I eagerly assumed the task of editing the TAASP Newsletter. Perhaps, too eagerly. Ambitiously, I plan to continue with four editions per year, March, June, October, and January. My major fear is that all of you will come to know what many have already recognized—I cannot write. I am trained as a social psychologist, first by James Duthie (Human Kinetics, University of Windsor, Ontario) and then by the late Lawrence La Fave (Psychology, University of Windsor, Ontario). My areas of interest are play, games, sport, and humor. I have both my (tor)mentors to thank for my theoretical and research endeavours, now you have to admonish them for my shortcomings. Presently, I work in an anthropologist's paradise, primarily off-campus as a travelling professor (physical education and psychology) among the Northern, predominantly Native, peoples of Manitoba.

Jan Beran (TAASP's Secretary-Treasurer) informs me that TAASP has a total membership of 270, representing, beyond the United States, and including my own, 16 countries. I would like to take this opportunity to encourage many of you (especially those who cannot attend annual conferences) to write something for the Newsletter. Even accounting for lengthy delays which mailing may necessitate, send along your distinctive contributions. TAASP will continue to grow and develop, perhaps even thrive, if its membership strives to be active. Please write, so that I don't have to!

The Baton Rouge conference abstracts are contained in this Newsletter. The last day of the conference, Réunion Du Mardi Gras, involved a bus tour to New Orleans. For those of you who missed it and those of you who survived it, Mardi Gras is better experienced than described. However, essentially the cry goes up (with the early morning sun) "Throw me Something".
The riders, on the floats in the four parades (Zulu, Rex, Truck, and Comos), tease the chanting hordes. Eventually, they shower them with memorabilia. The peasantry experience a great sense of mastery in claiming aluminum doubloons and plastic beads—shades of symbolic transformations. The challenge remains playful so long as you don't become a victim, having to retract muddied and trampled fingers from the stomping territorialists.

Later in the day, especially in the French quarter, the chant becomes "Show me Something". And show they did! The expositions in the French quarter are truly unforgettable. Eventually, one can retreat to the relaxing, trance-inducing calm of the mighty Mississippi. There is forever solace in warm, slow-moving bodies of water (an intended embryonic statement). Many thanks for the heroic efforts of Anna K. Nardo, especially for her foresighted alimentary arrangements at the Rault Center Hotel.

Announcements

The 1983 Baton Rouge proceedings will be edited by Kendall Blanchard, P.O. Box 10, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, TN, 37132, U.S.A. Kendall will be sending notices and guidelines to all conference participants.

The World of Play, Frank E. Manning (Ed.), the 7th TAASP proceedings is now available through Leisure Press.

Paradoxes of Play, John Loy (Ed.), the 6th TAASP proceedings is being reprinted courtesy of Leisure Press. Authors (contributors) are to receive two reprinted copies.

The 1983-84 newly elected officers of TAASP are Bernard Mergen (George Washington University) as President-Elect; Maria T. Allison (Purdue University), George Eisen (California State Polytechnic University-Pomona), and Gary Fine (University of Minnesota) as Members-At-Large.

The Miller-Lite Brewing Company has recently sponsored ($500,000) a 200 page research report on Sport in America. This national sample, current data bank of subjects aged 14 to 65+, covers such topics as Women in Sport, Blacks in Sport, Youth Sport, Participation, and Spectatorship.

The financial status of TAASP is presently solvent. As such, TAASP is introducing, for retiring or emeritus members, fee reductions of 50% to $7.50. As well, TAASP will be sponsoring (monetarily) a student-paper competition for its 1984 meetings.

Plans are well under way for the 10th annual TAASP meetings to be held in Clemson, South Carolina, March 28-31, 1984. TAASP will be meeting with the North American Society for the Sociology of Sport (NASSS) and in conjunction with the annual Clemson Conference on Sport and Society. The program chair will be Bernard Mergen, American Studies, George Washington University, Washington, D.C. TAASP requires that the registration fee accompany all abstract submissions.

In 1984, TAASP will also sponsor a special symposium on play at the Pre-Olympic Congress, July 19-26, at the University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon. The symposium there will revolve around the anthropological study of play in its broadest interpretation. If you have appropriate research compiled, in progress, or anticipate you could contribute, contact Andrew Miracle, Department of Anthropology, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Texas, 76129, U.S.A. The Scientific Congress is being sponsored by UNESCO and plans are underway to bring scholars from developing countries to the Congress (Wanni Anderson, who is returning to her fieldwork in Thailand, would merit such support). If you know of other deserving TAASP scholars, submit their names to Andrew.

Early planning for the 1985 TAASP Conference may see us in Cincinnati, Ohio. Gary Fine (University of Minnesota) is investigating possibilities. Any suggestions are welcome. Write to Gary.
SESSION 5 RETHINKING PLAY: NEW THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES.

Fox, S. (North Dakota S.) A Cultural Theory of Play. Play is generally recognized as a largely voluntary behavior with transcendental attributes. It may be both, or either, a state of mind and a state of being, or action. However, approaches to the study of this phenomenon are constrained by the often inescapable conceptual limitations of academic disciplines and the implicit cultural biases of the student of play. That the parameters and expressions of play are culturally specific is, consequently, a point overlooked by many researchers. As a rule, general theories are so broad that other "traditional categories" of behavior tend to become identified as play; whereas, models that regard play only as a manifestation of primary cultural institutions risk compromising the appropriate contextualization or understanding of play behaviors. An integrated approach recognizes that because of conceptual convention and cultural salience play must be viewed as both a category of expression, or action, with numerous definable subsets, and as a componential behavior in most, if not all, institutional settings.

Rapp, U. (Tel Aviv) A Play Theory of Social Institutions. Recent developments in the biological and social sciences on the one hand, and in the study of play on the other, have laid the foundation for the theory of play which embraces animals, children and grown-ups, one that goes beyond Huizinga. It is argued that social institutions (starting from the domain of work) bear play character in their objective structure but not in their subjective function. Human play is viewed as a step of liberation from certain social and moral imperatives. Game thus becomes a simile for social institutions, role playing, and art.

Duncan, M.C. (Purdue) Play and the Creation of Self. The goal of this investigation is to generate a "meta-theory" of play which will unite some existing theories. Drawing on theoretical writings in the area of child development and philosophy, this paper argues that play's primary function (and one which much of the play literature hints at without explicitly asserting) is the creation of self or identity. Because the thesis of this investigation concerns play's role in facilitating the formation of self, the first section of this paper includes a discussion of how the self comes into being. Theories of the self advanced by Bettelheim, Frank, and Erikson are presented and then corroborated by Frithjof Bergmann's phenomenological description of the formation of self. In the second section, the argument that play fosters identifications (Bergmann's term for the process of self-creation) is developed by analyzing three recurrent themes in the play literature which offer support for such a claim: play as mastery, play as therapy, and play as the imaginative acting out of roles.

Watson, S.B. (Ithaca) The "Play" of Language. This paper suggests that it is useful to understand play in terms of possibility. Further, it is argued that in attempting to understand and define play, there is perhaps nothing more valuable than treating possibility as an Aristotelian focal meaning of play. More precisely, to view play in terms of possibility is to view playing as the trying or exploration of possibilities. The interpretations of play in language and play as language are explored as means of demonstrating the viability of an understanding of play as possibility.
Meier, K.V. (Western Ontario) On the Assiduous Re-invention of the Wheel.
This paper is occasioned by the observation that, curiously enough, although anthropologists engaged in writing on play periodically cite and even read, they appear seldom to listen to, each other. Despite the fact that this assessment may often be applicable to the general area of theories of play, the focus of this enquiry is limited to the more specific topic of anthropological definitions of, and postulations about, the nature and essence of the concept of play. A detailed content analysis of all of the 169 articles contained within the seven proceedings published to date by TAASP (generally presumed to be among the most significant and seminal works available in the sub-discipline), clearly reveals that there are substantial problems at the heart of play. The accumulated literature is replete with recurring contradictions, endless definitional circles, repeated inappropriate and perhaps fallacious dichotomies, and additional theoretical incongruities and paradoxes. Documentation is provided to substantiate this claim. In an attempt to ascertain why such an inappropriate state of affairs exists, and indeed may be continued, a discussion of the politics of "the re-invention of the wheel" is presented. Finally, a suggested route of amelioration is forwarded.

SESSION 6 PSYCHOLOGY AND PLAY

Christie, J. F. (Kansas) Play and Psychometric Approaches to Intelligence. Intelligence quotients or IQ scores are psychometric measures which attempt to estimate intellectual performance. While considerable controversy surrounds the validity of intelligence tests, IQ scores are generally accepted as effective predictors of academic achievement. Given the recent upsurge of interest in the role of play in cognitive functioning, it is not surprising that a number of studies have investigated the relationship between play and IQ scores. This paper begins with a brief discussion of issues concerning the psychometric measurement of intelligence. Next, possible connections between play and intelligence are explored. Two groups of studies are then reviewed: a) correlational studies which have investigated the relationship between IQ scores and levels of play, and b) play training studies which have used IQ scores as dependent variables. Particular attention is given to recent training studies which use controls for the effects of adult tuition and which include follow-up assessments to investigate the permanency of training effects. An attempt is made to summarize results across studies and to draw conclusions about play and IQ.

