will concentrate on repetition as a cognitive structuring and its significant role as a preliminary phase in the child's evolving capacity to use symbols and language.

Freud's Understanding of Repetition

Psychoanalytic theory, both as a procedure for the investigation of mental processes and as a therapeutic method, has referred to the phenomenon of repetition as a significant characteristic of the human mind. Basic psychoanalytic concepts such as instincts, transference, fixation, and regression are based on variations of the idea of repetition.

In the first phase of psychoanalysis Freud and Breuer (1893-1895) noted that their patients suffered from reminiscences, or the repeating of painful experiences expressed in symbolic form as hysterical symptoms. In *The Interpretation of Dreams* Freud (1900), explains repetition as an attempt to avoid unpleasure and to reinstate pleasure by way of reproducing the primal experience of satisfaction (the pleasure principle) within the limits and conditions imposed by the outside world (the reality principle). In 1905 in *Jokes and*

Their Relation to the Unconscious, Freud talks of children's play as a phenomenon related to cognitive development and specifically to the ability to use words. Freud also talks of the instincts that compel children to practice their capacities to play, "which arise from a repetition of what is similar, a rediscovery of what is familiar, similarity of sounds, etc., and which are to be explained as unsuspected economies in psychical expenditure" (p. 128).

Kubie (1939) identifies 1914 as the year in which Freud first mentions a compulsion to repeat as an autonomous force in psychoanalysis. As emphasized by Wilson and Malatesta (1989), Freud attempts to work out the implications of "an inevitability to repeat, an inability to prevent a repetition due to a prepotent unconscious motivating factor" (p. 269). The writers note that, in 1914, Freud perceives repressed memories as the trigger to all repetition, and thus, there is no sharp distinction between transference repetition and the repetition compulsion.

In *The Uncanny* (1919), Freud discusses experiences that engender an uncanny feeling. Similar to dream-states, the uncanny generates an experience of helplessness which gives the impression of something momentous and inevitable to an experience that would have been considered, under different circumstances, merely coincidental. However in reality, these happenings represent the familiar that has turned into the unfamiliar through the process of repression. Freud connects the experience of the uncanny to the compulsion to repeat that stems from and is intrinsic to the instinctual impulses. The uncanny is something that would have been terrifying but has been turned uncanny through the compulsory repetition inherent to the instincts. Thus, the uncanny is something that should have remained concealed but instead, through the process of

repetition, has come to light. In this way, he connects repetition to the need for mastery over trauma.

In *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920) Freud uses the term "repetition compulsion" as an uncontrolled process derived from the unconscious. Freud's unsuccessful efforts to understand how dreams of traumatic neurosis, children's play, and the repetition of unpleasant early experiences in symptoms and transference were related to the pleasure principle alone, as well as personal loss, the savagery of war, and Freud's preoccupation with his own death, lead him to posit the death instinct as a basic principle of the psychic system. Freud introduces the death instinct, a drive to return to a condition of nonorganic inertness typified by pleasure in lack of stimulation. Repetition is no longer caused by unsatisfied drive wishes but by an even more fundamental autonomous motive, ground into every cell, to repeat: "an urge inherent in organic life to restore an earlier state of things which the living entity has been obliged to abandon under the pressure of external disturbing forces" (Freud, 1920, p. 36).

Lazar and Erlich (1999) suggest a conceptual change in Freud's view of the concept of repetition. Kubie (1939) alternatively suggests inconsistency in Freud's use of the term. Wilson and Malatesta (1989) propose a change from a "broad" view of repetition to a "narrow" view of repetition. The broad view encompasses under repetition everything in the pool of repressed material, inhibitions and disadvantageous attitudes of mind, pathological traits of character, and symptoms. The narrow view represents the change in Freud's thought that is manifested in his view of the death instinct as the original cause of repetition. From 1920, Freud sees repetition compulsion as a basic biologic destiny to return to primal origins.

In *Inhibitions, Symptoms, and Anxiety* (1926) Freud further expands notions of repetition compulsion to explain clinical phenomena such as the attempt to undo traumatic experiences. Repetition undoes distressing incidents by converting passively experienced traumas into actively produced experiences.

It is generally agreed among psychoanalytic writers that the concept of repetition compulsion receded little by little because of its troubled logical status in the rapidly evolving theory of psychoanalysis. Wilson and Malatesta (1989) note that the concept "repetition compulsion" has by and large disappeared in American psychoanalysis after 1939. "Repetition" different from "repetition compulsion," has been incorporated within the theory of transference and has been mostly explored in clinical situations.

Psychoanalytic View of Repetition Following Freud

Wilson and Malatesta (1989) see "symbolic repetition" as a fundamental tool which aims at achieving familiarity and obtaining mastery. When repetition is out of control and beyond symbolic mediation, it becomes repetition compulsion and is called "primal repetition." Primal repetition originates earlier than symbolic repetition and represents the earliest affective dyadic interactions between caregiver and infant during the pre-Oedipal stage. Its pre-verbal and pre-symbolic nature makes it beyond the reach of memory and language. Primal repetition is less subject to influences of maturation and is more fixed in personality organization.

Wilson and Malatesta (1989) see the infant is involved in a complex, mutual, regulating dyadic relationship with the mother which sets up an affective disposition that serves as the basis for symbolic activity. They identify sequential periods in the affective

development of the infant. There are indications for primary emotions (interest, disgust, and distress) as early as the first day of life especially as indexed by facial expressions. Some other primary emotions (sadness, surprise, and anger) develop during the first months of life as they become adaptive for object relating. Facial expression of fear, with the exception of abused children, has been recorded to appear around six months. Later, cognitive maturation and development of sense of self bring about the emergence of feelings like guilt and shame. As soon as there is a range of emotions, individual differences can surface. At the age of one year, sad-dominant, anger-dominant, and fear-dominant emotional organizations in children can be identified.

These organizational differences are related to repetitive interactive experiences within the mother-child dyad. Mothers have been observed to react with emotional routines to their babies' affect. Given the infant's tendency to imitate and the contagious nature of emotions, it is likely that these routines would leave an emotional imprint on the infant and will generate the development of emotional style that consolidates with time. Wilson and Malatesta consider these early affective reactions as mental activities, the knowledge of early object relational patterns, that become incorporated into the developing child and serve as life-enhancing components within the dyadic attachment system.

Ego psychology understands repetition compulsion as a mode of psychic organization of the instinctual world. Commonly, ego psychologists distinguish between two types of compulsive repetition. The first is related first and foremost to the id and is characterized as primitive, infantile, stereotyped, unreflective, passive, and "reproductive" (Loewald, 1971, p. 60). The second is related to the more developed ego.

It reflects sophisticated and adaptive efforts to overcome traumatic experiences and reach adaptation at a higher level of development. As stated by Kubie (1939): "since the effort at mastery was unsuccessful, while the need for mastery persists, repeated expression of the effort must result" (p. 401).

Kubie perceives repetition compulsion as an effort to undo past trauma and sees repetition compulsion as the core of neurotic processes. Hartmann (1933) sees repetition compulsion as a characteristic of the ego, a regulatory principle, which can be used and restrained by the ego. According to Hendrick (1942), when the ego does not adequately perform an instinctual compulsion, due to insufficient development or internal or external frustration, the result is tension and repetition. Lipin (1963) sees repetition as an instinctual drive representative which is the outcome of traumatic experiences that have interfered with the orderly development of the psyche. Birbing (1943) recognizes both the static and the potential aspects of the compulsion to repeat. He names the first aspect "repetitive," and the second, "restitutional," which aims at ending the repetition.

Psychoanalysis is predicated on the assumption that much of psychic reality is derived from repetition of early life (Loewald, 1971). Repetition connects "past and present, the id and the ego, the biological and the psychological" (Loewald, 1971 P. 59). In this view, psychosexual development is founded on the idea of repetitions of infantile events and conflicts that were formed in early days and shape the individual's life. Loewald differentiates between stereotyped, passive or automatic repetitions and active repetitions; between passive repetitions or duplications of infantile unconscious experiences and active recreation or reconstruction of an old material using the ego's organizing capacity.

Pine (1985) sees repetition as one of three mechanisms: "holding," "repetition," and "appeal," in which disruptive or outside the self-experiences, can be modified and incorporated into the self. Repetition of events that are initially too traumatic to be integrated into the self can enhance a gradual integration of the events in two ways. The first is based on Freud's view of repetition as an effort to gain mastery. In active repetition, the event is acted over and over again, and one can "slowly bring the event into the arena of ownership, something I produce, at my timetable, in my way, with results that gradually come to be predictable and familiar" (p. 118). The second way is an inevitable and automatic type of repetition like cyclical experiences as hunger and bowel pressure that come upon one out of the inborn reaction propensities to unavoidable events. These acts gradually get to be more familiar and expected, through the learning of warning signs, the path of experience, and its result. The process of learning adds a cognitive aspect to the experience and thus, permits more control over the experience, allowing it to be owned.

Object relations' theories rarely address the concept of repetition compulsion explicitly, although they generally argue that all persons (as opposed to only neurotics or trauma victims) internalize early relationships and repeat them as adults. Klein (1976) sees repetition not as a primary instinctual tendency but as the outcome of the person's attempts at overcoming feelings of envy, persecution, and hate. Fairbairn (1952) similarly sees the repetition compulsion as a rigid and oppressive relational pattern resulting from painful childhood experiences that gets repeated in an effort at control and to preserve identity.

According to Bowlby (1969), early experiences with separations, loss, and attachment become incorporated into "internal working models." Internal working models represent sets of expectations about the self, others, and the environment which then serve to conduct expectations and perceptions of relationships throughout life. Stern (1985) speaks of schemas of "self-with-other" which are possessed by the infant and based upon affect attunements between infant and caregiver. Schemas are organized and retain prior to the development of capacities for evocation memory or object constancy and represent emotional knowledge. Emotional knowledge is the knowledge of dynamically stirring, affectively touched, dyadically forged affairs. These preverbal affairs continue to impact the person as they become integrated into higher domains of selfhood.

A distinct phase occurs with the capacity for self-recognition which emerges during the second half of the second year of life. At that period, according to Stern (1985), defense mechanisms are established and self-awareness arises. Corresponding to language acquisition and the evolving capacity for symbolic repetition, the child gains the capacity to differentiate state from behavior, actions from emotions, so the child can act out a feeling that may or may not be present or experience an emotion but restrain its behavioral demonstration. This is the time where primal repetition and symbolic repetition cohabit. As the infant matures and symbolic repetition takes up hegemony, primal repetition gradually declines from the forefront of repetitive activity. The arrival of language introduces a sense of isolation into the experience of early life. A fundamental dichotomy between what is felt and what is lexically represented typifies the onset of symbolic repetition. Assuming that feelings states exist prior to language,

Wilson and Malatesta (1989) hypothesize that some emotional prelexical experiences remain outside of conscious awareness, yet influence the personality organization, applying a repetitive demands on action and determine object relation. In consequence, affective knowledge originally acquired within the dyadic realm evolves into autonomous, unrefined knowledge that portrays one's internal and external experiences in a unique fashion.

Repetition in Cognitive Literature

In the cognitive literature, habituation is one of the terms used to represent repetition. Habituation is considered to be one of the chief indexes of information processing in infancy. Bornstein and Suess (2000) define habituation as the decrement in attending that infants show to a continuous or repeated stimulus. Habituation reflects learning and the infant's passive or active construction of a mental representation of the stimulus in addition to the infant's ongoing comparison of new stimulation with that representation. Bornstein and Suess find that infants vary among themselves and in-between tasks in habituation performance and efficiency. Among the mechanisms that influence habituation are maternal responsiveness in the home and aspects of general central nervous system functioning such as myelinization, neural, and cognitive development. The writers emphasize the connection between the capacity for habituation and self-regulatory processes. They suggest that the infant's capacity to self-regulate plays a vital role in habituation. Further, they claim that when the infant is able to self-regulate physiologically, habituation competence will increase.

According to Rosen (1977), Piaget's concepts of primary and secondary circular reactions, the earliest repetitions of self and self/other states, underlie the capacity for novel reactions, the tertiary circular reactions. The focal point of the primary circular reaction is the infant's own body. A primary circular reaction begins with a chance event which the infant then repeat with increasing coordination of different schemas such as looking and hearing. Yet, these coordinated activities are not fully developed and vary in their gradation of intentionality within the limitations of sensorimotor development. In the secondary circular reaction, there is an extension towards the external world where the infant makes an effort to repeat chance events that involve objects in the environment. However, there is still no goal at the outset of the behavior. The means-end behavior of this stage comprises of a single act rather than an elaborated serial organization of means-end activities that characterizes the tertiary circular reaction. At the third stage, corresponding to the infant's growing capacity to explore the environment, the infant can coordinate two schemas in a serial fashion using one as a means and one as an end. The child now modifies his behavior as he experiments with the environment to innovate new outcomes and to reach new understandings. This process of developing intentional behavior represents a main achievement of the sensorimotor stage which precedes the onset of language.

According to Wilson and Malatesta (1989), upon entering life, the baby has no innate cognitive structures other than basic reflexes and no sense of self to differentiate between self and external world. In interactions, objects are experienced as an extension of the infant's own body and as a part of the activity it performs on them. The infant's reflexes provide the meaning system through which the infant learns the world. On this

basis, babies develop, through the mechanisms of assimilation and accommodation, more sophisticated sensorimotor action patterns or schemes which allow them to interact adaptively with the environment. Sensorimotor schemes become more refined as interaction with the environment increases. The repetitive acts are not completely rigid but instead are being generalized to varying objects in the environment. This variation presses the schema to differentiate according to the characteristics of the new object. At each slightly different repeating encounter with the environment, the schema itself is forced to modify in order to accommodate the new. The ongoing process of assimilation and accommodation leads to an elaborated ability to adapt and also to a cognitive development.

Gergely (2003) further focuses on 'higher-order' cognitive processes in efforts to characterize the representational and inferential mechanisms of the interpretational system that appears to lie beneath infants' early competence in identifying, inferring, and attributing goals to the observed actions of others, and the infants' ability to surmise which other agents' actions they should repeat during observational learning. Gergely claims that one-year-old human infants posses the capacities to attribute goals to actions, evaluate the relative efficacy of actions as means to a goal, infer aspects of goal-directed actions, infer and envisage means, actions, and infer a goal and situational constraints. What makes these inferential achievements possible for young infants who are still missing an advanced metarepresentational capacity to represent abstract casual mental states is what Gergely and Csibra (2003) call the 'teleological stance.'

The teleological stance ascertains a teleological (outcome-based) rather than casual (source-based) explanatory relation among three factors of current and future

reality: the observed behavior, a future state of reality, and the aspects of physical reality that limit possible actions in a specific situation in which the observed behavior is displayed. This interpretational stance offers a well-formed teleological representation of the observed behavior as an "efficient goal-directed action" (Gergely, 2003, p. 195) only if the behavior can be assessed as a rational way to trigger the future situation given the limits of the situation. If this condition is satisfied by the representation, the future situation will become encoded as the goal, the behavior as a means to the goal, and the applicable aspects of the reality as the situational limits on the action.

