University of Pittsburgh- Of the Commonwealth System of Higher Education

MAKE-BELIEVE PLAY AMONG HULI CHILDREN: PERFORMANCE, MYTH, AND IMAGINATION

Laurence R. Goldman and Michael Emmison
University of Queensland

A Huli aphorism says, "Real men don't make children's talk, or play the games *agoba kiruba* [which hand is it in?] or *mbola tola* [exploding mud balls]." In much the same way that "real Huli men" don't play like children, in anthropology a view has prevailed that real anthropologists don't study children's play (Norbeck 1974; Schwartzman 1976; New 1994). Children's voices have by and large received only perfunctory consideration in ethnographies and the profile of child play as a topic within mainstream anthropology is rightly characterized as "minuscule" (Chick and Donlon 1992:236). Indeed, monographs on children's play remain extremely scarce. Moreover, in respect to that unique genre of play variously referred to as make-believe, sociodramatic, symbolic, fantasy, or representative play (cf. Fein 1981; Singer and Singer 1977; Singer 1973; Feitelson 1977), systematic theorizing or cross-cultural research is nearly invisible.

There appear to be several reasons for this persistent neglect of children's pretend play. Investigating naturally occurring sociodramatic play is notoriously problematic as such episodes are fleeting, the actors highly mobile, and the physical presence of an adult observer unacceptably intrusive. In this regard, there are few programmatic guidelines that might assist such endeavors. In part, too, how such research intercalates with other levels of data so as to constitute a theory-building part of the discipline remains an enigma. Analysts have largely been content to subsume their interests in child play within the broader rubric of socialization—what functions play serves in producing competent adult communicators—rather than generate a set of issues or problems directed specifically at play for play's sake. Perhaps, also, anthropologists have been too ready to defer to the vast developmentally oriented literature in psychology. Such studies have focused on issues related to cognitive, affective, and symbolic competencies (Werner and Kaplan 1963; Golomb 1977), personality factors such as variability in individual levels of "fantasy predisposition" (Fein 1981; Singer 1973), the evolution of language styles (Dixon and Shore 1993; McCune-Nicolich 1981; Rubin and Wolf 1979; Garvey and Kramer 1989), and sequential trajectories in play forms from early sensorimotor and sociodramatic play to games with rules (Piaget 1962; Robinson and Jackson 1993). Too often, however, discussion is immured within the context of data provided by Western, English-speaking children subject to laboratory conditions where play behavior has been variously facilitated, modeled, or suggested (McCune-Nicolich and Fenson 1984).

The few anecdotal accounts there are of make-believe play within the cross-cultural literature have thus assumed an importance for play theorists that is, to be blunt, quite out of proportion to the levels of ethnographic detail or reliability

225

offered. Anthropological interest here has been less one of addressing issues such as "what model of mind can best account for the development of pretend play" (Göncü 1989:341) than in assessing (1) what is the universal status of children's fantasy play, and what saliently similar patterns does such interaction evidence? and (2) are subsistent cultural variations in such behavior systematically linked to or determined by identifiable cultural practices or institutions?

There are no clear answers to these questions and much disagreement exists about the validity of available findings. Analysts who indicate the low or nonexistent status of representational play in many cultures (e.g., Feitelson 1977; Golomb 1977; Fein 1975; Pan 1994; Sutton-Smith 1972)—what Schwartzman (1984:49) calls the "deficit hypothesis"—repeatedly invoke the ethnographic cases of the Nyansongo, a Gusii community in Kenya (LeVine and LeVine 1963:173); Manus children, whose "play was the most matter of fact, rough and tumble, non-imaginative activity imaginable" (Mead 1930:96); so-called disadvantaged Middle Eastern and North African immigrant children (Smilansky 1968); and positively dangerous generalizations that "such is the way the New Guinean plays . . . children are not required to play make-believe" (Ebbeck 1973:322). For Sutton-Smith (1972) such data pointed to a distinction between ascriptive and achievement game cultures. In the former, with kinship-dominated social systems play was imitative, hierarchically choreographed, and non-transformational in the sense of reinventing reality through counterfactual thinking. By contrast, in the achievement game culture of Western societies, players adopt multiple fictional roles, may introduce dialogue between characters in solitary play, and co-ordinate behavior to co-operatively produce their pretend worlds. These theoretical musings have not, however, been well received (cf. Eifermann 1971; Fein 1981; Schwartzman 1976, 1984), and until children's make-believe play is firmly placed on the culturally relevant agenda of anthropology all such speculation is likely to remain premature.

A closer look, however, at Mead's (1930:94) writing on Manus children and their claimed "lack of imaginative play" poses some intriguing lines of comparative inquiry. Mead depicts Manus adult culture as bereft of any imaginative models (e.g., folktales, myths, games) for stimulating pretense behavior in children. This reflects, it is argued, an overly empirical or matter-of-fact proclivity in the language that is described as bereft of imagery or metaphor (Mead 1930:102). Imaginative explorations are discouraged and the very idea that Manus children might want to hear stories "seems quite fantastic" (Mead 1930:98). Revealingly, Mead (1930:103) interprets one Manus child's use of the pidgin *grease* to gloss pretense making, which she renders as "deceit or lie," as exemplifying cultural condemnation of such behavior. Setting aside criticisms that one might easily make concerning the characterization of Manus language in such terms, the passage from an introduced term to a cultural attitude is perhaps not quite as simple as Mead claims. We would need to know more about the folk taxonomy of make-believe in Manus because *grease* may import here the sense in which Manus children understand lying and pretending as similar activities. They are both oriented toward fabricating realities;

i.e., "offering the possibility of a second world" (Simmel 1964:33; cf. also Bretherton 1984:37, 1989:393; Callois 1961:10; Schwartzman 1978:328). For example, Huli (Papua New Guinea) children may sometimes explicitly underscore their make-believe activity in the following manner (see Appendix for conventions and abbreviations used in the transcriptions).

(Ts. 17; ll. 296-303)

1 Mogai:	*ai hagira biamabe*					
2	shall we build a fence?					
3	*ina*	*hawa*	*tindule*	*e*	*ala*	*godamabe*
4	we	pretend	false	garden	first	dig-1PL-(I)HORT+IGV
5 →	shall we dig a pretend garden first?					
6	*ai godalu ina hagira ala biamabe*					
7	or shall we make a fence first before digging?					

In line 3 Mogai references the fabricated nature of a suggested activity by contiguous placement of the two pretense markers *hawa* ("trick"; a morph also present in *hawalanga:* cat's cradles; see Table 2 below) and *tindule* ("lie/falsehood"). As part of the lexicon of deceit (cf. Goldman 1993) the occurrence of these terms illuminates Huli perspectives on the semantic proximity of lying and pretending in a manner that casts doubt on Mead's interpretation of Manus attitudes. Notwithstanding these remarks, in positing relationships between myths or legends and children's imaginative behavior Mead goes some way toward answering the second question posed above. Beyond the intrinsic value of understanding sociodramatic play as a forum in which children act as agents of their own enculturation, and which supports the development of structured knowledge about the world (cf. Forbes, Katz, and Paul 1986), make-believe also implicates children's models of pretense, both their own and those they perceive as adult engendered.

The Huli context provides an illuminating means by which to address these issues in terms of what Schwartzman calls "child-structured play" (1983:201): self-generated play which is neither inspired, instigated, supervised by, or undertaken in the presence of adults. In their imaginative play routines Huli children frequently structure and overlay their ongoing fantasy talk with an invoked storytelling genre known as *bi te* (story talk) that is normally associated with adult narrative performance of myths, folktales, and legends. They thus create fantasy play at two levels; that is, at the level of some engendered imaginative episode in which they are interacting and taking roles (e.g., hunting, road-making, or spirit-killing), and at a further level where they appear to create a mythological narrative of the game by pretending they are engaged in storytelling. They thus play again with their staged artifact by simultaneously reconstituting it as an "as if" form of narrative discourse. It is not simply that children here "play with the playframe" (Bretherton 1989) by blurring reality and pretense, but rather that the importation of an overlying genre mode represents a form of "double-play." Fantasy enactments are here performed

subject to the supportive context of folklore narration in a way that has profound semantic and structural repercussions on how children constitute meaning in these ludic contexts.