Johnsen, E.P. (Kansas) The Role of Play in the Development of Logical Thought. Piaget viewed play as being primarily assimilative in nature. According to his theory, lack of accommodation to external reality during the play episode limits its impact on the development of thought. Critics of this approach suggest that symbolic transformations occurring in make-believe play act as a model for later abstraction processes. Thus, play might have a crucial role in the development of abstract, logical thought. These conflicting theories have stimulated a considerable amount of research on the relationship between play and logical operations such as conservation and classification. This paper reviews this research and attempts to provide a tentative resolution to these controversies. Recommendations are made for further research in this area.

Dansky, J. (Eastern Michigan) Play and Creativity. Among the numerous functions and adaptive consequences that have been attributed to play, enhanced creativity is among the most common. During the past decade, much evidence has accumulated which shows that a variety of activities which may be considered playful are quite clearly associated with several measures which may reflect creativity. Consideration is given to those aspects of the play/creativity literature which led to this unambiguously equivocal conclusion. Specific attention is given to the following issues: 1) the chronic problem of definitional specificity and consensus, 2) the positive trend toward systematic, molecular observation of the free-play antecedents of creative behaviors, and 3) research which permits differential, causal inferences about associations between various modes of play and particular kinds of problem-solving.
Johnson, J.E. (Wisconsin) Developmental, Individual, and Contextual Differences in Children's Play. An evaluation of the past decade's observation research on individual development, and situational factors in children's play. The focus is on the review of findings pertaining to the individual difference variables of sex and personality, developmental variables of level and rate, and ecological variables of preschool curriculum and materials. An attempt is made to 1) tabulate the extant play research in these areas, 2) point to the prevailing methodological and conceptual problems that researchers have faced, 3) discern shifts in the pre-occupations and concerns of researchers, 4) highlight examples of research that illustrates the progress made in the past ten years, and 5) indicate knowledge gaps. Potential applications of play research are suggested.

SESSION 12: SPORT SOCIOLOGY

Karnilowicz, W. and Loy, J.W. (Illinois) An Analysis of the Effects of Ceremonial Occasions on Frequency of Suicides in the United States, 1972-1978. Drawing upon Durkheim's studies of suicide, Warner's notions about ceremonial calendars, and Milton's conceptions of sport as civil religion, the relationship between suicide and ceremonial occasions is examined. The findings suggest an inverse correlation. It is concluded that 1) classical anthropological and sociological theory can be fruitfully used to guide, inform and interpret modern social research related to the study of the integrative function of ceremonial occasions, 2) the integrative capacity of sportive occasions at the societal level is amenable to quantitative analysis, and 3) the analysis of ceremonial occasions for identifying selected socio-cultural correlates of suicide.

Smith, M.D. (York) Sports Violence and Social Structure Over Time. What is normal in one historical period may be repugnant in another. The personal ferocity and open joy in blood-spilling characteristics of medieval times would be unthinkable today. Modern violence tends to be calculated, efficient, methodical, and impersonal, more a rational means of attaining goals than a discharge of emotion. According to Elias' theory of the civilizing process, changes in the structure of society wrought this transformation. First, the state acquired a monopoly on the use of violence, and violence by individual citizens diminished. Second, the typical pattern of social relationships changed from one based on bonds only among members of the immediate group--"segmental bonding"--to one based on a complex division of labor--"functional bonding". Whereas the former was characterized by emotional expressiveness, the latter became marked by rationality, restraint, and self-control. A long term result was that individuals lost the capacity for obtaining pleasure from engaging in and, eventually, observing ferocious violence. In other words, there was a lowering of the level of socially permitted ferocious violence, and in time, an advance in the individual citizen's "threshold of repugnance" with respect to overt aggressiveness. The purpose of this paper is to show how this transformation changed the face of sports violence.

Widemeyer, W. (Waterloo) There's a Small Group Growing in Your Culture. Although the macro-social systems studied by sociologists appear more closely related to the concerns of anthropologists, knowledge gleaned from the study of micro-social systems can also help anthropologists to understand culture. This paper focuses on the small group and sets out to demonstrate how the study of small groups can explain structural level variables in a society. Specifically, the paper argues that anthropologists of play should draw on small group theory, method, and research findings when attempting to understand the play and games of primitive and modern societies. First, it is demonstrated that although general theoretical orientations and "middle range" theories have been used to explain group life in general, only certain very limited theories have been used to explain specific aspects of life within athletic teams. Second, methodological problems and methodological advances in small group analysis are identified. Finally, some recent findings from the study of group composition, group size, group cohesion, group leadership, and group structure are presented and their relevance for anthropology is discussed.
Dunleavy, A.O. (Fort Worth) Sociology of Sport Research: Methodological Problems in an Emerging Sub-Discipline. As a sub-discipline emerges, in this case sport sociology, so one reasonably expects early research inadequacies to be realised and, thereby, advances to be made toward the production of more "worthwhile" research. The present paper focuses upon sociology of sport research, albeit selectively, in an attempt to evaluate what strengths and weaknesses the research of this emerging sub-discipline evidences to date. Examples are drawn from areas of contemporary interest, e.g., aggression, feminism, race, to show where the sub-discipline evidences maturity in its research practices and where it continues to be plagued by bias or naivete. While the primary interest of this paper lies in questions germane to research methodology, questions are also raised about the value-base implicit in some of the research of the sub-discipline. It is the aim of the present paper to raise questions which will shed some light on the current state of research in the sociology of sport; and which, hopefully, will contribute to the promotion of future worthwhile research within this emerging sub-discipline.

SESSION 13: CHILD'S PLAY

Mergen, B. (George Washington) The Contribution of the Historian to Child's Play. Although the study of children's play has been done primarily by psychologists and anthropologists, other disciplines have contributions to make, especially if we are to understand the full context as well as the text of play. This paper reviews the "state of the art" in historical research on children's play by focusing on three kinds of data used by historians, data that can be of considerable value to researchers in other fields. The data comes from autobiographies, life histories, and oral interviews. Specifically, this paper will use William Dean Howells' A Boy's Town (1890), which covers the years 1837-1850, and Dorothy Howard's World: Childhood in Sabine Bottom, 1902-1910 (1977); the slave narratives collected in the 1930's by WPA workers; and a half dozen oral history interviews recently conducted in the Washington, D.C. area by the author with the specific intent of testing theories of memory and recall in relation to childhood play. Recent studies of autobiography and oral history by Ronald Grele, James Olney, Mutlu Konuk, Thomas Cooley, and Karl Weintraub have significantly advanced the theoretical sophistication with which historians and literary critics now approach life history material. This paper suggests definitions of play may be offset by attention to narrative conventions, interview techniques, and research designs.

Vandenberg, B. (Missouri, St. Louis) The Psychological View of Children's Play: or Why Does Alice Have Such Long Legs? Several issues have dominated psychologists' investigation of children's play. These issues include the investigation of the cognitive and social benefits of fantasy play, the analysis of the relationship between play and problem-solving, and the identification of the adaptive features of play. This research has revealed the potential richness of play for contributing to various aspects of cognitive and social development, and has strengthened the belief that play has important adaptive benefits. However, the picture of the playing child that emerges from these lines of research is an awkward, distorted view of children as rather serious, grim players. Much of the reason for this distortion is because children's play has been examined through a cultural looking glass that places high value on analytic, problem-solving skills within a decontextual, asocial environment. This emphasis is reflected not only in the children's play, but the researchers' methods. A more complete view of children's play is likely to emerge when we become more aware of how the values of our culture have influenced the way in which we have investigated children and play.

McDowell, J. (Indiana) Children's Verbal Play. Every riddle, story and rhyme is an arena for the construction and inspection of alternative versions of reality. Fictive worlds maintain a fundamentally ambivalent perspective on the world. Each is a conceptual and experiential order possessing its own inherent logic and attraction, irrespective of the degree to which it conforms to received orders. Riddles, for example, propose alternative taxonomies
composed of innovative categories themselves founded on the innovative association of disparate real world objects. There is a developmental disposition here as well; at the earlier stages, children's version of reality either conform readily to the received orthodoxy or depart from it in a palpably childish fashion. At a later stage, children learn to create fictive worlds maintaining a fundamentally ambivalent perspective on the received orders.

Kelly-Byrne, D. (Pennsylvania) 
Play: The Child-Adult Connection. Usually the differences between child and adult play are stressed. This paper concentrates instead on the continuities to be found, particularly in the private rather than the public varieties of play.

Fine, G. (Minnesota) 
Child and Adult Fantasies. This is a discussion of fantasy games and adult and child fantasies in psychotherapy, with particular reference to the social content of fantasy. Dreams, for example, may contain the technical nuances of occupational relations. The intent is to examine such apparently subjective content for the evidence of social structures.

SESSION 14: PLAY AND LITERATURE

Nardo, A.K. (Louisiana St.) 
The Play of and the Play in Literature. The vexed question of whether or not all literary texts are play has produced a centuries-old discussion carried on by poets like Friedrich Schiller, cultural historians like Johan Huizinga, and contemporary philosophers like Jacques Derrida. This question, in turn, has given rise to others: If literature is play, who are the players--the author while writing the text, or the audience while reading it, or both? Classifying all literary texts--drama, poetry, fiction, and nonfiction prose--as play may have significance for literary theorists and cultural anthropologists, but it is less helpful to the literary critic who is interested in the interpretation of specific texts. The practical critic frequently confronts some texts that are notably more playful than others. Two examples from the same period of English literature illustrate the problem: the witty lyrics of John Donne are obviously playful, while the sonnets of John Milton, although artfully contrived, are not. In one case, the voice, which is projected by the poem and engaged by the reader, creates a ludic self--one who deliberately locates himself and propels the reader into the paradoxical play frame defined by Bateson and Goffman. In the other case, the lyric voice engages the reader's intellect and emotions in unambiguous, albeit complex communications. Through a survey of what theorists have written about literary play, and through examples like the two above, this paper will try to demonstrate that, although all literature may be classified as play, some texts self-consciously frame themselves as play and call for playful responses from their readers, whereas others do not.

