

Hinduism to Christianity: An Anthropological Linguistics Study of Language Change in Buduk Village, Bali

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Abstract

How does conversion of Hinduism to Christianity affect the language use and the switch of mother tongue in Buduk village? This is the question that this research was aimed at, through investigating the dynamic conditions of speakers from an anthropological linguistics perspective. This study used a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods with interviews, surveys, and observation, through statistical, discourse, and comparative analysis. The results showed that conversion of Hinduism to Christianity has influenced language use that ultimately leads to language change in various ways, such as the naming system, spontaneous language, and the language use in Christianity religious practices. This study contributes to the field of anthropological linguistics by providing insights on the complex interplay of religion, language, and culture in Buduk village.

INTRODUCTION

Religious conversion has a profound impact on various aspects of a community, including each speaker's language use. In Buduk village, many residents have converted their beliefs from Hinduism to Christianity, where it also suggested a shift in the linguistic landscape of the community. In regards to anthropological linguistics, this discipline views language through the prism of the core anthropological concept, culture, and, as such, seeks to uncover the meaning behind the use, misuse or non-use of language, as well as the language different form, registers, and styles (Folley, 2012). The strong correlation on the conversion of this village residents' beliefs with the shift in linguistic landscape that is reflected in their language use, emphasizes the foundation to apply anthropological linguistics in this study. Belief conversion is an understudied topic; in Bali, there are other similar examples currently occurring, such as Hinduism with Moslem in Pegayaman village and Hinduism with Chinese (Tionghoa) in Pinggan village. To understand beliefs, the application of religious experiences has to be comprehended as a form that bind together more than fragmented psyches and more than reunite individuals to divine decrees – these experiences can move from the individuals to embrace others, and, even beyond, to encompass the world (Rappaport,

1999). This understanding implies that the conversion of beliefs cannot be an individual action or event, although it does depart from the concept of individuals originally. Bruce in Perez & Rohde (2022) stated that religion consists of beliefs, actions, and institutions which assume the existence of supernatural entities with powers of action, or impersonal powers or processes possessed of moral purpose. This statement would distinguish religion or religious concepts with beliefs, where beliefs are viewed in a more general concept – as a characteristic that forms religion. Similar conceptual evidences occurred in this Buduk village, where the resident experienced acculturation of their religion with Balinese culture; they do not completely leave some traditions that can still be categorized as Hinduism (i.e., the use of *Penjor*, a Hindu Balinese tall and decorated bamboo pole).

Balinese culture is a combination of customs and Hindu religious values (Wisarja & Sudarsana, 2023). In recent times, Bali has become a battleground for identity and politics among Orientalist, Islamic (Hauser-Schäublin, 2004), and Christian groups. Previous studies (Hamid, 2023; Martana, 2018; Kartini, 2017; Azra, 2004) underscore the intricate dynamics of religious identities and cultural transformation in Bali, shedding light on the historical processes that have shaped the island's religious landscape. While there are Balinese who have embraced Islam and Christianity, the historical context of Bali's potential Islamization and Christianization is complex and multifaceted. In the application of religious practices, rituals including prayer, ceremonies, language (speech) performance, and even some art as a part of religious activities, can function as a resource for this identity and cultural transformations. In Bali, the strong relationship of Balinese culture and Hindu religion has made it inseparable; one cannot say Hindu in Bali without mentioning the Balinese culture as its background – in a sense, the boundary between religious practice and cultural practice of Hindu in Bali is so thin that it cannot be categorized as only one without the others. Due to this phenomenon, several specific teachings of Hindu emerged in Bali itself, which consistently enforce what these teachings believed to be Hindu. This phenomenon is also the reason that whenever anyone in Indonesia refers to Hindu in Bali, they would understand that although it is named Hindu, it represents Hindu in Bali, not just Hindu. The Buduk village language identity of Balinese has also experienced acculturation with the Balinese culture, where even in some cases of religious practices, the residents are still using Balinese language. Other instances also occurred in numerous aspects such as the naming system and spontaneous language. Therefore, this study generally aimed to investigate the dynamic conditions in Buduk Village through how Hinduism converted to Christianity from an anthropological linguistics perspective.