Gergely and Csibra (2003) write that by the second half of the first year, infants' perception of social contingencies is teleological in that they make reference to future states (outcomes). Infants apply the teleological stance to human and nonhuman objects alike. Teleological models develop into mentalizing models once representations of future goal states come to be thought of as desires and constraints on reality come to be thought of in terms of the agent's belief about physical reality. Infants' behavior in dyadic interactions is strengthened by their evolving model of rational action on the part of the parent. Development from teleological to mentalizing models depends on the quality of these particular dyadic interactions.

The teleological stance presumes an inferential "principle of rational action" (Gergely, 2003, p. 195). The principle of rational action presupposes that first, actions function to produce future goal states, and second, that goal states are carried out being repeated by the most rational or effective action available within the constrains of the situation. Gergely proposes that while young infants may lack the mentalistic skill to represent intentional mind states (such as beliefs and desires) to others, they nonetheless

possess the general and conceptual principle of rationality that is considered to be a vital element in developed theory of mind. Differently from other developmental models which assume an imitative and automatic learning of novel means, Gergely concludes that infants attempt to produce the same goal states as adults using a simpler, more familiar, and thus, more rational alternative means when such an alternative is available to them.

In sum, Gergely and Csibra (2003) argue that mentalistic action explanations which form an essential component of a mature theory of mind, are conceptually and developmentally derived from an earlier teleological interpretational system present in infancy. They present a model for theory of mind development that assumes first, that the initial theory is not casual but teleological. Second, it assumes that the earlier stage of the development does not involve mental state attributions, and third, that the theory of mind stage preserves the same core principle of rational action that rules reasoning in the teleological stage. Therefore, while the core inferential principle remains unchanged, a conceptual change that involves the establishment of new mental states over reality states, takes place.

Conclusion

Freud's broad view includes under repetition all that has been repressed, inhibitions, pathological traits, and symptoms. This work considers levels of repetition that ultimately lead to the achievement of symbolic repetition in the process described by Pine (1970, 1985): repetition that, with development, creates structures. The structure or

behavior pattern in turn balances for the child his impulses and defenses in the setting of a particular environmental arrangement.

This study adopts the broad point of view. As such it perceives symbolic repetition as one of the endings of pathways that involve cognitive, neurological, emotional, cultural, and physiological factors stemming from the earliest stages of development.

Symbolization

Introduction

Fonagy et. al. (2004) talks of the development of mentalizing capacity as the outcome of repeated experiences of three things: the child's present mental states, these states represented in the object's mind, and the frame represented by the adult's reality-oriented view. The frame provided by the parent is a critical part of the researchers' assumption. The child needs an adult so he can see his own fantasy represented in the adult's mind, reintroject the fantasy, and use it as a representation of his own thinking. By entering into the child's world in a playful way, i.e. by reading with the child, the parent allows the child to experience the child's fantasies as not real while they are being perceived outside in the parent's mind. The process of linking the child's internal state to a perception of the state in the parent's mind offers a symbol of the internal state. In this course of repeated interactions with the caregiver, the child gradually comes to maintain a representation or a symbol of his internal state. Books have the potential to provide the child and the parent with the frame that is needed for the development of symbolization as they allow an interaction that is removed enough from psychic equivalence while maintaining contact with reality.

Anisfeld (1984) writes that most children begin to use language productively in the second half of their second year. This phenomenon can be viewed from several vantage points. From a neuropsychological viewpoint, the onset of language is related to the maturation of the central nervous system. A phonetic approach associates the phenomena with the development of vocal control mechanism that builds up to recognizable speech. The cognitive standpoint takes into account the conceptual

prerequisites for language or the stages children go through in their accomplishment of the symbolic function.

Anisfeld describes the development in the child's conception of the nature of word meaning. At the presymbolic level, which characterizes the end of the first year and the beginning of the second year, children do not yet use words symbolically but instead relate to particular contexts. Around the middle of the second year, children identify the symbolic character of words but use them subjectively as personal symbols. Children at that stage, do not seem to realize that language is governed by social conventions regarding both form and content. At the third level, beginning in the second half of the second year, words become socialized symbols. Children now comprehend the social nature of words and begin to discover what the social conventions are concerning the extensions of the words they are acquiring.

The transformation from presymbolic level to the symbolic level is at the core of this study. Words are the building blocks in this process and thus, children's books, which are age appropriate means of lexical acquisition, play an essential role throughout the progression from repetition to symbolization. The process of word learning consists of direct and indirect lexical tutoring (Anisfeld, 1984, pp. 66-109). The direct approach involves marking off an object by pointing to it, gazing at it, handing it over, and naming it. Books are one of the main direct behavior approaches to facilitate language acquisition. This view is shared by other researchers such as Ninio (1980) who notes that mothers who are concerned with advancing their children's language often follow routinized procedures such as book reading with their children and Murphy (1978) who

remarks that mothers use age-appropriate methods of lexical tutoring when reading to their children.

This chapter will combine cognitive and psychological viewpoints in efforts to understand the development from presymbolic level to symbolic level, from preverbal level to verbal level, and from repetition to symbolization.

Cognitive Conception of the Development of Symbolization

Piaget (1962) perceives intelligence as a dialect between two cognitive processes, assimilation and accommodation. Assimilation incorporates events, situations, and objects into existing ways of thinking that form organized mental structures. These mental structures reorganize to integrate new features of the outer environment in the process of accommodation. Intelligence implicates the achievement of a balance between assimilation and accommodation,

between external reality and internal mental structures.

Piaget's research has revealed four major developmental periods, each made up of numerous stages and substages. For purposes of the present study which is concerned primarily with the transition from repetition to symbolization, only the first two periods: the sensorimotor period and the preoperational period will be reviewed.

The sensorimotor period which Piaget considers the groundwork of intelligence, extends from the beginning of life to approximately eighteen to twenty-four months of life. At the beginning of this period, the infant is characterized by egocentrism, where the infant does not differentiate between his sensations and their external referents or between himself and the external world. In these early stages, the infant's actions tend to be body centered. However, with maturation, the child gradually experiences himself as

only one object existing among innumerable others. Gradually, during this stage, the infant acquires cognitive competencies in object permanence, causality, space, and time.

Preceding the sixth stage of the sensorimotor period, which virtually ushers in the first stage of the preoperational period, the child cannot mentally represent objects to himself. The crowning achievement of the sensorimotor period is the use of the symbol. At this point in development, representational thought emerges allowing the child to mentally soar into the past and future. What distinguishes representation as appearing at the sixth stage is that it does not require the immediate presence of an object. The child, using signs or symbols that are differentiated from the object, no longer needs the object's presence. Yet, at the beginning of the symbolic function evolvement, language has personal meanings and is limited by the child's development. Symbols and especially play, imitation, and image, have more significance at that stage. Through the use of play, imitation, and image, the child can free himself from the limited sensorimotor context and gradually explore his world.

The preoperational period covers the child's life from approximately eighteen to twenty-four months through six or seven years of age. The first stage of the preoperational period is typified by the development of the symbolic function. The child now learns to use language and to represent objects by images and words. Thinking is still centered which means that the child attends to one aspect of an object or event rather than taking into account two or more aspects simultaneously. For example, the child can classify objects by a single feature and hence, he can group together all the red blocks regardless of difference in shape. The child is also unable to follow a process from beginning to end and retrace the steps back to the starting point. This character of

irreversible thinking subjects the child to contradictory and unsystematic thinking. Additionally, the child's thinking is static with no attunement to transformations. Egocentrism in the preoperational period is still dominant as the child does not have the ability to differentiate between his own viewpoint and that of others and cannot take the role of the other.

According to Piaget (1962), the symbolic function is epitomized by the capacity to evoke objects that are absent from the immediate surroundings. As symbolic functioning develops, the child plays more and more with objects that represent absent objects. The real nature of the object used (stick for rifle; cloth for pillow) is integrated by the child to be replaced by the symbolic meaning the child ascribes to it.

Vygotsky continues the examination of symbolization into the realm of language. Vygotsky's theory differs and adds to Piaget's understanding of the development of symbolic thought and speech. Vygotsky describes the sequenced phases in word-meaning development, the genesis and function of inner speech, the nature of written speech, and the role of school instruction in the growth of advanced mental functioning emphasizing the social origins, functions, and illuminations of society to the intellectual and emotional development of the child.

In *Thought and Language* (1962), Vygotsky analyses the nature of verbal thought as based on word meaning. Speech, according to Vygotsky, is social in origin. It is learnt from others and, at first, used utterly for emotional and social purposes. Only with time does it come to hold self-directive assets that ultimately result in internalized verbal thinking. Piaget sees the development of thought from nonverbal autistic thought through egocentric thought and speech to socialized speech and logical thinking, as

following a gradual socialization of personal, autistic psychological states; a progress from the individual to the socialized. Vygotsky suggests the reverse of this path: evolvement from the social to the personal. The key function of speech, Vygotsky claims, is social. Thus, the earliest speech is social in nature. Later on, it is divided to egocentric and communicative speech. The child uses egocentric speech when social behavior shifts to the sphere of inner psychic functions. Development follows a path that starts with social speech, then egocentric, and then inner speech. For Vygotsky, "a word is a microcosm of human consciousness" (p. 153).

Piaget, based on his observations of children, believes that children's conversation develop from egocentric (the child talks only about himself, does not strive to communicate, anticipates no answers) to socialized speech (the child has interest in exchange with the environment) which is proven by the child's commands, questions, transforming information, and so on. Following Piaget, egocentric speech does not meet a useful function and tends to fade away as the child approaches school age. Vygotsky believes that egocentric speech assumes an explicit and imperative role in the child's activity. Besides being a channel for expression and release of tension, it becomes a tool in seeking and designing the solution of questions. Vygotsky concludes that egocentric speech is a transitional phase in the development from vocal to inner speech.

Vygotsky (1962) writes about the process of concept formation which uses words, at first, as a means in forming a concept and later serves as the concept's symbols. Concept formation is a result of complex intellectual activity (imagery, association, attention, inference, and the use of the word) that begins in early childhood and continues to develop into puberty. Vygotsky depicts three basic phases in the process of concept

formation. In the first phase, the child puts together a number of objects in an unorganized congeries (heap) in order to solve a problem that adults would solve by the formation of a new concept. The creation of heaps is based on vague subjective bonds between objects. The second phase is "thinking in complexes" (p. 61). In this phase, objects are brought together by relationships actually existing between them. To reach this phase, the child has to outgrow his egocentrism. Thus, the child "no longer mistakes connections between his own impressions for connections between things" (p. 61). The child organizes objects into separate families based on "concrete and factual" relationships. The third phase is actual concept formation in which the ability to abstract, unite, and separate objects and to view the abstracted elements apart from the totality of the concrete experience they represent, are central qualities. The process of concept formation is seen "as a movement of thought within the pyramid of concepts" (p. 80), continually changing between two directions, from the particular to the general and vice versa.

Vygotsky (1978) assigns a crucial role to culture and to social interactions and communication in development. Internalization of dyadic experiences between the child and caretakers creates thought; narration to parents leads to narration to the self; and internal speech comes out of social speech. Likewise, play is a symbolic social activity. Social interactions similarly to play stimulate cognitive capacities within a "zone of proximal development" that is the difference between the child's actual developmental level (based on independent problem solving) and the level of potential development (based on problem solving under adult guidance). Play is a differentiating process in which thinking becomes differentiated from the concrete world that with development

becomes more and more dominated by meanings. Play (like reading), fostering the development of imagination, enhances abstract thought and symbolization.

Werner and Kaplan (1963) also emphasize the importance of interpersonal and social contexts in early symbolic functioning, see symbolic function as arising out of "an interpersonal matrix" or the mother-child relationship. The "primordial sharing situation" is the presymbolic situation in which there is little differentiation in the child's mind between himself, the other, and the referential object. Symbolization emerges from the child's (the addressor) and the mother's (the addressee) interaction with the object referred to (the referent), using words (the symbolic vehicle). Through this interaction, these four components become increasingly differentiated and related with greater complexity. It is only as development proceeds that these components become separate and that the symbol is recognized as distinct from the object to which it refers. Progressively, the addressor matures and increases in complexity through the addition of social interactions and cognitive development and words become more and more conventional. The writers suggest that the motivation to symbolize or to represent experience arises out of the wish to share experience with a social partner. Reading together, like play, experienced within the mother-child relationship becomes secure-familiar space and provides a fertile and dynamic tool of communication, self-expression, and independent exploration.

While Piaget, Vygotsky and Werner and Kaplan emphasize the social development of symbolization, Lakoff and Johnson stress more the relationship between symbol and body or the intrapersonal aspects of the development of symbolization. Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 2002) identify numerous groups of families of metaphors,

each organized around a common implicit metaphor. For many of these families, they trace the underlying metaphor to a literal concept based on embodied physical experience. The writers claim that most conceptual reasoning is fundamentally metaphorical in that our abstract concepts are experienced and expressed in terms of embodied physical experience. An adequate example for such a metaphor is the MIND AS BODY metaphor which is based on metaphors such as: "the mind is a body," "knowing is seeing," sensing is smelling," and "personal reference is taste."

Lakoff and Johnson believe that meaning is grounded in humans' sensorimotor experience and that this embodied meaning is extended through imaginative mechanisms such as conceptual metaphor, to shape abstract conceptualization and reasoning. A conventional conceptual metaphor is a partial mapping of one conceptual-gestalt-structure (source concept) onto another conceptual gestalt-structure (target concept). For example, Lakoff and Johnson note that quantity and verticality are coactive whenever we pour juice into a glass or pile up objects. Hundreds of primary conceptual metaphors occur automatically and unconsciously through everyday functioning in the environment. Such coactivations result in neural connections.

Experience, according to Lakoff and Johnson, is the result of embodied sensorimotor and cognitive structures that generate meaning in and through an ongoing interaction with the world. Experience is always an interactive process involving neural and physiological control from the organism as well as input from the environment. Furthermore, meaning comes not just from internal structures of the subject nor solely from the external contribution of the object but rather from repeating patterns of engagement between the subject and other objects around it.

The writers describe a process in which the embodied experience leads to the embodied conception of conceptual metaphor. Therefore, we first acquire the bodily and spatial understanding of concepts and later understand their metaphorical extensions in abstract concepts. Human infants learn the meaning of things first through their bodily interactions, which they can then extend in abstract ways. To illustrate their basic idea, Lakoff and Johnson depict an infant experiences of crawling into a box or being put into a crib which leads to the stage in early childhood when children systematically explore containers around them and, in the process, learn, unconsciously and automatically, the experiential logic of containment.

Development of Symbolization from the Perspective of Recent Experimental Paradigms

Beebe and Lachmann (2002) review the infant's perceptual and cognitive abilities that lead to early expectations about how interactions proceed. The writers depict the presymbolic origins of emerging self and object representations using Piaget's timetable. They place the emergence of symbolic thought at the end of the first year. It then goes through massive reorganization at sixteen to eighteen months and finally consolidates in the third year. Beebe and Lachmann note that some sort of representational ability, not yet symbolic, emerges in the second month of life. Thus, symbol formation happens as a later stage in a system that already holds a representational capacity.

