

How to Foster Toddlers' Mental-State Talk, Emotion Understanding, and Prosocial Behavior: A Conversation-Based Intervention at Nursery School

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Recent years have seen the development and implementation of a range of training programs aimed at improving children's socio-emotional skills. Nevertheless, few studies have been conducted with toddlers attending nursery school. In this study, we adopted observational and experimental paradigms to examine the efficacy of an intervention based on conversing about emotions with small groups of 2- to 3-year-old children. The intervention was designed to promote toddlers' mental-state talk, emotion understanding (EU), and prosocial behavior. The training group significantly outperformed the control group in the use of mental-state language, especially emotional-state lexicon, EU, and prosocial behavior toward peers. There was also a significant Group \times Age interaction, with the older training group participants displaying greater gains in EU than the younger ones. We discuss the theoretical and practical implications of these findings.

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This study met the approval of the Ethics Committee of the University of Milano-Bicocca (Italy).

Over the past three decades, a vast number of studies have focused on how children develop social cognition, a theoretical construct encompassing a range of cognitive abilities such as understanding emotions, desires, thoughts, beliefs, and other inner states, as well as verbal and socio-emotional skills (Carpendale & Lewis, 2006). The development of social cognition has mainly been investigated in relation to theory-of-mind and emotion understanding (EU). Theory-of-mind (ToM) is the ability to comprehend epistemic inner states such as belief and false belief, while EU involves a range of competencies, all related to recognizing and understanding one's own and others' emotional and affective states (Astington, Harris, & Olson, 1988; Doherty, 2009).

Children's developing EU has received considerable attention in the literature over recent decades (Harris, 2008), given that it is essential both for competent social relationships and for psychological well-being; in addition, EU has been identified as a key prerequisite for a range of adaptive behaviors related to school readiness (Denham, 2007). EU is the main topic of the present study, in which we set out to investigate the effect of an innovative conversational intervention on toddlers' EU and prosocial behavior in the context of nursery school. Observational research has shown that infants as early as 14 months can use the facial emotional cues provided by an adult to interpret unfamiliar situations (Klinnert, Emde, Butterfield, & Campos, 1986). Very young children also recognize sadness and distress on the part of adults and peers (Hepach, Vaish, & Tomasello, 2013) and display a propensity to offer comfort. Interestingly, from 20 months they begin to use the *emotional lexicon* (understood as a subset of mental-state language) to refer to their own and others' emotions, producing utterances such as "Daddy happy..., Mary afraid... me sad..." (Bartsch & Wellman, 1995).

The relationship between child–adult talk and children's emotion understanding

Numerous longitudinal studies investigating the correlates of EU have reported a relationship between adult talk, discussion and conversation about emotion early in development, and children's later EU.

Pioneering study of Dunn, Brown, and Beardsale (1991) assessed 1- to 3-year-olds, finding that children from families in which desires and feelings were frequently discussed were more likely to succeed on emotion comprehension tasks some months later. Children's talk about mental states with friends and mothers also predicts improvements in their EU (Hughes & Dunn, 1998; Ruffman, Slade, & Crowe, 2002; Taumoepeau & Ruffman, 2006, 2008). In addition, mothers' early use of cognitive verbs in

picture-book reading correlates with children's later understanding of emotional states (Adrià, Clemente, & Villanueva, 2007), while mothers' explanations of emotional states in conversation predict children's later emotion comprehension (Garner, Jones, Gaddy, & Rennie, 1997; Laible, 2004). More recently, Doan and Wang (2010) conducted a study with a sample of European American and immigrant Chinese children and their mothers. Using a story-reading paradigm, they found that, regardless of culture, mothers' discussion of emotions predicted children's EU at age 3 years. Taken all together, the studies just reviewed suggest that the deployment of psychological language, especially emotional-state lexicon, in child-adult interaction is a key factor in the development of children's emotion knowledge and comprehension (Ornaghi & Grazzani, 2013).

In addition to correlational investigations, training studies have been conducted to explore how to enhance children's emotion comprehension, a key competence for social adjustment that is related to peer acceptance and popularity (Harris, 2008), school readiness and academic achievement (Denham, Bassett, & Zinsser, 2012), and advanced social skills such as prosocial orientation (Eggum et al., 2011).

One line of intervention studies has tested evidence-based programs, which are designed to promote socio-emotional abilities and conducted by appropriately trained teachers. For instance, Izard, Trentacosta, King, and Mostow (2004) developed the *Emotion Course* aimed at improving the emotion knowledge of preschoolers from low-income families. Children in the intervention group displayed increased emotion comprehension and decreased negative emotion expression with respect to the control group. Similarly, Domitrovich, Cortes, and Greenberg (2007) found a 9-month teacher-implemented intervention targeting preschoolers' emotion comprehension and social competence to yield a positive effect.

In parallel with this line of inquiry, the area of research centered around the *conversational hypothesis* has examined how the mechanism of conversation in everyday interactional contexts enhances children's emotional and social competence from early in development (Ornaghi, Brockmeier, & Grazzani Gavazzi, 2011; de Rosnay & Hughes, 2006). For instance, Tenenbaum, Alfieri, Brooks, and Dunne (2008) conducted a training study with 5- to 8-year-olds, finding that explanatory conversations facilitated their EU. In a training study with preschoolers, Van Bergen, Salmon, Dadds, and Allen (2009) encouraged mothers in an experimental group to label their child's emotions and discuss the causes of emotion during reminiscing conversations. Six months later, the children of these mothers produced a greater number of causes in an emotion-cause-knowledge task than their peers in the control condition.

In line with this conversational and pragmatic hypothesis, Grazzani, Gavazzi, and Ornaghi (2011) conducted a training study based on the assumption that *active* use of mental-state terms in everyday conversation would improve preschoolers' understanding of internal states. The training was focused on emotional-state talk and had a positive effect on children's comprehension of emotion, especially at 3 years of age. In a recent study with a sample of families from low SES backgrounds, Aram, Fine, and Ziv (2013) demonstrated the potential of shared reading to elicit richer conversations between parents and children and enhance the latter's social cognition abilities. Finally, significant effects of interventions focused on adult-children storybook reading and subsequent language exchanges and conversations have been found in studies with preschool (Ornaghi, Grazzani, Cherubin, Conte, & Piralli, 2015) and primary school (Ornaghi, Brockmeier, & Grazzani, 2014) children. The authors reported that conversing on the expression, causes, and regulation of emotion had a significant effect on the EU of children in the experimental groups.

Overall, the findings of the training studies just outlined demonstrate that conversational activities, which involve commenting on, explaining, and discussing emotion states, lead to gains in children's EU. This in turn suggests that conversation is a powerful mechanism for psychological development (Turnbull, Carpendale, & Racine, 2009).

