

باب الكتب الجديدة

التحليل النفسي والأنثروبولوجيا - تأليف ماري بوناپرت

Psychanalyse et Anthropologie, par Marie Bonaparte.

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قدم التحليل النفس في السنوات الأخيرة خدمات جليلة للعلوم الإنسانية وخاصة الأنثروبولوجيا والأثنوجرافيا . ومن طليعة الذين ساروا على هذا المنهج روهيم Rohcim و Seligman . وقد كان التحليل النفسي في البدء كشافاً لنفسية العصبيين ثم صار دراسة عامة للنفسية الإنسانية وخاصة في جانبها اللاشعوري ، واللاشعور كما ذهب فرويد يتكون من غرائز الحياة والعدوان ذات الأسس البيولوجية عند كل إنسان ومن آثار الطفولة الأولى ، ومن هنا كان للأسرة خطرها العظيم في تكوين الشخصية وكان لعقدة أوديب أثرها الفعال في توجيه السلوك ، وقد اختارت المؤلفة في هذا الكتاب عدداً من المقالات بينت فيها كيف تكمل التجربة الكلينيكية في التحليل النفسي الملاحظة الأثنوجرافية وتتكاتف معها في الكشف عن قوانين النفسية الإنسانية : كما عرضت لبعض المشكلات النفسية التي للتحليل النفسي أن يظهر دينامياتها . فمن ذلك حالة السيدة لوفيفر Mme Lefevre التي حكم عليها بالسجن المؤبد لقتلها زوجة ابنها وهي حامل في الشهر الخامس ولم يمكن للقضاء أن يعفيها من مسئولية جريمتها إذ كانت كاملة القوى العقلية ولم تكن تشعر بأى تردد أو ندم على جريمتها الشنعاء مما يدل على أن دوافعها اللاشعورية والأنا العليا كانتا على اتفاق تام وقد جعلها خاضعة تمام الخضوع لما تخليه عليها عاطفة الكراهية التي تأججت منذ سمعت بحمل زوجة ابنها وعلى ذلك فهي لم تكن تعمل إلا بوحى من الحتمية النفسية بينما تلاشت حرية الإرادة التي يعاقب القانون على أساس توفر وجودها عند المهتم . وفي مقالة أخرى عن « الرمزية في غنائم الرأس » " Du Symbolisme des trophées de tête " كشف التحليل من عادة كثير من الشعوب وصف الزوج المخدوع بالقرن للسخرة منه مع أن القرن ترمز في الأصل إلى الرجولة

والقوة ، ويتلخص الجانب الهزلى فى هذه الظاهرة فى أن نسبة القرون إليه هى من قبيل وصف الشئ بالصفة المساوية منه للسخرية به ، والذي يقوم بإظهار هذه الصفة هو الطرف الثالث أى المشاهد الذى يتحد بدور العشيقي وهنا تلعب عقدة أوديب دورها فتدفعه إلى إظهار الزوجة فى دور الأم وإظهار الزوج فى دور الأب البادى الرجولة وغرضه الأصلي من ذلك هو سلب هذه الصفة عنه . وفى مقالة ثالثة عرضت المؤلفة لذلك الانحراف الجنسى المعروف بالنكروفيليا *Nécrophilie* أو حب الموتى وقد ذكر جونز Jones أن من مظاهر هذا الانحراف اتصال الشخص بميت وأن هذا هو من قبيل التثبيت السادى فى المرحلة قبل التناسلية . ويهدف إلى امتلاك الأم ولكن بغير أن يصدر منه اعتداء . لذلك لا يصل المنحرف إلى بغيته إلا بعد أن يكون القدر أو الموت قد سبقه إليها ومن أنواع هذا الانحراف ما يظل كامناً متسامياً يظهر من انصاف موضوعات الحب بصورة المرض أو الموت كما يبدو فى مؤلفات إدجار آلان پو Edgar Poe .

وفى مقالة قيمة عن التفكير السحرى لدى البدائي نجد رأى فرويد واضحاً كما قد عرضه فى كتابه « التوتم والتابو » *Totem et Tabou* ، وقد اعتمد فرويد على المعلومات التى قدمها فريزر فى كتابه الغصن الذهبى *Le rameau d'or* فقد قسم فريزر السحر إلى نوعين ، السحر القائم على المحاكاة والتشابه *Magie homéopathique* وهو القيام بأفعال تشبه الحوادث المراد وقوعها ، ففى بعض جهات روسيا إذا أراد السكان سقوط المطر صعد ثلاث رجال فوق الأشجار ودق الأول أصواتاً تشبه الرعد وحك الثانى الأخشاب لإحداث شرر يشبه البرق ورش الثالث الماء من فوق الشجر . والنوع الثانى هو السحر الانتقالى *Magie contagieuse* وهو انتقال الأثر من الجزء إلى باقى أجزاء الشئ مثل استعمال قلامة الظفر أو خصلة الشعر للتأثير على صاحبها . وبناء على ذلك نرى أن السحر فى نوعيه على السواء يعتمد على قانون تداعى الأفكار بالتشابه أو بالاتصال فهو فى نظر فريزر محاولة أولى للفهم العلمى ولكن على أساس قوانين الفكر الإنسانى .

أما فرويد فيرى أن السحر هو تصور للعالم من وجهة نظر معينة *"Eine Weltanschauung"* ويرتبط بالزعة الحيوية التى تبث الأرواح فى أجزاء العالم « *L'animisme* » .