Manly, K.E.B. (Northern Colorado) 
Parody as Play. A number of scholars involved in research on play have pointed out the difficulty of defining their subject. This paper continues the investigation into the nature of play by examining literary play that is once serious and playful, specifically, the parodies of traditional fairy tales, that are both serious and playful because of the two audiences to which they are directed.

Benson, N.A. (Mercy) 
Play Theory and the Elizabethan Sonnet Sequence. Among those games commonly called poetic genres, none outranks the Elizabethan sonnet sequence in social and linguistic complexity. The metrical rules, conventional poses and stylized rhetoric reveal a highly developed ludic impulse. An inescapable element of competition--with contemporary practitioners and past masters--is enhanced by the sense of an audience well-versed in the moves, feints and ploys utilized by the performers. A pertinent example is Samuel Daniel's Delia, too long eclipsed by sequences of Shakespeare, Sidney, and Spenser. Delia's ludic elements include the word-play and manipulation of stock conceits, tropes and figures associated with Elizabethan sonneteering. But here the standard complaints established by Petrarch are rehearsed with an ingenious reversal: ethos accrues to the poet-lover, faithful to his role, and pathos
to the lady, vulnerable to time. Delia
demonstrates poetry's interplay between
poles Caillois calls ludus and paidia,
Coleridge expectation and surprise. More-
over, Elizabethan sonnets fits Huizinga's
definition of the ludic as "a contest for
the best representation of something"--in Delia an acceptable English version of
the Petrarchan model. A more subtle Pe-
trarchan strategy is also coded within
Daniel's sequence: the lady as symbol of
poetry itself, the most demanding of mist-
resses. Delia* can be read as a meta-
linguistic game celebrating the ideal* of
poetry and the poet's own powers. To the
large coterie of young poets in the 1590's,
Delia probably contained a subtext: in
claims for the lady's immortality, Daniel
asserts his own and that of all poets who
play this game to win.
*Note the anagram.

Riley, K. (Louisiana St.) The Loneliness
of the Short-Distance Runner: Running as
a Motif in Recent American Fiction.
Throughout American Fiction, the hero in
flight darts in and out of the literary
landscape with all the familiarity of an
archetype. From Natty Bumppo's excursions
into the wilderness to the nightmarish
underground flight through the "border
territory" of Invisible Man, American
heroes have followed an escape route at
once hopeful and poignant, vaguely doomed
to defeat or at least to compromise.
Caught between the urge to move and the
absence of a clear distinction, such fu-
gitives often sing the song of the open
road in a resolutely minor key. More
recent writers of American fiction have
adapted this pattern of "lighting out" to
a more domestic pasttime--that of recre-
ational running. One point that unites
characters like, for instance, Harry
Angstrom (Rabbit, Run), T.S. Garp (The
World According to Garp), and William
Dubin (Dubin's Lives) is the pattern in
their stories of flight and return through
running. In these and other works, running
is both a leisure activity and a means of
temporary liberation, followed by various
degrees of reconciliation between the
protagonist and the forces he is trying
to escape. Hence running functions in
these works both thematically, as a meta-
phor for the attempt to escape from (or
to) a set of values, and structurally, as
an integral part of the plot, an action
with both causes and consequences.

SESSION 15: PLAY AND GAMES: ETHNOGRAPHIC
PERSPECTIVES

Guilmette, A.M. (Brandon) Play and Humor:
Masks for Familiarity. The life and cul-
ture of the Native people in Northern
Manitoba are examined in terms of the
paradoxical function served by play and
humor. The Native people live in a remote,
relatively inaccessible, and isolated en-
vironment, literally insulated from the
mainstream society. Severe housing shor-
tages have created a high density and over-
crowded existence. Coupled with the harsh
realities of survival on a reserve, this
perpetual overcrowding has resulted in
Native people being characterized as un-
feeling, uncaring, disaffectionate, and
distrustful of themselves and toward others.
The intent of this paper is to demonstrate
the falseness of these stereotypes. Through
play and humor, Natives become capable of
expressing familiarity (affiliation and
affection). Joking relationships are used
to invert the normative regulation of re-
lationships. The pretense of disaffecta-
tion serves as psychological distancing,
to protect the self against invasion.
Play and humor permit a mirror-image re-
flection for the northern Native people
of Manitoba.

Miller, J.S. (Illinois) Games and Sport
in Tonga, 1982. The Kingdom of Tonga is
a group of islands in the South Pacific
believed to be the heart of Polynesia.
Tonga has retained its political independ-
ence and many of its cultural traditions.
The games and sports of Tonga were explored
through personal observation and through a
questionnaire given to students at the
teachers college (n=55) in Nuku'alofa,
1982. Findings indicate that many of the
current popular games have come from over-
seas (e.g., checkers) as well as the popu-
lar sports (e.g., rugby). Sports are play-
ed throughout the Kingdom. Many of the
traditional games are being forgotten (e.
g., lafo) but some are still played especi-
ally on the remote islands. Tongans have
added their own twists to western games in
many instances. Most activities are age
Hofsess, L. (Iowa St.) Play Behavior Among Adult Circus Performers: What To Do After the Big Top Comes Down. Circus performers belong to a unique, isolated, highly mobile community centered around a variety of extremely specialized, often dangerous skills. They earn their living in a manner which many towners (non-players) would consider play. In reality, though, circus performers regard any activity directly related to the practice and performance of their acts as work. Using data gathered while working as a member of the Flying Valentines trapeze act, from August 1981 to January 1982 in Las Vegas and Mexico City, the author analyzes circus performers recreation. Looking at a variety of social variables, the writer concludes that the performers tend to bring to their play the same risk and danger characteristic of their work. Risk, which is an everyday occurrence in work, naturally carries over into play without much explicit emphasis.

Mechling, J. (California, Davis) Male Border Wars As Metaphor in Capture the Flag. The essay is an ethnographic description of "Capture the Flag" as played by a troop of California Boy Scouts at their annual summer encampment in the Sierra Nevada. This account provides what the written histories of the game do not--namely, an inscription of the ways in which the game allows the players to experiment with rules-in-use, with countless rule disputes, with threatening disorder, with violence, with specialized game roles, and with team strategy. The account also places the game "Capture the Flag" within the larger context of group cultural rituals at the scout camp. It is suggested that only as the game of "Capture the Flag" is viewed as metacommunicative comment on other structures and symbols in the boys' everyday lives, can it be understood why they like to play the game and what it does for them.

Factor, J. (Victoria, Australia) 'Drop Dead, Pizza Head': Some Observations and Reflections on Australian Children's Rhymes and Games. The primary school playground is an important social arena for children, where friendships are begun, reinforced, broken, and renewed. Such friendships may be based on preferred individual qualities; they are also often related to extra-childhood factors such as nationality, religion, class, color, and sex. In Australia, there has been a tendency to assume a hegemonic view of childhood, particularly of childhood play, seeing it as little disturbed by 'adult' controversies. Yet an examination of the rhymes and games of Australian children suggests that forms of discrimination and prejudice have always existed, however obliquely. At the same time the fundamentally cooperative and egalitarian nature of much of this play has weakened, and sometimes obliterated, the harsher features of the enveloping culture. The presentation of this paper includes a short video made in 1981 of some of the traditional play activities of migrant children from Vietnam and Cambodia, and the response of the local children at the school.

SESSION 21: SPORT: THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Kovecses, Z. (California, Berkeley) Towards a New Theory of Sport. This paper is an attempt to give the outlines of a theory of actions and action sequences in sport. Several diverse disciplines concentrate on various aspects of actions and action sequences in sport: thus sociology examines the relationship between sports activities and society, psychology studies the mental processes involved in sports activities, philosophy investigates the ontological status of sports activities, anthropology focuses on the symbolic nature of actions in sport, etc. It is claimed, however, that no comprehensive theory of sport has been proposed to deal with the actions and action sequences themselves. Such a theory concerns itself with such questions as: What is the structure of actions in sport? What is the meaning of an action? What types of action are there? What is the exact relationship between actions in sport and the actions they derive from (the everyday world)? What determines the sequence of individual actions in sport? Although most of these questions have been considered by various disciplines, no single framework has been offered to account for this basic, purely actional level of sport.
The further claim is made that such a basic and unitary theory of action and action sequences is a necessary foundation for any study of sport.

Eisen, G. (California St., Pomona) Ethnicity and the Study of Play and Sports in American Culture. One of the great challenges facing the sociologist and anthropologist is the matter of determining the place of sports and play in a cultural hierarchy. The focus of this paper is 1) the examination of the role of sport and play in ethnic sub-cultures as an area of scientific research; 2) their function as agents of social maintenance, enculturation, and communication; 3) the inherent problems and limitations in studying minority groups; and 4) setting guidelines for the research of sports and play in ethnic America.