Emotion understanding and prosocial behavior

Emotion understanding has been found to increase concurrently with positive social actions, particularly prosocial behavior (Eisenberg, Fabes, & Spinrad, 2006), throughout the first years of life. Prosocial behavior is generally defined as voluntarily acting to promote others' well-being, often out of a sense of caring and concern. It encompasses a broad class of voluntary actions including helping, sharing, comforting, informing, and cooperating, all of which share the underlying intention to benefit another individual (Brownell, Svetlova, & Nichols, 2009; Dunfield & Kuhlmeier, 2013). Displays of prosocial behavior are occasional in the first 2 years of life but increase thereafter in line with overall psychological development (Hay & Cook, 2007).

Relatively few studies have explored the link between EU and prosocial behavior in toddlers and preschoolers. A pioneering study by Denham (1986) showed correlations between emotion knowledge and prosocial actions in 2- to 3-year-old children. Recent years have seen the emergence of a more systematic interest in this relationship. For example, Ensor and Hughes (2005) collected maternal ratings of prosocial behavior (such as helping or comforting), finding significant correlations between this

measure and toddlers' performance on an emotion-understanding task. Similarly, Ensor, Spencer, and Hughes (2011) identified strong associations between emotion comprehension at 3 years and prosocial behavior at 4 years, even after controlling for the effect of verbal ability, which is known to be related to both. Farrant, Devine, Maybery, and Fletche (2012) conducted a large-scale research project with Australian children, using both maternal ratings and suitable assessment tasks; they identified significant relationships among preschoolers' empathy, prosocial behavior, and EU. Moreover, in a longitudinal study with 3- to 5-year-olds, Eggum et al. (2011) found that EU predicted children's prosocial orientation over time. In support of this, Ornaghi et al. (2015) recently reported that an intervention based on storybook reading followed by conversation on emotions had a positive effect on both EU and prosocial orientation in preschoolers. Finally, Cigala, Mori, and Fangareggi (2015) found that children with greater perspective-taking skills, including cognitive and emotional components, were also more inclined to behave prosocially during peer interactions.

The current study

The study presented here was carried out using both an experimental and an observational paradigm. It was designed to assess the efficacy of a conversation-based intervention in enhancing 2- to 3-year-old children's mental-state talk, EU, and prosocial behavior, and offers a number of original features with respect to existing intervention studies based on storybooks and conversation on mental states.

First, we conducted our research in an extrafamilial educational context, the infant-toddler center, while most of the studies reviewed above took place at home, with the primary emphasis on mother-child interaction during and after story reading. Second, our intervention involved planned interactions between an educator and small groups of four to six children, as opposed to dyadic interaction between an adult/caregiver and an individual child. This was with a view to also fostering an exchange of perspectives among children. A third novel feature was the active participation of trained teachers: Intervention in educational contexts is often conducted by outside experts, with the disadvantage that teachers/educators may not adopt it as part of their daily practice. Finally, our intervention targeted children aged between 2 and 3 years, a young age group that has traditionally not been involved in training studies.

Thus, the principal aim of our study was to test the effect of a conversation-based intervention, conducted with small groups of children at nursery school, on toddlers' development of socio-emotional skills, while

controlling for language ability, and examining the role of age and gender. With regard to age, between 2 and 3 years key socio-emotional and cognitive development takes place (Denham, 1998; Dunfield, Kuhlmeier, O'Connell, & Kelley, 2011; Hughes, 2011) that impacts on the abilities investigated in the present study. Concerning gender, the literature reports no key differences in EU, but conflicting findings in relation to prosocial behavior: In some studies, females displayed more positive conduct than males (e.g., Eggum et al., 2011; Eisenberg et al., 2006; Newton, Goodman, & Thompson, 2014), while in others no significant differences were identified (e.g., Dunfield et al., 2011; Ornaghi et al., 2015).

In sum, we aimed to (1) verify the impact of training on children's mental-state talk, especially emotional lexicon; (2) test for training effects on their EU; and (3) investigate the impact of training on their prosocial behavior.

Based on previous findings obtained with preschoolers and school-age children, we expected that the training group would outperform the control group on the administered measures. Finally, given the lack of existing training studies with toddlers on our research themes, we made no predictions concerning the role of age and gender.

METHOD

Participants

Participants were 105 toddlers (65 girls) with a mean age at pretest of 29.8 months (SD : 3.78; range: 21–36 months) and a mean age at posttest of 33 months (SD : 3.7). Given the broad age range, we took the 50th percentile (median = 30 months) as a cutoff point (Wang & Chen, 2013) and split the sample into two age groups, Younger (n = 50; 21 girls; M_{age} = 27.13; SD = 2.59) and Older (n = 55; 24 girls; M_{age} = 32.80; SD = 1.38). The children were native Italian speakers whose linguistic and cognitive development fell within the standards for their age group; they attended seven different infant-toddler centers in the province of Milan, which were all under the same management and shared the same educational programs. All of the toddlers came from middle-class socioeconomic backgrounds. The majority of their parents held a high school diploma or university degree (90% of mothers and 85% of fathers) and were in white-collar employment (75% of mothers and 47.3% of fathers). Other parents were manual workers (7.3% of mothers and 18.3% of fathers), executives or self-employed professionals (10.4% of mothers and 29.1% of fathers), while the remainder were unemployed (7.3% of mothers and 5.4% of fathers). In addition, 40.4% of participants were only

children, 48.5% had one sibling, 8.1% had two siblings, and the remaining 3% had three or more siblings. Children were assigned to a training ($n = 49$) or control group ($n = 56$) in which they were almost equally divided by gender.

The 37 teachers who participated in the study had a mean age of 28 years and a mean of 7 years' teaching experience. Given that they all worked for the same group of early childhood education centers, they followed the same educational approach. They were selected based on their teaching experience and on their motivation to learn a new educational format involving story reading and eliciting conversation with and among children. They too were assigned to either the experimental or the control condition. Teachers in the control condition were told that they would have the opportunity to receive the training the following year.

Research design and instruments

The study comprised three phases, pretest, intervention, and posttest, for both the training and the control group. The intervention began 2 weeks after the end of the pretest and lasted 2 months. The posttest started 2 weeks after the end of the intervention.

Pre- and posttest measures

Before and after the intervention phase, parents who were informed during a meeting with the teachers and gave consent for their children to participate in the study were asked to complete three instruments assessing their children's competences. The children themselves were individually administered a series of measures (presented in counterbalanced order) and video-observed.

Measures completed by parents. *The Primo Vocabolario del Bambino* (PVB) (Caselli, Pasqualetti, & Stefanini, 2007). Verbal abilities were assessed via a standardized instrument based on maternal ratings of children between 18 and 36 months of age. It comprises four parts. For this study, we administered the first part of the test evaluating the child's word production (vocabulary), the second part concerning the ability to formulate phrases of several words (complexity), and the third regarding pragmatic abilities, for example, in terms of pointing, making gestures, and pretending (pragmatics). The rating questionnaire took around 20 min to compile, and standard scoring procedures from the PVB Manual were applied. In our statistical analyses, for this study, we only included partici-

pants' scores for the vocabulary section, which ranged from 0 to 100. Reliability coefficients were Guttman's $\lambda_4 = .82$ at pretest and $.86$ at posttest.

