

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

**ANCESTORS OF TWO-SPIRITS:
REPRESENTATIONS OF NATIVE AMERICAN THIRD-GENDER MALES
IN HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION
A Critical Discourse Analysis in Anthropology**

A Pro Gradu Thesis in English

by

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**Department of Languages
2005**

HUMANISTINEN TIEDEKUNTA
VIERAIDEN KIELEN LAITOS

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ANCESTORS OF TWO-SPIRITS: REPRESENTATIONS OF NATIVE AMERICAN THIRD-GENDER
MALES IN HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION. A Critical Discourse Analysis in Anthropology

Pro gradu –työ
Englantilainen filologia
Lokakuu 2005

146 sivua + 9 liitettä (Liitteet eivät sisälly verkkojulkaisuun.)

Tutkimus koskee monille Pohjois-Amerikan alkuperäisheimoilta perinteisesti kuulunutta sukupuoli-roolia. Nykyisin rooli on etninen sukupuoli-identiteetti nimeltä *two-spirit* eli 'kaksi henkeä', jotka viittaavat sekä feminiiniseen että maskuliiniseen henkeen. Ennen eurooppalaisperäisen väestön vaikutusta Amerikan alkuperäisväestön elämäntapoihin ja uskomuksiin kyseinen rooli oli vahvasti integroitunut monien heimojen kulttuureihin ja käsitti paljon laajempia ulottuvuuksia kuin nykyinen identiteetti, jonka historialliseen esimuotoon aiemmin viitattiin nykyisin käytöstä poistetulla *berdache* -termillä. Sen tähden tässä tutkimuksessa historiallista roolia kutsutaan nimellä *third-gender* ('kolmas sukupuoli'), koska se vastaa hyvin antropologien viimeaikaisia kuvauksia historiallisesta sukupuoli-statuksesta kolmannen tai välillisen (*intermediate*) sukupuolen ilmentymänä. Kyseisessä roolissa oli sekä uskonnollisia, sosiaalisia että seksuaalisia ulottuvuuksia ja monilla heimoilla oli heille omia termejä.

Tutkimus keskittyi tarkastelemaan historiallisia kuvauksia mies-puolisista henkilöistä, koska heistä on vanhempaa aineistoa kuin vastaavista naispuolisista. Tutkimus analysoi 10 varhaisinta dokumenttia (vuosilta 1528 – 1775) tällaisista henkilöistä eurooppalaisten matkajien pitämässä päiväkirjoitteissa, jotka julkaistiin englannin kielellä J. N. Katzin kokoelmassa (1976/1992). Kirja osoittautui ilmestymisensä jälkeen tärkeäksi alkuperäislähteiden englanninkieliseksi kokoelmaksi kyseisen sosiaalisen statuksen tutkijoille. Vaikka jotkut tutkijat ovat varoitelleet luottamasta liian sanatarkasti näihin rikkonaisiin kuvauksiin niihin liittyvän Eurooppa-keskeisen yksipuolisuuden takia, jotkut vinoutuneet päiväkirjakuvaukset ovat löytäneet tiensä tieteellisiin julkaisuihin. Lisäksi monissa kuvauksissa ilmenee selviä ristiriitaisuuksia. Kriittinen diskurssianalyysi -metodi soveltuu erityisesti ideologisesti värityneiden tekstien tutkimiseen, joten se valittiin näiden dokumenttien analysoimiseen. Asenteellisten diskurssikeinojen käyttö nostettiin esille tekstien sanaston, syntaksin ja koko tekstin rakenteen tasolla. Tekstien rakennetta tarkasteltiin niissä käytettyjen tekstilajien sekä niihin liittyvien funktioiden tasolla. Lisäksi tekstejä verrattiin toisiinsa intertekstuaalisesti silloin kun niissä oli huomattavaa samankaltaisuutta. Tekstejä tarkasteltiin mentaalien mallien (*mental model*) mahdollisina ilmentyminä. Lisäksi kuvausten tyypillinen koostumus kartoitettiin.

Kriittisen diskurssianalyysin käyttö osoittautui hyödylliseksi ja sen avulla todettiin, että erityisesti Jesuiittojen ja muiden kristillistä vakaumusta osoittavien kirjoittajien asenteet asettivat *third-gender* -henkilöt negatiiviseen valoon. Monissa teksteissä ilmeni sanaston ja propositioiden tasolla kahdenlaista asennetta kyseisiä henkilöitä kohtaan, ja ne aiheuttivat ristiriitaisuutta tekstien sisällöissä. Toinen näistä sosiaalisista asenteista juontui eurooppalaisten kirjoittajien taustasta, ja se oli luonteeltaan halveksivaa tai tuomitsevaa kyseisiä henkilöitä kohtaan; toinen oli alkuperäisväestön oma hyväksyvä tai kunnioittava asenne heitä kohtaan. Vaikka lähes puolet kirjoittajista mainitsi, että kyseinen sukupuoli-status oli sidoksissa heimojen uskontoon, ja sen tähden yhteisön hyväksymää, he itse tuomitsivat tämän uskonnollisen tavan. Eurooppalaisten asenteet eivät olleet yhtä tuomitsevia, jos näitä henkilöitä kuvattiin pelkästään naisiksi pukeutuneina ja heidän töitänsä tekevinä. Viittaukset seksuaalisuuteen olivat peiteltyjä, niissä päällimmäisiksi nousivat häpeälliset ja liialliset intohimot; muutama teksti viittasi sodomiaan. Tuomitseva asenne ilmeni sanaston ja syntaksin tasolla, sekä erillisinä lauseina. Eurooppalaisesta taustasta nousevien mentaalien mallien nähtiin vaikuttaneen kuvauksiin: Jos nämä "miehet" määriteltiin sodomiiteiksi, heidät tuomittiin moraalisesti ja heidän katsottiin luovan epämoraalittomuutta koko heimoon. Jos taas kirjoittajat pitivät kyseisiä henkilöitä hermafrodiitteinä, he eivät tuominneet heitä ollenkaan, ja jos he kirjoittivat naisellisista miehistä viittaamatta heidän seksuaalisuuteen, negatiivinen asenne rajoittui halveksivaan ilmaisuun naisten töiden tekemisestä. Tekstien saattoikin katsoa ilmentävän juutalais-kristilliseen perinteeseen nojaavaa sukupuoliarvostusta, ja seksuaalimoraalia. Intertekstuaalisessa tutkimuksessa todettiin myös, että tietyt, erityisesti ranskalaisten Jesuiittojen käyttämät hämmästyttävän samankaltaiset, samoissa konteksteissa ja tekstin rakenteen kohdissa esiintyvät lauseenparret ovat kierrätettyä materiaalia ja ilmensivät *third-gender* -miehistä syntynyttä mentaalista mallia. Tutkimuksessa kartoitettiin lisäksi kolmetoista tyypillisintä elementtiä, joista tekstit muodostuivat. Yleisin näistä oli naisiksi pukeutuminen (80%), ja toisena (70%) kolme elementtiä: työrooli, henkilöiden seksuaalinen käyttäytyminen, ja kirjoittajien (negatiivinen) asenne kyseisiä henkilöitä kohtaan.

Asiasanat: Native American third-gender. two-spirit. gender status. gender identity. critical discourse analysis. intertextual analysis. mental model. social attitude. ethnocentric bias. ideology. anthropology

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 *Hermaphrodites, berdaches and two-spirits*

The words *hermaphrodite* and *berdache* are some of the many terms that have been used in reference to certain kinds of North American natives who can be characterized as Native American third-genders. Nowadays, these kinds of natives call themselves *two-spirits*. In their own cultures, third-genders were, and to some extent still are, regarded as being outside the male and female genders, as if occupying a third-gender position in their society. In the past, these individuals had a visible and socially recognized position in their culture, and many Native American languages had special terms for them. These terms could be applied to real hermaphrodites and/or to those whose inner character contained the essence of both female and male characters. In the traditional native way of thinking, this gave them a unique spiritual power, supported by the ancient religious belief systems of their peoples. Nowadays, many of these Native American terms have either disappeared from use or do not have the same definition or connotations they once had. Many European and American terms applied to third-gender have fallen out of use as well. For example, the oldest one of these, *hermaphrodite*, was later realized to be a misnaming.

Both males and females can be considered representatives of this kind of status, but it seems to have been more common and more widely institutionalized amongst males. Although the statuses were not mirror images of each other, childhood signs involving the interest in the work of the opposite sex have been most often cited for both sexes in historical records. In the past, the surrounding society usually recognized them ceremonially in one way or another. For example, their family could arrange a public ceremony for them as a rite of passage at adolescence. Third-genders were known to work in occupations more typical of the opposite sex. In some tribes, they were involved with particular tasks. Third-genders usually had elements of dress and hairdo of the opposite sex. In ceremonies, they usually

had their own roles to play. The most typical sexual behavior cited for them is with people of their own biological sex but who did not belong to the same third-gender category as they did. Hence, from a native point of view, describing Native American third-genders as homosexual is misleading. In fact, sexual relationships between third-genders of one biological sex seems to have been most rare.

Third-genders were evidently never very numerous, yet common enough to be featured in several historical documents. Most likely, there were a few of them in any relatively large village or in any tribe that recognized the status. The European travellers who encountered them lacked appropriate terms to define them. This explains the great variety of terms applied to these people. As European influence spread into their societies, the role, visibility and numbers of Native American third-genders diminished. The more acculturated these native communities became, the more likely was a total disappearance of the institution from public view. In many societies, the status has either totally disappeared or gone undercover, as have many other tribal institutions. Amongst traditionally oriented Indians, remnants of the tradition still exist. The third-gender status was evidently an ancient institution. The cultures where they existed, and still exist, stretch out to a large area. Comparable statuses or socially recognized personality types have been encountered worldwide in cultures with living conditions and social organizations remarkably different from each other (Greenberg 1988): Central and South America, as well as the Polynesian cultures had, and to some extent still have, their own versions of the intermediate gender. Gender ambiguity in magical context was also found in some parts of pre-Christian Europe (Greenberg 1988: 243).

1.2 Historical Native American third-gender became defined by Europeans

The oldest documentation of people that fit the descriptions of North American third-genders can be found in texts that date from the 16th and 17th century. These are short journal accounts written by European travellers to North America. The authors include explorers, missionaries, artists, and other people of European

origin. Their descriptions of “hermaphrodites” amongst Native Americans range from a single line to one or two paragraphs. A large collection of these texts was published by Jonathan Ned Katz in his *Gay American History. Lesbians and Gay men in the U.S.A.* The first edition came out in 1976, and the revised one in 1992. Several of the early accounts, written in French or Spanish, had been translated into English and published prior to their appearance in Katz. However, having these rare texts appear in one collection made the otherwise fragmentary documentation on the institution considerably more accessible. Apparently, the time was also right to study alternative forms of gender and sexuality, and the collection became quickly an invaluable source of material for anybody studying the status or social construction of gender in general. Before the publication of Katz, only one survey and a couple of notes had been published on Native American third-gender. The more in-depth studies that appeared during the 1980s and 1990s, usually either refer to Katz or to the sources made known by him.

Although historical documents containing passages on third-gender were written by non-Natives, i.e. outsiders, these short descriptions of the people in question constitute the earliest documentation on the third-gender status as a historical institution. Some of these texts may contain the only record there is on third-genders in certain tribes. Scholarly studies on the status were carried out much later, during the 1900s. By then, the institution had largely disappeared from public view. Even in tribes where third-genders were still encountered at the time, their importance as an institution had diminished, as had that of many other indigenous establishments. For example, very few anthropologists had a chance to conduct interviews with old-time third-genders. This means that the studies done on the status documented a situation greatly altered from the time before the influence of the white contact. That is why the English translations of these first European descriptions and definitions of the third-gender institution, when it was still well integrated with the tribal way of life, have become so important for scholars studying the issue. As rare primary sources, they have laid the basis for the image of Native American third-gender in anthropology.

1.3 Fragmentary documentation led to a slow understanding of the status

The scantiness of historical documentation on Native American third-gender is the most typical lamentation of those studying the issue. The early descriptions on the status are short and disjointed. Many of them contain contradictory propositions, which makes the portrayal of third-genders confusing. The contradictions are usually related to the attitudes expressed towards the status. These range from respect to contempt. The fragmentary nature of the early documentation led to a very slow understanding of the complexities of the Native American third-gender status as an institution. This is clear in the differences of the definitions formulated for third-gender during the 1900s by American anthropologists, or in their various speculations on the *raison-d'être* of the institution. The problems of understanding can also be seen in the terminology applied to the status over the centuries. When trying to define this very non-Western status, Europeans and later Americans produced a conceptual field of words, where the lexical items are far from being synonymous with each other.

1.4 Ethnocentric bias of the accounts suspected

The disjointed representation of the status in historical documents must partly be due to the difficulties the colonizers experienced when reporting about something very alien to them and of which they obviously had only partial understanding. In other words, the contradictions in the portrayal of third-genders are suspect of stemming from two very different worldviews, representing two divergent groups of ideologies: those of the Judeo-Christian tradition, and those of native North American shamanic societies. Although some scholars have cautioned against taking the statements in the historical journal accounts as absolute truths, hasty conclusions based on only few statements or passages of historical texts have occasionally appeared in professional literature. At times, the phenomenon has been confused with other instances of cross-dressing. Yet, the accounts should not be regarded as straightforward documentation on third-genders. Rather, they document European, and later Euroamerican impressions on them. One should also

remember that the authors kept journals for state and church authorities, or for personal reasons. The point of view they took in their representation of third-genders was tied to their social background and the socio-political currents of the time. Hence, they are likely to contain ideological assumptions and evaluations, especially since the institution was connected to religion and gender/sexual ambiguity. As complex systems with various central facets of human life, ideologies are like filters that affect, first, the perception, and secondly, the reporting of that perception. Like any filters, they function by filtering out information that would have otherwise passed through. The material anthropologists and other social scientists have to work with is the material that has passed through and made it to the written records.

Despite the fact that several scholars have voiced their concern over an evident ethnocentric bias in the historical documents, no study exploring it systematically has been published. Only particular texts or ways of derogating third-genders have been pointed out (e.g., by Callender and Kochems 1983, and Roscoe 1987). From a linguistic point of view, the first suspect is the amount of linguistic and structural similarity in the historical accounts reproduced in Katz (1976/1992). The high level of similarity is surprising considering the fact that these texts purport to recount personal experiences based on direct observation of third-genders. In addition, the accounts cover a period of several centuries and report on a large number of tribes and tribal groups living far away from each other. In spite of this, certain words, phrases and syntactic arrangements are repeated so often as to appear conspicuous. At times, even structural arrangements are unusually similar, as if following a common model. This raises the question of whether some parts of the texts are really based on actual observation, or only on a prior mental image of these kinds of people, acquired from earlier texts read or heard about.

1.5 Critical discourse analysis applied to the third-gender research

Since the ethnobias of the European authors is suspected of having slanted the historical representation of Native American third-genders, their portrayal in the documents needs to be examined in detail. This should provide more accurate information on the status at its historical stage. The most useful way of doing this is by analyzing a series of chronological texts. This allows comparisons between the ways of portraying third-genders in consecutive texts. The texts describing third-genders have to be examined as discourse, emerged in the social practices of their time and place, and therefore liable of containing ideological coloring that stems from the background of the European authors. Hence, the discourse analysis best suited for this task has to offer methodological tools for examining ideological coloring of textual representations of people. Such tools can be found within a critical approach in discourse analysis, known as critical discourse analysis or CDA.

CDA will be applied to study contradictions in the accounts concerning the standing third-genders had in their own communities, the roles they played in their society, and the reasons for their existence amongst the tribes that maintained them. Since the attitude towards third-genders amongst their own people is often intermixed and blurred with the attitude of the author, the agency of conveyed opinions and attitudes needs to be determined as well as possible. Native perceptions and opinions on the status need to be separated from the assumptions and evaluations of the foreign observers. Stark differences between the attitudinal propositions contained in one text are indicative of more than one voice expressed in that text. One voice may be more explicit while the other is more hidden under the surface structures of the text, embedded, e.g., in some lexical choices that differ from the main style of the text. In addition, the accounts need to be compared with each other to determine what causes the high level of similarity in them. This means examining those texts that share many linguistic or structural similarities from the point of view of intertextuality, which is a way of studying the overall configuration of texts. If some texts resort to similar discursual devices in similar contexts, there is reason

to believe that some of these similarities are activations of more or less pre-fixed discursal elements of particular ways of communicating in particular social contexts. The similarities may also stem from earlier texts, or be instantiations of a mental model that has evolved on the issue of third-gender.

What seems particularly needed in the anthropological research of the ancient Native American third-gender status at this point is detailed and traceable analysis on the way historical third-genders were evaluated by their own people. Instead of vague references to ethnocentric bias in the historical documents on third-gender, it is time to map it out in actual texts so that other researchers can verify it themselves. Close attention to a series of texts as discourse, particular to its time and place, may strengthen some of the earlier conclusions on historical third-genders, modify them, or refute them. A discourse analysis may add to the determination of the most essential features associated with the historical status. The obtained results may also shed further light to the evolution of the anthropological definitions of the status, which slowly evolved from simple statements on third-gender males being institutionalized women (or homosexuals) to much more complex descriptions of the intermediate gender.

The present study aims to add another dimension to the research done previously. Analyzing various aspects of the language used in the treatment of the status, be it lexical choices, syntactic arrangements or structural properties of the texts, should help researchers go under the surface of naming the matter and look at various forces at play in the conception and definition of this phenomenon. A linguistic study in the field of anthropology can demonstrate what difficulties are involved when interpreting matters across cultural barriers. By observing the observer from a linguistic point of view, one can reveal how ideologies can influence the observance of people and institutions, and the subsequent reporting on them. In this sense, the present thesis is a way of using linguistics as a research tool.

1.6 Corpus of the early representation of third-gender

Since all of the oldest journal accounts describe only males that fit the definition of Native American third gender, the present thesis concentrates on those third-genders who were biologically male. The corpus of the early representation of the Native American third-gender includes the English translations of ten of the earliest historical journal accounts arranged in a chronological order in the main section of J. N. Katz (1992). These texts were written in 1528 – 1776. Two early texts were not included amongst the ten accounts because they only referred to homosexuality without implying anything unusual in terms of gender. Left out were also the fragments of texts appearing only in the section called the Notes in Katz. The authors of the accounts included for the analysis are: Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Hernando de Alarcón, Jacques le Moyne de Morgues, Jacques Marquette, René Goulaine de Laudonnière, Pierre Liette, Joseph François Latifau, Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix, Jean Bernard Bossu, and Pedro Font. The accounts were written in first-person narrative, and their length varies between one sentence and a couple of paragraphs. Seven of these ten texts, originally written by French and Spanish explorers and missionaries, had been published in their English versions prior to the publication of Katz.

1.7 A note on the use of terminology

During the 1900s, the term *berdache*, borrowed from the French Canadians during the 1700s and 1800s, became established as the most common term used for the Native American third-gender status. In 1994, the American Association of Anthropology demanded replacing the term *berdache* with the term *two-spirit*, which had been coined by Native Americans in the early 1990s. The association stated also that quotation marks with the postscript *sic*, i.e., "*berdache*"(*sic*) are to be used if one needs to use the earlier academic term. The reason for the change in terminology was the distant etymology of *berdache*, often treated in the anthropological publications on the status, that the Native Americans involved with the issue found insulting. (According to *the Oxford English Dictionary*, the now obsolete *bardash* and its variant spellings, came from ancient French and was used

to designate ‘a catamite’ – i.e. ‘a boy kept for unnatural purposes.’ The quotes listed for this usage are from 1548 – 1721. The word *bardash* is believed to be an adaptation of the Arabic *bardaj*, meaning ‘slave.’ The dictionary has another entry for *berdache* or *berdash*, with the following definition: ‘Among North American Indians: a transvestite.’) To some extent, the two terms, *berdache* and *two-spirit* were first used in different contexts: *berdache* in the ancient or historical Native context, and *two-spirit* in the contemporary one. Nowadays, those publishing on the status seem to favor almost exclusively the term *two-spirit* in their titles. In text, “berdache” still appears.

Since the present study aims to analyze historical documentation of certain Native Americans, an adoption of the most recently coined term seems to blur the line between a historical context and the contemporary one. That is why the description “Native American third gender (status)” will be used as a generic term in the present thesis. It does not imply that this description ought to be regarded as the best way of referring to these kinds of people. It merely appears as a rather accurate reflection of the way this status/personality can be conceived of. Furthermore, it has more often been used as a characterization than a term. After all, the purpose of this work is not to promote any of the terms proposed for these people. When referencing documents using particular terms, the lexical choice of the author is respected to indicate the person's choice of words and – most importantly - the time of writing. As the present thesis refers to a number of terms applied to this Native American status, quotation marks are mostly used only to indicate initially whose choice a given word is, or to refer to a word as a concept. The words and sentences will be in *italics* when their discursual use is examined or when they are presented as linguistic examples.

2 NATIVE AMERICAN THIRD-GENDER MALE IN HISTORICAL AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL DOCUMENTATION OF THE STATUS

2.1 Native American third-gender as an object of study

Although references to the Native American third-gender people go back to the 16th century in historical documentation, broad studies of the status have been published only during the last thirty years or so, which means that they are largely based on retrospective evidence. Before that, only a few American and European anthropologists briefly summarized the features they perceived to be the main ones.

Western hostility towards the status has hindered and skewed the gathering of information and led to the scantiness of it. When Indians noticed that white people considered the status shameful, they became reluctant to talk about it, sometimes even denying its former existence. Eventually, the Christianization and acculturation of the Natives into American way of life led to a general change of attitude towards the status, and it lost much of its former standing and respect. (Callender & Kochems 1983:443-65.) American anthropologists have not always been encouraged to study the issue either (Williams (1986:11-12). The reluctance of devoting much time to fully understand the third-gender institution may explain why the topic did not find popularity before the social construction of gender in general started to interest people. Another hindrance to getting accurate information on the Native third-gender was the way it was confused with other phenomena involving cross-dressing. Both Angelino & Shedd (1955), and Lurie (1953) devote a part of their articles to separate "the berdache institution" from other forms of transvestism. Lurie (1953:712) concludes on the Winnebago that "a true berdache" held an honored and respected position in the society, while a man who was forced to take on a female dress (for cowardice at war and for lying about it) without the benefit of a blessing by the moon was disgraced and dishonored.

Even though Parsons published on the Zuni *la'mana* as early as 1916, and on the last Zuni “transvestite” in 1939; and Hill on the Navajo hermaphrodite and “transvestite” in 1935 and on the Pima “berdache” in 1938, American publications from the 1930s to 1960s were few and almost all limited in scope to a single tribe or tribal group. Before the first real survey on the continental scale came out, third-gender gained some fame as an American Indian personality type through the publication of *Little Big Man* in 1964. This fictional novel by Thomas Berger tells about a white man (Jack Crabb) who was adopted by the Cheyenne. The book became highly acclaimed and it was made into a movie in 1970. Berger’s knowledge of real historical people and events, and the way he sets his fictional character Crabb into these events made this tragicomic book both entertaining and informative. The Cheyenne *he man eh*, or 'halfman-halfwoman' (Williams 1986:76), is one of the characters in the Cheyenne village. The first attempt to expand a strictly professional treatment of the topic was a brief review of the literature by Jacobs in 1968, and Forgey (1975) published on the status amongst the Plains tribes. Within the next decades, information on the status was greatly increased by several American publications: A collection of ethnographic data on homosexuality throughout North America by Katz in 1976, and the first in-depth article on the status, called "the North American berdache" by Callender & Kochems in 1983. The book by Katz (1976/1992) includes passages of historical journals translated into English that have since their publication served as primary material for numerous gender scholars. The value of Callender & Kochems’ work was further increased by the inclusion of commentaries from fifteen international scholars specializing in Native Americans. The wide range of consideration of the matter made the article a frequent reference material for later scholars. It has also served as the basis for the present chapter. The way these and other prominent authors defined the status can be found in the next chapter 2.1.2 (Evolution of the definition of the third-gender status).

During the 1980s, ‘90s, and the third millennium, other in-depth analyses on the topic were published. Williams published the first entire book on the old tradition

and the contemporary situation amongst the Lakota in 1986. In 1990, Hauser published an article on the status in the Illinois tribe. Five years later came the first book on one historical person, the Zuni “man-woman” We'wha by Will Roscoe (1991). (See Appendix B: We-Wha (Zuni).) Roscoe has put out several publications on the matter, including a bibliography on the historical sources in 1987. Other famous historical individuals have also been documented, e.g. the Crow *boté* Osh-Tisch or ‘Finds-Them-and-Kills-Them,’ also known as Woman Jim (Roscoe 1990), and the Navajo *nadle* Hastiin (or Hasteen) Klah (Hungry Wolf 1987; Roscoe 1988). (See Appendix C: Osh-Tisch (Crow), a third-gender shaman (Tolowa) and Hastiin Klah (Navajo).) According to Hungry Wolf (1987:57), the medicine man Hasteen Klah was a true hermaphrodite. Since the 1980s, Native authors have increasingly published on the issue, e.g. Paula Gunn Allen (on Native women), Maurice Kenny, Wesley Thomas and Terry Tafoya. Fictional two-spirit characters created by Gunn Allen and Beth Brant have also been the object of a literary study (Prince-Hughes 1998). Some of this writing has been done in collaboration with anthropologists, producing such books as *Two-Spirit People* (Jacobs *et al* 1997). In addition to American authors, some European anthropologists have published on the status (e.g. Signorini 1972, Lang 1998), or included it in their worldwide surveys (e.g. Karsch-Haack 1911, Bauman 1950, Bleibtrau-Ehrenberg 1970).

2.2 A hundred years of anthropological definitions

The following will feature several anthropological definitions of the Native American third-gender status, occasionally referred to as *transvestite* or *homosexual*, most often as *berdache*, and currently identified as (*traditional*) *two-spirit*. Except for the oldest quotes by Thwaites (1899) and Kroeber (1925), the definitions are from anthropologists who have devoted an entire publication to exploring the institution of third-gender. The quotes have been arranged in a chronological order to demonstrate the evolution that took place in them during the last century. *Italics* have been added by the present author to highlight key words and phrases in the characterizations.

2.2.1 Definitions of the third-gender under various terms from 1899 – 1997

R. G. Thwaites, 1899

“(Berdaches or transvestites are) those persons, male or female who, while still young, *assume the dress and habits of the opposite sex* and retain them throughout their lives.”

A. L. Kroeber, 1925

“The Mohave recognize only two definite types of *homosexuals*. *Male transvestites*, taking the role of the woman in sexual intercourse, are known as alyha. *Female homosexuals*, assuming the role of the male, are known as hwame.” (Kroeber 1925:748.)

W.W. Hill, 1935

“Unlike our own society, many primitive societies recognize in a social sense, and include in their culture pattern a place for those individuals whose *psychic or physiological peculiarities* set them apart from the normal. (These are) the *hermaphrodite and transvestite* among the Navaho; their *social recognition* and the *opportunities* given these people to capitalize on *an irregularity*. ... The Navaho term for both hermaphrodite and transvestite is *nadle*,..(meaning) “weaver” but according to Dr Edward Sapir (it) can be etymologized as “*being transformed*.” However, they distinguish between the two and between male and female transvestites. The (physiological) hermaphrodites were called “the real nadle”... and the transvestites were called “those who pretend to be nadle.” ...The concept of the nadle is well formulated and his *cultural rôle well substantiated in the mythology*.” (Hill 1935: 273.)

George Devereux, 1937

“The Mohave recognize only two definite types of *homosexuals*. *Male transvestites*, taking the role of the woman in sexual intercourse, are known as alyha. *Female homosexuals*, assuming the role of the male, are known as hwame.” (a footnote to Kroeber 1925) "Their partners are not considered homosexuals ... While there exists no mention of any transvestite Mohave culture-hero comparable to the culture-hero of the kindred Kamia, homosexuality and *the initiation-ceremonies* thereto pertaining are mentioned in the *creation-myth*..." (Devereux 1937: 500-01.)

Nancy Oestreich Lurie, 1953

“The (Winnebago) *berdache* was a man who had taken on this role because he had been directed to do so by *the moon, a female spirit*, at the time of his *vision quest*. The berdache dressed as a woman, *performed women’s tasks better* than any normal woman could perform them, and had the *ability* to foretell future events. However, not all Winnebago *prophets* were berdaches. berdaches sometimes married other men.” (Lurie 1953:798.)

Angelino and Shedd, 1955

"In view of the data we propose that berdache be characterized as an individual of a definite physiological sex (male or female) who *assumes the role and status of the opposite sex*, and who is viewed by the community as being of one sex physiologically but as having assumed the role and status of the opposite sex." (Angelino & Shedd, 1955:125).

Sue-Ellen Jacobs, 1968 (See also a later definition by Jacobs, 1997.)

"*Berdache* may be defined as a term referring to one who behaves and dresses *like a member of the opposite sex* (Jacobs 1968:273).

James Steel Thayer, 1980

"The (Plains) berdache was at once *an interstitial and mediating figure*, who was both *feared and prized* because, and even in spite of, the *supernatural vocation and power* of his life. It is in this sense that he could be placed among other figures and groups in Plains *religious organization* which, because of their *visionary* experiences, also came to occupy mediating and/or interstitial positions. (Thayer 1989:293.)

Jay Miller, 1982

"Berdaches are regarded by many Amerind cultures as part of the *acceptable variation* in the society of life. As some individuals are able to switch gender and reverse tasks or identity, so others can seek a *compromise position* that places them *between genders* and *enables them to tap supernatural reserves of power and energy* by virtue of this *mediating status*. Except where whites have made the subject taboo or embarrassing, berdaches had high status because they functioned like other *markers along the culture/nature sequence*. Hunting tribes were also astute enough observers during butchering activities to notice that other *Animal People* had *hermaphroditic* members, and often *equated* these with the berdaches, providing a larger status, ambiguous or not, in the society of life. (Miller 1982:286.)

