



R. Needham

Endeh, II: Test and confirmation

In: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 126 (1970), no: 2, Leiden, 246-258

This PDF-file was downloaded from <http://www.kitlv-journals.nl>

ENDEH, II: TEST AND CONFIRMATION

In a previous article on terminology and alliance in Endeh, Flores, I reviewed the published evidence in the ethnographical literature, together with the results of field enquiries made by myself among Endehnese living on Sumba, and presented a new interpretation of the system (Needham, 1968). I did not know that there also existed a body of unpublished evidence, in the form of field notes made on Flores in late 1949 and January 1950 by the late Raymond Kennedy. The present paper reports Kennedy's account of the institutions of descent and marriage in Endeh (Kennedy, 1955), and applies his findings to the conclusions of my comparative analysis.¹

I

Ethnographic Record

Kennedy made most of his enquiries in Roworeke, in the Ndonga valley, not far from the town of Endeh, the administrative centre. It was estimated that at least fifty percent of the people there were still "pagan" (12).² Very few of even the young people spoke Malay. The general impression conveyed by Kennedy's observations is that the Endehnese still maintained their traditional culture and social forms but were under intensifying pressure from the several influences of Islam, the Roman Catholic mission, and the government.

Descent is patrilineal (78); there are corporate unilineal descent groups, *pu'u* (12); and marital residence is patrilocal (28). Kennedy

¹ The Kennedy notes are on record in the Human Relations Area Files, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A. At the instance of Mr. Robert H. Barnes, who had come upon them in the course of his research into social organisation on Flores, copies were generously supplied to me, in January 1969, by Dr. Frank M. LeBar, Director of Research at H.R.A.F. I am most grateful to these gentlemen for their help, and to the Human Relations Area Files for their scholarly service. I should like this resultant paper, minor though it is, to serve as a grateful recognition of Professor Kennedy's contributions to Indonesian ethnography.

² References to Kennedy's notes are made simply by page-numbers within parentheses. The pages are those of the typed version in the H.R.A.F.

translates *pu'u* as "clan" but refers to this grouping throughout his notes by the Malay word *suku*, a term which can denote a variety of social divisions. The descent groups are largely localised in "clusters" (13); originally, it was said, each village comprised only one clan (135, 137). Many people today are ignorant of their clan affiliation, and "real disintegration" of the descent system "is just beginning" (137).

The clan is exogamous, but marriage within it is possible provided the relationship between the parties is at least three generations distant (11, 17, 80). Kennedy writes at one point that he had found "not a single case of suku endogamy" (80), though he later refers to "a few cases of endogamy with distant relatives, but not many" (241).

Traditionally, marriages were arranged "and the girls and boys simply obeyed". "Nowadays, the young are consulted, but there is still plenty of prearranged marriage" (241). A bride price is necessary to the contraction of a marriage; this is reported to be "really high", to the degree that some people are said to go bankrupt in order to pay it. "Nevertheless, everyone in the suku helps the man pay his bride price and in turn all helpers are later helped. This bride price is a clan affair" (11). There is also a counterpart to this marriage payment, so that there is an exchange of prestations. These are classified as masculine and feminine goods: "A man gives 'male' things (animals, gold, money, [elephant] tusks) and a woman gives in return 'female' things (cloth, mats, rice, etc.)" (147). Residence is matrilocal until the brideprice is paid, or until the husband has completed a period of bride service for his wife's father; in either case, however, the children still belong to the father's clan (78).

The levirate is "a very regular procedure", and there is no further payment in such a case. It is the duty of a man to take in his deceased brother's widow or widows, together with the children; "moreover they are pusaka [heritable joint property] of the family..." (249). "The sororate is also usual, although it is not required" (241). The Catholic Church has tried to prevent polygamy, the levirate, and the sororate, but without success (252). There is no divorce, and there is said never to have been any (248).