METHOD AND THEORY

Anthropological linguistics is a subfield of anthropology that studies the relationship between language and humans within their culture. It examines how language shapes and reflects cultural meanings, values, norms, and practices. It also investigates how language influences and is influenced by social structures, interactions, identities, and power relations. Religious conversion is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon that involves changes in beliefs, practices, identities, and affiliations. There are different approaches to studying religious conversion, such as psychological, sociological, historical, theological, and anthropological (Gooren 2014). The anthropological approach to religious conversion focuses on the cultural and social aspects of conversion, such as the motivations, processes, contexts, and consequences of

religious change itself. Anthropologists have studied various cases of religious conversion around the world, such as the conversion of indigenous peoples to Christianity in Latin America (i.e., Bastian, 1997), the conversion of Muslims to Christianity in Indonesia (i.e., Hefner, 1993), the conversion of Hindus to Buddhism in India (i.e., Ambedkar, 1957), and the conversion of Christians to Islam in Europe (i.e., Allievi, 2010). Anthropological linguists use various methods to collect and analyse their linguistic data, such as ethnography, participant observation, interviews, surveys, discourse analysis, narrative analysis, and comparative analysis (Duranti, 2001; Enfield et al, 2014).

This study used a mixed-methods approach to investigate the dynamic conditions in Buduk Village, in regards to how Hinduism converted to Christianity from an anthropological linguistics perspective. The study combined qualitative and quantitative methods, such as interviews, surveys, and observation, through statistical, discourse, and comparative analysis. The participants of this study were residents of Buduk village who had converted from Hinduism to Christianity, particularly residents in the Umacandi community hall, since the proportion of Christian in this hall is exponentially larger compared to the others, with 338 Christians from the total of 991 Christians spread over 10 community halls. In sum, the number of residents that converted from Hinduism to Christianity in Buduk village can be seen as follows:

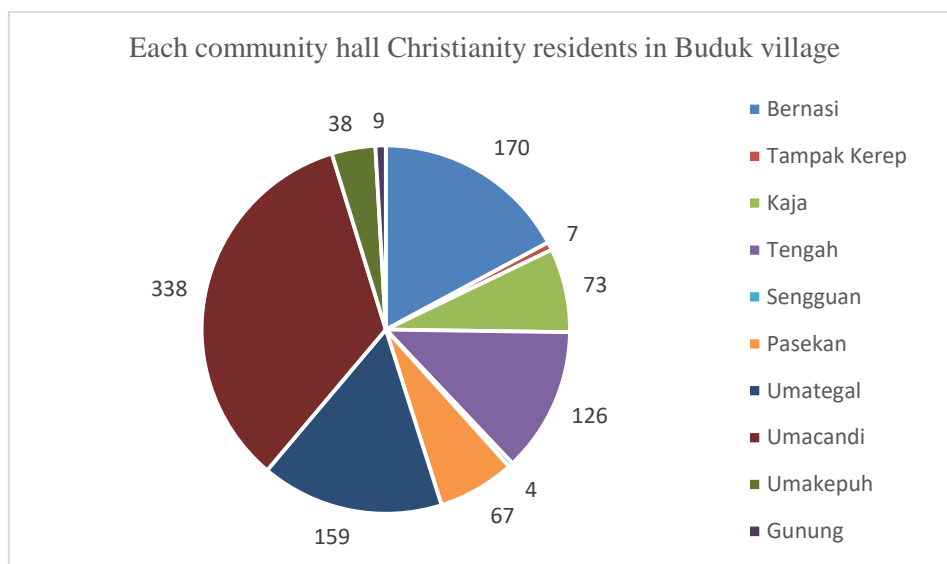


Figure 1. The number of residents in Buduk village that converted from Hinduism to Christianity

The sampling method was purposive sampling, which aimed at fulfilling three different categories of identification through naming system, spontaneous language, and religious practices. These samples were screened with criteria of having lived in Buduk village for at least five years and having converted from Hinduism to Christianity. The demographic characteristics of the respondents were recorded, such as age, gender, education level, occupation, and duration of conversion. This survey was spread to 10 respondents that represented 10 community halls in Buduk village. The materials used in this study were primary and secondary measures. The primary measures were interviews and surveys. The interviews were semi-structured and consisted of open-ended questions that explored the participants' language use that implied language change, the sociolinguistic factors that influenced their choice of language use, the

impact of religious conversion on the transmission of traditional Balinese culture and language, and the role of language in the construction of religious identity. The interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed for data analysis.