Callender and Kochems, 1983, 1986

1983: "The BERDACHE among North American Indians may be roughly defined as a person, usually male, who was anatomically normal but *assumed the dress, occupations, and behavior of the other sex* to effect a *change in gender status*. This shift was not complete; rather, it was a movement toward a somewhat *intermediate status* that combined *social* attributes of males and females. The terminology for berdaches defined them *as a distinct gender status*, designated by special terms rather than by the words "man" or "woman." Literal translations of these terms often indicate its intermediate nature: *halfman-halfwoman, man-woman, would-be-woman.*"(Callender & Kochems 1983:443.)

1986: "Native American berdaches consist of men who *assume the cultural, symbolic attributes of women* to attain the *status of not-men*. Remaining distinct from women, not-men are a *culturally defined gender status* whose indexing features include women's dress and behavior, occupational inversion, and some cultural traits of men. Another indexing feature of not-men is the absence of sexual relations with other not-men, which forces them to seek not-status men or women

as sexual partners. The frequent equation of *gender-mixing* statuses with homosexuality is a misunderstanding: *Sex with men is a secondary and derivative characteristic.*"(Callender & Kochems 1986:165.)

Walter Williams, 1986

"A berdache can be defined as a morphological male who does not fill a society's standard man's role, who has a *nonmasculine character*. This type of person is often stereotyped as effeminate, but a more accurate characterization is *androgyny*. Such a person has a clearly *recognized and accepted social status*, often based on a secure *place in the tribal mythology*. Berdaches have *special ceremonial roles* in many Native American *religions*, and important *economic roles in their families*. They will do at least *some women's work*, and mix together much of the behavior, dress, and social roles of women and men. Berdaches gain social prestige by their spiritual, intellectual, or craftwork/artistic contributions, and by their *reputation* for hard work and generosity. They serve a *meditating function* between women and men, precisely because their character is seen as distinct from either sex. They are not seen as men, yet they are not seen as women either. They occupy an *alternative gender role* that is a mixture of diverse elements. In their *erotic behavior* berdaches also generally (but not always) take a nonmasculine role, either being asexual or becoming the passive partner in sex with men. In some cultures the berdache might become a wife to a man." (Williams 1986:2.)

Will Roscoe, 1991 and 1994

"A consensus on several points has begun to develop. The key features of male and female berdaches were, in order of importance, *productive specialization* (crafts and domestic work for male berdaches and warfare, hunting and leadership roles for females), *supernatural sanction* (in the form of an authorization and/or bestowal of powers from extrasocietal sources) and *gender variation* (in relation to normative cultural expectations for male and female genders)." (Roscoe 1994:332.)

"The sexual behavior of male and female berdaches was also variable" (like cross-dressing or partial cross-dressing). "Data indicates that the partners of berdaches were usually nonberdache members of the same sex. Some berdaches appear to have been bisexual and heterosexual. This was most often the case when adult men entered the berdache status on the basis of *visions or dreams*." (Roscoe 1994:335.)

"One *has to consider the whole persona*, not just a single trait. For example, the Zunis looked for an overall pattern of traits, not just a single characteristic, before considering anybody *lhamana*" (Roscoe 1991: 212-13).

Sue-Ellen Jacobs and Wesley Thomas, 1994 and 1997

"*Two-spirit* can be used as a generic term when referring to *individuals who are lesbian, gay, transgendered (cross-dressers, transvestites and transsexuals) or otherwise "marked"* within bands, tribes and nations where *multiple gender concepts occur*" (Jacobs & Thomas 1994: 7). The characterization remained the same in *Two-Spirit People in 1997*, edited by the same authors and **Sabine Lang**.

2.2.2 Commentary on the definitions

For about a hundred years, Euroamerican anthropologists and other scholars have tried to delimit the initial vague descriptions of the Native American third gender to something more precise yet universally accurate. By the end of the twentieth century, Natives themselves started to publish their own wording on the characterization. Differences between the definitions demonstrate the difficulty of choosing the main features of the phenomenon for which there was no equivalent in Western societies. The oldest quote by Thwaites (1899) defines third-genders through dress and gender identifiable habits as gender-crossers. The next definition by Kroeber (1925) shifts the emphasis to the realm of sexuality, and third-genders become defined as publicly initiated homosexuals. The sexual aspect is left unmentioned in the following definition by Hill (1935), which links the Navaho mythology to the social role of the Navaho third-gender. At the same time, crossing over the gender barrier becomes again emphasized. Hill also separates real hermaphrodites from those Navahos that are "transformed" for psychic and social reasons. Devereux (1937) takes his definition back to the issue of homosexuality by borrowing Kroeber's quote. The Mohave creation-myth is also hinted at as being tied to the status. Lurie (1953) again defines Winnebago third-genders as gender-crossers while specifying their supernatural side and accrediting them excellence of skill and gift of prophecy. The image of gender crossing is most clearly emphasized in the 1950s when it becomes the central and only theme of Angelino & Shedd (1955). The influence of this "socially recognized gender-crosser" has carried on for the longest time, for not only did it become *the Oxford English dictionary definition* (1989) under the term *berdache*, but it was also repeated by other anthropologists during the 1960s. The first definition by Jacobs (1968) is practically the same as the one by Angelino & Shedd. In addition, several anthropologists who refer to third-genders in passing echo the same wording. For example, Underhill (1965:65) states on "berdaches" as "those males who *led a woman's life*."

A major shift in the characterization occurred by and during the 1980s, when such words as *interstitial and meditating figure, a compromise position between genders,*

intermediate status, a distinct gender status, a culturally defined gender status, the status of not-men, gender-mixing, nonmasculine, androgyny, alternative gender role, and gender variation appeared as the new key elements in the definitions by Thayer (1980), Miller (1982), Callender and Kochems (1983 and 1986), Williams (1986) and Roscoe (1994). That is when the earlier image of “gender-crosser” switched to that of “gender-mixer,” which constituted the intermediate gender status. The importance of economic roles and the image of gender-crossing was however still featured in occupational choice up to the early 1990s, although it was slightly overshadowed by the newly found emphasis on spiritual calling and supernatural sanctification, which resurfaced as key attributes in the personality. At the same time, the earlier complete crossing over of the occupational barrier became somewhat shifted; Roscoe (1994) even regards the *productive specialization* of third-genders as the most important feature.

Another major shift in the definition takes place in 1994 in the newsletter of the Association of American Anthropologists where Jacobs and Thomas do not only change the term of the status from *berdache* to *two-spirit* but characterize it most vaguely to refer to a number of contemporary Native American/First Nation groups of people with one or two common features: non-heterosexuality or alternative gender identification. It is interesting to note that Jacobs’s first definition, given 26 years earlier, is completely different than her definition of 1994 and '97. Since the new definition is basically a long list of groups of people, the first two of whom being definable as homosexual, the latest definition actually approaches the old definitions of the status by Kroeber as *homosexual*, which Devereux (1937:498, 508) further characterized as *institutionalized, acknowledged, initiated, official* or *genuine*. For a few decades, sexual behavior as a defining characteristic was left unmentioned or belittled in many professional definitions but it resurfaced in the 1990s. One main difference between the contemporary characterization and those of bygone years is the apparent lack of any kind of public recognition. Many other earlier features are missing in the newest definition as well, namely cross-gender (or mixed-gender) behavior in occupational choice, and spiritual calling and

sanctification, even if the spirituality of two-spirits is occasionally emphasized by the same authors in their book from 1997. Cross-dressing or mixed-dressing has completely lost its former importance. The most notable characteristic in the latest definition is its vagueness. By 1997, those who consider themselves two-spirits formulate their own definitions. It is up to the individuals to decide whether they are two-spirits and what being a two-spirit means to them. This way of thinking emphasizes individual freedom when compared to the white view on the biological determinism of sexual orientation. There has also been another shift; this one concerns the concept of gender: Instead of defining these people as *the intermediate* or *alternative gender*, as the anthropologists did in the 1980s and early '90s, the latest definition refers to *multiple genders*. It seems that strict anthropological definitions belong to the past when the status was still called *berdache* and treated as a historical phenomenon that had largely disappeared. Many of these definitions were met with criticism and a new version of the definition. Now, it seems that the concept "two-spirit" is so alive and so contemporary that scholars do not want to try to delimit the personality any more. The public recognition on the communal level having largely disappeared, anybody considering oneself two-spirit can decide her/himself what aspects of the ancient status are important enough to form the core of one's personality.

2.3 Distribution and the numbers of third-genders

The third-gender status has been documented in many North American tribes. Callender & Kochems (1983:444) are reasonably certain of 115 groups, whereas Roscoe (1994:330) lists nearly 150 North American societies for males; and in almost half of these tribal groups, a social status existed for females as well. In Native languages, the terms for females were sometimes the same as those for males, but not always (*Ibid.*). The evidence for the existence of the status at some historical point is hard to ascertain, for sometimes members of some cultures known to have had the status later denied their existence, e.g. Dixon (1905) on the Northern Maidu, or became reluctant to discuss the matter, e.g. Lurie (1953) on the Winnebago, or assigned their origin to another tribe, e.g. Hill (1938) on the Pima. In

addition, many groups were decimated soon after contact with the whites and not much is known about them (Callender & Kochems 1983:444).

The third-gender existed over a large area extending from California to the Mississippi Valley and upper Great Lakes, with scattered occurrences beyond it. (See the maps in Appendix A: Distribution of historical third-genders.) They seem to have existed in practically all groups in California, Great Basin, the Plains, and Prairie. Third-genders appear to have been the least pervasive in the Arctic, Subarctic, Plateau and East. Interestingly, all the Subarctic groups that have been recorded having third-genders included females. In the East, except the lower Mississippi Valley and a part of Florida, the status seems to be either surprisingly absent, undeveloped or obscure. (Callender & Kochems 1983: 444-446.) Fulton and Anderson (1992:606) question the lack of “man-woman” role in the East, saying that the evidence is at best inconclusive because smallpox epidemics swept through native tribes of the area during the 1600s and 1700s, decimating the native populations before any kind of professionally trained anthropological studies of those tribes. Another surprising absence, although much debated in literature, centers on the Comanche on the southern Plains. The female variety seems to have concentrated in western and northwestern North America, existing in less complex societies with very little if any agriculture (Callender & Kochems 1983:446; Roscoe 1987:104). Evidence suggests that “berdaches” were likely to enjoy economic and religious prestige in sedentary, horticultural communities, even though the sedentary communities of Algonquian- and Iroquian-speaking tribes of the Northeast and Atlantic Coast regions appear to lack the role (Roscoe 1994:346-47). Also, many of the Plains tribes, who had a strong berdache institution based on visions and dreams of supernatural (usually female) entities, were originally sedentary, horticultural societies before their contact with the Spanish and the acquisition of horses and guns. (Roscoe 1994:572.)

Third-genders were never described as being more than a few per a given group. According to Kroeber (1925:66), one Yurok man in a hundred adopted the status.

The female version was even more rare (Callender and Kochems 1983:446). Many early observers reported third-genders as numerous compared to later accounts. For example, Cabeza de Vaca (Katz 1976:285) reported a number of them among the Coahuiltecan in the 16th century, and Le Moyne du Morgues (Katz 1976:286) says they are fairly common among the Timucua during the same century. The Hidatsa and the Crow are said to have had many of them in the late 18th and early 19th century (Callender & Kochems 1983:446). Information on a specific group over time reveals that the number of third-genders decreases with the increase of Western influence on the Natives. For the Crow, numbers reported drop first from five (Holder 1889), to three (Simms 1903), and then to only one (Lowie 1924). According to Hidatsa traditions, the tribe had fifteen to twenty-five berdaches, whereas the informants of Bowers (1965) remembered only two in the generation before theirs. Their decline is attributed to the disintegration of the religious system to which they were linked. As some early accounts suggest, berdaches had a significant social role whose importance diminished as other factors combined to discourage the assumption of the status. (Callender & Kochems 1983:443-47.)

Part of the decline of third-genders is explainable by the decrease of populations due to European diseases and warfare. However, the greatest factor in decline was the “civilization” and Christianization of the “savages” and “pagans” which took many forms of acculturation, including governmental efforts, such as schooling, and campaigning by missionaries and individuals in the name of morality (Roscoe 1991:170-94). First quite a few of the government schools were missionary schools despite the fact that the United States government was not supposed to endorse any particular religious dogma (Coleman 1998). The schooling was so successful that by 1922, nearly all Indian children were enrolled in government schools; at least 25 % of them were in off-reservation boarding schools, where manifestations of traditional Indian cultures were not tolerated (Roscoe 1991:199). By the turn of the 20th century, some changes in the Native American attitude towards multiple genders had already taken place. Such early scholars as Hill (1935) and Lurie (1953) remark on this amongst the Navajo and the Winnebago. The once highly

honored and respected person had started to be regarded as shameful (Callender & Kochems 1983:453). Since anything connected to native religion or against Christian norms had to disappear from the public view, there are very few true Navajo *nádleehé* today (Thomas 1997:156). The last “true” Lakota *winkte*, who fully functioned in the traditional way, lived in the 1930s, the last traditional Shoshoni *tainna wa'ippe* in the 1920s, and the native gender variance of Winnipeg, Canada disappeared by the 20th century (Lang 1997:100-09). The meaning of old native words for third-genders changed also. The Winnebago word *siange* had become an insult by the 1940s, and the Lakota *winkte* now means 'gay' (Williams 1986:181-91). In some societies, instead of totally disappearing, the status has gone underground (Jacobs 1983:460), or gone through changes, of which the most visible one is the lack of open cross-dressing (Powers 1983:461-62). The meaning of cross-dressing was effectively turned around at government schools, where Hopi boys who ran away more than once were shamed by making them wear a dress and having their heads shaved (Roscoe 1991:199). Similar coercion to turn “berdaches” into regular males was exercised by the Canadian government around 1900 (Williams 1986:180). Nowadays, there is a lot of homophobia in both on and off-reservation Native American context (Medicine 1997:146; Lang 1997:108).

2.4 Typically observed features of the third-gender status

2.4.1 Dressing

Though neither universal nor without variation, adopting the dress and hairstyle and sometimes even the manner of speaking (forms of speech and voice) of women is commonly reported for male third-genders. Likewise, females who abandoned the traditional gender often dressed as men. This most visible trait of the status has been considered the final stage of gender transformation. Cross-dressing could also be partial, reflecting the intermediate category of the two genders. Or, the style of dress could differ from both sexes (Roscoe 1994:333), or contain elements unique to the status. Cross-dressing was not always an aspect of the status, e.g. amongst the Tewa (Jacobs 1983:460). There was also variation in the way of dressing; or cross-

dressing only took place in certain contexts, or it was minimalist. In typical male activities, like warfare, male members of the status did not cross-dress, whereas females did. Hill (1935) reports on the Navaho that those who were married were required to dress as men regardless of the sex of their partners. Little by little, white condemnation and ridicule led to the abandoning of open cross-dressing. (Callender & Kochems 1983:447.)

2.4.2 Occupations and productivity

In addition to the dress, third-genders traditionally assumed the occupations of the opposite sex, or did a combination of women's and men's work, usually with certain restrictions. Often a young child would reveal an unusual interest in the occupations of the opposite sex. Later in adolescence, the child could be put to test to determine how serious the interest was. In one of these tests, a boy is made to choose between implements pertaining to male sphere of activity and those associated with female occupations. If he chose those of a female, a ceremony was given to him to acknowledge his choice publicly. Parents have also been reported of encouraging or even choosing a child to fulfil the role. Often reports indicate great skill, proficiency, and industry for “berdaches” in these occupations, even surpassing the skill of those who normally are the holders of these occupations. Simms (1903) credits Crow “berdaches” for being efficient cooks and being generally considered to be experts with the needle as well as having the largest and best appointed tipis. Among the Dakota, those men who dreamed of Double-Woman, a deity associated with proficiency in quillworking, were ordered by her to become berdaches. The women who dreamt of her were blessed with the same talent. The supernatural sanction frequently associated with berdaches is a common explanation for the excellence and high productivity in their occupations, and this makes their products highly marketable. (Callender & Kochems 1983:448, 454.)

The fact that high productivity was typically associated with berdaches meant that berdaches were also associated with wealth. The Navaho regarded families with berdaches as being especially fortunate and assured of wealth. Some

anthropologists have assumed that the reason for this lies in the fact that male berdaches were free from many typical female worries, such as menstruation, pregnancy and childcare. This explanation applies to females as well, for female berdaches have not been reported as having mothered children. The association of wealth with berdaches is related to their social and economic role in general: They were of the intermediate nature. Although there were certain occupational restrictions on them, they could usually do the work of both sexes. This was possible, e.g. for the Teton Dakota and Navaho berdaches of either sex. Berdaches also had specific duties in many societies, which brought them wealth. Amongst Californian Indians, they functioned as undertakers and burial mourners and were paid for the service, whereas Teton berdaches were compensated for giving secret names to children. (Callender & Kochems 1983:448.)

In some cultures, “berdaches” appear to have functioned collectively as a group, e.g., in Florida, De Bry illustrated six berdaches (referred to as “hermaphrodites,” the present author’s note) carrying the sick and injured. (See Appendix G: Timucua “hermaphrodites” at work, de Bry engraving, 1591.) They also buried the dead. A similar pattern can be seen in the earth-lodge villages of the northern Plains. Among the Hidatsa, there were fifteen to twenty berdaches in a village, and they were organized as a special class of religious leaders who collectively fulfilled various ceremonial functions. Similar organizational patterns can be seen among their close relatives, the Crow, who used to live in settled villages before turning into nomadic buffalo hunters, and among the Cheyenne, who also used to live in horticultural villages before the white contact. (Roscoe 1994: 347)

Third-gender males rarely participated in warfare, a specifically male activity. Sometimes the prohibition was cultural, sometimes it was on an individual basis. It was neither universal, nor absolute. The prohibition could be limited to manly weapons, like the bow (the Illinois), or just to the feminine dress (the Miami) (Callender & Kochems 1983:449). Some historical records mention fighting “berdaches” (Williams 1986:68-69; Greenberg 1988:45). Third-genders have also

had other functions in warfare, such as carrying provisions, and retrieving the dead and caring for the wounded. The Teton Dakota consulted “berdaches” to divine their success in projected battles. Berdaches could be connected to warfare in other ways too. Amongst the Hidatsa, the deities responsible for the Hidatsa berdaches, that is Holy Women, were the deities associated with warfare and aiding young soldiers. When warfare collapsed, the status of berdache lost an important part of its meaning. (Callender & Kochems 1983:449.)

2.4.3 Third-gender sexuality

If the word *homosexual* is understood as referring to sexual acts between two persons of the same physiological sex, most male third-gender people seem to have been homosexual. Various sources state that some of them had also heterosexual relations, and some seem to have lived at least a part of their lives without sexual relations. Since this issue was not as easily observed as occupations or dress, many observers would have had to rely on what was told to them. The issue of sexuality being as intimate as it is, it was hardly easily talked about. Once Natives became aware of the white morality not approving certain sexual practices, they probably avoided the topic. Also, mere assumptions easily skew the ethnographic data: Since white observers have tended to link effeminacy to homosexuality, many may have simply assumed that third-genders were homosexuals. However, simply equating the status of third-gender with homosexuality distorts it: Homosexual behavior was not the reason for adopting the status, and reports of homosexual activity unrelated to this status are abundant (Callender & Kochems 1983:444). The only group of adults that are consistently reported as not constituting their possible lovers were other people of the same status. The Tewa *quetho* (Rio Grande Pueblo peoples) form an exception to this pattern, for the *quetho* (or *kwidó* or *kweedó* (Jacobs et al. 1997: 24) could have sexual relationships with anybody (Jacobs 1983:460). Taboo restrictions related to sex with kinship concerned third-gender too. Hence, a Santee berdache who broke the incest taboo by attempting to have sex with people of his clan was exiled from his village but accepted into another one where people were not considered his close relatives (Williams 1986:94).

Marriage to other men was allowed for third-males in many Native American cultures but not in all. Prohibitions or restrictions of it seem to be related to its interference with the child-producing male/female union necessary to perpetuate a society. Berdaches have often been reported as auxiliary wives of chiefs or other prominent men. Although knowledge about the numbers of partners is not known, some researchers and observers have implied them being high in some tribes like the Santee and Teton Dakota, where berdaches did not marry or establish long-term sexual relationships. Amongst northern Californian Indians of the 1930s, and among the Pomo, all but one of the groups who recognized a berdache status also recognized his marriage to a "normal man" (Williams 1986:110-12, 295). Male berdaches are usually described as "passive" homosexual, i.e. being the receptive partners in anal intercourse. Some authors mention fellation. Similarly, female berdaches have been reported as having married women, in which case they were regarded as husbands and their partners were considered wives. (Callender and Kochems 1983:449-450.)

Occasionally, the status was assumed in adulthood, by both males and females, possibly preceded by heterosexual marriage. There are also reports, though rare, of abandoning the status, e.g. by Devereux (1937). A few authors report exclusive heterosexual behavior for some berdaches. Some of the reports of heterosexual relationships may be hearsay or relate to time preceding the assumption of the status. However, bisexuality in this connection can be understood as reflecting the intermediate nature of the status, as does the variation in dress and occupation. (Callender & Kochems 1983:450-51.)

Importance of homosexuality as a character trait disputed

Some contemporary gay authors have wanted to stress the aspect of homosexuality in the third-gender status. Neither Williams (1986:120-25), nor Roscoe (1991:212-13) consider it accurate to relegate homosexuality to a secondary and derivative trait amongst the prevalent characteristics of the status. Roscoe questions the reports of berdaches being heterosexual, asexual or behaving like women sexually. For

example, among the Pueblo, there is no evidence of women entertaining men and engaging in casual sexual encounters, as has been reported for male berdaches. In addition, some Zunis were sexually oriented towards the third-gender (Roscoe 1991:144). Williams does not consider reports of berdaches being married to women meaning that they were heterosexual, let alone exclusively so. A desire to have children seems the most likely reason for heterosexuality. According to him, some scholars, e.g. Angelino & Shedd (1955), have deemphasized homosexuality in the assumption of the status while overemphasizing transvestism. Deemphasizing male-male relationships may have been a reaction to the earlier definition of the status as "institutionalized homosexuality" by Devereux (1937) and a few others. Nor should the religious aspect of the status be opposed to the sexual aspect. Innate androgynous character together with fulfilling the spiritual role of *winkte* is what contemporary traditional Lakota Indians emphasize when considering somebody *winkte*, not Western identification with gayness. (Williams 1986:120-25, 217.) Roscoe (1994:335) emphasizes that economic and religious attributes rather than a gender or sexual difference alone were the most reliable indicators of the berdache status.

Androgyny as a character trait has become a common way of describing the third-gender. The capacity of combining the two genders is also the reason why third-genders are considered outside the categories of men and women. In other words, they do not simply cross-over from one gender to another, as those Europeans who first observed them assumed; instead, they constitute the intermediate gender. This aspect of the status has become clearer when androgyny has been explored from the Native American perspective as a reflection of the supernatural. The concept of the intermediate gender will be treated in the next sub-chapter Spiritual dimension of the Native American third-gender status.

2.5 Spiritual dimension of the Native American third-gender status

Quite a few of the historical documents collected in Katz (1976/1992) state that the third-gender status was associated with a religious principle or custom. In anthropological studies, the most often featured aspect of this spiritual dimension is the validation of the adoption of the status through spiritual calling or manifestation of some kind. Usually, this takes the form of visions or dreams. In addition, several tribes have myths that feature hermaphroditic or cross-dressing spirits or culture heroes.

2.5.1 Transformation visions and dreams

The supernatural validation of third-genders can take the form of dreams or visions, usually at adolescence. The influence of the moon is mentioned as a frequent source of transformation or visions, e.g. for the Omaha, Sauk and Winnebago; it is also implied for the Yankton and Pawnee, possibly for the Iowa, Kansa, Osage, Oto, Ponca and the Miami. The moon is also the source of transformation for the Tewa (Jacobs 1983:459-60). Many descriptions of transformation visions have been obtained from the Prairie and Plains tribes. Usually, these involve female supernaturals, occasionally, hermaphroditic spirits. For example, the spirit of the hermaphroditic buffalo gave supernatural validation to the Oglaga berdache. For Santee and Teton women, as well as berdaches, visions of Double-Woman meant exceptional skill in women's work, or alternatively, success in seducing men. Great skill in general is regarded as coming from a supernatural power. Hidatsa berdaches dreamt of Village-Old-Woman or deities that she created, Woman Above and the Holy Woman, or of a loop of sweetgrass. Both berdaches and women who dreamed of them entered the Holy Women society. The Mandan transformation dreams came also from holy women, such as Old Woman Above. (Callender & Kochems 1983:451-452.)

2.5.2 Mythic hermaphrodites and transvestites

Mythological sanctions for the berdache status can also be found in many societies where the vision experience was not so common. These kinds of mythical entities

could be revealed in dreams, and later acted out in ceremonies. This is the case with the Mohave where the third-gender found its sanctification in a widespread origin-myth (Devereux 1937:501), and in the beliefs that Mohave women's dreams, featuring hermaphrodites or transvestites, would influence fetuses (Herd 1997:280). The Navajo associated their berdaches and intersex people with the hermaphrodite twins born to First Man and First Woman. These mythical figures are credited for inventing pottery and other artefacts associated with women. The transvestite-hermaphrodite had a prominent role in Zuni mythology and ceremonies as well. The same entity is found in rituals at Acoma and among the Hopi. Androgynous people can also be found in Tewa origin stories and myths (Jacobs 1983:459-460). The Bella Coola considered their supernatural hermaphrodite the prototype of the berdache. The Oto regard Elk as the first transvestite and their berdaches come from the Elk clan. Similar restrictions can be found in other tribes as well, e.g. amongst the Tlingit and the Oto, where berdaches could only come out of certain clans, or amongst the Mohave, where only members of prominent families could have them. In addition, transvestite episodes of the trickster, acting as a culture hero, are widespread in North America. According to the legends of some tribes, supernatural beings are able to trick people, such as experienced warriors, into the status. (Callender & Kochems 1983:452-53.)

2.5.3 Intermediate gender

Understanding the third-gender status and traditional Native American conceptions of gender in general has taken Western people several centuries. It has only been since the publication of Callender & Kochem's article together with the commentaries supplied by American and European anthropologists in 1983 that the status of "berdache" began to be explored as a distinct gender in anthropological literature. This was also the time when the status was characterized as "third-gender" by Jacobs (1983). During the following years, Williams (1986) and Roscoe (1991) increasingly highlighted the necessity of considering the whole persona as a determining factor in deciding who is third-gender, not just occupational pursuits or social behavior.

Regarding Native American third-gender as the intermediate category in their society has to be seen as a reflection of the cosmology of the peoples supporting the status. From the mental organization of the world and the universe arise important religious principles, which underlie and govern the relationship between the unseen world of the spirits and the visible world of the human beings. These principles have their reflection in the cultural construction of the intermediate gender. Being an intermediate category means that the holders of this status were able to cross the boundary between the two genders - not just once or in one direction but in a continuous way and in both directions to such an extent that talking about gender mixing is more appropriate in this context than gender-crossing. In other words, the transformation of the person was not a complete crossing-over the gender line but an approximation of the opposite sex in some of its social aspects. This caused their intermediate gender status. This can be seen in the sentence "she is a man," or by burying a partially cross-dressed "berdache" on the men's side of the graveyard. (Callender & Kochems 1983:453-54.) It is also seen in the specific terms coined for them. English translations of some of them indicate the usage of gender in the definition, e.g. 'man-woman' of the Shoshoni *tanowaip* and 'old woman-old man' of the Tewa *kwidó* (Roscoe 1994:338-39), or 'halfman-halfwoman' of the Cheyenne *he man eh* (Williams 1986:76). Sometimes the status is expressed through negation of gender, 'not man, not woman' (of the Crow *bote*), or by using other words than gender, e.g. 'that which changes' (of the Navaho *nadle*) (Roscoe 1987:141-46). Several scholars, e.g. Jacobs (1983), Kehoe (1983), Williams (1986), and Roscoe (1991) emphasize characterizing the status through the negation of the two biological genders as much as through the intermediate gender. Or, as Kehoe (1983:461) puts it, a man can approach a woman by occupation and behavior but still falls short on women's reproductive power.

In some tribes, berdaches performed distinctive ritual functions and/or other special tasks. Most reports, however, point to a very extensive participation in rituals rather than any distinctive features *per se*. In some tribes, such as the Navajo, their

participation in rituals was comparable to men, and in some others, e.g. the Hidatsa, they shared ritual activities with postmenopausal women. (Callender & Kochems 1983:453.) According to Brown (1983:457-58), in many traditional societies, such as the Iroquois, postmenopausal women resemble “berdaches” in their ability to function as the go-between between the world of women and the world of men; and occasionally, postmenopausal women were also regarded as possessing special spiritual powers. At war, this behavior resembled that of non-combatant women who also could act as the go-between in negotiations. The intermediate gender also showed in their sexual behavior where the berdache's position (in sex act) typically resembled that of the woman's. This intermediate position gave the berdache many opportunities and freedom from many regulations that concerned the ordinary genders. For example, Navajo berdaches could enjoy more possibilities for personal and material gratification than the ordinary individual. (Callender & Kochems 1983:454.)