Beebe and Lachmann suggest that, at the presymbolic stage, the infant is capable of representing expected, characteristic interaction patterns including their unique temporal, spatial, emotional, and related arousal features. Interaction patterns are defined

as characteristic ways in which infant and mother impact each other during interaction. These patterns include the infant self-regulating capacities and interactive regulation that are organized through dimensions of time, affect, arousal, and space. The infant representing dynamic, interactive, and dyadic experiences schematizes those interaction patterns, learns to recognize them until they become generalized, and begin to organize the infant's experience. Towards the end of the first year, these generalized patterns become the basis for later symbolic forms of self and object representations. Beebe and Lachmann, talking of presymbolic representation, assume an underlying information-processing model of motivation. The infant brings endogenous activity and intrinsic motivation to process and order information. The writers see the infant as biologically equipped to engage in visual activity that stimulates the infant's brain, to identify regularity, and to create expectations and act on them.

The infant's "representational world" is organized prior to the emergence of symbolic capacity based on features like time, space, arousal, and affect. Fonagy et. al., 2004 suggest some evidence for presymbolic representational capacity as early as the first months of life. For example, they indicate the baby's capacity to discriminate between mother and stranger; The baby's ability to recognize their own vocalizations and discriminate them from other infants; and the baby's perception of time, space, affect, and arousal.

Beebe and Lachmann (2002) claim that what the infant represents is an object-relation pattern and not an object. Consequently, the infant represents both roles in the interaction. Beebe and Lachmann do not see these representations as fixed. They leave open the possibility of the transformation of representations as the dyad continues to

dynamically mature. Pathology occurs when interaction patterns become stiff and are not being updated.

Watson (2001) further notes that, early on, young children are substantially sensitive to the contingent relationship between their own, essentially motor, behavior and the responses in the environment with which they are contingent. Watson proposes that this early sensitivity to contingency is arbitrated by an inherent "contingency detection module" that evaluates the conditional probability of the contingent relationships between reactions and stimuli over time. Fonagy et. al., (2004) write that, from a developmental viewpoint, this early sensitivity to contingency plays an important role in the differentiation of the self from the environment and in building representation for mentalization capacity. This development, in essence, evolves from the attachment context that provides the background in which the infant can develop sensitivity to self-states through what Gergely and Watson (1996) call "psychofeedback" or social biofeedback.

Through the repeated activation of the psychofeedback system, the child develops a second-order symbolic representations of self-states. In this process, the infant's attuned affect-mirroring environment plays a crucial role in establishing differentiated emotion representations through sensitization to emotion-specific patterns of internal-state signals. Severe absence of such a system within the attachment context may result in undifferentiated internal affective states and in a tendency to confuse internal states with external reality. Saying it differently, it may lead to a developmental impedement at the level of 'psychic equivalence' functioning where mental states and reality states are confused and undifferentiated (Fonagy et. al., 2004).

Fonagy (2003) notes that the young infant's perception of other's personal state is automatically referred to the self. The contingent responding of the attachment figure is hence even more vital than serving as the mediator of attachment experiences. It is the core agency by which infants acquire the understanding of their own emotional states or what Fonagy depicts as an "Interpersonal Interpretive Mechanism (IIM)" (p. 225). Fonagy et. al., (2004) see IIM as a final step in the transcription of genetic impact on a pattern of behavior. It is a hypothetical neural structure, a processing system for novel social information that lies beneath reflective function or mentalization, and has many functions beyond these. IIM includes the second order representation of affect, its regulation, and effortful management of attention in conjunction with both implicit and explicit features of mentalization. The development from IIM to mentalization parallels the development from repetition to symbolization as described in this work and from perfect contingent relationships, through high and imperfect degrees of contingency (Koos and Gergely, 2001, p. 400) toward the examination and representation of the social environment, where less and less perfectly response-contingent is necessary.

From the perspective of Attachment theory, the mother's capacity to form coherent, positive and flexible representations of her relationship with her child while balancing her negative affects in relation to her child is intertwined with her capacity to regulate and symbolize affective experience and to support her child when encountering affect states. Bruner (1975) places an emphasis on the relation between dyadic processes and language acquisition claiming that the child constructs knowledge of language and linguistic forms through joint action and joint reference with the mother. Bruner writes that mothers often support "the child in achieving an intended outcome entering only to

assist or reciprocate or 'scaffold' the action" (p.12). Similarly, Slade (1987) writes that the mother's supportive presence and emotional availability provide the child with a sense of security during the course of exploration. Through symbolic play, the child is given an opportunity to experience absent people and objects and to develop a sense of self. Slade suggests that individual differences in the quality of early relationship lead to differences in the emergence of symbolic functioning. Slade also depicts a relationship between the quality and consistency of parental narratives and the child's capacities for affect regulation and symbolization.

Psychoanalytic View on the Process of Symbolization

The psychoanalytic literature on symbolization concerns itself primarily with the emotional aspects of the process and its functions in reducing anxiety through displacement. Rapaport (1950) defines symbolization as "a representation, or in other words reproduction, of an idea in visual images using the available memory-traces for this purpose" (p. 242). Rapaport talks of the role of symbolization in affective states. When affects become overwhelming or when there are developmental insufficiencies, affects manifest themselves by symbolic forms. "One of the influences of affects on memory is the symbolic transformation of memories in reproduction" (p. 244). A fine example of this process can be found in Freud's (1920) depiction of a four-year-old girl struggling to understand how babies come to the world. The girl does not express her knowledge directly; instead, she uses symbols and sublimation. She replaces the mother with mother earth ("I know that trees grow in the ground" p. 266) and then she replaces the father with God ("and I know that God makes the world" p. 266).

The Relationship between Reading, Repetition and Symbolization

Reading together provides a stable and predictable means of repetition for parent and child. The move to symbolization, when successful, culminates in the child's ability to be alone – to hold others. The experience of reading together allows the child "the continued existence of a reliable mother whose reliability makes it possible for the infant to be alone and enjoy being alone…" (Winnicott, 1958, p. 33). Being alone and enjoying it can be seen as one of the achievements in the process of symbolization and it is a function of a variety of factors (cognitive, neurological, and emotional) that have matured and reached a point where the child can hold the image of his mother in his mind and be comforted when his mother is away.

According to Winnicott (1971), an infant's use of a transitional object is "the first not-me possession… the child's first use of a symbol and the first experience of play" (p. 96). Transitional object symbolizes the breast or part of the mother and is involved in the process of differentiating sameness and difference. The symbol emerges "at the point in time and space of the initiation of their state of separateness" (p. 97) while the mother is in transition from being united with the child to being experienced as "an object to be perceived rather than conceived of" (p. 96). Winnicott's (1964) description of the development of transitional phenomenon corresponds with the development of the child's use of symbols. This early stage in development is made possible by the mother's readiness to enable the child to have the illusion that what the infant creates truly exists. An infant's transitional object typically becomes decathected as cultural interest develops through the experience of arts, religion, and creativity. The child's acceptance of symbols is crucial in the child's evolvement because it provides the child with a massive relief

from the rough and confusing conflicts of reality. "It is awkward when a child loves mother tenderly and also wants to eat her; or when a child loves and hates father at one and the same time, and cannot displace either the hate or the love on to an uncle; or when a child wants to be rid of a new baby and cannot satisfactorily express the feeling by losing a toy. There are some children who are like that and they just suffer" (p. 236).

Conclusion

Psychoanalysis supposes that, during the early stages of infancy, the intensity of the infant's needs has the power to induce the need-gratifying object. As distinction between self and environment is increasingly defined, the child can tolerate greater suspension between need and gratification. As imagination enters, the child learns to test reality and instead of doing what the child wishes, he can pretend to do it or play at doing it. This is a vital process in the child's early development and it is based on the universal tendency to repeat actively what has been experienced. This mechanism of symbolization development supplies the child with a path for identification with adults. It is also linked to the function of reality testing which differentiates the actual from the possible as the world of make-believe gradually becomes separated from the real world.

Bucci (1997) writes that the process of symbolization as it occurs in psychological development as well as in treatment, is inherently dependent on the presence of another. The other person has several roles in reality and in fantasy. The other acts as the stimulus activating an emotion schema; the understanding, supportive, and accepting listener; and the one who brings new perspectives into the emotional framework.

The next chapter will portray Bucci's theory, centering on her understanding of referential process which is the capacity to express all modes of nonverbal experience, predominantly emotional experience, in verbal form. Bucci (2002b) marks that the primary vehicle for the construction of the emotion schema is a symbolizing process that involves the integration of somatic and sensory experiences with images of objects and then with words. Emotion schemas emerge from repeated interactions with others, especially caregivers, from the beginning of life. They determine our expectations and perceptions of others and also our acts toward them.

Reading together increases symbol formation, helps the child internalize symbols, and bring symbols into the social setting. Symbolization in turn, allows the coexistence of a real certainty in the reality of the imagined (in play or books) with the confidence that "it is only a book." In other words, reading together facilitates the organization of the nonverbal system; the linking of subsymbolic experience to nonverbal symbols; and the connection of nonverbal symbols to words.

A Multiple Code Theory

Bucci (1997, 2000, 2002, 2003) portrays the multiple code model as a theoretical framework for emotional information processing which has been constructed on the basis of the diverse fields of psychology. The multiple code model explains adaptive as well as maladaptive functions and may be utilized in the understanding of pathology and its healing in treatment. Bucci introduces the concept of the referential process as the mechanism by which the multiple elements of the information-processing system are connected. Bucci parallels the basic mechanism of the referential process (transformation from subsymbolic information to nonverbal symbols and then to verbal symbols) with the development of symbolizing function in children (the infant forms a prototypic image of the mother based on multiple appearances that enables recognition of mother in different circumstances until the enduring separate being can be named) and with the analytic process (the patient transfers emotional experience into images and words). Emotions under this model, are memory schemes built up through repetitions of interactions with significant people from the beginning of life. These schemas stand in for prototypic events which share a common subsymbolic core of sensory, visceral, somatic, and motoric experience.

The multiple code theory provides an account of emotional information processing using the basic components of symbolic and subsymbolic systems. Both symbolic and nonsymbolic processing can occur within or outside of awareness. Humans utilize three main systems of representing and processing information: the subsymbolic and symbolic nonverbal modes and the symbolic verbal mode.

Subsymbolic systems are global and analogic processes operating on continuous dimensions with no discrete elements or specified metric units. They are immensely parallel with numerous synchronous operations and are content rather that structure determined. Subsymbolic processing applies in different sensory modalities yet prevailing in olfaction and taste. It is typically represented in personal codes which are hard to share or communicate and able to accommodate infinite variations. Subsymbolic systems operate with no explicit intention or direction and often appear to operate automatically. Thus, they can be experienced as outside of the domain of the self, acting sometimes as benign and in other times as malevolent.

Symbolic processing systems define symbols as discrete entities with properties of reference and generativity which can be verbal or nonverbal. Symbols are entities that refer to other entities and can be combined to generate an unlimited range of new forms. Different from subsymbolic systems, symbolic processing depends on identification of explicit elements, dimensions, or metrics and is more open to intentional control. Symbols may be words or images. However, "language is the quintessential symbolic code" (Bucci, 2001, p. 47). Unlike words, images are formed in specific sensory modalities; they are concrete in that sense. Images can resemble the entities they represent but can also be analogic patterns or represent other entities in an abstract or arbitrary way. Additionally, images can emerge in the mind in an unbidden way. Both words and images may be represented in a range of different formats in long-term memory. Words have arbitrary reference and the information they carry is generally not specific to modality. Language largely operates as a sequential, single-channel symbolic device, sending and receiving only one message at a given time. Language is most

amenable to intentional control; it is used "to regulate and direct ourselves, to manipulate others, to communicate, and to lie. Language is the code in which the knowledge of the culture is preserved and transmitted" (Bucci, 1997, p. 177).

Emotion schemas are particular types of memory schemas and serve as the organizers of interpersonal experiences. Emotion schemas are the psychic structures that interest psychoanalysis. Like all memory schemas, they include elements from all processing systems: nonverbal subsymbolic, nonverbal symbolic, and verbal symbolic. However emotion schemas are more dominated by sensory and bodily representations. They emerge from repeated interactions with others, especially caregivers, from the beginning of life. They determine our expectations and perceptions of others and also our acts toward them. They may be impacted or altered by new experiences. Emotional schemas contain an "affective core" which is dominated by subsymbolic elements that are represented in the bodily components in multiple subsymbolic formats (sensory, motoric, and somatic representations). The affective core is the constant that recognizes emotional events and clusters them in categories across fluctuating contexts. Emotion schemas, similar to other memory schemas, are active and dynamic. They continue to develop throughout life, corresponding to environmental input to varying degrees and are highly complex and interrelated with one another. Thus, a schema of anger may be connected with a schema of fear or a schema of control or with both. In a later stage, language is being connected to emotional schemas or to subsymbolic experiences through the referential process.

"The capacity to express all manner of nonverbal experience, particularly emotional experience, in verbal form has been termed referential activity" (Bucci, 1997,

p. 185). The referential process is the main integrative process of the multiple code system. It functions as the mechanism that transforms subsymbolic information into nonverbal information and then to verbal symbols. The referential process facilitates the organization of the nonverbal system; the connection of subsymbolic experience to nonverbal symbols; and connection of nonverbal symbols to words. As Bucci (1997) notes: The referential process "enable[s] us to talk about what we experience and to connect the words of others to what we know and feel" (p. 178). Images, having transitional properties, discrete and generative like words and modality-specific like subsymbolic representation, are pivots of the referential process, organizing the nonverbal system and allowing connections to words. Specific images function as symbols or prototypes. In order to directly verbalize an emotion or the subsymbolic elements of the affective core, one must use an image or tell a story that incorporates the substances of the schema which in turn evokes the sensory experience of the affective core and is then shared and known by others. Bucci writes that the power of emotional expression is in the details as known to the artist and as depicted by Freud. This idea stands in the basis of free association which is: "Talking about details whose meaning is not fully understood [in order] to turn the patient into a poet unaware" (Bucci, 2001, p. 52). Bucci (1997, p. 183) summarizes four stages of the referential process: (1) continuous stimulus variation (subsymbolic representations); (2) chunking into functionally equivalent classes of representations; (3) construction of prototypic images (nonverbal symbolic forms) varied in level of abstraction; and (4) representation in words.

Applying the referential process to treatment, Bucci has developed systematic procedures for assessing the qualities of language style associated with the referential activity (RA) dimension. The procedures for scoring RA consist of four qualitative rating scales and objective measures based on linguistic traits (e.g. use of direct quotes, stylistic use of the present tense, and the use of metaphors). RA scales evaluate concreteness, imagery, specificity, and clarity of speech.

- Concreteness is founded on the degree of perceptual or sensory trait consisting of references to all sense modalities, action, and bodily experiences.

- Specificity relates to the quantity of details in the description of events, people etc.

- Clarity refers to the clarity of the image as judged by language.

- Imagery relates to the degree to which the language stirs up corresponding experience in the judge.

Based on these measurements, high RA is reflected in language that captures a quality of immediacy in the speaker's representations and is expected to evoke lucid, precise, immediate experience in the listener. Low RA is general, abstract, and ambiguous in which the speaker fails to connect to his own experience and to the listener's experience.

Based on these measurements, Mergenthaler and Bucci (1993) have developed new computerized procedures that allow application of RA in the studies of long-term treatments and multicase designs. Computer-measured RA (CRA) is based on emotion-abstraction patterns (EAP), which are based on emotional tone (ET) and abstraction (AB). The ET dictionary consists of items that demonstrate an emotional state in the

speaker and in the listener. The AB dictionary measures complex and abstract nouns that are understood as signs of reflection and evaluation. To calculate CRA, ET, and AB scores for a specific text, the word lists are matched to the lexical items of a text. Counts of matched words and proportion of matched words to total word count of a text are computed using the text analysis system (TAS). Each of these measures represents a particular clinical state associated with a phase of the referential cycle.