The surveys were structured and consisted of 10 questions that can identify the examples of spontaneous language use in different contexts, such as upon seeing terrifying images, having bad luck, losing precious items, feeling blessed, knowing/hearing a devastating news, responding to funny things, getting surprised, making terrible mistakes, congratulating, and admiring something. These questions were based on contextual language use by the Balinese people (common instances where they produced spontaneous language), which can vary depending on the different community that it applied to – this only applies to Balinese people. Both interviews and surveys were conducted in Indonesian and/or Balinese, depending on the preference of the participants. The surveys were paper-based and collected for data analysis. The secondary measures were observation and discourse analysis. The observation involved participant observation in Buduk village in regards to their language uses that implied language change in natural settings. The observation was conducted by one researcher who visited Buduk village for six months and participated in various activities with the residents, such as religious ceremonies, social gatherings, and daily interactions. The observation was recorded in field notes for data analysis. The discourse analysis involved analysing transcription of the prayers, public signs in the religious settings, as well as media recording on religious practices instances among residents of Buduk village who had converted from Hinduism to Christianity. This discourse analysis was recorded in summary notes for data analysis. An online media is available for the Umacandi community hall in Youtube page for GKP B Efrata at <https://www.youtube.com/@gkpbefratabuduk1001/featured>.

The procedure of this study involved three steps: data collection, data processing, and data analysis. The data collection was conducted over a period of six months. First, ethical approval from the institutional review board and informed consent from the participants was obtained. Second, the local leaders of Buduk village were contacted to obtain permission and cooperation in conducting this study. Third, participants were selected through purposive sampling and invited them to participate in the interviews and surveys. Fourth, interviews and surveys were conducted weekly every 17.00 local time in Umacandi community hall, which is the most convenient time and place for these participants. Fifth, participant observation in Buduk village was conducted to observe the language use that implied language change in natural settings. Sixth, discourse and comparative analysis was conducted to analyse transcription of the prayers, public signs in the religious settings, as well as media recording on religious practices instances among residents of Buduk village who had converted from Hinduism to Christianity. While the public signs were limited to the vicinity of religious settings (i.e., church), the prayer and media record included religious practices of death, marriage, and public holidays. The data processing involved preparing the data for analysis.

First, the audio recordings of the interviews were transcribed verbatim. Second, responses from the surveys were counted in a spreadsheet manually. Third, field notes from the participant observation were coded based on the relevancy of framework in discourse analysis of religious practices and language change. Fourth, summary notes were also coded to provide a comparative analysis based on both Hinduism and Christianity practices. The data analysis involved analysing the data using various methods. First, the interview transcripts were identified and analysed within the

framework of qualitative data. Second, statistical analysis was performed on the survey responses to summarize and describe the quantitative data, as well as to test hypotheses and draw conclusions upon the spontaneous languages in particular. Third, discourse analysis on the field notes from participant observation was also performed to examine the ways in which language is used to construct and negotiate religious identity, as well as the social and cultural factors that influence language use. Fourth, comparative analysis was performed on the summary notes to compare the language use that implied language change among residents of Buduk village who had converted from Hinduism to Christianity with those who had not converted in other regions in Bali.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