2.5.4 Androgyny reflects the supernatural

According to Williams (1986:124), the key element in regarding somebody as a traditional Lakota *winkte* lies in his androgynous character, and this is why the status of *winkte* is in a direct link to the supernatural in the Native American context. According to Hungry Wolf (1987:57), the fact that the Navaho medicine man Hasteen Klah was a hermaphrodite made him a distinguished person and held in awe. Androgyny, i.e. the appearance of both conventionally masculine and feminine characteristics in an individual, has been linked to the supernatural in many parts of the world. In the animal kingdom, it is paralleled by hermaphroditism (Whitehead 1981:88). Signorini (1983) emphasizes that the element of gender mixing (rather than gender crossing) means uniting the sexual opposites, and this is normally linked with the presence of androgynous supernatural beings, which can influence the lives of individuals. According to Hermann Bauman (1950), transvestism for spiritual reasons can aim at simply uniting the physical and spiritual qualities of the two sexes, or it can adjust to an androgynous supernatural being or to a supernatural being that is of the opposite sex. Mircea Eliade (1965)

points to the fact that the notion of "wholeness" is often found in the worldview of North American aborigines and it may be expressed by pairs of opposites, such as, male-female, visible-invisible, sky-earth, or light-dark. (Signorini 1983:463.) The third-gender character embodies the image of the opposites united. Fulton and Anderson (1992:609) also emphasize the intermediary role of the "man-woman," bridging the aboriginal conceptions of "female" and "male" and maintaining order and continuity, and as such the man-woman role functioned as a sacerdotal role.

In anthropology, childhood signs of "effeminacy" used to be emphasized as the determining factor on who was to become a third-gender. This may have overshadowed the supernatural aspect in this process, despite the fact that historical narratives and early studies on third-gender often link it to the supernatural. Some documents state only that those young boys who showed interest in women's work and preferred the company of women were chosen for the status and dressed like girls. Or they were already chosen in infancy or in very early childhood and trained for the role. At puberty, the boy would be put to a test, where his preference of a typical women's tool over that of men's would finalize the destiny of the youth and a ceremony could be arranged for him. However, according to Roscoe (1994:575), a close examination of case histories shows that berdache-specific dreams and visions typically served to confirm childhood preferences. Knowing about the spiritual connection is important in trying to understand the social position of the berdache. The supernatural power of berdaches, which was manifested in the gender-mixing attributes of their status, apparently lay in beliefs that the power concerned the whole tribe. This seems to be the case for the Potawatomi, Cheyenne and Navajo. (Callender & Kochems 1983:451-453.)

2.5.5 Similarities between the third-gender status and archaic shamanism

The Native American third-gender status and the archaic form of shamanism found in Siberia have some common elements, although the phenomena are distinct from each other. These commonalities are worth exploring, considering the fact that traditional Native American societies were/are shamanic cultures that had their

roots in Asia. Both shamanism and the third-gender institution are associated with the spiritual sphere, which reflects the conception on the organization of cosmology. Elements of sex change, cross-dressing or mixed-dressing, particularly from male to female, in addition to other forms of symbolism that unite various opposites, can be found in certain shamanic practices, and these practices are ancient and widespread throughout the world (Greenberg 1988:58). In its institutionalized form, cross-dressing from male to female, whether complete or partial, is typically tied to the religion of the people amongst whom the tradition exists, and/or to their spiritual conception of the Universe. Usually, this involves goddess worship, hermaphroditic gods, or female spirits. Baumann (1955) and Eliade (1965) regarded a transvestite priest or shaman as a corporeal representation of a hermaphroditic god who symbolizes the unity that overcomes sex differences. (Greenberg 1988:62-63.) It is even possible that the Near Eastern *assinu* and the Roman *galli*, who were self-castrated worshipers of the Mother Goddess Cybele, evolved from an indigenous “berdachelike” shamanism in the prehistoric times when the earlier kinship orders transformed into class-differentiated city-states. The “effeminate men” in the court and the temples of the Central and South American city-like empires actually resemble the Near Eastern eunuchs more than they do the tribal “berdaches” of the North American kinship-based societies. The practice of secular and religious transgenderal male homosexuality was found in both the New and Old World city-states. (Greenberg 1988:101.) The status of “effeminate men,” with their link to Goddess worship, needs to be considered against the background of understanding the mother as the source of life much before people understood the father’s role in conception. In addition, early cultivators of land and originators of permanent settlement are usually considered to have been women largely because of their biology.

Although both women and men were able to become shamans, cross-dressing has been documented as a common feature amongst male shamans. These peoples were/are widely dispersed and live(d) in a wide range of living conditions and societal organizations. This suggests that the transvestite shaman role dates back to

the late Paleolithic (c. 25 000 BC), if not earlier times. Amongst Paleo-Siberians, Chukchee, Koryak, Kamchadal and Asiatic Eskimos are known to have had cross-dressing male shamans. Migrations subsequently carried it long distances, e.g. from Siberia into the Americas, and from Polynesia to Madagascar. (Greenberg 1988:56-64.)

The European school of anthropologists, including Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg (1983), Hultkranz, and Signorini tend to emphasize the common roots of North American berdachehood and the Siberian style of shamanism due to many similarities between them. Hultkranz (1983:459) suggests that the “berdache” status is a variation on an ancient shamanistic practice, while Signorini (1983:163) points to the fact that the status is a cultural element like any other and can spread to new tribal groups and integrate into their existing societal organization in new ways. According to Callender & Kochems (1983:453-55, 466), the status was a religious phenomenon but that was not its only dimension, other dimensions had long since been added to it. They also point out that visionary experiences were not limited to berdaches and shamans; many other persons could obtain superior qualities from them and mediated with supernatural powers. In addition, the institution also existed in societies where visions were not very important or were totally absent. Finally, while some berdaches were shamans, the majority of them were not. Even in societies where all berdaches were shamans, as among the Mohave and Yurok, shamanism was not limited to them. Thayer (1980:290-92), however, points to the Plains tribes, stating that amongst those tribes, the vision experience is the common source for shamanism and for the “berdache” status. Both groups of people mediated between the divine and the human world. The difference between these institutions is the fact that berdaches were bestowed shamanistic powers of specific sorts, such as healing (Cheyenne, Arapaho, Plains Cree), or naming (Dakota), in addition to the excellence in female skills, such as tanning or porcupine quill work. Hultkranz (1983) also believes the religious motivation for becoming a berdache is the correct one, and American berdachism is a variation of an ancient shamanic practice. According to him, many people have wrongly been called berdaches: For

example, amongst Wind River Shoshoni single men of the mid-20th century, only those who were true berdaches as a result of visionary experiences (a dream or a vision) were institutionalized as *tīwasa*, meaning 'dried-up penis,' and had a respected place in the society, not those "half-women" who only wished to do so. No *tīwasa* were alive in the 1940s and '50s. (Hultkranz 1983:459.)

2.5.6 Sacredness of sex possible

Homosexuality in its transgenderal form and in its **transgenerational** form, where partners of sex act are of disparate ages, have been regarded as supernaturally sanctified worldwide (Greenberg 1988:25). Ritual homosexuality is known to have existed in Near Eastern city-states and in Central and South America. This leads one to wonder whether sex with a third-gender had/has any allusions to the supernatural. Some scholars have raised this question and others, such as Liberty (1983:461) believe it is possible amongst the tribes of the Northern Plains. Williams (1986:107) tells of Lakota men who had sex with *winkte* before embarking on a raid in order to increase their ferocity. The issue has not been studied systematically but some reported features of the status lead to that direction. Devereux (1937:502) reports the Mohave saying that only "normal" persons possessing special powers, especially shamans specializing in the cure of venereal diseases and lucky in love, "may secure transvestite spouses."

2.6 Western theories on the existence of the third gender status

Why did people become third-genders and why so many North American cultures institutionalized the status has been a tantalizing question to many people of European origin. Speculations on the *raison d'être* of the status have been a consistent feature in the anthropological literature on the topic for almost a hundred years. Different emphases of the theories bear the mark of the time and the background of their authors.

2.6.1 Institutionalized homosexuals

The earliest explanation, nowadays simply dismissed as wrong, regards the status as having been created for homosexuals. Alfred L. Kroeber (1940) was one of the first scholars who saw the institution as part of a larger pattern whereby American Indian societies made accommodation for individual sex variants (Whitehead 1981:94). The most detailed explanation of this theory was presented by George Devereux in 1937 in his study of the Mohave, where he calls Mohave cross-dressers *institutionalized homosexuals*. Devereux did not see any difference between the concepts of homosexuality and that of the Native American third-gender status, although the latter is a gender concept. It reveals the theoretical thinking of the time: Homosexuality was perceived to be in direct link with gender maladjustment. His preferred term is *homosexual* even when referring to documents using such specialized terms as *berdache*. Devereux claims that the public identification of homosexuals in “*the transvestite initiation ceremony*” gave them the status of an *acknowledged homosexual*, which made them both public and protected. That way cross-dressed homosexuals were not able to misrepresent themselves to seduce and recruit unsuspecting people. The Mohave in general were rather permissive in regard to sexuality and had *avowed homosexuals* with whom even heterosexuals could experiment sexually without losing their normal status. The institution promoted overall social health by localizing the homosexual “disorder”. (Devereux 1937:498-527. Italics added by the present author.)

The main problem of the theory of Devereux (and Kroeber) is the way it reduces the otherwise complex institution to a form of sexual activity, which was highly unacceptable and regarded as a psychological illness in the Western world at the time of writing. Devereux’s own ethnobias completely misguides his theoretical thinking and prevents him from seeing the status in the Native framework, despite the time he spent with the Mohave and the information he had gathered on them and the institution. Devereux’ theory has been criticized by numerous anthropologists for simplifying the Native gender status to the issue of (homo)sexuality. Thayer (1980:288-289) questions the importance of an individual’s sexuality to the

community against all the other roles the person can fulfil that benefit the community. He also wonders how individual psychic impulses could alone account for the perseverance and development of the status as a cultural institution. Devereux's theory demonstrates how difficult it was even for those scholars who did fieldwork amongst the tribe they were theorizing on to cast away their own social attitudes when selecting the most relevant attributes of the institution.

2.6.2 Cowardice/unsuccessful warrior theory

Ralph Linton (1936), George Devereux (1937), Jeannette Mirsky (1937) Ruth Benedict (1939) and E. Adamson Hoebel (1949) explained third-genders as men who were unable to meet the demands of the warrior role or were strongly averse to the aggressive male role in general. Yet, statements arguing against this cowardice theory had surfaced already in 1871-72 when Stephen Powers, a popular writer, wrote a series of articles on Californian Indians for *Overland Monthly* (Williams 1986:167). More recently, Powers (1983), Schlegel (1983), Callender and Kochems (1983), and Greenberg (1988) have pointed out that the cowardice theory is not a viable explanation for even those societies where warfare had a comparatively central role, such as the northern Plains. First of all, the "berdache" status was not a complete rejection of the male role, for it included some aspects of warring. Secondly, the Teton Dakota, who were known for their warfare and for whom this theory was mainly extrapolated, consulted berdaches to divine their success in projected battles, which they probably would not have done, had berdaches been selected for the status because of cowardice. Besides, a man did not have to become a berdache in order not to fight, for some nonberdache males did not fight, nor did many of the women who rejected the normal gender role. Some of the scholars who put forward this theory did not see the contradictions between the theory and the tribe it was based on. Despite his willingness to believe that the berdache status provided a sanctuary for coward males, Linton comments on the same page (1936:480) that "berdaches" had higher status than men who failed as warriors. The failed warriors were the ones who could be shamed by temporarily dressing them in women's dress. In spite of this superficial similarity of cross-dressing, the status of

berdache was not related to the case of unsuccessful warriors. Furthermore, the status was usually assumed at adolescence and often foreshadowed in early childhood. Occasionally it was assumed by an established warrior. Equally doubtful is Harriet Whitehead's (1981) assumption that men were aggressive and women non-aggressive when she claims that some Native women entered the alternative gender status for females because they were too aggressive for feminine pursuits. Yet, aggressive Blackfoot women, defined as *manly-hearted*, were still defined as women and not considered an alternative gender. (Callender & Kochems 1983:448-49, 455.)

The cowardice theory exemplifies the Western overemphasis of masculine bravery together with ignorance and omission of other native values. Weston la Barre (1980:149-51, 211) sees the status of “berdache” as an escape from the warrior role in the Plains Indian societies, whereas supernatural explanations were only formulated to rationalize it. Even some Natives have accepted this theory without questioning it. Maurice Kenny, a Mohawk (1988), writes that some people became berdaches because “not all males could meet the high Indian standards.” This would mean that third-genders would have first tried the orthodox occupational roles of their societies before becoming third-gender, which is not supported by the historical documents on the status.

2.6.3 Theory on war captives becoming third-genders

Statements that male war captives were forced to become third-genders can hardly be regarded as a theory. It is best considered an anthropological myth. Claims that the Iroquois had war captives as berdaches working on the fields are based on wrong interpretations and refuted by the fact that the Iroquois did not have “berdaches.” A single Winnebago incidence of this kind was evidently regarded as an exception by Lurie's (1953:710) informants. (Callender & Kochems 1983:451.) Despite Callender & Kochems's clear refutations of this theory, Ramón A. Gutiérrez (1989) bases some of his claims of “berdaches” being originally war captives on the above referenced text by them. According to Gutierrez, the Zuni

berdache status was principally ascribed to defeated enemies who were made to perform demeaning forms of sexual service to men and wear women's clothes as a sign of vanquishment. Gutierrez also states that conquest narratives, traveller's accounts and ethnographies indicate that berdaches had meaning primarily in the socio-political world of men. This is not supported by the accounts collected in Katz (1976/1992), quite a few of which state that third-genders were encountered in the company of women or other third-genders. According to Gutiérrez's interpretation, "berdaches" were under male ownership and frequently found in the male social spaces performing activities associated with females during male rituals: fellating powerful men or being "anally mounted" by them (Gutierrez 1989:62). Yet, through the long historical evolution of the status, they apparently started to be regarded as temple experts or as shamans who fulfilled magical and cosmological functions (*Ibid.*). Personally, I find this development from a defeated enemy/homosexual slave to a shaman controlling magical and cosmological functions very curious, if not entirely illogical. Gutierrez does not even try to explain how this unusual evolution would have happened.

2.6.4 Religiously inspired cross-dressing/gender-mixing

The theory on religion influencing the institutionalization of the status was already touched upon above (2.5 Religious dimension of the Native American third-gender). Accordingly, the institution is a reflection of a much more widespread pattern of institutionalized transvestism for religious purposes. Androgyny, regarded in this context as the source or the connection to supernatural power, stems from the unification of such opposites as male and female, which completes a totality. Hence, the Earth-female/Sky-male dualism that suffused such Native American cultures as the Omaha, for example, found a good expression in their "berdache" status. This theory emphasizes the fact that the berdache status is strongly linked to bisexual and androgynous deities, or to deities that are the reverse of the gender-mixer's anatomical sex. In reference to Siberian shamanism, Mircea Eliade (1965) suggests that ritual homosexuality "is believed to be at once a sign of spirituality, of commerce with gods and spirits, and a source of sacred power."

(Callender & Kochems 1983:455, 466.) According to Italo Signorini (1983:463), the sexual ambiguity attached to the “berdache” status was respected because berdaches were believed to possess qualities superior to those of a normal individual or at least qualities that their societies needed for their own ends.

This theory has also met some criticism. While admitting that this European tradition of emphasizing the religious connection goes beyond the individual psychological motivations put forth by American anthropologists, Callender and Kochems have some reservations about the above mentioned hypothesis because the analyses are based on cases found outside North America. Religious concepts stressed by European theorists can be found scattered throughout American Indian cultures but they are not so systematic. Of course, this may partly be due to incomplete gathering of the data. Callender and Kochems also stress that the general North American concepts of individual relations with the supernatural allowed many persons to obtain various kinds of superior qualities comparable to those of berdaches. Also, the status was usually separated from shamanism or from priesthood. (Callender & Kochems 1983:466-67.)

Hints at a religious connection as the *raison d'être* for the status have been offered by American anthropologists as well. Lowie suggested already in 1952 (Jacobs 1968:27) that the “berdache” status of the Plains pre-supposes the existence of religion, even if he favored individual psychic experience as the ultimate push to seek public recognition for the “psychiatric cases”, as he calls them. It is surprising that American anthropologists did not speculate on the religious connection of the status as the underlining reason for the existence of the status. After all, C. Wissler described the Oglala (Teton/Dakota) “berdache” under the category of dream cults as early as 1912 (Thayer 1980:289). These organizations generally consisted of shamans who had particularly sacred or *wakan* dreams or visions about a certain supernatural person or theme, which then permitted the visionary to join or form a cult made of people with similar dreams to follow a common vocation based on the supernatural (*Ibid.*). Those individuals who had derived their power from visions or

sacred dreams were allowed to behave in eccentric ways but only within a sacred context (Thayer 1980:292).

2.6.5 Gender exchange for economic reasons

Harriet Whitehead published her hypothesis on the creation of the “berdache” institution in 1981. It also differs greatly from the earlier theories because it stresses the social and cultural context of the third-gender. According to her, the prestige of gender-related occupations is the source of individual motivation for crossing the gender line. This concerns the male berdache, whose social approval centered around high prestige female occupations, including the production of important durable goods, used in gift exchange and in trade. Claiming that very successful women approached successful males in prestige and surpassed unsuccessful men, a boy who could not aspire to success in the male occupational sphere could seek it through women's occupations. By promoting the berdache status, men assert their superiority over women even in women's sphere of prestige. For women the gender transformation was more difficult because their biological component had greater significance for them. The power of the reproductive capacity in the form of menstrual and parturient blood threatened males, their activities, and their power. (Whitehead 1981:102-09.)

Whitehead's theory does not consider at all the gender-mixing characteristics of the third-gender, nor the prevalent Native attitude of considering it holy. The fundamental disagreement that various scholars, including Callender & Kochems, Jacobs, Powers, Schlegel, and Kehoe (all from 1983), have with Whitehead is her assumption that all North American Indian cultures considered men superior in worth to women, and that their cultures were male constructions. According to Jacobs, those communities that are now showing a decline in women's status have adopted Euroamerican values concerning gender. In addition, Whitehead regards the worth women might have as resting on their production of durable goods. Challenging the idea that Native men determined cultural practices, Callender & Kochems wonder if male berdaches could have been successful in women's

occupational sphere without the consent of women. Rather than seeing the relative lack of women counterparts in this status being due to the restrictions imposed upon them by their reproductive capacity, they see it as a prestige confined to women, who, in general, were rather free to cross the gender barrier in the occupational sphere. Maybe it was at the insistence of women that men who entered their occupational sphere had to shift to an intermediate status. (Callender & Kochems 1983:456, 460-62.) The fact that transformation visions could come unexpectedly to adults who had already successfully fulfilled an occupational role, points to the fact that beliefs functioned independently of economic factors, which goes against the explanation of the berdache status being in direct link to the occupational prestige systems of the society (Roscoe 1994:351). Williams (1986:67) also refutes Whitehead's claim that berdaches had become "superior women" who dominated ordinary women. The same critique can be found by Blackwood (1984), and Gunn Allen (1992).

2.6.6 Regulation of sex ratio as a survival mechanism

Alice Schlegel (1983) stresses the fact that the institution was a mechanism by which societies with uncertain sex ratios could regulate their labor supply, particularly in cultures where food supply is less certain, as in the western and central North America where the "berdache" status is most widespread. According to Schlegel's hypothesis, male berdaches are tolerated or encouraged if 1) female labor is highly valued (e.g. they make a large contribution to subsistence or produce highly valued crafts) and 2) there is an actual or potential shortage of female labor. If male labor is in short supply or women make a lesser contribution to production, female berdaches are tolerated but probably not encouraged. The relative lack of female berdaches may be explainable by the fact that societies with small and fluctuating populations do not support the loss of a fertile woman from the reproductive pool. The same would be even more true for matrilineal societies. (Schlegel 1983:462-63.) Schlegel is not alone with her socioeconomic reasons for adopting the status. According to Arnold R. Pillig (1997:71-72), the emergence of a male "cross-dresser" in a uxorilocal matrilineal Zuni household was nearly always a

response to the lack of an older sister or a female matrilineal cousin, who would stay unmarried at home and be responsible for the elderly.

3 REVIVAL OF THIRD-GENDER AS *TWO-SPIRIT*

3.1 Two-spirit movement

The awareness of the necessity of recognizing one's roots has been growing amongst Native Americans for some time. Large American Indian pow wows gather Natives together from all over North America to pan-tribal crafts fairs and celebrations of Indian singing and dancing. Some participants come from as far as Central and South America. The importance of learning from past traditions seems also evident amongst those contemporary Natives who regard the holders of the ancient third-gender status as their ancestors. The respect once attached to the status can help modern people find their own pride in their quest for positive self-identity. The successes of past civil rights movements, namely those of Afro Americans and women's movements, and the new social and political outspokenness of lesbian, gay and trans-people seems to signal that the time is ripe for an increase of voice and visibility for an otherwise marginalized sub-group of Native Americans who consider themselves two-spirits. This contemporary native two-spirit revival movement is the latest stage in the development of the third-gender status in North America. The social awareness and deliberate actions of the people involved has increased since the beginning of the 1990s to such a level as to justify calling it a movement. The signs of it in terms of writing, community activism and education were visible already in May 1995 when I visited the San Francisco Bay Area and had a chance to discuss the matter with local Indian activists: Randy Burns, Johnsson and Roger. (See Appendixes D: Randy Burns (Northern Paiute) and E: Johnsson (Navajo).) The term *two-spirit* was not, however, a common term there yet. Randy Burns introduced it to me, and Roger used it to characterize himself but otherwise people used the terms *gay* and *lesbian*.

Characterizing this activism as a movement was confirmed to me on the phone by Will Roscoe (May 1995). As a San Francisco based historian who has published more on the historical third-gender status than any other scholar, Roscoe had watched this movement grow since the 1980s. By 1997, the expression *two-spirit movement* had become a fixed collocation (Jacobs et al. 1997:2; Thomas 1997:171). Whether it will grow into a real force amongst the Native Americans, is a little early to say. The following will illustrate some aspects related to this new awareness on social and cultural level, and how it manifests itself in the use of terminology. The coining and conscious spreading of the word *two-spirit* (to replace the earlier term *berdache*) constitutes a clear phase in the development of the concept Native American third-gender status. Educating both natives and non-natives on the two-spirit tradition is a central matter to those who recognize their roots in the tradition, or otherwise feel strong sympathy for the cause of the two-spirits.

3.2 Honoring and educating past traditions

A new wave of activism by Native Americans themselves may have surfaced in the late 1980s and early '90s but the roots of recognizing the ancient third-gender as a link to a number of contemporary gay and lesbian Natives began much earlier when the old status was still referred to as *berdache* and the definition of *gay* was large enough to cover both biological sexes. "They are our traditional gay Indian ancestors", says Randy Burns (1995), a San Francisco based Indian community activist about the ancient third-gender status, as he did in the 1970s already. Burns is a Northern Paiute who founded Gay American Indians (GAI) together with Barbara Cameron (Lakota Sioux) in 1975, the first American Indian gay liberation organization in the USA. The same attitude of honoring the past is reflected in the title of the book supported by GAI called *Living the Spirit. A Gay American Indian Anthology*. The book, edited by Will Roscoe and published in 1988, contains articles, poems and a reproduction of a work of art (See Appendix F: Work of art by Joe Lawrence Lembo.) from over twenty different Native gay authors, representing tribes from all over North America. It is one of the products of the Gay American Indian History Project, which also compiled an

extensive bibliography of sources on alternative gender roles, edited by Roscoe and published in 1987.

The same positive attitude is reflected in many other titles of publications on Native Americans, even if not written by them, and in names of Indian centers, the oldest ones of which are from the 1970s. More centers were founded in the '80s and '90s. "Reclaiming the Old New World. Gay was Good with Native Americans" by Dean Gengle is one of the early ones from 1976. "The Native American Berdache: A Resource for Gay Spirituality," by J. Michael Clark (1984) reveals the fact that also non-Natives were finding positive self-assurance in this Indian role. Reviews of books dedicated to the subject also testify to the newly found positive optimism, e.g., "Wait till 2050: Native Americans Recovering the Future, a book review of *The Zuni Man-Woman* by Roscoe," written by Rainwater in 1993, and "Traditional Ways in Modern Times: Review of *Living the Spirit*" edited by Roscoe, reviewed by Ruth in 1988. Several centers and associations with the word *two-spirit* in the name started to appear in the 1990s and the third millennium: e.g., the Seattle based Tahoma Two-Spirits, and Vancouver Two-Spirits in Canada. Some people have wanted to honor historical people by referring to them in the name of the center they have created. Curtis Harris and Leota Lone Dog decided to call their New York based two-spirit organization We'Wah and Bar Chee Ampe. The former was a famous Zuni *man-woman* who helped bridge the gap between the world of the natives and the whites (Stevenson 1904, Roscoe 1991), and the latter is a famous Crow warrior woman. American Indians have also expanded their support for each other in the form of support groups and gatherings. The usage of certain terms is a clear indication of the period to which a given publication or center belongs. For example, a gay Quebecer magazine called *Le berdache* clearly predates the 1990s, as does the text in *Living the Spirit* (1988), which uses the term *berdache* throughout the book along with *gay and lesbian* and the Lakota term *winkte*. The fact that the San Francisco based Gay American Indians is an older association is reflected in its title. The changing trends in terminology have however already produced a new organization, called Bay Area American Indian Two-Spirits.

The increased awareness of the past has led to increased education of the two-spirit tradition. During the last two decades, a number of publications and a lot of discussion on the historical third-gender status or “traditional two spirits” have surfaced, and with more Natives taking part in the discussion than before, e.g. in Carocci (2000). Two-spirit conferences or gatherings have been arranged almost annually in the USA and Canada since 1987. Occasionally, the media has paid attention to the subject, e.g. “Two-Spirits Rising” by Dooley (2001) in *The Portland Mercury*. College courses and lecture series have been arranged, e.g. by Will Roscoe. In general, Native outspokenness on the issue together with new associations has increased in the recent years. For example, Roger (May 1995, personal communication), who was living in San Francisco in 1995 but originally from the reservation of Colville Confederated Tribes, Wenatchi-Wanapum, in the north-western U.S.A., had started to challenge the current homophobia amongst the Indians and direct people towards finding out about the past acceptance from their elders.

3.3 Two-spirits take distance from Western ideology

The differences in the so-called traditional Native American conception of genders and that in Western tradition have led to many Natives criticize the imposing of Western terminology onto Native identities. Curtis Harris and Leota Lone Dog, two contemporary New York based two-spirited activists, stress that the term *two-spirit(ed)* was adopted because many native two-spirited people did not feel comfortable by the limits of existing terminology of *gay*, *lesbian*, *bisexual* and the like. Although these terms have been adopted by many Natives, they reflect the colonizers' culture, not that of Native Americans. By creating a new Pan-Indian term, the Natives were able to take distance from Western ideology on gender and sexuality. (Blincoe 1993: 155-157.) According to Terry Tafoya, Taos/Warm Springs (1992:256), "the two-spirited position is not one determined primarily by sexual orientation," instead, the role reflects spiritual and social identity; or to borrow Gunn Allen's phrasing, it is a **gender-role**, not a sexual identity. Criticism directed at viewing two-spirits through rigid categories of occupational or sexual object choice at the expense of spiritual calling were also voiced by several Natives in the compilation of articles in

Two-Spirit People (Jacobs et al. 1997). The concept "multigender" has a parallel in sexuality: "multisexual," (as seen in Farrer 1997:236-39), which breaks away from the contemporary American opposition of "gay versus straight."

3.4 Multiple genders in traditional Native American conception

Recent discussion on the third-gender institution has made many Native Americans emphasize how fluid traditional American Indian conceptions of gender are if compared to the Western one (e.g. Burns 1995; Tafoya 1992; Jacobs et al. 1997). References to change of sex or gender have occasionally been included in historical studies on the American Indians. For example, in traditional Tlingit thinking, a person's sex can change at reincarnation, at birth or at menopause (de Laguna 1954:178-83). In this way of thinking, gender is not a static matter but something that can be acquired. In traditional Zuni conception, a person's gender is a social construction and it is slowly revealed, even acquired through initiations. There are at least four initiation rites in the course of life with increasing differentiation in the symbolism of gender, which interject the mythical past into the present of the initiate. The "berdache" received the first male initiation but not the second, which concerned warfare and hunting. In other words, he was an "unfinished male," whose occupations excluded warring and hunting, but not other male activities. In comparison, women's main rites were biological: first menstruation and first childbirth. However, men destined to become berdaches could learn a certain amount of women's lore and ritual in domestic household rites. (Roscoe 1991:129-32, 144-46.)

Some Natives want to stress that sexuality is best conceptualized in form of a circle where all the points are connected, and not a line, like the Kinsey scale from 0 to 6, where 0 stands for exclusive heterosexuality and 6 for exclusive homosexuality. A person is at one point on the Circle at a given time, but during one's lifetime, one can be at any point on the Circle. (Blincoe 1993:156-57.) According to Tafoya, traditional Native Americans do not classify the world into neat binary categories of good/bad, male/female, or gay/straight, but rather into categories of behavior that range from appropriateness to inappropriateness depending on the context of situation and

relationships and interactions of the people in them. In a certain social context, the behavior and identity of a person can shift a person's emphasis on the so-called "masculine/feminine" behavior. A reflection of this flexibility was found in Tafoya's study of over 200 interracial same-sex couples, where a higher rate of bisexuality (as defined by behavior rather than identity) occurred among Native populations in America than in any other ethnic group studied. If identity is conceptualized as the continuum of a circle (instead of on a bipolar line), transformation and change can take place on the circle. An individual is expected to go through many changes in a lifetime, such as changing one's name. (Tafoya 1992: 254-258.)

