

university level led to a re-examination of anthropological practice and the restatement of many research topics. Some of these revised topics became part of what in the anthropology of the North came to be known as "border studies." Representations of the "nation" and "national identity," migrations from neighboring countries, processes of construction of citizenship, and local non-Pampean societies were some of the topics that attracted the attention of Argentinean anthropologists during those years. The democratic opening also was an incentive to re-examine our own "borders": Are we part of Latin America? Are we Europeans? Are we part of the West? Are the Indians "we" or "they"? What does it mean to be a citizen in Argentina?

In the last decades, Argentinean anthropology has revisited many of these issues. Its most important achievement has been the repositioning of the anthropological regard, not only by examining the structures of inequality between different regions and collective subjects within the country, but, above all, by questioning the inequality inherent in the production and circulation of anthropological knowledge.

Today, Argentinean anthropology expresses itself through various spaces and localizations, as is the case of these lines, written from a territory that is both an internal and an external border. In Jujuy—northern extreme of Argentina and borderland with Bolivia—a central concern of anthropology is the questioning of the dominant notions and practices of an Argentina officially constructed as a white, European country. Particularly important to our research are the tensions derived from a local society that has greater sociocultural, and even phenotypical, affinities with southern Bolivia and northern Chile, than with the *porteño* population of Buenos Aires. The production of anthropology from these geographical and theoretical positions has gone hand in hand with a re-examination of our dialogue with other anthropologists within the country, but also with colleagues in supranational regions such as the Andes. The production of Argentinean anthropologists working in the Andean areas of the country has not, for instance, been easily accepted into the general debate of "Andean anthropology"—it seems that for some it is difficult to admit that "the country of *gauchos* and *tango*" can also be "Andean."

It was in this context that around 1993-94, the first investigations within the field of "border studies" emerged both in border universities (Jujuy, Misiones, Salta) and Buenos Aires. The somewhat belated timing of these studies, and especially the type of theoretical approaches and emphases, maintain—healthily from my point of view—the Argentinean and Third World imprint of our anthropology. This particular outlook of the border problematic is manifested as strongly in the comprehension of our own "national formations of diversity/inequality," as in the understanding of our relationships with our South American neighbors. Thus, our insertion into the border debate takes place from a particular location and takes into consideration the specificity

of the processes of formation of both the state and society in this part of the world.

Please send short articles and photos that could be of interest to our readers to: Gabriela Vargas-Cetina, Facultad de Antropología, U Autónoma de Yucatán, Calle 76 #455-LL, Merida, Yucatan, Mexico; tel and fax [52]999/925-4523; gvargas@webtelmex.net.mx or gabriela_vargas_cetina@hotmail.com.

Society of Lesbian and Gay Anthropologists

BARB WEST, CONTRIBUTING EDITOR

After my brief review of Antonia Young's book *Women Who Become Men* (2000) a few months ago, I have been in contact with Jeffrey Dickemann, who has far more background in this material than I do. He provided me with numerous sources and ideas to use with my undergraduates, and this month he has written a brief article on the subject. I want to thank him in this public forum for his thoughts and effort. He has provided me with the best feedback on this column that I've received in my many months of writing it. Anyone else with something to say, please contact me!

The Balkan Sworn Virgin: Still a Mystery

By Jeffrey Dickemann

Most SOLGAns are familiar with the phenomenon of this name, first brought to the attention of most English readers by Edith Durham's *High Albania* (2001). The sworn virgin is a traditional mountain Balkan role-change in which women become social men without benefit of hormones, surgery or modern Western ideologies of gender variance. A good deal has been written on the subject: two articles by Rene Gremaux (in Brenner's *From Sappho to de Sade* [1989] and in Herdt's *Third Sex, Third Gender* [1993]), two other related articles cited in the Herdt volume, two by myself (in Bullough, et al, *Gender Blending* [1997] and in Murray and Roscoe's *Islamic Homosexualities* [1997]), and now the aforementioned book by Antonia Young. One would think that the phenomenon would be well-understood, but much remains a mystery.

Leaving aside its origins and rationales, the varying customary laws and religious attitudes, and the agency of the participants, there is, for Western students of gender, a strange discordance in those attributes usually contributive to the man/woman distinction. Thus, some individuals change the given name from feminine to masculine, but some do not. Some kin and associates refer to the individual with masculine pronouns and gender inflections, but some do not. Members of the individual's family may, or may not, know that the man is female-bodied. The bare face, among mandatory male mustachios, seems unexceptional. Breasts are either bound or unbound. Menstruation is not addressed. The (Western) mind boggles.