Fine, G. (Minnesota) Seasons, Records, and Miraculous Events: The Historical Focus in Team Sports. Those team sports which are organized into seasons invariably have associated with them a historical component. One important way in which team sports differ from individual sports and from non-sport athletic encounters is that in team sports the individual game is embedded in a season. This means that each game is not only an end in itself; rather, the game is part of a skein of events which taken together determine success. The goal in most team sports is to come in first for the season, and to win the league championship which usually is based at least in part on the team's seasonal record. This structure of play means that the attention of the team will not only be on what is happening on any given day, but will have both a retrospective and a prospective focus. The former suggests that teams will be concerned with their evolving history; the latter indicates that strategic change is seen as a means of altering the past. This paper is an ethnographic study of Little League baseball, in particular, an examination of how the changing evaluations of players during the season about their prospects influence the way in which they play baseball and are oriented to their activity. The focus is on the players' perceptions of the "miraculous" event.

Hilliard, D.C. (Southwestern, Texas) Corporate Sport and American Values: An Intuitive Assessment. While anthropologists have focused on the significance of sport as ritual, sociologists have argued that the institution of sport reflects or mirrors the characteristics found in other areas of social structure. This paper attempts to go beyond the "sport as microcosm" argument by comparing the values which are central to corporate sport in America with those values which are thought to be most important in American culture generally. The paper takes as a point of departure the list of fifteen major American values identified by Williams (1970) and discusses the extent to which they are found within corporate sport. The emphasis is on the way these values are, or are not, expressed in the words and actions of players, coaches, and management, as well as the way in which they are interpreted to the public by sports journalists and media commentators. It is argued that eight of the fifteen values are not merely reflected in corporate sport; rather, they are exaggerated in corporate sport; that is, they receive greater expression in corporate sport than they do in other areas of American life.

Rees, R., Allinder, S., Hammond, R., and Woodruff, J. (Texas Christian) Does the Referee Make a Difference?: An Observational Study of a "Truly" American Game Form. It has been shown that the transition from play to games and then to sports involves increasingly complex activities and professionalized attitudes on the part of the players. In order to interpret these activities and legislate disputes developed as a result of professionalized attitudes, the specialized role of the referee has evolved in sport. Some critics of "ultra-competitive" sports have suggested the elimination of the referee as one way to restore the fun element and return sport to the participants. However, there is little information available about what difference, if any, the referee makes to the game, or whether it is possible for adults socialized into the professional model to perpetuate the game without the referee's formal authority. This is a study of an adult, church-sponsored, recreational basketball league. The role
of the referee and the attitude of participants toward that role are explored.

SESSION 22: ART AS PLAY: PARAMETERS AND POSSIBILITIES

Wilson, M. and Wilson, B. (Penn St.)
Children's Drawing as Self-Recording Play: From Solitary to Interactive.
Children's graphic play is unique in several respects. In most children's play, no formal record exists of its having been played, or there remains at best only the residue of play in the form of such things as scattered blocks, dug holes, piles of boards, or the remnants of a tea party. When a child draws, however, the trace of pencil, crayon, or marker reveals an almost complete record of the course of the play. Moreover, the graphic symbol system is probably the first acquired by the child that makes it possible for him or her to produce tangible and at least semi-permanent record of his ideas. In the graphic mode the symbols are somewhat iconistic to objects in the phenomenal world, and perhaps it is this concreteness that permits graphic symbols to be more easily learned than abstract verbal symbols, for example. Also, the absence of a mandatory syntactic structure and the subsequent possibility of creating great complexity of meaning through the mere juxtaposition of objects makes the graphic symbol system a potentially important tool for the child's cognitive orientation--especially when used for the purpose of narration. In their story drawings children create settings, invent characters, and then show what befalls them, what happens next, and how things are finally resolved. Hence graphic narrations provide surprisingly complete indications of children's conceptions of the realities of self, world, future, and good and evil. This is a video presentation that demonstrates how spontaneous social graphic play is still conducted by children on walls in places--such as Egypt--where paper is in short supply.

Nuell, L.R. (Middle Tennessee) Art as Play Among Children and Adults. It is an easier matter to apply the term "play" to the work of children than it is to activities and products created by adults. It is possible, however, to classify the work of some adults as the result of play, even the work of professional artists, given the nature of the product and an examination of the activity itself. This presentation considers the concept of art as play, its value to children and adults.

SESSION 23: THE LAST WORD IN PLAY

Fatke, R. (Tubingen) Children's Stories as a Means of Self-Symbolisation: An Inquiry into the Function of Fantasy.
The fantasy of children is a widely neglected research topic in early childhood development and education. And yet children, especially at the age of three to seven years, are constantly occupied with expressing fantasies in play, in drawings, in stories made up by themselves, and so on. Drawing upon psychoanalytical as well as cognitive developmental studies, a theoretical framework for understanding the sources, the manifestations, and the functions of children's fantasy is elaborated. It is shown that the original psychoanalytic conception of fantasy--contrary to widely held beliefs--does not confine itself to the compensatory aspect (although this is generally true for the psychoanalytic writings after S. Freud) and that the cognitive developmental position provides a necessary but not sufficient basis for understanding the prospective, self-symbolizing character of fantasy production. Within this theoretical framework an empirical investigation of some 450 fantasy stories of children between two and ten years of age is presented. Linking the findings to studies in cultural anthropology as well as to old and recent American research on children's stories it is shown that children fantasize not only and not even primarily in order to deal with emotional or cognitive conflicts but rather to outline, with symbolic means, a draft of how they see themselves and their life in the future and thus to actively and constructively build up their identity. Finally, the implications for family and nursery school education are discussed.

Inclan, J. (Gouverneur Hospital, New York) Interpersonal Relationships Among Puerto
Rican Men, or, Why so much Dominoes? This paper analyzes the game of dominoes, the most popular game among Puerto Ricans. Its main idea is that domino playing allows for the establishment of socially sanctioned and "safe" partnerships among men in which affective exchange is permissible. Why in the Puerto Rican culture the expression of affection between men very typically takes symbolic forms is discussed. The notion of dominoes as a simple and mechanical game is challenged. Instead, it is presented as a complex game of communication where players obtain information for play by analyzing the process or sequences of play. The recent emphasis on process information in the behavioral sciences is noted. Tentative conclusions about social relationships among Puerto Ricans are offered.

Lavie, S. (California, Berkeley) Spontaneous Theatre and Social Inconsistencies Among the Mzeina Bedouin of the Sinai. The paper is a description of the theatrical action of a Bedouin madwoman from the Mzeina tribe of the Southern Sinai desert and the processual structure of the melodramatic parody she stages. According to tribal ideology, men are said to have the rational mind ('aqal), while women are said to have passionate souls (nafs). But paradoxically, in the course of everyday life, acts of men are conceived as motivated by their lust (ghayy), while acts of women are calculated with patience, tolerance, and equanimity (sabr). The madwoman bridges this logical paradox contextually. She overrides the paradox by a spontaneous transformation of Mzeina daily reality into the stylized reality of ritual/play. The madwoman may belong to the societal peripheries of deviation, but nevertheless, in her theatrical performance, she affects the center of everyday life of Mzeina men and women in an allegorical way. The madwoman appears on the societal stage in phases in which all aspects of social, political, and economic life are in transition. In these situations, she bridges social inconsistencies, which are likely to rise when Mzeina ask themselves -when in the midst of routine- questions concerning the crux of their social order. The madwoman reunifies the social context by transforming reality into a higher level of artistic abstraction. In this manner she provides a set of specific answers to existential and organizational questions of Mzeina society.

Berentzen, S. (Bergen) Social Interaction and Cultural Frames: A Study of Gender Contrast in Children's Play. There is a deficiency of empirical description of the cultural frames children use in the organization of their participation in different social settings. This paper suggests one analytical approach for studying child culture, which consists essentially of an attempt to combine data about both child interaction and patterns of social organization. Such a combined empirical approach is considered fruitful for investigation of children's use of cultural frames. In the analysis of children's interaction it is important to study not only the 'grammar' of interaction, but also the results of interaction in terms of what is transferred as constraints for later interaction. When child interaction is analyzed in such a way it is possible to examine processes generating organizational patterns in children's social life. This approach is illustrated by a study of child-child interaction in a kindergarten in Bergen, Norway.

SESSION 24: LEISURE AND ANTI-LEISURE

Duda, J.L. (California, Los Angeles) A Social Psychological Analysis of the Leisure State: Competence, Challenge, and Control Among Working Women. Drawing from recent work on intrinsic motivation (e.g., Deci, 1976, 1980) and the "flow" experience (e.g., Csikszentmihalyi, 1977), a social psychological analysis of the leisure state is forwarded and applied to the life contexts of working women. In congruence with the perspectives of Neulinger (1974) and Iso-Ahola (1976, 1977, 1981), it is assumed that the leisure state is a subjectively-defined experience which is situationally-dependent and intimately linked to a person's mental, physical, and social self. Specifically, the present paper will discuss how subjective perceptions of personal control, demonstrated competence, and optimal challenge mediate the leisure state for working women in occupational, recreational, and
family settings. Since past work on the leisure state is based primarily on males, it is deemed important to first assess the personal conception or definition of competence, challenge and control in the view of women from a variety of occupational backgrounds. Further, it is argued that we also need to examine how women try to maintain perceived competence, challenge and control at work, home, and play. Such information will enhance our ability to accentuate leisure-oriented thoughts and feelings for both females and males in a variety of contexts.