Such double-play moreover exposes how porous the boundaries are between fantasy frames within what might be referred to as the cultural economy of make-believe. Players as symbolic *bricoleurs* are appropriating play resources and thereby instantiating diffusionary processes across behavioral domains. Children's experiences of adult play and fantasy, as perceived dimensions of Huli bi te, thus become active in transforming the character of their own child-structured play. While then we are primarily concerned with exploring the substantive nature of double-play, the issue of eliciting children's own cognitive models of pretense is not left untouched. We argue below that transcripts of contrived play elicited by an attentive and inquiring witness are likely to be illuminating in this respect. That is, in the very process of pretending to pretend players are predisposed to exaggerate, emphasize, and make explicit what they regard as criterial features of collective make-believe play. Fabricated play exposes what actors consider cognitively salient about pretense-making as they attempt to reproduce their models of artificiality for a nonparticipant audience. These findings represent inferences drawn from comparison of both fabricated and naturally occurring pretense play in which there are marked discontinuities between the relative incidences and occurrence rates across the range of conversational moves delineated below. The analysis of these two quite distinct data bases reveals what similarities and differences exist between how children do in fact structure fantasy episodes and how they think they structure these same episodes. The approach adopted herein is thus very much in line with arguments that the language of social pretend play represents a unique register (cf. Ariel 1984; Auwärter 1986; Garvey 1990; Garvey and Kramer 1989; Göncü 1989; Lodge 1979).

PLAY FORMS

The Huli people inhabit the Southern Highlands Province, are egalitarian, have a homestead settlement pattern, practice shifting cultivation, and conform to the patrilineal-patrivirilocal pattern prevalent throughout the region. Sustained contact dates from about 1950 and most areas are now serviced by roads, aid posts, government schools, and mission stations. More anthropological research has been conducted into Huli culture than probably any other Melanesian society (cf. Ballard 1994). Of relevance here is that Huli have a complex verbal art system composed of numerous speech genres, synonym sets, and well-understood forms of rhetoric (cf. Frankel 1986; Glasse 1968; Goldman 1983, 1987, 1988, 1993).

Tables 1 and 2 list traditional forms of children's games (*gini*). The game terms are characterized by predictably (cf. Goldman 1986:196) high levels of reduplication ([1]-[8]) often paralleling their English language counterparts. Numbers [9]-[14] represent game forms that either replicate adult behavior in nongame contexts, or where the game actions are conceived as analogous to certain behaviors or states. For

example, in [9] the raising and lowering action recalls ways in which compensation payments are accumulated and then depleted. Some games mimic mythological themes or characters ([11, 12, 14]), while others have clear mythological origins ([28]). Among the cat's cradles that frequently require more than one player to effect transformations in the figure, forms like (b), (w), and (z) are similarly linked to both proverbs and origin (*tene te*) stories. For example, Table 2 (w)'s "the axe and stone war" represents the following well-known myth (informant: Alembo [Pi clan]):

The axe and the stone were sleeping together in a house which had a roof made of pandanus nut leaves. The axe did all the work such as chopping trees and providing firewood while the stone never did anything. Then one day the axe got angry with the stone who never brought anything and said, "you never bring firewood," and told it to sleep in another house. They got angry with each other and started to fight and from that time on they became enemies. If you try to cut stone with an axe the axe will break.

Table 1   TRADITIONAL HULI CHILDREN'S GAMES

[1]   **Agoba Kiruba**   [*ago* (which?) + *ki* (two)]

Similar to the Western game of "which hand is it in?" One player conceals a stick in one hand, folds the arms, and the other player has to guess in which hand the stick is hidden.

[2]   **Kamu Namu**

Similar to the Western game of "blind man's buff." One player closes his/her eyes and attempts to tag another participant, who then takes a turn as a "blind" catcher.

[3]   **Wangarere Hongorere**   [*wanga* (weaving motion of hands)]

Players spin their bodies around to induce a state of dizziness after which they may fall to the ground and watch images spin before them.

[4]   **Mbola Tola**   [*mbola* (frog) + *to la* (fill up)]

Players fashion a hollow pit in a lump of clay with the elbow and then spit into the hollow. Before throwing the ball onto the ground players say: "*gugu malibu ho we dodo we*" (the Malibu bird shouts loudly, whistling) in the belief that this will result in a larger explosion.

[5]   **Mbilayu Pilayu**   [*pila* (fall over)]

Rough and tumble, wrestling.

[6]   **Hawanga Polanga**   [*pola* (scatter)]

Roly-poly.

[7]   *Mbili Gili/Gili Gili*   [*gili* (drag)]

Players make sledges from banana/nut tree stems and then drag them to the top of a hill. They make the hill slippery by pouring water and then slide down the hill. Informants stated they would often pretend they were on canoes (*tali*) in various Huli rivers.

[8]   *Pendo Pendo*   [*pendo* (roll)]

Players roll down hills or along the ground, often clasping a small log.

[9]   *Tia Abi Nogo Abi*   [*Tia abi* (compensation for possum), *nogo abi* (compensation for pig)]

Two players link arms to form a seat while a third player sits or lies across in the middle of the seat. The players intone a chant while raising and lowering their arms before finally dumping the prone player on the ground on the last utterance of "*wea.*" The following examples of chants show changes over time:
(a) elicited from memory (c. 1940): *Yawa* (ferns): *Dindiwa* (mushroom)/ *Muni* (anus): *Timuni* (anus).
(b) observed (1993): *amu ibira aida* (who is coming there?)/ *de ngole* (looks up to see): *deni ngole* (putting it on the eyes)/ *gua ambu* (?): *gula gula* (feather decoration)/*gula ambu* (praise term: feather decoration): *gula gula* (feather decoration)/ *dabura wabu* (praise term): *dabu dabu* (things in the hand)/ *pora anda* (?): *yali yale* (holding)/ *bai iba* (tree sap): *tanke iba* (tank water)/ *balu* (hitting): *baboraya* (?)/ *WEA.*

[10]   *Tiari Nogo*   [*tiari* (divination) *nogo* (pig)]

A form of "wheelbarrows" where one player holds the legs and lower body of another player who then walks on his hands. The action is physically reminiscent of the way in which a half side of pig was traditionally placed on a platform in this form of forensic divination and the end of the platform was held and shaken by the diviner.

[11]   *Baya Horo Dawe Gereye/*   [*mali/gereye* (celebratory dances)
       Iba Tiri Mali/Wai   of *Baya Horo* (ogre) or *Iba Tiri* (trickster)]

Players mimic ceremonial dances. They take dried berries and place them in pandanus nut leaves which are then tied as a bundle to create a rattle. Often they clap hands against holes in logs to simulate a drum sound. They may also adorn themselves with *angiyeli* (*micanthus floridulus*) ferns.

[12]   *Baya Horo Ibira*   [*Baya Horo* (ogre) *ibira* (is coming)]

One player decides to dress up as an ogre. He/she ties a piece of string around the nose, tongue, and chin, and places a bent stick into each nostril. Two boar's tusks protrude from the mouth, and the head or body is dressed with ferns and feathers. The intention is to frighten children who are crying because their parents have temporarily left them alone.

[13]   *Tiari, Berolo, Halaga*

All three terms refer to various Huli divination forms which were often copied by children as a play form. In the event, for example, that a child blames another for smelling, stealing, or excreting, all candidate culprits are represented by a finger on the chosen diviner's hand. The diviner may then spit into the middle of the palm before shaking the hand to see along which finger the spit moves or adheres, thereby indicating the guilty party.

[14]   **Iba Tiri Ge Koya/Pero**   [*Iba Tiri* (trickster) *ge* (legs) *koya*
                                              (deceiving)/*pero* (tongs)]

A blade of grass is obtained and progressively split into a figure N and then a figure X to give the illusion of two legs or a pair of tongs.

[15]   **Puda Bambuda**   [*puda* (cut) *bambuda* (fill up)]

One or more players will obtain some *payabu* (*cordyline fruticosa*) leaves and then place some well-chewed *gereba* (*rungia klossii*) leaves on them before making bundles of both. The bundle is then squeezed or exchanged with another player while silently wishing for some desired object like an axe, oil, shell, feather, etc. The players might further agree, as a joke, to eat the bundles.

[16]   **Gambe Ya Ira Ya**   [*gambe* (pitpit)/*ira* (stick) *ya* (hold)]

Four or more sets of sticks of different length are made with the object of amassing a whole set. The players pass unwanted sticks behind their backs to other players until they get a full set of the desired length.

[17]   **Gi Hamua**   [*gi hamua* (possum claws/leprosy)]

One player crosses the fingers on each hand and says to another child: "*i ainya yago mbola minalu heria iba poragola howa nogo hina ogo miabe nabene ogo miabe*" (while your mother was collecting frogs in the river she drowned so you give this much to the pigs and have this much for yourself). The twisted fingers represent amounts of sweet potato.

[18]   **Guriya Ku**   [*Guriya* (hoop pine) *ku* (tight)]

Players enter the forest and swing on the tree vines. Traditionally, as they were about to jump they would shout, "*guriya ku ku*" (rope tighten); when swinging to one end they would say, "*ale ale ale,*" and when returning utter, "*ango ango ango.*" Players now talk of going to particular destinations as if they were flying on an aircraft.

[19]   **Bendele Gini/Pele gono**   [*gini* (playing) *bendele* (bending)/*pele* (let go) *gono* (trap)]

One player obtains a long stick and hides, while planting and bending the stick. The other players seek him/her out and when close the first player will let the stick snap back so that it hits one of the other players.

[20]   **Kundu Pai**   [*kundu* (hide), *pai* (surprise)]

Peekaboo.