One of the aspects that anthropologists have examined in relation to religious conversion is the language use that implied language change. Language is an important medium and marker of religious identity, as well as a tool for communication and socialization. Language use can reflect the degree of integration or separation between different religious groups, as well as the influence of religious conversion on linguistic behaviour and attitudes. Some studies have explored how religious conversion affects language choice, language shift, language maintenance, language revitalization, language ideology, and language policy (Fishman, 1972; Smolicz, 1981; Dorian, 1989; Romaine, 1995; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006). Kristiansen in Coupland (2014) considered that generally, language change is based in social forms of subjectivity, where it operates in group-level phenomenon that can be located through shared ideological beliefs in the social judgments. In this aspect, Trudgill (2020) mentioned that there are at least two social parameters to measure language change, they are the degree of contact and the social stability. In this study, the phenomenon of religious conversion indisputably shakes the very foundation of social stability in its relation to cultural customs. Approaches to language change were also presented with two general concerns that revolve around the tempo in terms of how abrupt or gradual these changes were, and the mode in terms of how the original state and how it evolves (Nevalainen et al, 2020). On this view as well, there are three major types of language change that cover internally induced forms of spontaneous, and externally induced borrowing as well as imposition (Guy, 1990). Therefore, this study focused on its related concept of beliefs in internally induced spontaneous form. Guy (1990) also mentioned that this spontaneous form is characterized by the social motivation of solidarity, local identity, self-interest, and ideology. General implication of the concept framework provided in the previous section enables a clear distinction of variables in this study. Language use that implied language change in the context of users that converted from Hinduism to Christianity can be seen through three major aspects, they are naming system of the converted speakers that reflected their language identity, spontaneous language that reflected their language use in natural setting, and religious practice that reflected the consistency of their language change within specific context.

Naming System

Personal names can link individuals into social histories, locally within the family and more broadly within society, both reflective of underlying systems of knowledge, even if awareness of those systems is marginal or superficial (Blount, 2015). Personal names are parts of social, cultural, and historical systems. People are aware that their names each carry different significances, that the surname is a family name, that the first or given name is the most used and informal, and that the second or middle name may

be slighted altogether, or in some cases used in lieu of the first name. In a fundamental sense, a name is equated to the individual. A name is a person's social, cultural, and legal identity. The application of this concept can be seen in the context of residents of Buduk village that converted from Hinduism to Christianity as well, through how some of them (including their children) will have a distinctive name (i.e., a combination of Balinese and Christian naming). In general, the naming system of people in Bali that converted from Hinduism to Christianity would often use the name of 12 disciples of Jesus that is adjusted to fit in Indonesian naming; e.g., the use of the name *Matthew* changed into *Matthias* and *Mattius*, or the name *David* changed into *Daud*. Upon interview, some of these naming examples were meant to represent prayers, by adding certain important figures mentioned in the Bible, in hope that these figures will be a role model for that person. This naming would be used and combined with Balinese names, such as *Agustinus Nyoman* or *Made Felix*, which will be passed on to their descendants in the future. On the other hand, these residents will also retain the use of birth order that is commonly applied by Balinese in their descendants, such as *Putu*, *Wayan*, or *Gede*. In Buduk village, several examples of these residents' names are *I Nyoman Yahya*, *I Putu Jonathan Adriel Elwid*, *Ni Ketut Elisabeth*, and *I Putu Rionatan Samuel Philipus* as the son of *I Ketut Philipus*. The following is an example of this name:



Picture 1. Wedding invitation by residents of Buduk village that converted from Hinduism to Christianity

The focus on that example above is not just the name of the groom and the bride, as both can be seen just as a regular Indonesian invitation. On the bottom right of that invitation we can see the name of the priest (the word *Pdt.* stands for *Pendeta* in Indonesian, a direct translation of priest) that uses A.A. (stands for *Anak Agung*), a very distinctive name given to Balinese from an upper social caste. For reference, Balinese social caste is divided into 4, they are *Brahmana* (usually with the name *Ida Bagus* or *Ida Ayu*), *Ksatria* (usually with *Cokorda*, *Gusti*, or *Anak Agung*), *Waisya* (usually with *Dewa* or *Si*), and *Sudra* (*Made*, *Ketut*, *Nyoman*, or with none of the above). As shown in the example, the priest is still using her Balinese naming system – does not completely remove it even when she has already become a Christian priest.