The Empathy Questionnaire (EmQue) (Rieffe, Ketelaar, & Wiefferink, 2010). This scale is composed of 20 items representing three facets of empathy that may be observed in very young children: emotion contagion (e.g., "When another child cries, my child gets upset too"), attention to others' feelings (e.g., "When an adult gets angry with another child, my child watches attentively"), and prosocial responses (e.g., "When another child starts to cry, my child tries to comfort him/her"). Parents are asked to rate the degree to which each item, reflecting a specific type of behavior, applied to their child over the previous 2 months, using a 3-point scale (0 = never, 1 = sometimes, 2 = often). The scores obtained range from 0 to 40. Reliability coefficients were $\alpha = .81$ at pretest and $\alpha = .70$ at posttest. Three partial scores may also be calculated, corresponding to the three dimensions of empathy evaluated by the instrument: emotion contagion (seven items; maximum score = 14), attention to others' emotions (seven items; maximum score = 14), and prosocial behavior (seven items; maximum score = 12). The respective reliability coefficients for the three subscales were as follows: $\alpha = .74$ at pretest and $\alpha = .66$ at posttest; $\alpha = .68$ at pretest and $\alpha = .67$ at posttest; and $\alpha = .76$ at pretest and $\alpha = .72$ at posttest.

Measures administered to toddlers. The Puppet Interview. Emotion comprehension was assessed by means of the well-known Puppet Interview (Denham, 1986) in the Italian validated version (Camodeca & Coppola, 2010). The materials required are two puppets with blank faces and four felt disks each depicting the facial expression corresponding to a distinct basic emotion. Based on the age of participants, we used four subtasks from the battery to assess expressive comprehension, receptive comprehension, affective perspective taking, and causes comprehension. These examined the ability to label emotions (four items), recognize them (four items), deploy emotion knowledge in stereotypical situations (eight items), and identify the causes of emotions (four items). Participants received a score of 2 for a correct response, 1 for an incorrect response of the appropriate affective valence, and 0 for a completely inappropriate response. Each child was assigned a total score ranging from 0 to 40, and four subscores were calculated for each of the four sections administered (expressive task: max. 8; receptive task: max. 8; affective perspective-taking task: max. 16; and causes task: max. 8). Reliability coefficients for the overall measure were $\alpha = .92$ at pretest and $\alpha = .89$ at posttest. Coefficients for each of the four sections of the Puppet Interview were also calculated: $\alpha = .81$ at pretest and $\alpha = .68$ at posttest for the expressive task; $\alpha = .89$ at

pretest and $\alpha = .80$ at posttest for the receptive task; $\alpha = .82$ at pretest and $\alpha = .74$ at posttest for the affective perspective-taking task; and $\alpha = .80$ at pretest and $\alpha = .80$ at posttest for the emotion causes task.

The Desire–Emotion Task (Wellman & Woolley, 1990). Children's comprehension of the relationship between desire and emotion was assessed by means of the desire–emotion task. For this study, from the whole set comprising two parallel sets of six stories, concerning Action and Emotion respectively, we used only the latter. Of these six stories, two described a Finds-Wanted situation, two a Finds-Nothing situation, and two a Finds-Substitute situation. The toddlers were required to predict the story character's emotional reaction in each scenario (happy or sad) based on their comprehension of desires in mediating emotional experiences. Participants received a score of 1 for a correct response, and 0 for a wrong response, yielding a total score of up to 6 and three subtotals with a maximum score of 2 each. Reliability coefficients for the overall task were $\alpha = .64$ at pretest and $\alpha = .66$ at posttest. Coefficients for the three subtasks were, respectively, as follows: $\alpha = .60$ at pretest and $\alpha = .67$ at posttest; $\alpha = .65$ at pretest and $\alpha = .63$ at posttest; and $\alpha = .69$ at pretest and $\alpha = .61$ at posttest.

Video observations: use of mental-state language and production of prosocial behavior. The children participating in the research were also individually video-recorded; we opted to use a fixed-position video camera operated by a researcher in order to minimize interference with participants' spontaneous behavior. Each participant was video-recorded for a total of 20 min in two different situations observed on two different days: free play (10 min) and lunch (10 min). During the recording sessions, the teachers were present in the room, but had been asked to intervene as little as possible in the children's exchanges, to facilitate observation of the toddlers' spontaneous behavior. When the video footage was subsequently coded, any behaviors deemed by the judges to have been prompted by teacher intervention as opposed to arising spontaneously were excluded from the data set. It only happened twice.

The three trained observers were blind to the aims of the study and to the children's performance on the administered measures. They used a randomly ordered list of children and focused on one child at a time.

Two expert judges who were not aware about the aims of the research applied two different types of coding to the recorded material. First, each child's linguistic production during the 20 min of observation was transcribed and coded for the use of the various categories of mental-state lexicon listed above, namely physiological, volitional, perceptive, emotional, cognitive, and moral. The coders attained 83% agreement at pretest

($\kappa = .76$) and 86% at posttest ($\kappa = .78$). A composite variable (overall production of mental-state language) and single variables for each subtype of psychological lexicon were generated for the statistical analysis.

Second, the judges coded the occurrence of each child's prosocial behaviors during the 20 min of observation, following categorizations and procedures used by Dunfield et al. (2011) and Thompson and Newton (2013). Specifically, the coding scheme allowed for three different kinds of prosocial behavior: *helping*, *sharing*, and *comforting*. Helping behaviors are those in which a child assists a peer to complete an action or attain a goal (for example, Marta sees that Anna is trying to stand up. She goes over to Anna and helps her up. She follows Anna as she walks across the room and takes her by the hand when she seems insecure). Sharing behaviors are those in which children unambiguously share an object or a toy with another child (for example, Leonardo goes over to Marta who is playing with wooden blocks and begins to watch her. Marta sees him, offers him a block and says, "Shall we play together?"). Finally, comforting behaviors are those in which a child offers verbal or physical consolation in response to the distress of a peer (for example, Sofia notices that Matteo is crying and says, "Are you crying?") She goes over to him, hugs him, gives him a kiss, takes him by the hand, and leads him toward the educator). The judges independently coded children's prosocial behaviors, attaining 82% agreement at pretest ($\kappa = .78$) and 85% at posttest ($\kappa = .77$).

The intervention procedure

The children assigned to the *experimental condition* took part in training sessions conducted daily with small groups (4/6 children per group) over a 2-month period. All the children took part in training sessions at least four times a week for the duration of the intervention phase. Composition of the working groups was based on teacher nomination. The teachers formed small groups, which were maintained for the entire training period, based on the following criteria: each group contained a mix of boys and girls and was made up of children who were friendly with one another and used to doing educational activities together. At each session, the children first listened to a brief illustrated story based on an emotional script and then took part in a conversation about the emotion featured in the story, as explained just beyond.