An example of the fluidness in gender conception is the traditional Navajo thinking, which separates gender into five categories: female, male, female *nadleehi*, male *nadleehi*, and *nadleehi* ('hermaphrodite') (Thomas 1997:156-57); and the concepts "male" and "female" are actually sexual terms, assigned to people according to their age. According to Epple (1997:174-92), categorizing and defining the Navajo *nádleehee* is practically impossible, for they do not represent a third or alternative gender but manifest the interconnectedness of all things in a world where all things are seen to contain and manifest masculinity and femininity. Another example of multiple genders can be found amongst the Zuni, where the family line responsible for the ceremonial role of the Zuni "Berdache Kachina" included several special-gendered persons, both biological males and females (Pillig 1997: 69-70). Traditional Cheyenne thinking recognizes two categories of "berdaches:" The *heeman* (or *hemaneh*) reserved for those who 'have more of the male element' and *hetaneman*, reserved for those who 'have more of the female element' (Roscoe 1994: 570). Native gender identity can also fluctuate situationally according to the identification with the Native culture and the surrounding environment. The practice of the politics of location, e.g. between urban and reservation, can cause the change of terminology in self-identification for strategic reasons. Traditional gender assignments are however going through changes in Native cultures. For example, within the Navajo culture, gender formulation and reformulation are ongoing processes due to the Euro-American influence. (Thomas 1997:168-69.)

3.5 Difference between contemporary and traditional two-spirits

Due to white influence and Christianity, gender variance and homosexuality have come to be seen identical even by Natives themselves and met with strong disapproval. The acceptance of two-spirits is sporadic and limited to their families and small communities on and off reservation. It is usually the grandmothers who still remember the old traditions. This was also the case with Roger (May 1995, personal communication), who remembered his great grand-mother talking about the deterioration of the Native attitude towards gay people in modern times, and the murder of two of his gay relatives. In general, apart from some exceptions, the only role models that a two-spirit person can find for identification are Western-style gays and lesbians. This is why a new clearly ethnic identity was needed. The identity of two-spirit emerged in urban environment and gatherings, which came to be known as the two-spirit gatherings. That does not mean that all Native American lesbian and gay people would identify as two-spirit. However, according to Lang (1997), all of these identity groups basically have the same attitude towards their ethnic background. Native two-spirits see themselves carrying two-spirit traditions far beyond sexuality. Two-spirits are actively living, preserving and honoring their ethnic cultures, and thus working towards their acceptance into larger Native communities, not rejecting them, as radical white gays and lesbians do towards discriminating Western cultures. The attitude towards ethnicity is at the center of contemporary Native American gay/lesbian and two-spirit identity. This makes them different from the traditional two-spirit identity, which revolved around the issue of gender. It also makes them different from white gays and lesbians who define themselves according to their sexual preference. (Lang 1997:109-115.) Maintaining the identity as Indian people is also stressed by Curtis Harris and Leota Lone Dog. Despite the fact that homophobia exists within the general Native community, as it does in the larger American community, this goal is common for all Indians. According to these two activists, contemporary Native people are in recovery, still adapting to changing times. This means that Natives do not only have to learn their old traditions and revise them but also create new ones in order to survive in the modern world. (Blincoe 1993:155-163.)

The fact that the concept and term *two-spirit* is not embraced by all Native gays is hardly surprising. After all, the two spirits referred to are femininity and masculinity, and not all modern gay people, whether aboriginal or from other ethnic origin, want to characterize themselves with this duality. The same criticism surfaced already a couple of decades ago, when a white gay writer attacked the Quebecker gay magazine *Le Berdache* for using the word *berdache* in its title (Williams 1986:216-17), by saying that the image of “berdache” was too feminine and mystical to represent the gay readership of the magazine.

4 METHODOLOGY OF CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND ITS APPLICATION TO THE STUDY ON THE HISTORICAL THIRD-GENDER

In order to study the Western portrayal of the Native American third-gender male in the historical documents, a group of research approaches and theoretical formulations known as critical discourse analysis (CDA) seems most applicable. Guidelines for the present work can be found in the CDA studies and theoretical works that have concentrated on revealing how ideology ties in with discourse, e.g. in connection with one-sided representations of groups of people. The portrayal of third-gender in the journal accounts (the historical third-gender accounts) is suspect of being one-sided and colored by ideological evaluations of the European authors who wrote the documents. Therefore, the present chapter will explore those tenets of CDA that are most relevant for studying (biased) textual representations of groups of people, or texts that contain several voices and attitudes, which may be more or less mixed together. Since a central aspect in conceptualizing and representing a group of people is related to the use of terminology and other defining vocabulary, some of the information concerning lexis, explored in this chapter, originates from the field of semantics.

4.1 Critical discourse analysts drawn upon

The theory and subsequent methodological guidelines of CDA used in the present study are largely based on the writings of T.A. van Dijk (1993, 1995), Norman Fairclough (1995) and R. Fowler (1985). These contemporary discourse analysts owe some of their theoretical formulations to H.P. Grice (1969, 1975a, 1975b, 1978) and M.A.K. Halliday (1975, 1978, 1981, 1985), both of them influential since the 1970s. Grice is remembered for his maxims of relevance in conversation, and for his discussion on presuppositions and implicature. Halliday is known for the systemic functional theory for language, which emphasizes socially functional aspects of language use. Since many of the aims of CDA are closely tied to the revelation of domination manifested in its linguistic form, some influence on the development of CDA is traceable to such researchers of power and hegemony as Louis Althusser. According to this French Marxist theorist, linguistic practice can be used as a tool for imposing and legitimating the ideology of state and the church by official and public discourse, which insist upon a set of concepts that make up a certain reality, favourable to the groups in power (Fowler 1985: 65-68).

Both Van Dijk (1993, 1995) and Fowler (1985) have analyzed use of social power in a linguistic form. The former has published on racist discourse, amongst others, and the latter on the relationship between lexis and ideology, on one hand, and syntax and transitivity, on the other. Van Dijk's (1993) contributions to linguistics include his theoretical writings on memorization, whereby only the most relevant material to any given reader is remembered and, subsequently, reproduced in the form of macropropositions. This means that events, situations and people involved with them are categorized into singular mental images or models, which contain component slots for typical characteristics. Examining the third-gender accounts from the point of view of mental model forms one central aspect of the analysis. After all, the ten accounts to be examined in the present thesis were written during a period of about 250 years, which is long enough for building a mental model on this group of people. Another possibility is that the image and mental model for third-genders has risen from a European context. Although there was no equivalent for

this North American institution in Europe, the authors must have seen some parallels between the Native American third-genders and European personalities because some of the colonizers used European terms for them.

The importance of social context in the production and interpretation of discourse can also be seen in heterogeneous texts, which have been composed by drawing upon various genres and discourses. These kinds of texts can be examined from the point of view of intertextuality, as advocated by Fairclough (1995). Intertextual analysis is useful for texts that appear to have a composite character. In other words, a given text may resort to using pre-constructed linguistic formulations typical of certain social domains or contexts, and these may add their own definitions and delimitations to the treatment of the topic. Or, a given text may borrow linguistic or structural elements from other texts. By separating and identifying the genres, fields of discourse, or borrowings from other texts, intertextual analysis can reveal sources the author has used in composing the text. By drawing attention to these sources, the analyst can point to the possible reasons for their usage and to the functional roles they have in the final product. Resorting to linguistic elements from a variety of social contexts is usually done for a certain effect. Determining the functional aspects involved with the shifts between diverse discursal practices can reveal the ideological and strategic moves of a given text. Such shifts or borrowings may be found in the third-gender accounts as well. Regarding these accounts from the point of view of intertextuality, and comparing them with each other, helps to determine what elements in the description of third-genders cue for resorting to particular discursal practices. The more contradictory and confusing the arguments expressed in one text are, the more important it is to determine the function of the propositions expressed.

4.2 Reasons for textual analysis in social scientific research

According to Fairclough, there are four main reasons why textual analysis (i.e. discourse analysis and intertextual analysis) ought to be more widely recognized within the framework of discourse analysis as part of the methodological armoury of social sciences. The first one concerns the **methodology** itself: Texts constitute a

major source of evidence for grounding claims about social structures, relations and processes, e.g., in historical anthropology, therefore, an analysis based on texts must be answerable to the detailed properties of texts. A close attention to texts may help to give firmer grounding to the conclusions arrived at without it; or suggest how they might be elaborated or modified, or prove them wrong. The second reason is the **historical** dimension of textual analysis. This historical dimension can reveal the timing of social processes, movements and changes, as well as their mutual connections in series of texts, such as developments of social identities. The third reason is **political**, for it is increasingly through texts that social control and social domination are exercised, negotiated and resisted. The fourth reason is **theoretical**: Texts constitute one important form of social action, which is in dialectical relationship to social structures, and should not be ignored by social scientists. (Fairclough 1995: 187-209.)

All these reasons apply to the present study: A detailed and systematic textual analysis of a series of texts, verifiable by other researchers, can give firmer grounding to claims about the historical third-gender status (the methodological reason). Since the European definition of the Native American third-gender in the corpus of the present thesis evolves in the course of two and a half centuries, it reveals a slow development of this native identity, as constructed by non-Natives (the historical reason). Textual analysis as a research tool in social sciences should offer grounding for political and/or professional arguments for those Natives (and non-Natives) who want unbiased information on this ancient institution (the political and theoretical reasons).

4. 2 Basic definitions

Before exploring the methodology of CDA any further, some basic concepts need to be clarified first. All of them are relevant to the application of CDA on the historical third-gender accounts.

4.2.1 Discourse

The word **discourse** is used here to refer to a particular text, which is examined from the point of view of communication, as part of social practice. For example, social institutions and areas of social life, such as family, gender, or authority, are talked about, or otherwise communicated about, in certain ways, using particular discursial elements. These involve sets of statements that define, describe, delimit, and circumscribe what is possible and impossible to say about the institution. Typical ways of communicating on certain social institutions usually change over time. In this sense, discourse is not neutral with respect to language: Certain lexical choices, syntactic forms and the overall organization of the text will necessarily correlate with certain discourses. While a discourse emerges in some form of naturally occurring text (oral or written), any one text may be the expression or realization of a number of discourses, which may have contradictory sets of values. (Kress 1985: 27-28.)

4.2.2 Field of discourse

While the term discourse refers to a singular text or texts considered from the point of view of communication, the term **field of discourse** is used here to refer to the totality of discursive practices of an institution (or a particular social domain), and relations between them. This concept is based on Foucault's (1981) notion on the **order of discourse**, which Fairclough's (1995:12) also uses. I prefer the use of "field of discourse" because things pertaining to particular domains of expertise or social activities are better conceptualized as being structured in fields instead of orders. This term resembles van Leeuwen's (1993:194) use of the term "field structure," which realizes the knowledge of some field as it is constructed in the context of a given institutional domain, e.g. the knowledge of politics as it is constructed in the mass media. A field of discourse may contain smaller sub-fields: For example, the field of moral discourse has a sub-field of Christian morality. Some linguistic items are tightly associated with certain fields of discourse, e.g. *to/a sin* evokes Christian morality, whereas others may belong to more than one field, or, they may not be specific to any field. This is the case with the items *wrong* and *make a mistake*, for example. The notion of field can also be found in semantics, where particular activities (e.g. fishing)

contain certain **lexical sets** (e.g. *rod, hook and bait*) (Carter 1989:49-50). Against this background, the concept of field/order of discourse is an expansion, including also syntactic features together with their semantic content, or voice, sounds and, in some cases, movements of the body. For example, a scientific article typically uses certain syntactic means, such as nominalization or the passive, or fixed expressions like *the present author* or *warrants further study*.

4.2.3 Genre

Traditionally, “description” and “argumentation” have served as examples of genres. In the present study, the concept **genre** is understood in a wider sense as a socially ratified way of using language in connection with a particular type of social activity, such as interview, narrative or exposition (Fairclough 1995:14). When compared to discourse, genre appears more as a formal construction and organisation of text to fulfil a certain function. Hence, a genre (e.g. a TV interview) may predictably draw upon a particular range of discourses (e.g. political, social, and moral discourses), whereas a given discourse may be drawn upon in various genres (Fairclough 1995:13-14). As a formal category, genre usually follows a certain order and format for presenting the content. For example, if a scientific article does not follow the conventional order of introduction, treatment of subject and conclusion, it is not considered an instantiation of the genre and will not be accepted to a peer-review journal.

4.2.4 Text type

The concept of genre is close to a text type. The difference is that a text type is situationally and historically particular and determined. **Text types** are configurations of genres and discourses, developed and conventionalized for particular categories of activity in particular types of social situation at particular times. Being generically complex, closer to or more distant from singular genres, text types can be specified at various levels of particularity, e.g. an interview can be a TV interview, and even more specifically a Channel 4 TV interview (Fairclough 1995:14.) Hence, the journal accounts on the Native American third-genders written by Europeans are text types,

which can be further specified according to the type of author and the time of writing, e.g. missionary of the 1700s, or explorer of 1500s-1600s. When composing the texts, the authors may have resorted to various genres and (fields of) discourses.

4.2.5 Ideology

Critical discourse analysts define the concept of **ideology** as a basic framework of social cognition, shared by members of a social group. It consists of relevant selections of sociocultural values, organized by an ideological schema that represents the self-definition of a group. Besides their social function of sustaining the interests and aims of groups, ideologies have the cognitive function of organizing the social representations (such as attitudes and knowledge) of the group. Hence, ideologies indirectly influence and monitor group-related social practices, such as the text and talk of its members. (van Dijk 1995: 248.) In other words, ideologies of given groups define how their members perceive, interpret or construct social reality. In claiming that a discursive event works ideologically, one is not claiming that it is false, for ideologies are not necessarily "true" or "false," but they can contribute to the reproduction of relations of **power** (Fairclough 1995:18). Language can be used to constitute statuses and roles of both claimed authority and required or assumed subservience (Fowler 1985:61-62). Contextually, ideologies have variable manifestations, some of which may be personal (van Dijk 1995:246). If people share several, sometimes mutually contradictory ideologies, e.g. for being members of, or identifying with several groups, the divergent ideologies may manifest themselves as contradictory arguments in discourses (*Ibid.*).

4.3 Ideologically sensitive parts of discourse

4. 3.1 Ideological functioning of language use

Since discursive norms are usually learned together with ideological norms, a wide range of linguistic features and levels are ideologically invested (Fairclough 1995:70-75). These include such diverse aspects of text as its meaning (lexis, presuppositions, implications, myths, turn-taking, politeness conventions etc), syntactic structures,

textual organization and genre. Coherence is a key factor in the ideological functioning of a text because it interconnects the concepts underlying the surface text, be it on the level of reference (e.g. the lexical patterning of a text), or on the functionality of propositions. Ideology is revealed in the choice of presenting material explicitly or implicitly, or backgrounding some topics as irrelevant or known while foregrounding others as important. (van Dijk 1993:262-278.) Ideology is also involved in the postulation of a **subject** for the production and interpretation of a text (Fairclough 1995:38-39): By using textual devices that both refer and construct at the same time, the author may not only mix ideological elements in the portrayal of the people represented in the text but also construct him/herself, and the reader(s) or addressee. In the historical journal accounts, the above-mentioned levels of discourse may be ideologically invested. Ideological elements stemming from the European background of the authors may have slanted the representation of third-genders in the historical documents. The following will explore more thoroughly the ways in which textual representations of groups of people can become influenced by ideological concerns.

4.3.2 Social subject and attitude

Considering a social institution a **speech community** can be traced to Hymes (1972). As such, it has its own repertoire of speech events, describable in terms of such components as settings, participants, goals, topics etc. Being a member in an institution or a group of people is a social position, which affects discourse production and interpretation. The person who possesses the knowledge of a given social group, and uses it, participates in the typical activities of that group, or acts as its member, can be considered its **social subject**. (Fairclough 1995:38-42.) The authors of the third-gender accounts can also be regarded as social subjects. They may have written their texts as diaries but their reasons for being in North America are tied with their social positions. The goal of the Jesuit missionaries was the spreading of the Christian word, and this task of proselytizing was tied in with their beliefs about the world. The explorers shared some commonalities as well, the most notable of these was the goal of finding new land and resources. All of the authors had a similar background, when compared to the people they documented.

To some extent, the authors can also be considered institutional subjects, which is a facet of the more encompassing social subject. If an institution constructs their ideological and discursive subjects by imposing ideological and discursive constraints upon them as a condition for qualifying them to act as subjects of their institutional discourses, they become **institutional subjects** (Fairclough 1995:39). Both the Jesuits and the royal explorers must have adopted many ideological and discursive norms of their institutions. Institutional constraints include discursive norms about when to act, how to act, what to say (or not) and how to say it. These are usually acquired together with the associated ideology of the institution. Socially or institutionally ascribed roles and statuses of speakers/writers may even function as conditions for the successful performance of speech acts (Fairclough 1995:39). (For example, one needs to be a judge to pronounce a sentence.) There can also be overt discursive ways of signalling subject positions, such as referring to people by title or role term. (For instance, calling a Catholic priest *Father* will keep the subject position of that person in the limelight.) Social and institutional subjects may be unaware of the ideological subject positions they occupy and may not be in any reasonable sense committed to them. The opinions they express may only be based on the ideology of the group or institution they belong to, and not on their personal views or beliefs. (Fairclough 1995:38-40.) If an opinion is only based on the feeling(s) of a social group or institution, it is a **social attitude**, and not an opinion based on a conclusion (van Dijk 1995:251-259). The difference between a social attitude and an opinion statement can be exemplified in the sentence *Bears are dangerous*. If the sentence is expressed together with a case history of a bear killing a man, it is an opinion statement based on a conclusion. If it is a part of a wider belief about all wild predators being dangerous, it is an attitude.

4.3.3 Propositions, topics and macropropositions

The meanings of sentences and discourse are usually represented in terms of **propositions**. Their structures typically contain a predicate, a number of arguments in various roles, and one or more modalities, all of which can be ideologically controlled. The lower-level propositions of a text can be summarized in terms of **macropropositions**, which express the global meaning of the text. Semantic

macropropositions express the main **topic(s)** of a text and what is found to be “important” to say about it/them. For example, once a story is defined as an example of terrorism in the opening line or headline, local meanings are supposed to contribute to it or exemplify it. (van Dijk, 1995:282.)

The representations of the world that determine what is, what can be, or what ought to be constitute **ideological propositions**, and they are usually associated with their own “social bases” or groups of people. (In other words, they are like social attitudes but on a higher level.) Ideologies and ideological practices can however become more or less dissociated from the particular social base and interests that generated them and become naturalized. **Naturalized ideologies** and practices thereby become part of the general knowledge base and consensus to the extent that the “orderliness” of micro-level interaction may depend upon them. Ideological elements in the discourse of the socially powerful, e.g. beliefs that legitimate the institutions of power and preserve the hierarchic structure of society, can easily acquire the status of common sense and become opaque ideologically. Usually, naturalized ideological conventions take the form of generally accepted rationalizations, functioning as explanations for certain kinds of representation. (Fairclough 1995:35-42.)

The third-gender accounts contain more or less explicit rationalizations by the Europeans about the existence of the third-gender status. Some of these rationalizations were so naturalized that they found their way, even centuries later, to anthropological discourse, as seen in the professional definitions and theories formulated for the status. Some of the rationalizations offered in the accounts are attributed to the natives, while others are simply stated as if having been concluded by the given author. The ideological conventions underpinning these historical representations of third-genders are likely to originate from two diverse directions, which explains why the overall construction of third-genders contains elements that contradict each other. In order to find out what the native views of the institution were, the disjoint and confusing portrayal of third-genders has to be deconstructed into its basic propositions, and these need to be compared with each other. The

lexical and syntactic choices taken, and the generic configurations of the accounts are bound to carry traces of the ideology that influenced the selection of certain items over other possibilities. While some attitudinal evaluations clearly reflect the European view, e.g. those that evoke the Christian belief, those contradicting them (in the same account) are bound to originate from the ideologies of the natives. At times, the authors explicitly refer to the worldview of the natives, or use lexical choices that are best understood as entailing the attitude of the natives towards the third-gender institution.

4.3.4 Prominence, importance and relevance

Prominence, importance and relevance pertain to the ways of expressing emphasis and they are all ideologically sensitive. **Prominence** is typically attributed to items at the beginning or end of a text or paragraph, or by repetition. Assigning prominence to textual elements may also signal their importance to the author. Thus, prominence is a formal, surface structure notion, whereas **importance** can be defined in terms of the set of its cognitive consequences, e.g. by the set of inferences that can be made on the basis of such information. **Relevance** of information is a more pragmatic, interactional concept, relating to the usefulness of information for specific recipients. Information importance and relevance are ideologically most sensitive and defined relative to the social cognitions (knowledge, interests or ideologies) of a social group. The main difference between them is their relationship to the context. While relevance is context-dependent and group-related usefulness of information, importance is a more abstract measure for the size of information, such as the number of references or inferences that can be made from it. Both of them are signalled by various prominence devices, such as headlines, initial (topical) position in sentences, or a conclusion position. (Van Dijk 1995:262-68.)

In the third-gender accounts, examining prominence (and importance) means primarily paying attention to the items given the beginning or end emphasis. Mapping out the repetition of certain elements in the accounts reveals mostly how important it was for the authors to report on these aspects. Comparisons between the

texts are useful for highlighting all aspects of emphasis, particularly the relevance. Paying attention to what the authors report or do not report on highlights thematic patterns in their discursal representations of third-genders. Especially easily observed aspects of the third-gender status included in several accounts while ignored in some others point to their lack of relevance or importance for those authors who neglected including them. The same indifference may concern the rest of the information offered by the same authors. If the information these authors state differs greatly from that of the other authors, its reliability becomes questionable.

4.3.5 Syntax, modality and transitivity

Syntax is one way of articulating **ideological systems**, and it needs to be examined systematically when studying discursal constructions of people, like that of the third-gender. Syntactic reordering can be used as a rhetorical device for manipulating the reader's or listener's attention or interpretation to see the world from a specific point of view. For example, by reversing the order of subject and object, or main clause and subclause, by deleting the subject, or by nominalizing the predicate, information can be backgrounded or foregrounded. The readers' attention can also be tinkered with in less conspicuous ways through the use of modality or transitivity, that is, the attribution of responsibility to actions prescribed in the form of semantic participant roles of the predicates.

The term **modality** covers a range of linguistic devices from modal auxiliary verbs and sentence adverbs to adjectives, verbs and nominalizations that indicate a speaker's attitude towards the propositions expressed, and to some degree towards the addressee(s). The attitudes can express validity, i.e. the speaker's confidence in the truth of the propositions (e.g. by embedding the proposition *The vicar did it* into a modalized statement: *Obviously, the vicar did it.*); predictability of the events referred to (e.g. *may, probably, likelihood*); desirability - i.e. practical, moral or aesthetic judgements (e.g. *preferably*); obligation as expressed by the speaker (e.g. *must, necessary*); and permission as expressed by the speaker (e.g. *permit*). (Fowler

1985:72-73.) The use of modality, and the way in which it reveals attitudinal propositions, will be one of the things looked into in the third-gender accounts.

Transitivity is used here to refer to the variety of processes and participants that occur in clauses. They focus on the predicates (usually verbs and adjectives) that communicate action, processes, states, and so on, and on the **semantic roles** performed by the entities participating in these processes (usually designated by nouns). There are some fundamental distinctions made at the level of transitivity, between, for example, **agents** deliberately performing actions (*John ran.*); **objects** (or people) undergoing processes (*The door opened. John fell.*); **instruments** being used to effect actions (*A key opened the door.*); **experiencers** undergoing mental states and mental processes (*Alice was sad. Andrew listened attentively.*); and so on. (Fowler 1985:69.) Actions can also be cast in a **nontransactive form**, as if arising without any action (Kress 1985:34). Responsible agency can be obscured by using **pseudoagents**, such as abstract terms like *the circumstances* in the phrase *the circumstances dictate the raising of taxes* (Fowler 1985:70).

Some semantic participant roles are close to particular traditional categories of syntax. Agents and experiences are most typically subjects of the clause, and both the syntactic object and the semantic object undergo a process, e.g. *Paul* (subject/agent) *took Mary* (object/object) *to school*. The notion of the categories of transitivity is useful when examining the ideological coloring of discourse because it underlines participant roles. A systematic analysis of a series of texts can reveal, for instance, how systematically certain categories of people are cast into certain participant roles in certain situations. Consistent characterizations for a given group of people, and the evaluations associated with them, may be so commonplace that alternatives for them stand out, as if they were stemming from another ideology.

In the third-gender accounts, syntax plays a key role in the way the status is presented. Roscoe (1987:161-62) points out the frequent use of passive, which objectifies the third-gender in the historical documents in general. It is true that such sentences are

easily found but it is also true that many documents refer to the way third-genders were raised when still young, which makes the frequent use of objectification rather natural and not necessarily as influenced by ideological concerns as it first seems. What is worth exploring in the accounts is comparing what kinds of contexts are linked with having third-genders appear as agents of their actions, and what contexts typically present them as objects of other people's actions. One also needs to pay attention to some conspicuously reoccurring phrases and their context. Passive sentences expressing evaluation, the agency of which is ambiguous, need to be examined in their context as well.

4.3.6 Lexis

In the historical journal accounts, the terminology and defining vocabulary used in reference to Native American third-gender constitute the most direct way of representing the personality and the aspects associated with the status. The development of this terminology reflects the process of conceptualizing the image of third-gender in the European mind. The early concept of the status formed the basis for the later understanding of the institution in professional literature.

The major dimension of discourse meaning controllable through ideology is through lexical choice and lexicalization. For instance, using the word *terrorist* may not only be the nominal result of an evaluative categorization and identification, but also an ideological decision. Usually, an ideological dimension becomes attached to a word in a specific context as a **connotation**, which is an emotive or affective component, additional to the central meaning of the word and comparable to its secondary meaning (Lyons 1977:176). As an evaluation of some kind, connotation is very sensitive to ideological influence. Words can also carry ideological evaluation in their very definition (e.g. *holy war*), which evoke specific fields of discourse. Words carrying additional (usually pejorative) connotations, which color the definition, are called **loaded** or **marked words**. The attitudinal marking of a word can be self-evident, as in *idiot*, or less conspicuously contained in the definition, as in the verb *explain*, the factivity of which allows reference to the presupposed truth of the subsequent

statement (Carter 1989:79). **Lexical meaning** can also be **negotiated in text** to be interpreted attitudinally. For example, the word *young*, which is neutral in abstract lexicon, can be negotiated to acquire a pejorative edge in the phrase *young Mr Kinnock* when placed in the context of politics and opposed to the experience of older politicians (Carter 1989:95).

Since linguistic signs are basically arbitrary and accepted as conventions amongst people, the vocabulary of a given society points to the preoccupations of that culture. The things considered most important to a given culture are richly lexicalized in detailed systems of terms. Things unimportant or non-existing are either **underlexicalized** or not lexicalized at all. Possessing the terms crystalizes the relevant concepts for their users, while using them in discourse keeps the ideas and the related ideologies current in the community's consciousness. (Fowler 1985:64-65.) **Overlexicalization**, the availability of several (alternative) words for one concept, indicates the (ideological) importance and the prominence of the concept to a given group or society (Gastil 1992:475). Nowadays, there are many terms for old people, many born out of euphemistic reasons because becoming old has become so frightening to Western culture. While many of these terms, like *elders*, *pensioners* and *senior citizens*, are clear in their designation, others are context-specific **euphemisms**. The meaning of *adult center* may only be obvious to those who see the place in Florida, where the compound stands for a center of senior citizens, and has nothing to do with the meaning of the word *adult* in *adult entertainment*.

The lexis of a language can be regarded as consisting of **lexical fields**, which are sets of lexemes interrelated in sense, covering and giving structure to a given conceptual area as **conceptual fields**. For example, the conceptual area of colour becomes a lexical field when organized into categories of color by particular language-systems. Each lexeme may in turn be structured as a field by another set of lexemes, as "red" is structured in English by *scarlet*, *crimson*, *vermillion* etc. Different languages and different synchronic states of what may be regarded diachronically as the same language can be compared in respect of the way in which they give structure to, or

articulate, the continuum of a phenomenon by lexicalizing certain conceptual (or psycho-physical) distinctions. Lexical systems usually change over time. This can be seen if the structure of a lexical field at time $t1$ is compared with the structure of a lexical field at time $t2$. Although the items of the field belong to different synchronic language-systems and therefore form different lexical fields, they are comparable because they cover the same conceptual field. If the comparisons demonstrate changes, they are either in the set of lexemes belonging to the fields or in their sense-relation, and linked with the social changes that occurred between the two periods. (Lyons 1977:252-61.) Conceptualizing fields in semantics had an effect on the development of **componential analysis**, which centers around the concept of **seme**: the most minimal distinctive sense component in the meaning of a word (Lyons 1977:326), such as the semes ‘man’ and ‘unmarried’ in the definition of *bachelor*.