[21]   **Throwing Games**

    [i]   *Waru gini* (mud throwing)
    [ii]   *Gambe kodaya gini* (throwing the tops of pitpit)
    [iii]   *Poge li* (throwing the fig tree fruit)
    [iv]   *Hongo li gini* (throwing beads)
    [v]   *Danda timu* (shooting with pitpit and kunai grass bow and arrows)
    [vi]   *Dagi wai* (fighting with the curled ends of ferns)

[22]   **Dolls**

Players would fashion a head with ceremonial wig out of clay and decorate it like a Haroli (bachelor cult initiate) coiffure.

[23]   **Tia Yo/Biango Tiala**   [*tia* (possums) *yo* (swinging)/ *biango* (dogs) and *tia* (possums)]

One or more players assume the roles of possum and dogs who chase them up trees. Once tagged, players reverse their roles.

[24]   **Handa Laga Bia**   [*handa* (see) and *laga* (say)]

A guessing game in which one player will allude in the conventional terms of the game to some phenomenon and ask the other player to guess where on the body that particular phenomenon is to be found. For example, teeth represent fences, eyes represent lakes (cf. Goldman 1986).

[25]   **Tele Gini/Wai**   [*gini/wai* (playing/fighting) *tele* (spinning tops)]

A row of five small wooden stakes is placed by two players at opposite ends of a rectangle in the earth. Each player takes turns to knock out an opposing marker with his own spinning top. Conventional terms apply according to how many markers are left. In descending order these are "five, four, axe, bow, mother's bag"; "one bag" signals the bagging of all markers.

[26]   **Iba Paya Dugua**   [*iba* (water) *paya* (close) *dugua* (open)]

One or more players stop the flow of water in one location while another blocks it further along its stream. Each then unblocks and blocks again to test if the water collapses the other's dam.

[27]   **Hand Games**

(i) One player clenches a fist while another pinches the top skin to produce the response of "*mmmm.*"
(ii) One player obtains a stick and then pretends by sleight of hand to push it through a finger or through his mouth as a trick.

[28]   **Dugulano Begelano**   [*dugu* (pull out) *be(re)ge* (turn around)]

Players pretend to cook one of the participants in a fire, leaving the last one to burn, and then act out a scene in which compensation is demanded by the parents of the dead child.

Table 2 TRADITIONAL HULI CAT'S CRADLES

Habolanga/Hawalanga (Cat's cradles)	**Glosses**
(a) *Hari maga*	Lightning
(b) *Hali biangola*	Possum and the dog → dog eats the possum
(c) *Homane hangane*	Jawbone of a skull
(d) *Gulina pini → lini kira deda*	Roots of a pandanus → bears two fruit → disappears
(e) *Tele Tele haba*	Eggs of Tele Tele (white-shouldered fairy-wren) bird
(f) *Tele Tele igini*	Children of a Tele Tele bird
(g) *Dange dole*	Bearing fruit of shells
(h) *Ega palia → ega bayadagoni*	Bird sleeps → bird gets shot
(i) *Mbagua haraba → baya*	At gateway to oil → caught
(j) *Yari haba*	Cassowary eggs
(k) *Hari*	Mountain
(l) *Ega abuage pada →beregeda → yarini beregda → nogo u*	The sulphur-crested cockatoo sleeps → it turns over → its decorations change → it makes pig shout
(m) *Puya*	Snake → runs away
(n) *Hai daga → hai unguara*	Bananas → pick bananas
(o) *Hina garaya*	Crooked sweet potato
(p) *Tagali togo*	Bridge across the Tagali river
(q) *Mali komia → wali heba*	Komia dance → dancing with women

Habolanga/Hawalanga (Cat's cradles)   **Glosses**

(r)	*Hai page*	Stealing bananas
(s)	*Au nu*	Big string-bag
(t)	*Wai*	War → shortest side will pay compensation
(u)	*Anga daga*	Bearing pandanus fruit
(v)	*Anda tauwanda*	Pandanus leaf house
(w)	*Ayu arela wai*	The axe and the stone war
(x)	*Yaluba gai*	Bent Yaluba tree
(y)	*Iba Tiri mali*	Iba Tiri's dance
(z)	*Iba Tiri ti*	Iba Tiri's excreta: the player simulates a conversation between Iba Tiri and a human: "Iba Tiri is sitting but he used to jump to the other side. 'Iba Tiri, you are shitting there!' 'Not me!' Iba Tiri says and he jumps to the other side." (The player makes the knot which represents excreta move along the string.)

[→ indicates the figure undergoes transformation]

Quite distinct from the above games are the sociodramatic play episodes in which children, either in small groups or by themselves, act and which are the specific focus of this article. As alluded to above, these performances frequently produce switches between genre and nongenre modes of delivery. To understand what is going on here we need to briefly consider the nature and role of myth telling in Huli culture.

BI TE: STORYTELLING GENRE MODE

Bi te are legends, myths, and tales told usually at night by men or women to an audience of other adults and/or children. These stories may relate events as historical fact (tene te: origin stories), or blend in one tale both fact and fiction. Transformations from fact to fiction are characteristic of the way Huli construct and construe their historicity: *tene te mani mo bi te holebira* (a source story will later become a folktale). Recognition cues for audiences include conventionalized openings, names of places, people, and rivers (Huli have distinct appellations for fabled places and lakes), and stylized descriptive sections of stories often referred to as *pureremo*. Regardless of thematic content, in their most stylistically appreciated form bi te are performed in a distinctive and melodic recitation style referred to as *bi mo* (good style). Poetic conventions include the use of parallel repetition, context-specific synonym substitutions, and various devices such as alliteration and assonance. Storytelling occasions may last from a few minutes to several hours, and many Huli
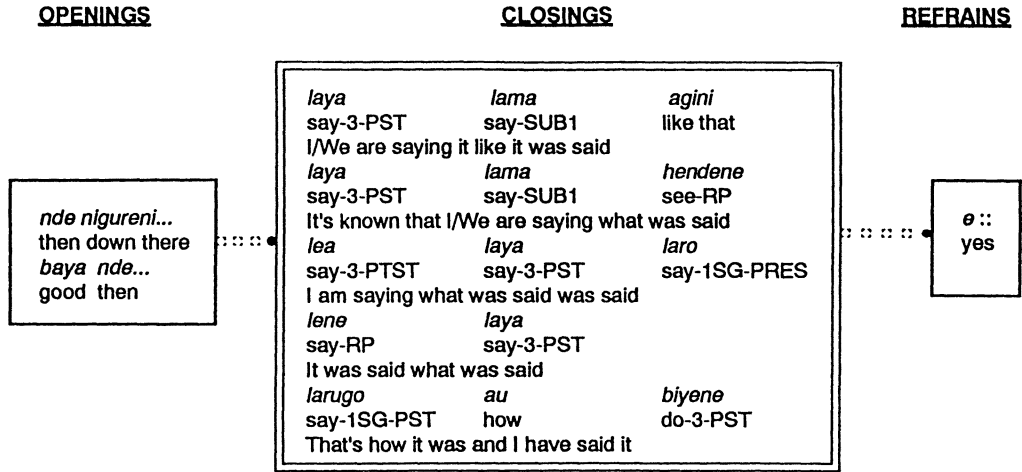
OPENINGS   **CLOSINGS**   **REFRAINS**

laya	*lama*	*agini*
say-3-PST	say-SUB1	like that
I/We are saying it like it was said		
laya	*lama*	*hendene*
say-3-PST	say-SUB1	see-RP
It's known that I/We are saying what was said		
lea	*laya*	*laro*
say-3-PTST	say-3-PST	say-1SG-PRES
I am saying what was said was said		
lene	*laya*	
say-RP	say-3-PST	
It was said what was said		
larugo	*au*	*biyene*
say-1SG-PST	how	do-3-PST
That's how it was and I have said it		

nde nigureni...
then down there
baya nde...
good then

e ::
yes

DIAGRAM 1: *BI TE* STRUCTURE

have region-wide reputations as famous bi te practitioners. Adopting a bi mo style, as against a less embellished prose delivery, both imbues the performance with aesthetic merit and invests the artifact with a heightened degree of cultural authenticity that reflects on the speech prowess of the performer.

Narrative conventions include a topic framework that is constantly repeated throughout the storytelling. Statements are thus bounded in a cellular structure sometimes commenced by a phrase or lexeme (e.g., *nde nigureni*: Diagram 1) that functions to announce forthcoming information but which itself adds nothing to the story line. More importantly, each cell is terminated by an obligatory phrase that signals the fact that the information given has been reported in the past by someone else, as well as marking the present act of assertion. That is, occurrences of "said" are frequently metanarrative markers. These parenthetic functions are communicated by inflected forms of the verb *la* (to say) that sometimes can be terminated by a sustained holding of the vowel /ɔ:/ (Goldman 1983). Storytelling is conceptualized by Huli as a structure of discourse exchange. Listeners are enjoined at the start of narration (under sanction that the narrator's parents might die) to verbally acknowledge their continual monitoring of the talk by appropriate refrains which consist solely of the monosyllabic assent lexeme *e* (yes). This is typically nasalized, extended, and acts to stress meter and the exchange cell of information.

