INTRODUCTION

Code-mixing refers to the mixing of two or more languages or language varieties in speech. Some scholars use the terms “code-mixing” and “code-switching” interchangeably, especially in studies of syntax, morphology, and other formal aspects of language. Others assume more specific definitions of code-mixing, but these specific definitions may be different in different subfields of linguistics and communications etc.

Code-mixing is similar to the use or creation of pidgins; but while a pidgin is created across groups that do not share a common language, code-mixing may occur within a multilingual setting where speakers share more than one language. Some linguists use the terms code-mixing and code-switching more or less interchangeably. Especially in formal studies of syntax, morphology, etc., both terms are used to refer to utterances that draw from elements of two or more grammatical systems. These studies are often interested in the alignment of elements from distinct systems, or on constraints that limit switching. While many linguists have worked to describe the difference between code-switching and borrowing of words or phrases, the term code-mixing may be used to encompass both types of language behavior.

While the term code-switching emphasizes a multilingual speaker’s movement from one grammatical system to another, the term code-mixing suggests a hybrid form, drawing from distinct grammars. In other words, code-mixing emphasizes the formal aspects of language structures or linguistic competence, while code-switching emphasizes linguistic performance. While linguists who are primarily interested in the structure or form of code-mixing may have relatively little interest
to separate code-mixing from code-switching, some sociolinguists have gone to
great lengths to differentiate the two phenomena. For these scholars, code-
switching is associated with particular pragmatic effects, discourse functions, or
associations with group identity. In this tradition, the terms *code-mixing* or
*language alternation* are used to describe more stable situations in which multiple
languages are used without such pragmatic effects. See also *Code-mixing as fused
lect*, below. In psychology and in psycholinguistics the label *code-mixing* is used
in theories that draw on studies of language alternation or code-switching to
describe the cognitive structures underlying bilingualism. During the 1950s and
1960s, psychologists and linguists treated bilingual speakers as, in Grosjean’s
term, “two monolinguals in one person.” This “fractional view” supposed that a
bilingual speaker carried two separate mental grammars that were more or less
identical to the mental grammars of monolinguals and that were ideally kept
separate and used separately. Studies since the 1970s, however, have shown that
bilinguals regularly combine elements from “separate” languages. These findings
have led to studies of code-mixing in psychology and psycholinguistics.

Sridhar and Sridhar define code-mixing as “the transition from using linguistic
units (words, phrases, clauses, etc.) of one language to using those of another
within a single sentence.” They note that this is distinct from code-switching in
that it occurs in a single sentence (sometimes known as *intrasentential switching*)
and in that it does not fulfill the pragmatic or discourse-oriented functions
described by sociolinguists. The practice of code-mixing, which draws from
competence in two languages at the same time, suggests that these competences
are not stored or processed separately. Code-mixing among bilinguals is therefore
studied in order to explore the mental structures underlying language abilities.

A mixed language or a fused lect is a relatively stable mixture of two or more
languages. What some linguists have described as “codeswitching as unmarked
choice” or “frequent code-switching” has more recently been described as
“language mixing”, or in the case of the most strictly grammaticalized forms as “fused lects”.

In areas where code-switching among two or more languages is very common, it may become normal for words from both languages to be used together in everyday speech. Unlike code-switching, where a switch tends to occur at semantically or socio-linguistically meaningful junctures, this code-mixing has no specific meaning in the local context. A fused lect is identical to a mixed language in terms of semantics and pragmatics, but fused lects allow less variation since they are fully grammaticalized. In other words, there are grammatical structures of the fused lect that determine which source-language elements may occur.

A mixed language is different from a creole language. Creoles are thought to develop from pidgins as they become nativized. Mixed languages develop from situations of code-switching. (See the distinction between code-mixing and pidgin above.)

SECTION-I

THEORETICAL FRAME WORK

(I) Grammaticalization and Code Switching

In linguistics, grammaticalization (also known as grammatization, grammaticization) is a process by which words representing objects and actions (i.e. nouns and verbs) transform through sound change and language migration to become grammatical objects (affixes and prepositions, etc.). Grammaticalization is a powerful aspect of language, as it creates new function words within language, by separating functions from their original inflectional and bound constructions (i.e. from content words). It is a field of research in historical linguistics, in the
wider study of language change, which focuses on a particular process of lexical and grammatical change.