The relationship terminology, which cost Kennedy "a terrific struggle" to get, is reported in two forms: as a preliminary list of English kinship terms with Endeh equivalents (233-4), and then as a checked and final list of Endeh terms with English definitions (236-7). Slightly rearranged, in order to permit an easier comparison with the lists in the earlier paper (Needham, 1968, pp. 308, 315), the terminology is

as presented in Table 1. There are in addition descriptive designations for MBW (*hai ada*, "wife [of the] mother's brother") and FZH (*aki no'o*, "husband [of the] father's sister").

TABLE 1

ENDEH RELATIONSHIP TERMINOLOGY (KENNEDY, 1955)

1. <i>ambu</i>	"grandparent"
<i>ambu ata aki</i>	"grandfather"
<i>ambu ata hai</i>	"grandmother"
2. <i>baba</i>	F
<i>baba susu</i>	FB, MZH
3. <i>ine</i>	M, FBW
<i>ine susu</i>	MZ
<i>ine tu'a</i>	MBW, WM
4. <i>ada</i>	MB, WF
5. <i>no'o</i>	FZ, HM
6. <i>ari, ka'e</i>	B (m.s.), FBS (m.s.), MZS (m.s.), BW (m.s.), WZ, Z (w.s.), FBD (w.s.), MZD (w.s.), ZH (w.s.), HB
7. <i>nara</i>	B (w.s.), FBS (w.s.), MZS (w.s.), MBS (w.s.)
8. <i>veta</i>	Z (m.s.), FBD (m.s.), MZD (m.s.), FZD (m.s.)
9. <i>hai</i>	MBD (m.s.), W
10. <i>aki</i>	FZS (w.s.), H
11. <i>edja</i>	FZS (m.s.), MBS (m.s.), ZH (m.s.), WB
12. <i>ipa</i>	FZD (w.s.), MBD (w.s.), BW (w.s.), HZ

The accompanying mode of alliance is defined by Kennedy after his consideration of the terminology, and it is not everywhere clear to what extent his statements on the matter are inferences from the terminology, and to what extent they are rules of marriages as given to him by the Endehnese. In two places, however, we are explicitly given reports of Endehnese statements. In the first, Endehnese are noted as having said that mother's brother's daughter marriage is "the right thing" (237). In the second, Kennedy's assistant referred to the expectation of this form of marriage (290) and said that "a son by preference should marry into his mother's suku"; "... if once one marries into a suku, the sons should continue this custom" (291). An example of such repeated marriages with the same descent group is the alliance between Odja "suku" in Roworeke and Wanda "suku" in the neighbouring settlement of Watu Roga: "with the mother's brother's daughter arrangement, and so many Odja-Wanda marriages, it is just about a regular thing" (241).

Kennedy had no time to investigate how many men were married

to women of their mother's clan (291), or to make a survey of alliances in general, but he did record certain examples. His assistant stated that "an Odja man should take a Gusa woman, and that a Rewarangga suku man should take a Wanda woman . . ." The informant himself, who was an Odja, had however married a Wanda woman, and he said that his son would also marry a Wanda woman. Kennedy noted, too, that another Odja man had also married a Rewarangga woman (290). "He [the assistant] seemed to think that perhaps once it went like this :

<i>Men</i>	married	<i>Women</i>
Odja		Gusa
Gusa		Some other
Some other		Odja
Djawa		Some other
Rewarangga		Wanda
Wanda		Some other

At all crucial points, he doesn't know!" (290-91).

The Catholic missionaries have tried to stop "mother's brother's daughter marriage" (252). The Endehnese "have some trouble with the church" on this score, and "they have, canonically, to go up three generations to get the proper hai or aki (that is, mother's mother's mother's brother's son's son's daughter; or father's father's father's sister's daughter's daughter's son)" (237-8). In other words, "The church enforced a shift to more distant mother's brother's daughter type marriage" (238).

II

Kennedy's Interpretation

Kennedy records his characterisation of Endeh society immediately after his first list of relationship terms, and confirms his view after drawing up his final version. His interpretation appears to be based, in fact, on his analysis of the terminology.