The children assigned to the *control condition* also took part in daily activities in small groups (4/6 children per group) over the same 2-month period. Again, the final sample only included those who had attended at least 80% of the sessions (only two children dropped out of each group,

intervention and control). In contrast to the experimental participants, after listening to the same stories, the children in the control groups did not take part in conversation but were offered a selection of toys such as Lego, building blocks, and jigsaw puzzles and allowed to engage in free play.

The participating teachers were provided with *ad hoc* training over a 3-month period. They were all asked to follow the same set of guidelines when reading the stories to the children, although allowance was made for individual reading styles. In particular, the story reading was required to meet the following criteria: The teacher was to read the whole text, verbatim and without varying it in any way, and to adopt a sufficiently lively tone of voice and pace of reading to maintain the children's attention and curiosity. Furthermore, during the training phase all the teachers, who also received a short booklet outlining the key features of either the experimental or control condition as appropriate, were videotaped while practicing the relevant activities with a pilot group of children. Specifically, the teachers who had been assigned to the training condition received feedback from the research team on both the reading and conversation activities, whereas the teachers in the control group were trained in the reading only. Supervision of the video-recorded reading/conversation sessions continued throughout the research proper, for both the experimental and control group teachers.

The stories were developed *ad hoc* for the study and presented in a book called *The Stories of Ciro and Beba* (Ornaghi, Agliati, & Grazzani, 2014). In all, the book contained eight stories whose age-tuned intelligibility and appeal had been pilot-tested with children that did not take part in the study. A sample story is included in the Appendix. The main characters are two rabbits who in the course of a series of adventures feel *scared*, *happy*, *angry*, or *sad* in turn. The narratives follow the standard story schema: After the scene has been set, a critical situation eliciting a particular emotion arises, and action is required to resolve the crisis. Specifically, the stories depict the protagonists as deploying prosocial action to solve their problems. In addition, the story texts are enriched with *inner-state language* (Bartsch & Wellman, 1995), primarily emotional language (*gets mad*, *is scared*, *is surprised*, *is happy*, and so on), but also perceptive (they can't *see* anything), volitional (that train I really *wanted*), and cognitive (e.g., *decide*) terms.

The training sessions with the experimental group involved a four-step procedure: creation of a suitable context in which to introduce the activity, the story reading, conversation about the emotion thematized in the story, and a windup stage. The crucial element of the procedure was the *conversation about emotions*, conducted with small groups of young

children. In the course of this conversational activity, the teacher drew on the story content to focus on the expression, causes, and regulation of emotion (Denham, 1998), as well as on prosocial actions such as helping and comforting others.

The stimulus questions, as illustrated in the Appendix, were designed to encourage the participation of all the children in the group, giving them the opportunity to narrate situations in which they themselves, their family members and friends, or familiar cartoon/story characters had experienced the emotion being discussed.

This procedure, which may seem unusual for use with toddlers, was intended to foster and accelerate the development of children's linguistic abilities. Furthermore, given its focus on the story characters' emotional experience, we expected that it would enhance children's ability to reflect on internal states, the relationship between private experience and manifest actions, and individual differences in both emotional experience and outward behavior (Hughes, 2011; Reddy, 2008).

The sessions with the control group which did not participate in conversation on emotions also comprised four steps: creation of a suitable context in which to introduce the activity, the story reading, a windup stage, and free play.

Data analyses

To verify the impact of the intervention on the competences under study, a preliminary repeated-measures MANOVA was performed, with Time (pre and post) as a within-subject factor, and Group Condition (experimental versus control group), Age Group (younger versus older toddlers) and Gender as between-subject factors. The dependent variables measured at two time points were language ability (as evaluated by the PVB), spontaneous use of mental-state lexicon (as recorded in the video observations), understanding of the relationship between desire and emotion (as evaluated via the Desire–Emotion task), EU (as assessed via the Puppet Interview), and empathy and prosocial behavior (as assessed via the EmQue and recorded in the video observations). Effect sizes were calculated using partial eta-squared values (η_p^2).

We then conducted further analyses in relation to the three main competences we wished to investigate, namely mental-state language, EU, and prosocial behavior. These in-depth analyses allowed us to assess the effects of the training on the subdimensions of the constructs under study (the various categories of psychological lexicon, the different EU abilities, and the different kinds of prosocial behavior). Specifically, we ran a series of analyses of variance (ANOVAs), with toddlers' average gains on each

subtask—calculated by subtracting pretest scores from posttest scores—as the dependent variables and the factors Group Condition and Age Group as the independent variables.

RESULTS

Descriptive statistics for all variables by group condition at both time points are presented in Table 1. In addition, correlations among variables were run. As shown in Table 2, significant relations were found among age, language, EU, and ToM; in contrast, empathy and prosocial behavior showed very modest and not significant correlations with the other measures.

The preliminary analysis of variance revealed a significant effect of Time, Wilks' $\lambda = .10$, $F(6, 91) = 50.35$, $p < .00001$, $\eta_p^2 = .92$, and a significant Time \times Group Condition interaction, Wilks' $\lambda = .48$, $F(6, 91) = 4.78$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .50$. The univariate tests showed that this interaction was significant for language ability, $F(1, 95) = 5.16$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .14$; spontaneous use of mental-state lexicon, $F(1, 95) = 8.25$, $p = .007$, $\eta_p^2 = .21$; understanding of the desire–emotion relationship, $F(1, 95) = 5.77$, $p = .02$,

TABLE 1
Pre- and Posttest Means and Standard Deviations for all Variables by Group Condition

	Pretest		Posttest	
	Training	Control	Training	Control
Age in months	30.30 (4.18)	30.27 (2.87)	34.30 (4.15)	34.28 (2.67)
Language ability	69.03 (23.25) ^c	76.35 (22.32) ^c	87.17 (17.29) ^d	84.80 (19.75) ^d
Parental ratings of empathy and prosocial behavior	18.40 (5.18) ^{a,c}	22.43 (3.98) ^b	20.86 (3.80) ^d	22.03 (3.22)
EU (Puppet)	12.90 (11.33) ^c	13.50 (10.13) ^c	28.57 (8.28) ^{a,d}	20.65 (8.47) ^{b,d}
Desire–emotion	3.47 (1.79) ^c	3.20 (1.70)	4.63 (1.54) ^{a,d}	3.50 (1.74) ^b
Use of mental-state vocabulary	1.10 (1.51) ^c	.56 (1.36)	4.35 (4.38) ^{a,d}	1.31 (1.74) ^b
Children's prosocial actions	.30 (.53) ^c	.30 (.56)	.60 (.72) ^{a,d}	.30 (.56) ^b

Note. EU = emotion understanding.

Numbers in parentheses are standard deviations.

Following the application of a *post hoc* Bonferroni correction to all measures, the values marked with the superscripts *a* through *d* were found to be statistically significant. The letters *a* and *b* denote the comparisons between experimental and control groups for each of the pretest and posttest measures; *c* and *d* indicate comparisons between pretest and posttest scores within the training and control groups, respectively.