The fact that many Native American tribes lexicalized categories of gender considered outside the gender categories of female and male means that the concept of additional genders had relevance to them. It also demonstrates the fact that the concept of gender was not only based on a biological aspect. Opposing this worldview was that of the Europeans, where the differentiation between the two opposing categories of gender was based entirely on biology, not on spiritual or social matters. Hence, there was no lexeme to refer to any additional categories of gender. When trying to define the Native American third-genders with European words, the foreign observers constructed the native status with words that were intrinsically rooted in an alien system of gender definition. Since there was no similar institution in Europe, the observers used various descriptive words and terms from European background to define the status. These words did not only act as referent to the status but also constructed and constituted it for future observers. When terms are borrowed from other cultures, arising from various ideological and discursive backgrounds, they are likely to carry associative values of their prior fields of discourse. These will influence the new textual environment. These non-synonymous words purported to refer to the same phenomenon, and therefore formed a conceptual and lexical field. They constituted the most elementary building blocks in the Western construction of the

native status. The variety contained in this field is bound to reflect the ideology of the authors who used them. That is why the analysis of the accounts needs to consider the fields of discourse from where the defining vocabulary had been taken, the definitions of these words, and the connotations they had in that field. If specific domains of social use are evoked, they may have their effect on the rest of the treatment of the status, evident in the usage of other items from the same field, for example. The definitions and their connotations need to be compared with each other while keeping in mind the author of each term/descriptive word. The usage of these terms and words need to be examined in their context. There may be correlations between the generic or thematic functioning of a text, or parts of it, and the lexical choices being resorted to in those contexts. In other words, the author may come across more as a social subject with socially shared opinions than somebody reporting on his observations. Certain words or certain issues (or contexts) may cue for certain vocabulary in a way that the institutional discourse of the author would require. The agency of attitudinal propositions – especially if embedded in passive sentences – ties in with the vocabulary used in the third-gender accounts. For finding the source of the opinions expressed or otherwise conveyed one needs to analyze the attitudinal content of the vocabulary chosen. This means determining the (macro)propositions embedded in the account, and viewing them against the functional aspects of the text, on one hand, and the terms or vocabulary used for defining or describing third-gender, on the other hand.

4.4 Mental models

4.4.1 Social mental models

The memorization of information and its subsequent retrieval and activation seems to follow generally accepted, pre-established patterns. Typically, information that fits the expectations of the comprehenders is best remembered together with elaborations based on implicit information. Or, texts may not be remembered at all as they are, but changed according to the pre-established mental model, where things are characterized, evaluated and categorized. These kinds of mental models may first be

personal but once they become generalized and decontextualized - and that way shared by members of a group - they become **social mental models**. Mental models are mental representations of experience, events or situations, and opinions about them, and they are activated during textual arrangement and comprehension - and therefore capable of coloring discourse with ideology. As socially shared abstract constructions on the macro-level of society, they are liable to influence and social control by those in power. (van Dijk 1993:259.)

The obvious similarities in the third-gender accounts may partly be explainable as instantiations of the mental model that became constructed on them. The fact that almost half of the ten authors who wrote the texts were French Jesuits makes it possible that some of the later authors were already familiar with some of the earlier texts or discussions on Native American third-genders. Another possibility is that the third-gender became modelled after non-Native groups of people who somehow resembled them.

4.4.2 Global text structures

A large body of research (e.g. in cognitive psychology) supports a theory on schematic data structures or global text structures memorized as **generic concepts** and used in textual arrangement and comprehension. They consist of schemata, or orderly representations of information arranged in patterns with particular component slots, where only certain kinds of variables fit. Those that do not fit stand out. The component slots connect to each other in typical ways, and they are learned and memorized as such and activated when needed by writers and readers. In other words, in order to compose or analyze **the global message of a text**, information is retrieved from the pre-constructed schematic arrangement of texts of that kind, i.e. its mental image. Certain generic concepts, such as oral stories or expository texts, have rather fixed identity units. Texts that conform to schematic expectations are much easier to process conceptually than texts that do not follow an established pattern. This means that only those parts of the text that best fit a pre-constructed order and therefore make sense are remembered. Research also supports the theory on hierarchical arrangement

of propositions: recall starts at the top of hierarchy, i.e. with the parts of the text considered most important. (Bower & Citilo 1985:91-101.)

4.4.3 Memorizing information as macropropositions

Information acquired is memorized in the form of coherent macropropositions that describe the global organization of knowledge or specific texts. Certain processes that can **summarize, abstract and generalize** information from a detailed text to its more embracing concepts have been postulated for deriving macropropositions. Generalizations can appear later as accepted information in new texts. It is assumed that propositions are first differentiated according to their relevance to the topic of the text, as based on the expectations of the comprehenders. Once relevance assignments have been made, irrelevant propositions, which are poorly comprehended and memorized (e.g. qualifiers, specific names and dates), are deleted while relevant propositions are incorporated into a hierarchical macrostructure as macropropositions. (Bower & Citilo 1985:92-93.)

4.4.4 Schemata-directed elaborations

The more a text follows an established pattern, the easier it is for the readers to elaborate plausible information left implicit. Past experience or accepted stereotypes are used in understanding a text or an event and, in the case of retelling, information not present in the original text or scene is added from the memory representation, where a model for such an experience exists. In the model, people, things and events are characterized and categorized – often also evaluated and stereotyped. In retelling a text or in describing an event, changes stemming from the earlier acquired mental representation take place: Characterizations are embellished or enriched, negative statements or motivations for actions are added, and connections between sentences are elaborated on. Texts consistent with existing mental images are well understood and remembered because they meet the expectations of the reader, whereas those that do not conform are poorly understood and remembered to the point of distortion towards more pre-established forms. (Bower & Citilo 1985:100-01.)

4.4.5 Mental models and ideology

The structures of mental models have their counterparts in propositional structures in discourse. Being a **cognitive interface** between ideologies with their social attitudes and personal knowledge with personal opinions, models are instantiated or applied to particular situations to form the mental basis for situated text and talk. Standard or stereotypical discursive features together with expected functional structures are likely to be produced and interpreted if a text on a concrete event, action or a situation has a parallel representation in the mental model. Although these models are social in the sense that they are socially shared, they are also updated all the time by individuals, which makes them somewhat personal and subjective. This explains why there is contextual variation and uniqueness in discourse and action, while, at the same time, different situations exhibit a lot of continuity and similarity. (van Dijk 1993:251-52.)

A tight connection between pre-established mental models and ideology can be seen in the **context model of US and THEM**, often used in racist discussions or in the justification of social inequality. US and THEM involves two complementary strategies: the positive representation of one's own group and the negative representation of the Others. The discourse structures used can be overt and direct, or very subtle. Syntactic arrangements and persuasive moves can be managed in such a way that "preferred models" are being built by the hearers/readers. For example, a text can persuade the reader of the writer's (and a likely-minded reader's) tolerance, help or sympathy by bringing forth a positive image of "us," while constructing a negative image of "them" by focusing on their negative social or cultural differences, deviance or threats. (van Dijk 1993:262-64.) This kind of impression management is usually done with the help of strategic moves. **Strategic moves** are rhetorical devices employed to persuade or to convince the reader as to the effectiveness of the content, or to enhance the understanding or acceptance of the argument (Lupton 1993:310). For example, the **disclaimer** *It is true that...but...* is a form of negation that allows the speaker to say something while saying the opposition as well (Gastil 1992:483). Ideologically based argumentative moves (initiated by *of course, it is true ... but*) are **concessions or apparent disclaimers**, for in comparison to the overall balance of the

argumentative strategy, they are given only a fraction of the space if compared to the major argumentative part; and typically no further specification or detail. (van Dijk, 1995: 279-280.) Other phrases, such as *yet*, *however*, *nevertheless*, *at the same time* play the same role allowing the speaker/writer make statements that may make either subtle distinctions or outright contradictions (Gastil 1992:483).

4.5.6 Surprising similarity in the third-gender accounts

When looking for people to function as models to interpret the behavior of native cross-dressing men in women's occupations, many European observers must have looked for comparisons in their own European background. This might explain why there seems to be such a high level of similarity in the accounts. Hence, it is likely that certain features of the status, namely unorthodox forms of gender and sexuality, may have guided the perception and evaluation of these individuals as "certain kinds of people." When calling them *effeminate men* or *sodomites*, the observers may have started to see them through the European image of such men. The interpretation and subsequent portrayal of third-genders would then have been influenced by an alien mental model. Therefore, the reporting of the observation in some of the (later) accounts is a mixture of interpretation rooted in the pre-existing mental model, which led to a lot of similarity in the accounts, and the actual observation. Another possibility for the high similarity in the accounts is partial memorization of information acquired earlier on third-genders. Some of the texts, or parts of them, may not really be based on actual observation of third-genders but on the prior mental image of these people, acquired from earlier texts read or heard about, and from the discussions over them. Some textual elements may be direct borrowings from earlier texts.

4.7 Intertextuality

4.7.1 Intertextuality of heterogeneous texts

A text which is relatively consistent formally and semantically, e.g., in the use of modality or lexis, is regarded as **homogeneous**. However, actual texts are rarely completely homogeneous ideal types. More typically, texts are **linguistically heterogeneous**, that is, they are made up of elements that have a variety of stylistic and semantic values, some of which may even be contradictory. This happens when texts are created by drawing upon divergent sources, be it other texts, genres or fields of discourse. (Fairclough 1995:188-89.) Since firmly established discourses can be seen as available conventionalized formulations, a text resorting to a number of discourses or genres can make a multitude of somewhat differing statements and definitions of the phenomenon, which together delimit the discussion of the topic (Lupton 1993: 310-311). Usually, borrowing pre-existing formats of certain kinds of discourses to frame and categorize issues, events and people in a way that is typical of them is done for a certain effect (Fairclough 1995:134-35). For example, vocabulary taken from the discourse of war may be employed for the effect of action when describing a sports event that appears only briefly in a text. Or, highly technical words are added to an otherwise non-technical text to make it appear more serious or up-to-date (Fairclough 1995:204-05).

For studying texts that appear to have a composite or heterogeneous character, the concept of **interdiscursivity**, or **intertextuality**, offers a useful theoretical and methodological framework. **Intertextual analysis** can be used to determine which genres and orders (or fields) of discourse, (or prior texts) have been drawn upon for a given text and for what reason. Drawing upon specific fields of discourses is tied in with their specific social contexts, and determining this can help the analyst evaluate the reasons for evoking particular social connections - and the characterizations and delimitations that are connected with them. Intertextual analysis can also highlight a historical view of texts as transforming the past or existing textual conventions into new ones. (Fairclough 1995:188-89. Additions in parenthesis by the present author.)

No analysis should only be concerned with what is physically present in the text, but also with what is **absent** in texts. Both exclusion and inclusion of items are based on choice, and this makes them ideologically controllable. For example, a text may lack features relevant to the topic and therefore expected. Since intertextual analysis can reveal linguistic realizations of strategic moves and traces the links between a given text and other texts and/or text types used as prior sources for the text, it is capable of capturing sociocultural processes in the course of their occurrence, especially if the analysis concerns a series of texts. Using multiple sources as models for creating a text may be done in order to reach a multitude of audiences. Or, incompatible sources may reflect different periods. Intertextuality can also trace **circulation of parts texts** in other (later) texts. Usually, this is done with some transformations. For example, in mass media, there are chains connecting various public orders of discourse, e.g. politics, law and sciences, with media orders of discourse. Texts are transformed in systematic ways across these boundaries. For example, a statement from a court case is transformed to appear in a news report, and again, if it is discussed in a more general article, and finally, in people's conversations. (Fairclough 1995:186-211.)

4.7.2 Determination of social contexts or shifts in power

Intertextual analysis is most useful for linking the text to the social context to which the text is tied. By doing this, the analysis draws attention to the dependence of texts upon society and history in the form of the resources made available to them. Or, it can demonstrate how texts may transform these social and historical resources. Intertextual analysis does however have its own limitations and it should therefore be used alongside other types of analysis. The identification of the configuration of genres and discourses in any text is obviously an **interpretative exercise** and its success depends on the experience and sensitivity of the analyst. Determining them is especially difficult to do if the analysis deals with old texts or an isolated text. The changes that are found to be taking place are often traceable to a shift in the ideological position taken. A change in the balance of social forces may lead to a production of a text which tries to appear believable to many kinds of audiences with a whole gamut of mutually inconsistent ideological arguments. By tracing the shifts

between contradictory arguments and the strategic moves, an analyst can point out the concessions made to particular ideological positions. An analysis of a series of related texts can reveal the timing of social power or shifts of power between competing ideologies. (Fairclough 1995:188-89.)

4.5.3 Intertextuality applied to third-gender

Examining the third-gender accounts from the point of view of intertextuality goes hand in hand with regarding these texts as a possible development - or instantiation - of a mental model. On one hand, there is a lot of linguistic heterogeneity in the third-gender accounts, especially in the semantics used: While some of the vocabulary chosen points to an elevated position of third-genders, other lexical choices point to a shameful position. These kinds of contradictory evaluations can even be found within a singular text. On the other hand, there is a lot of homogeneity in the accounts. As discussed in connection with mental models, some of this surprising similarity on the level of vocabulary and syntax may be explainable as borrowings from particular modes of communicating in certain contexts. In other words, a given account may resort to using certain genres and fields of discourse because of ideological concerns. If the point of view taken is particularly European in one form or another, it should show in the lexis and syntax used, and in the structural arrangement of the text. A given account (or accounts) may also use elements of prior accounts, with possible transformations, e.g. in certain contexts. Revealing the composite character of a text can point to what information in the accounts may be based on actual observation and therefore valuable from an anthropological point of view and what may simply repeat outside evaluation, based on more or less fixed elements of certain fields of discourse and genres, or earlier texts.

5 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF TEN HISTORICAL THIRD-GENDER ACCOUNTS

5.1 A foreword to the analysis of the accounts

The present chapter contains a detailed discursal analysis of ten of the oldest third-gender accounts published in their English versions by Katz, 1976 (1992:285-91). The accounts date from 1528 to 1775. The analysis mainly follows the methodological guidelines of critical discourse analysis as presented in the previous chapter. Although written by European colonizers – i.e. outsiders - these historical documents constitute some of the earliest written descriptions of Native American third-genders. These images largely laid a basis for the later understanding and discussion on the status. Since the accounts are short first-person narratives documenting brief observances of unfamiliar phenomena, the information contained in them is fragmentary at best. Some of the earliest accounts are very short and do not contain much information on the status. They are, however, included so that the selection of the accounts is not based on the present author's own assessment of their value but on the chronology of the texts in the main collection on the Native Americans in Katz. (Passages of texts in the "Notes" were not included in this analysis.) Two accounts were skipped over and left out because they only refer to homosexual behavior without any reference to gender ambiguity. The methodology of CDA will be used to critically evaluate the contents of these accounts, that is, the way they portray the third-gender institution. The main focus of the analysis will be on the possible ideological coloring of this portrayal, originating from the European authors, and thus slanting the representation of the third-gender status. Applying CDA to the earliest written representations of the third-gender should improve the reliability of these texts as some of the oldest material on the North American third-gender institution at the time when it was still integrated with the tribal way of life. The analysis will examine the information conveyed on the status in order to separate the outside evaluations from the way the natives regarded it. Attention will be paid to the semantic and syntactic features of the accounts, the contexts of the

discoursal choices taken, and the generic and functional aspects of the texts. Reoccurring similarities – and differences – on the level of discourse used or contents of the accounts will be pointed out and compared with each other to determine probable reasons for them. In order to map out the descriptions of these people, attention will be paid to the features used to define the status: possible term(s) used; number of third-genders; descriptive or delimitating features of the status; occupations of third-genders; reason for, or way of adopting the status; sexual behavior or marriage; attitudes towards the people in question; and other topics brought up in connection with third-gender. The present chapter presenting the analysis of the accounts will be followed by chapter 6 (Constituents and a mental model of the third-gender accounts), which concentrates on treating the most typical features brought up in the description of third-genders (the constituents of the accounts), and the mental model on third-genders that seems to develop in the course of years.

Added underlining, italics and numbers

The text **in bold** at the beginning of the account is an abbreviated version of the description by Katz. Numbers for the accounts and underlining of the text have been added by the present author to highlight the aspects of the texts considered most revealing or important for the analysis. Italics have been added to *the word(s) that constitute the main defining term or description* for third-gender - or what appears to be one(s). If used for the *first time* in the accounts, the italicized **term** is in bold. All the accounts are English translations from original Spanish or French texts. The original words in parenthesis were supplied by the translators. The orthography of the texts is the same as in Katz.

5.2 Critical discourse analysis of ten journal accounts from 1528 to 1775

1. 1528-36: Spanish explorer Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, a captive among the Indians of Florida from 1528 to 1533:

I saw a devilish thing, and it is that I saw one man married to another, and these are *impotent, effeminate men [amarionados]* and they go about dressed as women, and do women's tasks, and shoot with a bow, and carry great burdens... and they are huskier than the other men, and taller...

The oldest account in Katz is by an early Spanish explorer who spent several years as a captive amongst the natives in Florida. The main propositions of the account could be rephrased as follows: One man married to another is a devilish thing. Cabeza de Vaca saw this devilish thing. These [married men] are *impotent, effeminate men*. The word *amarionado* has been translated by four different translators as *effeminate* (1613), *emasculate* (1907), *womanish* (1922) and *eunuch* (1983) (Goldberg 1992:214-16). Against the earlier translations, the latest interpretation seems the most extreme: According to Goldberg, the men in question cannot be concluded to be castrates if de Vaca's entire text is considered. There is no clear equivalent in English for *amarionado*. The translations above and the past participle ending *-ado* (of Spanish verbs ending in *-ar*) point to the definition 'feminized man,' *mujerado* in contemporary Spanish. The verb **amarionar* is best marked with an asterisk because this verbal form is only an assumption and, as such, does not exist. However, the words *marica* and *maricon*, which seem to be its derivatives, exist in contemporary Spanish, both meaning 'sissy, pansy,' or 'sodomite,' depending on the dictionary. Although these men are defined as *effeminate men*, they are, curiously enough, described as "huskier" and "taller" than the other men, which does not sound very effeminate. Evidently, the explanation for *effeminate* (or for *amarionado*) is the reference to their dressing as women, doing women's tasks, and carrying great burdens. Yet, they also shoot with a bow, which is not a typical female task amongst Native Americans. Whether describing these men as *impotent* is the author's assumption, conclusion, or information given to him is not clear. (The English word matches the original Spanish *impotente*, in Goldberg

1992:284.) The anaphoric deictic reference *these (are impotent, effeminate men)* refers to *one man married to another*, indicating that both of these men are effeminate. This is unusual, for it is contrary to the typical information on their marriage behavior: Third-genders did not usually marry each other. The word *these* may actually refer to just one party of the married couple, and other men like him.

The main theme of the account is the condemnation (*a devilish thing*) that begins the text, followed by the reason given for this (marriage between men). The condemnatory attitude is clearly de Vaca's: For somebody from a Catholic culture a marriage of men is a "devilish thing." The fact that he nevertheless calls it a marriage indicates that, even in his eyes, the institution was comparable to "marriage." Instead, the characterization of these men, which involves drawing a parallel to women (their dress and occupations), is done without any exhibition of attitude.

2. 1540: Captain Hernando de Alarcón in California:

There were among these Indians three or foure *men in womens apparell*.

This short description offers very little information except the feminine dress of the men. There is no attitude involved with this. The author does not characterize or define them in any way. The number "three or four" is presumably per a group of Indians or an Indian village.

3. 1562-67: Captain René Goulaine de Laudonnière; four French expeditions into Florida during 1562-67:

There are in all this country many *hermaphrodites*, which take all the greatest paine and beare the victuals when they goe to warre.

The term *hermaphrodite* appears for the first time to designate people who go through the greatest pain to deal with victims during war expeditions. There is no way of knowing if the people mentioned are biologically real hermaphrodites or third-genders. However, Californian male third-genders typically handled the dying

and the burial of people. It is possible that the same phenomenon was found in Florida. If these people were third-genders instead of biological hermaphrodites, there must have been a reason to define them with the term *hermaphrodite*. This points to some kind of visible features invoking both men and women but it is not mentioned in the text. Besides this occupational description, and the quantifying description *many* in the phrase *in all this country*, which is evidently the region of Florida, nothing else is said of these people. The term *hermaphrodite* is given in connection with their unusual occupation. The quantity “many” “in all this country” surpasses the amount of “cross-dressers” in the previous account, but it is a relative number and applied to “hermaphrodites,” and may just indicate “surprisingly many” hermaphrodites.

4. 1564: Artist Jacques le Moyne de Morgues; traveled to Florida with the French expedition commanded by Laudonnière. Twenty years later in London, he wrote a travel memoir accompanied by sketches, now known only by the engravings and translations made of them by Theodore de Bry:

Hermaphrodites, partaking of the nature of each sex, are quite common in these parts, and are considered odious by the Indians themselves, who, however, employ them, as they are strong, instead of beasts of burden. When a chief goes out to war, the hermaphrodites carry the provisions. When any Indian is dead of wounds or disease, two hermaphrodites take a couple of stout poles, fasten cross-pieces on them, and attach to these a mat woven of reeds. On this they place the deceased...Then [the hermaphrodites] take thongs of hide, three or four fingers broad, fasten the ends to the ends of the poles, and put the middle over their heads, which are remarkably hard; and in this manner they carry the deceased to the place of burial. Persons having contagious diseases are also carried to places appointed for the purpose, on the shoulders of the hermaphrodites, who supply [those ill] with food, and take care of them, until they get quite well again.

The term *hermaphrodite* is used again in this account by the artist accompanying the French explorer Laudonnière, who was featured above. The account is accompanied by a picture depicting half-naked men in Florida carrying people on their backs and on woven mats as described in the text. (See Appendix G: Timucua “hermaphrodites” at work, de Bry engraving, 1591.) The upper part of the body is clearly male. The use of the term *hermaphrodite* is justified by the description

partaking of the nature of each sex. The verb *partake* seems to imply activity from the part of the *hermaphrodite*, rather than a biological condition. Yet, there is nothing in the account indicating that the author doubts the condition is biological. Nor does the author condemn them in any way. The hermaphrodites are quantified as being "common." One physical feature, *strong*, is given as the reason for their employment, instead of beasts of burdens, for carrying provisions in war expeditions, and the deceased to the place of burial (their occupations). Hermaphrodites are placed in the position of objects when their work is attributed to the demands of the other Indians (*Indians employ them*), who are said to consider them odious, i.e. hateful or repugnant, yet worth employing (opposing these two attitudes is signalled by *however*). It is not clear from the text how the author knows about the native attitude towards these hermaphrodites. A clue to this may be found in the hermaphrodites' tasks of carrying the deceased to a burial place, or carrying people with contagious diseases on their shoulders to a particular place and curing them. In the native context, sick and dead people would be considered "bad spirits," and normal people would not want to deal with them. The author of this account does not express any amazement at this seemingly unusual ability to be in contact with people with contagious diseases and healing them. Neither does he define them as healers. Earlier in the text, the qualification of hermaphrodites as "strong" is given as the reason for their employment. This completely mundane reasoning without any mention of spirits probably originates from the author himself. The description of the hermaphrodites' occupations, which constitutes most of the account, is long and detailed when compared to the other nine accounts. The author also mostly places them in the active role. The only attitude contained in the text is attributed to the Indians.

5. 1673-77: Jesuit Father Jacques Marquette, took a voyage down the Mississippi declaring:

"I know not through what superstition some Illinois, as well as some Nadouessi, while still young, assume the garb of women, and retain it throughout their lives. There is some mystery in this. For they never marry and glory in demeaning themselves to do everything that the women do. They go to war, however, but can

use only clubs, and not bows and arrows, which are the weapons proper to men. They are present at all the juggleries, and at the solemn dances in honor of the Calumet; at these they sing, but must not dance. They are summoned to the Councils, and nothing can be decided without their advice. Finally, through their profession of leading an Extraordinary life, they pass for Manitous, - That is to say, for Spirits, - or persons of Consequence.

There is no term for the people in question in this account by a Jesuit Father, and it is hard to choose one main descriptive line referring to them. However, the features given fulfill the definition of third-gender. The many presupposed and entailed propositions in this passage warrant a careful analysis, especially since some of them are contradictory. According to Marquette, through an unidentifiable *superstition*, some Illinois, and Nadouessi assume women's clothing when still young and retain it throughout their lives. To the Jesuit Father, the belief is not part of religion but part of superstition, which is a pejorative term. Presupposed in the account is the proposition: 'Illinois and Nadouessi are superstitious people'. Even though a Jesuit Father should be an expert in beliefs, this belief has remained mysterious to him: *There is some mystery in this*. The fact that these people never marry should not be mysterious to him, for such behavior is part of his own religious background. Evidently, the mysterious part must be the proposition: [they] glory in demeaning themselves to do everything that the women do. The expression *glory in demeaning oneself* contains a semantic contradiction: The noun *glory*, 'exalted praise, honor,' comes from the French *glorie* with a comparable definition and gives the verb *to glory*, the current meaning to 'exult with triumph; rejoice proudly, and the obsolete meaning to 'boast' (Webster's). In addition, the word is associated with religious discourse. Could these young men or boys have boasted about doing women's work all their lives, if the others thought they were demeaning themselves? Yet, both propositions ('they glory in doing everything that the women do' and 'they demean themselves in doing everything that the women do') are contained in *they glory in demeaning themselves to do everything that the women do*. The only conclusion one can draw from these contradictory propositions is that the Indians did not consider this behavior demeaning, whereas the sarcastic author did. The author's belittling attitude arises from the fact that these men take pride in

resembling women, i.e. it reveals his own (social) attitude to women. According to the author, a man cannot take pride in resembling a woman because he would lower himself in status. The rest of the account supports this conclusion.

These people go to war but cannot use *the weapons proper to men*. The text does not reveal who decides what they can use. Since these men go to war with clubs as their weapons, instead of men's weapons, a presumption arises that women's weapons are clubs. The word *however* eliminates this assumption, for it creates an opposition between women's work and these men going to war. In other words, there are differences in behavior between these unmarried "cross-dressing" men, and the rest of the tribal men and women on the level of occupations and marriage.

The men in women's garments are also present at all the *juggleries* and at *the solemn dances in honor of the Calumet*, which is the native peace pipe used on ceremonial occasions. In these events, they have specific requirements (*they sing but must not dance*). The term *juggleries* could be considered pejorative if it was not contrasted with other terms indicating respect: *solemn* and *honor*. It may simply designate less solemn events. These men are also *summoned to the Councils*, that is, meetings where matters concerning the tribe as a whole are discussed and decided. Their advice is so needed there that no decisions can be made without them. The word *summoned* implies that they are brought there, i.e. their presence is required. The word *Finally* is used as an attitudinal adjunct and means here something like 'on top of everything else, as if this was not enough.' It begins the final comments: not only are they needed for advice in the Council, but also, they have a *profession of leading an Extraordinary life*. The use of capital letters should not be overemphasized in this analysis, for the orthographic conventions probably varied considerably during the time of writing of these accounts. Using capitals to start nouns (as in German) used to be more common in English. However, when considering all the words capitalized without starting a sentence in this text – in addition to names - it seems that the capitalization adds importance to the words. The use of capital letters in the words *Extraordinary* and *Consequence* may also

indicate their use as titles as opposed to mere descriptive attributes. The extraordinariness of their lives is the fact that they pass for *Manitous*, that is, for *Spirits*, or *persons of Consequence*, i.e., 'important people.'

The structure of this account is worth summarizing. The text begins as a confession of the author not knowing what kind of religious belief makes young Illinois and Nadouessi boys cross-dress and continue doing it all their lives. A description covering many aspects of these men's lives follows (feminine dress and occupations, as well as the male occupation of warring with certain prohibitions in the use of masculine weapons; marriage behavior; and socio-religious role performance). The text ends with the conclusion that these people have a profession, i.e. an occupation of leading an important life and passing for spirits. The author's attitude towards these men is dismissive when a parallel is drawn to women (*they demean themselves*) and condescending when the religious spirit behind this behavior is invoked (*I know not through what superstition...*). However, the author does not condemn them from a moral point of view.

6. 1702: Pierre Liette

The Memoir of Pierre Liette on the Illinois country," written in 1702 at the end of a four-year sojourn at Chicago, reports of the Miamis:

The sin of sodomy prevails more among them than in any other nation, although there are four women to one man. It is true that the women, although debauched, retain some moderation, which prevents the young men from satisfying their passions as much as they would like. There are men who are bred for this purpose from their childhood. When they are frequently picking up the spade, the spindle, the axe, but making no use of the bow and arrows, as all the other small boys do, they are girt with a piece of leather or cloth which envelops them from the belt to the knees, a thing all the women wear. Their hair is allowed to grow and is fastened behind the head. They also wear a little skin like a shoulder strap passing under the arm on one side and tied over the shoulder on the other. They are tattooed on their cheeks like the women and also on the breast and the arms, and they imitate their accent...They omit nothing that can make them like the women. There are men sufficiently embruted to have dealings with them on the same footing. The women and girls who prostitute themselves to these *wretches* are dissolute creatures.

Since this is a rather long account, it is best to analyze it in parts.

The sin of sodomy prevails more among them than in any other nation, although there are four women to one man.

This account can be regarded as having been written by an explorer. The opening proposition *The sin of sodomy prevails* sets the theme for the rest of the account. The combination of two very grave words: *sodomy*, and its definition as a *sin*, in one of the most prominent places in the account, are words from Judeo-Christian religious discourse, more specifically, from the discourse of Judeo-Christian law on morality, believed to have been inspired by divine order, if not divine wrath. (For more treatment on the words *sodomy* and *sodomite*, see chapter 6.1.3 Impact of sodomy in constructing the third-gender status.) In other words, the account begins as a declaration of judgment on the Miamis. The “sin of sodomy” clearly reveals that the text has been written from the Christian author’s point of view. The verb *prevail*, followed by *more than in any other nation*, creates the image of uttermost excess in matters of perverted sexuality. The word *sodomy* itself, a grave sin at the time of writing, could be applied to 'any sexual intercourse not intended for procreation' (Goldberg 1992), but the clause *although there are four women to one man* restricts the word to sex between males.

It is true that the women, although debauched, retain some moderation, which prevents the young men from satisfying their passions as much as they would like. There are men who are bred for this purpose from their childhood.