He stresses that a man calls FBD, MZD, and FZD by the term for "sister"; i.e., "all except mother's brother's daughter, who is called 'wife'" (234). Correspondingly, a woman calls FBS, MZS, and MBS by the term for "brother", i.e. "all except father's sister's son, who is called 'husband' ". Similarly, a woman calls FBD and MZD by the term for "sister", but calls FZD and MBD "sister-in-law". "The term for the former also means 'husband's sister', and the same term means, in

the latter application, 'brother's wife'. Finally, a man calls FBS and MZS by the term for "brother", but calls FZS and MBS "brother-in-law"; the term for the former "also means 'sister's husband', and the same term means, in the latter application, 'wife's brother'" (234-5).

"Thus", he concludes, "the terms check out exactly for mother's brother's daughter marriage..." (235); "The entire thing checks out perfectly" (236). Following his second list of relationship terms, furthermore, he writes: "I can find no flaw in the system. It is exactly right for mother's brother's daughter marriage" (237).

At a later point, after his inquiries into actual marriages and a possible scheme of alliances between clans, he sums up his understanding of the system:

"Thus clearly we have mother's brother's daughter preference, and father's sister's daughter taboo. And they [*sc.* the Endehnese] seem to have some memory of a regular circulating system so based. However, the system has broken down..." (291).

By Kennedy's account, therefore, the Endeh system is one of asymmetric prescriptive alliance, observed in a state of disintegration.

III

Assessment

Kennedy's interpretation is indeed plausible, but there are certain deficiencies which make it necessary to re-examine the matter.³ There is no need, however, to carry out a full analysis. The evidence is for the most part entirely consistent with the published material, and it is open to the same analytical considerations. It deals, moreover, with speakers of the *djao* dialect, and the relationship terms in particular are thus directly comparable with the previous lists and with my own. But there are certain points of disparity or uncertainty, and these have to be resolved before a systematic assessment can be made.

Kennedy gives the term for MBD, w, or "woman" as *hai*, and this form is repeated in the term for "grandmother", *ambu ata hai*, i.e., female grandparent. Yet all of the printed reports, from 1855 onwards, as well as my own findings, consistently have *fai* for "wife" and for

³ It should be remembered that we are dealing with field notes, and with inferences drawn as the evidence was collected, not with a complete and final analysis intended for publication.

“female” (cf. Needham, 1968). *Hai* is not an intrusive *ngao* word, for in that dialect also the term for “wife” or “woman” is *ata fai*, whereas *hai* means a “wish” or “desire” (van Suchtelen, 1921, pp. 318, 373). Nor is the word the result of a normal phonetic shift, for whereas *p/f* and *h/s* are familiar in the area, there is, I think, no such equivalence between *f* and *h*. Perhaps, after all, the form *hai* is no more than an error of transcription. In any case, there is no doubt that it is semantically identical with *fai*, so no analytical difficulty is introduced.

A second point to remark is the term *ine tu'a* for MBW. Both van Suchtelen and I recorded *ineh* (or: *inè*) *mere*. The *tu'a* component in Kennedy's version is possibly the *toea* in van Suchtelen's *ana toea*, BC (w.s.), and is perhaps related to the Manggarai *to'a*, ZC, WBC (cf. Needham, 1966b, pp. 149, 151). In van Suchtelen's *ngao* vocabulary it appears also in *toea ëdja*, “blood relation” or “sweetheart, lover” (1921, p. 412), but we still do not know what it means in isolation. It does not appear in the *djao* vocabulary (1921, p. 353).

Another point of disparity, though a very slight one, is that FBW is denoted by *ine*, not (as recorded by van Suchtelen and by myself) *ine susu*. Comparison with Kennedy's *baba susu* (FB, MZH) suggests, however, that FBW should correspondingly be *ine susu*.

Ada, MB, differs from my *ka'é mere*, but is clearly only another form of the term variously rendered by van Suchtelen as *ëda*, *ëda*, and *edda* (cf. Needham, 1968, pp. 307, 315). The additional designation, *hai ada*, is, as we have noted above, merely a descriptive compound.