TABLE 2
Intercorrelation Among Variables Under Study

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Age in months	–						
2. Vocabulary	.38**	–					
3. Use of mental-state language	.46**	.50**	–				
4. Desire–emotion	.37**	.46**	.48**	–			
5. EU (Puppet)	.34*	.50**	.46**	.41**	–		
6. Parental ratings of empathy and prosocial behavior	.12	.31	.33	.09	.01	–	
7. Prosocial behavior	.15	.01	.03	.02	.16	.11	–

Note. EU = emotion understanding.

Correlations were calculated on pretest data.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

$\eta_p^2 = .15$; EU, $F(1, 95) = 17.68$, $p < .0001$, $\eta_p^2 = .36$; empathy, $F(1, 95) = 4.51$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$; and prosocial action, $F(1, 93) = 5.70$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$.

We then broke down the interaction into the simple main effects, applying the Bonferroni correction for multiple contrasts. For the Group Condition factor, at pretest there were significant differences in empathy, $F(1, 95) = 7.36$, $p = .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .14$. At posttest, there were statistically significant differences between groups regarding the use of mental-state lexicon, $F(1, 95) = 6.72$, $p = .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .16$; desire–emotion, $F(1, 95) = 8.01$, $p = .006$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$; EU, $F(1, 95) = 15.26$, $p < .0001$, $\eta_p^2 = .18$; and prosocial behavior, $F(1, 95) = 4.10$, $p = .04$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$. Specifically, the children in the training group obtained higher scores on these measures than their counterparts in the control group (see Table 1). For the Time factor, significant differences between pre- and posttest scores were found for all measures in the training group and for language ability and EU in the control group, as shown in Table 1.

We also found a significant Time \times Group Condition \times Age interaction, Wilks' $\lambda = .79$, $F(6, 91) = 2.97$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .20$. This interaction was only significant for EU, as evaluated by the Puppet Interview, $F(1, 95) = 4.87$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$. As shown in Figure 1, children's pretest-to-posttest gains in EU were significantly greater in the training group, especially for older participants. In the training group, mean EU scores were 8.75 at pretest and 21.33 at posttest for younger participants, and 15.67 at pretest and 33.40 at posttest for older children. Means in the control group were 8.68 at pretest and 18.74 at posttest for younger toddlers, and 17.86 at pretest and 22.38 at posttest for older participants.

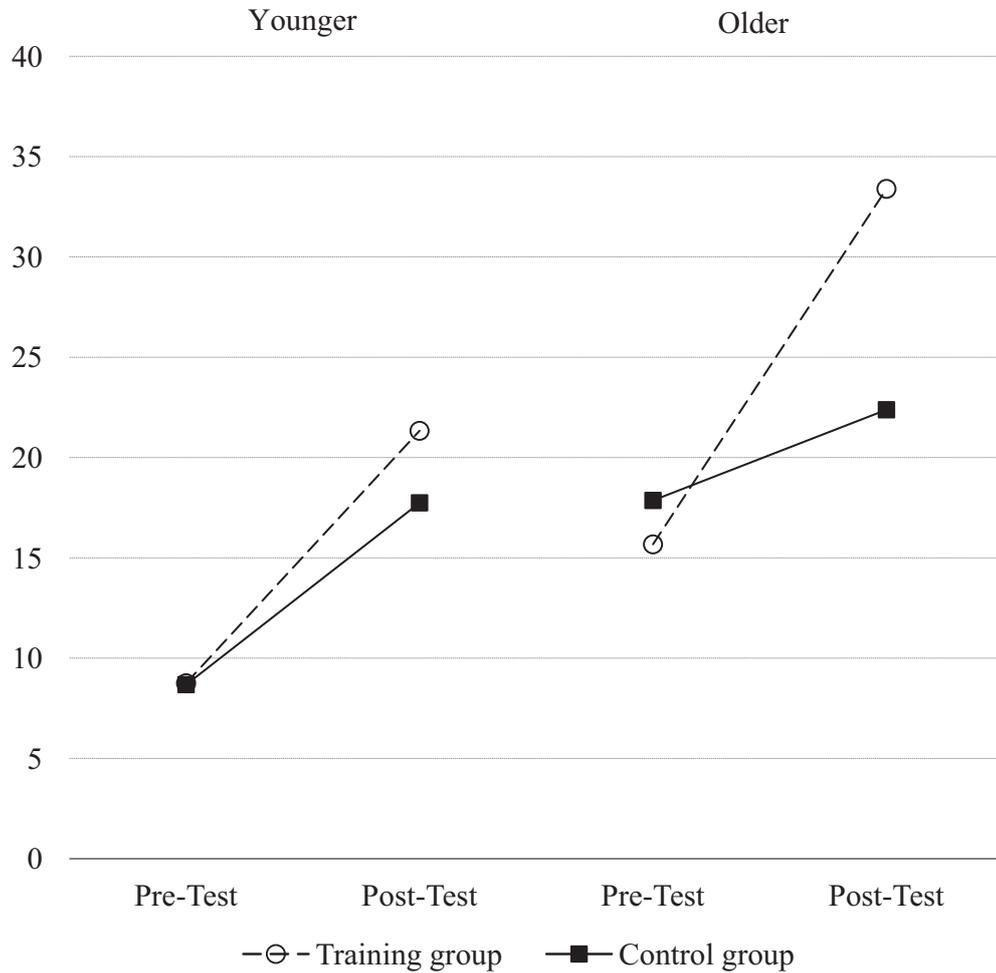


Figure 1 Toddlers' pretest-to-posttest improvement in emotion understanding as a function of Group Condition and Age.

Gender was not found to have any significant interaction effect at this stage, and for this reason it was omitted from all subsequent analyses.

Given that the interaction between Time and Group Condition was significant for the general language measure, we conducted further tests to verify whether the changes in children's vocabulary explained the differences between groups in pretest-to-posttest improvements on the other measures administered. We conducted a repeated-measures analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) with Group Condition as independent variable, scores in the investigated competences as dependent variables, and pretest-to-posttest gains in vocabulary as covariate. The results showed that changes in language ability, in terms of increases in general vocabulary, did not account for the other differences in progress observed between the

two groups from pre- to posttest. In other words, even after gains in vocabulary had been controlled for, the training group made significantly greater progress in the other abilities under study, Wilks' $\lambda = .74$, $F(5, 93) = 5.82$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .28$. Similarly, analyses of covariance confirmed the significant interaction among Time, Group Condition, and Age in relation to EU, which was more liable to improve in the older training participants than in the younger ones, Wilks' $\lambda = .73$, $F(1, 95) = 9.21$, $p < .003$, $\eta_p^2 = .12$.

The effect of the intervention on children's usage of mental-state vocabulary

As stated above, the preliminary analyses showed that the training led to significant gains in toddlers' spontaneous use of mental-state lexicon during daily social interaction at nursery. We undertook more in-depth analysis of these improvements by investigating the effect of the intervention from pre- to posttest on individual categories of mental-state term, as assessed via observation of spontaneous behavior at nursery school.