It is these blueprints of fantasy talk that children access and appropriate from other children or adults. They form part of the communicative ecology of childhood. There were certainly no observed occasions on which such genres were formally taught to them, and indeed children as young as four were able to simulate bi te talk. By invoking this genre mode as a thematically undifferentiated form of narrative

performance, players pattern their extended dialogue exchanges of fantasy play as a simulated storytelling event that requires two verbal roles, one narrating and one acknowledging. The overlay creates a separate context in which children share meanings in accordance with storytelling conventions. By contrast with adult bi te performances, all participants are able to take turns at being both narrators and listeners. The underlying fantasy game is, however, predicated on event scripts drawn largely from outside the bi te genre. Moreover, because the discourse format of bi te is dialogic in nature, switching to genre mode both constrains the way in which players say something and alters the allocation of meaning to utterances. Speakers remain simultaneously constituted in the two identities of make-believe actor and story narrator. Statements, commands, insults, or teases must thus be contextually interpreted as moves of a narrator progressing a fantasy story. The speaker achieves a measure of distance or alienation from the direct impact of his or her talk. While a further set of behavioral licenses are appropriated by speakers when in genre mode, members of the overhearing child audience, who also have twin identities as both make-believe characters in some story as well as listeners of the bi te, are thereby compelled to make explicit their tacit approval and acknowledgement of others' play moves. The genre switch imposes a communication code wherein players' utterances are constituted as solicitations of agreement or solicitation responses. The collaborative nature of joint make-believe is thereby deferred to, and displayed by, this culturally specific form of double-play.

Two issues immediately raised by the finding that Huli children may invoke bi te conventions to format their fantasy play are, first, what perceptions do actors have of their play creations as aesthetic or mythological artifacts? and second, why have children structured their play with this genre as opposed to some other genre form (cf. Goldman 1980)? In response to the former question, children engaged in double-play do not instantiate a viewpoint about the factual or fictional nature of their story talk; the invocation is purely one of form, not theme. Such importation of bi te format out of its normal performative context is rather a play with speech resources which is mythic in the precise sense of expressing the symbolic importance of bi te in Huli culture. The fantasy play is simply a projection of narrative authenticity onto the primary conversational exchanges. In this sense children could be said to merely refabricate the already "fabricated world" (LeRoy 1985) of myths, legends, and folktales. The choice of bi te rather than some other genre appears in part to be accounted for by the above facts and in part related to the following predisposing factors. Research on the solo and social play of Western children (cf. Rubin and Wolf 1979; Scarlett and Wolf 1979) has long indicated the connections between such make-believe activities and the development of storytelling capacities and narrative roles. In delivering a genre mode performance children appear to establish the sense in which their story productions create "dramas" (Forbes, Katz, and Paul 1986) that instantiate perceived identities between myth and make-believe. Clearly too the prominence of bi te in Huli life makes it a prime source of imaginative stimulation for children. What needs to be clearly appreciated though is that since double-play

is not adult initiated, modeled, prompted, supervised, or otherwise encouraged by adults (though it may be adult inspired) we must suppose that it has at least an autotelic appeal for its practitioners (cf. Nelson and Seidman 1984). Such appeal no doubt reflects the humor wrought by the incongruity (cf. McGhee 1984) of blending, for instance, an ongoing fabricated interaction between road builders and government inspectors that is simultaneously presented as a culturally authentic piece of myth telling. This surmise is supported both by the observation that so many of these pretend episodes engender laughter among the players and indeed what is known cross-culturally about the production of humor. Thus while Huli double-play provides an illustrative example of a culture-specific patterning in sociodramatic interaction, close analogs of such overlying processes exist within Western cultures. For example, Robin Williams's rendition of a line from Shakespeare's *Macbeth* in the film *Dead Poets Society* is an instance in which a primary ongoing script becomes transformed by simulation of a familiar speaking style (i.e., identifiable as belonging to the cinematic hero John Wayne) to produce a humorous episode. Indeed, such double-plays are often a staple resource of comedy impersonators and those who parody well-known media identities. Advertisers frequently promote products by simulating a dialogue about that item between the fictional characters Sherlock Holmes and Dr. Watson. They here rely on the audience's association of these characters with a question-answer format that is overlaid onto some fantasized content about the product. The underlying conversation is packaged into a conversational form that conveys information in an essentially humorous manner.

To gain a preliminary understanding of how genre-switching operates in sociodramatic play it is instructive to briefly examine a related type of verbal pretense. In Text [1], two boys are engaged in a teasing episode that lasted for over eight minutes. The repartee consists largely of statements about named people who said "let's go" (a stereotypical speech line in bi te narratives) and which is conducted almost exclusively in the genre mode (hereafter marked by text shading).

[1] (Ts. 2; ll. 111-18, 180-88)

[Dagiwa (Boy: 5 yrs) and Handabe (Boy: 6-7 yrs) had been seated in the researcher's hut for some time when they spontaneously engaged in the following speech play episode. The researcher had retreated to another room to monitor the recording.]

1	Handabe:	= *e-e e ndo dondogoli ngui iba umm ngui iba habidogo dondogoli*
2		> *emarume mba laya o*::<
3		yes, yes, no Dondogoli, Ngui Iba, Ngui Iba, Habidogo, Dondogoli
4		those have said, "Let's go"
5	Dagiwa:	*e*::
6		yes
7	Handabe:	*o nde*::
8		then
9	...	
10	Handabe:	=*handabe ema aleya LAYA E*::: *abago dagiwa*
11		he is like Handabe it is said, { what's-his-name Dagiwa
12	Dagiwa	{ *e*::::
13		yes
14		*ne haria ira peloabe!* (1.2)
15		can I push this stick into your mouth
16		*ne haria ira pelaya*::
17		he pushed the stick into his mouth
18	Handabe:	*o nde dagima*
19		then Dagima

As part of this fantasy narrative Handabe in line 1 humorously states that certain characters (and here the appellations consist of expletives normally used to express anger toward dogs) have uttered a directive. In conformity with the narrative conventions of bi te Dagiwa produces a stereotypical response acknowledgement (ll. 5, 12), which is followed at line 7 (and similarly at line 18) by a characteristic utterance opening. Unlike authentic bi te performances, we see from line 15 that there are oscillations in storytelling roles between narrator and listener that serve to validate co-production of the genred fantasy. Metanarrative marking by additional forms of the verb "say" is here redundant because the message "we players are simulating a mythological narrative while engaged in mutual teasing" is cued by situational factors. Note also how at line 14 Dagiwa breaks out of the genre mode to playfully request permission to invade Handabe's mouth and then switches genre immediately in the next utterance to assume the perspective of a narrator who reports his own action in the third person. The overlying genre here structurally formats the speech exchange so that the play of teasing is again played with to engender an ongoing narrative of the interaction.

The extent to which players will operate a genre switch either within or across play episodes appears (at this stage of our analysis) to vary unpredictably. What is clear, however, from the above extract is that Huli players are capable of not only switching genres but of making conversational moves that are sometimes related to, but not an essential part of, the fantasy dialogue. In the production of a matrix of moves that reflects these findings we have operated with a notion of frame (Goffman

	NONFANTASY FRAME	FANTASY FRAME
NONGENRE MODE	*Fantasy Negotiations* *Performance Evaluations* *Explicit Fantasy Proposals* *Prompt*	*Enactment* *Underscoring*
GENRE MODE	_____	*Enactment* *Underscoring* *Fantasy Negotiations* *Performance Evaluations* *Explicit Fantasy Proposal*

Fig. 1: Matrix of Sociodramatic Play Moves

1974)—i.e., participants' situational definitions (cf. Bateson 1956) commonly employed by other analysts (Bamberg 1983; Bretherton 1984; Forbes, Katz, and Paul 1986; Giffen 1984). Figure 1 draws on categories proposed by Giffen (1984), Garvey and Berndt (1977), Schwartzman (1978), and Auwärter (1986) in a manner that remains sensitive to the culturally specific ways in which Huli children construct their "as if" play and instantiate perceived relationships between models of their own and adult fantasy behavior. The quadrant defined as genre mode/nonfantasy frame must remain empty since the very use of any genred speech here would immediately constitute that talk as fantasy behavior. Table 3 presents the distributional frequencies for each of the discriminated move categories (occurring in either genre or nongenre mode) for three distinct groups of make-believe transcript. These groupings were composed to ensure comparing like with like, and to help illuminate what cognitive models of pretense children employed when simulating sociodramatic play. Furthermore, to identify more precisely how (a) genre-switching affects the primary discourse structure, and (b) what discontinuities subsist between natural and fabricated pretense, each move category was divided to show incidence rates for preselected grammatical features. These features were chosen on the basis of available comparative research (cf. Goodwin 1988), albeit among English-speaking actors, as most likely to prove rewarding. In the next section we briefly define the move categories and what aspects of their relative occurrence rates deserve comment.