ويختلف فرويد مع فريزر حين يرى أن السحر ليس مرحلة أولى للتفكير العلمى

ولكنه طريقة عملية تُرضى رغبة الإنسان في السيطرة على الطبيعة ، فالإنسان يبحث دائماً على إرضاء غرائزه قبل أن يبدأ في التأمل والتفكير ، فالدافع الأصلي وراء أفعال السحر هو في الواقع شدة رغبة الإنسان في السيطرة على الطبيعة وتوجيهها لإرادته ونفسية البلماني في ذلك أقرب ما تكون إلى نفسية العصاة الانحصاري *Le névrosé obsessionnel* ، الذي تشتد دوافعه العدوانية ورغباته اللاشعورية الأمر الذي يزيد من آلامه وشعوره بالذنب إذا ما اصطدمت هذه الرغبات وحاسته الخلقية . وإذا ما تتبعنا مراحل تطور الإنسان الأنطوجيني *Ontogénique* (أى تطور الحياة الفردية من الناحية التركيبية والوظيفية) وتطوره الفيلوجيني *phylogénique* (أى التطور التاريخي للسلالة البشرية) لنعرف في أي مرحلة من هذه المراحل توجد العقلية السحرية وجدنا أن الإنسان في تطوره الأنطوجيني يمر أولاً بمرحلة التعشق الذاتي *L'autoérotisme* حين لا يتعلق الليبدو بموضوع معين بل يظل موزعاً على نفسه ثم يتخذ الطفل من ذاته موضوعاً لحبه في الدور الرجسي *Le narcissisme* وبعد ذلك يتجه الليبدو للموضوعات الخارجية ويقابل هذا التطور الفردي تطور آخر للإنسانية إذ أنها قد مرت أولاً بطور آمنت فيه بالأرواح الميثوثة في الكون *L'animisme* وهو الطور الذي ساد فيه السحر ثم ظهر بعد ذلك طور ساد فيه الاعتقاد بالدين التوتمي ، والتوتم يرمز إلى الأب وقد نشأ هذا الاعتقاد من أن الأب في الجماعة البدائية كان يتفرد بنساء القبيلة ولكن عند ما يكبر الأبناء ويشعر الأب أنهم سوف ينافسوه يطردهم ولكن هؤلاء يتحدوا ويقتلوه ولكنهم يشعرون بعد ذلك بالندم فيقدسونه في التوتم ويحرمون على أنفسهم أزواجه. ولكن إلى جانب هذه العقلية الدينية توجد أيضاً عند البدائيين نوع من المعرفة العلمية فليس ثم انفصال بين هذه الاتجاهات العقلية المختلفة ولكن نجد أن نوعاً معيناً من التفكير يسود في المراحل التاريخية المختلفة .

ويرى فرويد أن هناك ارتباطاً كبيراً بين مرحلة اعتقاد الإنسانية في السحر وبين المرحلة الرجسية عند الطفل ، فالطفل في هذه المرحلة يؤمن بقوة الهائلة على إرضاء ميوله حين يرى الأم تسرع في الاستجابة لمطالبه وكذلك ترى العقلية السحرية تؤمن بقوة تأثيرها على العالم وقدرتها على تسخير الطبيعة لمطالبها ، ولما تطورت الإنسانية إلى الطور الديني وحل الكاهن محل السامر وقامت الصلاة محل أفعال السحرة اضطرت الإنسان إلى الاستعانة بقوة الآلهة على إرضاء مطالبه ، وبذلك ظل مبدأ اللذة

اللاشعورى يجد مجالاً لثلبية مطالبه وطريقة للإشباع فى كلا المرحلتين السحرية والدينية ، ولكن عند ما بلغ الإنسان كمال النمو فى المرحلة العلمية تعلم كيف ينحى صاعراً لقوانين الطبيعة وبدأ يعرف أن قدرته على إرضاء ميوله محدودة فاضطر إلى أن يقهر مبدأ اللذة وتعلم أن يذعن للواقع وينمى نارجسيته وأثرته ويتعاون مع الآخرين للصالح العام .

وفى الواقع أن المؤلفة قد نجحت إلى حد كبير فى تأييد فكرتها التى تبدو للقارئ خلال مجموعة المقالات التى عرضتها لنا وهى أن التعليل المادى الاقتصادى لا يمكن وحده فى تفسير ظواهر علم الأثنوجرافيا وأنه لا بد من دراسة القوانين العامة التى توجه حياة الإنسان النفسية اللاشعورية المتأصلة فيه منذ القدم الأمر الذى جعل التحليل النفسى منهجاً لا غنى عنه لعلوم الإنسان وإعاد الثقة به كعلم ثابت حتى يمكن أن نقول على حد تعبير المؤلفة : « إن الكشف عن عقدة أوديب قد صار أكثر يقيناً من التنبؤ بتغيرات الإليكترون فى دورانه حول البروتون فى علم الفلك . »

أميرة حلمى

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Psychanalyse et Biologie, Par Marie Bonaparte ; Presses

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هذا الكتاب كالكتاب السابق للمؤلفة نفسها ظهر فى مجموعة « مكتبة التحليل النفسى وعلم النفس الإكلينيكى » وهى إحدى المجموعات الحديثة التى تنشرها دار المطابع الجامعية بفرنسا .

جمعت ماري بوناپرت فى هذا الكتاب ست عشرة مقالة من المقالات العديدة التى نشرتها فى المجلات العلمية . تتناول الفصول الأربعة الأولى دراسات فى سيكولوجية المراهقة وفى بعض مظاهر الغريزة الجنسية عند المرأة كدراسة ما قد يعترى هذه الغريزة من فتور ورفض أو ما تنصف به طبيعة المرأة من نزعة إلى الخضوع والسلبية والملازمية ؛ وتربط المؤلفة بين هذه المظاهر والخصائص وبين ما تنصف به أعضاء المرأة من تركيب وشكل ؛ وهى تنتقل من دراسة موضوع الفتور الجهنسى إلى

موضوع المازوخية بعقد فصل قصير عما تشعر به المرأة من خوف وجزع بل من قلق وحصر نفسى أمام مطالب العزيرة الجنسية وظروف تنشيطها .
ولتوضيح هذه المواقف التي تقفها المرأة من الأمور الجنسية تنجبه ماري بونابرت في الفصل الخامس إلى دراسة الكائنات الحية في صورها الوضيعة مبينة كيف يقاوم الكائن الحي كل محاولة للاعتداء عليه وتمزيقه وتنهي من دراساتها المقارنة إلى تقرير وجود عقدة ثانية تصاحب عقدة الحياء وهي عقدة الثقب .

