

social organization is devoted almost exclusively to the standards of social differentiation favored by aristocrats, which unsurprisingly gives great attention to slight differences among members of this stratum, but little to other classes. Röttger-Rössler, however, together with her husband, intentionally settled in a village of commoners in order to study the principles and patterns of social discrimination current there.

In the broadest terms, there are three main classes, the aristocrats (*ana'karaeng*), free men (*tu maradeka*) or commoners, and slaves (*ata*). Each of these groups is further differentiated. The aristocrats in particular finely discriminate according to the relative purity of birth of a person's parents. The commoners of the pseudonymously named Bontolowe distinguish persons born in the village from those who have moved in. They also distinguish between persons who can and those who cannot claim relationship bilaterally to holders or former holders of one of the four customary law offices which made up the community's former ritual and civil structure of governance.

Röttger-Rössler places great weight on methodology. Rather than attempting a total structural analysis, an aim which she would probably reject as inappropriate, she takes her bearings from the "Manchester School" of anthropology, now pretty well dispersed, and American componential analysis. Although componential analysis has left some traces on her rhetoric and practice, early in her study she offers penetrating criticism of the method deriving from its failures when put to a practical test. The bulk of her contribution relates to an extended demonstration of the limits of another technique, namely asking members of the community to sort cards bearing names of their acquaintances into a ranked hierarchy.

Her subjects simply refused to stay around to answer standard questionnaires, but some were willing to manipulate the cards. Of the four persons who were prepared to participate (from eight who were asked), two were not born in the village and a third was a social deviant, whose answers were of interest because of the divergent attitude they represented. Having separated men from women, they quickly organized the cards into the appropriate social categories, but indicated that the cards would be ordered differently if ranked according to each person's public regard. When asked to rearrange the cards according to this criterion, however, they quickly got stuck, resorting the cards as each new name was added, before stopping and declaring the task to be impossible. This failure revealed that a person's standing is not absolute, but becomes manifest only dyadically, through comparison with someone else.

Listening to gossip turns out to have been a better method. Readers with an interest in Asian autobiography may wish to note her comment that direct autobiographical description does not exist among the Makassar, but that frequently they are happy to give detailed and quite intimate reports about the lives of a third person, even in that person's presence. Card ranking sessions turned into opportunities to collect just this sort of detailed biographical report, as subjects justified their rankings or explained their inability to rank pairs of cards. It turned out, not surprisingly given the method's focus on individuals, that several standards of comparison were drawn upon. Not only do the Makassar judge their fellow men by reference to social class as determined by descent, but also by their special capacities and achievements in the traditional and modern spheres and notably by the commendable or deplorable aspects of their characters and behavior. She comes therefore to the quite expectable result that a person's esteem is defined by the relationship between his social and personal identity. She means, of course, since personal identity is also social, that a man or woman is valued for personal traits as well as for class position and public office.

A large part of the book's interest lies in the extensive descriptions of individuals and their