Duncan, M.C. (Purdue) A Fusion of Work and Leisure: The Careers of Professional University Women. The purpose of this paper is to explore dimensions of leisure and anti-leisure within the lives of professional women. Rather than employing the traditional residual time or activity-based definitions of leisure, this study defines leisure as a state of mind characterized by pleasure, freedom, intellectual or creative growth, and non-instrumentality. Anti-leisure is defined as a state of mind characterized by instrumentality, compulsiveness, anxiety, time consciousness, lack of personal autonomy, and self-authentication. Detailed interviews were conducted among a sample of university staff members. This paper is a discussion of those findings and the implications of this research for the theoretical understanding of leisure in general.

Allison, M.T. (Purdue) Work, Family, and Play: Are Blue-Collar Women Blue? Women have entered the labor force in dramatic numbers in recent years. Figures from the Department of Labor's Women's Bureau (1981) indicate that 52.2% of women work outside the home. In addition 54% of all women with young children have entered the labor force. This structural shift in the occupational sector must have concomitant influences on the health and leisure lifestyle of working women and their families. The purpose of this paper is to analyze the influence of occupation on the health and leisure lifestyle patterns of working women. Specifically, the paper: 1) analyzes the experience of flow (Csikzentmihalyi, 1977) and leisure/anti-leisure (Godbey, 1975) within the life of female blue-collar workers, 2) discusses the contexts and structural characteristics within which such states are experienced (e.g., work, family, recreation), 3) describes the social networks within which such experiences take place, and 4) describes ways in which family and work interact to facilitate and/or inhibit such quality of life experiences.

SESSION 29: THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF PLAY

Harkness, S. and Super, C. (Harvard Medical) The Cultural Structuring of Play in a Rural African Community. An important issue in the anthropological study of children's play is how this universally recognized construct is given particular meaning, or used for particular purposes, in different cultural settings. This paper will describe and analyze the cultural structuring of children's play in a rural Kipsigis community of Kenya, using the authors' theoretical model of the "developmental niche". The current context of play for children aged two to nine will be described in relation to the three dimensions of the niche: the physical and social structuring of the child's environment, culturally regulated customs of child care, and the psychology of the caretakers. Of particular note here will be the constitution of children's play groups and where they spend their time, other activities going on in the same context to which children are assigned or which they observe, and parental attitudes toward children's play. To summarize briefly, the children in this community spend much of their time close to home in varied-age and sex groups of siblings and close neighbors, and they are assigned household responsibilities including care of infants and watching the cows from an early age. Mothers do not play with their children, and the focus of their concern about their children is the development of socially responsible behavior rather than play skills. The content of children's play, as well as changes in the settings provided for it, are described for three culturally defined age-groups: the post-weaned child, the young household apprentice, and the socially responsible middle-years child. It is concluded that children's play in this community takes place...
in the context of work, and that this cultural structuring influences both its frequency and its style.

Katz, M. (Harvard), Forbes, D.L. (Harvard), Yablick, G. (Clark), and Kelly, V.E. (Harvard). Disagreements During Play: Clues to Children's Constructions of Reality. While engaged in joint fantasy play, children often disagree about the exact agenda to be followed. In managing these disagreements, they refer to standards of appropriateness and inappropriateness to justify their individual propositions, and these provide a means from which to infer their constructions of reality. This paper considers the utility of a method for inferring children's notions of reality by locating and analyzing their disagreements in terms of relations among five elements of drama proposed by K. Burke: scene, act, agent, agency (means), and purpose. The data are the videotaped conversations of five- and seven-year-old children from Cambridge, Mass. interacting in a laboratory playgroup. The utility of the method is considered, and the difficulty of distinguishing individual, jointly established, and cultural standards is discussed.

Lancy, D.F. (Arizona State). A Comparative, Structural Analysis of Playforms in Six Papua New Guinean Societies. Since 1976, the author and colleagues have undertaken a series of comparative studies in 10 traditional Papua New Guinean societies. These studies have focused on the cognitive and social development of children and their acquisition of modern mathematics. Ethnographic research has also been carried out to obtain basic descriptions of indigenous cognitive and subsistence systems and to collect inventories of children's games. The cognitive development of children is explicitly linked to various measures of cultural complexity. These two issues are also invoked by Brian Sutton-Smith as the theoretical basis for his "structural grammar" scheme for analyzing and grouping games and sports as a function of age and culture.

Rosenberg, J. (Pennsylvania). Space and Architecture of the Covered and Uncovered Classroom. Since 1971, there has been a resurgence of interest in the playground as a Western institution. The histories of the development of a bureaucratic structuring of children's lives have been written by scholars who have been struggling with the question of order and control in the United States during the Progressive Era, 1880-1920. This paper treats the problems of doing ethnography in the schools and looks at the relationship between school architecture and attitudes toward play embodied in the school's philosophy. However, the basic question raised is that regarding the interplay between the playground, the uncovered classroom, and the school building, the covered classroom. Specifically, "how does the uncovered classroom relate to the covered classroom and how can the two spaces be described architecturally and ecologically so that they may be viewed in light of history as well as their current use?"

SESSION 30: GAMES

Chick, G. (Illinois). Competence and the Determinants of Game Outcomes. One system of game organization is based on the way in which the outcome (i.e., winning or losing) is determined: through either physical skill, strategy, or chance. Most games, however, are not pure types, but combine two of the categories, e.g., physical skill and strategy, or strategy and chance. It is also the case that certain games within a combined type demand greater or lesser degrees of one component in comparison to the other. Baseball, for example, demands high physical skill but has relatively simple strategic input while billiards inherently requires complex strategy. In addition, evidence suggests that player competence also has an effect on the relative importance of skill, strategy, or chance in determining game outcomes. Specifically, data from a study of billiards indicates that relatively more accomplished players both enjoy the strategic features of the game more than do less skillful players and feel that it is comparatively more important in the determination of the outcome of the game. This suggests that the actual nature of a game may change from one in which physical skill is the primary requirement to one where strategy is the most important component. This notion has ramifications in terms of the conflict-enculturation theory of game
involvement, suggesting that players' motivation for participating in a given game may change as their level of skill changes.

Hughes, L. (Pennsylvania) Fun in Games. It is easy in the process of analyzing observations and interviews with children about how and why they play certain games to lose sight of the fact that games are fun. Children play games largely because they want to, not because they are prototypical interactional structures or lessons in "interactional competence". In this paper we propose to set aside, at least temporarily, what children have to say about games and about their own gaming to ask a different kind of question: What makes children laugh when they talk about how they play games? What do they find funny in their play? Perhaps not surprisingly, those aspects of game playing that most amuse children are the same ones that make them most angry. We propose to explore something of the basis for this apparent paradox.

Chase, D. (Penn St.) Current Research on Video Game Play: Taping the Flow Model. Video game play, which was born in the early 1970's and has blossomed in the 1980's, has only recently become the topic of research in the social sciences. Much of the research has been prompted by public concern, at times hysteria, over the possible harmful effects on American youth of video game playing. The results of studies of video game play have appeared almost exclusively in popular magazines, not academic journals. As a result of the type of outlet, no theoretical base for video game play has been put forward in the literature. Phone interviews with several researchers (Fridgen, Ng, Terkel, Fee and Kuby) indicate a flurry of work is in progress. The theoretical orientation of this work includes social learning theory, Csikszentmihalyi's flow model and physiological models of performance. The work of Chase (1982) focuses on motivations for video game play and is based on the flow model of individual leisure experiences. In addition to demographic and descriptive data, the study measured players' degree of flow while playing video games, the satisfaction with video play, motivations for video play and feelings after terminating sessions of video play. The results supported the primary hypothesis that the degree of flow in video game play is positively related to the degree of satisfaction with play (r=.42). This finding and other secondary results suggest that the flow model provides an appropriate theoretical base from which to initiate future research on the playing of video games. In the near future this and the other research in progress will provide empirical evidence on the emotionally tinged issue of young Americans' video game binge. And, if as many expect, video gaming maintains its place in popular culture, this would seem to be an ideal arena in which to study the place and structure of games in culture.

Ng, D. and June, L. (Waterloo) The Electronic Leisure and Youth: Penticton Arcade Video Game Players. This paper is an analysis of arcade video game player characteristics as these are observed among a large sample of youth from a Canadian community. Using a questionnaire and both descriptive and inferential statistical techniques, the nature of participation is analyzed, and it is suggested that the percentage of students playing video games decreases as the grade level increases. Amounts of money invested, motives for playing, and motives for not playing are detailed, and it is concluded that, contrary to the literature, computerized games have not permeated the leisure patterns of the majority of students.

Alford, R. (East Central Oklahoma) Video Games: Who Plays, Why, and with What Consequences? Over the last several years video games have been capturing a great deal of media attention. Coverage of these new forms of play has ranged from emotional appeals to eliminate the video menace and restrict access to these games by the young to columns by young experts instructing readers in optimal strategies for video play. Are video games harmful, harmless, or beneficial? This study addresses these and other questions. Data were collected via structured interviews with video players in three video arcade settings. The following questions are addressed: What makes a video game interesting? Which games are most interesting and why? What are the characteristics of video game players? What do
they consider the attractions of video game play to be? What are the benefits of video game play (improved reflexes, release of tension, etc.)? What are the costs of video play (time and money expended, socially maladaptive tendencies encouraged, etc.)? And finally, do video games represent anything truly new in the play world, or are they merely old game ideas in high-tech garb?