For an understanding of this process, a distinction needs to be made between lexical items, or content words, which carry specific lexical meaning, and grammatical items, or function words, with little or no lexical meaning which serve to express grammatical relationships between the different words within an utterance. Specifically, "the change whereby lexical terms and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions, and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions". Simply said, grammaticalization is the process in which a lexical word or a word cluster loses some or all of its lexical meaning and starts to fulfill a more grammatical function. It means that nouns and verbs which carry certain lexical meaning develop over time into grammatical items such as auxiliaries, case markers, inflections and sentence connectives.

A well-known example of grammaticalization is that of the process in which the lexical cluster let us, for example in the sentence “let us go”, is reduced to a single word let's as in the sentence “let's you and me fight”. The phrase has lost its lexical meaning of “allow us” and has changed into an auxiliary, while the pronoun 'us' reduced first to a suffix and then to an unanalyzed phoneme. Before the term “grammaticalization” was first coined, the concept had already been developed in the works of Bopp (1816), Schlegel (1818), Humboldt (1825) and Gabelentz (1891). Humboldt, for instance, came up with the idea of evolutionary language. He suggested that in all languages grammatical structures evolved out of a language stage in which there were only words for concrete objects and ideas. In order to successfully communicate these ideas, grammatical structures slowly came into existence. Grammar slowly developed through four different stages, each in which the grammatical structure would be more developed. Though neo-grammarians like Brugmann rejected the separation of
language into distinct “stages” in favour of uniformitarian assumptions, they were positively inclined towards some of these earlier linguists’ hypotheses.

The actual term “grammaticalization” was first coined by the French linguist Antoine Meillet in his work L’évolution des Formes Grammaticales (1912) who first used it in the context in which it is still used today. Meillet’s well-known definition of grammaticalization was “the attribution of grammatical character to an erstwhile autonomous word”. In this work Meillet showed that what was at issue was not the origins of grammatical forms but their transformations. He was thus able to present a notion of the creation of grammatical forms as a legitimate study for linguistics. Later studies in the field have further developed and altered Meillet’s ideas and have introduced many other examples of grammaticalization.

During the second half of the twentieth century, grammaticalization became somewhat unfashionable, in contrast to structuralist ideas of language change in which grammaticalization did not play a role. The field of linguistics at the time was strongly concerned with synchronic studies of language change, which marginalized historical approaches such as grammaticalization. It did however, mostly in Indo-European studies, remain an instrument for explaining language change.

It was not until the 1970s, with the growth of interest in discourse analysis and linguistic universals that the interest for grammaticalization in linguistic studies began to grow again. A greatly influential work in the domain was Christian Lehmann’s Thoughts on Grammaticalization (1982). This was the first work to emphasize the continuity of research from the earliest period to the present, and it provided a survey of the major work in the field. He also invented a set of ‘parameters’, a method along which grammaticality could be measured both synchronically and diachronically.
Another important work was Heine and Reh's *Grammaticalization and Reanalysis in African Languages* (1984). This work focussed on African languages synchronically from the point of view of grammaticalization. They saw grammaticalization as an important tool for describing the workings of languages and their universal aspects and it provided an exhaustive list of the pathways of grammaticalization.

The great number of studies on grammaticalization in the last decade show grammaticalization remains a popular item and is regarded as an important field within linguistic studies in general. Among recent publications there is a wide range of descriptive studies trying to come up with umbrella definitions and exhaustive lists, while others tend to focus more on its nature and significance, questioning the opportunities and boundaries of grammaticalization. An important and popular topic which is still debated is the question of unidirectionality.