The next sentence begins with two concessions, namely *it is true*, and *although*. The first concession seems to explain the first sentence and its propositions: ‘although there are many more women than men, there is a lot of "sodomy" because women retain some moderation. The next concession is formed by *although* (the women are) *debauched*, (they *retain some moderation*). The use of *debauched* again points to the idea of excessiveness in sexual conduct amongst the Miamis. The accusation, followed by defence with concession, is best seen against Christian background: Here, the ideological attitude seems to dictate that women, above all, should retain moderation in sexual conduct. More implications based on Judeo-Christian ideology arise in the latter part of the text: 'men have sexual passions,' 'men satisfy their

passions,' 'through moderation, women prevent men from satisfying their sexual passions with them as much as the men would like.' According to this worldview, men have sexual passions, of which they are agents, for which women are needed as objects (*to be debauched*). The syntax and lexical choices reveal the author's attitude. The end of the sentence *as much as they would like* functions as a bridge to the propositions of the next sentence: 'some men *are bred* for the *purpose* of satisfying other men's sexual passions,' 'the breeding starts when the men are still children.' The word *breed* may seem derogative to a modern reader but it has also been used in the definition 'to bring up' (Webster's). According to Liette, the *raison d'être* of the cross-dressing men is to be other men's sex objects because the Miami men cannot have enough sex with (the somewhat moderate) Miami women, even though the women outnumber the men by four. In other words, the claim on the "sin of sodomy" declared to prevail among the Miami (men) has been explained here as the men's excessive and – sodomitical - sexual passions.

When they are frequently picking up the spade, the spindle, the axe, but making no use of the bow and arrows, as all the other small boys do, they are girt with a piece of leather or cloth which envelops them from the belt to the knees, a thing all the women wear. Their hair is allowed to grow and is fastened behind the head. They also wear a little skin like a shoulder strap passing under the arm on one side and tied over the shoulder on the other. They are tattooed on their cheeks like the women and also on the breast and the arms, and they imitate their accent...

The text continues with repetitive use of passive verb phrases which make the small boys an object of actions (*they are girt; their hair is allowed to grow, is fastened; they are tattooed*), but not always: *they are picking, making; they wear; they imitate, They omit* report on them as agents of their own actions. The use of the causal conjunction *when* marks a logical relationship between the boys' voluntary behavior and what is subsequently done to them to mark them visibly with women's attributes. The author does not comment on this, besides stating what seems to be his own observation. There is no explicit reference made to women's occupations, although certain implements are mentioned as arousing the boys' curiosity. No term for the men or boys is given. Nor does Liette conclude anything from the fact that

the boys, when still children, exhibit certain signs related to female work which are used in deciding which boys will be 'bred for young men's passions.'

They omit nothing that can make them like the women. There are men sufficiently embruted to have dealings with them on the same footing.

The above sentence has many expressions that are quite rare nowadays: *sufficiently embruted* means 'degraded or sunk to the level of a brute,' (i.e. 'like an animal'), *to have dealings with* translates here as 'acting towards, treatment of,' and *on the same footing* means 'on an equality' (i.e. 'being the same in rank'), the word *footing* meaning here 'the position or status (due or) assigned to a person' (*Oxford English Dictionary*). In other words, 'there are men who are enough like animals to act towards the men imitating women as if they were their equals.' The author's attitude towards transgender men is clearly negative even when sexuality is not explicitly mentioned.

The women and girls who prostitute themselves to these *wretches* are dissolute creatures.

This last sentence seems to go against the main macroproposition of the account: 'certain boys are bred from childhood for the purpose of satisfying men's sodomitical passions.' The account ends with a reference to (some) women and girls (*the women and girls who...*) having sexual relations with third-genders, instead of men. (The definite article at the beginning of the sentence restricts the reference to some females of the tribe.) Whether this is observed or assumed is not clear, although a mere assumption seems unlikely because this statement contradicts the propositions of the earlier part of the text. The third-genders are pejoratively called *wretches*, or 'deplorably unfortunate or unhappy persons, or persons of despicable and base character' (*Webster's*), while the women and girls who *prostitute themselves* to third-genders are called *dissolute creatures*. This last proposition is ambivalent, for the text does not entail whether becoming "dissolute creatures" is the cause or the effect of "prostitution." The verb *prostitute* does not necessarily

involve commercial exchange of sexual favors. Amongst the definitions given by *the Oxford English Dictionary* are the following: 'To offer (oneself, or another) to unlawful, especially indiscriminate, sexual intercourse, usually for hire; to devote or expose to lewdness.' Quotes for this definition are from the 16th - 19th century, which covers the time of writing. Hence, it seems plausible that the term *prostitute* is used here in the definition of 'indiscriminate or lewd sexual intercourse.' The choice of wording *prostitute themselves* may therefore reflect the author's outrage at this ultimate confusion and mixing of gender matters (from his point of view). The account ends with an ideological presupposition. These women and girls are and become *dissolute* ('indifferent to moral restraints') *creatures* because or if they 'prostitute themselves to these wretches.'

The account both begins and ends with an opinion statement consisting of a moral condemnation of the sexual behavior of the Miamis. One concession is made soon after the beginning to the women's morality. The excessiveness of sexual passion of the Miami (men) is said to surpass that of any other nation. The point of view is clearly Christian, as the opening phrase "sin of sodomy" reveals. What is important for the author to report on these people is exemplified by him giving prominence to the issue of immorality in sexual matters. In the middle of the account, there is a relatively long description of rather detailed information of how boys "to be bred for sexual purposes" are selected and then dressed and groomed like girls, and what they do themselves to be like women. The author makes no connection between the childhood signs based on women's occupational tools, and these men having other roles to play in the tribe besides being sexual objects or partners (of other men and some women). What is relevant for the author is passing negative value judgments on Miami sexuality. Irrelevant and therefore unimportant matters are left out: No term for the cross-dressing men and boys is given; no number or qualifying adjective of looks is given; no information on marriage; no connection to native religion. The reason for the existence of third-genders is purely sexual. Yet, this account contains the most explicit references to their childhood in all of the ten accounts under examination, and this description amounts to more than half

of the present text. Although the author begins his account with a general condemnation of the Miami men, he narrows it down to concern specifically those men, women and girls who have (sexual) dealings with third-genders.

7. Joseph François Latifau's *Customs of the American Savages, Compared with the Customs of Ancient Times* is based on his own experience as a Jesuit missionary in French Canada (1711-17), and on his readings in the literature on native peoples of both hemispheres, and comparative material on ancient Greek and Latin sources.

If there were women with manly courage who prided themselves upon the profession of warrior, which seems to become men alone, there were also men cowardly enough to live as women. Among the Illinois, among the Sioux, in Louisiana, in Florida, and in Yucatan, there are young men who adopt the garb of women, and keep it all their lives. They believe they are honored by debasing themselves to all of women's occupations; they never marry, they participate in all religious ceremonies, and this profession of an extraordinary life causes them to be regarded as people of a higher order, and above the common man. Would these not be the same people as the Asiatic adorers of Cybele, or the Orientals of whom Julius Firmicus speaks, who consecrated priests dressed as women to the Goddess of Phrygia or to Venus Urania, who had an effeminate appearance, painted their faces, and hid their true sex under garments borrowed from the sex whom they wished to counterfeit?

The view of these men dressed as women surprised the Europeans who first encountered them in America; as they did not at first guess the motives for this species of metamorphosis they were convinced that these were people in whom the two sexes were confounded. To be sure our old Relations called them no other than hermaphrodites. Although the religious spirit which made them embrace this state causes them to be regarded as extraordinary human beings, they have never-the-less really fallen, among the savages themselves, into the contempt into which the priests of Venus Urania and Cybele were held of old. Whether they effectively attracted this contempt upon themselves by subjecting themselves to shameful passions, or because the ignorance of Europeans as to the causes of their condition caused shameful suspicions to fall upon them, these suspicions so entered into their [the Europeans'] minds that they imagined the most disadvantageous things that could be imagined. This imagination so kindled the zeal of Vasco Núñez de Balboa, the Spanish captain who first discovered the South Sea, that he put a large number of them to death by setting wild dogs upon them, which those of this nation had used to destroy a large part of the Indians.

This long account is also best analyzed in parts.

If there were women with manly courage who prided themselves upon the profession of warrior, which seems to become men alone, there were also men cowardly enough to live as women.

The following propositions are embedded in the opening sentence: 'there were women with courage', 'the courage was manly', 'these women were proud of themselves', 'these women were professional', 'to be a warrior is to be professional', 'their profession was that of warriors', 'the profession of warrior is manly'. These simple propositions can be combined into a more complex proposition: 'these women had manly courage because they were warriors; thus, they could be proud of themselves'. The latter part of the opening statement can be broken down into the following simple propositions: 'there were also men', 'these men lived as women', 'these men were cowardly', 'to live as women is to be cowardly'; and the more complex proposition: 'living as a woman means cowardice' (the opposite of courage, which is defined as manly). By taking into consideration the adverb 'enough,' postmodifying the adjective 'cowardly,' another more complex proposition can be formulated: 'a man has to be somewhat cowardly to live as a woman, (although not necessarily as coward as a woman).'

Among the Illinois, among the Sioux, in Louisiana, in Florida, and in Yucatan, there are young men who adopt the garb of women, and keep it all their lives. They believe they are honored by debasing themselves to all of women's occupations;

The propositions entailed in the underlined sentence are the following: 'these men do all of women's occupations,' (a neutral term when compared to being a warrior, a manly occupation, called a 'profession,' which connotes expertise); 'these men debase themselves,' and the more complex proposition: 'these men believe they are honored by doing women's work.' This is an apparent contradiction of attitudes and leads to the question: honored by whom? Since these men lived amongst their tribe, the honor must have been expected to come from their own people. However, since the propositional attitude verb *believe* indicates that the claim on honor may or may not be true, it is not entirely clear at this point of the text whether the honor in question is merely imaginary. The attitude embedded in the phrase 'these men

debase themselves' also needs an agency. Since it is unlikely that the men doing women's work could even entertain the idea of honor if the natives considered it a way for men to debase themselves, one must conclude that it is the author who regards it as debasing.

they never marry, they participate in all religious ceremonies, and this profession of an extraordinary life causes them to be regarded as people of a higher order, and above the common man. ...

The following two propositions are embedded in the sentences above: 'they lead a profession of extraordinary life', (because they live as women; never marry; and participate in all the religious ceremonies); and 'they are regarded as people of a higher order, and above the common man.' This part of the account also provides the final answer to the question of honor: *this profession of extraordinary life causes them to be regarded as people of a higher order, and above the common man.* It is obviously the natives who regard them as "above the common man" and honor them for doing women's work. It is worth noting that the author calls the *leading an extraordinary life a profession*, in other words, a form of occupation with expertise. If this text is considered from the point of view of intertextuality, the wording and the semantics of the propositions are reminiscent of the writing by the Jesuit Father Marquette about forty years earlier (account number 5): *through their profession of leading an Extraordinary life, they pass for Manitous...persons of Consequence.* Latifau's vocabulary in this passage is remarkably neutral in tone (e.g. *religious ceremonies*). Not quite so neutral is the passage that portrays these men in the employments of women. Latifau's text seems again based on Marquette's discourse: While the latter writes: *they ... glory in demeaning themselves to do everything that the women do*, the former says *they believe they are honored by debasing themselves to all of women's occupations.* It is possible that Latifau was aware of Marquette's writing. The main difference between these two authors so far is that Latifau refers also to women in men's occupations.

The conclusion at this point is that the Indians themselves honored their third-genders, who led extraordinary lives dressed as women and doing women's work while participating in all the religious ceremonies. That is why they were considered people of a higher order. The negative evaluations explicit in the surface structure at the beginning of the text (*men cowardly enough to live as women; debasing themselves to all of women's occupations*) convey the author's negative attitude and prejudice towards women, and men who lived as them. It is also obvious that men's occupations, and even women working in men's occupations, are worth high regard in this Jesuit missionary's mind, for being employed in men's jobs shows manly courage. The men in women's occupations are said not to marry, which would set them apart from ordinary people, both men and women, as does the statement they are "above the common man."

Would these not be the same people as the Asiatic adorers of Cybele, or the Orientals of whom Julius Firmicus speaks, who consecrated priests dressed as women to the Goddess of Phrygia or to Venus Urania, who had an effeminate appearance, painted their faces, and hid their true sex under garments borrowed from the sex whom they wished to counterfeit?

What follows is a question on whether these Indian men were not the same people as the Asiatic or Oriental priests with feminine appearance of the ancient Goddess religions. In other words, the author makes a comparison to another time and place. The worship of the so-called Mother Goddess, known by such names as Venus Urania, Cybele and Astarte in different parts of western Asia and the area around eastern Mediterranean, was widespread, and also referred to in the Old Testament, where the worship was considered pagan and forbidden, as was that of any other god except Yahweh, the male God on the Mount Sinai, who later became the Christian God (Greenberg 1988:94-99). The reason for the author's question is the parallels he perceives between the American third-genders and the ancient Asiatic priests, who also cross-dressed and had an "effeminate" appearance. In addition, both groups were religiously inspired. The acknowledgement of the religious inspiration of the Native Americans is conveyed in a clause later in the text: *the religious spirit which made them embrace this state*.

The view of these men dressed as women surprised the Europeans who first encountered them in America; as they did not at first guess the motives for this species of metamorphosis they were convinced that these were people in whom the two sexes were confounded. To be sure our old Relations called them no other than hermaphrodites. Although the religious spirit which made them embrace this state causes them to be regarded as extraordinary human beings, they have never-the-less really fallen, among the savages themselves, into the contempt into which the priests of Venus Urania and Cybele were held of old.

The first two sentences explain the earlier European designation of these men as *hermaphrodites* as erroneous. “Our old Relations” obviously refers to the Europeans who first encountered them in America. The clause *as they did not at first guess the motives for this species of metamorphosis* refers to the reasons for a change of gender attributes. This motive (the reason) becomes clear in the last sentence of this part, where it is referred to as “the religious spirit which made them embrace this state.” Those earlier Europeans who thought third-genders were physiological hermaphrodites would not have thought there was any transformation - or *metamorphosis* - to begin with. The author clearly knows that the religious motivation causes the *metamorphosis*, and *causes them to be regarded as extraordinary human beings*. This is already the second time where the author plainly exhibits his understanding of why these “cross-dressers” were regarded so highly amongst the natives. The author gives some credit to the seriousness of their religious beliefs by using positive words from religious discourse: third-genders' conviction is called a *religious spirit*, which they *embrace*. The rest of the account is interpretable only on the basis of extratextual knowledge about the way the ancient Hebrews were to view all other religions except their own. Their social attitude was carried over to Christianity in the laws of the Old Testament (Deuteronomy 22-23, and Leviticus), which prohibit and warn about the worship of pagan gods and goddesses, so-called “sacred prostitution” of males and females (sexual service connected with the worship of Mother Goddess Astarte), and cross-dressing. The judgment on these non-Christian religious practices is embedded in the sub-clause starting with *although*, which is a typical way of beginning a concession; this one

concerns the religious motivation of third-genders. What follows is a condemnation of the native cross-dressers with the disclaimer *never-the-less*, conveying that whatever follows is contrary to what was expressed in the preceding sub-clause. The condemnation is clearly attributable to the author, a Jesuit missionary: *they have never-the-less really fallen*. (The underlined word evokes Judeo-Christian religious discourse.) And Latifau continues: *among the savages themselves*. Despite the fact that a *religious spirit* has made these men dress as women and do women's work, the author considers them so fallen as to be even lower than the rest of the Indians, who are now qualified as *savages*, a derogatory term connoting animal-likeness which is beyond civilized and religious human beings. The sentence continues: *fallen ... into the contempt into which the priests of Venus Urania and Cybele were held of old*. "Of old," meaning 'back in the old days,' refers here to the Hebrews, the original worshipers of Yahweh, who were not to tolerate the worship of any other divinity but their own, and to those early Christians who were aware of the above mentioned priests of Goddesses.

Whether they effectively attracted this contempt upon themselves by subjecting themselves to shameful passions, or because the ignorance of Europeans as to the causes of their condition caused shameful suspicions to fall upon them,

Since the vague reference *they...attracted this contempt* is juxtaposed with Europeans (that is, European observers), it must refer to the Indian cross-dressers, not to the Asiatic priests. The reference to *shameful passions* is a euphemistic reference to something the author does not want to write down ("the unspeakable vice"). It is the parallel drawn between the ancient priests of Mother Goddesses Venus Urania and Cybele, and the native religiously spirited cross-dressers that gives the final interpretation of *shameful passions*. These refer euphemistically to the sexual service of a deity. A religious spirit is behind the behavior of third-genders but, unlike Christian customs, this native religious custom has a sexual aspect to it. That is why they are compared to the Asiatic priests and their Goddess worship. (The Revised Standard version of the Bible from 1952 even refers to these Asiatic worshipers as *sodomites* in Deuteronomy.) There is a shift at this point of

the text: Earlier, it was explicitly stated that the motivation for the natives' cross-dressing was their religious spirit; now it is the "shameful passions" to which they "have subjected themselves," and this attracts them contempt. The expression *by subjecting themselves to shameful passions* conveys a very twisted act because it is both voluntary and involuntary: One makes oneself a subject to something, a subordinate, which is comparable to making oneself a slave, while still being the agent, the person responsible for the action. This kind of voluntary degrading of oneself, which extremely wicked and corrupted persons would do, is explainable only because it is caused by a "shameful passion" - which should be controlled.

The word *sodomy* had been used by Liette (account 6) in his memoirs on the Illinois, who were referred to in this account as well, amongst other Indian tribes. Since Latifau refers to earlier records, he was most likely aware of the references to sodomy amongst the natives. During the 1700s, the word *sodomy* could mean any kind of sexual intercourse during which procreation was not possible. So, a reference to sodomy did not necessarily involve male homosexuality or third-genders. Nevertheless, gender-crossing itself, compounded with the association to beliefs concerning ancient cross-dressing (or eunuch) priests in Asia Minor, would cause Christians to suspect that the reason for adopting the third-gender status was a "corrupted form of sexuality." This suspicion is evident in the wording of the account: *the ignorance of Europeans as to the causes of their condition caused shameful suspicions to fall upon them*. Despite what the Indians are reported to believe, the European, a product of his Judeo-Christian heritage, thinks that passion for sodomy is the motive, i.e. the cause of his *condition*.

The word "contempt" will become a reoccurring word in the accounts to come. In these ten accounts, it appears for the first time. Judging from the analysis of the first part of the text, and the proposition: 'the ignorance of Europeans caused shameful suspicions to fall upon them,' it is clear that in this text, Europeans hold cross-dressing men with shameful passions in contempt – as any good Christian should. The phrase *as to the causes of their condition* refers to the earlier mentioned

“religious spirit” that the cross-dressers “embraced,” and about which some earlier Europeans did not know. The reference to the Europeans continues:

these suspicions so entered into their [the Europeans'] minds that they imagined the most disadvantageous things that could be imagined. This imagination so kindled the zeal of Vasco Núñez de Balboa, the Spanish captain who first discovered the South Sea, that he put a large number of them to death by setting wild dogs upon them, which those of this nation had used to destroy a large part of the Indians.

(For an illustration of this scene, see Appendix H: Balboa executing Indians, de Bry engraving, 1594.) The shift to another time and place becomes complete at this point. The reference to “Europeans” does not involve North American context anymore but the South Sea. The *zeal* of Vasco Núñez de Balboa, which was *kindled by this imagination* (of imagining *the most disadvantageous things that could be imagined*, i.e., “the unspeakable vice”), is a euphemistic way of describing the rage of this conquistador in front of the cross-dressed temple priests he claimed to be sodomites. (The killing of these cross-dressing effeminate priests in the Panamanian village of Quarequa, and the killing of the leader and a large number of other Indians before them, by setting wild dogs brought by the conquistadors upon them, is retold and analyzed in detail by Goldberg, 1992:176-84.) According to Goldberg (1992:194), Latifau condemns Balboa’s act of killing in his writings, but it is not clear in this passage. Rather, Latifau mitigates Balboa’s brutal fanaticism when killing the temple priests by feeding them to dogs when he characterizes it as *zeal*, which evokes political and religious discourse (such as the collocation *religious zeal*). Balboa is also presented with a respectable title as the Spanish captain who first discovered the South Sea.

Structurally this text is much more complex than the previous ones. It starts with a reference to women, and then to men, both groups in cross-gender occupations, expressed with attitudinal evaluations. There is a clear difference between the author's attitude towards warrior women (admiring), and that towards men living as women (judgmental). A rather long and varied description of these men follows, ending in a comparison of them to other native men, above whom they are said to

be. Since Latifau mentions many tribes outside French Canada, where he did missionary work, it is obvious that some of this description is based on his readings. Some of the discourse he uses is highly similar to that of Marquette, another Jesuit author, who had travelled in North America during the previous century. The description of third-gender males is followed by another comparison of these men, this time to “effeminate” priests in Asia Minor. The second comparison shifts the topic to another time and place in history, and is obviously based on the author’s readings. The second paragraph begins with a shift back to the Native American context but preceding the time of the writing: The early European term *hermaphrodite* is brought up with the implication of it having been incorrect. This is followed by a concession to the religious motivation of these “men living as women,” who are, never-the-less, condemned “into the contempt” of the Asiatic priests mentioned earlier. This explicit condemnation is followed by two explanations for it, expressed with euphemistic words: either the “shameful passions” of the men in question, or “shameful suspicions” of these passions (by Europeans). The account ends with another shift in time and place (to South America) with a recount of the killing of similar Indian men by the discoverer of the South Sea. How to interpret this last shift, which has been given the end emphasis, is very subjective. At least it exemplifies the European outrage when confronting these people.

8. 1721: Jesuit explorer and historian Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix, writes in a letter about the tribes of the Seven Nations, especially the Iroquois, the Illinois, and others of the Louisiana area.

A note by Katz (1992:612) on this text tells that the text has been slightly altered from its previous publication in English in 1761: “lewdness” has been substituted for “lubricity,” which has become old-fashioned, and the French word “Effeminés” has been added from the original text.

It must be confessed that effeminacy and lewdness were carried to the greatest excess in those parts; men were seen to wear the dress of women without a blush, and to debase themselves so as to perform those occupations which are most

peculiar to the sex, from whence followed a corruption of morals past all expression; it was pretended that this custom came from I know not what principle of religion; but this religion had like many others taken its birth in the depravation of the heart, or if the custom I speak of had its beginning in the spirit, it has ended in the flesh; these *effeminate persons* [*Efféminés*] never marry, and abandon themselves to the most infamous passions, for which cause they are held in the most sovereign contempt.

This account is highly similar in form and content to the three preceding ones on the Illinois by Marquette, Liette and Latifau. Marquette and Latifau were Jesuits, as is Charlevoix. All of these four accounts have been written during the late 17th and early 18th century by French speakers. The structural arrangement of the content and the usage of certain phrases and words point to familiarity with the preceding texts. That is why the method of intertextual analysis seems called for, i.e., examining this account as a piece of writing composed of both new creations and borrowings from older accounts, and mixing them together with some transformations and additions. On the level of genres and fields of discourse, this portrayal of *effeminate persons* mixes description of the natives with moral condemnation, which is expressed with vocabulary from Christian discourse, some of which echoes the previous texts, as do many of the syntactic arrangements. The level of Charlevoix's description is very superficial without offering any details, which supports the assumption that the text is largely based on other people's observations and interpretations.

The beginning of Charlevoix's text resembles Liette's text, whereas the rest of the text brings Latifau's account to mind. The publication date of Latifau's account was 1724 but his stay with the natives was in 1711-17. Charlevoix was amongst the tribes of Seven Nations in 1721, but his writing was evidently not published before 1761 - in English. They may have met, or Latifau's discourse on religiously inspired cross-dressing Indian men may have reached Charlevoix through letters or other people. The account begins as a confession (*It must be confessed*), as if duty makes him approach the unpleasant subject mentioned next: *effeminacy and lewdness*. Both of these concepts are familiar from earlier texts, and they are presented together like a collocation, reminiscent of the way Liette started his text (*the sin of*

sodomy). All of these three issues are moral issues from a Christian point of view. The main difference is that Charlevoix uses the word *effeminacy*, whereas in Liette's text the issue of effeminacy comes up later in the text. Effeminacy was already associated with male-male sexual relationships (or lewdness) in western European cultures. The same association probably exists in these journal accounts, although the references to sexuality are usually so euphemistic that one cannot totally exclude other forms of sexuality considered "lewd" by the Catholics (and Christians in general) at the time. In this account, effeminacy is linked with excessiveness in sexuality (*effeminacy and lewdness were carried to the greatest excess*), which was also found in account number 6. The author is also outraged because men were wearing women's dress without any shame: *without a blush*, although they did it in public, as the phrase *men were seen* entails. The wording *to debase themselves* is exactly the same and in the same context (men doing women's work) as in the previous account – and almost the same as in account number 5, where men *demean themselves* when doing women's work. *A corruption of morals* is a new expression but an old idea, *past all expression* is again pointing to the excess – and corruption – of sexual relations. What is new is that the corruption of morals is said to follow from these men doing men's work. Here, Charlevoix, takes his condemnation onto a new level. The accounts before his did not claim that the cross-dressing men in women's occupations "cause" the corruption of morals. The text continues: *it was pretended* (that is, not even believed in, as Latifau stated earlier) *that this custom came from I know not what principle of religion*. Here, the wording is exactly the same and in the same context as the beginning line in the account number 5 by Marquette: *I know not through what superstition*; only now *superstition* is replaced by the neutral wording *principle of religion*. Nevertheless, modifying *principle of religion* by *I know not what* belittles this native principle of religion and implies that it is absolutely beyond comprehension. The use of *but* cues for a disclaimer for the preceding noun phrase, which, although belittled by "what" is still called a "principle of religion:" *but this religion had like many others taken its birth in the depravation of the heart*. "This religion" being "like many others" may make a reference to the ancient (Goddess and other) religions prohibited in the

Old Testament, brought up in the previous text by Latifau as a comparison, or, it may refer to the religions of other Indian groups. According to the author, such religion can only be found in a "deprived heart." The word *depravation* occurs often in both Christian religious discourse and in texts on American Indians. In this context, the phrase *depravation of the heart* is an effective way of disparaging the native religion, as is the reference to *flesh*, which no doubt refers to sexuality: *If the custom I speak of had its beginning in the spirit, it has ended in the flesh*. This sentence contains a powerful opposition of ideological issues. In the mainstream Judeo-Christian tradition of religious matters, there is a bipolar dichotomy in the matters of body and spirit: What is spiritual cannot be "carnal" (or sexual). Evidently, Native Americans did not have this dichotomy. The sentence is also a novel way of formulating contempt towards this religious custom of the natives. It is probably the most blatant condemnation of the native custom so far. *These effeminate persons [Efféminés]*, an expression established already in the oldest account (number 1), are said to never marry. This piece of information is obviously coming from somebody else but Charlevoix, because it is phrased "are said." Since the information was also stated in two previous accounts on the Illinois, i.e. by Latifau, and Marquette, it may originate from them (both state: "they never marry"). The expression *abandon themselves to the most infamous passions* strikes again as familiar due to its reflexive structure and the semantic content: *subject themselves to shameful passions* was used in the previous account by Latifau. The difference in lexical choice is only slight, but enough so as not to appear as a mere copy of Latifau's text; instead Charlevoix's discourse seems to be based on the memorized model of the previous Jesuit's text. He only elaborates and aggravates it: Latifau's reflexive verb phrase "subject themselves" becomes "abandon themselves," entailing even a greater loss of control or deliberate sinfulness; and the adjective "shameful" becomes the superlative "the most infamous." Like Latifau, Charlevoix avoids explicit words when referring to sexual behavior. The sentence continues: *for which cause they are held in most sovereign contempt.*' This last part is again clearly influenced by the discussion on third-genders by Latifau, and his comparison to the ancient priests in Asia Minor. Latifau says in account number 7: *they* [the

cross-dressing men] *have fallen...into the contempt into which the priests of Venus Urania and Cybele were held of old*. Charlevoix again aggravates the image by adding *the most sovereign* in front of *contempt* while borrowing the rest. Except, this time, when leaving out the comparison to the Asiatic effeminate priests and how the ancient Yahweh worshipers/early Christians held them in contempt, the agency concerning the alleged contempt becomes vague. Without explicitly stating who feels the contempt, the reader of this text is likely to attribute it to the Indians themselves. Hence, the agency of “contempt” becomes turned around. The earlier content in the text (the custom of cross-dressing came from a principle of religion, men cross-dress “without a blush,” “a corruption of morals past all expression” followed from this custom) does not indicate in any way that the Indians would despise these cross-dressing men, yet the account on them ends with the claim that *the effeminate persons* are held in contempt, because “they abandon themselves to the most infamous passions.” Instead of the Indians, the contempt is bound to originate from the Jesuit author, who explicitly states his judgment on this religious practice (“this religion had like so many others taken its birth in the depravation of the heart”).

Considering the fact that Charlevoix was also a historian, in addition to being a Jesuit explorer, it is more than likely that he was already aware of the previously analyzed accounts on the Illinois. Evidently, he was also aware of other previous texts on American Indian tribes. Therefore, the discursal elements that make up his text appear as composite elements from earlier texts, rather than borrowings from any one text. There may even be something in Charlevoix’s account that is based on his own observation. As a whole, his text is so far a clear product of the mental model built on the Native American third-gender: First of all, this text joins the concepts of effeminacy and lewdness together more prominently and explicitly than before. Secondly, this account is so far the only one to blame the *effeminate persons* for corrupting the morality of the other natives. The heavy emphasis on this extreme corruption of morals that allegedly follows from the fact that men can cross-dress and do women’s work in public without shame stems from the ideological

elaborations that Charlevoix, and possibly other Jesuits/Catholics had done when discussing the topic. By adding extreme disgust, while simplifying or obscuring the aspects of the institution and the attitude towards it by the natives themselves, Charlevoix creates a confusing representation of the men in question. However, it probably does not appear confusing nor contradictory to a likely-minded reader who shares the ideology of the author.