Bucci (2002) marks that the primary vehicle of construction of the emotion schema is a symbolizing process that involves the integration of somatic and sensory experience with images of objects and then with words. This integration is disrupted in pathology and can be implemented again through the reconstruction of the schema in the treatment process. The referential process as it works in treatment involves several stages. The first stage is the arousal of emotional experience in subsymbolic form (low RA). The second stage is the emergence of imagery or a memory of an event that symbolizes the emotion schema and transforms it from protosymbolic to symbolic form. Subsequently, the imagery evokes connections between subsymbolic experiences and symbolic representations within the nonverbal realm (rising RA). In the third stage, the symbolic imagery can be connected to words, thus, to the experiential system of the listener (RA peaks). The last stage is a stage of working through and reflection in which, through multiple linking, a reconstruction of the emotion schema can be built (decline in RA).

Bucci (2000) writes: "Change in an emotion schema requires simultaneous activation of bodily representation, present imagery, and representations of the past… In terms of multiple code theory, this plays out as the operation of the referential process:

activation of the subsymbolic bodily and sensory experience of the affective core in the session; associated with ongoing events in the therapeutic relationship; triggering memories of the past; leading optimally to changes in the emotional meaning of the activated imagery, and modulation of the bodily and emotional responses themselves" (pp. 785-786).

Conclusion

The first part of this dissertation focuses on a fundamental line of development between repetition and symbolization. Early on, primal repetition has pre-symbolic and pre-verbal nature and represents the earliest affective dyadic interactions between mother and infant during the pre-oedipal stage. Gradually, primal repetition develops into symbolic repetition which is based on symbolic mediation, usually words, repetition in which the inclusive experience prearranged by language is transformed verbally resulting in a more articulated and distinct experience.

Reading together while development of symbolization takes place enables the child to experience fantasies as not real while being perceived in the parent's mind. Repeated such interactions allow the child to tie his internal states to the perception of the states in the parent's mind and to maintain a symbol of the internal state. Also the regularity, almost ritualistic nature of reading together, enables the child to form an association between verbal and non-verbal experiences – association that is the essence of this work.

As distinction between self and environment increases, the child can tolerate greater suspension between needs and gratification. Gradually the child learns to pretend

and play instead of doing what he wants immediately. The child learns to repeat what was passively experienced in a process of identification and internalization of the adults' world. Reading together increases symbol formation by helping the child internalize symbols and bringing them into social interactive setting. It facilitates the organization of the non-verbal world and its translation to words, an experience that is captured in Bucci's multiple code model.

Bucci's multiple code model's main vehicle is the referential process which transforms emotional information from subsymbolic system to nonverbal symbols and then to verbal symbols. Based on Bucci's description of the operation of the referential process, one can follow the experience embodied in the act of reading a classic book. Reading together incorporates physical sensations that activate memories of reading with a significant person: sitting closely together, leaning on each other and maybe holding hands. In the experience of the child, a book can arouse bodily sensations that, in turn, stimulate the emergence of the image of the mother allowing the child to go through difficulties as if the mother is hugging him.

It is this work's assumption that classic books just like 'good enough' parents, sensitively follow this line of development from repetition to symbolization, gradually enable the child to explore and experience the world while providing the child with a safe and reliable environment.

The End – A. A. Milne

When I was one,

I had just begun.

When I was two,

I was nearly new.

When I was three,

I was hardly me.

When I was four,

I was not much more.

When I was five,

I was just alive.

But now I am six, I'm as clever as clever.

So I think I'll be six now for ever and ever.

CHAPTER III: METHODS

This dissertation will examine how the classic books of early childhood use verbal and visual presentation strategies to reflect and elicit the child's developing cognitive, emotional, and social capacities.

This study will focus on the vicissitudes of the transformation from repetition to symbolization in the first six years of life. It is proposed that the unique and lasting appeal of classic books is based on their controlled application of repetition and the development of symbolization. These methods recapitulate other processes through which a sense of core self and other is developed. This work's underlying assumption is that certain books have the capacity to utilize ongoing issues of emotional significance for infants and children. These classic books, which have remained popular and adored by numerous readers, meet basic needs of the developing child – emotional and cognitive needs - that are reflected in the content and in the “formal” structure of the work.

In order to assess the significance of the classic books, this work compares them with books that fail to maintain their appeal overtime and to attract children and parents. For the purpose of this work, classic books are defined as "best-selling books." Therefore, their sales are persistently high over a period of years. The comparison group ("less popular books") consists of books that fail to sell and are either out of print or their sales are exceptionally low.

Quantitative Part - The first part of this project will use measures of language style to assess linguistic factors such as concreteness, abstractness, and symbolization. It is assumed that the more concrete and action centered that images and narratives are, the more they stimulate pictures and emotions and the better the ability to connect the

nonverbal emotional experience with the verbal coding format. The degree to which this happens in the text is assessed by referential activity (RA) (Bucci, 1997). Computer-assisted analysis of the measures of language style is carrying out using the Text Analysis System. High RA is reflected in language that captures a quality of immediacy in the speaker's representations and that is likely to evoke vivid, specific, and immediate experience in the listener. Low RA, in contrast, is general, abstract and vague, and the speaker fails to connect to the listener. It is important to remark here that, from a linguistic stance, RA is a function of style rather than content. As noted by Bucci and Maskit (2005): "The quality of evocativeness is largely independent of content, so it is not a priori evident that the differences between evocative and non-evocative language can be measured by looking at individual words" (p. 10).

Qualitative Part - The second part of this project is a theoretical exploration of the content of children's books focusing on key developmental issues. The manner in which these issues are being reflected in the texts will be examined through changes in the use of repetition. From repetition of a motor kind, "perfectly response-contingent" as described by Fonagy et al. (2004) representing first stages in the differentiation of self; through repetition with slight variant in the case of the pre-Oedipal child, undergoing tactile experiences with increasing ability to verbalize and describe the environment; and then repetition with greater variation representing the Oedipal child, who has acquired representational tools for emotional self-regulation and expression, object constancy, and a greater ability to use language. Other qualitative RA characteristics of the books such as illustrations, musicality of the text (rhyming), fit between text and illustrations, and the

degree to which the text allow reader and child to participate in the act of reading the book together, will also be examined.

Hypotheses

1. Bucci (1997, 2001, 2002) sees the symbolizing process as involving the integration of somatic and sensory experience with images of objects and subsequently with words. This work hypothesizes that best-selling texts will show a rising RA pattern until age six corresponding with language development and the development in symbolization as well as an increase in abstraction reflecting the new ability to observe the self that comes at the beginning of the Oedipal phase. It is hypothesized that less popular books will not follow the described pattern, failing to resonate with the child's cognitive and emotional growth.

2. This work predicts a referential activity cycle in each best-selling book resembling the therapeutic cycle described by Bucci. Thus, these books will start with a rising action pattern from soothing to arousal of emotions through the emergence of imagery or a memory of an event that symbolizes the emotions schema and, finally a falling action and affect resolution. It is predicted that books from the less popular group, neglecting the child's emotional needs, will not track the same pattern.

3. The third hypothesis is that books that are suitable for children of a certain age are appealing in part, because they tend to reflect the psychological needs of those children. This hypothesis will concentrate on the development from repetition to symbolization reflecting cognitive and maturation processes in the child. Thus, in best-selling books as opposed to less popular books, the study will find direct and exact repetition the younger the listener is, correspondingly with the "perfectly response-contingent" described by Fonagy et al. (2004). Best-selling books for the pre-Oedipal child who is going through tactile experiences will show repetition with slight variant. Best-selling books for the

Oedipal child who can handle surprises and greater differences in repetition will show more sophisticated forms of repetition. Additionally, it is hypothesized that best-selling books and less popular books will differ in the nature of illustrations; musicality of the text (i.e. rhyming); fit between text and illustrations; and the degree to which the text allow reader and child to enjoy reading together – all characteristics of the RA process.

Sample

Books were separated into three age groups: *Infants (0-2), Toddlers (2-4)* and *Preschoolers (4-6).* This categorization, the following description of each group and the appropriate location of each book according to one of the three age groups are adapted from *The New York Times Parent's Guide to the Best Books for Children* (Lipson, 1988, 1991, 2000), Amazon.com, and Barnes&Noble.com. In the first group, the books have short and simple texts. For the most part, a very young child can study them and understand what they are about. The narrative is clear in the illustrations and the reader usually supplies the language to accompany these mostly illustrated books. In the second group, there are books with ample, sometimes lavish illustrations and less minimal stories with more complex vocabularies. Young children can listen to the texts and then memorize or repeat these books for themselves. The third group is composed of well-illustrated books that are designed for children who are in the process of learning to read and find pleasure in playing with letters and words and making sense out of them. (For a complete list of the selected books, see Appendix A.)

This work compares books that are considered to be best-selling or classics with books that do not maintain their appeal over time and do not attract parents and children

and, therefore, fail in terms of financial success. The best-selling books were chosen from lists publicized by Amazon.com ("top sellers in books" list) and Barnes&Noble.com ("bestsellers" list). All books in these categories (each age group includes ten best-selling books) were also recommended by the New York Public Library that publishes its recommendation list for children's books every year. As there is either no accessible list of the "least selling books" or any formal source to determine such lists, I consulted with librarians in two of New York Public Library's branches and with employees in two Barnes and Noble stores in the children's sections. I asked them to select the least popular books, those that are more often than not ignored by children and caretakers, and the ones that are out of print. In addition, the selected books (nine in the Infants group, ten in the Toddlers group and eight in the Preschoolers group) were assessed according to "Amazon.com Sales Rank." "Amazon.com Sales Rank's" calculation is based on sales and is updated each hour to reflect recent and historical sales of every item sold. Books in these groups were averagely ranked over a period of two weeks, with a higher rank than one million, or were out of print, (the higher the rank, the poorer the sales).

Data Analysis

Each of the fifty-seven books selected was run through several computer programs, collectively known as the Discourse Attributes Analysis Program (DAAP) by Bucci and Maskit (2005) following special transcription rules. These transcribing rules include two particular conventions. The first is that they regard an apostrophe as splitting a lexical item in two, so that, for instance *we've* is split into the two words *we* and *have*, both of which in are at least two of the dictionaries. The second rule considers

disambiguation of five common words all of which are found in the disfluency dictionary. For example, the writers disambiguate the word *like* into *like V* for its use as a verb, *like C* for its use as a comparative, and *like* for its filler usage. Each of these forms is in at least one of the dictionaries.

This work is focused on the Weighted Referential Activity Dictionary or the WRAD3. One of the files computed by the DAAP program presents a list of global statistics; statistics for the entire transcript and for each speaker or turn of speech. In order to test the first **quantitative** hypothesis (progression across age within best-selling and within less popular books), the "Total Coverage by the WRAD3 dictionary" number, for each book, was entered into the SPSS 11.0 for Windows program for statistical analysis.

For the second **qualitative** hypothesis (RA pattern in each book), data regarding turn of speech and the mean WRAD score for every turn of speech, (in selected books that had enough words and turns of speech as required by the program), were entered into an Excel (Microsoft Corp.) Program. Stacked area charts were used to display the trend of the contribution of each WRAD value over turn of speech in each selected book.

In order to assess the third **qualitative** hypothesis, this study compares the best and worst books in the same age groups, following repetition patterns; examination of illustrations; musicality of the text (i.e. rhyming); fit between text and illustrations; and the degree to which the text allow reader and child to enjoy reading together. In order to further demonstrate the difference between the groups, this work concentrates in particular on the highest RA scored books and the lowest RA scored books.

CHAPTER IV: RESULTS

This work tests three hypotheses - one quantitative and two qualitative – about various factors that contribute to the difference in popularity between best-selling books and less popular books for children in three age groups: infants, toddlers, and preschoolers. The first quantitative hypothesis which assumed a progression in referential activity (RA) between the three age groups within the best-selling group and a lack of such progression within the less popular group was confirmed. Results of the ANOVA shown below indicated a significant progression in the best-selling group and a lack of progression in the less popular group.

The second qualitative hypothesis predicted a RA cycle within each best-selling book resembling the therapeutic cycle described by Bucci (1997, 2001, 2002). Such a pattern was not found in any of the books selected and did not seem to distinguish between best-selling and less popular books. Instead, a pattern of alternating peaks and lows of RA was found in all the children's books. In the best-selling books, there were more dramatic spikes and, in the less popular books, there were more plateaus.

The last hypothesis predicted a qualitative difference between best-selling and less popular books in terms of the nature of repetition, the musicality of the text, the vivaciousness of illustrations, and the book's tendency to encourage the reader and the child to read them playfully together. These characteristics did seem to differentiate between best-selling and less popular books.

Hypothesis 1: Progression in Referential Activity between Age Groups within Best-Selling Books and within Less Popular books

Table 1, 2, 3 and 4 show the results for the first hypothesis. Table 1 describes the means and standard deviations for the *Weighted Referential Activity Dictionary* (WRAD3) scores by age (infants, toddlers and preschoolers) in the best-selling group. Analysis (ANOVA) was conducted to assess for age differences in mean WRAD3 scores within the best-selling group. A significant difference ($p<0.05$) was found between the age groups (table 2). The mean WRAD3 score for infants was 0.62. This mean differed significantly ($p<0.05$) from the means for toddlers (mean=0.71) and for preschoolers (mean=0.74).

Table 1 - Means and Standard Deviations for WRAD3 Scores by Age (Best-Selling Books)

Age of the Child For Which the Book was Written	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Infants	.61843620	10	.088861626
Toddlers	.70861900	10	.108940389
Preschooler	.74481400	10	.047683106
Total	.69062307	30	.098795719

Table 2 – Difference Between Age Groups in the Best-Selling Group

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.085	2	.042	5.766	.008
Within Groups	.198	27	.007		
Total	.283	29			

Table 3 describes the means and standard deviations for WRAD3 scores by age (infants, toddlers and preschoolers) in the less popular group. Analysis (ANOVA) was conducted to assess for age differences in mean WRAD3 scores within the less popular group. No significant difference was found between the age groups (table 4). The mean

WRAD3 score for infants was 0.60. This mean did not differ significantly from the means for toddlers (mean=0.68) and for preschoolers (mean=0.74).