Kennedy writes that “Ari and ka'e mean older and younger brother (man speaking); older and younger sister (woman speaking)” (234), which implies that *ari* is older and *ka'e* is younger; but this is certainly incorrect and is presumably a syntactic slip in note-taking.

Nasa, MBD, FZS (w.s.),⁴ is not listed: MBD is denoted by *hai*, and FZS (w.s.) by *aki*.

The rest of the terms are familiar, both in form and in genealogical specification. The only severe defect is that Kennedy's list includes no terms for the first and second descending genealogical levels. Nevertheless, Kennedy can “find no flaw in the system” (i.e., in the

⁴ There is a misprint in this respect in the 1968 analysis: at p. 308, Table 1, s.v. *nasa*, for “fz” read “fzs” (cf. the correct specification on p. 323). There is also a mistake, of less consequence, in Table 3 (p. 322): the feminine “*amboe*” in the second ascending genealogical level, above “*noö*”, should be transposed to the far right column, above “*ineh mere*”. In the bibliography, the final particulars of the in-press title provisionally listed as “Needham [1968]” (p. 334) are as given in the bibliography to the present article (Needham, 1969).

TABLE 2
 ENDEH CATEGORIES (KENNEDY)
 ARRANGED AS IN ASYMMETRIC PRESCRIPTIVE ALLIANCE

(f.)	(m.)	(f.)	(m.)	(f.)	(m.)	(f.)
			<i>ambu</i> (FF)	<i>ambu</i> (FM)	<i>ambu</i> (MF)	<i>ambu</i> (MM)
	<i>aki no'o</i> (FZH)	<i>no'o</i> (FZ)	<i>baba</i> (F, FB, MZH)	<i>ine</i> (M, MZ, FBW)	<i>ada</i> (MB, WF)	<i>ine tu'a</i> (MBW, WM)
<i>veta</i> (FZD)	<i>edja</i> (FZS, ZH)	<i>veta</i> (Z, FBD, MZD)	<i>ka'e</i> (eB, FBse, MZse) <i>ari</i> (yB, FBSy, MZSy)	<i>hai</i> (MBD, W)	<i>edja</i> (MBS, WB)	

level do indeed fit exactly, whereas those in Ego's level are marked by a decisive symmetry in the dispositions of *edja*. The absence of any terms for the first descending level unfortunately precludes any more systematic analysis.

Alternatively, the terms can be arranged in a two-line symmetric matrix, as in Table 3. In this case, it is the specifications of *edja* which fit exactly, leaving the asymmetric indications (MB \neq FZH; MBW \neq FZ; MBD \neq FZD; MBD = W; FZD = Z) to be accounted for. There is sufficient terminology); he concludes that it "checks out exactly", "perfectly", with MBD marriage, and that it is "exactly right" for this type of marriage. But this is to overlook the specifications for *edja*, viz., FZS, MBS, ZH, WB, which are both cognatically and affinally symmetric. They are in fact out of any correspondence with an asymmetric classification based on matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. Table 2, in which Kennedy's terminology is arranged in a three-line asymmetric prescriptive matrix, shows how the terms in the first ascending genealogical

TABLE 3
 ENDEH CATEGORIES (KENNEDY)
 ARRANGED AS IN SYMMETRIC PRESCRIPTIVE ALLIANCE

← A (m.)	← b (f.)	a (f.)	→ B (m.)
<i>ambu</i> (FF)	<i>ambu</i> (FM)	<i>ambu</i> (MM)	<i>ambu</i> (MF)
<i>baba</i> (F, FBW, MZH)	<i>ine</i> (M, MZ, FBW)	<i>ine tu'a</i> (MBW, WM) <i>no'o</i> (FZ)	<i>ada</i> (MB, WF) <i>aki no'o</i> (FZH)
<i>ka'e</i> (eB, FBSe, MZSe) <i>ari</i> (yB, FBSy, MZSy)	<i>hai</i> (MBD, W) <i>veta</i> (FZD)	<i>veta</i> (z, FBD, MZD)	<i>edja</i> (FZS, MBS, ZH, WB)

comparative evidence (Needham, 1966b; 1967), as well as the previous analysis of other records of the Endeh classification (Needham, 1968), to demonstrate that this can be done.