Spontaneous language

Spontaneous language production was roughly equivalent up to the age of 50s (Ardila et al, 1996). This understanding implies that respondents used for the survey of spontaneous language cannot exceed the age of 50. Spontaneous language production is a task most people handle fluently and effortlessly, making it much more natural than

other tasks used in language experiments (Grande et al, 2012). The statistical analysis in this survey requires a natural setting to ensure accurate findings; hence, the use of spontaneous language (not the other colloquial aspects of language) to generate effortless, yet natural, responses. Several questions listed in the survey were based on common spontaneous language use that Balinese would usually produce, considering the state of the residents that converted to Christianity in Buduk village – they were originally Balinese prior to the conversion. These questions are:

Table 1. List of questions in the survey of spontaneous language

No.	Category of emotion	Questions
1.	Negative	<i>Apa yang anda katakan saat anda melihat sesuatu yang mengerikan?</i> What will you say when you see a very terrifying thing for you?
2.	Negative	<i>Apa yang anda katakan saat anda tertimpa kesialan?</i> What will you say when you are having really bad luck?
3.	Negative	<i>Apa yang anda katakan saat anda menghilangkan sesuatu yang sangat berharga untuk anda?</i> What will you say when you lose something that is very precious to you?
4.	Negative	<i>Apa yang anda katakan saat anda mendengar/mengetahui sebuah berita buruk bagi anda?</i> What will you say when you hear/know devastating news for you?
5.	Negative	<i>Apa yang anda katakan saat anda melakukan kesalahan yang sangat fatal?</i> What will you say when you made a very terrible mistake?
6.	Positive/Negative	<i>Apa yang anda katakan saat anda benar-benar terkejut?</i> What will you say when you are getting very surprised?
7.	Positive	<i>Apa yang anda katakan saat anda merasa benar-benar bersyukur?</i> What will you say when you are feeling very blessed?
8.	Positive	<i>Apa yang anda katakan saat anda mendengar hal yang sangat lucu untuk anda?</i> What will you say when you are responding to very funny things?
9.	Positive	<i>Apa yang anda katakan saat anda memberikan selamat kepada orang terdekat anda?</i> What will you say when you are congratulating a very close person to you?
10.	Positive	<i>Apa yang anda katakan saat anda mengagumi sesuatu yang sangat luar biasa?</i> What will you say when you are admiring something that is really magnificent?

From this list of questions, it suggested that characteristically, Balinese people expressed their spontaneous language through a somewhat balanced emotion (positive

and negative), although it is leaning more towards the negative. Upon conducting a survey to 10 respondents, there were 2 instances from the 10 list of questions that respondents answered using Indonesian language, they were during the context of congratulating a very close person (4 out of 10 respondents) and the context of making a terrible mistake (2 out of 10 respondents). The most important findings in this survey is how all of the 10 respondents used Indonesian language in the phrase *Puji Tuhan* (translated to Praise the Lord) and *Haleluya* (translated to Hallelujah) during the context of feeling very blessed. The rest of these surveys were answered using Balinese language in various expressions.

Religious practice

There were several important characteristics of religious practices, where religious practices are inseparable from discourse, religious practices constitute private and public spaces by the context and places in which they are enacted, religious practices involve the use and manipulation of power, the difficulty of maintaining boundary between private and public in religious practice performances, how religious practices bound up with identity and politics of recognition, and how the perspectives used to view these religious practices significantly affect the research results (Knott, 2016). Therefore, this study that departed from Hinduism Balinese looks at several important religious practices by the residents in Buduk village that converted to Christianity, which are in the event of death, marriage, and public holiday. Following the interview, there were several characteristics that can be taken into account whenever the residents conduct religious practices on the event of death, marriage, or public holidays. These characteristics were how some of their religious practices fundamentally tried to preserve Balinese culture, the use of Balinese language in their Holy Bible, the use of Balinese language in their sacred songs, the use of Balinese language in their liturgies (particularly the final week of the month), the use of Balinese language in marriage proposal practices, the use of Balinese costumes whenever there was funeral, and their teachings that stated even when they were converted to Christianity, they have an obligation to preserve the culture where they came from (their religion is not bound to culture and language) through the use of Balinese cultural and art practices.



Picture 2. Funeral procession in Buduk village

As shown in the picture above, the funeral procession conducted by residents that converted from Hinduism to Christianity, was still done using the Balinese customary processions. Most of the people participating in this procession were also using Balinese traditional costumes. A very crucial note to take from this picture is how the procession was done by carrying a huge cross with the name of the deceased (as a symbol of Christianity).