(II) **Code Switching As Communicative Strategy**

The present research study examines purposes of code switching (CS) and how CS is used as a communicative strategy between Persian-Urdu and Panjabi bilinguals. Data were collected through scanning SIFI conversations between a first-generation Panjabi-URDU-Persian bilingual adult and two Urdu-Panjabi-Persian bilingual children. Qualitative data analysis indicated that CS could be brought about and shaped by the dynamics of the relationship of the speaker addressee and by cultural features embedded in the Urdu language. The analysis also posited that CS functions as a communicative strategy for facilitating SIFI communication by lowering language barriers as well as by consolidating cultural identity. Results raise further awareness that CS is a versatile strategy to meet the complex communicative demands between or within generations of an immigrant family. With linguistic contact as a growing trend in the medieval and modern world, most of the world's speech communities are multilingual, which makes
contact between languages an important force in the everyday lives of most people. In Sridhar’s (1996) list of factors that lead to societal multilingualism, the most significant factor is “migration”. As people move from one country or region to another, there is contact with various speech communities in a natural setting, which brings about multilingualism. Hence, even as individuals maintain their home languages, an area where several languages are spoken becomes, over time, likewise a place of multilingualism. When viewed as a phenomenon per se, multilingualism raises issues such as how one acquires two or more languages, how the languages are cross-accessed for communication in multilingual communities, and how the use of two-plus languages embodies and shapes one’s cultural identity. In a multilingual society, each language uniquely fulfills certain roles and represents distinct identities, and all of them complement one another to serve “the complex communicative demands of a pluralistic society” (Sridhar, 1996). For example, in the United States, English functions as the medium of education, administration, legal system, the nation’s press and media outlets, and communication among different language users, whereas minority languages essentially serve to establish and reinforce the ethnic identities of their speakers and their communities. Moreover, in order to meet “the complex communicative demands,” speakers who live in a community and household where two or more languages coexist frequently switch from one language to another, either between or within utterances. This phenomenon, known as code switching (CS), has recently attracted a great deal of research attention. With the recognition of the importance of CS in the study of language contact, the studies on CS have generally been analyzed in terms of (a) the linguistic constraints that determine the form taken by CS (Romaine, 1995; Sánchez, 1983) and CS’s structural patterns (Muysken, 2000), and (b) the sociolinguistic functions, which determine when, with whom, and why CS takes place (Adendorff, 1996; Grosjean, 1982; Myers-Scotton, 1995; Tay, 1989).
These studies address not only grammaticality of sentences but also their usage, or acceptability, with reference to the functions of language; thus, the contexts in which either language is employed provide explanations of CS. While previous studies have looked at the structure of sentences and social meanings of CS, which identify how CS serves a variety of functions in diverse communities, relatively little is known about the function of CS in the Urdu-Panjabi-Persian bilingual community. Choi's (1991) and Lee's (1997) studies focus on linguistic constraints when CS between English and Urdu occurs, and Shin's (2002) study tests a framework for CS from borrowing between English and Urdu. In his general characterization of CS, Crystal (1987) presents a number of possible reasons for switching from one language to another. One reason presented by Crystal for the switching behavior is the notion that when speakers may not be able to express themselves in one language, they switch to the other to compensate for the deficiency. Adendorff's (1966) view is contrary to the notion that CS is a compensation for a linguistic deficit in bilingual speakers; he sees CS as "functionally motivated" behavior. If CS is functionally motivated, a study that investigates the function of CS occurring with Urdu-Panjabi-Persian bilinguals will be meaningful. Language behaviors are influenced by cultural aspects; thus, the function of code choices and CS varies in different cultures or language communities, and by different social situations.

Therefore, while reviewing characteristics ingrained in the Urdu language and culture, this study aims to examine the communicative intents of switchers and what is gained by communicating with CS, through a Urdu-Panjabi-Persian bilingual SUFI conversation.

(III) Metaphorical Code Switching In Sufi Discourse

The term Metaphorical code-switching refers to the tendency in a bilingual or multilingual community to switch codes (language or language variety) in
conversation in order to discuss a topic that would normally fall into another conversational domain. "An important distinction is made from situational switching, where alternation between varieties redefines a situation, being a change in governing norms, and metaphorical switching, where alternation enriches a situation, allowing for allusion to more than one social relationship within the situation."

Jan-Petter Blom and John J. Gumperz coined the linguistic term 'metaphorical code-switching' in the late sixties and early seventies. They wanted to "clarify the social and linguistic factors involved in the communication process by showing that speaker's selection among semantically, grammatically, and phonologically permissible alternates occurring in conversation sequences recorded in natural groups is both patterned and predictable on the basis of certain features of the local social system." They wanted to explain why, in a community where all the members of a community have access to two codes, a speaker will sometimes prefer one over another. They therefore did a study in Hemnesberget, a diglossic community in Norway, to test their hypothesis that switching was topic related and predictable.