Table 3: Distributed frequencies for selected features

		NONFANTASY FRAME				FANTASY FRAME NONGENRE MODE		FANTASY FRAME GENRE MODE				
		Negotiations Fantasy	Performative Evaluations	Explicit Fantasy Proposals	Prompts	Enactments	Underscorings	Enactments	Underscorings	Fantasy Negotiations	Performative Evaluations	Explicit Fantasy Proposals
DISTRIBUTION PROFILES	A****	12*	3	3	3	50	8	13	5	1	<1**	2
	B	6	4	4	-	46	8	17	12	2	1	-
	C	23	-	1	3	62	11	-***	-	-	-	-
INCLUSIVE IDL/PL FORMS	A						4		9			
	B						35		-			
	C						20		-			
IMPERATIVES	A	14	20	-	84	18	-	5	-	5	-	31
	B	21	-	-	-	15	-	21	-	-	-	30
	C	18	-	-	50	11	-	-	-	-	-	-
EXHORTATIONS (I)MMEDIATE/(F)AR	A (I)	-	-	54	-	3	-	8	-	-	-	-
	A (F)	1	-	30	-	6	-	14	-	-	-	-
	B (I)	-	-	25	-	3	-	13	-	-	-	-
	B (F)	-	-	25	-	10	-	13	-	-	-	-
	C (I)	2	-	50	-	4	-	-	-	25	-	-
	C (F)	-	-	-	50	10	-	-	-	-	-	-
INTERROGATIVES	A	29	36	35	-	10	<1	7	-	28	-	17
	B	21	-	-	-	12	-	10	-	25	-	-
	C	35	-	50	-	13	-	-	-	-	-	-

*   All figures are expressed as whole percentages

**   <1 represents an averaged computation

***   A - represents the nonoccurrence of the specified phenomenon

****   *Groups: A (TS. 5, 6, 8, 13, 15, 17) is constituted of make-believe play in both genre and nongenre mode (Total Moves = 830);*
           B (TS. 11, 12) consists of make-believe play in part elicited by ethnographer (Total Moves = 109);
           C (TS. 9, 16) represents the absence of any genre mode make-believe play (Total Moves = 119)

SOCIODRAMATIC PLAY MOVES

[A] Underscorings

These are statements that verbally foreground definitions of specific actions or states of being and are often conjointly produced or signalled by nonverbal means as well. They function to alert a present or imagined overhearing audience to the development of the enacted fantasy script. The majority of underscoring statements occur as first-person performatives and endow a narrative reality to the acts or definitions expressed. As such, these tokens are an important resource with which players choreographically direct and progress their versions of the engendered fantasy. In [1], where players pretend to lay animal traps, the underscoring moves of lines 1 and 18 effect a transition from nongenre (conversational prose) to genre mode.

[1] (Ts. 11; ll. 7-17, 63-68)

[In the researcher's presence, Hiyabe (boy: 8-9 yrs), Mai (boy: 10 yrs), and Megelau (boy: 11-12 yrs) create pretend possum traps at the bole of an old tree in the forest. The actions were performed for the ethnographer's benefit and the participants were aware that their speech was being recorded for later transcription.]

1	Hiyabe:	→	*ah i ogoni- ogoninaga i o bero↑go:*
2			for that (possum) I'm building a trap here
3	Mai:		*ani yagua* (1) *ani yagua i nde libugua ↑bi↓a::=*
4			{ if that's the case} if that's the case you two do it there
5	Hiyabe & Megelau:		{ *e::::*
6			yes (refrain as in bi te)
7	Hiyabe:		{ *=e:::*
8			yes (refrain as in bi te)
9	Megelau:		*=e:::*
10			yes (refrain as in bi te)
11	Mai:		*ai i nde ogoha berogo*
12			so I am building it in here
13	....		
14	Mai:		*<ti ndoda i h(h)aliru yagamaru (.hh)ogoha dama pu bialu ti anda*
15			*ogo (.)bigi bigi bialu tini ogoha(.) poradane (.)*
16			not in yours, possums and birds used to go in here and they used
17			to build their own houses and.

18	→	*o↑ gono ↓wero::>*
19		now I am placing a trap
20	Hiyabe:	*e:::*
21		{ yes (refrain)
22	Megelau:	{ *e:::*
23		yes (refrain)

The storytelling cadence and typical extension of sentence final verb vowel signal a double-play situation in which further progressions of the fantasy in this mode must conform to bi te format. Thus what remains heard but unanswered in the underscoring statement of line 11 compels explicit acknowledgement in lines 5-10, and lines 20-23; contributions are being constrained by conventions of the overlying genre form. The refrain responses of ll. 20-23 confirm acceptance of a transformed fantasy play. This dialogic schema of solicitation-response becomes as it were a conduit for players' reaffirmations of the collaborative nature of their make-believe play. If then the genre switch appears to make verbally explicit what may otherwise be implicit or nonverbally signalled, what evidence might be adduced to suggest that tacit understanding of such metacommunicative functions exists among fantasy players in Huli?

In line with arguments advanced above, we contend that such cognitive models of make-believe are particularly exposed when children fabricate pretense for overhearing adults. In elicited exchanges fantasy actors explicitly display what they consider salient about pretense making and how they perceive their own activity in regard to co-ordinating shared fantasy meanings.

[2] (Ts. 11; 93-116)

1	Hiyabe:	=*ega ibu nde ogoha pu palirada*
2		the bird goes in there (where the trap is) and sleeps
3	Megelau:	*inaga ogoha ↑gono wia ko::*
4		I left my trap there
5	Hiyabe:	*e (.) inaga ↑gono wia ko::*
6		yes, I left my trap there
7	Mai:	*inagabi ogoha gono wia ko*
8		I left mine there too
9	Megelau:	*libu agoha gono wini*
10		where did you place your trap?
11	Mai:	*o gono wia kogo*
12		my trap is placed there

13	Hiyabe:	*i wane gono wero::*
14		I'm still making my trap
15	Mai:	*i wane gono werebe::*
16		are you still making the trap?
17	Hiyabe:	*e::*
18		yes (refrain)
19	Mai:	*o wiabe:*
20		all right well make it
21	Megelau:	*o i ogoria agua wero:*
22		I am putting it here like this
23		*ai gono werogoni::*
24		now I am putting the trap

In [2], also taken from the prompted play of Ts. 11 (see [1]), there is marked parallel repetition in lines 3-8, which sustain an extended sequence of talk between the players in which complementary definitions are given to, rather than directed to, co-participants. The repetition marks the activity "as one in which parallel courses of action" (Goodwin 1988:75) take place such that players share and display their orientation to the same fantasy constituents. The cyclicity of such exchanges in comparative transcripts of elicited make-believe signifies both how artificiality is perceived and reproduced by players. In [2] this repetition is augmented by some directed questions about another player's activity (ll. 9, 15) and a genre switch at line 13. This atypical predominance of parallel repetition and seemingly redundant questioning exposes players' perceptions of the need in fabricated pretense to mark their joint engrossment. Deference to the co-operative nature of make-believe activity must be displayed. In other instances of underscorings which solicit agreement or acknowledgement, this deference is grammatically signalled both by use of interrogative forms and the inclusive "we" that again works to acknowledge co-authorship in establishing shared fantasy worlds.

[3] (Ts. 11; ll. 41-44)

Hiyabe:	*gono*		*weramago*	
	we are putting traps			
Megelau:	*ina*	*nde*	*gono*	*weramago*
	we	then	trap	place-1PL-PRES + DEF
	we are putting traps			

In fabricated pretense play, then, our intuitive observation that players seemed to place undue stress on verbalizing their actions or play states is confirmed not simply by the manner in which co-players repeat and question, but in the statistical predominance of underscoring statements. In Table 3 the gross averages of group B (i.e., elicited play episodes) underscorings are noticeably higher than those of the naturally occurring discourse of group A. In fact the range of discrepancy found for

underscorings in sample texts could be as high as 32 per cent (Group B: Ts. 11), contrasted with 8 per cent (Group A: Ts. 6). Moreover, a similar order of difference characterizes the relative preponderance of inclusively marked (i.e., 1st PL/DL forms) performatives as a proportion of the total number of underscorings computed: 35 per cent for group B as against 13 per cent for group A. These significant differences in the occurrence rates of underscorings and "we"-marked performatives for elicited play conversations provide evidence that players operate here with finely etched models of precisely how artificiality is reproduced.

Significantly, underscorings also occurred in the solo dramatic play transcripts where discourse was equally patterned by storytelling conventions. Children here enacted roles "as if" there were an overhearing audience of which they too were members.