9. 1751-62: Jean Bernard Bossu

Bossu, a French traveller, writes on the Choctaws.

The people of this nation are generally of a brutal and coarse nature. You can talk to them as much as you want about the mysteries of our religion; they always reply that all of that is beyond their comprehension. They are morally quite perverted, and most of them are addicted to sodomy. These corrupt men, who have long hair and wear short skirts like women, are held in great contempt.

This is another confusing account because of its reference, or the apparent shift in it. The text begins with a general reference to all the Choctaws (*the people of this nation*) who, according to the author, are *generally of a brutal and coarse nature*. In other words, the beginning constitutes a claim, which is a negative evaluation on the Choctaws, while the continuation of the text offers an explanation for the claim: The Choctaws do not understand Christianity: *they always reply that all of that ("the mysteries of our religion") is beyond their comprehension.* (This is the second account that uses a negative qualifying adjective derived from a comparison to animals: *brute*, which is comparable to *embruted* in account number 6). The statement on the Choctaws not understanding Christianity implies that Bossu, who is not a missionary *per se*, has attempted some forms of proselytizing. The choice of wording (*understand*) entails that he has been listened to, if not understood. The rest of the account employs new vocabulary – although old concepts - for expressing condemnation of what appears to be third-genders. Compared to the previous ones, certain changes in their portrayal have taken place. *They are morally quite perverted* seems to refer to all the Choctaws Bossu has come in contact with. (Besides the previous account, the words *morally* and *corrupt* had not appeared previously.) Bossu does not only employ both of them in his text but adds two strong words:

perverted and *addicted*; both expressing 'a sickness-like corruption of nature' reminiscent of the reflexive expression "subjecting themselves to shameful passions" of account number 7, and "abandoning themselves to the most infamous passions" of account number 8. The word *corrupt* appears in its explicit form as a modifier for *these ... men, who have long hair and wear short skirts like women*. In the previous account, its usage was more general: "a corruption of morals past all expression." The demonstrative pronoun *these (corrupt men)* is somewhat ambivalent, for it could continue the pattern of *they*, and refer to all *the people of this nation*. Since it is to be doubted that all Choctaw men wore skirts like women, the reference has to be limited to the expression of quantity: *most of them*, those said to be *addicted to sodomy*. Yet, a sense of vagueness, if not distortion, remains: The earlier accounts do not give the impression of cross-dressing men being so common as to be the "most" of the people of any nation. The rest of the account appears equally hastily drawn together with the last line echoing earlier formulations about the alleged contempt: Charlevoix used "they are held in the most sovereign contempt; Bossu uses the same passive structure but replaces the word *sovereign* with *great*. Judging from the surface structure, the account preceding this one seemingly attributed the agency of contempt to the Indians, which, however, went against what had been stated earlier in the same text, and in the earlier accounts. Many of these earlier texts were also more plausible because they gave more details on these kinds of men and their place in their culture. One can only conclude that the claim *these corrupt men (who dress like women) are held in great contempt* is not attributable to the native feelings, despite its superficial appearance, but is simply a statement added at the end of the text by this French author. Bossu was probably aware of earlier sightings of them by white observers and shares their sentiments about these men. His knowledge of prior encounters is possible timewise. There is nothing in this account that would indicate that the author actually observed the men in women's skirts. He may have not even seen them. The statement on them seems strangely out of place, like an afterthought (an elaboration) to support the other negative evaluations on the natives in the text. When judged against previous information on these kinds of men, Bossu's claim on

most of the natives being such persons is simply not believable. Invoking “corrupt,” cross-dressing men in his text – and the claim on contempt – seems to be brought on by the preceding word *sodomy*. Bossu’s account is heavily influenced by Christian religious discourse; the religion which the natives had rejected. (The use of “our” religion reveals that the text has been written while keeping the possible reader – a fellow Christian - in mind.)

This account lacks any substantial information about the people in question; the whole passage of text consists of only negative evaluations of THEM: It starts on a general level (*the people of this nation*) and ends with something more specific (*these corrupt men, who have long hair and short skirts like women*). The only details here are the long hair and short feminine skirts. The author does not even mention them doing women’s work, which has so far been the most consistent feature in these accounts. The general negative evaluation (*people ... of a brutal and coarse nature*) escalates while becoming specific (*sodomy* and the violation of gender barrier), as if the rest of the text had no other function but to support the earlier-mentioned, more general statement. The anaphoric reference of the *corrupt men* is blurred while their numbers (*most*) have escalated in comparison to what had been stated by earlier observers. Evidently, the author only mentions these men as a justification to condemn all the Choctaws, who are not willing to comprehend his (and the addressees') religion.

10. 1775-76: Jesuit Father Pedro Font

The diary of Father Font, written during his second journey to California, with the expedition of Juan Bautista de Anza, 1775-76, says of the California natives:

Among the women I saw some men dressed like women, with whom they go about regularly, never joining the men. The commander called them *amaricados*, perhaps because the Yumas call effeminate men *maricas*. I asked who these men were, and they replied that they were not men like the rest, and for this reason they went around covered this way. From this I inferred they must be hermaphrodites, but from what I learned later I understood that they were sodomites, dedicated to nefarious practices. From all the foregoing I conclude that in this matter of

incontinence there will be much to do when the Holy Faith and the Christian religion are established among them.

This account is very dense in the sense that it has several episodes with different agencies and time frame embedded in the main episode, which is the time of writing the diary. The author, Pedro Font, is a Spanish Jesuit Father. Two new terms have retained their original Spanish forms. The account has several temporal layers: from the beginning of the narrative to the word *hermaphrodites* (the past anterior to the past of the main episode); from *but* to *nefarious practices* (the past of the main episode); *from all the foregoing I conclude* (the present of the main episode); to casting predictions into the future (*when ... the Christian faith are established among them*); and finally, the posterior to the future (*there will be much to do*). Since there are several points to make about the structure of this account, and since the discursive indicators relevant to these points are dispersed throughout this short but multi-layered text, italics have been added to the original plain text to illuminate the expressions indicating modality (namely probability and prediction), and to the crucial elements related to the reasoning, viz. *but* and *later*, in addition to the words used as terminology.

The author seems to have observed the men in question: *I saw*. This is followed by a description based on the visible aspects of the men (*men dressed like women*) and the company of women they keep regularly. The comment on the regular company of women, while excluding that of men, has not been stated in the previous accounts (by Jesuits), which adds to its authenticity. The word *never* (in the phrase: *joining the men*) may not need to be taken in its absolute sense, but rather as a reference to sex-related occupations. The quantifying description (*some*) is also plausible. So, the beginning of the text seems authentic and based on the author's own observations, rather than being a mere reflection of the information read or otherwise acquired elsewhere. It is most likely that he had no prior knowledge of these particular people because the beginning of the text is entirely neutral, contrary to the previous texts by Jesuits. The commander of the expedition obviously had some prior knowledge of these men, since he had a term for them: *amaricados*,

which is a Spanish term for *effeminate men*, or rather “feminized men,” if one takes into account the past participle-ending of the word (*-ado*), with the plural *-s* added to it. Some hesitation is expressed in regard to the origin of the term (*perhaps because*). To whom the hesitation is to be attributed is not clear; the California based Yumas are said to call *effeminate men* *maricas* (which is evidently derived from *amaricado*, meaning ‘queer’ or ‘sissy’ in contemporary Spanish). There are two translations here. First of all, the lexeme “effeminate men” is already an old compound in the white observers' vocabulary, and thus does not need to be a direct translation of the native Yuman term. There may have been a Yuman term, since the status existed amongst them, although neither the status nor a term for it is mentioned here. The word *effeminate men* probably reflects the concept that the Europeans had of these people. The term *marica* is attributed to the Yumas, but it is obviously a Spanish loan word and does not say anything definite about the Yuman way of conceptualizing these men.

The author remains perplexed: *I asked who these men were*. To whom he addresses this question, and who answers: *they were not men like the rest* is unclear, for it is not specified to whom *they* refers. It may be the Yumas, or other Californian natives, or a group of white people. Of the possible parties giving the answer, only the Yumas are referred to in plural. Yet, Europeans are presumably present in the scene as the subordinates of *the commander*. The person(s) reasoning on these men's feminine dress (*for this reason they went around covered this way*) remains equally uncertain. It may be attributable to the Europeans or to the natives, or it may be the author's own interpretation. In any case, the author is explicit about the agency of the inference in regard to “hermaphrodites,” and his choice of modality supports it: *From this I inferred they must be hermaphrodites*. It is worth noting that the text so far conveys no negative attitude towards the people in question. In addition, the image of hermaphrodites in general is benign in comparison to what follows. The use of *but* entails a contrasting evaluation and conveys the author's change of attitude, followed by the temporal adverb *later*: *but from what I learned later I understood that they were sodomites, dedicated to nefarious practices*. The

contrast between *I inferred* and *I learned* is also telling: The former proposition indicates an interpretation based on a limited information (obtained by somebody's answers to his question), whereas the latter one implies a conviction on the part of the author as to having arrived to the truth of the matter. The use of the factive expressions *I learned*, followed by *I understood that*, presupposes the truth of the dependent clause (*they were sodomites*). *I understood* denotes the last stage of the author's mental processing when constructing the image of these cross-dressing men. Now, he believes he has arrived at the final comprehension with all its implications spelled out in the last sentence of the account.

The sources of information and the question of agency is an important consideration in the analysis of this account. The phrase *I saw* entails that the following description is based on what is in front of him. The reported calling of these men by various terms by various people, and the reply to the author's question make the claims stated in the text, as well as the terms used, second-hand information. The expression *From this I inferred* entails the author's mental processing on the reply given to his question. But what is the source of the author's "learning": *from what I learned later I understood....?* The propositions embedded in the following text are: 'they were sodomites,' and 'they are dedicated to nefarious practices.' Since *dedicated to nefarious practices* is in apposition to *sodomites*, the connection between sodomites and nefarious practices is made. Hence, one more proposition can be formulated: 'sodomites are dedicated to nefarious practices'. This proposition leads again to Judeo-Christian ideology, and thus, to the prevailing European ideology of the time. There is one more source of agency to the statements in the text, and it is explicit enough: *From all the foregoing I conclude*. The author may be the agency of his concluding remarks, but he is still only making explicit what was dictated to him by his religious ideology, i.e. he is acting as a social subject of his institutional discourse. And to strengthen his conclusion, he evokes the European religious discourse in the most explicit form, the collocation *the Holy Faith and the Christian religion*, which is followed by a shift to the future tense: *there will be much to do when the Holy Faith and the Christian religion are established among*

them. Once these cross-dressing men have become labeled as “sodomites,” the idea of excessive sexual conduct is associated with them with the lexical choice of *incontinence*, i.e., 'lack in moderation or control, especially of the sexual appetite.' In this last account, there is a definite shift in genre from the neutral descriptive beginning in the past tense to a religious conviction and prediction into the future. The author concludes his text by explicitly condemning these people. At the same time his judgment is a message: These Indians have to change their way of life, or rather, they have to be made to change it; the practice of gender and sexual deviation has to be wiped out. The text contains no references to the natives' religious beliefs, unless one takes the word *dedicated* (*to nefarious practices*) to indicate some religious motivation for these *effeminate men's* “wicked” practices.

The structure and the vocabulary used in this account reveal how the concept of *amaricado* slowly develops in the mind of the author. The text begins with a description of these men written in neutral vocabulary but ends with a prediction into the future using words from Christian discourse, stating that “our religion”, the Christian faith will, not just may, wipe out this kind of “nefarious practice.” The tone of voice changes with the determination of the “correct” term (after several others): *sodomite*. In these accounts, this word is used for the first time as a term for these men, even though the concept of sodomy had been attached to third-genders and to the native tribes that had them before. However, Font's text does not seem to be based on those texts, for it lacks typical lexical and syntactic expressions frequent in the previous accounts by Jesuits (especially numbers 5 – 8), in addition to the author's reasoning evolving through the text. The fact that the term *sodomite* is followed by a descriptive phrase in apposition expressing wickedness, corruptness, and excess or lack of control in sexual appetite is not surprising if one thinks of the definition and connotations of this term. These characterizations had been associated with the definition of sodomy and sodomite since the Middle Ages (Greenberg 1988:268-95).

6 CONSTITUENTS AND A MENTAL MODEL OF THE THIRD-GENDER ACCOUNTS

6.1 Constituents of the third-gender accounts

The ten third-gender accounts analyzed above consist of several topics, which are consistently mentioned, and hence define, describe and delimit the Native American third-gender status. Since it is the author who chooses to include or exclude particular aspects of the status in his text, the list of the most frequent constituents of the third-gender does not only expose the central aspects of the historical status, it also reveals what is important for the white authors to say about these people and their tribes. Thirteen features reoccur frequently enough to form the constituents of the third-gender accounts. Since many of these share the same place of frequency, the last constituent is number eight. The list below contains the constituents in order of frequency and the number of accounts where they appear. The percentage in parenthesis after the topic indicates the number of accounts that mention the constituent. *Italicized direct quotes* from the accounts have been included for quick comparisons, whereas regular font summarizes the information given in the texts.

6.1.1 List of the constituents and the accounts where they appear

1. female dress (80%)

Accounts # 1 (*go about dressed as women*), 2 (*men in womens apparell*), 5 (*assume the garb of women*), 6 (*they are girt with ... a thing all the women wear, they also wear a little skin like a shoulder strap*), 7 (*there are young men who adopt the garb of women, and keep it all their lives*), 8 (*men were seen to wear the dress of women without a blush*), 9 (*These corrupt men, who ... wear short skirts like women*) and 10 (*some men dressed like women, ... they were not men like the rest, and for this reason they went around covered this way*).

2.A (shared place) female occupation or unusual occupation (70%)

2A.I) unspecified female tasks only (50% of all accounts)

Accounts # 1 (*do women's tasks*), 5 (*glory in demeaning themselves to do everything that the women do*), 6 (mentions women's tool; *(they) omit nothing that can make them like the women*), 7 (*They believe they are honored by debasing themselves to all of women's occupations*) and 8 (*men ... debase themselves so as to perform those occupations which are most peculiar to the [female] sex*).

2A.II) unusual tasks only (40% of all)

Accounts # 3 (carry victims of war), 4 (carry provisions at war, bury the dead, take care of the ill, heal people with contagious diseases), 5 (go to war using only clubs, *They are present at all the juggleries, and at the solemn dances... sing but must not dance, nothing can be decided without their advice at the Councils, profession of leading an Extraordinary life*) and 7 (*participate in all religious ceremonies, profession of an extraordinary life*).

2A.III). both female and unusual tasks (20% of all)

Accounts # 5 and 7.

2.B (shared place) third-gender sexuality or marriage (70%)**2B.I) reference to native sexuality (60% of all)**

Accounts # 1 (marriage between two males), 6 (*sin of sodomy prevails ... the women, although debauched, retain some moderation, which prevents the young men from satisfying their passions as much as they would like. There are men who are bred for this purpose from their childhood. ... There are men sufficiently embruted to have dealings with them on the same footing. The women and girls who prostitute themselves to these wretches are dissolute creatures*), 7 (*subjecting themselves to shameful passions*), 8 (*effeminacy and lewdness ... if the custom ... had its beginning in the spirit, it has ended in the flesh... they abandon themselves to the most infamous passions*), 9 (*most of them are addicted to sodomy*) and 10 (*sodomites, dedicated to nefarious practices... incontinence*).

2B.II) marriage as an option (40% of all)

Accounts # 1 (marry men), 5 (never marry), 7 (never marry) and 8 (never marry).

2.C (shared place) author's attitude towards the status (70%)

Accounts # 1 (negative attitude towards marriage between men: *a devilish thing*), 5 (*glory in demeaning themselves*), 6 (*sin of sodomy... men sufficiently embruted to have dealings with them... women and girls who prostitute themselves to these wretches are dissolute creatures*), 7 (*men cowardly enough to live as women... they believe they are honored by debasing themselves to all of women's occupations...they have really fallen, among the savages themselves, into the contempt into which the priests of Venus Urania and Cybele were held of old...they effectively attracted this contempt upon themselves*), 8 (*it must be confessed that effeminacy and lewdness were carried to the greatest excess ... men were seen to wear the dress of women without a blush and to debase themselves so as to perform those occupations which are most peculiar to the sex, from whence followed a corruption of morals past all expression; it was pretended that this custom came from I know not what principle of religion; but this religion had like many other taken its birth in the depravation of the heart. they abandon themselves to the most infamous passions, for which cause they are held in the most sovereign contempt*), 9 (*most of them are addicted to sodomy. These corrupt men, who have long hair and wear short skirts like women, are held in great contempt*) and 10 (*sodomites, dedicated to nefarious practices... in this matter of incontinence there will be much to do when the Holy Faith and the Christian religion are established among them*).

3. numbers of third-genders (60%)

Accounts # 2 (*three or four*), 3 (*many*), 4 (*common*), 5 (*some*), 9 (*most*) and 10 (*some*).

4.A (shared place) term(s) or classificatory nouns for the status (50%)

Accounts # 1 (*impotent, effeminate men, amarionado*), 3 (*hermaphrodite*), 4 (*hermaphrodite*), 8 (*effeminate persons*) and 10 (*amaricado, effeminate men, marica, hermaphrodite; sodomite* [concluded as correct]).

In addition, #7 (comments on the term *hermaphrodite* being erroneous but doesn't give a new term)

4.B (shared place) reason for the status (50%)

Accounts # 5 (religion), 6 (boys raised for sexual exploitation), 7 (religion), 8 (religion) and 10 (sexuality, and a vague reference to religion).

(For direct quotes, see place 5.)

4.C (shared place) reference to morality or Christian religion (50%)

8.I) reference to morality only (30%)

Accounts # 1 (*devilish thing*), 7 (*shameful passions*) and 8 (*infamous passions; effeminacy and lewdness*).

8.II) reference to Christian religion and morality (20%)

Accounts # 9 (*the mysteries of our religion; morally quite perverted*) and 10 (*sodomites, dedicated to nefarious practices; the Holy Faith and the Christian religion*).

5. native religion in connection with the status (40%)

Accounts # 5 (*there is some mystery in this, superstition... pass for Manitous...for Spirits*), 7 (*they participate in all religious ceremonies ... religious spirit causes them to be regarded as extraordinary human beings*), 8 (*it was pretended that this custom came from I know not what principle of religion... the custom I speak of had its beginning in the spirit*) and 10 (*not men like the rest... sodomites, dedicated to nefarious practices*).

6. explicit claims for the native attitude towards the status (30%)

Accounts # 4 (*hermaphrodites ... are considered odious by the Indians ... who... employ them because they are strong*), 5 (*pass for Manitous (or) for spirits, or persons of Consequence*) and 7 (*they are regarded as people of a higher order, and above the common man, the religious spirit which made them embrace this state causes them to be regarded as extraordinary human beings*).

In addition, two accounts entail a native attitude towards the status: # 6 (*there are men ... to have dealings with them [those men who are like women] on the same footing*) and # 8 (*men were seen to wear a dress of women without a blush*).

7.A (shared place) physical features (20%)

Accounts # 1 (*huskier and taller than other men*), 4 (*strong, heads ...are remarkably hard*).

7.B (shared place) comparison to other world religions (20%)

Accounts # 7 (comparison to Asiatic adorers of Cybele, and the Orientales, who consecrated priests with effeminate appearance, dressed as women to the Goddess of Phrygia or the Venus Urania) and 8 (*but this religion had like many other taken its birth in the depravation of the heart*).

8. (shared place) **upbringing in childhood (10%)**

Account # 6 (raise boys for sexual exploitation of young men; dressing and tattooing small boys like girls when the boys choose tools of female occupation, their hair is allowed to grow).

6.1.2 Commentary on the constituents

The commentary on the constituents will mostly follow the order of frequency except for those issues that are closely related together and therefore best treated in groups. Of all the thirteen most typical features constituting the accounts, **dressing in women's clothes** is the most common, featured in eight out of ten texts. Occasionally other feminine symbols are also mentioned, such as hair-do, or the men are said to do everything to appear as women. This is not surprising. As a visible feature, cross-dressing, even if not complete, has functioned as the key issue to set these men apart from ordinary men throughout the documentation by Europeans. The second most prevalent trait, though a shared place, is **occupation**. In seven out of ten accounts, the men in question are defined by what they do: The texts are almost equally divided between reporting involvement with unspecified women's occupations, and unusual ones. The unusual occupations center around taking care of the sick, wounded or dead people, and passing for spirits and "being extraordinary". The last "task" is mentioned in two texts, but it is possible that the author of account number 7, who refers to various historical sources, only repeats the phrasing on the "profession of an extraordinary life" of account number 5. Since some observances seem to have been one-time events, their authors must have only seen one side of the status. Limited observation may explain the low number of texts (only two) reporting a combination of female and unusual occupations. Warring with limitations on weapons, i.e. an occupation not entirely male but unusual, comes up once. Since a person's work role is related to the company the person mostly keeps, women's work indicates their company, which was occasionally explicitly mentioned, as well as that of other third-genders. Unusual work roles meant primarily the company of other third-genders, as in taking care of the ill or wounded, and burying people.

A reference to native sexual behavior, or marriage as an option share the second place in frequency (70%). Three out of these seven texts also refer to the sexuality of the natives in general. Since sexuality is not nearly as instantly visible as way of dress or work role, being aware of people's sexual habits would require longer and more intimate observation of people than a mere brief encounter would allow. Hence, it is not surprising that the briefest accounts do not bring up sexual behavior. This means that those authors who had the chance to say something about it considered it important to do so. Usually, the references to sexuality are veiled or euphemistic, yet, clear enough to convey the outrage of the authors who regard the behavior as most shameful. Part of the observers' shock stems from the open acceptance, if not encouragement of "corrupted" forms of sexuality (e.g. the "breeding" of young boys of account number 6). Three of these texts (# 6, 9 & 10) use the word *sodomy* or *sodomite*, while two accounts (# 7 & 8) imply something comparable with *shameful* or *infamous passions*. One should remember that at the time of writing, sodomy could mean a number of things outside procreative sex in marriage. One text alone (account 1) unequivocally refers to male-male relationship only, when mentioning a man married to another. Another account (# 6) clearly refers to male-male sex at the beginning of the text, but the text ends with a reference to female-third-gender sex. All the other accounts are vague in terms of actual sex acts or genders involved. The syntactic and lexical choices are similar and judgmental: *subjecting themselves to shameful passions* (account 7), *effeminacy and lewdness; they abandon themselves to the most infamous passions* (account 8), *most of them [all Indians] are addicted to sodomy* (account 9), and *sodomites, dedicated to nefarious practices; incontinence* (account 10). Two accounts (# 7 and 8) invoke **world religions as comparisons** (constituent # 7, shared place) when referring to the "shameful" passions of these men and to the religious aspect of the status. Reporting on marriage behavior seems to be important for the Europeans because 40% of the authors mention it; out of these four, three claim these men never marry.

The numbers of third-genders (constituent # 3) are mentioned in over half of the accounts (60%), which reveals its relative importance to the author. Naturally, it is also something that can be easily observed. However, this concerns also physical features, which were mentioned in only two accounts. The numbers mentioned range from “some” to “many.” Account number 9 claims as many as “most,” which is not believable when the information is compared to the other accounts. Concerning the numbers of third-genders, one has to remember that the authors of the accounts 3 and 4 thought they were observing “hermaphrodites,” so their quantities *many* and *common* should be viewed against the commonness of hermaphrodites, who must have been more common before the introduction of modern surgery, but need not to have been known about in a society that did not tolerate gender ambiguity. That leaves the numbers “three or four” of account 2 (but without stating the total number of the group in question) and “some” of accounts 5 and 10 as the most believable numbers of third-genders.

Contemporary estimates for hermaphrodites or intersex people, as they prefer to be called these days, vary considerably. The highest estimate is from Fausto-Sterling (Blackless et al. 2000): perhaps 1% of all babies born alive have irregularities on the level of X and Y chromosomes and/or anatomy; 0.1% - 0.2 % of these are ambiguous enough to become the subject of medical attention, including surgery. The lowest estimate for intersex is from Sax (2002): 0,018% of live births. The difference in the estimates originates from the criteria used for the intersex. Sax uses much stricter criteria, regarding only those people whose condition is clinically relevant as unambiguously intersex. Against these estimates - one to two babies out of 1000 babies (Blackless et al. 2000) or almost two babies out of 10 000 (Sax 2002) being unambiguously intersex (or hermaphrodite) – it is not only possible but even likely that amongst these Native American third-genders, some wear true hermaphrodites.

The 4th (shared place) most often featured attribute (50% of the accounts) was **the reason for the status**. The most often mentioned reason is the native religion.

(Hence, **a reference to native religion in connection with the status** is the 5th most often featured constituent, featured in accounts 5, 7, 8, and a vague one in 10). Account number 6 is the only one that does not state or indicate the native religion as the reason for the status but theorizes on the sexual connection. The claim on the raising of boys to satisfy young men's sexual needs is however suspect of distortion because it is presented as an example of the "sin of sodomy," stated at the beginning of the text and setting the theme of the account. The same account also relates how these boys are selected according to the interest they show towards women's tools, yet, the author makes no connection between the boys' interest in women's tasks and the reason why they constitute a category of their own. The text also ends with a condemnation; this time it concerns the sexual partners of these men, who now include girls and women. Account number 10 with the phrase *sodomites, dedicated to nefarious practices* is another account that hints at the sexual practices of these men but entailed is also a spiritual aspect in the word *dedicated*. Three out of ten accounts (# 5, 7 & 8) state explicitly that the *raison d'être* for the status is the religious beliefs of the natives. It is clear that this claim is not argued by the authors because they mention it with disbelief. The first author who mentions it does it with a condescending attitude but does not express any other judgment, whereas the last two condemn it explicitly. They also invoke **other similar religious practices** (constituent # 7, shared place) as comparisons, and these are also condemned.

Neither **physical features** (7th shared place, 20%) nor **childhood upbringing** (the last constituent with 10%) are mentioned often. The two physical features mentioned are, surprisingly enough, quite masculine: account # 1 says the "impotent, effeminate men" were "huskier and taller than the other native men," whereas account number 4 claims that "hermaphrodites" were "strong" and therefore employed for carrying things. The only text mentioning upbringing was account number 6, which mentions the feminine dress of young or small boys - if they show interest in women's tools - and other details: tattooing and hair-do, in addition to its claim on the boys being raised for sexual exploitation. Information on childhood behavior was obviously not easy to obtain, whereas the lack of

information on physical features - and personal names - points to lack of prolonged contact and interest. The fact that personal names are not featured at all may reveal European unwillingness to know third-genders better. It is easier to remain judgmental towards those one does not know well.

The author's attitude towards the status (constituent # 2, shared place), **a reference to Christian morality or religion** (constituent # 4, shared place), **explicit claims for the native attitude towards the status** (constituent # 6), and **the terms and classificatory nouns used for third-genders** (constituent # 4, shared) are treated together because they are interrelated. Judging from the frequency of the constituents it is obvious that it was much more important for the authors to make their own opinions on the third-genders known (70%) than it was to express the attitude of the natives towards the people and the institution that existed within their communities (30%). Native attitude is mentioned in accounts 4, 5 and 7. Account 4 reports only on a native attitude, whereas the author himself remains neutral. This attitude is the only clearly negative native attitude. According to this text, "hermaphrodites" are considered "odious" by the Indians." However, this attitude has to be seen against the rest of the text, where these "hermaphrodites" are described as taking care of sick and dead people, i.e. "bad spirits." In accounts 5 and 7, the attitude of the natives contradicts that of the author. The same concerns accounts 6 and 8, which only entail the native attitude, which is that of equality and tolerance, respectively. While the natives regard the cross-dressing men as "passing for spirits or persons of Consequence" (account 5) or "people of a higher order, above the common man, and extraordinary human beings" (account 7), because of their religious calling, the authors state that they demean themselves to do everything that the women do (account 5), or that they have fallen into the same contempt as the Asiatic effeminate priests of Venus Urania and Cybele (account 7). The information on the native attitude in account 7 may be based on the account 5, for it is very similar and the author of account 7 refers to many sources. These two accounts demonstrate also how the authors' attitudes can be divided into two categories: While the authors "only" deprecate and belittle "effeminate men" doing

women's work (as the account 5 does), they explicitly condemn them if their sexuality is mentioned, or if their religion is mentioned in connection with sexuality (as in account 7).

The agentless passive phrase “they are held in contempt,” analyzed in connection with the accounts number 7, 8 and 9, cannot be considered to represent the native view towards the status. Account 7 explicitly states the opposing native view, and its cause: the native religion. Account 8 also acknowledges the native religion as the reason for the existence of “effeminate persons” but states that “this religion” “has ended in the flesh” and “the most infamous passions” “cause” the contempt. Both accounts contain disclaimers to signal the juxtaposition of viewpoints: *nevertheless* (account 7) and *but* (account 8). The last account to use the “held in contempt” line is account 9, which does not invoke native religion but Christianity (“our religion”), which the natives do not understand. The whole account consists of deploring the “brutality and moral perversion” of “the people of this nation,” and “most of them” are said to be “addicted to sodomy.” The account ends with a reference to those “addicted to sodomy” as “these corrupt men, who ... wear short skirts like women, are held in great contempt.” When the entire account consists primarily of slandering vocabulary directed to the tribe in general, and the reference to cross-dressing men is so exaggerated as to constitute “most of them,” the agentless contempt placed at the end of this account cannot be considered to express the native view. This contempt becomes even harder to attribute to the natives when one considers the fact that three authors (accounts 6, 8 and 9) direct their negative opinions regarding native sexuality onto the community at large, (account 8 in connection with religion), and only after that, third-genders are singled out as prime examples of “lewdness” or “sodomy,” or those spreading the corruption of moral. (See also chapter 6.2.2 “Held in contempt,” a gradual shift in the mental model.)

