

and ordinary Balinese, which they intermingle, is premised on the fact. Sherzer does not explicate this use of Indonesian; nor does Hobart's report (1986b: 6 f.) about a meeting to decide the criteria for a new *bendesa* greatly help: the discussion was largely in Indonesian mixed with Balinese, though a few speakers kept to Balinese and some switched into it if they wanted to contest an important point. At one stage in the discussion, held in the village office, an influential priest said that the Balinese meaning of "*cacad*," not the Indonesian, was what mattered.

An explication of why Indonesian is used now, now Balinese, cannot probably be given, except by describing the context of their use, as in the situations described above, though a possible line of explication is sketched out below (chap. 4). But one important fact does emerge: that what is taken to matter most is expressed in Balinese. Perhaps when it seemed to Pedanda Gdé that it mattered how my living in the Gria went and that he would be judged on how it turned out, he then began to teach me Balinese (a modicum of which, more literary than spoken, I was later to acquire in the normal ways: through dictionaries, grammars, vernacular translation of the "New Testament," and other such aids, and through living closely with Balinese people).

Bilingualism, at any rate, is, I should say, respected as a useful and intelligent qualification, and many villagers, except the very old, some younger women, and the very young, are adept in the local versions of spoken and written Indonesian, while quite a few appear to be able to understand newspapers and television and radio broadcasts in "proper" Indonesian. But a command of this language is not allowed to take precedence in any way over a person's command of Balinese.

Some younger Balinese – one a member of a "caste" (see note 2; Hobart 1986a: 156 note 76), the other a non-"caste" Balinese – may use Indonesian to converse. Here, interestingly, the reason for doing so may be interpreted not as their distance, but closeness: its use gets over the fact that the former should be addressed in fine Balinese, the latter, in at best ordinary Balinese. Older members of the community deprecate this departure from proper order (and do not engage in it themselves, even when they find themselves, if Sudra, addressing Brahmana toddlers in fine language), but younger people appear to be at ease with it. A corollary of the use of Indonesian in such situations is that the social distance of such interlocutors is lessened, an idea that is favored by many, however, in other ways and which is expressed by saying

that the tall should try to be shorter, the shorter should be made taller; and the use of Indonesian saves the face of young people who are not adept with fine Balinese. Few people on Lombok address "caste" Balinese in Indonesian, except in official circumstances in town or, say, the village office; and if they did, they should expect a sharp rebuke (all be it a humorous one).¹³ Those who cannot speak fine Balinese, however, are considered stupid (*belog*), afar from flattering epithet that has connections (see below) with demons and hence darkness and ignorance.

Finally, Indonesian is very often used in the composition of *pantung*, a Malay quatrain, that may be given to one's special friend or broadcasted to him or her over local radio.¹⁴ What if anything can be pinpointed as influencing people to compose in Balinese or in Indonesian I did not regrettably enquire into. However, it is expectable that *pantung* broadcast should be in Indonesian: the radio station situated in town serves urban and non-urban areas, and the Balinese and Sasak (and others) of Lombok. Indonesian, like the two contingent parts of the Taman Narmada (about 11 km east of Mataram), built in 1727 by Anak Agung Gdé Ngurah Karangasem as a replica of Mount Rinjani, is supposed to unite them; and then to integrate them into the nation Indonesia.¹⁵ As Baumann remarks, "the adoption of a common language is evidently a key factor in all processes aimed at 'national integration'," and local radio (and television) stations play a crucial role in the task of "nation building" (1987: 143; cf. 26 f.). Villagers' little *pantung* are an aspect of this process.

None of what has gone before, however, should be allowed to detract from the fact that,

13 A young Balinese who in Singaraja addressed Pedanda Gdé as Pak Pedanda received the retort, "Why call me Pak? I am not your father [genitor]!" Ida Ketut Sideman, a younger brother of the Pedanda and Deputy Kepala Désa of Pagutan (to a Sasak Kepala Désa) is regularly addressed as Pak 'Tut outside purely Balinese circles.

14 One such, composed by I Wayan Care (see notes 1 and 11), runs: *Saya senang kendaro / makan guling kering-kering / saya paling senang sama Kak Indera / Kakak saya sering di kuling*. [I like travelling by *sidomo* or *bemo* / eating crackly spit-roast pig / I like it very much with Kak Andrew / my "elder brother" (Kak Andrew) is often out and about (and I go with him).]

15 The "function" of the Taman Narmada is closely akin to that of the Taman Mini Indonesia, a tourist attraction in Jakarta that depicts the whole of Indonesia created by the wife of the present President as a part of the new ritual structure that is being created by the New Order Military Regime (cf. Evers 1984: 147–149). It is no coincidence that in the Taman Narmada the eastern part represents the Balinese, the western part the Sasak: "east" is finer than "west" in Balinese ideology.