Kennedy provides further means for deciding how to interpret the terminology. In reporting that the Roman Catholics have tried to stop MBD marriage,⁵ he gives genealogical definitions of how the Endehese may go up three generations "to get to a proper *hai* or *aki*". These are MMMBSSD, for a man, and FFFZDDS, for a woman. Marriage with these relatives is held to represent a shift to a more distant "mother's brother's daughter type marriage". But if we trace these connexions against a three-line scheme of asymmetric prescriptive alliance (Fig. 1), we find that they do not fit. The result is: MMMBSSD = z. Conversely (in an exact sense, for the positions through which the connexion is traced are identical), FFFZDDS = B (w.s.). The situation cannot be saved, either, by increasing the number of lines, for in an asymmetric prescriptive system of any form these statuses are not marriageable.

Yet they are marriageable in a symmetric scheme, as can readily

⁵ It goes almost without saying that the Church would have been concerned to obviate unions with first and second cousins, i.e., by degree, not to prohibit a certain categorical regulation of marriage and affinal alliance.

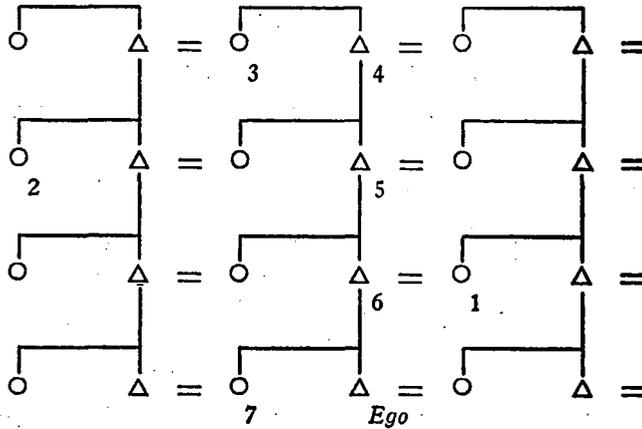


FIG. 1. "DISTANT MBD-TYPE MARRIAGE" (KENNEDY)

ASYMMETRIC SCHEME

(Inferior figures indicate genealogical specifications: 1 = m; 2 = mm; 3 = mmm; 4 = mmmB; 5 = mmmBS; 6 = mmmBSS; 7 = mmmBSSD [=z])

be seen from Fig. 2. In this context, mmmBSSD = MBD; FFFZDDS = FZS (w.s.). The former status is that of a relatively distant *hai* (MBD); the latter is an equally distant *aki* (FZS [w.s.]). A marriage of this type is categorically "proper", it can be contracted as a unilateral alliance

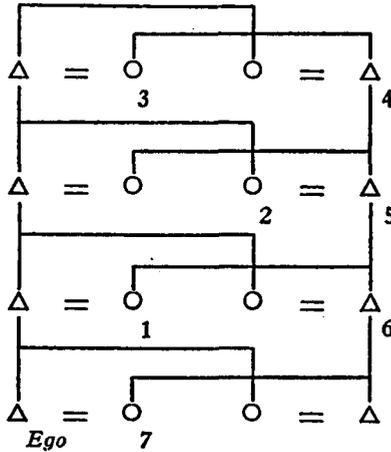


FIG. 2. "DISTANT MBD-TYPE MARRIAGE" (KENNEDY)

SYMMETRIC SCHEME

(Inferior figures indicate genealogical specifications: 1 = m; 2 = mm; 3 = mmm; 4 = mmmB; 5 = mmmBS; 6 = mmmBSS; 7 = mmmBSSD [=MBD])

within the symmetric classification, and it satisfies the Catholic ban on marriage with cousins of the first and second degrees.