As shown by the preliminary multivariate analysis, the toddlers who took part in the 2-month intervention displayed gains in their global spontaneous use of mental-state lexicon. As illustrated in Figure 2, they specifically improved in the use of perceptive (1.20 versus .11), $F(1, 101) = 5.26$,

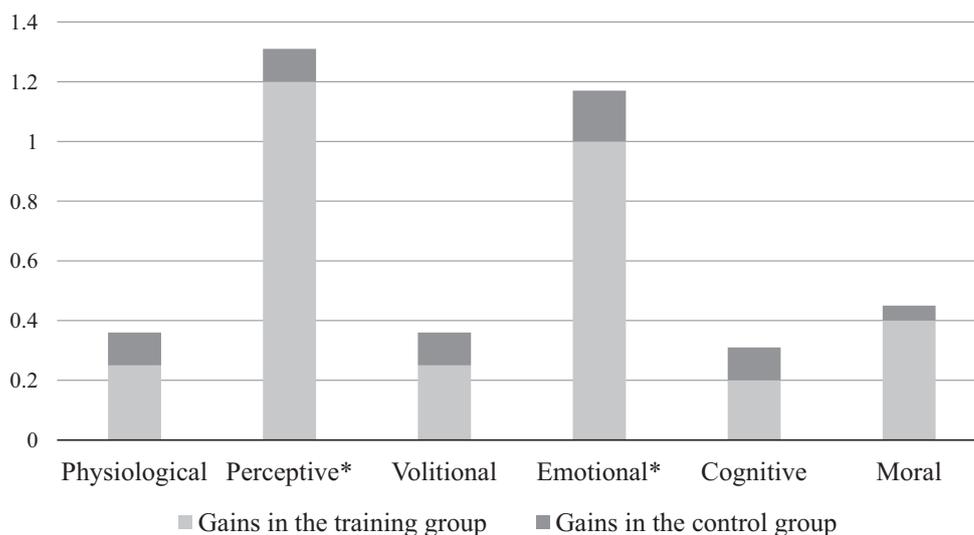


Figure 2 Participants' pretest-to-posttest gains in the use of the different categories of mental-state language as a function of Group Condition. *Note:* * $<.05$.

$p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .14$; and emotional terms (1.00 versus .17), $F(1, 101) = 5.34$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .14$. Furthermore, a significant interaction between Group Condition and Age Group emerged for the emotional terms with greater gains being achieved by the older children in the training group, $F(1, 101) = 4.80$, $p = .04$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$.

The effect of the intervention on emotion understanding

As reported above, the training group obtained higher total scores at posttest on both the desire–emotion task and the Puppet Interview than did the control group. We therefore performed further analyses to explore participants' gains in EU in greater depth. Specifically, we examined the effect of the intervention on children's performances on each of the three sets of items making up the desire–emotion task (evaluating different desire–emotion scenarios) and each of the four subtasks of the Puppet Interview (evaluating expressive comprehension, receptive comprehension, affective perspective taking, and understanding of the causes of emotion, respectively).

With regard to the desire–emotion task, we did not find significant effects for any of the three pairs of items (relative to finding a desired object, finding nothing, finding something else in place of the desired object).

With regard to the Puppet Interview, a significant Group Condition effect emerged for each of the four subtasks administered in the current study. Specifically, the training group improved significantly more on all subtasks: the expressive task (3.33 versus 2.22), $F(1, 101) = 4.11$, $p = .04$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$; the receptive task (3.27 versus 1.70), $F(1, 101) = 7.99$, $p = .006$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$; the affective perspective-taking task (6.33 versus 2.75), $F(1, 101) = 13.87$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .17$; and the emotion causes task (2.73 versus .95), $F(1, 101) = 6.39$, $p = .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$. Furthermore, a Group Condition \times Age Group interaction emerged for the expressive task, $F(1, 101) = 5.11$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$; the affective perspective-taking task, $F(1, 101) = 5.79$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$; and the emotion causes task, $F(1, 101) = 4.56$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$, with older participants displaying greater improvements from pre- to posttest. The simple main effects for both Group Condition and Age Group factors are reported in Table 3.

The effect of the intervention on empathy and prosocial behavior

The preliminary analysis showed the training to have had a significant effect on children's empathy as rated by their parents via the EmQue, as well as on their prosocial behavior as assessed via the video-observation

TABLE 3
 Toddlers' Average Gains on Submeasures of Desire–Emotion, EU, EmQue, and Prosocial Behavior as a Function of Group Condition and Age

	<i>Younger group</i>		<i>Older group</i>	
	<i>Training group</i>	<i>Control group</i>	<i>Training group</i>	<i>Control group</i>
Desire–emotion				
Finds	.58 (1.08)	–.05 (.91)	.22 (1.00)	–.33 (.91)
Finds nothing	.42 (.79)	.05 (1.22)	.39 (.77)	.09 (.94)
Finds substitute	.25 (1.13)	.31 (1.00)	.50 (.86)	.52 (1.03)
EU (Puppet)				
Expressive	2.83 (2.29)	2.94 (1.51) ^c	3.67 (2.37) ^a	1.57 (1.86) ^{b,d}
Receptive	3.83 (2.72)	2.74 (2.42) ^c	2.89 (2.14) ^a	.76 (2.17) ^{b,d}
Perspective taking	4.25 (5.56) ^c	2.95 (3.39)	7.72 (4.18) ^{a,d}	1.67 (3.41) ^b
Causes	1.67 (2.96)	1.42 (2.06)	3.44 (2.91) ^a	.52 (2.40) ^b
EmQue				
Emotion contagion	.44 (1.13)	.08 (2.18)	.36 (1.80)	1.0 (1.00)
Attention to others	1.34 (2.12) ^a	–.92 (1.32) ^b	.27 (1.27) ^a	–1.33 (2.08) ^b
Prosocial responses	1.33 (1.73)	.11 (1.38)	1.27 (2.00)	1.33 (4.16)
Prosocial behavior				
Helping	.25 (.45) ^a	–.10 (.46) ^{b,c}	.11 (.32)	.19 (.40) ^d
Sharing	.00 (.74)	.00 (.33)	.17 (.51)	–.09 (.44)
Comforting	.08 (.28)	–.05 (.34)	.00 (.34)	.09 (.44)

Note. EmQue = Empathy Questionnaire; EU = emotion understanding. Standard deviations are reported in parentheses. On application of a *post hoc* Bonferroni correction to all measures, the values marked with the superscripts *a* through *d* were found to be statistically significant. The letters *a* and *b* denote the comparisons between training and control groups for each Age Group; *c* and *d* indicate comparisons between the scores of younger and older children scores within the training and control groups, respectively.

sessions. We therefore conducted separate analyses of variance for each of the three EmQue dimensions (emotion contagion, attention to others' feelings, and prosocial response), as well as for each of the three types of prosocial behavior observed (helping, sharing, and comforting).