أما الفصل السادس فهو نص المحاضرة التي ألقها ماري بونابرت في السربون في مايو بمناسبة احتفال فرويد ببلوغه الثمانين . والغرض من هذه المحاضرة بيان أن التحليل النفسى هو في آن واحد طريقة للعلاج وطريقة للوقاية من الأمراض النفسية وأخيراً أنه أصبح علماً قائماً على بحوث جماعة دولية من العلماء في مشارق الأرض ومغاربها . وفي خاتمة هذه المحاضرة دعوة إلى الأمل والتفاؤل : لا يمكننا أن نوجه غرائزنا ونسيطر عليها إلا بعد الوقوف على طبيعتها ، فالمهندس لا يمكنه أن يبني السد إلا إذا عرف أولاً شدة ضغط المياه فالعقل لا يسيطر إلا على ما يعرفه معرفة دقيقة مستقصاة . وهذا يذكرنا بقول الفيلسوف الإنجليزي فرنسيس بيكون : لا يمكن السيطرة على الطبيعة إلا بعد الخضوع لها ، أى بعد الكشف عن القوانين التي تكشف عن كنه ظواهرها .

ويلى هذا الفصل عشرة فصول قصيرة في موضوعات متنوعة مستوحاة معظمها من الطبيعة . وتبرز المؤلف في هذه المقالات سعة ثقافتها ودقة حسها الأدبى وعمق تفكيرها العلمى . ويؤدى هذا الكتاب كأمثاله في الكتب التي تضم مجموعة من المقالات المنشورة في عدة مجالات خدمة جليلة للقراء . فقد تضخم اليوم الإنتاج العلمى في ميادين علم النفس المتعددة بحيث أصبح من المجال على القارىء بل على الباحث المتخصص الاطلاع على كل ما ينشر من بحوث في مجال تخصصه . وقد عمت هذه الطريقة في الجمع والنشر في الولايات المتحدة حيث تنشر الحوليات في مختلف فروع التحليل النفسى وما يتصل به من علوم إنسانية أخرى .

مصطلحات علم النفس — نشره هنرى بيرون بمعاونة « جماعة المشتغلين بالعلم »
باريس ١٩٥١ — ٣٥٧ صفحة .

Vocabulaire de la Psychologie. Publié avec la collaboration de l'Association des Travailleurs Scientifiques. Presses Universitaires de France. Paris, 1951. Pp. 357.

هذا هو أول قاموس لمصطلحات علم النفس ينشر باللغة الفرنسية . ويرجع الفضل في نشره إلى عميد علم النفس التجريبي في فرنسا الأستاذ هنرى بيرون وأربعة عشر في المشتغلين بمختلف فروع علم النفس . ويسد هذا الكتاب فراغاً كان ملحوظاً في المكتبة الفرنسية ، فمنذ عام ١٩٢٢ كوّنت جمعية علم النفس الفرنسية لجنة لوضع قاموس المصطلحات السيكولوجية ولكن كان مصير هذه اللجنة ككثير في اللجان الرسمية الاكتفاء بوضع البرنامج دون الشروع في تنفيذه .

إن إشراف هنرى بيرون على إصدار هذا القاموس يتفق مع منطلق الأشياء إذ أنه يعمل في حقل العلوم السيكولوجية منذ بداية هذا القرن وربما هو السيكولوجي الوحيد في العالم الذي يحق له أن يدعى الاطلاع على معظم ما يكتب في علم النفس وذلك بفضل إشرافه على إصدار السنة السيكولوجية *L'Année Psychologique* منذ عام ١٩١٣ ، والواقع أن بيرون ساهم بالقسط الأكبر في وضع التعريفات خاصة لمصطلحات علم النفس الفسيولوجي وعلم النفس التجريبي وعلم النفس التطبيقي . أما مصطلحات علم النفس المرضى فقد عرفها الدكتور سيفادون في حين قام الدكتور لاجاش بتعريف مصطلحات التحليل النفسي . ويلاحظ بهذا الصدد أن الاتفاق لم يكن تاماً بين سيفادون ولاجاش ؛ فالأول ينتمي إلى المدرسة القديمة في الطب العقلي متجاهلاً إلى حد كبير ما أدخله التحليل النفسي من تجديد في نظرتنا إلى بعض الأمراض العقلية . وربما لا يعد هذا الاختلاف في المنهج عيباً إذ أن من وظيفة القاموس أن يعرف المصطلحات طبقاً للمعنى الذي يقصده واضعوها غير أن بعض تعليقات الدكتور سيفادون توحي بأنه يؤثر مدرسة على مدرسة أخرى وليس من وظيفة القاموس العلمي أن يكون مذهبي النزعة . ويبدو لنا أن مساهمة الدكتور سيفادون لم تكن دائماً موفقة كما يجب أن تكون فهو يخطئ في تعريف *Amentia* ومعناها أن يولد الشخص بدون عقل ويعتبرها ضرباً من *dementia* أى فقدان المريض لعقله بعد أن كان يتمتع به .

وكذلك نجده يعرف السيكوباتية على أنها مجرد مرض عقلي ولا يفتن إلى المعنى الجديد الذي اكتسبه هذا اللفظ في المؤلفات الانجليزية وكان من المفيد الإشارة إلى معنى اللفظ بالإنجليزية لأن بعض المؤلفين الفرنسيين يتأرون بالمعنى الفرنسي وهو المعنى الاشتقائي للكلمة عند قراءتهم للنصوص الانجليزية .

أما تعريفات الدكتور لاجاش في التحليل النفسي فهي جذيرة بثقتنا ، غير أن لفظ instance الذي كثر استعماله في مؤلفات المحللين الفرنسيين لم يرد ذكره في القاموس كما أن لاجاش عند تعريفه عقدة النقص Complexe d'infériorité لم يشر إلى الفرق بين مدلول العبارة عند فرويد ومدلولها الآخر عند أدلر . ووردت كلمة cathexis في القاموس وهي من الألفاظ الشائعة في التحليل النفسي ومعناها شحن موضوع ما بشحنة وجدانية جديدة تزيد في قيمته . وقد عرف هذا اللفظ بيرون على أنه من وضع تولمان الأمريكي في عام ١٩٤٩ والمقصود منه العلاقة القائمة بين الغرض وإشباع النزعة التي ترمى إلى هذا الغرض وكان من المنتظر أن يذكر لاجاش معنى هذا اللفظ كما استخدمه فرويد قبل تولمان بنصف قرن .