We do not know, incidentally, whether these genealogical definitions were provided by the Endehnese as their own examples of the "shift" in question, or whether they were constructed by Kennedy in order to give an anthropological description of what he had been told in more general terms. In either case, though, the argument is made. If the definitions are indigenous, they are conclusive evidence of the symmetric character of the classification; if they are the ethnographer's glosses, they contradict his contention that the (terminological) "system" is asymmetric.

There is no doubt, of course, that he is correct in the asymmetric significance which he attributes to the terms *hai* (MBD = w) and *aki* (FZS [w.s.] = h), but these are not enough to permit a systematic definition of the terminology (cf. Needham, 1968, pp. 331-2).

The argument so far has been confined to an examination of the relationship terms, and has not dealt with actual marriages and alliances between corporate descent groups. These two aspects — categories and social action — have to be kept distinct and must be analysed separately (cf. Needham, 1969). The principle is that what can vary independently must be analysed independently. It is necessary, accordingly, to take particular care to discriminate (a) an asymmetric classification, and (b) what Kennedy describes as "a regular circulating system" based on matrilateral (i.e. asymmetric) cross-cousin marriage. It has in fact been established that a symmetric classification can govern the systematic contraction of unilateral alliances (Needham, 1966b; 1967). Kennedy's report of repeated matrilateral marriages does not contradict, therefore, the decision that the terminology is symmetric. With this proviso, we may now turn, briefly, to the evidence on alliances between Endehnese descent groups. Kennedy's notes on the topic may be collected and rearranged as in Table 4.

TABLE 4
ALLIANCES BETWEEN ENDEH CLANS

		Djawa	
		Gusa	→ Odja
Gusa, Rewarangga, Wanda	→	Odja	
		Wanda	→ Rewarangga → Odja
		Wanda	→ Odja, Rewarangga

The information is rather exiguous and not conclusive, which is

understandable in the circumstances, but it is nevertheless open to a reasonable interpretation. Although there are no alliance cycles to be read off from the table (cf. Needham, 1962, p. 81), all of the eight alliances represented are asymmetric, and there is even a chain of alliances linking the three groups Wanda, Rewarangga, and Odja. In spite of the gaps, it is of some significance that no symmetric alliances are reported. However little weight this evidence may be accorded, therefore, that much tips the scale towards the regular contraction of asymmetric alliances by the unilateral transfer of women between the clans.

There is no evidence in Kennedy's notes that the system had "broken down". The informant's ignorance at the "crucial points" does not mean much, for not every member of such a society can be expected to trace examples of alliance cycles, and even in an integrally asymmetric system the cycles may not be at all evident within the complex reticulation of differential alliances. A factor to be appreciated, also, when assessing Kennedy's interpretation of his findings, is that he was already familiar with the works of van Suchtelen (1921) and van Wouden (1935). Explicit references in his notes (13, 291) show that he had them in mind as he conducted his enquiries. He would therefore have expected to find a preference (reported by van Suchtelen) for MBD marriage, and he more surely knew of the Dutch work (exemplified by van Wouden) on "circulating connubium", or asymmetric prescriptive alliance. This latter type of system was what he was looking for in Endeh, as is made clear by what he wrote about Roworeke: "I made a final try to get a circulating scheme out of the suku here, knowing that they have mother's brother's daughter marriage" (290). This is what he had in view when he expostulated that at all the "crucial points" his assistant did not know the connexions. But only an intensive investigation into affinal alliances could have furnished enough detailed evidence (by clan, alliance group, category, genealogy, and locality) to permit a decision as to whether or not the system had broken down.

IV

Conclusions

Kennedy's notes have provided an unforeseen test of my earlier analysis, and they may be taken to confirm it. The additional evidence supports in all respects the previous characterisation of the Endeh system, viz.: the relationship terminology is prescriptive, and definitively

symmetric; the mode of alliance⁶ is asymmetric; and certain asymmetric indications in the terminology correspond to the unilateral (asymmetric) contraction of alliances. This confirmation of the analysis is rendered more decisive by the further cultural variations on a common structure of terminology and alliance.