With regard to the dimensions of empathy, the Group Condition factor produced a significant effect on attention to the feelings of others, with the training group displaying a significantly greater posttest improvement on this dimension than the control group (.75 versus –1.00), $F(1, 101) = 10.57, p = .003, \eta_p^2 = .24$.

With regard to the different types of prosocial behavior, there were no statistically significant differences between the two groups, although the training group participants displayed greater gains than the control group children for all three forms of prosociality, and particularly for helping behaviors (.17 versus .10).

DISCUSSION

The primary aim of the current study, which offers a number of innovative features as described above, was to verify the effects of conversation-based intervention at nursery school on toddlers' development of socio-emotional skills, while controlling for language, and exploring the role of age and gender. More specifically, we wished to investigate whether conversational intervention on the theme of emotions, which has been previously found to foster the development of a wide range of cognitive and socio-emotional abilities in preschool and school-age children (de Rosnay & Hughes, 2006; Ornaghi, Agliati, et al., 2014; Grazzani & Ornaghi, 2015; Ornaghi, Brockmeier, et al., 2014; Ornaghi et al., 2015; Tenenbaum et al., 2008), would also be efficacious at 2–3 years of age. We obtained three main findings. First, the training had a positive impact on the development of participants' mental-state talk, EU, and prosocial behavior. Second, this positive effect was independent of both gender and gains in general vocabulary. Third, the training was more effective in enhancing EU in older than in younger toddlers. We now discuss these findings in greater detail.

As expected, the training group participants displayed significant gains in their tendency to make spontaneous use of mental-state vocabulary. This is not surprising given that the intervention consisted of conversational activities during which children were exposed to and had the opportunity to use internal-state lexicon, especially that relating to the sphere of emotions. In line with the reported findings of previous research (e.g., Hughes & Dunn, 1998; Ruffman et al., 2002), conversation on inner states stimulated children to use this vocabulary in the course of their daily interactions with peers and adults. In other words, the conversational activity fostered a dynamic and circular relationship between the available range of inner-state vocabulary and its active use in conversation with others. On the one hand, listening to the stories and to the stimulus questions and input of the educator children took a more active part in the conversation; in turn, this active and spontaneous use in conversational interaction of inner-state talk, and of the emotional lexicon in particular, helped children to consolidate their understanding of its meaning (Nelson, 2007; Ornaghi et al., 2011). Toddlers' initial responses to the teachers' stimulation were linked to the experiences of the story characters (e.g., "I'm happy when I'm at the seaside because I can play on the beach"), as though they were activating a mechanism of repetition and imitation of what they had just heard. Toward the end of the intervention however, the children's linguistic production improved, both in terms of the length of their utterances and in terms of increased attempts to speak about

themselves in an original manner by linking aspects of the emotional episode to their personal experience (e.g., “When I want a toy car and my Dad says no, I feel all red, red in the face, in my eyes, in my arms, in my legs, in my tummy and even in my pants”).

It should be emphasized here that while many classic studies on the role of conversation in socio-cognitive development have focused on the dyadic exchange between an adult and a child (for a review, see de Rosnay & Hughes, 2006), the children in the current study, despite their young age, participated in *group conversations*. These conversational interactions were all characterized by linguistic exchange in the context of ongoing exposure to the perspectives of others. Not alone were the participating children stimulated to reflect on their own internal states and those of others, but they were also stimulated to compare different points of view as these emerged in the “here and now” of the adult-guided conversation.

With regard to EU, the conversational training had an impressive positive effect on participants’ ability to understand the relationship between desires and emotions, the expression of emotion, the causes of emotions, and affective perspective taking. Reading stories based on emotional scripts to toddlers, and discussing the expression, causes and regulation of emotion with small groups of them thus proved to be both feasible and beneficial. It gave these very young children the opportunity to set about articulating their own emotional experience and to compare it with that of others, using the emotions of the story characters as a starting point. For example, during a conversational exchange with an educator, Franca (2 years and 9 months) stated, “I’m scared of the dark”; shortly afterward, Paolo (2 years and 10 months) said that he felt afraid when his uncle’s dog barked loudly, and finally, when invited by the educator to name different causes of fear, Franca intervened once more to say: “I’m not scared of dogs!”

In our study, the intervention had a particularly strong effect on EU abilities in participants over the age of two and a half years. We believe this finding to be of great interest given the dramatic changes that occur in children’s linguistic, cognitive, and social competences between 2 and 3 years of age (Hughes, 2011; Reddy, 2008). Thus, although our intervention procedure was effective with toddlers in general, it proved to be particularly suited to children aged between 2.5 and 3 years, who had already acquired the attentive, linguistic, and cognitive development needed to draw the maximum benefit from an intervention based on shared story reading followed by conversing on emotion in small groups.

The intervention also had a positive effect on toddlers’ empathic orientation toward others, as assessed via parental ratings, than their peers in the control condition, especially in terms of their propensity to pay atten-

tion to the feelings of others. Nonetheless, this finding is to be interpreted with caution, as the intervention and control groups significantly differed on the pretest measure of empathy. Thus, before drawing final conclusions it would be necessary to replicate the research with groups showing no pretest difference on empathy scale. Furthermore, this enhanced sensitivity was also reflected in increased frequency of prosocial behavior toward peers in everyday situations at nursery school, a conduct which is known to be closely related to both mental-state talk (Drummond, Paul, Waugh, Hammond, & Brownell, 2014) and EU (e.g., Brownell, Svetlova, Anderson, Nichols, & Drummond, 2013; Brownell et al., 2009; Ensor & Hughes, 2005). Given that the teacher-guided conversations during the intervention focused not only on emotion knowledge, but also on positive social responses to others' feelings, these findings show the value of stimulating reflection on the emotional states of others and on prosocial ways of alleviating their emotional distress.

In relation to prosocial behavior, the intervention did not have a statistically significant effect on any of the three different types examined in this study, namely helping, sharing, and comforting; this was partly because it is rare for children of this age to spontaneously produce prosocial behavior (Denham, 1986), as reflected in the low levels of prosocial conduct observed in our sample. Nonetheless, the training group registered a larger increase in helping behaviors than the control group. For example, Martina sees that Marco is crying because Jacopo snatched the toy he had been playing with, goes over to him and asks, "Why are you crying?," before going to Jacopo, taking back the toy and returning it to Marco. Generally speaking, helping is the type of prosocial behavior most frequently observed in children of the age group in our sample and younger, while instances of sharing (which is tied up with the concept of ownership) and comforting are relatively infrequent (Dunfield & Kuhlmeier, 2013; Dunfield et al., 2011; Newton et al., 2014). It may be hypothesized that our conversational intervention, which was designed to stimulate reflection on the inner states of the self and others, was particularly effective in enhancing the ability to recognize other people's intentions and desires, a prerequisite for the helping behaviors more frequently exhibited by the training group.