ومن الملاحظ أن بعض المصطلحات التي لا زلنا نقابلها في الكتب الحديثة لم يرد ذكرها في القاموس مثل Anaglyptoscope * الذي ورد في صفحة ٧١٥ من الطبعة الثانية لكتاب تاريخ علم النفس التجريبي لبورنج Boring المنشور سنة ١٩٥٠ والمعروف في قاموس علم النفس لوران Warren ولفظ Antonomasie الذي يشير إلى نوع في الأفيزيا وورد ذكره في كتاب حديث (١٩٥٠) لاووبردان Ombredane عن الأفيزيا (صفحة ١٢٧) .

غير أن هذا القاموس في مجموعه جدير بالإعجاب وليس من أقل مزاياه أن يكون متنقح الطبع إلى أقصى حد من حيث جودة الورق ووضوح الحروف وحسن اختيار أحجامها وأشكالها . وما يزيد من فائدة هذا المجهود العلمي الكبير الجداول الواردة في آخر الكتاب للمنظومات الإحصائية ومختلف الرموز المستخدمة في الاختبارات السيكلوجية وتحليل العوامل النفسية والعلوم الرياضية .

ي . م .

مناهج التطبيقات السيكولوجية : تأليف بيرون وبيشوو فافرج واشتترل .
باريس ١٩٥٢ - من ص ١٢٣ إلى ص ٣٣٩ .

Méthodologie Psychotechnique. Par H. Piéron, P. Pichot, J.-M. Faverge
et J. Stoetzel. Presses Universitaires de France Paris 1931. Pp. 123-339

هذا هو الجزء الثاني من كتاب علم النفس التطبيقي الذي صدر بإشراف الأستاذ هنرى بيرون . وقد سبق عرضت المجلة في عدد أكتوبر ١٩٤٩ للجزء الأول في سيكولوجية الفروق الفردية بعد أن ذكرت أسماء الأجزاء السبعة التي سيكون منها الكتاب عند اكتماله .

يعالج هذا الجزء مناهج البحث في علم النفس التطبيقي وهو ينقسم إلى أربعة فصول أطولها الفصل الأول (١١٩ صفحة) الذي كتبه هنرى بيرون في علم الأقيسة السيكولوجية Psychométrie . ويشتمل هذا الفصل على خمسة أقسام . يمهّد القسم الأول لدراسة طرق الاختبار في علم النفس بالإشارة إلى مختلف وسائل تقدير الامتحانات العادية وما بها من عيوب . ويتناول القسم الثاني الشروط التي يجب أن تتوفر في الاختبارات لكي تكون ثابتة صادقة . ثم يعرض المؤلف في القسم الثالث لدلالة الأقيسة السيكولوجية وطرق استخدامها . وبعد الإشارة إلى كبرى فئات الاختبارات يأتي في القسم الخامس عرض استقصائي لجميع أنواع الاختبارات من حسية وإدراكية وحركية وذهنية إلخ ويشتمل هذا الفصل على ٣٥ شكلاً . وقد خصص الفصل الثاني لاختبارات الشخصية وقد اهتم المؤلف الدكتور بيشو بالاختبارات الإسقاطية بوجه خاص .

أما الفصل الثالث فموضوعه الطرق الإحصائية وكيفية استخدامها في البحوث السيكولوجية . وقد أشار فافرج مؤلف هذا الفصل إلى طرق تحليل العوامل بعد أن استعرض طرق الإحصاء البسيطة .

ويتهى الكتاب بالفصل الرابع وموضوعه وسائل دراسة الرأي العام وطرق تطبيق هذه الوسائل في علم الاجتماع وعلم النفس الاجتماعي والدور الذي تؤديه معاهد الرأي العام وما تعقده هذه المعاهد من مؤتمرات دولية .

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I have used the term "social behaviour" to cover the whole field of personal interactions, including the earliest mother child relation. I have tried to show that we cannot afford to treat the supposedly cognitive realm of intellectual experiences, the learning of objects, space, time and language, from the orectic realm of inter- and intra- personal tension, conflict and enjoyment. It is only in language, and in analytical thought, that these aspects of mental life become separated. There may be some neuro-anatomical separation in the respective functions of the cortex and the thalamus, but since these areas perform in continuous inter-action the psycho neural *inner world* is always a blend of the two and its space is structured by both.

I have not attempted to treat these factors of space, time, language and intellect in a conventional or orthodox manner. I have not shown how the child's *concepts* of space and time mature, how his language develops nor how his intellectual capacity is determined. I have tried to stress the *inter-action* of these four factors. One of them in particular, viz: *language*, is an extremely variable social factor which markedly affects the development of the other three, and is completely subject to the linguistic capacities and habits and *policies* of the human environment. To me the recording of norms of achievement of children in these four factors is of less interest than the study of the means by which parents and teachers can, by deliberate policy, maximize the environmental opportunity and stimulation by which the growth of the child's inner world can be made rich and satisfying. If the child is to manoeuvre his way through the situational flux with zest and courage the early environmental challenge is of supreme importance. Let us see that his ship is well equipped and that his apparatus is in good working order. But let us also ensure that the waters provide plenty of challenges to keep him alert and moving.

G. Patrick Meredith

glossy toys, which parents and relatives like to provide, means considerably less to the child than the opportunity to explore pots, pans, cupboards, taps, grass, trees, worms, frogs and all the other resources of the real environment. He is hungry for the knowledge of the properties of matter. And thus he develops a labyrinth of fine structure in his inner space.