SESSION 31: FESTIVALS

Lavenda, R.H. (St. Cloud St.) What are Festivals? We have been confronted recently with a host of suggestions concerning the nature of festivals. Festivals are texts. They are performances. They are communication systems. They are foci. They are metaphors. They are art forms. They are reversals, inversions, reflections of social organization, or just for fun. In this paper, it will be argued that by pinning down festivals in this way--by making metaphor into reality--their potency and essential character are lost. Festivals may be (probably are) all of the above, and more. They are, in fact, multiplex and multi-level social and cultural processes that permit the introduction of uncertainty into social and cultural systems. This position is illustrated by reference to ethnographic data from Minnesota and Latin America.

Pierson, W.D. (Fisk) The Royal Festivals of Afro-America: Precursors of Mardi Gras. This paper argues that throughout the New World Afro-American populations under the temporary rule of black royalty celebrated saturnalian festivals similar to the Mardi Gras of New Orleans. Travel accounts, early histories, and more recent monographs all show similar patterns in these festive precursors of Mardi Gras. Moreover, they demonstrate such celebrations were institutionalized in Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch, and English colonial holdings: that is, in Argentina, Columbia, Uruguay, Peru, Panama, Espanola, Mexico, Cuba, Brazil, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Haiti, New Amsterdam, Antigua, Barbados, Jamaica, St. Lucia, Tobago, Trinidad, British Guiana, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire as well as in New Orleans. The evidence presented from these areas suggests a basic African style to the festi-

Snyder, A.F. (California, Los Angeles) What Happened to the Hobby-Horse Today? This paper introduces a work in progress which seeks to look at the performance texts embedded in Mardi Gras related events and examines those in relation to analogous texts found in other European and New World rituals, festivals, carnivals. While elements of this study have been essayed by such scholars as Alford, Kennedy, Cawte and Kurath, this study suggests new approaches through ethno-historical studies of the performing arts. The recurring appearance of the hobby-horse in this cluster of events is singled out and used as a model text upon which to focus this discussion.

Gradante, W. (Texas) The Message in the Mask: Costuming in the Festival Context. It has been suggested by some students of festival that the mask serves as a means of temporarily abandoning--and concealing--one's own "ordinary" identity in order to indulge more unrestrainedly in the licentious behavior frequently associated with festival. Others question this. Nonetheless, costuming and masking activities make possible the perennial emergence of many unique festival "personalities". This is an analysis of the festival of San Pedro in the small Andean town of La Plata. The focus is on the "personalities" of the festival and the masks and costumes as artistically conceived items of material culture used by their creators to communicate messages about themselves and the cultural value system in which they function.

SESSION 32: CHILDREN AND PLAY: FROM OBSERVATION TO THERAPY

Grossberg, B. (California, Berkeley) The Golden Age of Make-Belief: Who Transforms What? As the toddler transforms a stick into a horse, his baby...
sister into a frog and himself into a mighty warrior, he demonstrates the complex integration of cognitive, affective and social skills. The "frame" provided by the play context enables the child to transcend the compensatory function of wish-fulfillment and affords the child the opportunity and freedom to perform at levels beyond himself. The theoretical approach to symbolic play presented above is a synthesis of current ideas on play and a remodelling of the ideas of Piaget and Freud. The main thesis of this paper is that symbolic play provides a pivot for new combinations of behavior patterns in several domains of intellectual, social, and emotional functioning. But, above all, it is the self-generative quality of symbolic play, as both incentive and purpose, that overrides any specific function attributed to play, albeit compensatory or innovative.

Greene, E.D., Jr. (Appalachian State) Three Levels of Symbolic Social Play: A Structural Analysis and Empirical Verification. The behavior of a child during social play is assumed to conform to two types of structure: 1) common behavior of the play group, i.e., norms; and 2) unique behavior of a child while playing a role compatible with the common structure. When these two structures, common and compatible, interact, with at least one being imaginary, symbolic play results. It is assumed that play provides a gain in information for the child, and the greater the structure of the play group, the more information it contains. Levels of play reflect increasing structural complexity: Level One lacks compatible structure; Level Two has both types of structure with the non-imaginary structure being used to evaluate and often change play; at Level Three, both types of structure are imaginary. The social play of 25 three to five year old children was studied and the following hypotheses were supported: 1) age was directly related to participation in levels of play; 2) the more attractive children (=number of times others go to child/number of times child goes to others) were older, engaged in higher levels of play, generated more information at a given level, and were more often leaders of the play group; 3) different styles of leadership were associated with different levels of play; 4) children who could not conform to common structure or who would exhibit behavior that could not be assimilated into any group structure were usually excluded from the play group.

Reifel, S., Briley, S., and Garza, M. (Texas) Play at Child Care: Event Knowledge at Ages 3-6. Child care in group settings is an increasingly common experience for young children. The purpose of this study was to describe children's memories of play events in full-day child care. Fourteen children, ages 3 through 6, were interviewed during their seventh month in a small, full-day child care center. The sample was composed of all English-speaking, non-handicapped children in the center. A series of directives and questions were directed to each child during a tape-recorded session, as follows: Tell me what you do at school every day. What is the first thing you do when you get to school? Tell me what you do when you have breakfast/play/play outside/nap/etc. Results show the place play has in children's larger scripts for the child care day. Play events are discussed in light of Piaget's (1962) and Buhler's (1935) categories of play. The script model is discussed as one approach for analyzing a participants knowledge and understanding of play experience in an environment, in this case a child care center.

Gee, J. and Townsend, L. (California, Berkeley) The Constructive Role of Language in Children's Doll-Play. While the nature of psycholinguistic inquiry as an approach which is sensitive to context has supplanted a decontextualized study of child language, it is argued that current conceptualizations of context are insufficient, as they rest on a specification independent of the participant's discursive intentions. Thus, an alternate "interpretive" formulation of context for child language is developed and exemplified as part of an analysis of the modal/future reference terms WILL and GONNA. Also, an attempt is made to demonstrate Foucault's point that language (the choice between WILL and GONNA and other co-occurring linguistic forms) and other social practices
play a constitutive role in creating the very social reality (context) of which they speak. This paper shows how certain linguistic forms are used to help constitute different sorts of activity-types in children's doll play. This analysis yields the finding that doll-play is not a homogeneous context; there are at least 2 distinct modes of expressing the themes which make up or characterize the role of language.

Campbell, J.A. (North Texas State) Pediatric Play Programs in Community Hospitals. This presentation documents the need for pediatric play programs, "Child Life Programs" in medical nomenclature. The author's recent research on pediatric play is described. Play is the child's means of discovery, communication, and of expression. Even during a stay in the hospital, children are eager to play and investigate while they are constantly learning from their environment. Adequate preparation, emotional support, and numerous play opportunities can enable a child to continue to play and develop as he learns to understand his hospital experience.

SESSION 39: PLAY AND HISTORY

Beran, J. (Iowa State) Iowa Girl's Basketball, 1898-1925: Acceptable Athleticism. At a time when in most parts of the United States women's sports were not encouraged, there was already a thriving basketball program for Iowans on the Mississippi border of the state. Playing occasionally under boy's rules, and more times under girls' rules, the scores would vary from being as low as 4-2 and as high as 50-6. By 1900 there were several teams playing as many as two games a week. Games and practices were held on outdoor 'grassy' courts, in church basements, and in cramped gyms. The sport attracted many participants as well as spectators. This paper will attempt to describe the state of women's basketball from 1898 through 1925 in Iowa. Data will be gathered from print media, personal interviews, as well as from players who have been initiated in the Iowa Girls Basketball Hall of Fame. Analysis will be made to investigate the reasons for the apparent success, the socio-cultural environment that encouraged such athletic endeavors, and the reasons for changes that came about in 1925.

Cheska, A.T. (Illinois) Playful Evidence of Old and New World Contact Between Medieval Norsemen and Greenland Eskimos: A Tentative Proposition. Archaeological finds point to Norse colonization on the shores of Greenland dating back to 982 A.D. These people were provided through sea trade from Scandinavia grain, wood, and iron, essential products for survival. Another culture group, the Inuit (Thule) people, about 500 A.D. also migrated to Greenland across the Davis Straits; they spread along Greenland's west coast in search for food, and presumably came in contact with the Norsemen about 1200 A.D. The Thule culture seemed to have been influenced by this encounter (Persson, 1969; Taylor, 1963). In the 1400's the sea passages from Scandinavia to the Norse settlements were interrupted; during this time it appears that the Thule continued to spread, while the Norsemen vanished. With material exchange between the Inuit peoples and the Medieval Norsemen in Greenland (Oleson, 1963) is some indication of expressive culture transmission. Only specific activities practiced by Greenland Inuks which were also present in Norse medieval culture would strengthen this Norse-Thule Greenland contact proposition. Such similarity of some games, dances, and songs between these two groups appears to tentatively support such contact. Evidence of physical activities as the stone-hopping game ("Heljarbru" or "Naagisastoq"), "row-to-seal" game, wrestling, and chained-round dance, each of which were practiced by medieval Norsemen, were also found among the Greenland Inuit by the second European migration to Greenland from 1700 to 1900s (Duason, 1941-47; Gotlind, 1933; Nelson, 1899; Neilson, 1933; Rasmussen, 1916-18; 1918-19; 1919; 1921-24; Taylor, 1974; Thalbitzer, 1924, Turner, 1894).