Table 3 - Means and Standard Deviations for WRAD3 Scores by Age (Less Popular Books)

Age of the Child For Which the Book was Written	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Infants	.59580089	9	.245710622
Toddlers	.67858680	10	.114777036
Preschooler	.73566400	8	.046967975
Total	.66790326	27	.164276715

Table 4 – Difference Between Age Groups in the Less Popular Group

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.085	2	.042	1.647	.214
Within Groups	.617	24	.026		
Total	.702	26			

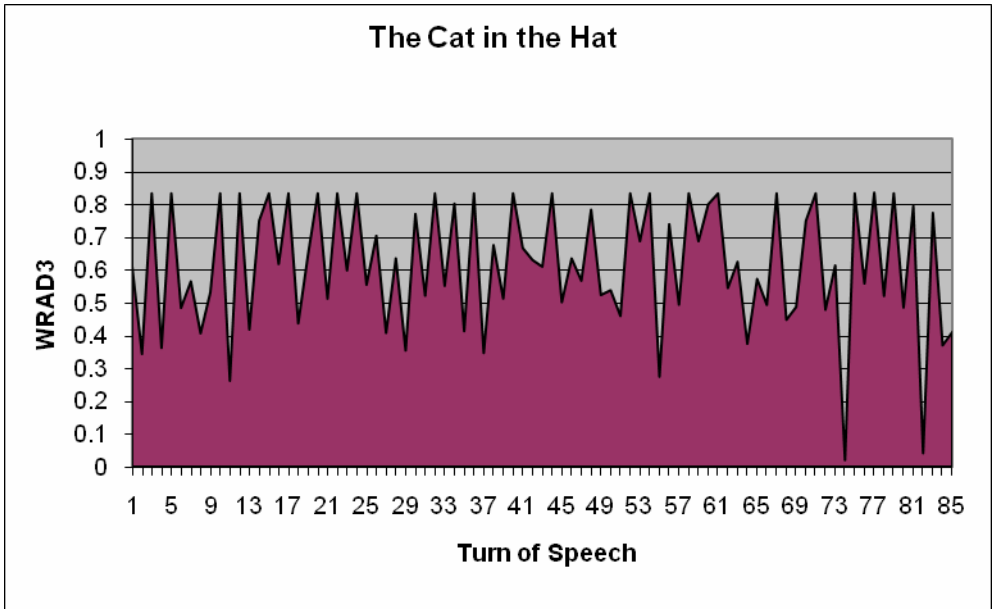
Hypothesis 2: RA Cycle within Specific Books

For the second hypothesis, data regarding turn of speech and the mean WRAD3 score for every turn of speech, (in 4 less popular books and 4 best-selling books that had enough words and turns of speech as required by the program), were entered into an Excel (Microsoft Corp.) Program. Stacked area charts were used to display the trend of the contribution of each WRAD3 value over turn of speech in each selected book. The predicted RA cycle was not found in the selected books. Instead, a pattern of repeated and rapid peaks and lows in RA throughout each book was found. Best-selling books seem to present more spikes than less popular books. The less popular books tended to have more plateaus (longer periods of no alterations between low and high RA).

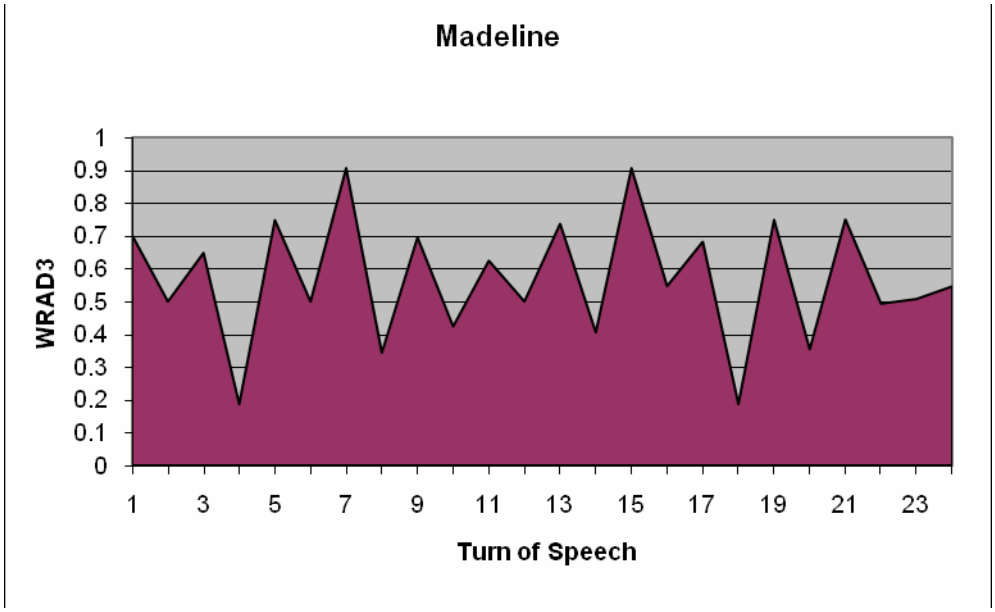
Additionally, this graphic presentation appeared to portray the significant fingerprint of each book representing its rhythm and unique character. For instance, in *The Cat in the Hat* which is a rapid, exciting, action-oriented, and humorous book, the pattern is as shown in graph 1. In *Madeline*, a slower, relational-oriented, less active, and more verbally-oriented book, a smoother pattern is shown (graph 2).

Graph 1, 2, 3 and 4 describe the trend in best-selling books (*The Cat in The Hat, Madeline, Olivia* and *The Giving Tree*).

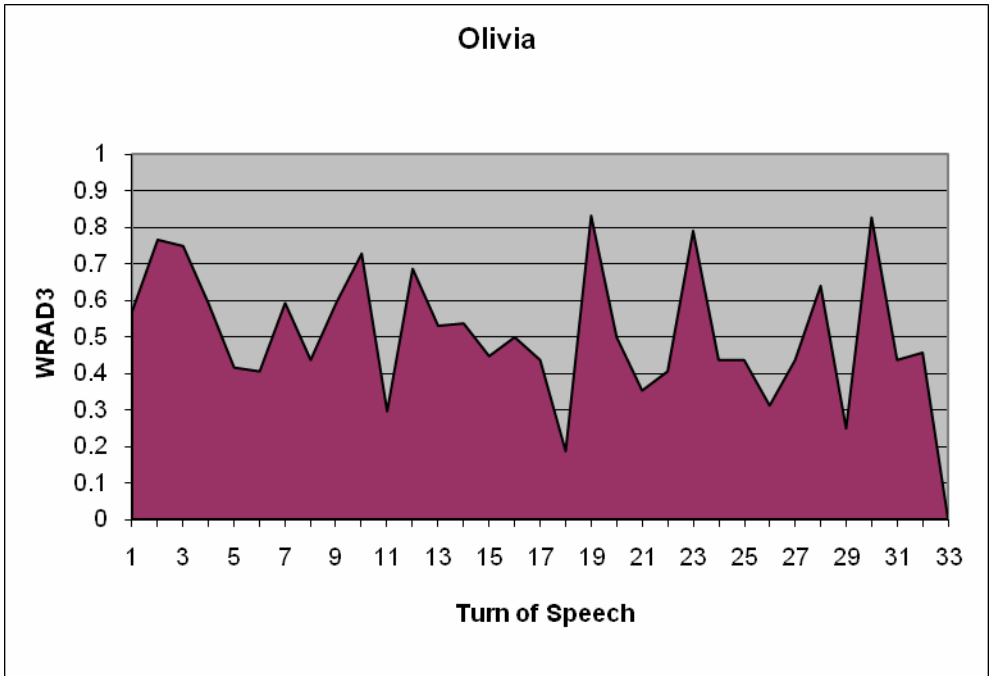
Graph 1:



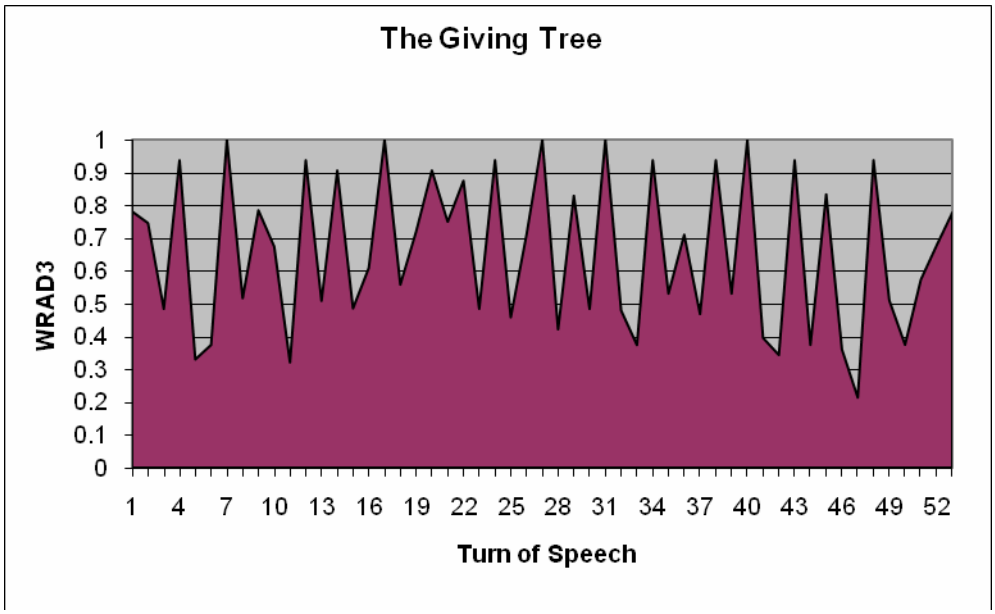
Graph 2:



Graph 3:

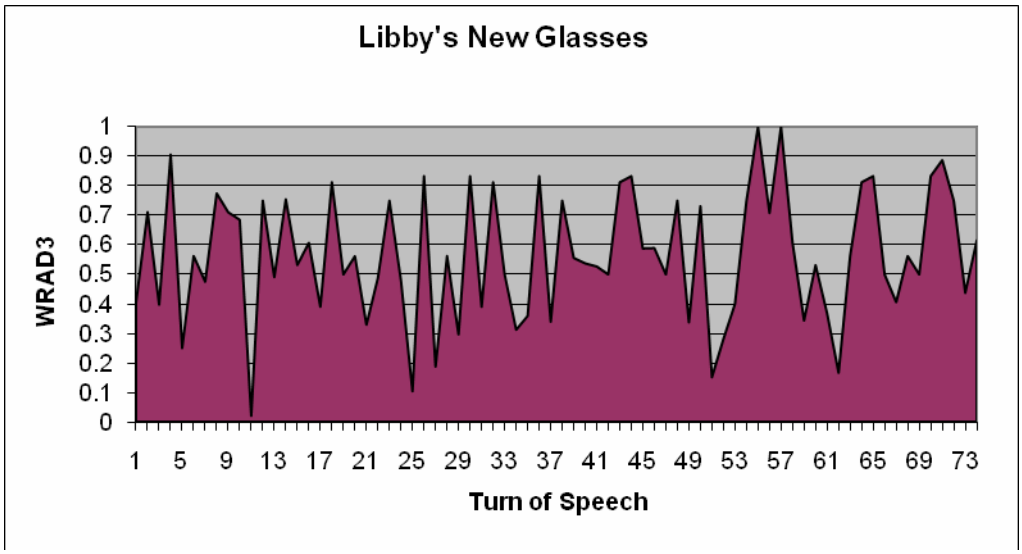


Graph 4:

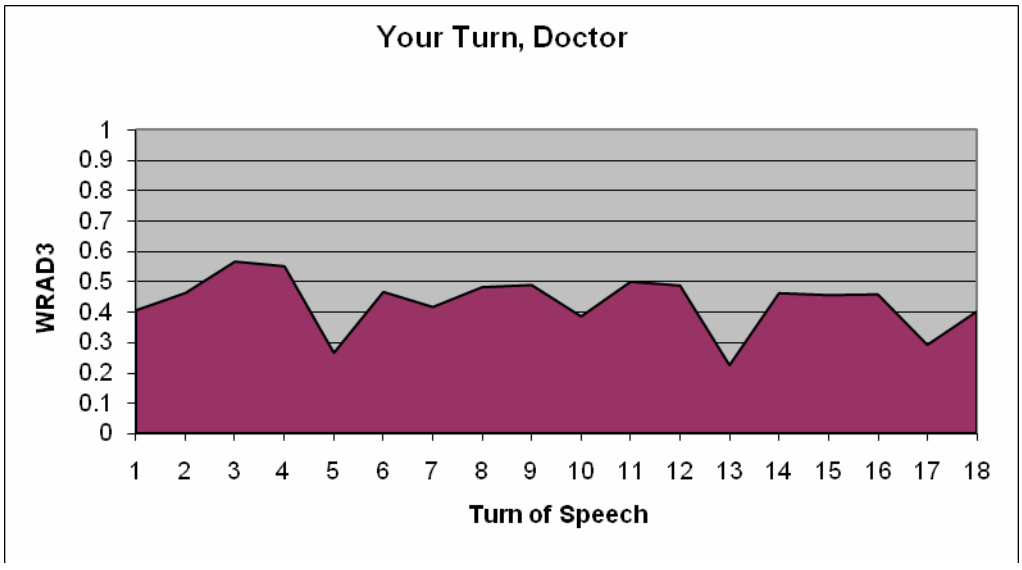

The Giving Tree
WRAD3
1
0.9
0.8
0.7
0.6
0.5
0.4
0.3
0.2
0.1
0
1 4 7 10 13 16 19 22 25 28 31 34 37 40 43 46 49 52
Turn of Speech

Graph 5, 6, 7 and 8 describe the trend in less popular books (*Libby's New Glasses*, *Your Turn, Doctor, I Am Telling You Now* and *How the Sun was Brought Back to the Sky*).