[4] (Ts. 4; ll. 87-102)

[Dagiwa (Boy: 5 yrs) is alone and dragging a flattened tin to which he has attached a length of cane to form a pretend vehicle. He is piling small shavings of wood onto the tin which he pretends are passengers and goods, and is dragging it around his caretaker's house. Observation and recording were made from inside the researcher's own house adjacent to his play area. Dagiwa adopts the bi te cadence for his narrative.]

1	Dagiwa:	*ai garo haiya lo wa* ↑*hara* (.) *garo tinihangu* ↓*pelo e:*
2		it's getting loose on the car, on the car only themselves will go, yes
3		*agali maru nde* (.) *ogo hangu nde pelaro*
4		some of those men, I am letting them go
5		*ogoria ogoria ogoria* ·hh *hiyu hiyu helaro*
6		here, here, here, I am standing them up, standing them up
7		*mbira hangu, kira hangu, tebira hangu*
8		only one, only two, only three
9		*kira hangu kira hangu nd*↓*e::* (.) *au biyadago::*
10		only two, only two, it has been done like this
11		*ogoria nde* (1.6)
12		here then
13		*eh-e-e-e::*: (8.4)
14		yes-yes-yes-yes
15		*hina mbu uru nde* (.) *kedo wa haro*
16		those sweet potato peelings I made, I am throwing them away

In line 1 the speaker not only proffers a narrative statement but appears to self-acknowledge his genre shift at the end with the conventional assent form "*e*" which also occurs in line 14 as an extended sequence of "yes" utterances. In lines 4-9 Dagiwa has assumed the role of driver as he rearranges his passengers on the car but slips out of this identity in line 16 as he deals with some thrown away food scrapings in his path. While appearing here to temporarily exit his make-believe game of car-driving in the sense that he is now talking about the play environment, props, and his

role in their organization, Dagiwa nonetheless remains well within his fantasized narrative frame of bi te, commenting upon and underscoring his own actions. These data indicate a real contrast between Huli and Kaluli (cultural neighbors) children who apparently "rarely engage in monologues. . . . Talking to oneself . . . is considered 'different' and incomprehensible" (Schieffelin 1990:99). While it is clear that Kaluli children do engage in solo fantasy play (Schieffelin 1990:93, 225) with scripts that are indeed very similar to those invoked by Huli actors, Schieffelin maintains they are not done for an overhearing audience. Setting aside the question of what kind of theatrical space the child constructs for itself when engaged in solo fantasy play, it may be that the discontinuities in occurrence of monologues accompanying play do indeed reflect quite different language socialization ideologies, or differences in the nature, role, and place of narratives in the two cultures. There is equal evidence, however, to suggest that egocentric speech is more common than Schieffelin has suggested since Ernst (personal communication) reports observing play monologues for both Onabasulu (Lowlands neighbors of Kaluli) and Kaluli on the Onabasulu border.

[B] Prompts

Prompts are nonfantasy frame moves that instruct players "how to act and what to say while temporarily abandoning the play identity" (Bretherton 1984:28). As has been noted for prompting among Western children, Huli children may also signal such moves by a distinct lowering of voice (indicated by °) to mark off such utterances from the ongoing stream of fantasy talk.

[5] (Ts. 17; ll. 55-61)

Mogai: →   °ai i gedai   ibida pu
                you (Ayubi) run {away now
Ayubi: {BIANGO I NDODABE (1.9)
                                I am the dog aren't I?
Mogai:→   °ai u u lama pu (.) joy poradagua° =
                you (Ayubi) go shouting like this (dog sounds), after Joy

Significantly, prompts were absent from the transcripts of contrived make-believe play (see Table 3), which perhaps tends to suggest that they have a diminished cognitive significance within the models of pretense held by children. That is, in pretending to pretend the orientation is on replicating or reinventing for an audience only the fictive reality, not the out-of-frame choreography that otherwise accompanies fantasy making. This finding of marked discontinuities between natural and fabricated make-believe seems further strengthened by the correspondingly lower incidence of fantasy negotiation moves in group B (fabricated pretense) transcripts as evidenced from the figures in Table 3. These moves, which negotiate props, roles, settings, and actions (discussed below) are likewise concerned with sociodramatic choreography.

Prompts are invariably issued as imperatives and there was a complete absence of any interrogative forms.

[C] Explicit Fantasy Proposals

Similar in nature to Schwartzman's (1978:237) "formation statements," Giffen's (1984:87) "overt proposals to pretend," and Garvey and Berndt's (1977) "explicit mention of pretend transformations," explicit fantasy proposals are used to initiate interactions across frames, or propose new intraframe activity shifts as in [6], lines 1 and 5.

[6]   (Ts. 12; ll. 41-47)

[Dagiwa and Handabe were engaged in make-believe play involving the cooking and dissection of a pig. The ethnographer was present during the play and they were aware that their conversations were being recorded.]

1	Dagiwa:	*ai nogo u lama*
2	→	ai pig shout say-1PL-(I)HORT
3		ai let's make *nogo u*
4		( ) (1 min 9 secs)
5	Handabe:	*ai dawahowa birama*
6		ai cook+ABL sit-1PL-(I)HORT
7		let's cook and sit

Although EFPs constitute a very small proportion of total verbal interactions (only some 3 per cent across both fantasy and nonfantasy frames in Table 3), they are particularly revealing of the organizational ethos and structure (cf. Goodwin 1988) that prevail within sociodramatic play groups. Within the EFP category the total absence of directives in the form of imperatives contrasts with the extremely high clustering and incidence of exhortations of the "let's . . ." type.

Goodwin (1988) has argued that the English analog "let's . . ." imparts, in the context of Western children's play, an attenuation of directness by virtue of the fact that such gambits are (a) future-oriented proposals rather than immediate directives; (b) include both speaker and hearer as potential agents (similar to the inclusively marked underscorings noted above); and (c) resonate the egalitarian nature of play interaction. They are, one might say, co-operatively oriented locutions. However, inferences concerning the discoursal efficacy of exhortations from seeming identities of form alone cannot be made *simpliciter*. They are problematic interlinguistically because of discontinuities in the range and nature of syntactic choices in the relative speech economies, and intralinguistically because there is no isomorphism between linguistic structure and semantic force. Coerciveness must thus be gauged not just from form but from patterns of selection and the manner in which exhortatives are embedded in EFP discourse.

The EFP utterances in the play texts are not accompanied by any proffered accounts which might function here to mitigate their directive force. However, a significant incidence of question-form exhortations can be observed in Table 3. In many of the transcripts where EFPs were coded the percentage of interrogatively marked "let's" phrases invariably exceeded 50 per cent. So why are these "let's . . ." statements so often formed as questions? Notwithstanding the above caveats, this finding appears cross-culturally significant since comparable forms have been noted for Western sociodramatic play speech (Giffen 1984:87; Garvey and Kramer 1989:378; Garvey 1990:207).

The interrogative forms suggest self-effacement (Lodge 1979), deference to addressee, agreement, conciliation, and a request for confirmation.

[7] (Ts. 17; ll. 296-303)

1	Mogai:	*ai*	*hagira*	*biamabe*		
2		ai	fence	do-1PL-(I)HORT+IGV		
3		shall we build a fence?				
4		*ina hawa*	*tindule*	*e*	*ala*	*godamabe*
5		we pretend	false	garden	first	dig-1PL-(I)HORT+IGV
6	→	shall we dig a pretend garden first?				
7		*ai*	*godalu*	*ina*	*hagira ala*	*biamabe*
8		ai	dig-SUB2	we	fence first	do-1PL-(I)HORT+IGV
9		or shall we make a fence first before digging?				
10	Ayubi:	*e*	*hagira*	*ala*	*biama*	
11		yes	fence	first	do-1PL-(I)HORT	
12		yes let's build a fence first				

In [7] alternative EFPs are suggested in Mogai's turn which solicit a response in line 10. Each statement verb (ll. 1-9) is suffixed by the interrogative marker *-be*. The questioning format of EFPs introduces an element of tentativeness and deference to co-players when children create a shared understanding of what will go on in their play.

We further suggest that genre conversions here also serve to soften the directive force of EFPs by invoking a communication code recognized as purely informative, playful, and for delectation only. The speaker as bi te narrator gains a measure of distance from any associated coercive overtones. For example, in [8] the genre mode EFP in line 1 is not treated as necessarily establishing Nabili's control over play progress but as an entreaty to others to jointly invent a narrativized fantasy. The utterance triggers compliance in the form of response repeats (lines 3, 7, 9) by co-players who thereby partake and declare their agentive responsibility in the fantasy frame.

[8] (Ts. 13; ll. 212-21)

1	Nabili:	*ai ina mabu goda↑ma::*
2		ai now let's dig gardens
3	Dagiwa:	*mabu goda↑ma::*
4		let's dig gardens
5	Nabili:	*>i mabu ogoreni godaliribe<*
6		is that the place you used to dig gardens? (laughter)
7	Dagiwa:	*goda↑ ma::*
8		let's {dig
9	Nabili:	*{<°mabu goda↑ma°>*
10		let's dig gardens

There are important parallels here with findings made on extended play-centered dialogue in Western children. Nelson and Seidman (1984), for example, identify "holding" strategies used by peers to share topics with co-actors who repeat the content of each other's talk and thereby affirm the collaborative nature of fantasy making much as we find in [8] above.