Half of the accounts use some kind of term or classificatory noun in reference to third-genders. The use of terminology usually reveals the author’s attitude. In the majority of the first half of the accounts, where third-genders are assumed to be

hermaphrodites, (or referred to as *effeminate men*), their treatment is without moral condemnation. Except for the first account mentioning the male-male marriage, the only attitude is the surprise of seeing so many hermaphrodites. When the authors start identifying these men as “sodomites” or addicts of their passions, or invoke the concept of sodomy, their attitude becomes judgmental, and most of them use very severe words from Christian discourse on morality to condemn them. Two accounts invoke Christianity explicitly, number 10 most directly.

6.1.3 Impact of sodomy in constructing the third-gender status

Words chosen to define the third-gender can have a great impact if they bring along a mythical context. Both *hermaphrodite* and *sodomite* are mythical words. The difference between them lies in the quality of the myth, and in the subsequent evolution of the terms. While the term *hermaphrodite* can be traced to the benign Greek/Latin myth of the son of Hermes (or Mercury) and Aphrodite (or Venus) growing together with a nymph, the term *sodomite* (*le sodomite* in French; *el sodomita* in Spanish) is traceable to the biblical myth of the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah in the Old Testament. The myth behind *hermaphrodite* does not arouse strong emotions and the term has acquired a biological overtone. The term *sodomite* has also evolved over time but its connection to the ancient Hebrew myth has not faded.

According to the Old Testament, the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah were destroyed by God because of the wickedness of their inhabitants. (See Appendix I: Biblical story of Sodom and Gomorrah, Living Bible.) According to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah were probably located south of al-Lisan, a peninsula near the southern end of the Dead Sea, and destroyed in an earthquake c. 1900 BC. The petroleum and gases existing in the area probably contributed to the imagery of “brimstone and fire,” (as described in the Bible) that accompanied the earthquake. In the Bible, the story is a demonstration of God’s wrath and punishment towards wicked people, who do not live according to his rules. The interpretation of this wickedness has varied over the years. While the

sinfulness of the inhabitants of these two cities has not always been interpreted as homosexuality or other forms of “unnatural” sexuality, the myth of Sodom and Gomorrah has become to stand for forbidden forms of sexuality, and during more modern times, specifically male homosexuality (Greenberg 1988:136, 209). The clearest reference to sexuality in the story involves a threat of (homosexual) rape, where the men of Sodom would be the rapists and God’s angels, the guests of the newcomer Lot, would be the victims. The fact that the contemporary stark division between homosexuality and heterosexuality was not valid in Biblical times is demonstrated by Lot’s offer of his two virgin daughters as substitutes for the angels.

Whether sodomy only refers to male-male sexual relations is not clear in the accounts. Account 6 refers to both males and females as the sexual partners of the cross-dressing men. The concept sodomy and the term *sodomite* have gone through a long historical development, and have connoted various matters over the years. A sodomitical crime could be committed between members of the same sex, members of opposite sex, or between people and animals. Coitus interruptus or any other form of heterosexual genital intercourse in a position other than the male superior – ostensibly because the chances of conception were reduced - could be classified as sodomy because it was a violation of a God-given natural law (Greenberg 1988:274-77). During the Middle Ages, any “wrong” religious beliefs or “corrupted” forms of Christian dogma could be interpreted as sodomitical. The connotations of the term included excessive indulgence of sensuous desires that went far beyond sexuality. Limitless indulgence was comparable to the behavior of animals. Sodomy represented crossing over natural limits, an exploitation of human weaknesses, and as such, it undermined traditional morality and class structure. (Greenberg 1988:268-95, 310.) The image of excess in sexual desires, as well as the image of beasts can also be found in some of the accounts written by the Jesuits. The medieval connection between sodomy and wrong or corrupted religious beliefs also resurfaces in their accounts.

Terms chosen to represent the Native American third-gender do not only define it but construct it together with the other discursual means used in the accounts. To use a term derived from something larger than life, a popular religious myth, loads the discussion with additional meaning and connotations. In this sense, a mere lexical choice can constitute most powerful use of rhetorical strategy. For anybody coming from Judeo-Christian background, it is hard to remain neutral towards somebody who is labelled a *sodomite*. Mentioning it will take the discussion on an ideological level of values and emotions, which will disarm any intellectual counterargument. Sodomy was also a serious crime. For example, in England, the first act punishing buggery, i.e., sodomy, by hanging was issued in 1533; in 1861, the maximum penalty for sodomy was reduced to life in prison (Greenberg: 1988:15). It is an extremely severe punishment if one considers the fact that it is not a personal violation, such as rape or homicide. Instead, it is a violation of dominant religious norms on sexual conduct. In the third-gender accounts, the tone of discourse becomes much more judgmental once the phenomenon is characterized as sodomitical. Labelling these people was a value judgment based on ideological concerns, and it reduced the people in question to mere shameful sexual acts. Introducing the words *sodomy* and *sodomite* to this context were highly influential in the construction of the status for a long time. It made the aspect of homosexuality the main attribute of the status, while the religious aspect became pushed out of the limelight. Several anthropologists defining the status during the 1900s still gave a prominent place to homosexuality in their characterizations. In the professional discourse, the term *sodomite* was renamed using less loaded words. Its new form: *institutional homosexual* was used by a few anthropologists, e.g. Devereux (1937), Ford & Beach (1951), and Signorini (1972). The term condensed the image of third-gender into a sexual orientation, signalled out and institutionalized by the surrounding society.

6.2 A mental model on the third-gender in the accounts

6.2.1 Two stages of development in the mental model

The authors of the third-gender accounts all came from a somewhat similar background. Whatever the differences in their social backgrounds and reasons for going to the New World, they were still all European men from the colonial time period, aware of the ideas, values, ideals and moral obligations of their eras. Differences between them were slight compared to the foreignness of the Native Americans they met. It is inevitable that people sharing similar ideological backgrounds are likely to notice (and report on) certain things, perceive them in a certain way; and elaborate connections between those issues that were linked together in their own culture as well.

There are about 250 years between the writing of the first and the last account analyzed in the present study. In addition, many of the journal accounts concern tribes living in different areas of the continent. Yet, similarities in the accounts point to some kind of "frame" or model, which guided their observation in perceiving things, and influenced the subsequent writing about them. This mental model had particular slots for certain aspects of the third-gender phenomenon that were relevant to the European men. The long stretch during which these texts were written, and the apparent pre-knowledge some authors seem to have had of cross-dressing men means that this mental model was not personal – even if its activation had personal differences – but shared with many other white observers. The mental model was not born overnight, nor did it stay the same throughout the accounts but rather developed in time. If one divides the accounts in two, one can plainly see how much more benign the discourse is in the first half of the accounts telling about "hermaphrodites" when compared to the second half, where "corrupted" native sexuality plays a key part. Clearly, these are two stages of development in the mental model on third-genders. One telling feature in the latter texts is the agentless claim on contempt that appears in three of the last four accounts, and in some other journal accounts not analyzed in the present thesis. The claim "are held in

contempt” has had an effect on some of the later representations of the Native American third-gender, and on theories about them.

6.2.2 "Held in contempt"; a gradual shift in the mental model

The claim on the contempt directed towards third-genders has to be seen as tied to the development of the contents of the third-gender accounts, that is, its mental model. As concluded above, this line does not express the native sentiment in these texts, although, in a singular text, it may first appear to do so. It is possible that in later texts, written during the times when the native communities had already adopted some of the Western ideologies, third-genders started to be held in contempt. In fact, this kind of development would be more than likely. Judging from the accounts analyzed, the phrase “they are held in contempt” rises from the social attitude of the French Catholics. All three authors who used this line were French Catholics, two were Jesuits and the third one had evidently attempted proselytizing. The development of the model for the production (and later, interpretation) of the third-gender accounts takes place through several discursual shifts or moves in point of view.

Account number 7 (by Latifau) from the early 18th century introduces the word “contempt” when it shifts from the context of North American cross-dressers to that of ancient near-eastern Goddess worshippers. This shift accompanies a move from the point of view of the Native Americans to that of the author’s. After describing the third-gender as acting out of religious motivation, Latifau expresses his own condemnation of them by moving to the context of the Asian effeminate priests, who had been condemned by ancient Judeo-Christian forefathers in the past. At this point, the judgment is clearly attributable to the Jesuit author because it stands in opposition to the native attitude expressed earlier in the text. Although the exact nature of the "shameful passions" of the American Indian cross-dressers is left vague, they lead to another move in time and place and the account ends with a scene in South America, where the Spanish discoverer Balboa has a large number of them and other Indians killed by his wild dogs. Locating this at the end gives the

deed a certain emphasis. It can even be interpreted as a persuasive move to function as a suggestion of how to deal with these kinds of people. At least, retelling the event conveys the gravity of the matter to the possible (Christian) reader.

In the next account (number 8 by Charlevoix) from 1721, the discursual shift towards explicit condemnation and expression of contempt in the mental model of third-gender continues. The account both begins and ends with negatively charged statements on native sexuality. The religious principle attached to the third-gender status is offered as an explanation for the custom of cross-dressing, but the principle is condemned in the next clause, and the topic of religion shifts to "the most infamous passions," which are now said to be the cause for which the effeminate persons "are held in the most sovereign contempt." This statement ends the account. Although the conclusion is clearly the author's own argument when the whole account is analyzed, for, not only does the author disparage the whole religion but he also deplores the corruptive influence these effeminate men have on the other natives. However, on a linguistic level, as a passive clause without an agent, this attitude is left without agency, and if the sentence were presented by itself, the most obvious agency would be the surrounding native community.

The same model of attributing agentless contempt to the third-gender continues at the end of the account number 9 by Bossu. Again, the account begins with a general negative evaluation of the natives, followed by the reason for this: the Choctaws don't understand "our" religion. As concluded above, the reference to the number of cross-dressing men is so exaggerated and the entire text devoted to disparaging the whole nation that the statements of this account cannot be regarded as very reliable. The account ends with the pre-constructed line on the contempt changed only slightly (they "are held in great contempt"). There is one difference between this and the previous account: The latter one leaves out the statement on native religious principles connected to the status; instead, it includes a sentence on the frustration of the author, whose message of Christian faith has not been well received by the natives. Again, the last line is in passive voice on the third-genders being held in

contempt is ambiguous on the level of agency. Concluding that it expresses the native view would, however, require turning a blind eye to the whole analysis. Rather, it is the white Christian author who feels compelled to add the last argument, dictated by his own social attitude. Expressing the agency of this evaluation is not important. It is not necessary for a Christian author because those kinds of people should be universally held in contempt. His argumentation follows a pre-established pattern, a mental model. Any account exposing the sexual "shamefulness" of these people must condemn them. The phrase of contempt needs to be said to end the discussion.

Even though the allegations of contempt may appear confusing if examined against the information in earlier texts, or even elsewhere in the same text, they can still end up in scholarly articles as accepted facts, as many simple assumptions on "berdaches" or "transvestites" have in the past. This has been possible because the anthropologists and theorists who have treated the topic are so used to the Christian ideology on the privileged position of the male, and the sharp division between religion and sexuality that the colonialists' claims have made sense to them, and these have been remembered when reporting or speculating about third-genders.

6.2.3 Enriching the relevant information while omitting the irrelevant

The evolution of the mental model of the accounts points to a change in the macropropositions. If simplified, the five earliest accounts can be summarized into following macropropositions: Some Indian men cross-dress and do women's work or other work, which is non-typical to ordinary men. Or, there are many "hermaphrodites" amongst the North American tribes, and they do women's work. The last five accounts can be summarized as follows: Cross-dressing Indian men doing women's work are "sodomites" because their religious motivation for doing this is actually a shameful and corrupt sexual passion, which causes them to have fallen into contempt. At this point, third-gender identity had become a fixed concept, and it was possible to label it as sodomite. In the case of some accounts (number 7, 8 and 9), memorization of information from earlier texts, whether read

or heard about, leads to an abstraction and generalization of it into a mental model. In new texts, memorized information can surface as "new" information; this seems to be the case with accounts number 8 and 9. The mental model, based on the likeness of the social backgrounds of the European authors, many of whom were French or Spanish Catholics, and the memorization of earlier information on third-genders, is activated in the production of most of the latter half of the third-gender accounts. The appearance of certain constituents of the mental model invoke the appearance of certain others, which are conceived of as accompanying the constituents that appeared first. These associated matters feature so tightly in the overall mental framework that they are well remembered. They meet the expectations of the author and the reader and find their place in text despite the fact that a careful reading might raise a number of questions over the contradictions between the propositions in one singular account. Conversely, irrelevant or unfitting information becomes vague or is left out. This happens to the number of third-genders, which is reported as being the "most" in account number 9. Their number in the mental model increases as the negativeness of their actions or behavior associated with them escalates. Unimportant or unwanted information is left out all together: None of the ten accounts include personal names, or age, for example, although age can be estimated even in brief observance. In addition, even though a religious principle as the cause of this phenomenon is mentioned or alluded to in almost all of the latter half of the texts, no more information is provided on it. When sexuality is brought up in connection with it, the authors make a point to condemn the whole institution. For the authors of accounts 6 and 10, sexual behavior becomes so central that "corrupt" sexual lust is seen as the cause and *raison d'être* for third-genders. This is a way of enriching and extrapolating information so that fits the mental model.

7 CONCLUSION

As stated in chapter 1 Introduction, historical documentation of the people that fit the description of Native American third-gender males, (ancestors of contemporary two-spirits), has been suspected of containing biased representations of the people in question. In addition, this documentation by European explorers and missionaries often contains contradictory statements and propositions, which creates a confusing portrayal of the ancient third-gender. Since the methodology of critical discourse analysis provides research tools for revealing ideologically biased representations of groups of people, it was chosen as the means for examining the portrayal of third-genders in some of the oldest documents describing them. The research area was limited to the English translations of ten of the earliest journal accounts describing these people located in the main collection of the material on Native Americans in Katz (1976/1992). By limiting the research area to early documents, it was possible to focus on the status of third-gender at a stage when it was still integrated with the tribal way of life, before the acculturation of the Natives had changed their traditional customs. The main aim of the study was to critically analyze the representations of third-genders by these early white observers in order to reveal possible ideological coloring in their portrayal. Bringing forth the ethnocentric slant contained in these old documents helps to assess their reliability as primary research material. Central to this critical approach was the separation of the native attitude towards the status from that of the white observers. This meant focusing on the discrepancies in their portrayal and tracing the agency of contradictory propositions on them. Syntactic and lexical choices taken by the authors, and the use of generic and functional strategies in text creation were examined from the point of view of expressing evaluation and attitude towards the third-gender institution. The accounts were also compared with each other when they contained high levels of intertextual similarity. The analysis also paid attention to the elements making up the contents of the texts: Typical features included in the definition and description of the third-gender institution were listed in the order of frequency and discussed. The analysis ended with the examination of the development of a mental model on the third-gender.

7.1 Clash of ideologies in the historical accounts

The analysis of the ten journal accounts from 1528 – 1775 shows that the contradictions and confusing statements in these texts are due to divergent attitudes towards third-genders. On one hand, these accounts convey the integrated position that the third-genders had in their communities because their existence was a manifestation of a religious principle or custom. Four out of ten accounts refer to the religious connection, three of these state explicitly that the religious connection made their position respectable. On the other hand, third-genders are often described with disparaging terms, and some of the later accounts by Jesuits state that they were held in contempt.

Since the authors of these early accounts were all more or less devout Christian men, their religious background left a mark on these early representations of the Native American third-genders. The Europeans were worlds apart from the objects of their documentation in many socioreligious matters. Of these, two issues primarily affected the documenting of the status: the conception of genders, and the link between sexuality and religion. Both of these are tied to the religious norms and values of the two sides: The side of the authors stems from the Christian "holiness" of the two categories of gender, which means that the gender barrier should not be crossed and gender categories should not be mixed. Opposing this is the native third or intermediate category of gender. Connected with the norm on the separation of genders in Judeo-Christian tradition are rules concerning sexual behavior, and religious worship. These also influence the representation of third-genders. The basis of all of these norms can be found in the Deuteronomy and Leviticus of the Old Testament, which contain prohibitions on cross-dressing or carrying cross-gender symbols. Prohibitions also concern the worship of any deities except the Hebrew Yahweh, sexual service in religious worship, and male-male sexual acts. Judging from the way the authors describe third-genders, the institution reminded the observers from all of these prohibitions dictated by their religion. The clash of Native and European religious customs is particularly clear in the latter part of the accounts: In all but one account referring to the religious principles of the third-gender institution, their

seriousness is cast under doubt with counter-arguments referring to the sexuality of third-genders. The exact nature of their sexuality is most often left vague. Some accounts mention sodomy, while others refer to shameful passions, to which third-genders are portrayed as being addicted or dedicated. A few texts deplore the depravity of the whole tribe. The religious principle behind the institution cannot be morally right because a religious custom cannot be sexual in Christian ideology. Instead, sexual passion - if not controlled - has the capacity of morally subjugating and corrupting people. That is why the texts contain two kinds of reasons for a boy to become third-gender: clearly stated religious motivation (in three accounts), or destination for sexual exploitation (in one account), or dedication to nefarious (sexual) practices, which entails both religious and sexual purposes (in one account). Of these two reasons the religious motivation is offered by the natives and the sexual exploitation is the author's own speculation. The fact that third-genders did not abstain from sexual relations, as Catholic priest are obliged to do, or that sexual behavior may have tied in with their status, and that the nature of their sexuality was regarded as most shameful by the authors is the reason why the religious motivation is argued against in the three texts that explicitly mention it. In addition, third-genders are constructed discursively in such a way as to be responsible themselves for their "deprived" state. In other words, when treating the sexuality of third-genders, they are usually cast as subjects of their actions. A few authors deplore "depravity" of the whole tribe.

Since third-genders are consistently described as dressing in women's clothes and doing their work, they are portrayed as having given away their masculine prerogatives. These parts of the texts reveal another clash of social attitudes. The discourse used belittles the importance of women's work in general, and conveys the astonishment the authors felt when seeing men "demean or debase themselves" this way. Yet, one account (# 6) reports on the selection of those male children for the status who express interest in women's occupations, which implies the support of the natives towards the role. Another text (# 5) reveals the contradiction between the native and European attitudes towards this custom in the divergent evaluative

vocabulary used to describe men doing women's work. A third account (# 6) entails acceptance and equality when describing the men of the tribe having dealings with the effeminate men "on the same footing." A fourth account (# 7) describes native women in masculine professions as courageous while men, who believe they are honored in women's occupations, are labelled as cowards. A fifth text (# 8) states that men cross-dressed and did women's work without shame. The comparisons through which third-genders are portrayed position them relative to the status of women. However, it is the status of European women, and the authors' ideology on the proper place and conduct of both sexes that is revealed in the discourse, not that of Natives. In this ideology, men - with their higher status in religion and in society - had nothing to gain except depravity in resembling women. Yet, this social status existed amongst many Native American tribes, and the boys (or men) were evidently not forced to take it. In these accounts, nothing indicates force, only socializing into it since childhood is indicated in one text (# 6). Two accounts (# 5 and 7) state that these males had gained in prestige by adopting the status of third-gender. Hence, one must conclude that the asymmetry between the sexes, manifested in the discourse used to represent the third-gender, stems from the authors' background. The amazement that these authors express when seeing this kind of public "gender-crossing" conveys how differently organized these native societies must have been, and how different their worldviews were from those of the Europeans. The possibility for men to cross over in gender specific occupations and behavior, and to be allowed to do that in public without shame, or be respected as a manifestation of a religious principle would hardly be possible if the prevalent attitude of the surrounding community "held them in contempt." This conclusion is supported by the cross-cultural study by Munroe, Whiting & Hally (1969:87), according to which societies with a relative high status for women, and low sex differentiation were found to be significantly more likely to have male cross-dressing than those with high sex differentiation or low status for women. Though not demonstrated by these ten accounts, the status of third-gender relates to the way the supernatural is viewed: If gender-crossing is forbidden, as in Christianity, the society does not recognize categories for intermediate genders. Furthermore, if the supernatural is primarily seen as masculine, as the Judeo-Christian God is seen, the

society does not recognize supernatural female entities manifesting their power, as it does in the case of the transformation of third-gender. In other words, the authors write about alien cultures but they filter them through the religious, social and cultural upbringing of their own background. That is why their construction of the status is confusing and contains many contradictory propositions and evaluations.

7.2 Institutional discourse and mental model

The most common constituent of the typical features included in the description of third-gender was the female dress (in eight out of ten accounts). This was to be expected because the visible aspect of dressing was something that was easily perceived, even in short encounters. The second place was shared with female or unusual occupations, and third-gender sexuality (in seven accounts). Although not a third-gender attribute, the author's own attitude towards the status was also mentioned in 70% of the accounts. The third constituent was the numbers of third-genders (60%), out of which the estimate "some" was the most typical and the most believable. Half of the texts used some kind of classificatory noun or term for these men. The term *hermaphrodite* was used in three texts (# 3, 4 and 10), but the last one of these concluded that the term *sodomite* was the correct one. A fourth account (# 7) also commented on *hermaphrodite* as being erroneous. The expression *effeminate men/persons* was also used in three out of ten texts. In addition to some Spanish loan words, the only other term was *sodomite*, which was used in the last text, but the concept of sodomy in connection with the status had been evoked earlier. No text included any native terms, or direct translations of them, which indicates that the authors preferred attempts to define the status through European concepts instead of trying to find out how the natives conceptualized it.

The authors exhibit a great deal of uniformity in their discourse on third-gender. The interdiscoursal homogeneousness is apparent in the use of genres, the constituents included or excluded in the description of third-gender, and the linguistic choices taken in their representations. Particularly in the latter half of the accounts, a noticeable part of the vocabulary is drawn on the field of moral discourse, with

specific Christian overtones. Conspicuous are also the syntactic choices that use reflexive verb forms together with belittling or disparaging semantics, such as *they debase themselves* or *they abandon themselves*. These verb forms cast third-genders in the role of objects while they themselves act as subjects. They are used in two different contexts: The “milder” versions, i.e. *debasing* or *demeaning themselves* are used when describing third-genders doing women’s work, and the “harsher” versions, such as *abandon* or *subject themselves* are used when describing their passions, i.e. sexuality. These formulations are frequent enough to constitute a permanent element in the mental model created on them. The fact that many of the authors write with highly similar linguistic items and arrange text in a similar fashion convey how ideologically homogeneous these white observers were. The attitude they exhibit is more social than personal, and hence, ideological. While constructing the representation of their topic, the authors also construct themselves. They position themselves according to the expectations and constraints of the social role they identify with. Jesuit authors exhibit the greatest similarity in their discursal style; they are most clearly institutional subjects. Their institutional role guides the choice between including and excluding issues in the representation of third-genders, and the discursal choices used for doing this. The most systematic and severe expressions of condemnation are also by the Jesuits, whereas those by other explorers and travellers are more sporadic. The passive statements on the contempt towards the status added to the end of the text function as face-saving moves; they end the treatment of the topic in an institutionally proper way.

In addition to the institutional discourse, homogeneousness of the accounts stems from the mental model built on third-genders, which is based on earlier Judeo-Christian mental models of similar people. The activation of this model is most obvious in the latter half of the accounts. At least four of these were written by Jesuit/Christian authors. What is important and relevant for a Christian writer - and the institution he represents - is well remembered as the high-level knowledge structures in the mental image, while information important to the natives (or researchers), such as specifics on these people or their beliefs, is low-level information and easily omitted or distorted.

Since both composing a text and comprehending it are conceptually-driven processes, fulfilling expectations becomes crucial. Once the third-gender is established as a loathsome creature, be it through the use of labelling names or through devoting a large part of the account to describe his (and his people's) vices, only a clear tone of condemnation meets the expectations. Despite the fact that much of the information offered in these accounts is seemingly authentic and relevant, based on the author's own observation and therefore reliable, it becomes questionable after examining the texts through the methodology of CDA and comparing them with each other. Particularly some of the Jesuit accounts contain such incongruent propositions or claims not in line with those found in other early third-gender texts that they should be regarded as misrepresenting the status. This slanted representation of the institution concerns primarily the reasons for the existence of third-genders, their roles and standing in the community, and their numbers.

The issues considered relevant enough to be included in the accounts are likely to stem from those perspectives that support the interests of the new aspiring rulers, whereas irrelevant or threatening topics are best left out. Socioreligious issues related to the status were regarded as opposing the religious views of the Euroamericans and become judged as "fallen," or they were simply ignored. Hierarchically organized religions and states are both interested in more land, resources and subjects to pay taxes or work to support their systems of power. The deploring of native religious and social customs offers a handy political argument. Justification for colonization is in place if only Christianization can save the "savages" from their depraved and morally corrupted life. Linguistic devices of morality and modality move the matter beyond intellectual argumentation.

7.3 Ethnocentric bias continued in professional writing

The way third-genders are treated in historical texts bears resemblance to the way the status was first conceived of in anthropology. Although 40% of the accounts referred to a religious principle in connection with the status, it becomes played down with the rest of the text dwelling on sexuality. The ignorance on the spiritual aspects of the

status can be seen in those early definitions of the status (chapter 2.1 A hundred years of anthropological definitions) which centered around sexuality and/or cross-dressing. The early accounts do not portray third-genders as contributing much to the society even though they are described as doing either women's work and/or unusual tasks in 70% of the accounts. In anthropological literature, economic contributions of third-genders became emphasized relatively late. The extent of believability of well-fitting social representations is best demonstrated in some anthropological theories formulated for the *raison d'être* of the status (chapter 2.6 Western theories on the existence of the third-gender status). The theory based on the cowardliness of these people is rooted in an ideology where masculinity is associated with courage, whereas “unmasculinity” is linked with the lack of it. Historical stages of professional emphasis can also be seen in the way scholars have reacted to the descriptions of third-genders by previous scholars. Conception shifted first from gender-crossing to gender-mixing, and finally, to additional genders. Lately, some authors (e.g. in Jacobs et al. 1997) have started to criticize the heavy emphasis of homosexuality in the definition of the status reemphasized during the mid 1980s and early '90s as white homocentrism. Natives themselves usually stress the combination of gender and spirituality as the starting point, not exclusive categories of sexual orientation. The bias of anthropologists can even be deliberate. Gutierrez (1989) talks about a Zuni “berdache” Uk being laughed at while participating in a ceremony to demonstrate how low a status third-genders had, but omits the explanation given by an informant, although it is included in his source material (Parsons 1916:526-28, reprinted in Roscoe 1991:27): Uk was laughed at because he was retarded. This kind of treatment from a professional author only shows that the subject is still very controversial and emotional, and causes people to take sides. The claims of contempt towards third-genders have perhaps divided the anthropologists the most. While some have voiced caution towards taking these statements at face value, others have reproduced passages from historical records to demonstrate the low standing of third-genders amongst their own tribes. For example, the following short statement on the Omaha Indians by Seligmann (1902:11, my italics) appears both strangely out-of-place yet very familiar: “the modern Omaha have a special name signifying hermaphrodite for the passive agent, *whom they regard*

with contempt." This is all he says about them, as if it was the only thing important to say about them. A little later in the same text, Seligmann characterizes the Tupi in Brazil as "people addicted to sodomy" (1902:12).

7.4 CDA in research

The analysis of the historical third-gender accounts demonstrates how useful CDA is in dealing with documentation likely to contain biased or one-sided information, or when examining texts containing several voices, which appear as contradictions on the surface level. When studying old texts, one has to remember that secular powers and ecclesiastical ones used to be more tightly connected with each other than today. Therefore, anything that was written to European monarchs necessarily contained religious and other ideological elements. The methodology of CDA is at its most useful if applied to a multitude of documents, or a series of them. If documents are vague on specifics, as the accounts are vague on the spiritual connection of the status, and the sexual aspect, CDA was limited in revealing specifics on either one of them. However, CDA was useful in demonstrating the frequency of these constituents in the treatment of third-genders, and that way map out patterns in the representations of the status. The studies done on specific tribes, even though conducted late when the institution was already disappearing from public view, should be used alongside CDA to shed light on the specifics that fragmentary texts cannot offer.

7.5 Further studies

For further studies, one should consider the following: A follow-up study using CDA on the development of later historical accounts on the Native American third-gender through the 1800s and 1900s. The evolution of the descriptions of the status from the same tribe ought to be most revealing. The mental model built on third-genders, the most frequent constituents of the accounts, reoccurring phrases on third-genders and patterns of discorsal features could be compared to later texts on them. Exploring the entire terminology used in reference to third-genders would be another study where linguistics could add another dimension to the research of this phenomenon. This terminology is extremely numerous, especially in anthropology. A study on the

development of the two-spirit movement would be a logical continuation for some of the material presented in the present thesis. The movement also ties in with the terminology of the third-gender phenomenon. The voices of Natives themselves should be heard on their experiences on the efforts of education in terms of increased tolerance and visibility in their communities, in various native organizations, in reservations, and in large native gatherings, such as pow wows. The native spirituality of particular tribes or tribal groups should be more in focus to see how spirituality, and tribal myths, relate to the third-gender institution. There are still open questions about the historical status as well, e.g. sexual expression associated with the institution has often been referred to but not much is known about its connection to the religion. Comparisons to shamanism involving cross-dressing might prove useful to examine in this connection. Studies done on Central and South American phenomena resembling the third-gender institution should be compared with those on the North American phenomenon. In general, more attention should be given to similarities of societal organization and less to arbitrary state lines when restricting the areas of research. Differences between female and male third-genders have been mentioned quite often but not fully explored. In addition, discursal representations of historical female third-genders would provide an interesting comparison to the findings of the present study. Finally, comparative linguistics could be applied to the Native Terminology, and the English (and other) terminology. The original sources of the historical texts and their translations could be compared to see what kinds of changes may have taken place.

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