Domain specificity refers to the pattern in bilingual or multilingual speech communities in which speakers use one language or code in formal settings and conversations (high variety) and another for informal ones (low variety). The general social situations and behavioral co-occurrences in which speakers prefer one code over another are termed domains. Domain specificity has been expanded to include the idea of metaphorical code-switching.

Charles A. Ferguson's 1959 work on diglossia served as a foundation for Joshua Fishman's later work on domain specificity. According to Ferguson, diglossia describes a situation where two or more distinct (related or unrelated) languages
are spoken in a single speech community, and where the languages “are used side by side within a community each with a clearly defined role.”

Following Ferguson’s work on Diglossia, Fishman developed his theory of domain specificity. Diglossia refers to the expected use of language on a broad social level (or macro-level) and domain specificity refers to the use of language in a face-to-face conversation (micro-level).

Fishman stated that domains were “defined, regardless of their number, in terms of institutional contexts and their congruent behavioural co-occurrences.” He said “‘proper’ usage dictates that only one of the theoretically co-available languages or varieties will be chosen by particular classes of interlocutors on particular kinds of occasions to discuss particular topics.”

Though they did not define specific universal domains, Fishman and Greenfield observed five in a study that they published in 1970 on Puerto Rican communities in New York. They observed the community then specified apparent domains. The domains included: family, friendship, work, religion and education. They subsequently asked the community to report on their language use in these domains. The results largely fit with the patterns they expected to find where members of the community largely preferred Spanish with friends and family and English at work and in school.

SECTION -II

LITERATURE REVIEW ON CODE SWITCHING

Sociolinguistic analysis of language choice in the interactional contexts rests upon Fishman’s notion of “who uses what language with whom and for what purposes” (as cited in Sridhar, 1996). Fishman provides a framework with which to analyze the linguistic choices available to multilingual speakers and their reasons for choosing one code from among the several that are available to them. Myers-
Scotton (1995) extends the framework with a study of what bilingual speakers gain by conducting a conversation in two languages, that is, through CS. Her examination focuses on CS as a type of skilled performance with communicative intent and not a compensating strategy used by deficient bilinguals. While providing a general theoretical treatment of the socio-psychological motivations for CS in urban Africa settings, largely dealing with CS between Swahili and English in Nairobi, Kenya, Myers-Scotton explains CS in terms of her “markedness” model of language choice. According to her, members of a multilingual speech community are aware of the range of codes that would be appropriate for a particular type of conventionalized exchange, and they assign meanings to choices based on such expectations. Thus, while the unmarked choice in any context is the normatively expected one, speakers who make marked (i.e. unexpected or unusual) choices in specific contexts are responsible for the implications triggered by these choices. Any deviation from the neutral or unmarked choice conveys symbolic social messages entailing the speaker’s marked communicative intention. For example, as Grosjean (1982) notes, choosing a particular language or opting to mix languages in a particular social context can signal group solidarity, or ethnic identity markers. Making marked or unexpected choices implicitly conveys the speaker’s social identity or dynamics of interaction during conversation. Myers-Scotton’s and Grosjean’s interpretations of code choices indicate that choosing one variety over another has relevance to the intentional nature to a message. Code choices are not just choices of content, but are “discourse strategies” (Myers-Scotton), by which the speaker becomes a creative actor. Linguistic code choices are used for “accomplishing” the speaker’s communicative intention more than for simply conveying referential meaning.

Tay (1989), Myers-Scotton (1995), and Adendorff (1996) examined the various strategies used by switchers and how the impact of speech is increased by the switching behavior. CS is viewed as a linguistic advantage of communicating
solidarity or affiliation with a particular social group. According to Tay, despite
differences in the formal characteristics of the languages involved in CS, common
communicative strategies have evolved in multilingual communities, an example
of which is a dynamic, multilingual country, Singapore. Tay indicates the
"unconscious" nature of CS behavior, which means that typical code switchers are
usually not aware of why they switch codes at certain points in discourse.
Furthermore, she suggests that rather than try to delineate linguistic forms of CS,
the researchers should study communicative aspects of CS further. Hence, she
approaches CS in terms of a communicative device and lists some categories for
describing the total communicative effect created by CS. Tay's study demonstrates
that CS as a communicative strategy establishes "group identity and solidarity"
and "rapport" in multilingual discourse.