[D] Performance Evaluations

This category of utterance moves addresses the appropriateness, quality, and the "how" of actions. Like any speech-act, PEs can function in a variety of ways such that they may not always constitute an exclusive category. Frequently they have prompt-like qualities and efficacy in the play context. In Huli PEs tend to be marked by the interrogative adverb *agua* ("how") and may be self [9] or other [10] directed.

[9] (Ts. 11; ll. 79-81)

Mai:	*ai kome i nde gono werogo*
	I am not placing the trap properly

[10]   (Ts. 6; ll. 126-38)

Dagiwa:	→	*agua biaga MANDA BIDO*
		it used to be done like this, I know how to do it

Dara:		*eh (.) iba ogoreni dalira lowabe::*
		is it said the water is flowing down here?
Dagiwa:		*↑be*
		all right?
Dara:	→	*eh ogonidagua nabibe*
		don't do it like that

((they start to put a row of small sticks in the crevice))

	→	*ai agua bia agua bia*	*agua bia:*
		do it like this do it like this	{ do it like this
Dagiwa:			{ *e*=
			yes

Notwithstanding the fact that the majority of such utterances occur as either declaratives or imperatives, Table 3 indicates the presence of a fairly high proportion (36 per cent) of interrogative forms [11] within the PE category.

[11]   (Ts. 5; ll. 112-15)

[Dagiwa and Hoyali (girl: 5 yrs) had been involved in a sequence of pretend play episodes which had moved from a doctor-patient script to a pig-cutting theme.]

Hoyali: *INA NOGO PODARO*
          I am cutting pig
          ogoni   ndodabe
          this   no-DEF+IGV
          it is like this isn't it?

For group A the true occurrence rate of question-form PEs, given their absence in two of the six transcripts, was 55 per cent; no occurrences were recorded for group B (fabricated pretense) or C transcripts. There are two observations worth making in this regard. Even if we accept that many of the interrogatives may be rhetorical in nature, their high incidence rate does appear to offer some insight into how it is that child players share, construct, and convey meanings and ideas within the make-believe context. The solicitation-response sequences are crucial in this regard. Moreover, what may be a significant absence of PEs in fabricated pretense episodes suggests perhaps that players' models of make-believe appear oblivious to the functioning or occurrence of PEs in real pretense. The finding here is in accord with what has been previously remarked upon for Prompts and Fantasy Negotiation moves. Performative Evaluations signal approbation and disapprobation of other children, displaying how seriously a player takes his/her involvement in the script. Questioning formats here may prompt acknowledgement of these facts by co-players. In fabricated pretense, by contrast with real pretense, players concentrate on communicating to an outside audience their conceptions of fabrication. However, this appears discontinuous with the structural realities of what really goes on in "as if" play. Performative evaluations, like prompts, are thus either felt unimportant in the constitution of fantasy or alternatively have a low cognitive salience in children's understandings of their make-believe play.

[E] Enactments

Enactments (cf. Giffen 1984:81; Forbes, Katz, and Paul 1986:258) are constitutive moves in the fantasy frame which comment on, direct, or define the state of play; i.e., states and actions. Such moves can be made while a player has taken on a specific role in the script or when assuming the voice of a narrator talking about perceived events. As is evident from the gross percentages of Table 3, enactments make up the largest category of utterances with a mean distribution rate of between 50 and 65 per cent of total moves computed. Across the three delineated groups A, B, and C the incidence rates for imperatives, exhortations, and interrogatives remain remarkably constant.

Enactments enable players to rapidly develop situational definitions by verbal means alone. These frequently simulate the natural sequential order of actions that obtains in some nonfantasy context. The transcript data suggest that Huli children, much like their Western counterparts, often operate with event scripts or vignettes of social action. These scripts (cf. Bretherton 1984; Nelson and Seidman 1984) are assimilated from everyday experience and are modified for the purposes of sociodramatic play. Enactments play a major part in progressing story lines as condensed scripts on topics such as pig feasting, spirit (*dama*) visitations, hunting, road building, car driving, making gardens, or playing white administrators (*honebi*). In the form of exhortations, enactments which consist of enumerative lists are frequently imbued with rhyme (marked by underlining) and singsong cadence (marked by shading) as in [12].

[12]   (Ts. 13; ll. 100-103)

Nabili:	ai dawama (.)duguama
	let's cook it, let's take it out (after it has been cooked)
	dugu nama(3)
	let's pull it out (after cooking) and let's eat

[F] Fantasy Negotiations

Fantasy negotiations are employed by players to demonstrate their continual orientation toward organizing make-believe interactions in respect to (i) roles (as in [13]), (ii) props, (iii) actions, and (iv) settings. They foreshadow fantasy enactment and as such are considered nonfantasy frame moves. Such interactions are often referred to by analysts as the "set-up" phase (Forbes, Katz, and Paul 1986:256), "stage-managing," "emplotment" (Garvey and Kramer 1989:367), or "building-up" (Auwärter 1986).

[13]   (Ts. 17; ll. 1-18)

Mogai:	>ai hondo ha hondo ha<
	wait wait

→	*ai dama ai hole*	
	who is going to be *dama* (the spirits)?	
Ayubi:	*dama nahole*	
	there isn't anyone to be dama	
Mogai: →	*dama joy ina ha*	
	Joy you become dama	
Joy:	*eh*	
	what?	
Mogai:	*°joy°*	
	Joy	
Joy: →	*agua-agua buliya*	
	what-what will you do	
Mogai: →	*joy i dama*	
	Joy, you are dama	

Table 3 suggests that a substantial proportion (average 28 per cent) of FNs are formatted as interrogatives, and indeed we noted the particularly high presence here of (a) verbs inflected with the desiderative suffix *-a* [14] and (b) question-tags within the FN category that operate to request permission. These constitute yet another linguistic gauge of attenuated directness homologous with the interrogative patterns delineated above.

[14]   (Ts. 6; ll. 147-50; cf. also T. 16; ll. 97-98)

Dara: →	*iba*	*ndo*	*lo↑abe* (.)	*hurua*	*lo↑abe*
	water	no	say-DESID+IGV	grass-skirt	say-DESID+IGV
	can we say it isn't water ((a creek)) can we say it's a grass skirt?				
Dagiwa:	*e*				
	yes				

Number [14] illustrates a fantasy negotiation in genre mode. The interrogatives compel the culturally appropriate response of "*e,*" exposing again the dialogic structure of co-operative make-believe.

CONCLUSION

Establishing and maintaining pretense contexts make demands on co-players both in terms of the kinds of scripts they choose to instantiate and in terms of the way they conduct their talk. The average duration of the sociodramatic episodes recorded is some 9.5 minutes so that sustaining such play sequences requires children to co-ordinate their discourse and negotiate their shared fantasy models if such play is not to disintegrate. Double-play as we have described it here serves these ends by providing the primary pretense dialogue with a format of conversational exchange that can endure since oscillations between narrator and audience roles occur without limitation. Our concern in this article has been to explore the use of talk in the

collaboratively oriented enterprise of building imaginative contexts. In respect to the discourse structures exhibited in double-play, the types of verbal moves we have discriminated and the correlational parameters chosen for analysis (exhortations, interrogatives, imperatives, and inclusive number marking) reveal some of the fundamental mechanisms through which Huli children show deference to the ethos of equivalence and exchange. Most particularly we have noted the high incidence of interrogative forms as a prime facet of how players establish and negotiate their fantasy contributions.

