



**Map:** The Keo region with places mentioned in the text

displays greater independence in these respects. Also, patrilineage is more consistently related to clan and house membership among Keo than among Nage, although in both regions payment of bridewealth is formally required for a couple to take up virilocal residence and for children to be incorporated into the father's group. In western Keo, at least, clans are normally exogamous, whereas among Nage – who commonly express marriage proscriptions in terms of genealogical degrees – legitimate unions between members of the same named clan have a somewhat higher incidence.

The cult houses called *sa'o waja* are for the most part exclusive to Nage, though similar buildings, called *sa'o dando* "houses with a crest," appear in some villages of eastern Keo. *Sa'o waja* are also encountered in the villages of Gélu, Lédo, and Sule, towards the northern boundary of the Keo region (*desa* Woe Wolo). But this is an exception that proves the rule; for not only are these villages located close to Nage but they also claim to derive from Wolo Wea, in eastern Nage, the sacrificial post (*peo*) of which they still recognize as their own. Although included at present in the modern administrative district (*kecamatan*) of Ma'u Ponggo, moreover, the villages were at one time administered as part of the Nage district. The fact that the terminology recorded in Gélu does not vary significantly from the general pattern of western Keo to a large degree reflects the similar-

ity between this classification and that of western Nage. At the same time, there is evidence that over the last hundred years or so language in this area, which formerly displayed greater affinity to Nage dialects, has been influenced both lexically and phonologically by the Keo dialect spoken closer to the coast.

Despite the several differences in social organization between Keo and Nage, marriage rules and practices appear to be quite uniform throughout this area of central Flores and, for the most part, to follow a pattern encountered over a greater part of the Nusa Tenggara Timur region. In all parts of both Nage and Keo, men are traditionally prohibited from marrying any female cousin except the MBD who, even in spite of the Catholic church's ban on such unions, is still the preferred spouse. Accordingly, direct exchange of spouses between groups – clans or houses – is prohibited; and a record of numerous genealogies compiled in 1991 in western Keo reveals that such marriages rarely occur. The same record suggests that asymmetric affinal relations are not uncommonly perpetuated by further marriages over a number of generations.<sup>2</sup>

From the evidence in hand, two major patterns of Keo terminology can be distinguished. These belong to the western and eastern parts of the

<sup>2</sup> As this information has not yet been subject to a thorough analysis, these generalizations must be considered provisional.