I have left the impact of social behaviour to the last because it is so fully dealt with by others. To relate this impact to the development of the inner space we might adapt the topological concepts of Kurt Lewin but his use of the term "space" is more metaphorical than mine. I should prefer to treat the development by extending the proprio-ceptive function. The proprio-ceptors report to the cerebrum on the pattern of every action performed by the body, from the grossest locomotion to the finest wink of the eye. Thus they cover the inner space with an exquisitely fine and intricate pattern of recorded movements, the basis of all our skills. Now in addition to all these muscular movements we have all manner of *mental operations* ceaselessly at work. There is a puzzle here which I have nowhere seen adequately discussed. I refer to the fact that *we can remember our own mental operations*. Ordinary memory of objective perceptions and external behaviour is not much of a puzzle: we assume that the impulses from the extero-ceptors and proprio-ceptors leave permanent traces in the nervous system. But how does the brain receive and retain the impressions of its own operations? This is such a special phenomenon that I have coined a special name for it. The impression made by a mental operation I call an *Entypism*. Whatever its explanation it is an important fact. Now we operate mentally on certain *operanda* and produce new mental *constructs*. For example the elder of two children sees the baby receiving favours of which he himself is deprived. These impressions are his *operanda*. By a rapid mental operation he evolves a pattern of action: "I will act like a baby". This pattern is a *construct*. The whole process is likely to be full of tension. The fact that the reaction is largely unconscious does not affect the issue. (We are very little aware of most of our proprio-ceptive impressions). A *movement of introjected mental contents* has occurred: a constructive operation has been performed and this will leave its own *entypism*. Every such entypism will contribute its quota of fine structure to the inner space. Those which are emotionally changed, like the example given, will leave structures which are, so to speak, deeply engraved. A mind with many conflicts will have an inner space like a battle-ground furrowed with trenches and pitted with shell holes. The inner space has to accommodate the structure of all the Freudian complexes and much else besides. It is the log book of the captain's journey through the situational flux.

capacity for perceiving the spatial forms of objects by a slow process of correlations between visual and tactile impressions and proprioceptive sensations from the eye-muscles, the hands, the tongue and the lips. As he starts to crawl, to walk, to run and to climb he builds up the larger space of distance, direction and elevation and comes to translate the visually foreshortened perspective space of his environment into the Euclidean space of bodily movement. Thus *movement* must be regarded as a principal generator of the inner space. I would suggest that precision in the structure of the inner space is one of the firmest foundations for adult rationality. I cannot prove this hypothesis nor can I elaborate it here but if it may be adopted as a working assumption it points to two practical consequences.

(i) the need for encouraging all the movement of which the infant is capable, within the limits of safety

(ii) the need for associating linguistic development with the child's movements.

The first of these recommendations speaks for itself and is justified on many grounds. The second needs a little explanation. Rignano has suggested that thinking may be regarded as *inner experimentation*. I would describe thinking more generally as the *introjection of bodily actions*. In the process of introjection language plays a crucial role. It enables actions to be given symbolical representation in the inner world, thus setting them free from the limitations of specific imagery. In so far as the child is helped by his parents to associate his own movements with precise verbs, adverbs and prepositions the introjections of these movements become precise *mental operations*.

Bodily actions include not only the whole range of locomotor actions of limbs and trunk but also the extremely varied actions of the hands in manipulating all that the environment offers — materials hard and soft, plastic and elastic, greasy and sticky, clean and dirty, inanimate, living and human, powders and liquids, froths and jellies, winds and flames, in all manner of interrelations and interactions — the fitting of lids on saucepans, of buttons into button-holes, the turning of handles and the pressing of switches, the folding of paper, the breaking of sticks, the rolling of cloth, the pouring of liquids — one could continue the list indefinitely. The quantity of self-pedagogy in which the child indulges in the early years is prodigious. He establishes all the experiential foundations of physics, chemistry, biology, sociology and mathematics. The problems of the parent are obvious — the dangers and accidents and wastage do not allow these problems to be ignored. But it is also important that the *opportunities* should not be ignored. I would say that the artificial environment of

objective space but on the space of the inner world. This space cannot be described in mathematical terms alone. True it *has* an objective determinant, viz: the perspective of the environment. There are also two other objective determinants. First, *gravity* which, when transferred to the inner space by means of its effects on experience (the effects of falling, and the effort needed to climb against gravity) gives the inner space a *vertical polarization*. The up-and-down direction is different from all others. And second, *light* which is almost always brighter in the upper half of the field of view than in the lower half. This reinforces the vertical polarization due to gravity but I am not aware of any researches into its specific effects. And to these a more subjective determinant, viz: the relative positions of the various portions of the human anatomy — the feet (which get dirty) at the base; the genital and excretory organs, sources of desire and shame; the stomach and heart, where emotions appear subjectively to be located; and, at the top, the calm controlling cerebrum. Anatomy reinforces the vertical polarization due to the physical determinants by an emotive and almost ethical component. This has a marked effect on language. We speak of *base* motives and *lefty* ideals. We *sink* into iniquity or our spirits *rise*. If by some means we could conduct research into the inner space of the ancient Greeks and the ancient Hebrews I would hazard a guess that the space of the latter would be found to be far more intensely polarized in the *vertical* direction, whilst the Greeks would show much greater freedom of *lateral* mental movement. The reasons for this guess will be obvious in the religion and science of the two races.

Modern physics has accustomed us to the thought that space is not the empty featureless void of Newtonian doctrine. It is structured by gravitational gradients and electromagnetic forces and waves. We have some precedent, then, for formulating a conception of a *structured inner space*. Indeed the neural basis of psychological states would of itself compel us to locate these states in a highly structured space. I have tried to show that the *location* of the body in the environment, the *anatomy* of the body itself and the *receptor-connections* of the surface, the viscera and the motor organs with the cortex, between them provide certain guides to the gross structure of the inner space. Clues to the detailed structure — and here we come nearer to our central subject, the child, of whom we might appear to have lost sight — are to be found in *physical movement* and in *social behaviour*. We have learnt from the experiences of congenitally blind persons whose sight has been operatively restored that the *visual* perception of shape is not the instantaneous process which normal adults suppose. It takes months of painful learning. We are safe in assuming that the infant builds up his

on to an "empty screen". The screen is already patterned by memory and fantasy.