Picture 3. Christian wedding ceremony in Buduk village that uses Balinese costumes

The picture above shows how a wedding ceremony was conducted by the residents in Buduk village who have converted from Hinduism to Christianity. Even with the blessing from a priest, they were still wearing their Balinese traditional costumes to the wedding. This example represents the identity of these residents that were trying to assimilate both cultural backgrounds. However, this instance was not reflected in their language, since during the entire procession of this wedding, the only language used is Indonesian.



Picture 4. Situation in the Church when Easter day

Easter day is one of the most celebrated public holidays for Christians, and in the picture above, similar instances of assimilation by both religions and cultural backgrounds occurred. Most residents were attending the event in the church by still completely wearing their Balinese traditional costumes. On the top left of this hall, there

was also a *Beleganjur* (a traditional Balinese instrument played by a group of Balinese as background music).

In the religious prayer, the residents were still using Balinese language, as can be seen in the example of *Our Father* prayer using Balinese; a prayer taught directly by Jesus to His disciples, as written in the Bible, typically recited after intercessory prayer.

Data 1:

Ajin titiang sane ring suarga,

Our Father in heaven,

parab Palungguh Aji mangda kaluihang.

Hallowed be Your name.

Pamrentahan Palungguh Aji mangda kadegang,

Your kingdom come,

pakarsan Palungguh Aji mangdaja mamargi iriki ring mrecapada, sakadi ring suarga.

Your will be done on earth as it is in heaven.

Ring rahinane mangkin, icenja titiang pangan kinum sategepipun.

Give us today our daily bread.

Ampurayangja iwang titiange,

And forgive us our debts,

sakadi titiang ngaksamayang anake sane sampun maiwang ring titiang.

As we also have forgiven our debtors.

Maliha sampunang titiang kabakta ring genah gegodane,

And lead us not into temptation,

nanging bebasangja titiang saking I Jaat.

But deliver us from evil.

[Santukan Palungguh Aji sane nuwenang pamrentahan, kakuasaan miwah kaluihane langgeng salami-laminipun. Amin.]

[For Yours is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, forever, Amen.]

As shown in the data above, there are several instances where Balinese language that were used to chant this prayer made an adjustment to the equivalence of meaning, to make sure that it does not lose any meaning. Similar translation can also be found in the Apostle of Creed using Balinese language:

Data 2:

Titiang ngega ring Ida Sang Hyang Widi Wasa, Sang Aji sane maha kuasa, sane ngawentenang akasa miwa pratiwi.

I believe in God Almighty, the Creator of heaven and earth.

Miwa ring Ida Sang Hyang Yesus Kristus, Putran Idane sane Tunggal, Panembahan iragane,

And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord,

Sane kabobotang malantaran Ida Sang Hyang Roh Suci, embas saking truni Maria.

Who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary,

Sane nandang sengsara daweg panyeneng dane Gubernur Pontius Pilatus, kapentang ring salibe, seda tur kapendem, tedun kapati loka.

Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and was buried; He descended into hell.

Ring Rahina sane kaping tigan ipun, Ida malih nyeneng skaing pantaran anake padem.

On the third day, He rose again from the dead.

Raris munggah ka suwargan, malinggih ring genah sane kaledangin antuk Ida Sang Hyang Widi Wasa, Sang Aji sane Mahakuasa.

He ascended into heaven, and sits at the right hand of God the Father Almighty.
Tur saking irika Ida pacang rawuh buat nepasin jadmane sane urip miwah sane padem.
 From there, He will come to judge the living and the dead.
Titiang ngega ring Ida Sang Hyang Roh Suci
 I believe in the Holy Spirit,
Wenten ipun pesamuwan Kristen sane suci tur ketah; inggih punika patunggilan para
sucine,
 The holy Christian Church, the communion of saints,
Ngampuraning dosa,
 The forgiveness of sins,
Mungguing anake sane padem pacang maurip malih,
 The resurrection of the body,
Miwah urip sane langgeng.
 And the life is everlasting.