How then *do* (or did) Highland Albanians, Serbians, Montenegrins and Macedonians conceive of the two genders? It seems that costume alone is sufficient! Our perplexity is in part a result of inadequate data, not only in the short written record (dating only from the late 1800s) but in the work of recent investigators as well. But it is also a reflection of a very different mental conception of gender, begging for investigation.

Young's book, which I reviewed negatively in *Archives of Sexual Behavior* (2000), may be taken as a demonstration of the failures of research undertaken without training in anthropology, ethnographic methods or gender studies. Interviews through an interpreter, as Young does, will not do in gender research. Attention to disparities in self-presentation (bodily and verbal) and the descriptions and attitudes of others is essential, as is the need for detailed life histories, a record of the interests of kin in supporting or opposing the transformation, and the sexuality and desires of the actors (first addressed by Gremaux). It is clear from existing evidence that the role is undergoing change, but toward what? Will it continue as a virginal man in industrial urban society, or will it be transformed into the modern global lesbian identity (as I expect)? None of these topics was addressed in any systematic or complete way in Young's book.

Our understanding of the nature of the Balkan sworn virgin and the gender conceptions that underlie it will not progress until intensive fieldwork is undertaken by a trained ethnographer with good grounding in gender research who is willing to master Serbo-Croatian and Albanian (unrelated languages in which material is already beginning to appear). Close rapport involving a significant time investment will be necessary. Is there not a gutsy young butch lesbian or transgendered person who wishes to undertake this task? The elders are dying out; the societies are undergoing major transformations. There is no time to lose!

Please send your comments, new column ideas or other information to Barb West at bwest@uop.edu. To sign up for the SOLGA listserv, send a message to listserv@american.edu with "subscribe solga-1" in the body of the message.

Society for Linguistic Anthropology

MARK ALLEN PETERSON AND JAMES STANLAW,
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

Linguistic Moments in the Movies

We are approaching the end of the school year, when the strain of final projects, term papers and grading brings on exhaustion for professors and students alike. What better time to take a break and unveil for your weary students the montage of movie clips you have cobbled together for just such times, illustrating sublime and ridiculous portrayals of human speech?

What's that? You have no such video handy? Not to worry. A couple of years ago, Shana Walton (U of Southern Mississippi) asked members of the *linganth* listserv to suggest some "fun 'linguistic moments' from the movies for the last day of class." The following are some suggestions offered by Maria-Luisa Achino-Loeb (NYU-Gallatin), Claire Cowie (U of Sheffield), Ronald Kephart (U of North Florida), Laura Miller (Loyola U), Kate Riley (CUNY), Mark Allen Peterson (American U in Cairo), Hal Schiffman (U of Pennsylvania) and Marie-Lucie Tarpent (Mount Saint Vincent U), as well as Shana.

- **"Airplane!" (1980):** Years before the ebonics controversy, this film featured two African American men speaking "jive." Although their dialogue is perfectly comprehensible to the audience, no one in the film can understand it. The subtitles are quite funny.
- **"Bambi" (1942):** Has anyone tried to figure out Bambi's language acquisition process? B-b-b-birds?
- **"Beavis and Butthead Do America" (1996):** Contains a humorous scene based on the prescription against using a preposition to end a sentence with.
- **"Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid" (1969):** There are wonderful moments when the protagonists struggle with the Spanish language. In one scene, they manage to rob a bank with their limited Spanish, but these limits become painfully obvious when they encounter real Mexican banditos. A great excuse for linguists to see this classic again.
- **"Canadian Bacon" (1995):** There's a scene in which Stephen Wright, playing a Canadian Mounted Policeman, says, "What's this about?" and Kevin J O'Connor replies, "We have ways of making you pronounce the letter O, pal." In another scene, John Candy is fined by a Canadian highway patrolman because his graffiti is not in both French and English.
- **"Dances with Wolves" (1990):** In this film, Kevin Costner learns Lakota in absolutely no elapsed time between scenes.
- **"Encino Man" (1992):** Includes some funny scenes of the caveman learning English after having been dug up. In addition, contains several scenes of Pauly Shore spouting nearly incomprehensible "surfer" dialect.
- **"The Funeral" (1984):** In this Japanese film by director Itami Juzo, a couple views a video on "How to Have a Funeral" to learn the proper things to say.
- **"Phenomenon" (1996):** John Travolta learns Portuguese in about 10 minutes after being struck by lightning.
- **"Tampopo" (1986):** In another film directed by Itami Juzo, you find a "noodle master" using high-register tea-ceremony-like language and gestures to instruct a truck driver in the art of eating ramen.
- **"The 13th Warrior" (1999):** It's worth watching this movie just to see Antonio Banderas learn a second language by merely sitting around a campfire, with no assistance from the native speakers, and immediately producing

complex forms! I first saw this movie because a fellow linguist called and said, "Hey, you've got to come see this . . ."