This "inner world" may be regarded as the modern conceptual successor to the "stream of consciousness" of William James. Today we are more impressed by the role of the unconscious. And we have more precise axes of description on which to plot the contours of the inner world.

Occupying an apparently intermediate position between the environment and the inner world is the child's own body. This provides the sensory instruments by which the outer world is known and the motor apparatus by which manœuvres are performed. But in addition it makes three other contributions to the life of the inner world. First a good deal of the surface of the body is directly visible to its owner and all of it is within range of manual contact. Second, the *intero-ceptors*, i.e. the internal sense-organs by which the processes in all the internal organs report themselves to the autonomic and central nervous systems, give a general *tone* to the inner world, a tone which may be mellow or harsh, calm or restless, exuberant or painful, a tone which saturates everything on the screen whether objective or subjective in origin. We all know what it is to take a "jaundiced" view of things or to look at life through "rose-coloured spectacles". Third, the *proprioceptors* by which the muscles, tendons, joints and semi-circular canals report to the brain on their own actions and on the spatial orientation of the body, are of particular importance in relation to the *space of the inner world* and I shall revert to them later, for they concern the detailed structure of this space. The broader features are provided by the relation of the environmental perspective to the body-surface. The latter provides a more or less constant spatial framework bearing a peculiarly intimate relation to the ego. This framework serves as the focus for the *perspective of the spatial environment*. The introjections of the body-surface, and of the environment, on to the screen of the inner world are related in a way which lays the foundation of an *inner space*. This inner space has very different properties from those of the environmental space which in turn is different from those of total physical space. This latter difference is a mathematical one which does not concern us here. What concerns us is the introjection of the perspective space of the environment on to the screen of the inner world. We could learn a good deal about this from the symbolic use of space by artists. In so far as the artist uses perspective he is merely portraying the environment. But when he resorts to vertical lines to suggest aspiration or resurgence, horizontals to suggest quiescence and peace and diagonals to suggest action or downfall, as well as in his use of curves, grouping and other spatial devices, he is tacitly relying not on

equilibrium of his "milieu interne", and all, therefore, demanding appropriate manoeuvres on his part.

The child's task is complicated by the circumstance that, unlike the captain who can distinguish perfectly between his charts, which are static, and his radar screen which presents mobile images, he — the child — has an inner world in which active memory-traces and current sensory impressions blend into a composite dynamic view in which past and present are inextricably confused — rather as if the ship's monkey had seized the charts and was playing with them inside the radar apparatus. It is worse than this, for many of the charts are artistic works of fabrication, not scientific works of cartography.

One important aspect of this analogy is that it brings out the point that the child does not adjust his behaviour in relation to the outer world but in relation to his inner world. The captain responds to the images on the radar-screen not directly to the enemy ships. This point was brought out by Koffka in his account of "the behavioural environment". But I think Koffka was inadequate in his account of "the geographical environment". If we are going to use the word "environment" to refer to the totality of physical and geographical facts the word becomes too wide to have any precise use. Further, it is confusing to speak of the "behavioural environment" when referring to something which is essentially a psycho-neural pattern *within* the organism. The subjective and the objective become hopelessly mixed. The word "environment" is sufficiently useful to be worth an effort at clarification. Out of the totality of physical facts surrounding the organism there is a certain selection which is potentially *relevant* to the organism. Everything outside this selection may be described as "below the threshold of relevance". By "relevance" I mean *capacity for evoking behavioural responses*. For example cosmic rays are part of the physical surroundings but they are not part of the "environment" in the foregoing sense except in the case of a physicist who has instruments for detecting them. Any effect they have on the organism is a bio-physical effect which he cannot avoid and to which he cannot respond. Thus the *environment*, whilst objective in content, is delimited in scope by the needs and capacities of the organism. This is different from Koffka's "behavioural environment". And I think it is nearer to the popular use of the term "environment".

Thus for any given organism we have :

- (i) the *totality of objective facts* some relevant, most irrelevant;
- (ii) the *environment*, i.e. the selection of relevant facts;
- (iii) the *inner world* which includes the introjection of the environment by perceptual processes but much more besides. The introjection is not

and amplify the self-initiated achievements of the individual child. But as a matter of convenience I shall deal with the latter alone in the remainder of the present talk, reserving educational efforts for discussion in my second talk.

II. — THE CHILD'S INNER WORLD

In discussing the inner achievements of the child in mastering his environment we are faced with many difficulties. Every psychological term which we might be tempted to use is confused by a long history of controversy, e.g. *reaction*, *instinct*, *libido*, *unconscious*, *ego*, etc. I cannot hope to make statements which shall be both worth stating and uncontroversial. But I do not consider it my function here to make dogmatic statements. Rather is it my task to promote the kind of questioning which may lead to fruitful thinking. But we must have some kind of framework within which to formulate our questions. I shall establish this framework about two concepts which I am going to call the *environmental challenge* and the *situational manoeuvre*.

