

seat of the collective choral dance performances. The hierarchic order which is inherent in the five sections of the village is translated into the ritual deambulation from the Manlolong *lallang*, through the Lakaduli *lallang*, to the Baorae *lallang*. This procedure is explained by the inferior status of the Lekaduli compared to the Manlolong's. The former are not allowed to enter by themselves the higher ranked section. This deambulation takes place twice during the ceremony and the second one ends when the Manlolong and the Lekaduli join the dance (*lego lego*) which is performed around the *dolu*. The place where the dance is performed and the disposition of the dancers (the participants at the *lego lego* join in a long spiral which slowly turns around the *dolu*; at the head stand the Baorae, behind them the Manlolong, and then the Lekaduli) translate into space symbols the unity of the village and the hierarchy of its components.

Also the hierarchy of the houses located within the Baorae section is translated into space configurations: the four young Baorae "princesses" who join the dance belong to various descent lines and their procession to the *dolu* outlines the hierarchic relations existing among the lineage houses. According to the ritual procedure, in fact, the princess belonging to the Kiribunga descent lineage has to leave her own house (*umah* Sina) and has to follow, in order to get to the *dolu*, a path which leads to the *umah* Rombi, where another princess joins her, and to the *umah* Atahodi, where a third young princess joins the group. When the small procession gets to the front of the *dolu*, the Kiribunga princess asks an *umah* Pelangserang princess to join the *lego lego* dance: in fact that is the house of the descent line the chiefs belong to (Fig. 3).

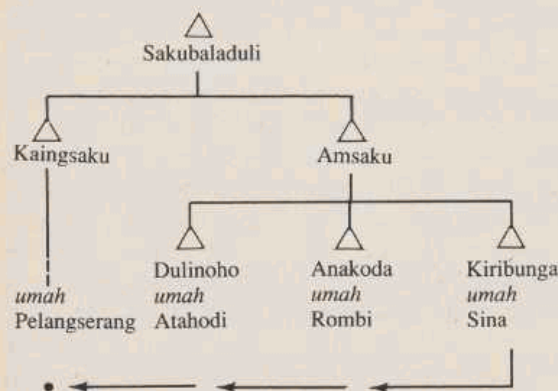


Fig. 3: "Princesses" ritual way during the *sunat* ceremony

Then the procession leaves the house inhabited by the less important descent group and gets to the main one passing through the houses inhabited by the two intermediary hierarchic levels.

4. The Space Language and the Marriage Exchanges

Marriage practices are also imprisoned in the web of space symbols which is the framework the image of the social relations system is built upon: in fact, the *umah lallang*, the houses representing the symbolic centers of the five sections of the village, function (if not always at least on the most important weddings) as the starting and finishing point of the bridal processions and are chosen as seats of wedding celebrations.

The day the ceremony is expected to be performed, the patrilineal and matrilineal relatives of the groom gather in the *umah lallang* of his section and form a procession making their way towards the *umah lallang* of the section the bride belongs to: here the wedding is going to be celebrated according to the Muslim rite and the wedding banquet is going to take place. But even on the days before the wedding celebration the two *umah lallang* become the reference points for the preparations: the matrilineal relatives of the groom have to offer a substantial quantity of supplies for the wedding banquet and they deliver it forming a procession to the groom's *umah lallang*; this contribution, together with the one supplied by the groom's family, is then taken to the bride's *umah lallang*.

However, the knots of the space web the marriage exchanges are weaved around do not always coincide with the *umah lallang*; sometimes the reference points are the houses inhabited by the groom's and the bride's family groups: this happens place when the people who contract marriage do not belong to different sections but to the same one. In fact, not all the sections work as exogamous units; marriages among members of the Lekaduli and Alukae sections are prohibited, but this rule does not apply to the other three sections: so the members of the three *suku* the Manlolong section is made of can contract marriage among themselves; the same thing happens among the twenty one descent groups of the Makassar section and also among the descent groups which coexist in the Baorae section.

Thus, none of the three levels of social aggregation existing within the community (section or *lallang*, *suku*, and descent group) is exclusively accountable for the recourse to exogamous practices;