Graph 5:



Graph 6:



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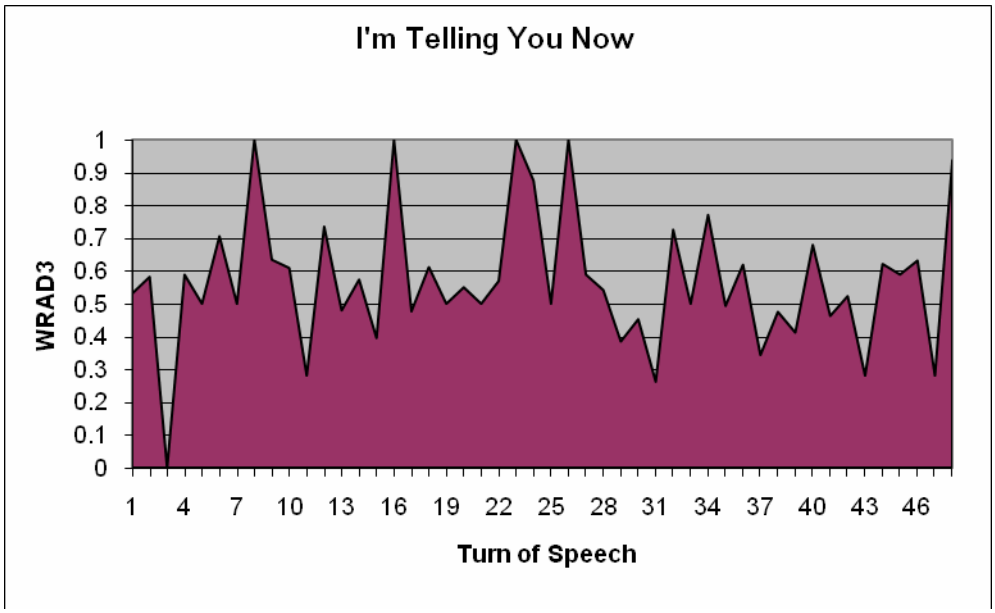

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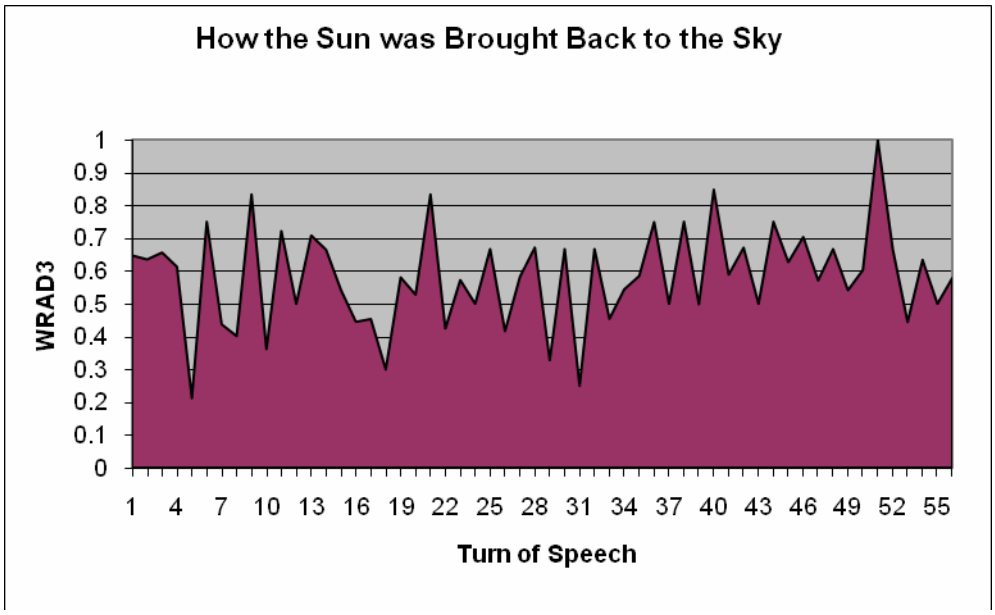

Hypothesis 3: Qualitative Exploration of Books According to Age Classification

We hypothesized that books that are suitable for children of a certain age are appealing, in part, because they tend to reflect the psychological needs of those children. This hypothesis concentrates on the development from repetition to symbolization reflecting cognitive and maturation processes in the child. Thus, in best-selling books as opposed to less popular books, it was expected to find direct and exact repetition the younger the listener is, correspondingly with the "perfectly response-contingent" described by Fonagy et al. (2004); Best-selling books for the pre-Oedipal child going through tactile experiences were expected to show repetition with slight variance; and books for the Oedipal child who can better handle surprise and variation were expected to show more sophisticated forms of repetition. Furthermore, it was hypothesized that the group of best-selling books and less popular books differ in the nature of illustrations, musicality of the text (i.e. rhyming), fit between text and illustrations, and the degree to which the text allows reader and child to enjoy reading together - all represent different aspects of the RA process.

In order to test this hypothesis this work used the highest RA scored book in each age category from the best-selling group and the lowest RA scored book in each age category from the less popular group as reference points in addition to a comparison between the general sample of the books.

Infants

The first prominent difference between *Snuggle Puppy* (highest RA scored book in the best-selling group) and *Grandpa and Me* (lowest RA scored book in the less

popular group) is in the illustrations they use. *Snuggle Puppy* uses spirited, dynamic illustrations of a "mommy" dog and her "baby" dog in all sorts of interactions. They sing and bake together, the puppy plays in the sand and in the snow and mommy lifts the puppy in the air. Using cheerful colors and continuous lines, all activities seem passionate and full of life. In *Grandpa and Me*, the pictures are actual photographs of still activities that grandpa and grandchild do together.

The Franco - Mauritanian artist Malcolm de Chazal once said: "When indifferent, the eye takes still photographs; when interested, movies." This quote summarizes the experience of these two books. One reads like a script and the other reads like a frozen, segmented text with no continuity between the pages; thus making it impossible to build excitement over the course of the text. In addition, the use of "real" photos limits the possibilities for generalization and identification. A photo is immediate and relevant to a specific "real" moment. Thus, it is harder to find oneself in the image or to relate to personal experiences that are outside of the scope of the direct image. Instead, as noted by Peller (1959), the use of creatures that are more "neutral" in terms of gender, age, and so on encourages the child's imagination and promotes identification.

The books *Snuggle Puppy* and *Guess How Much I Love You* are all about the relationship between the infant and the mother. They integrate somatic and sensory experiences with images and then with words. They capture the fundamental experience of this early bond and literally (using parentheses with the instructions "whisper it" or "now loud" in *Snuggle Puppy*) invite the reader to hug, kiss, lower their voice, and get more excited with the infant.

These books use varied forms of repetition. Repetition of sounds ("ooo" in *Snuggle Puppy*) and words ("I love you" in *Guess How Much I Love You*); repetition of paragraphs and ideas (representing different aspects of the mother's love); and repetition that is close to Gergely and Watson's (1996) description of contingent mirroring interactions with the attachment figure (by translating the text to bodily experiences: "I love you all the way up to your toes, said Big Nutbrown Hare, swinging him up over his head" *Guess How Much I Love You*). The last type of repetition is manifested also in the best-selling book Pat the Bunny in which the child is encouraged to repeat the character's actions in a motor fashion. Thus, the reader says to the child "Paul can put his finger through Mummy's ring" and then encourages repetition and identification with the phrase: "Now YOU put your finger through Mummy's ring." In contrast, the less popular book *Where is my Friend?* (A word concept book that uses elephant and mouse figures to teach the infant concepts such as "up" and "down," "into" and "behind") does not use repetition. Instead, there is a collection of activities that are minimally relevant to the young child like riding skates and climbing a hill. Also, this book is about a friendly relationship between a mouse and an elephant. This type of friendship is not yet applicable to the infant and, therefore, is harder for him to identify with.

The book *Grandpa and Me* does not utilize repetition at all. It does not allow the reader to play within any range of imagination and activity. By using the present continuous tense, commonly for activities which are happening right now or in the future to describe the activity of the grandfather and the child (i.e. "Playing, Painting"), this book further restricts the potential motion of its reading. In terms of RA, words in this tense usually receive low scores or are missing from the dictionary. For example, the

words "eating," "smiling" and "building" that are used in the book are absent from the dictionary. Employing the present simple tense instead would have made the text more dynamic inviting the reader to play with the words and continually engage the child. In terms of our analysis, the words "ride," "look" and "eat" as opposed to "riding," "looking" and "eating" would have scored higher in RA.

Likewise, the less popular book *Larry Lion's Rumbly Rhymes* is a collection of rhymes about separate animals with each animal on a different page. There is no relationship between the animals and the pages. The book uses words like "slithers," "ravenous" and "quivers" to describe the animals, words that are meaningless for the infant. In a similar way, the less popular book, *Max's First Word,* about an infant and his sister who teaches him his first words, utilizes words like "broom" and "delicious" and deals with relationships that are again less pertinent to the child. By neglecting the use of repetition and by applying relationships, words, and actions that are far from the young child's world, these books make it harder for the child to identify and relate to the book.

The mother in the book *Snuggle Puppy* enjoys watching her baby: "I love what you are, I love what you do." In *Goodnight Moon,* the quiet old lady and the moon are constantly watching the little bunny. According to Rizq (2005), in the experience of relationships, being seen, contributes to the acquisition and development of psychological depth and complexity. Being seen is a nurturing and generative experience for the child. It is the beginning of the path through which the infant develops the ability to see inside other's minds. For Winnicott (1971), to be seen is to have one's true self noticed, admired, and mirrored by the mother who promotes the illusion of omnipotence in her infant. Thus, "the mother is looking at the baby and what she looks like is related to what

she sees there" (p. 112). From another perspective, Fonagy's (2002) theory of 'mentalization' proposes that the child's capacity to appreciate other's mind depends on the developmental opportunity to identify himself as represented in the mind of another or 'to be seen' by another. The best-selling books described here allow the mother to see her baby and consequently they promote the baby's opportunity to see himself in the mother's mind.

Toddlers

In *Green Eggs and Ham*, the highest RA scored book in the best-selling group, the most visible word is the pronoun "I." The first use of the word "I" by the toddler is, according to Fraiberg (1959), a shaky and vague term tied unswervingly to seeking gratification. Gradually, the toddler who also struggles with robust desires and pressing demands learns to accept substitutes for his unachievable wishes and replace them with imagined satisfactions. It is then that the word "I" transforms its meaning to match the pressures of reality. "I" becomes a mediator between the demands of biological needs and restrictions imposed by reality. According to Fraiberg, the judging and reasoning part of the ego looks for the solutions to the conflict between these contrasting forces. The solution is usually a compromise in which the "I," or the ego in psychological terms, gives something to both parties in efforts to resolve the conflict.

Green Eggs and Ham reflects this psychological development through its plot, the use of repetition, and the use of illustrations. The book's plot goes through a consistent and persistent demand by "Sam-I-am" to get the cat to try green eggs and ham. Sam-I-am goes to extremes to convince the cat to eat green eggs and ham. His trials are shown in

illustrations and rhymes and in the cat's repeated refusals. The book portrays a relentless struggle between the two. Towards the end of the book, the cat says: "Sam! If you will let me be, I will try them. You will see." This represents the compromised resolution suggested by Fraiberg. In that sense, *Green Eggs and Ham* allows the child an opportunity to work through a powerful emotional tussle around self definition. *Green Eggs and Ham* is also a book about the struggle between the child and the immediate environment. On the one hand, the child desires to reunite and remerge with the parent. On the other hand, the child strives to emerge and bring out his personal identity. The cat's cry for an emotional space is furthermore understood in the light of this interpersonal struggle, the struggle being between narcissistic wishes and desires to aggrandize the self versus the wish to remain in a primitive identification with the parent.

The best-selling books *Blueberries for Sal* and *The Runaway Bunny* are also books about this struggle. The parallel plots of Sal and her mother and little bear and his mother in *Blueberries for Sal* deal with the psychological phase of separation-individuation and its dangers, challenges, and consequences and also with the beginnings of superego internalization and internalized prohibitions. Sal, "though she really didn't mean to, … pulled out a large handful" of blueberries from her mother's bucket. Her mother stopped her and said: "Now, Sal, you run along and pick your own berries." Little bear and Sal depart from their mothers to find their own berries and then look for their mothers to reunite with them. Similarly, in *The Runaway Bunny*, the small bunny goes to extreme efforts to leave his mother who, in turn, would do all that is needed to keep her child nearby. Both books end in a wordless illustration of the bunny in its natural cave-home and Sal in her home. The child who reads these books with a parent

can easily identify with the wish to safely express his unique and separate identity while being "chased" by the parent. Furthermore, the parent who reads these books with the child can identify with the mothers' wish to never let go (*the Runaway Bunny)* on the one hand and, on the other hand, the wish to separate and regain her personal space (in *Blueberries for Sal*).

Anna Freud (1965) describes the developmental lines toward body independence. During the time when the line between wetting and soiling to bladder and bowel control plays a critical role, the conflicts between id, ego, superego, and environmental forces grow to be exceptionally palpable. In this stage, the child strengthens oppositions to any intrusion to his emotional world. Body products are highly cathected with libido and thus are treated by the child as either "gifts" or aggressive weapons. Subsequently, the child's intact approach toward the world is governed by ambivalence or by fierce swings between love and hate. *Green Eggs and Ham* revolves around the battle between the two characters. While its main tone is oppositional, the pleasure in the book also inheres in the settling of the conflict without denying either character's individuality. Again, this book resonates with the toddler's fundamental experience at a critical developmental period.

The lowest RA scored story *What Animals Do* describes the basic activities performed by various animals. "The rooster struts. The duck waddles. The goose waggles." etc. It neglects to use repetition of any type and it uses sophisticated words like "shuffles" that are meaningless to the child whose acquisition of specific vocabulary may not have reached this level. The book's aim is to teach the child what animals do by naming their functions. Just like less popular books for infants, it uses still images that a

toddler would find difficult with which to identify. Lack of development in the story combined with the simple naming technique that the book utilizes disregard the toddler's emotional needs and interests resulting in a flat book that fails to keep the child engaged. In a different way, the less popular book *I'm Telling You Now* uses the sentence "I'm telling you now" all through the book to teach children to follow instructions. The repetition of this sentence teaches the child to listen to his parent with no explanation and without representation in pictures or words of the struggle between them. The message of the book that comes out of this sentence is to obey parents because they "say so." The emphasis on unexplained obedience restricts the curiosity of the child and limits the potential of an interpersonal, exploratory relationship between parent and child.

Finally, a notable difference between best-selling books and less popular books is their use of color. *Green Eggs and Ham* like *The Very Hungry Caterpillar* and *Good Night Gorilla* employ vibrant colors like green, red, and blue that catch the child's eye and contribute to the plot's fast and vigorous pulse. In contrast, the book *What Animals Do*, *I'm Telling You Now* and *The Animal's Supermarket* use mostly brown, yellow, and light orange, matt colors that fail to maintain the child's level of interest and just like its beat, these colors echo the book's monotonic tone.

Preschoolers

The Giving Tree is a bestseller about a relationship between a young boy and a tree. It tells how the tree loves the boy and helps the boy with his needs throughout his life. Ever since the book was published, it has generated controversy and opposing opinions over whether the tree is selfless or merely self-sacrificing and whether the boy is

selfish or reasonable in his demands of the tree. This controversy represents in essence the passionate struggle that the Oedipal child undergoes. A. Freud (1965) writes that the Oedipal phase is "completely object-centered phallic-oedipal phase characterized by possessiveness of the parent of the opposite sex" (p.65). The story of *The Giving Tree* sums up the young boy's wish to take over his mother while alluding to the risks that this fantasy encompasses. The extreme nature of this stage is reverberated in the story and thus in the child-reader's internal world.

The Giving Tree also resonates with Peller's (1959) idea on the Oedipal "fantasy of the reversal of roles." At the beginning of the story the boy plays with the tree, climbing its trunk and eating its apples. However, as the boy ages, he no longer plays with the tree. He begins asking the tree for various things, first money and next a house, and a boat. By the end of the tree's life it has become a stump on which the boy (now an old man) can sit and finally rest. The Oedipal reader can identify with the wish to defeat the parental figure with the safety of being always loved and longed for.

The Giving Tree is also a book about the limits of the omnipotent object and the omnipotent self and the inevitable changing roles that come with maturation. Despite its genuine desire to give itself completely, the tree can give only what it has and the child takes only what he needs for his current stage. The sadness that accompanies the realization of these limits is at the core of this book.

Libby's New Glasses, the lowest RA scored book in the less popular group is about a girl struggling to accept her new circumstances as a glasses bearer. In her despair, Libby runs away only to meet an ostrich that just like herself struggles to accept its glasses. As opposed to *The Giving Tree* where the tree symbolizes the mother/

parental figure, here the relationship between the ostrich and the girl is more of a friendship. However, their relationship is hard to generalize to other relationships or situations as both text and illustrations are remarkably odd. The choice of the ostrich as the object is peculiar. The ostrich is neither a maternal figure nor a good humanistic object. Its body is anomalous and its behavior, especially as pictured in the book, is misconstrued (why does the ostrich hide its head in the sand? Why are Libby and the ostrich finally go to a walk? etc.). The book uses metaphorical expressions that are too sophisticated (for example, the ostrich “hides its head in the sand”) for a young child to comprehend. The underlying psychological inferences of the book such as self-acceptance through mirroring, disappear in this peculiar story and instead the reader is left with the message "that it wasn't so bad to have eyeglasses after all" (Libby's New Glasses, Last page), a shallow, meaningless idea.