An interesting outcome of the study is the fact that the training group toddlers' improvements in mental-state talk, EU, and prosocial behavior were independent of their gains in general vocabulary. Not surprisingly given the conversational nature of the training activity, the intervention also had positive effects on participants' general language ability, whose positive role in the development of social understanding has been widely documented (Milligan, Astington, & Dack, 2007).

Finally, the outcomes of the training did not vary as a function of gender. This result is in line with previous longitudinal and experimental findings in this field of research showing that during infancy and preschool age, gender *per se* does not explain variance in children's social cognition, including in their EU (e.g., Grazzani Gavazzi & Ornaghi, 2011; Pons, Harris, & de Rosnay, 2004; Tenenbaum et al., 2008). It is also in line with the absence of evidence in the literature for significant gender differences in the prosocial conduct of toddlers (Dunfield et al., 2011), although this comparison should be made with caution given the relatively low number of spontaneously produced behaviors recorded in the present study.

Overall, our results suggest that specific interventions during infancy, conducted in a group context, may promote the acquisition of important socio-cognitive skills (e.g., use and comprehension of internal-state language, EU, perspective taking). Given the associations that have been documented at various stages of development between these abilities and social well-being (Cassidy, Werner, Rourke, Zubernis, & Balaraman, 2003; Ensor & Hughes, 2005), school readiness (Bierman et al., 2008; Denham, 2006), and reduced behavioral problems (Domitrovich et al., 2007), we believe that early intervention aimed at strengthening them can be of crucial value, particularly when based on the conversational approach.

Limitations, educational implications, and future research directions

This study has a number of limitations. One gap in the research design was not having included a further control group of children allowed to converse after the story reading but on topics other than emotional and other mental states. Inclusion of such a group would have shed further light on the role of conversing specifically about emotions as a linguistic and socio-emotional learning mechanism.

A second limitation of the present study, in which educators were given the opportunity to make their own of an innovative practice devised for implementation with toddlers, was the fact that it did not include measures of professional change—examining key parameters such as increased socio-emotional competence, enhanced observational skills—in the experimental group teachers. The additional research question to be posed is to what extent the educators charged with applying our newly developed approach, actually acquired new competences with respect to their own prior skill-base, and with respect to their colleagues in the control condition, or truly incorporated this innovative way of working with very young children into their regular teaching practice. In addition, a further limitation is due to the lack of random assignment of children in the working groups to the two research conditions. Finally, the study lacks of

quantitative measure of intervention fidelity, a type of information extremely useful in training others to implement and scale up the conversational intervention to enhance young children's social cognition and prosocial behavior.

Despite these limitations, to the best of our knowledge the current intervention study is one of the few conducted with young children to adopt both experimental and observational paradigms in order to draw data from multiple sources, namely children's performance on a battery of socio-cognitive tasks, children's observed behaviors, and parental ratings. This research, characterized by a focus on group conversation, contributes to our knowledge of the development of socio-emotional skills in infancy and provides practical direction for innovative modes of intervention in socio-educational contexts.

In fact, our findings suggest that intervention targeting the development of EU in infancy, and based on the format successfully implemented with toddlers in the current study, represents a viable option that should be seriously taken into account by educational programmers. For example, this kind of intervention could be particularly valuable for children from low-income families, who are exposed to more risk factors than their middle-class peers. Recent studies, in fact, have pointed up deficits in parental care in low-income populations, for example, in mothers' use of emotion talk, parents' mental-state language, and emotionally supportive and responsive parenting at home. Thus, implementing effective emotion socialization practices in a context in which young children spend several hours a day could represent a key protective factor against difficulties in regulating emotion, or external and disruptive behaviors (Brophy-Herb, Stansbury, Bockneck, & Horodynski, 2012; Giménez-Dasi, Fernández-Sánchez, & Quintanilla, 2015), which in turn can lead to fully fledged emotional disabilities.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This research was partly funded by a Grant from F.A.—2013 (University of Milano-Bicocca) to Ilaria Grazzani. We wish to thank Maria Lucarelli, Cristina Mariani, Sara Tornelli, and Sara Chinnici for their assistance with the data collection. We are also very grateful to the nursery educators, the children, and their families for participating in the study and to Clare O'Sullivan for the linguistic revision of this article. We wish to thank Prof. Keith Oatley for his encouraging comments and valuable suggestions on a draft version of this article.

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APPENDIX

SAMPLE STORY, STIMULUS QUESTIONS AND EXTRACT OF CONVERSATION

SAMPLE STORY

“Beba gets mad at the beach”

Beba is at the seaside. She is playing on the beach with her bucket and spade. She is having a wonderful time. She loves playing in the sand. There she is sitting peacefully by the sea and having fun with her beach toys. Just then, Toby Bear comes over, snatches Beba's bucket and runs off. Beba is mad because she doesn't want the bear to take her bucket. “Give it back, it's mine!”. Beba yells at the bear. But Toby doesn't listen to her and starts to play with Beba's bucket himself. Beba is very angry now! Ciro sees that Beba is really mad and tries to help her. He goes over to Toby and says: “Hi, that's Beba's bucket. She wants it back. Would you like to come and build a huge big sandcastle with us?”. Toby says yes, so the three friends play together and Beba doesn't feel mad anymore.

EXAMPLES OF STIMULUS QUESTIONS IN RELATION TO COMPONENTS OF EMOTION COMPREHENSION AND PROSOCIAL ORIENTATION

Expressing emotions

What kind of face do you make when you are mad?

What do you say when you are mad?

When we are mad, we can also say that we are “angry”... What else can we say?

Causes of emotion

Beba got mad because...?

Do you get mad too if somebody takes your toys?

Is there anything else that makes you angry?

Emotion regulation

Is there something you do so as not to feel so mad?

When you are very mad, how do you make yourself feel better?

Prosocial orientation

Did you see how kind *Ciro* was to help *Beba*?

If one of your friends is mad, what do you do?

What can you do to help your friend calm down?

SAMPLE CONVERSATION (EXTRACT)

[...] “Why is *Beba* mad?”, the educator asks as soon as she has finished reading the story.

“Because *Toby* took his bucket,” replies *Anna*.

The educator nods and completes the answer: “He took it without asking. We all get mad, if someone takes away something that we are using without asking our permission.” Then, provocatively, she adds, “So, who is right?”

...the children in chorus shout, “*Beba!*”

The educator continues: “But *Toby* wanted to play with it, don’t you ever really want to play with a toy that your friend is using?”

The children chorus: “*Yees!*”

“So what can we do about that?” the educator asks.

The children do not reply.

The educator pauses before saying: “We need to find a solution. For example, Toby could say “May I play with your bucket?”

The children listen thoughtfully.

After a few seconds, Marco breaks the silence and asks: “What if Beba won’t give it to him?”

The educator replies: “They can all play together, can’t they? What does Ciro do at the end of the story?”

One of the children answers: “He helps them, he asks Toby to play with them. They make up.”

Another child: “They make up.”

[...]