

# Two Spirit Names Across Turtle Island

List compiled by John "Ahni" Schertow ([intercontinentalcry.org](http://intercontinentalcry.org)) on September 18, 2012

1. Acoma: ***mujerado*** or ***qo-qoy-mo*** or ***kokwina***
2. Aleut: ***achnucek***
3. Anishnawbe: ***Ougokweniini*** (male)
4. Arapaho: ***haxu'xan*** (male)
5. Assiniboine: ***win'yan inkwenu'ze winktan*** (male)
6. Atsugewi: ***brumaiwi*** (female)
7. Bella Coola: ***sx'intz*** (male)
8. Blackfoot: ***sakwo'mapi akikiwan*** (female)
9. Cheyenne: ***hee-man-eh*** or ***he'emen*** (male) and ***hetaneman*** (female)
10. Chukchi (Alaskan Bering Strait): ***yirka-la ul***
11. Coeur d'Alène: ***st'amia***
12. Cocopa: ***warhameh*** (female)
13. Crow: ***boté*** (male)
14. Dakota Sioux: ***koskalaka*** (male) and ***koskalaka winyan*** or ***winkta*** or ***winkte winyan*** (female)
15. Eskimo (Chugach): ***aranu'tiq*** (male)

16. Eskimo (St. Lawrence): **anasik** (male) and **uktasik** (female)
17. Flathead: **ntalha** (female)
18. Fox: **i-coo-coo-a**
19. Hawai'ian: **Mähü or mahu** [also in Polynesia and Tahiti; cf **Fa'afafine**]
20. Hidatsa: **miati** or **biatti**
21. Hopi: **hova** (male)
22. Hotcâk: **dedjángtcowinga** (male)
23. Huchnom: **iwap kuti**
24. Illinois: **chelxodelean**(e) or **ickoue ne koussa** (female)
25. Isleta: **lhunide**
26. Juaneño: **kwit**
27. Kaniagmiut: **shupan**
28. Keres: **kokwimu** (male)
29. Klamath: **tw!inna'ek** (female)
30. Kodiak: **achnucek**
31. Kutenai: **titqattek** (female)
32. Laguna: **mujerado** or **kokwimu** or **kokwe'ma** (male)
33. Lakota Sioux: **winkte** (male) and **winkte winyan** (female)
34. Lassik: **murfidai** (male)
35. Luiseño: **cuit** or **cuut**

36. Maidu: **suku** (male and female)
37. Mandan: **mihdacke** (male)
38. Maricopa: **kwiraxame'** (female)
39. Miami: **waupeengwoatar** (male)
40. Miwok: **osabu** (male)
41. Mohave: **alyha** (male) and **hwame** (female)
42. Navajo: **nadle** or **nadleeh** or **nádleehee** (male and female); **nadleeh**  
<family name> **baa** (female)
43. Nomlaki: **walusa** or **tohket**
44. Ojibwa: **agokwa** (male) and **okitcitakwe** (female)
45. Omaha: **mexoga**
46. Oto: **mixo'ge** (male)
47. Paiute, Northern: **Tübas** or **t'üBáse** or **moyo'ne** or **tüBázanàna**  
(male); **Düba's** or **Moroni noho Tüvasa** (female)
48. Paiute, Southern: **Tüwasawuts** or **maipots** or **onobakö** or  
**töwahawöts** or **Maai'pots** (male)
49. Patwin: **Panaro bobum pi** (male)
50. Piegan: **ninauposkitzipspe** (female)
51. Pima: **wiik'ovat** (male)
52. Plains Cree: **a:yahkwew** or **a-yahkwew** (male)
53. Pomo, Northern: **das** (male)

54. Pomo, Southern: **t!un** (male)
55. Ponca: **misu'ga** (male)
56. Potawatomi: **m'netokwe** (male)
57. Quinault: **kek'natsa'nxwixw** (male)
58. Sanpoil: **sinta'xlau'wam** (female)
59. Sauk: **i-coo-coo-a**
60. Salinan: **joyas** (male)
61. Shasta: **gitukuwaki** (male)
62. Shoshone: **tennewyppe** or **tená-wipeh** (male)
63. Shoshoni: **tainna wa'ippe** (male) and **sungwe** or **taikwahni wa'ippe** or **waippu** (female)
64. Shoshoni (Bannock): **tuva'sa** (male)
65. Shoshoni (Gosiute): **tuvasa** (male)
66. Shoshoni (Lemhi): **tübasa** or **tenanduakia** (male); **Tübasa tenanduakia waip:ü sunwe** (female)
67. Sioux: **winkte** (male)
68. Tewa: **kwidó** or **kweedó** (male) and **senp'aa** (female)
69. Tiwa: **lhunide** (male)
70. Tübatulabal: **huiy** (male)
71. Ute: **tozusuhzooch** (male)
72. Wailaki: **clele** (male)

73. Winnebago: ***dedjángtcowinga*** (male)
74. Wishram: ***ikte'laskait*** (male)
75. Yana: ***lo'ya*** (male)
76. Yokuts: ***tongochim*** (male)
77. Yurok: ***wegern*** (male)
78. Yuki: ***musp-iwap*** (female) and ***naip*** (female)
79. Yum: ***kwe'rhame*** (female) or ***kurami*** (female)
80. Zapotec: ***ira'muxe***
81. Zuni: ***lhamana*** (male and female) and ***katsotse*** (female)