The example above that also modified the Balinese translation, to make sure there is no meaning loss in the translation, managed to put all the original language. It is important to note, however, the use of typical Balinese language in the phrase *Ida Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa*, which was retained in the Balinese language, and added with direct translation of Father (Jesus). Based on the results presented in the previous section, the conversion from Hinduism to Christianity had a significant impact on the language use that implied language change among residents of Buduk village, particularly within the aspect of naming system, spontaneous language, and religious practice. The discourse analysis upon interview transcripts revealed that there were several factors that influenced the linguistic behaviour and attitudes as a result of this religious conversion, which was shown by the general use of Indonesian language aside from common Balinese language. The statistical analysis upon survey responses showed that there were significant differences in the frequency of Indonesian language based on specific context provided in the language use, where they were in the context of feeling very blessed. In the religious practices, there were a lot more instances where Balinese language was still used – to the point that some of the prayers were translated into Balinese language. On several occasions, Balinese traditions were also used in combination with the Christianity beliefs, such as Balinese traditional costumes, Balinese traditional instruments, and even Balinese customary procession (i.e., during funerals).

One of the main concerns that emerged from the discourse analysis was the use of Balinese language choice among residents who had converted from Hinduism to Christianity. These instances become crucial, since some respondents reported that they had started using Indonesian more frequently than Balinese after their conversion. They explained that there were several possibilities to the reason for these occurrences, such as the influence of Christian missionaries who spoke Indonesian, the availability of religious materials in Indonesian, and the desire to communicate with other Christians who did not speak Balinese. Some participants also mentioned that they felt more comfortable expressing their new religious beliefs in Indonesian rather than in Balinese, as they associated Balinese with their former religion. Individual identities are rather different with national, sub-national, ethnic and regional identities, where they start with personal name, and the desire to give meaning to that name (Joseph, 2004). Following the result above on the naming system, there were instances that these residents' naming

system is a combination of Balinese naming system with Christianity figures' names (in Indonesian).

Therefore, although the Balinese language use instances were relatively fewer than the Indonesian, it is important to also notice how the change in naming system reflected these speakers' language identity. On this aspect, discourse analysis of the field notes also revealed the change in language attitudes among residents who had converted from Hinduism to Christianity. Many participants reported that they had developed a more positive attitude towards Indonesian and a more negative attitude towards Balinese after their conversion. The study of language attitudes is concerned with the social meanings people assigned to language and its users (Dragojevic et al, 2021). The change to this language attitude was assumed due to several reasons, such as the association of Indonesian with their new religious identity, the perception of Indonesian as a more modern and prestigious language, and the influence of negative stereotypes regarding Balinese culture and religion. Some participants also mentioned that they felt a sense of disconnection from their Balinese heritage and culture after their conversion, which affected their attitude towards Balinese. Statistical analysis of the survey responses confirmed that the frequency of the same instances of spontaneous language, provided additional evidence for the impact of religious conversion by speakers in Buduk village. This result showed that residents who had converted from Hinduism to Christianity were still used Balinese language significantly more frequently than others in various contexts, with an exception during the context of feeling very blessed. The results also showed that residents who had converted from Hinduism to Christianity switched a few times from Balinese to Indonesian in two situations, such as when congratulating and making terrible mistakes. Due to the low frequency of occurrences in both of these contexts, the language change can be associated with the impact of Indonesian language itself as a national language, or the low proficiency of Balinese language from these respondents. However, the high frequency of Indonesian language use during the context of feeling very blessed is undoubtedly a result of the conversion from Hinduism to Christianity.

Further discourse analysis on the field notes gained through observation also provided further insights of how language was used to construct and negotiate religious identity among residents who had converted from Hinduism to Christianity. It was shown that residents used various linguistic strategies to signal their new religious affiliation in general communication, such as using Christian terminology, code-switching between Indonesian and Balinese, and adopting a different speech style or accent. It also showed that residents used language to negotiate their position within the religious community, such as by using honorifics or politeness markers to show respect or deference to religious leaders or by using informal or colloquial language to show solidarity or familiarity with other believers. Comparative analysis on the summary notes laid out several points through comparison of how Balinese language used to be applied during Hinduism (as well as residents who did not convert to Christianity) and how Indonesian language was used following the conversion to Christianity. The analysis showed that residents who had not converted from Hinduism to Christianity used Balinese significantly more frequently than Indonesian in various contexts, just as how the language attitude from these speakers to the language has changed. This result also implied that residents who had not converted from Hinduism to Christianity switched significantly more often from Indonesian to Balinese than from Balinese to Indonesian in various situations, such as when talking about cultural topics, when expressing emotions, and even when communicating with other Balinese speakers. In