- **"Wayne's World" (1992):** There's a scene in this film in which Wayne is having a conversation about relationships with pop-star love interest Cassandra. She is a native Cantonese speaker and Wayne has (rapidly) mastered Cantonese. They engage in a deeply serious and reflective conversation about the psychology of relationships and dependence, but the very lengthy English subtitles are coordinated with maybe only one or two words in Cantonese. It's a great take on linguistic relativity.
- **"The Wild Child/L'Enfant Sauvage" (1969):** And for those who face the end of the semester in a more serious key, Truffaut's film focuses on the acquisition of speech, period. Although it is a bit slow in parts, students love it for its humorous and heart-rending moments.

For more on these and other films, see the list on my linguistics course website (www.aucegypt.edu/academic/anth/anth352). If you have a media moment to add, send me a line at peterston@aucegypt.edu.

Please send your comments, contributions, news and announcements to SLA Contributing Editors Jim Stanlaw (stanlaw@ilstu.edu) or Mark Peterson (peterston@aucegypt.edu).

Society for Medical Anthropology

ANN MILES, CONTRIBUTING EDITOR

When I began editing this column three years ago, I urged one of my undergraduate students to write an article about his experiences as an outreach worker in a rural clinic serving migrant farmworkers. Even though they live and work quite literally in our "backyards," the health concerns and living conditions of migrant farmworkers often resemble those in the "developing" world. It is not surprising then that the models used to provide services to migrant workers mimic those found in international public health projects. My student, Dylan Clark, does nothing halfway, and by the time he finished his captivating but way-too-long article, the length of the section columns in *AN* literally had been cut in half. All thoughts of printing his article in its entirety here had to be abandoned. What follows is a brief description of Dylan's experiences. The complete text may be found on the SMA website at www.cudenver.edu/sma.

Experience in Migrant Health Care

By Dylan J Clark (Tulane U)

The cultures and plight of migrant and seasonal farmworkers in the US often have been characterized as a "hidden world," unseen and unacknowledged by the dominant society and political establishment. Marginalized migrant and sea-

sonal farmworkers and their families in the US face a disproportionate amount of health problems and, likewise, experience significant barriers to access to quality health care. Biomedical professionals, especially those in the rural health field, have taken steps to address this by developing strategies devoted to increasing migrant workers' access to services. In rural southwest Michigan, InterCare Community Health Network has developed a Migrant Outreach Program incorporating trained staff, services and educational resources. The roles and responsibilities of outreach in the lives of migrant patients, and the barriers to access these patients face, are explored here through the experiences of one migrant family from Mexico, and a recent graduate of anthropology whose paths crossed in the apple orchards of Michigan. Serving as the assistant outreach coordinator at InterCare, I relate my critical perception of the kinds of institutional challenges that migrant families face in their pursuit for quality primary health care, and the subsequent limitations of the Migrant Outreach Program to make the kinds of large-scale structural changes necessary to promote long-term sustainable health in the migrant farmworker community. I found that small-scale changes are vital, such as the empowerment and awareness that occur at the individual level as is the need to educate the biomedical community to the primary anthropological issues inherent in health care promotion in a migrant context.

Website Erratum

In the Mar column, Craig Janes mistakenly attributed the origins of the SMA website to Ruthbeth Finerman. That recognition should have gone to Elisa Sobo, who did the most difficult work of all—pulling together materials, designing the site and posting it for the first time. Craig Janes regrets the error. A brief statement on the history of the website is available on the SMA homepage.

Structural Violence and Anthropological Praxis

By Linda Marie Small

In thinking about Paul Farmer's comment about "where we work" (Jan 2002 *AN*) and his reference to "where and what society and processes" anthropologists study, we can apply the "where" to the infrastructure that enables our research. With this application, though, Paul Farmer's conception of "structural violence" as consisting of the "social machinery of oppression" omits two primary discourses. Missing is discussion of the discourse of social cues and the discourse of praxis.

Our research is dependent upon an infrastructure of social machinery that enables us to "do" science. It is one thing to do human-rights research that is easily defined, such as documenting "who" or "how many" people are able to vote. Social and economic rights, on the other hand, are dependent upon interwoven networks of education, goods, manufacturing, jobs, building materials and so forth. These "stepchildren of human rights" lend the discourses of social cues