As in previously discussed less popular books, *Libby's New Glasses* does not entail repetition of any type making even harder the process of identification with Libby and the internalization of her progressive self acceptance. The book *Animals Should Definitely not Act Like People* also neglects to use repetition. Using dull illustrations and difficult words like "outrageous" and "dreadfully," this book explains why animals should not act like people. Instead of identifying with the animals, the child remains confused with the strict, odd, and developmentally inappropriate differentiation that the book makes between animals and people: "because a giraffe would gasp when she glanced to the ground."

Different than earlier applications of repetition, *The Giving Tree* makes use of repetition of an idea, namely the repeated exploitation of the tree by the young boy and

the tree's endless efforts to satisfy the boy's wishes. Repetition of feelings like "sad" and "happy" further accentuates the internal battle that the tree and the boy go through separately and the emotional clash between the two, symbolizing for the reader his own struggle.

As part of the process of symbolization that is carried out by books, *The Giving Tree* is also a moral tale about ideas that become increasingly dominant in the child's scope of interest. Similarly, in the best-selling book *The Mitten*, Baba, Nicki's grandmother, knits pure white mittens for him even though she is afraid that he will lose them in the snow. Sure enough, the first time Nicki is out, he drops one mitten and some animals promptly move into its snug wool interior. Nicki eventually finds his mitten and takes it home but Baba is left to wonder about how it became so enormously stretched out. In *The Cat in The Hat,* one can find the beginning of gender socialization as the boy is the one to chase "Thing one and Thing two" while Sally simply watches the cat in horror. It is also a book about the emergence of the superego in the image of the fish that represents parental figures: "You should not be here when our mother is not. You get out of this house! Said the fish in the pot." And, finally, it is a book about truth and lies and about having a separate world, one in which the parent is only partially involved. The book ends with the children's direct reference to the reader: "Should we tell her about it? Now, what should we do? Well… What would you do If your mother asked you?"

Woolgar et. al. (2001) mention that fairness, death, loss, obedience, rules, sharing, and friendship are only a few of the themes that capture the five-year old child's mind. The best-selling books touch on these themes inviting the child to reflect on these ideas in

a mediated fashion. The worlds of the child and the tree, the Cat in the Hat, and Nicki serve as playgrounds for the child's imagination.

CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION

A. A. Milne (1924) in *When We Were Very Young* describes in his inimitable words the experience of reading a "bad" book or growing up in "The Wrong House."

The Wrong House

I went into a house, and it wasn't a house,
It has big steps and a great big hall;
But it hasn't got a garden, A garden,
A garden,
It isn't like a house at all.

I went into a house, and it wasn't a house,
It has a big garden and a great high wall;
But it hasn't got a may-tree
A may-tree,
A may-tree,
It isn't like a house at all.

I went into a house and it wasn't a house-
Slow white petals from the may-tree fall;
But it hasn't got a blackbird,
A blackbird,
A blackbird,
It isn't like a house at all.

I went into a house, and I thought it was a house,
I could hear from the may-tree the blackbird
Call….
But nobody listened to it,
Nobody
Liked it,
Nobody wanted it at all.

This work looks at what renders classic books of early childhood unique and appealing over decades and across generations, in other words, what makes them "bestsellers." It is proposed that the lasting allure of classic books is based on their controlled application of repetition and the development of symbolization through the use

of words, sounds, prosody, and images. The study draws on Bucci's Multiple Code Theory centering on her understanding of Referential Activity (RA) which is the capacity to express all modes of nonverbal experience, predominantly emotional experience, in verbal form. Bucci (2002) claims that the primary vehicle of construction of the emotion schema is a symbolizing process that involves the integration of somatic and sensory experience with images of objects and then with words. Emotion schemas emerge from repeated interactions with others, especially caregivers, from the beginning of life. They determine our expectations and perceptions of others and also our acts toward them.

In order to assess the long lasting appeal of classic books, this study compares them with a group of "less" popular books that fail to attract readers and, as a consequence of this, to sell. It is proposed that classic books, just like 'good enough' parents, are characterized by a balanced effort to resonate with the young child's emotional needs. They do so by being responsive and present while not overwhelming the infant. Saying it differently books, like mother's mirroring of her child's affective states, demonstrate a capacity to modify, manage, and cope with the environment. This, as suggested by Fonagy (1995), provides the infant with a second-order representation of experience that ultimately facilitates the development of symbolic resources through which the child can reflect on and handle his internal world.

This work found both qualitative and quantitative differences between classic books (best-selling books) and less popular books. The first finding was a quantitative difference between best-selling and less popular books in terms of progression in RA between the three age groups (infants, toddlers, preschoolers). While this progression occurred in the best-selling group, it did not take place in the less popular group.

Secondly, the RA therapeutic pattern suggested by Bucci (2002) was not found to identify any of the books (best-selling or less popular books). However, the study of the demonstrated pattern suggested some speculative differences between the groups. In addition, it presented a way to ascertain the uniqueness of each book or the book's fingerprint. Thirdly, the work revealed some qualitative distinctions between best-selling and less popular groups in the nature of illustrations; musicality of the text (i.e. rhyming); fit between text and illustrations; and the degree to which the text allow reader and child to enjoy reading together. These distinctions were discussed in the previous chapter and are briefly touched here.

Discussion of Findings

Hypothesis 1: Progression in Referential Activity between Age Groups within Best-Selling Books and within Less Popular books

This work hypothesized that best-selling' texts would show a rising RA pattern until age six corresponding with language development and the development of symbolization as well as an increase in abstraction reflecting the new ability to observe the self that is part of the beginning of the Oedipal phase. As predicted, in the case of the best-selling group, the mean RA score for the infant group differed significantly from the mean RA score for the toddlers and for the preschoolers. For the less popular books, the three age groups did not differ suggesting a failure to match with the child's development. RA reflects the facility to express all modes of nonverbal experience, principally emotional experience, in verbal fashion. Hence, it seems reasonable to assume that writers of best-selling books are more sensitive to the specific emotional essentials of

each group even when the age difference between the groups is so small (0-2, 2-4, 4-6) and they do so by maneuvering the use of words, rhythms, and illustrations. Less popular writers, in contrast, appear to neglect the specific emotional needs of the developing child presenting books with a wide spectrum of RA scores in each age group.

The statistical analysis revealed this inclination by the variability of RA scores within each age group. While in the best-selling groups, each age group seemed to be unique and distinguished from the other groups within the less popular groups, this homogeneity was absent, specifically in the infants group. The significant variance shown in books for infants in the less popular group supported the assumption that the writers in the less popular group are not attentive to the child's emotional needs. Missing the child's cognitive and emotional level of maturity, they compose books that match Rizq's (2005) description of discordance in parental mirroring: "Where maternal mirroring is characterized by over-accurate and therefore overwhelming reflection of the infant's feelings, or where it is non-existent, so that the infant's experience remains unacknowledged, the infant in both cases fails successfully to find a representation of his self-experience in the mind of the other. Over time and with the accumulation of such experiences, the development of a secure sense of self may be compromised" (p. 262). Therefore, in the infants group within the less popular group, one can find the highest scored RA book and the lowest scored RA book in the entire less popular group. These findings suggest that some of these books are too intrusive to the child's internal experience whereas others neglect to mirror the infant's emotional state or cognitive abilities.

The Role of Books in the Development from Repetition to Symbolization

Bucci (1997, 2000, 2002, 2003) parallels the basic mechanism of the referential process (transformation from subsymbolic, particularly emotional information, to nonverbal and then to verbal symbols) with the development of symbolizing function in children (the infant forms a prototypic image of the mother based on multiple appearances that enables recognition of mother in different circumstances until the enduring separate being can be named) and with the analytic process (in which the patient transfers emotional experience into images and words). Emotions under this model are memory schemes built up through repetitions of interactions with significant people from the beginning of life. These schemas stand in for prototypic events, which share a common subsymbolic core of sensory, visceral, somatic, and motoric experience.

Following this model, the capacity to symbolize is based on repeated interactions with significant others that eventually enable the child to recognize and deal with environmental circumstances by himself. As suggested by Watson (2001), early on, young infants are substantially sensitive to the contingent relationship between their own (essentially motor) behavior and the responses in the environment with which they are contingent. Watson proposes that this early sensitivity to contingency is arbitrated by an inherent "contingency detection module" that evaluates the conditional probability of the contingent relationships between reactions and stimuli over time. Koos and Gergely (2001) write that, from a developmental viewpoint, this early sensitivity to contingency plays an important role in the differentiation of the self from the environment and in building representation for mentalization capacity. This development, in essence, evolves from the attachment context that provides the milieu in which the infant can

develop sensitivity to self-states through what Gergely and Watson (1996) call "psychofeedback" or social biofeedback. Through the repeated activation of the psychofeedback mechanism the child develops a second-order symbolic representations of self-states.

Fonagy (2003) notes that the young infant's perception of other's personal state is automatically referred to the self. The contingent responding of the attachment figure is thus even more vital than the reassurance about a protecting presence. It is the core agency by which infants acquire the understanding of their own emotional states, or what Fonagy depicts as "Interpersonal Interpretive Mechanism (IIM)" (p. 225), and the understanding of others' ways of thinking, perceiving and reacting. IIM is a mechanism for processing new experiences. It includes the second order representation of affect, its regulation, and effortful management of attention in conjunction with both implicit and explicit features of mentalization. This development parallels the development from repetition to symbolization as described in this work: from perfect contingent relationships through high and imperfect degrees of contingency (Koos and Gergely, 2001, p. 400) toward the exploration and representation of the social world, where less and less perfectly response-contingent is required.

In this development books can play a crucial role. Early on, books take part in the process of psychofeedback by providing the parent with words and illustrations to translate, for the infant, the infant's internal states or by allowing the infant to experience closely with the parent emotional situations in a mediated fashion. By the wide-ranging use of slightly varied modes of repetition, books model intersubjective opportunities that strengthen the internalization of parental presence and a feeling of benevolent

atmosphere. Likewise, the act of reading the same book in different contexts, (with mother, with father, at bedtime, in preschool, looking at the book alone) further supports identification with and internalization of parental figures. Books can also enhance reflective awareness that increases the capacity to move away from physical reality and experience the awareness as not real, by providing the child with a background that is removed enough but not too much from his experience.

First, books invite the parent to carry the affect for the infant and gradually they allow the child to carry the affect and deal with it all by himself. In that realm, books may serve as significant instruments for the attachment figures in providing the child with the most accurate and sensitive complements to development. Writers of classic books identify and respond to these developments while less popular writers ignore or are insensitive to them.

Challenges in Creating a Harmonized Environment for Young Children

According to Bowlby (1969), at about the age of three, behaviors suggesting a goal-corrected relationship start to surface. The main psychological mechanisms that intercede in this development are the internal working models. Emerging from recurring invariant patterns in early attachment relationships, a formation of a processing system - founded on the base of constant and widespread intended attributes such as desires, feelings, intentions, and convictions about self and others - takes place. Fonagy (2003) proposes that early attachment relationships have the fundamental evolutionary purpose of forming a mind capable of inferring and attributing casual motivational and mind conditions and, through these, realizing a representation of the self in a social setting.

Early on, the infant's experience concentrates less around verbal communication and more about bodily feelings, unspoken emotions, and the gratification or lack of gratification of the most basic needs. At this stage, synchronization between parent and baby are at the core of their bond. And this is the time when a book like *Goodnight Moon* so perfectly resonates with the infant and the parents' experience. The harmony of colors, rhythm, text, and figures corresponds beautifully with the book's audience. Writing a scrupulous and precise book with so few words that nonetheless captures the raw, pre-verbal experience of infancy is a difficult task, one at which many writers fail. Later on, when language becomes a central aspect of communication and the child no longer needs the parent to be the carrier of the affect, writing for children, using words and illustrations grows easier.

In this sense, early in development, RA is a critical tool to distinguish between best-selling books and less popular books. Reading together and the development of symbol formation help the child internalize symbols and bring symbols into the social setting. Symbolization in turn, enables the coexistence of a real certainty in the reality of the imagined (in play or books) with the confidence that "it is only a book." In other words, reading together facilitates the organization of the nonverbal system, the linking of subsymbolic experience to nonverbal symbols, and the connection of nonverbal symbols to words. Hence, as symbolization evolves and words come to represent emotions, RA, which is a style dictionary as opposed to a content dictionary, becomes less crucial in that differentiation. In books for young children, the harmonization between all factors in the book is more central than the immediate content of the book. It

might be the case that content or "words" dictionaries that measure cognition and affect are more appropriate for the distinction of "good" and "bad" books as the child grows up.

Hypothesis 2: RA Cycle within Specific Books

This work predicted a RA cycle in each "best-selling" book resembling the therapeutic cycle described by Bucci (1997, 2001). Therefore, these books will start with a rising action pattern: from soothing to arousal of emotions at the peak of the book, and finally, a falling action allowing for affect resolution. It was predicted that books from the less popular groups, neglecting the child's emotional needs, would not show the same pattern. Because of the program's limitations, only eight books were followed, four from each group. Books from the infants group did not fit into the program prerequisites because of low word count and too few turns of speech. As can be seen in the graphs presented at the previous chapter, the predicted pattern was not demonstrated. Instead, a pattern of alternate peaks and dips throughout the books was shown.

The discovered pattern appears to follow the child's capacity for affect tolerance. As RA reflects emotional, physical, mental, and verbal factors, it looks like the preschool child can sustain only short periods of intense RA arousal or the lack of emotional stimulation. In a therapeutic setting, high RA is reflected in language that captures a quality of immediacy in the speaker's representations and is expected to evoke lucid, precise, immediate experience in the listener. Low RA is general, abstract, and ambiguous in which the speaker fails to connect to his own experience and to the listener's experience. Translating it to the child's world, each RA peak is a moment of deep apprehension and connection with his current emotional experience. Each dip is a

dull moment or a moment to recoup. The child, differently from the adult, can endure only brief excitements. Extended excitements can irritate him both on physical and psychological levels. Similarly, continued periods of boredom can instigate the same frustration. A best-selling book is a book that balances for the child his internal experience by shunning from overpowering revelations or from prolonged lack of stimulation.

In a sense, the child can tolerate the pattern depicted by Bucci for short periods throughout the book. From the pattern perceived in less popular books, it seems as if the child cannot maintain long emotional plateaus. In order to keep the child interested and alert but not flooded, the book should uphold constant fluctuations (a fluctuating pattern) between high arousal and low arousal all through the book. From a first look, it seems like the best-selling sample present more spikes than the number of RA spikes in each book in the less popular group. In the last group, even when there was an alteration between peaks and dips, it was within the range of high (>0.5) or low (<0.5) RA and less between low and high RA levels. The overall range of fluctuations tended to be more limited in less popular books. Additionally, the less popular group showed more plateaus (periods in which there are no fluctuations between low and high RA) than the best-selling books. It is reasonable to assume that, with a larger sample, this tendency may prove significant. Therefore, the graphs appear to strengthen the configuration arising from hypothesis 1 which is that writers of best-selling books are more sensitive and attuned to the child's emotional needs than writers of less popular books.

