sitting reading a foreign book or being seen walking and conversing with a foreigner who was perhaps more respectable looking than most tourists; nor is it wholly explicable by my then rudimentary command of Indonesian and almost complete lack of Balinese. It indicates, among other matters concerning the mystical attraction (or repulsion) of things and people from distant parts (cf., e.g., Helms 1987), what is borne out by the recitations of Old Javanese and Sanskrit referred to: that in Balinese thought there is a disjunction between the sound of words *(sabda)* and their meaning *(artha)*, though letters are the symbols *(nyasa)* of both. One learns the sound of words first, and then perhaps their meanings. Thus for weeks after my arrival in the Gria, Pedanda Gdé, most generously, would talk to me literally for hours, day after day, in the local version of Indonesian (which dispenses with many of the prefixes and suffixes of what McVey calls [1986: 28] "proper Indonesian") even though my Balinese "counterpart" had explained to the Pedanda that I had almost none of the language, which was anyway apparent from my inability to say anything by way of reciprocal entertainment or in response to questions.

Meaning may change and is in any case dependant upon *désa kala patra*, what is taken to be the case at a particular time in a certain place. Meaning is thus perishable and constitutes the "material" body *(sarira)* of a word; sound and letters are, like the *suksma* and *antakarana* bodies of a person (cf. Duff-Cooper 1985*c*), eternal *(nitya)* and unchanging *(stham)*, and imperishable (cf. Hooykaas 1964: 37). This, of course, is connected with the use of the *sloka* style by a Pedanda in which, we have seen, self-expression (voice quality or idiosyncratic tonal and rhythmical interpretations) is ruled out. What is important is not what is said, in this context, but how what is said is said.

Now, at least one person in the village, I Nyoman Kanten (see note 1), appears to have a fair command of written English. It irritates me a little, to be frank, that he insists on writing to me in English though Pak Care, Nyoman must know, writes to me, and I, to him, in Indonesian and Balinese (using Roman letters). But it is a point of interest which is explicated below chap. 4).

Villagers "remember" the times when the Dutch ruled them as the best of all times when they have been subjected to others. It is therefore a little surprising that nobody, not even among the very old, including Brahmana, spoke or read Dutch; and that, as far as I know, only two words that derive from Dutch are regularly employed: *opname* and *stanplat*. The former refers not only to admission to one of the hospitals in town, but also describes the situation, explained fully elsewhere (Duff-Cooper 1985*d*: 25), where a person requests or is advised a period of full- or part-time residence at the Gria because of some more or less serious disturbance to his or her normal psychical functioning. *Stanplat* refers in Pagutan to the place at the center of the *lurah* where one can hire a *sidomo* (horse-drawn carriage) or take a mini-bus to town or further afield.[12]

We now come to Indonesian. This is the language that Pedanda Gdé and, following his lead, others in the Gria and in Pagutan chose to address me in and to make my language of communication for about the first six months of my stay in the Gria. Later the Pedanda instructed me in spoken and written Balinese. He could have done so from the start, but he did not.

It is tempting, perhaps, here to correlate this preference for dealing with me (and, in the circumstances, for deciding a most important aspect of my dealings with others) in Indonesian with the ideological distance of all Caucasians, and others, from the Pedanda and to a slightly lesser degree from all Balinese (but see Duff-Cooper 1987*a*: 76 note 40).

It is, of course, the case that Malay is the language of trade (cf. Hobart 1986*a*: 146); that much Malay has been incorporated into "proper" Indonesian; that Indonesian is regarded most generally as the language of officialdom; and that trade and officialdom are associated with the town. "Town" is associated in villagers' thought, as in the Gria, with values that run counter to what is most valued in village life – communality, perhaps, encapsulates this best, compared with the individuality of the norms of town life; and villagers and others feel much distance between themselves and officials and traders.

This may partly elucidate the use of Indonesian with me. But "distance" seems not always to be able to play this heuristic role: Sherzer reports (1987: 301 f.) the joking duel of words between a buyer and a seller in a market over the price of some fish eventually purchased in which at one point the buyer employs Indonesian. It is not obvious that the buyer does so because of the distance of the seller; indeed, each knows that the other is Balinese and their employment of fine

12 The direction one asks the driver to take compounds, in "our" terms, practical and mystical considerations, like so much else in Balinese life (cf., e.g., Duff-Cooper 1983: 52 f.).