the language change aspects, the comparative analysis also pointed out how Indonesian when compared to Balinese language. In regards to the language use, it is clear that Indonesian has more universal communication purposes, due to its current standing as a national language in Indonesia when compared to Balinese language that is only applicable in Bali (and only in certain communities). This reason is also supported by how Christianity was derived from missionaries and how it actively tries to spread their faith and beliefs – so Indonesian would benefit greatly in the language use. Moreover, when looking at Balinese language nowadays, more and more people are getting less literacy on Balinese language, which worsens the Balinese language standing as well. Findings in the result section are consistent with previous studies that have explored the relationship between religious conversion and language use (Fishman, 1972; Smolicz, 1981; Dorian, 1989; Romaine, 1995; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006). For example, Fishman (1972) found that religious conversion can lead to changes in language choice, language shift, language maintenance, language revitalization, language ideology, and language policy. Smolicz (1981) also mentioned that religious conversion can affect linguistic behaviour and attitudes through changes in identity, affiliation, socialization, and communication. In this regard, this study showed how the language choice and language identity was affected through looking at the speakers that converted from Hinduism to Christianity. Moreover, Dorian (1989) stated that religious conversion affected changes in cultural values, norms, practices, and beliefs – this was shown by how the speakers exhibited more positive language attitude towards the Indonesian, and less towards the Balinese language. Other aspects were also shown in the instances of this conversion, just as how Romaine (1995) stated that changes can appear in power relations, social structures, interactions, and identities; Grenoble & Whaley (2006) also suggested that changes can be seen in the agency, motivation, intentionality, and reflexivity.

The literature on religious conversion, language use that implied language change, and anthropological linguistics provides a rich theoretical and empirical background for this study. However, there are still some gaps and limitations in the current knowledge that this study aims to address. First, there is a lack of studies that focus on the case of Buduk village in Bali, where many residents have converted from Hinduism to Christianity. This fact also limits the generalizability of the findings to other contexts than Bali. This case presents a unique opportunity to explore how religious conversion affects language use that implies language change in a context where Hinduism is still the dominant religion and culture. Second, there is a lack of studies that adopt an anthropological linguistics perspective to examine the dynamic conditions in Buduk village. This perspective can provide a holistic and nuanced understanding of the complex interplay between religion, language, and culture in Buduk village. Due to the lack of similar studies, the current study relied upon self-reported data from interviews and surveys, which may be subject to social desirability bias or recall bias. Third, there is a lack of studies that use a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods to investigate the impact of religious conversion on language use that implied language change in Buduk village. Therefore, this study did not specifically control for other potential confounding variables such as age, gender, education level, occupation or duration of conversion that may have influenced the results.

CONCLUSION

This study investigated the dynamic conditions of Buduk Village in regards to how Hinduism converted to Christianity from an anthropological linguistics perspective. The results showed that the conversion from Hinduism to Christianity had a significant

impact on the language use that implied language change among residents of Buduk village. Based on the statistical analysis, the survey responses in particular, showed an increase in the use of spontaneous language that Indonesian (in terms of Christianity) was during the context of feeling very blessed with the phrase *Puji Tuhan* (translated to Praise the Lord) and *Haleluya* (translated to Hallelujah). Discourse analysis on the naming system and religious practices also showed that there are several instances where Balinese language was still used, despite the result from comparative analysis that showed how Indonesian language is currently becoming more prevalent in the language use compared to Balinese language. Generally, residents in Buduk village that converted from Hinduism to Christianity cannot and will not leave their Balinese cultural background completely, due to how Balinese culture become a part of their identity – refer to the fact how Hindu religion and Balinese culture is inseparable, but on the other side, they also believed that Christianity has no bound to the culture and language. This conclusion can also suggest that in Bali, people that hold their beliefs in Hindu is automatically depend on their understanding in Balinese culture as well. In terms of language, it was clear that the conversion from Hinduism to Christianity enables the change of language use to Indonesian, since Christianity supports the use of Indonesian language.

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