But children clearly also bring their conceptual representations of such events to play: cognitive models of their own pretense and indeed their models of adult fantasy-making. Their experiences of adult play and fantasy, as inherent dimensions of what bi te symbolizes for Huli child culture and child-child discourse, become active in transforming the character of child-structured play. Such models are employed on, and indeed can be elicited from, occasions where players are prompted to reproduce fantasy play for a present and overhearing adult audience. They orient interaction to what they consider salient and stereotypical of pretense-making in a way that exaggerates such criterial features. This finding is an inference drawn from the marked disparity in incidence rates of certain types of moves discussed above and demonstrates the heuristic value of the methodological contrast between naturally occurring and fabricated make-believe play. The analysis of these two distinct data bases has pointed out discontinuities in the way children think they pretend and how they actually do pretend in a manner that would appear to have profound implications for the role and importance assigned to elicited make-believe data in such research. In all of these respects our findings reflect and support the hardly novel notion that make-believe play is, in complex ways, culturally encumbered; that through play children live, or to borrow an idiom from feminist discourse, exist their culture and history in their own culture making and interpretation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ariel, S. 1984. Locutions and Illocutions in Make-Believe Play. Journal of Pragmatics 8:221-40.
Auwärter, M. 1986. Development of Communicative Skills: The Construction of Fictional Reality in Children's Play. Children's Worlds and Children's Language, eds. J. Cook-Gumperz, W. Corsaro, and J. Streeck, pp. 205-30. Amsterdam.
Ballard, C. 1994. Death of a Great Land. Ph.D. dissertation, Australian National University. Canberra.
Bamberg, M. 1983. Metaphor and Play Interaction in Children. The World of Play, ed. F. E. Manning, pp. 127-43. New York.
Bateson, G. 1956. The Message "This is Play." Group Processes: Transactions of the Second Conference, ed. O. Schaffner, pp. 145-51. New York.
Bretherton, I. 1984. Representing the Social World in Symbolic Play: Reality and Fantasy. Symbolic Play. The Development of Social Understanding, ed. I. Bretherton, pp. 3-41. London.
———— 1989. Pretense: The Form and Function of Make-Believe. Developmental Review 9:383-401.
Callois, R. 1961. Man, Play and Games. New York.
Chick, G., and J. Donlon. 1992. Going Out on a Limn: Geertz's "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight" and the Anthropological Study of Play. Play and Culture 5:233-44.
Dixon, W., and C. Shore. 1993. Language Style Dimensions and Symbolic Play. Play Theory and Research 1(4):259-69.

Ebbeck, F. 1973. Learning From Play in Other Cultures. Revisiting Early Childhood Education, ed. J. Frost, pp. 321-26. New York.

Eifermann, R. 1971. Determinants of Children's Games Styles. Jerusalem.

Fein, G. G. 1975. Transformational Analysis of Pretending. Developmental Psychology 11(3):291-96.

———— 1981. Pretend Play in Childhood: An Integrative Review. Child Development 52:1095-1118.

Feitelson, D. 1977. Cross-Cultural Studies of Representational Play. Biology of Play, eds. B. Tizard and D. Harvey, pp. 6-14. Philadelphia.

Forbes, D., M. Katz, and B. Paul. 1986. "Frame Talk": A Dramatistic Analysis of Children's Fantasy Play. Process and Outcome in Peer Relationships, eds. E. Mueller and C. Cooper, pp. 249-65. New York.

Frankel, S. 1986. The Huli Response to Illness. Cambridge.

Garvey, C. 1990. The Modals of Necessity and Obligation in Children's Pretend Play. Play and Culture 3:206-18.

Garvey, C., and R. Berndt. 1977. The Organisation of Pretend Play. JSAS Catalog of Selected Documents in Psychology, 7 (Ms. No. 1589).

Garvey, C., and T. Kramer. 1989. The Language of Social Pretend Play. Developmental Review 9:364-82.

Giffen, H. 1984. The Coordination of Meaning in the Creation of a Shared Make-Believe Reality. Symbolic Play. The Development of Social Understanding, ed. I. Bretherton, pp. 73-101. London.

Glasse, R. 1968. Huli of Papua: A Cognatic Descent System. Paris.

Goffman, E. 1974. Frame Analysis. New York.

Goldman, L. R. 1980. Speech Categories and the Study of Disputes. Oceania 50(3):209-27.

———— 1983. Talk Never Dies: The Language of Huli Disputes. London.

———— 1986. Anatomical Terms in Huli: Names and Games. Mankind 16(3):190-208.

———— 1987. Ethnographic Interpretations of Parent-Child Discourse in Huli. Journal of Child Language 14:447-66.

———— 1988. Premarital Sex Cases Among the Huli. Sydney.

———— 1993. The Culture of Coincidence: Accident and Absolute Liability in Huli. Oxford.

Golomb, C. 1977. Symbolic Play: The Role of Substitutions in Pretence and Puzzle Games. British Journal of Educational Psychology 47:175-86.

Göncü, A. 1989. Models and Features of Pretense. Developmental Review 9:341-44.

Goodwin, M. H. 1988. Cooperation and Competition Across Girls' Play Activities. Gender and Discourse: The Power of Talk, eds. A. D. Todd and S. Fisher, pp. 55-94. New Jersey.

LeRoy, J. 1985. Fabricated World. An Interpretation of Kewa Tales. Vancouver.

LeVine, R., and B. LeVine. 1963. Nyansongo: A Guisii Community in Kenya. Six Cultures: Studies of Child Rearing, ed. B. Whiting, pp. 18-82. New York.

Lodge, K. 1979. The Use of the Past Tense in Games of Pretend. Journal of Child Language 6:365-69.

McCune-Nicolich, L. 1981. Toward Symbolic Functioning: Structure of Early Pretend Games and Potential Parallels with Language. Child Development 52:785-97.

McCune-Nicolich, L., and L. Fenson. 1984. Methodological Issues in Studying Early Pretend Play. Child's Play: Developmental and Applied, eds. T. Yawkwy and A. Pellegrini, pp. 81-104. New Jersey.

McGhee, P. E. 1984. Play, Incongruity, and Humor. Child's Play: Developmental and Applied, eds. T. Yawkwy and A. Pellegrini, pp. 219-36. New Jersey.

Mead, M. 1930. Growing Up in New Guinea. New York.

Nelson, K., and S. Seidman. 1984. Playing with Scripts. Symbolic Play. The Development of Social Understanding, ed. I. Bretherton, pp. 45-71. London.

New, R. 1994. Child's Play—Una Cosa Naturale: An Italian Perspective. Children's Play in Diverse Cultures, eds. J. Roopnarine, J. Johnson, and F. Hooper, pp. 123-47. Albany.

Norbeck, E. 1974. The Anthropological Study of Human Play. The Anthropological Study of Human Play, ed. E. Norbeck. Rice University Studies 60(3):1-8.

Pan, H. W. 1994. Children's Play in Taiwan. Children's Play in Diverse Cultures, eds. J. Roopnarine, J. Johnson, and F. Hooper, pp. 31-50. New York.

Piaget, J. 1962. Play, Dreams and Imitation in Childhood. New York.

Robinson, C., and R. Jackson. 1993. The Relationship Between Parents' Christmas Gifts and Piaget's Stages of Pretend Play and Games-With-Rules Play. Play Theory and Research 1(2):141-52.

Rubin, S., and E. Wolf. 1979. The Development of Maybe: The Evolution of Social Roles into Narrative Roles. Fact, Fiction and Fantasy in Childhood, eds. E. Winner and H. Gardner, pp. 15-28. San Francisco.

Scarlett, W. G., and D. Wolf. 1979. When It's Only Make-Believe: The Construction of a Boundary Between Fantasy and Reality in Storytelling. Fact, Fiction and Fantasy in Childhood, eds. E. Winner and H. Gardner, pp. 29-40. San Francisco.

Schieffelin, B. 1990. The Give and Take of Everyday Life. Language Socialisation of Kaluli Children. New York.

Schwartzman, H. B. 1976. The Anthropological Study of Children's Play. Annual Review of Anthropology 5:289-328.

———— 1978. Transformations: The Anthropology of Children's Play. New York.

———— 1983. Child-Structured Play. The World of Play, ed. F. Manning, pp. 200-14. New York.

———— 1984. Imaginative Play: Deficit or Difference? Child's Play: Developmental and Applied, eds. T. Yawkwy and A. Pellegrini, pp. 49-62. New Jersey.

Simmel, G. 1964. The Sociology of George Simmel, transl. K. H. Wolff. New York.

Singer, D. G., and J. L. Singer. 1977. Partners in Play. New York.

Singer, J. L. 1973. The Child's World of Make Believe. New York.

Smilansky, S. 1968. The Effects of Sociodramatic Play on Disadvantaged Preschool Children. New York.

Sutton-Smith, B. 1972. The Folkgames of Children. Austin.

Werner, H., and B. Kaplan. 1963. Symbolic Formation. New York.

APPENDIX

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

(( ))	encloses interpolated comment or interpretation
( )	signifies a failure to retrieve utterance or transcriptionist's doubt
(1)	indicates a time-gap in seconds or parts thereof either within or between utterances
=	indicates a lack of interval between the end of one person's utterance and the commencement of the next turn
{	signifies overlapping speech
> <	signals a faster delivery
< >	signals a slower delivery
::	indicates the degree of extension of a sound it follows
!	indicates an animated tone
↑ ↓	marks rising and falling shifts in intonation
→ ←	calls attention to a feature of, or in, the text
emph	underlining marks emphasis by speaker
CAP	capital letters mark increased volume of delivery
°	quieter delivery of surrounding talk
i-i	marks an arrested or cut-off utterance
....	deleted lines of transcript

ABBREVIATIONS

ABL   ablative
DESID   desiderative
DL   dual
EFP   explicit fantasy proposals
EN   enactments
FN   fantasy negotiations
HORT   hortative
(I)   immediate
IGV   interrogative
ll.   lines
PE   performative evaluations
PL   plural
PR   prompts
SG   singular
Ts.   transcript
UD   underscorings
yrs   years old