Within the best-selling group, there was a visible difference between books in which the main character is a female character (*Olivia; Madeline)* and books with male

main characters (*The Cat in the Hat; The Giving Tree*). In the first group, the pattern appeared smoother and less spiky, with longer fluctuations, revealing books that are more verbal and relational-oriented in nature. In the second group, the fluctuations were swifter and sharper, portraying these books as more action-oriented. This division corresponds with the emerging partition between girls and boys in preschool years. During that time, boys and girls start to play separately and develop different interests. Boys grow to be more vigorous whereas girls, engaging in tamed activities, tend to be calmed down. Chodorow (1989) further writes that young girls of three to six years old tend to exhibit more intimate-dependent behavior while boys of all ages are more aggressive than girls. As boys get older, they become significantly more dominant and attention-seeking than girls whereas older girls become significantly more nurturant than boys.

The graphs seem to represent the unique fingerprint of each book: its pace, its musicality, its audience and its themes. Thus, in *The Cat in the Hat,* a hasty, intense, humorous, and unrealistic book, the graph shows rapid fluctuations with extreme peaks and dips. Sentences and paragraphs in the book are generally short. The use of repetition grows more sophisticated as the book proceeds to include repetition of words, sentences, and ideas. In *Olivia,* the pattern is much smoother with less spikes overall. Fluctuations are not as acute, consistent with the book's longer sentences and paragraphs. Different from *The Cat in the Hat,* the use of repetition is applied to an "idea unit" as opposed to a single word. In a sense, *Olivia* is a book about the relationship between Olivia and her mother and about Olivia's rich imagination. The *Cat in the Hat*'s theme revolves around the wild cat and his messiness while the internal relationships between the "real" figures

are only subtle, kept in the background of the story. According to Kolloff (2005), girls, as a group, exceed boys in the area of verbal ability: they are likely to read earlier than boys, their writing ability is better, and their overall achievement in verbal areas, as measured by standardized tests, is superior to the achievement of boys. *Olivia's* themes and grammatical structure fit girls' verbal and emotional capacities at that age.

It is striking to look at the less popular book *Your Turn, Doctor*. This book is about a girl imagining what it would be like if she gave her doctor a physical examination. The book, first published in 1984, has been out of print for over two decades and presents a clear instance of the difference between best-selling and less popular books. Almost five sixths of the book are below the 0.5 RA score (low RA) and even within that low range there are three long plateaus. This pattern portrays a dull book with no points of excitement and no development in the plot. The entire book is in the girl's imagination with no resolution of her fears and aggravations. The aim of the book is also unclear and its implications remain unfulfilled as there is no connection with reality or with the practical aspects of the girl's actual visit to the doctor's office.

It is my belief that a larger sample of books would uncover a method which uses graphs to explain the dynamic unfolding of books. It is also a new way to look at books written on girls and on boys and the role of books in socialization. The graphs make it easier to identify weaknesses in books as they expose points of potential boredom or overstimulation in a way that is both vivid and easy to comprehend. The graphs dissect the text into turns of speech which are small units that can be looked at critically. One can identify monotonous figures or find the proper balance between figures. Saying it differently, this method allows the researcher to understand the book on several levels:

feel its beat, follow the conversation, locate better and worse points and get an overall impression of the distinctive character of the book.

Limitations and Future Research

The results of this study point to a number of limitations and directions for future research. First and foremost, the small sample of books may have limited the effect of the significant findings. Second and closely related is the selection of books and their division into two groups (best-selling and less popular books). As discussed earlier, ways to choose best-selling books are numerous (for instance, several lists published by bookstores, libraries and papers) whereas less popular books are less obviously defined. In this sense, this work's selection of books, more so in the less popular group can be debatable. Furthermore, the popularity of a book is dependent on aspects other than its content and illustrations which are the main features measured in this study. Bad marketing or good marketing, affiliation with other types of media such as having a movie or television series based on the book, the size of the book, and whether it is hardcover or paperback, all factor into the degree to which books succeed in selling. This study did not concentrate on these factors. Yet, this work assumes that these factors even out ultimately resulting in a "real" difference in key characteristics like emotional fit and overall harmony between the book's essentials.

Another possible limitation of this study is related to the statistical datum regarding the large variance in the infants group within the less popular group. However, as mentioned earlier, this statistical result highly resonates with the psychological

assumption that precisely this lack of homogeneity within the less popular group is the source of their failure to meet the child's specific emotional needs.

As for the second hypothesis this work tested, the combination of a small sample with the limitations of the Discourse Attributes Analysis Program (DAAP) restricted the validity of the findings and allows this work to point to possible trends. A greater sample of books appropriate for the program may have divulged significant conclusions. An addition of an older age group, such as books for 6-8 year old children could have enhanced the analysis by allowing the comparison with books that are presumably more suitable for the program.

Similarly, the addition of older age groups or a study on books for adults, allows for the revisit of the initial second hypothesis regarding an RA pattern similar to the therapeutic pattern presented by Bucci. It is known that the older the readers, their capacity for affect tolerance is larger and more flexible. Hence, the better they can deal with the emotional facets of the book, allowing for a more gradual development of the plot (as opposed to the fluctuations described earlier in the chapter). Therefore, it appears sound to presume that the mentioned therapeutic pattern would actually signify books for older children or adults.

This research regarded only the Weighted Referential Activity Dictionary (WRAD3), which is a style dictionary. It is reasonable to assume that other differences tested by content dictionaries such as The Affect Dictionary or The Reflection Dictionary that indicates reflection or cognitive functioning would have generated additional findings (i.e. differences between toddlers and preschoolers, large variances in the

preschoolers group in less popular books and so on). A future research may test these ideas to further determine what makes classic books bestsellers.

At the core of this study is the use of repetition and its role in promoting symbolization. Even though Bucci's theory assumes the importance of repetition in the RA cycle, it does not take it into account its translation to the DAAP. At the level of the single word, words in texts are being matched to words in the dictionaries and receive their score in accordance with their RA assumed power. Thus, words that repeat throughout the text do not get a rising score even though every time they are being used their influence increases. However, as a style dictionary, the level of the single word is not vital. As observed by Bucci and Maskit (2005), the stylistic forms that tend to convey emotion in words are, to a large degree, constructed implicitly, predominantly including function words whose usage is not overtly comprehended. To illustrate that point, some of the most frequent used words that construct the WRAD3 dictionary are "I" (RA score = -0.75), "and" (RA score = +1.0) and "it" (RA score = -0.875). Instead, the RA scales of *Clarity, Concreteness, Specificity,* and *Imagery* were founded on measurements identified by literary critics as linked with effective and evocative language to create the WRAD3 dictionary. While this study considers content and words in its qualitative parts, a future quantitative study that takes into account the level of the single word in addition to RA may draw some new conclusions.

As this study is the first to use Bucci's theory in the evaluation of children's books, its implications and potential applications are wide-ranging. For example, it can be used to adjust levels of affect to children in unusual affective situations. Serving as regulating assets and managing for children their emotional experiences (both because of

their inherent value and because of the memories of reading together they carry with them), books can facilitate children's adjustment to daycare or to other arrangements that separate children and parents. Another illustration for the importance of books as affect regulators comes from their use in hospital settings. For instance, the director of a pediatric department in Soroka hospital in Israel described how instead of giving children candies, he gives them books they can play with and read during their treatment. He found books to be long-term aids (as opposed to candies) in reassuring and soothing children.

Teachers and parents can also benefit from this study as they can draw on it to affectively regulate children in accordance with their age, gender, and needs. Since the RA pattern graphs explicitly define books' unique nature, specific books (*The Cat in the Hat, Go Dog Go, Goodnight Gorilla, Curious George* and *Green Eggs and Ham*), can be used, for instance to excite and encourage activity while others (*Goodnight Moon, Olivia, Guess How Much I Love You, Madeline, The Mitten* and *The Carrot Seed*) can be used to calm down and regulate children's affect after an intense activity. Additionally, facing specific growing challenges, adults can be helped by identifiable books that resonate with the struggles and facilitate the coping.

Another interesting possible extension of this study is related to the use of illustrations in the books. The current implications of the DAAP are limited to words (RA translates pre verbal experiences into symbols and then to words). This study refers to illustrations in its qualitative parts. Nevertheless it is sensible to expect that non-verbal factors contribute equally to the encouragement of RA. Books today are far more "developed" to include activities of all kinds: from smells, noises, voices, and other

gimmicks to games and electronic devices that are integrated into the book. It can be valuable to discover a method to assess the relationships between visual elements and RA. A couple of questions come to mind: What is the input of different colors to high or low RA? How do still photographs defer from more dynamic illustrations in reference to RA? How do illustrations of animals, fictional creatures and human figures vary in the degree to which they enhance or decrease RA? What is the importance of continuation of pictures between pages in regard to RA? What is the "right" proportion between verbal text and illustrations to create the optimal RA pattern? These are only a few of the questions that may elicit future studies.

This study's potential usefulness for writers and publishers of children's books is manifold. Building on the RA graphs and general RA scores, writers and publishers can identify books that have the potential of becoming bestsellers. From statistical data, such as the mean score for RA in best-selling books for infants, they can ensure the book is within the "right" RA range (for instance, in the proposed group, the optimal RA score would be between 0.53 and 0.71). Moreover, they can recognize weak points throughout the book where overstimulation or lack of excitement occur for prolonged periods and correct them. Lastly, writers and publishers can also "feel" the book through specific RA pattern graphs (the book's musicality, messages and potential audience) and consequently appreciate ideal ways to endorse it.

This work is especially important in our information era where children are raised on a steady diet of digital technologies that have a fundamental influence on their literacy, intelligence, friendships and even the process of learning who they are. The children's reading experience must compete with many other stimulations that differently

from books, do not benefit the child's psychological maturation. Also, parents, just like children, are occupied with endless sources of quick and shallow gratifications that are easier to set off and maintain and require fewer efforts from both parties. Thus, the intimate pleasure that comes out of reading together grows excruciatingly rare. To write a book that can compete with these "rivals" is more than ever desirable and challenging.

Summary

This dissertation is an innovative attempt to assess the differences between best-selling books and less popular books using RA as a central factor. Concentrating on qualitative and quantitative measures, this work has found that writers of best-selling books, similarly to "skilled" parents, apply varied methods to correspond with the child's emotional development and to help the child manage his emotional experiences. Besides being an enriching, satisfying and educating activity, reading together is also a joyful interaction that promotes playfulness and creativity and deepens the child's emotional growth. It is remarkable to realize that writers of less popular books simply "overlook" the child's psychological needs on so many levels. Their musicality, the content of their tales, their verbal text, their use of repetition, and symbolization, their illustrations and their color, all fail to catch the child's eye and to leave a long-lasting impression on him. Differently, writers of best-selling books appear to produce a congruent creation that finely brings together all the factors that contribute to the child's maturation. The harmony formed by writers of classic books is at the core of this work

Appendix A

List of Books (Best-Selling Vs. Less Popular) According to Age Groups

	BEST-SELLING BOOKS	LESS POPULAR BOOKS
INFANTS	1. Polar Bear, Polar Bear, What do you Hear? (Bill Martin and Aric Carle, 1991) 2. Goodnight Moon (Margaret Wise Brown and Clement Hurd, 1947) 3. Pat the Bunny (Dorothy Kunhardt, 1940) 4. But Not the Hippopotamus (Sandra Boynton, 1982) 5. Guess how Much I Love You (Sam Mcbratney and Anita Jeram, 1994) 6. Corduroy (Don Freeman, 1968) 7. I Spy Little Animals (Jean Marzollo, 1998) 8. Too Big for Diapers (Random House and John E. Barrett, 2000) 9. Snuggle Puppy (Sandra Boynton, 2003) 10. The Foot Book (Dr. Seuss, 1968)	1. Where is my Friend? (Marcus Pfister, 1976) 2. Holes and Peeks (Ann Jonas, 1984) 3. Max's First Words (Rosemary Wells, 1979) 4. Family (Helen Oxenbury,1981) 5. Colors (Richard Scarry, 1968) 6. Larry Lion's Rumbly Rhymes (Giles Andreae and David Wojtowycz, 1996) 7. Hush Little Baby (Jeanette Winter, 1984) 8. Five Little Monkeys (Juliet Kepes, 1993) 9. Grandpa and Me (Neil Ricklen, 1988)

TODDLERS	1. The Carrot Seed (Rith Krauss and Crockett Johnson, 1960) 2. Mama, Do You Love Me? (Barbara M. Joosse and Barbara Lavallee, 1991) 3. The very Hungry Caterpillar (Eric Carle, 1981) 4. Blueberries for Sal (Robert McCloskey, 1948) 5. Green Eggs and Ham (Dr. Seuss and Adrian Edmondson, 1960) 6. Curious George (H.A. and Margaret Rey, 1941) 7. The Runaway Bunny (Margaret Wise Brown and Clement Hurd, 1972) 8. Goodnight Gorilla (Peggy Rathmann, 1994) 9. Chicka chicka Boom Boom (Bill Martin Jr., John Archambault, and Lois Ehlert, 1989) 10. Dr. Seuss's ABC (Dr. Seuss, 1960)	1. I'm Telling you Now (Judy Delton and Lillian Hoban, 1983) 2. The Good-bye Game (Diane Cocca-Spofford and Maryann Cocca-Leffler, 1998) 3. The Room (Mordicai Gerstein, 1984) 4. The Foolish Frog (Pete Seeger and Charles Seeger, 1973) 5. The Little Pandas (Dominique Airault, 1985) 6. Kids (Catherine and Laurence Anholt, 1992) 7. Grandpa (John Burningham, 1985) 8. The Animals go to the Supermarket (Alice-Boyd Proudfoot, 1977) 9. My Day (George Siede and Donna Preis, 1992) 10. What Animals Do (Richard Scarry, 1968)

PRESCHOOLERS	1. The Little Engine that Could (Watty Piper, 1954) 2. Harold and the Purple Crayon (Crockett Johnson, 1955) 3. Go Dog Go (P. D. Eastman, 1961) 4. If you Give a Mouse a Cookie (Laura Joffe Numeroff and Felicia Bond, 1985) 5. Where the Wild Things Are (Maurice Sendak, 1963) 6. Madeline (Ludwig Bemelmans, 1967) 7. The Cat in the Hat (Dr. Seuss, 1957) 8. The Giving Tree (Shel Silverstein, 1964) 9. Olivia (Ian Falconer, 2000) 10. The Mitten: A Ukrainian Folktale (Jan Brett, 1964)	1. Your Turn, Doctor (Deborah Robison and Carla Perez, 1982) 2. Where does the Sun Go at Night? (Mirra Ginsburg, Jose Aruego and Ariane Dewey, 1980) 3. The Witch who Lives Down the Hall (Donna Guthrie and Amy Schwartz, 1985) 4. Animals Should Definitely not Act Like People (Judi Barrett and Ron Barrett, 1980) 5. Here I Am, an Only Child (Marlene Fanta Shyer and Donald Carrick, 1985) 6. Libby's New Glasses (Tricia Tusa, 1984) 7. Something on my Mind (Nikki Grimes and Tom Feelings, 1978) 8. How the Sun was Brought Back to the Sky (Mirra Ginsburg, Jose Aruego and Ariane Dewey, 1975)

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