Kennedy's notes describe, also, certain features which deserve special emphasis as accompaniments of prescriptive alliance. These are: the arranged marriages, corporate involvement of descent groups in marriage payments, widow-inheritance, sororal polygyny, and absence of divorce (cf. Needham, 1964, p. 232). They are not diagnostic of this type of social organisation, but taken in connexion with the defining character of the terminology of social classification they make up a complex of institutions that is significantly coherent. To these features we may add the evidence concerning the masculine and feminine goods which are exchanged between descent groups at the contraction of marriage. These prestations, similarly, are not certain indications of asymmetric affinal alliance, but this mode of exchange is typically found in association with the unilateral transfer of women.⁷ Where there are terminological indications of unilateral marriage, therefore, the co-presence of such complementary prestations permits a surer recognition of the alliance system.

The previous analysis has been confirmed, finally, in its three prime intentions (Needham, 1968, p. 305). Kennedy's notes have more decidedly made it possible, namely, to establish another terminology of prescriptive alliance, to indicate a further example of formal variance between terminology and alliance; and to present Endeh society as a case of special interest in the determination of symmetry and asymmetry in the analysis of prescriptive alliance.

University of Oxford, August 1969

RODNEY NEEDHAM

⁶ The original phrase, "alliance system" (1968, p. 327), may be found ambiguous. (A technical vocabulary of analysis to separate the formal from the empirical has still to be worked out.) In this connexion, I should correct an earlier statement that the Endeh terminology is one of "asymmetric alliance" (Needham, 1966a, p. 173). The point made in that place, viz., that $xyz = z$ is consistent with asymmetric alliance, remains valid, but the characterisation of the Endeh mode of prescription is not.

⁷ For an authoritative, if summary, formulation of this association, see De Josselin de Jong (1935, p. 7); cf. the parallels in Indonesia isolated by Van Ossenbruggen (1935), and also the Tanimbar data cited by Van Wouden (1935, p. 34). Subsequent confirmations of this symbolic classification of complementary exchanges, in asymmetric alliance systems, are numerous in other culture areas also, e.g., Assam, Manipur, and upper Burma.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Josselin de Jong, J. P. B. de
 1935 *De Maleische Archipel als Ethnologisch Studieveld*. Leiden: Ginsberg.
- Kennedy, Raymond
 1955 [Unpublished field notes on Endeh] E-5 (1949-50) OB1, Indonesia, Flores, OF9 (pp. 10-35, 75-82, 130-49, 211-91). Human Relations Area Files, New Haven, Conn.
- Needham, Rodney
 1962 *Structure and Sentiment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
 1964 *A Synoptic examination of Anāl society*. *Ethnos*, vol. 29, pp. 219-36.
 1966a Comments on the analysis of Purum society. *American Anthropologist*, vol. 68, pp. 75-101.
 1966b *Terminology and Alliance, I: Garo, Manggarai*. *Sociologus*, vol. 17, pp. 141-57.
 1967 *Terminology and Alliance, II: Mapuche, Conclusions*. *Sociologus*, vol. 18, pp. 39-53.
 1968 *Endeh: Terminology, alliance, and analysis*. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, vol. 124, pp. 305-35.
 1969 *Gurage social classification: formal notes on an unusual system*. *Africa*, vol. 39, pp. 153-66.
- Ossenbruggen, F. D. E. van
 1935 *Het oeconomisch-magisch element in Tobasche verwantschapsverhoudingen*. *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, deel 80, serie B, no. 3*, pp. 63-125.
- Suchtelen, B. C. C. M. M. van
 1921 *Endeh (Flores)*. *Mededeelingen van het Bureau voor de Bestuurszaken der Buitengewesten, bewerkt door het Encyclopaedisch Bureau, Aflevering 26*. Weltevreden: Uitgeverij Papyrus.
- Wouden, F. A. E. van
 1935 *Sociale Structuurtypen in de Groote Oost*. Leiden: Ginsberg. [English edition: *Types of Social Structure in Eastern Indonesia*, translated by Rodney Needham. (Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde Translation Series, 11.) The Hague: Nijhoff.]