Park, R.J. (California, Berkeley) Symbol, Celebration, and the Reduction of Conflict: The Example of Women's Field Hockey, a Game in Transition. Women's field hockey was brought from England to America at the turn of the century. Over the decades, a very considerable effort was exerted by the United States Field Hockey Association (founded in 1922) to ensure that the game itself and the contexts in which it was framed retained traditional values. The organizational structure was intensely
pryamidal and something akin to Turner's "normative communitas" was repeatedly reinforced: Club teams; Associations; Sectional teams; a culminating National Tournament, at which the US and Reserve squads were represented.

Stanaland, P. (Eastern Kentucky) Kentucky Folksport: Organized Pastimes of the 19th Century Rural Kentuckians. Kentuckians of the 19th century have been more often characterized by their proclivity to hard work, their honesty, their poverty, and their lack of sophistication rather than for their affinity to sport and active games. Kentucky literature is replete with accounts of folk activity, yet little mention is made of the Kentuckians' participation in folk sport, folk games without music, or organized competitive activity. It is the intent of this paper to examine the folksport of the early Kentuckians. It will attempt to bring to light the active sport pastimes of a people at the western edge of Appalachia in the 1800's and will further attempt to show the concentration or dispersion of various activities. A final intent will be to begin a classification system for Kentucky folksport to determine if ethnic, regional, or diffused factors were present.

SESSION 40: PLAY AND LANGUAGE

Nilsen, D.L.F. (Arizona St.) The Function of Antithesis in American Culture: An Analysis of Paradoxical Proverbs. There are traditionally four levels of analysis in the field of linguistics: phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics. In the 1940's phonology was thought to underlie the other levels, and was therefore the central focus of linguists. In the 1950's syntax became important, and syntax became the central focus in 1957 with the publication of Noam Chomsky's Syntactic Structures. In the 1960's semantics became important and in 1965 Chomsky published Aspects of the Theory of Syntax, providing a syntactic system that was totally compatible with semantics. The semantic component of language was developed by Postal, Katz, Fodor, McCauley, Jackendoff and others. About this time Uriel Weinrich developed construal rules that could be used to analyze metaphorical and playful language, and Grice developed a system of conversational implicatures. Later George Lakoff developed Gestalt linguistics, which could be used for even greater logical leaps, and with Johnson published Metaphors We Live By in 1980. With these new linguistic techniques, we are now in a position to investigate not only ordinary language, but in addition a wide range of language diversity. In addition to syntagmatic analysis, we are now developing paradigmatic analysis, the fundamental cornerstone of which is contrast. It is for these reasons that an essay on antithesis--at the word, phrase, and sentence level--can provide insights into the type of language analysis that is now possible. The present paper gives evidence that so-called contradictory expressions are not contradictory at all but rather paradoxical. The nature of the paradoxes will be explored, and it will be shown that such contrasts allow us to see not only the world's black and white, but its shades of grey as well. The concluding advice is for "moderation in all things--including moderation".

Nilsen, A.P. (Arizona St.) Children's Multiple Uses of Oral Language Play. In school and at home, teachers and parents use playful language and humor with children for various purposes: to establish rapport, to have fun, to smooth ruffled feelings, to make difficult tasks seem easier, and to help children grow intellectually. But the humor to be discussed here is that which children create themselves and use in dealings with other children. It serves the same purpose as humor initiated by adults, but in addition it satisfies some psychological and intellectual needs that are unique to children, as follows: 1) They learn what is incongruous as opposed to what is expected. Seeking for what is at the root of the incongruity helps them to increase their mental powers. 2) Through hearing and judiciously experimenting with taboo language, they learn cultural norms and attitudes relating to bodily functions and sexuality. 3) They relieve aggression and frustrations about social situations they cannot alter such as adult control over their lives. 4) They use humor to shape the social structure of their peer groups. They achieve dominance through wit and keep other children "in their place" through using "humorous"
racial, ethnic, religious, and other slurs based on names or physical characteristics.

Limon, J.E. (Texas) Mexicans and Speech Play: Interpretation and Ideology. The sexual and scatalogical speech play of Mexican descent males on both sides of the border has received little anthropological attention. However, various Mexican social thinkers, including Samuel Ramos (1962) and Octavio Paz (1961) have dealt with the issue. For these commentators, such speech play is primarily a lower socio-economic practice, and this writer agrees. However, this paper departs from their conclusion that this speech play is a manifestation of a male aggressive impulse stemming from an acute sense of psychological inferiority. It is concluded that 1) this dominant psychoanalytic interpretation is shallow and reductive, and 2) a better interpretation is one suggesting that as a working class phenomenon, Mexican speech play is an ideological practice which speaks to and counters the alienating effects of a class society.

Genishi, C. (Texas) Sociodramatic Play Among Mexican-American Preschoolers. This is an investigation of the discourse of Mexican-American preschoolers during sociodramatic play, fantasy play in which children assign roles to be played. Play is viewed as a social activity, and dramatic play as discourse that is jointly constructed by two or more children. The following questions are posed: 1) to what extent do the children activate scripts in their play, and 2) what is the nature of the scripts?

SESSION 45: CARNIVAL IN LOUISIANA

Ancelet, B.J. (Southwestern Louisiana) Courir du Mardi Gras. This paper, accompanied by slides, presents a South Louisiana country Mardi Gras. The Country Mardi Gras celebration of South Louisiana differs greatly from its carnival counterparts in New Orleans and Lafayette. Essentially, the courir du Mardi Gras is a remnant of the medieval fête de la guêmande with influences from the frontier heritage of the Louisiana prairies. During the courir du Mardi Gras a band of masked riders sing and dance to the traditional song (which has its origin in medieval modal music) expecting a contribution from local householders to their communal gumbo shared later that day (ideally the contribution is a liye chicken). In addition to its medieval begging celebration origin, the courir du Mardi Gras is characterized by a mystique of toughness reminiscent of the days of the American Wild West, the anonymity of the masked riders generally providing an ideal reckoning ground for quarreling parties. At one time scores were often settled on this day. This paper will focus on the celebration held at Mamou, a celebration which was actually revived in the 1950's after having died out earlier in the century. Those who revived it took great pains to make it relatively safe and the celebration has become a very important one for the community.

Spitzer, N.R. (Louisiana Folklife Program) Symbolic Interpretation of a Rural Black Creole Mardi Gras in French Louisiana. A rural Black Creole Mardi Gras in a selected prairie community of southwest Louisiana will be described as a community-wide performance genre that provides a particular commentary on Black Creole vs. Cajun social identity as well as on age, sex, and personality roles as they are manifest symbolically by way of costuming and masks; clowning, leadership, and audience behavior; singing and playing music; food consumption; and temporal/spatial relationships of the participants. This interpretive ethnography will also show how the festival both intensifies and inverts for its participants such contrastive cultural categories as house/yard vs. street/club; work vs. play; adults vs. children; male vs. female values; and neighbors vs. strangers among others. The overall form and content of the festival as well as its changing nature over the last six years will also be used to discuss relationships between Cajun, Afro-American, and Black Creole cultures in the region.

Reinecke, G. (New Orleans) New Orleans Mardi Gras. The New Orleans Mardi Gras developed from a base of Western Europe (mostly Latin) medieval folk custom. Early observance in Louisiana was along two lines, first, folk mumming out-of-doors just before Lent--this is still common in primitive form in western Louisiana towns--and in an evolved form, the popular "masking" in New Orleans. There is also the sophisticated observance seen in weekly dances and balls held from Twelfth Night to Mardi Gras.
De Caro, F.A. (Louisiana State) and Ireland, T. (Delgado) Every Man a King: Worldview, Social Tension, and Carnival in Louisiana. It has often been noted that New Orleans Carnival ("Mardi Gras") reflects New Orleans social reality, especially the class structure of the city. Carnival is dominated by members of the upper class, who comprise the membership of the elite krewes, or Carnival organizations which sponsor parades and balls and which exclude blacks, members of certain white ethnic groups, and others. Commentators like Munro Edmonson have discussed the aristocratic tone of Carnival, and most Orleanians are aware that kinds of participation in the festivities mark social status and that Carnival organizations play a role in interconnecting local elites. The symbolism of the elite parades clearly brings out the idea of aristocratic dominance, as beautifully dressed krewe members, wearing arrogant masks and riding on horses or elaborate floats dispense artificial wealth (plastic beads and aluminum coins) to clamoring, begging masses. The balls also emphasize social division and hierarchy.

The question raised and discussed here: how is it that Carnival remains an immensely popular holiday which engenders mass participation, when its structure emphasizes social division and the superiority of certain groups and individuals over others?

SESSION 46: CHANCE, FRIGHT, IMAGINATION, AND PLEASURE: SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES ON PLAY

Rapp, U. (Tel-Aviv) Simulation and Imagination: Mimesis as Play. The main paradox of play (following Bateson) is that of simulation: the similarity of the dissimilar. This idea is traced through the writings of several scholars and applied to imagination. An attempt is made to demonstrate that 1) imagination is closely related to play by the paradox of simulation, 2) imagination and play have a common origin, 3) imagination itself originates in play and manifests play-forms throughout, 4) the crucial play feature of imagination is role-playing: the imagining consciousness is a make-believe or 'as-if' operation, and 5) the human capacity for imagining is basic to human culture and the life-world, especially in the structuring of experience by expectation.