Let me explain these concepts by means of a simile. Imagine a naval vessel steaming through enemy-infested waters. It is dark but the captain has a radar-screen giving him information about his surroundings. He also has charts showing the permanent features of the area. His task is to get through the area safely, repelling any attacks which may develop, but not attacking without provocation. What appears on the radar-screen, considered in relation to his own position and speed, defines a *situation*. In so far as it calls for action on his part it constitutes a *challenge*. He must respond by an appropriate manoeuvre. The appropriateness is relative not only to the nature of the challenge but also to his own position, his speed and direction, his weapons and his reserves of power. He takes the appropriate action. The situation is resolved. But now a new situation develops, another challenge. A further appropriate action is called for, appropriate to the new disposition of forces. He performs a second manoeuvre. And so it goes on. The whole voyage is a journey through a *situational flux*. We may regard this picture as a dramatization of the child's temporal passage through his flux of environmental situations, with the necessary reservations attaching to all analogies. For charts he has a store of *memory-traces*. For radar-screen he has an *inner world* of multi-sensory experiences. For speed he has a certain momentum of behavioural processes. The environment is offering him a continual sequence of fluctuating challenges, not all necessarily dangerous in a biological sense but all disturbing the

The other great word-generating factor in the environment is *quality*. The colours, sounds, shapes, tastes, smells, virtues, dangers and so on, which give the environment its experiential qualities produce the whole family of *adjectives*. Here again an act of isolation is required, for qualities never occur alone but always in attachment to bodies. The isolation, however, of, e.g. *green* from apple, leaf, grass, etc., is more easy and direct than the isolation of the spatial and temporal adverbs and prepositions already discussed, and presents no special difficulties so far as the more purely physical qualities are concerned. Qualities with an ethical implication, however, such as *good, naughty, careful*, etc., bring us right up against the concrete fact that language is an important component in the mechanism by which the adult imposes his own code of ethics, whether crude or refined, on the developing character of the child. For these adjectives are not purely descriptive, they express adult *evaluations*. Moreover in use they seldom express any lofty ethic consciously thought out in the quiet of the evening or in church but the *operative ethic* of the adult's actual character as revealed in the particular situation. Thus the child learns not what the parent would like him to learn of ideal ethics but the ethics of the actual situation in which child and adult are involved. The meanings which the child comes to attach to ethical adjectives are the meanings implicit in their use in that situation. For that is the way all meanings are learnt in the early stages of linguistic development. Perhaps this is merely an elaborate way of saying that "actions speak louder than words" but the point is that words gain their meanings from actions.

We see, then, that we have an environment of unfolding events in which the distinguishable factors of space, time, quality, language, intellect and character can be isolated in thought though all conjoined in the fact. Many more factors would have to be included in a comprehensive study but these are enough to suggest the complexity of the problem of adjustment which faces the developing human organism. What remains to be discussed, viz: how the child deals with the task, will be examined in the light of two considerations of fundamental significance. The first is that the child *is* an organism — with all that this implies — and not a mere bundle of cybernetic mechanisms. The second is that the environment is not altogether indifferent nor blindly hostile — though indifferent and hostile factors are present in plenty. It contains a large component of deliberate and mostly benevolent *contrivance*. The child is in a home, a family, community, a state. He does not face his problem alone. The mother's care in the home, the clinical provisions in the health services and the educational services of state or private organization, all supplement

one important division of language is determined by the spatial factor of the environment.

A second division of language, namely the verb, is derived from the temporal factor. The real environment is not static, it is a sequence of events. "Time" is a way of referring to the fact that any two events either happen together or happen one after the other, with or without some overlap. But if the environment has already been segregated into distinct bodies these "events" are seen as interactions between bodies. The mother pours the milk. The cup falls on the floor. The cat jumps on the chair. These are events seen as performances by bodies. And an early generalization takes place when *father* pours the milk, the *doll* falls on the floor or the *dog* jumps on the chair. *Performances* are conceptually separated from *performers* and the *verb* is born, expressing *actions* independently of particular *agents*.

The temporal factor and the spatial factor also bring other linguistic developments, viz: adverbs and prepositions such as *now*, *here*, *tomorrow*, *far away*, *after*, *behind*, *near*, *through*, etc. Mankind required many thousands of years of linguistic development to achieve the conceptual isolation of these relations from the flux of events. The words which express these abstractions are mastered by the individual child in the first three years of life. Objectively this can be attributed to the continuous interplay between the linguistic, the spatial and the temporal factors in his environment, i.e. the continual use of these spatial and temporal adverbs and prepositions by his parents in the spatial and temporal contexts to which they apply. But there is always something of a subjective miracle in the ability of a 3-year-old brain to perform these feats of complex apprehension and isolation and correctly to use the appropriate adverb or preposition when the next analogous context occurs. It is important to appreciate what goes on here. Parents who try to over-simplify the process by indulging in baby-talk are depriving the child of the hard crusts of linguistic stimulus on which his intellectual teeth should be toughened. At the same time we must bear in mind that a distressingly large number of parents — even those who have had plenty of educational advantages — indulge in habitually slovenly speech not only as regards pronunciation but also as regards syntax. We may ask whether it is not possible to extend the revolution which has taken place in the dietetic and medical education of mothers, through the work of clinics and health visitors, into the linguistic field. If the mother could appreciate that she herself is the child's first language-teacher with a fundamental influence on all his subsequent schooling, might she not respond to *linguistic guidance* as she already responds to dietetic and clinical guidance? The possibility is worth investigating.

the child, the specifics of the "reality principle" with which his thinly protected ego must come to terms or disintegrate? Only by answering this question can we begin to formulate the central problem to which his development must provide the solution. His intellect, of course, will play an increasing part in working out the solution but only as an uneasy leader of an army of other forces. Intellect enters our theme, however, by another route: it is one more factor in the environment. The child is surrounded by other human beings who, however unreasonable, do, nevertheless, exert intellect. The environment is not merely an aggregate of bodies — it is, as it were, a live chess-board in which self-determined moves of some degree of rationality are made. The child finds that part of his problem of living is a problem of *predicting*, and that whilst intuitive mechanics enables him to predict the movement of inanimate bodies, and intuitive biology foretells to some extent the behaviour of cats and dogs, he must perforce become an intuitive psychologist and logician to predict the actions of human beings. Thus intellect assumes the role of an environmental force to which adjustment is necessary.

There are many more features of the environment but these four — space, time, language and intellect — have been given me as my universe of discourse and, indeed, they provide more than enough matter for discussion. I have so far displayed them as factors of the environment. I have now to show their modes of ingression into the inner world of the nascent mind. But first a few words concerning their *inter-relations* while still regarded as environmental factors.

