

**Tracking Postmodernist Historiography in
Catherine J. Lavender, "Is She Not a Man?"**

(Chapter from *Scientists and Storytellers: Feminist Anthropology and the Construction of the American Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006): 138-62, 207-12.)

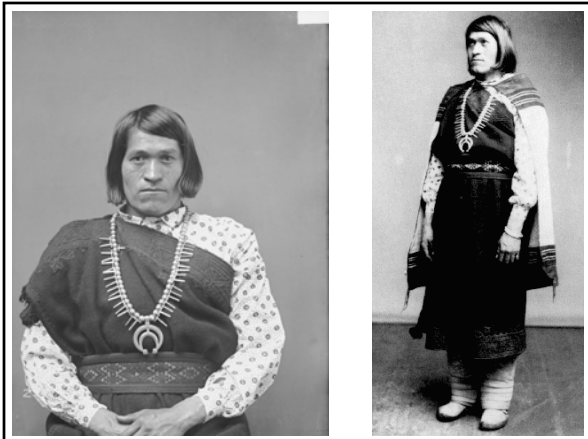
**Terms for Native American
Crossgender Traditions**

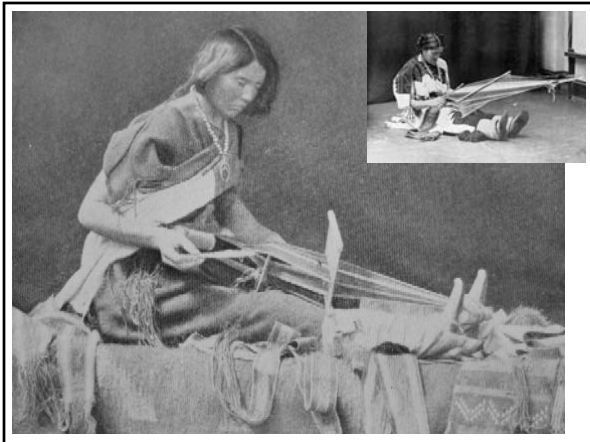
- "Berdache"
 - Derived from "*brada*?"
- Man-woman (and Woman-man)
 - The most neutral historical term for the collective identity (despite the variations in the identity)
 - so that its "non-nativeness" highlights the constructed nature of the term)
- Two-Spirits
 - Term preferred by contemporary Indians who identify with the man-woman construct (typically identify as transgendered and/or as gay)

**More specifically....
(NOT an exhaustive list!)**

- Plains:
 - Lakota: *winkte* (MtF); *winkte winyan* (FtM)
 - Dakota Sioux: *koskalaka* (MtF); *winkte winyan* (FtM)
 - Cheyenne: *he'emen* (MtF); *hetaneman* (FtM)
 - Crow: *boté*
 - Piegan: *Ninauposkitzipspe* (FtM)
- Pueblo/Southwest
 - Zuni: *Ihamana* (MtF); *katsotse* (FtM)
 - Dine (Navajo): *nadle*
 - Mojave: *alyhas* (MtF); *hwane* (FtM)
 - Cocopa: *warhameh* (FtM)
 - Yuman: *kwe'rhame* (FtM)
 - Hopi: *hova* (male)

We-wha, Zuni *Ihamana* (1886)





We-wha of Zuni (1849-1896)

When Europeans arrived in North America they were shocked that native peoples often interpreted gender differently from them. Not only were many cultures matrarchal, a great many tribes accepted three genders instead of only two.

Zuni Pueblo, in western New Mexico, honored three genders before the coming of protestant missionaries. Men who chose not to become hunters and warriors became Ihamanas, members of the alternative gender that bridged the other two. While they were initiated into male religious societies, they became crafts specialists and wore female garb. They were nonwarriors who moved freely in the male and female worlds.

We-wha was a Zuni Ihamana who helped bridge his culture and that of Anglo-Americans. He was one of the first Zunis to experiment with new economic activities, something essential in the changing world of his day...His photograph hangs in the tribal museum today, and gay Native Americans throughout North America remember him as a spiritual hero and guide.

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Source: www.trinitystores.com/

Postmodernist Influences

- Discourse
- Social Construction
- Thick Description
- Contingency