Abt, V. (Penn St.) Social Implications of Structural Gambling: Is Gambling Just Another Form of Play? Recent papers by the author have questioned the prevailing psychological/pathological approach to gambling situations and gambling behavior. In these, it has been argued that the appeal of games of chance can be understoed in terms of their contexts, rules, strategies, icons, and social structures. The action or play of the games, given meaning through shared agreements of players, is deemed sufficient to define and explain the recreational or conventional gamblers' behaviors. This paper focuses on political, economic, and, most importantly, cultural and social implications of widespread gambling opportunities for existing institutions and geographical areas where gambling has been seen as a panacea to reverse the process of urban blight and decay. It is argued that gambling games, while just other forms of play for most players, are transformed into quite different phenomena in terms of social impact.

Alford, K.F. (East Central Oklahoma) "I Love to be Scared": An Analysis of Expressive Fright. This paper examines the pattern of expressive fright, specifically, four types of expressive fright activities: 1) movies and television programs, 2) books, 3) amusement park entertainment, and 4) tests of physical skill and daring. Using questionnaire and demographic data, an attempt is made to isolate the fright component in these activities and analyze the effects of sex, age, income and religious denomination on expressive fright preferences.

Miracle, A. (Texas Christian) Voluntary Ritual as Recreational Therapy: A Study of the Baths at Hot Springs, Arkansas. This paper is a study of the baths at Hot Springs, Arkansas. It is postulated that the baths may serve as voluntary rituals which offer recreational therapy for the participant. A voluntary ritual is one freely entered into at a time and place determined by the participant, not by a ritual specialist. A bather's experience is described and analyzed. Ritual stages of separation, liminality and reincorporation are demonstrated. Possible physiological effects of the bath are suggested, with comparisons to rituals in other cultures. It is
concluded that the baths function as ritual events with a concomitant mythology. The bath is an example of voluntary ritual. The voluntariness allows it to be perceived as recreational. However, it simultaneously may be perceived as therapeutic. This specific ritual operates on the psyche and perhaps the physiology to effect therapy. As a consequence, it produces true believers.

Laberge, S. (Montreal) Sport as a Constitutive Element of Socio-Cultural "Habitus". This study assesses the role of physical activity in the overall "somatic culture" of (non-athlete) women. The theoretical basis is Bourdieu's class "habitus". The empirical data are drawn from a detailed survey of 180 women in Montreal, and topics covered by the questionnaire include 1) physical activity and sports, 2) opinions and values relating to physical activity, 3) other behaviors diagnostic of cultural orientation, and 4) demographic and economic information. It is suggested that cultural factors can explain the involvement of women in physical activity. Also, the results lead to the identification of at least four distinct clusters of related behaviors, and the distinguishing of the health-related aspect of physical activity from the self-disciplinary, appearance-related, and prestige-oriented aspects of middle-class life-style.

REMINDER: If for any reason you cannot attend the conference, courtesy dictates that you arrange for someone to read your paper.

Index of Conference Submissions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Session #</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abt, Vicki</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alford, K. Finnegan</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alford, Richard</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allison, Maria T.</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancelet, Barry J.</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benson, Nancy A.</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beran, Jan</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berentzen, Sigurd</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campbell, James A.</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de Caro, Francis A.</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chase, David R.</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheska, Alyce T.</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chick, Garry</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christie, James F.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dansky, Jeffrey</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duda, Joan</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duncan, Mary C.</td>
<td>5 &amp; 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunleavy, Aidan</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eisen, George</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor, June</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatke, Reinhart</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fine, Gary</td>
<td>13 &amp; 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fox, Steven</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gee, Julie &amp; Townsend, Loretta</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genishi, Celia</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gradante, William</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greene, Edgar</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grossberg, Barbara</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guilmette, Ann Marie</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harkness, Sara &amp; Super, Charles M.</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hilliard, Dan C.</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hofse, Lisa</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hughes, Linda</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inclan, Jaime</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnsen, E. Pete</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnsen, James E.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnilowicz, Wally &amp; Loy, John W.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katz, Richard</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelley-Bryne, Diana</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kovacs, Zoltan</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laberge, Suzanne</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lancy, David F.</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lavenda, Robert</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lavie, Snadar</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limon, Jose E.</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manley, K. E. B.</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McDowell, John</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meckling, Jay</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meier, Klaus</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mergen, Bernard</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miller, Judy</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miracle, Andrew</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nardo, Anna K.</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ng, David &amp; June, Leslie</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nilsen, Allen P.</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nilsen, Don L.</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nueell, L. R.</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Park, Roberta</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pierson, William</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rapp, Uri</td>
<td>5 &amp; 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rees, C. Roger et al.</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reifen, Stuart et al.</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reinecke, George</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riley, Kathryn</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosenberg, Jan</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Michael</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snyder, Allegra</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spitzy, Nicholas</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Conference Highlights

Three additional program highlights were 1) TAASP Invited Address by Roger D. Abrahams. His work was featured earlier in a TAASP Newsletter (Volume 9, Number 1, Fall, 1982); 2) TAASP Keynote Address by Sir Edmund Leach entitled "Fieldwork in Buckingham Palace, or Once a Knight is Quite Enough". The focus of Sir Edmund's presentation was the process of knighting and the consequences of knighthood; and 3) TAASP Presidential Address by Brian Sutton-Smith. While Alyce Cheska's Presidential Address (one year earlier) represents a retrospective view, Sutton-Smith's "The Masks of Play" addresses futuristic concepts for TAASP and the study of play. Hopefully, a future edition of the Newsletter will carry this presentation.

One final aspect of the program included a ROAST of Brian Sutton-Smith. While Sutton-Smith is well known for his contributions to play, the roastees choose to ignore these contributions. As organizer of this ROAST, I delivered a witty and clever lament, totally out of character with my usual taskful self. I described Sutton-Smith's early life. Aidan Dunleavy, who was ably distracted, presented Sutton-Smith as athlete. The only comment on Dunleavy's presentation is that when he was done, there was a lot of leaving. John Loy, who presented Sutton-Smith as scholar, treated us to his usual PUNishment, though PUNGently sabotaged by Canadian (Club, not citizens). Kendall Blanchard presented Sutton-Smith as TAASP member. There was a very poignant rhyme and reason to Kendall's nasty remarks. Overall, other than illusions and allusions to Brian's shortness or smallness, the roastees had great difficulty

20 books and 200 articles, mostly in the area of children's play and children's social growth. He received his Ph.D. from the University of New Zealand, has taught at Bowling Green University and Columbia University, and is currently Professor of Education and Folklore at the University of Pennsylvania (excerpt from "The World of Play", Frank E. Manning(Ed.), West Point, New York: Leisure Press, 1983).

It's often been said that Brian does the work of three men. I now know who they mean---Moe, Curly, and Larry. Toujours, Touche!

Noticeably absent from this year's conference were James Duthie, John Roberts, Mike Salter, Phillips Stevens, and Regina Weilbacher. James Duthie is buried in a research grant, attempting to develop physical education strategies which would increase the autonomy available to the elderly. Regina Weilbacher is intently involved with finishing her funded project with the Ohio Amish. I am hoping that John Roberts, Mike Salter, and Phillips Stevens will write and share any recent developments they may have.

A welcomed return to the Baton Rouge Conference came from David Lancy, who shared his New Guinea fieldwork discoveries, and Edward Norbeck, with his ongoing theoretical challenges to the study of play.

Upcoming Conferences, 1983

March 25-26 Leisure in Working Class Culture, Richard Gruneau, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, K7L 3N6, Canada.

March 30-April 2 Clemson University Conference on Sport and Society: The Athlete, Person, Performer, and Property, 105 Hardin Hall, Clemson, South Carolina, 29631, U.S.A.

March 31-Apr. 2 WHIM (Western Humor and Irony Membership) Metaphor Conference, Phoenix, Arizona. Theme: Farfetched Figures: The Humor of Linguistic Deviance. Don L. F. Nilsen, English Department, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ.
Upcoming Conferences, 1983

April 6-7 International Association for the Child's Right to Play, St. Paul, Minnesota, Donna Seline, 1700 North Lilac Drive, Golden Valley, MN 55422.

April 7-11 AAHPERD (American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, Recreation, & Dance) Convention, Leamington Hotel & Minneapolis Auditorium and Convention Hall, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Write: AAHPERD, 1900 Association Drive, Reston, Virginia 22091 U.S.A.

May 26-31 AAAS (American Association for the Advancement of Science), Westin Hotel, Detroit, Michigan. Write: AAAS, 1776 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036 U.S.A.

May 28-30 NASSH (North American Society for Sport History) Conference, Penn State University--Mont Alto Campus. Write: Alan Metcalfe, Faculty of Human Kinetics, University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario, N9B 3P4 Canada.

May 30-June 3 U.S. Olympic Academy VII, Texas Tech University, Lubbock. Write: USOA VII, P.O. Box 4070, Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX, 79409 U.S.A., c/o Elizabeth R. Hall or Martin McIntyre. Toll-free call 800-433-1790.

June 26-29 CAHPER (Canadian Association of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation) University of Toronto, 55 Harbord St., Toronto, Ontario, M5S 2W6 Canada.

June 29-July 2 International Conference on Play and Play Environments, Austin, Texas. Write: Joe L. Frost, Dept. of Curriculum, U. of Texas, Austin, TX, 78712 U.S.A.

July 2-4 HISPA (International Association for the History of Physical Education and Sport) Conference held during World Games, July 1-11, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. Write: Gerry Redmond, Dept. of Physical Education, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, T6G 2H9 Canada.


Aug. 26-30 APA (American Psychological Association), Anaheim, California.

If you know of upcoming conferences in your specialty, drop me a note for the Newsletter.

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Ames, Iowa 50010

Students Only:

School

Signature of faculty advisor or member