Space assumes a quasi-independent existence only when time is ignored. It expresses certain features of the environment when the latter can be regarded as static. (But not all features, for there is one important feature, viz: *quality* of which I have said nothing). Space is commonly associated with the notion of *extension*. It is more satisfactory to develop our concept of space from the notion of *discreteness*. The environment consists of a multiplicity of distinguishable parts or bodies. Each body is discrete, i.e. it has a bounding surface. This surface defines its form and separates it from other bodies or from the intervening medium. The form is apprehended by seeing and handling, sensori-motor events which take time and we see already that space cannot be divorced from time. The infant explores shapes with his fingers, his mouth and his eyes and builds up conceptions of form which are quite as much tactile and proprioceptive as visual. And thus a world of discrete objects segregates itself for him. As development proceeds these acquire names. These names provide the first *nouns* (or "substantives") of his language. We may say then that

in the air and auditory mechanisms. Or there are writing, marks on paper, and reading. To the linguist, the phonetician, the scholar, these are perhaps sufficient. These things constitute language. But to the anthropologist and the psychologist language is part of a total pattern of behavioural interaction between persons. In this pattern is involved the social history of the group which evolved the language, a history which largely determines the meanings of the words. There are also the mental state, intention and attitude of the speaker, his bearing, his gestures, his relation to the hearer, the context of the situation which has stimulated the utterance, and the attitude and response of the hearer. All these could be analysed in multitudinous detail. All participate in the speech-occasion, or, *mutatis mutandis*, in the occasion of written communication. Now it is important that we should not fall into the error of inverted abstraction. It is probably true that our recognition of all these factors has come late and that for a long time language was regarded as that which grammarians dealt with. The history of knowledge is largely a movement from the abstract to the concrete. But the history of *fact* is concrete throughout and it is only in our language and intellect that the abstract takes shape. Thus the *facts* of linguistic development in the child are rich in concrete detail of emotion, intention, need, gesture, human relations, objective situations, in a word *contextual completeness*. Actual words, at an early age, may be so imperfect as to be unrecognizable to a linguist yet perfectly understood *in their context* by the mother. But language, by its very nature, early begets a *consciousness of language*, a consciousness of far greater precision than the consciousness of gesture, facial expression, etc., which reach comparable control only in the professional actor. Language is used not only for talking about objects but also for talking about language itself, whereas gesture cannot discuss gesture, expression cannot discuss expression. Thus language soon emerges as a quasi-independent stream of development. And whilst it brings all the rich possibilities of social intercourse this very fact makes it potentially another tyranny. For any slowness or defect of development imposes an obvious and tragic handicap on the child in relation to his more normal fellows.

We could spend a very long time discussing language and its importance in the development of the child. The only aspect I would stress at the moment is the view of language as a dynamic factor in the child's environment. He grows in an environment of significant and articulate sound. As the fish is enveloped by water the child is enveloped by language.

It will be appreciated that I am adopting a centripetal approach. I am asking: what are the various environmental factors converging on

shape, and certain capacities for movement. He is held, by gravity, to the earth's surface, or to some artificial support such as floor, bed, chair or pram which stands on the earth's surface. At any given moment he is surrounded by material bodies such as bed-clothes, furniture, carpet, walls, doors, windows, or perhaps grass and trees, as well as human beings, dogs, cats, birds, insects, etc., and perhaps by flowers, and other plants, or by books, pictures, toys, kitchen utensils and so forth. These bodies are all extended in space and many of them are capable of movement. In any case the child must move in order to reach them. It is this fact which gives rise to the problem of spatial development in his mentality. Space is not a self-sufficient entity but one kind of abstraction from the series of events which constitute the development of the human being.

Another kind of abstraction is time. Beginning with a simple alternation of feeding and sleeping the events of development unfold into ever more diversified happenings. Some of these recur with fairly rhythmic regularity. Day and night, meals, baths, and — according to family habit — a few more events such as father's return from work, all these are punctuations in the time-line and provide a first time-scale against which the more irregularly occurring episodes are placed and measured. This "measurement" is rough and uncertain at first but becomes increasingly precise, especially when language enters the range of experience and introduces temporal terms such as "after breakfast", "bed-time", "tomorrow", "yesterday", "soon" and the like. Time becomes increasingly articulated until in school and adult life in our mechanized western civilization all our actions are tyrannically tied to a framework of clocks, calendars, timetables, diaries and appointments. This tyranny closes in on the child all too soon, reinforced by the intrusion of rigidly scheduled radio and television programmes into the home, patterning our most intimate domestic life. Here, then, we have the problem of temporal development, i.e. the articulation of the child's mental time and of his temporal language so as to engage in the gears of his environment. Hamlet's inability to act on the ghost's bidding at the moment presented by the environment may be viewed as a dislocation of subjective time from objective time. Hamlet projected his neurosis outwards "the time is out of joint — oh cursed spite, that ever I was born to set it right". Do we recognize sufficiently the tyranny exerted by objective time on the developing mind striving to follow its own flow and rhythm? We must revert to this point presently.

Our third abstraction is language. Why do I call it an abstraction? Because language never occurs by itself. We single out the linguistic aspect of intercourse between persons. There are vocal operations, sound waves

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THE SPACE, TIME, LANGUAGE AND INTELLECT
OF THE YOUNG CHILD*

By

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I. THE CHILD'S OUTER WORLD

In spreading knowledge of the newer sciences, such as psychology, there is a common tendency to overstress new theories and to understress old facts. This is probably because new theories are generally somewhat dramatic and can therefore command a readier hearing — especially if they are provocative. With audiences of theoreticians the stress on new theories may be justified but to those concerned with urgent practical problems a firm insistence on important facts will be of more value. Theories can, indeed, help — so long as they are theories of the right kind. There are many orders of theory, some concerned with selectively tracing speculative causal chains through networks of complex fact, others concerned rather with re-organizing known facts into more stimulating patterns of presentation. As far as possible I shall be guided by this latter kind of theory in presenting my remarks on space, time, language and intellect, a policy made all the more necessary by the theoretical temptations evoked by the very words of my title.

What sorts of facts, then, are relevant to the space, time, language and intellect of the child? They are so simple and obvious that at first sight they appear trivial. The child has a body which has a certain size and

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