Adendorff (1996) describes the spontaneous or subconscious nature of CS by
giving examples of interaction occurring spontaneously between guests in a TV
studio and additional examples of CS behavior between people in a marketplace
setting, where interaction takes place spontaneously as well. In examining CS
between English and Zulu in a classroom setting in South Africa, through
interaction between high school teachers and students, he identifies the range of
discourse purposes served by switching. In this view, CS is "a communicative
resource" (Adendorff, 1996) that enables teachers and students to accomplish a
considerable number and wide range of social and educational objectives.
Emphasizing that CS is "a form of sociolinguistic contextualizing behavior",
Adendorff defines contextualization cues as a basis from which to infer intended
meanings. According to him, contextualization cues as a "meta-message" are
marked choices to give additional meaning to what is said and done in a
conversation; therefore, choice entails intended meaning. By choosing one code of
phonetic, lexical, syntactic, or a formulaic expression, speakers depart from what
they would conventionally do in these same circumstances. All marked choices
have an important discourse function in addition to their referential function. His data demonstrate that switching into Zulu from English in the classroom setting functions as encouragement building solidarity between teachers and students and establishing authority and fulfills both academic and social objectives. Adendorff concludes that because “languages are carriers of social, (i.e symbolic) meaning and express the identity value systems of their user”, an understanding of social meaning is important to interpret behavior of language choice.

Tay (1989), Myers-Scotton (1995), and Adendorff (1996) have reported that CS serves a variety of functions in diverse domains. CS is used as a communicative strategy between speakers, according to the switcher’s communicative intents. The nature of CS is spontaneous and subconscious; thus, while a study of CS between Urdu-Panjabi-Persian bilinguals cannot uncover the purposes for switchers’ choices, research into the entailed symbolic social messages and cultural value systems of its users will provide further understanding of the dynamics of language contact and socio-expressive functions across a specific bicultural context.

SECTION-III

CODE SWITICHING IN SUFI LITERATURE OF SOUTH ASIA

The story of South Asian relations with Iran goes back to hoary past and covers many important aspects of life-political, literary, cultural and religious. The spirit of Persian renaissance turned Iranian traditions into a vibrant force and shaped the sociopolitical ideals of the sultans, the literary and artistic paradigms of scholars, the moral code and spiritual goals of the sufi s, the melodies of the musicians and the parameters of the medical science. The artists, the painters, the architects, the calligraphists of Iran all came to be admired and imitated. The aesthetic and artistic genius of Iran inspired for centuries the literary and spiritual activities of the people in South Asia and its intellectual and emotional life revolved around the
patterns set by Iranian traditions. Hardly any other cultural tradition has had such far-reaching and abiding impact on the lives of the people. Naturally therefore when one thinks of Iranian impact on South Asia, a world of historic visions and memories glows into consciousness.

Two preliminary observations may be made to put the present discussion in its proper conceptual framework. First, many of the important scholars of Islamic sciences who influenced Muslim mind in South Asia belonged to Iranian lands, though they wrote in Arabic. When their works came to be translated into Persian, the area of their influence widened. Of the six distinguished compilers of the hadith collections (sihah sitta) five were Iranians. Zamakhsharī, the author of kashshaf, the classical work on exegesis, and Seboyah, the celebrated Arabic grammarian, belonged to Zamakhshar and Shiraz in Iran. The Arabs themselves, remarks Amīr Khusrau, acknowledged their preeminent academic stature and addressed them as ‘Allamah. In fact, Persian became in South Asia the transmission house for Islamic sciences including, tafsir, kalām, fiqh and tasawwuf.

Second, if the course of different streams of thought in Iran is closely followed, it would appear that there has been considerable cycling and recycling of ideas between Iran and India. India is the cradle of pantheistic philosophy and the Upanishads contain the earliest expositions of these ideas. When Islam reached Khurasan and transoxiana, the religious atmosphere was saturated with Buddhist and Hindu ideas. The temples of Bamyan, Balkh and Marv were centers of Buddhist tradition. It was but inevitable that some of their concepts influenced the Iranian mind. The Upanishads proclaim Tattvam assi (Thou art thou), and the idea finds its echo in Bāyazid. The Karramiyan cult was a half way house between Islam and Buddhism. Hujwiri has given an account of twelve schools of mystic thought which flourished during the eleventh century of the Christian era. An analysis of the thought contents of these garohs, as he calls them, reveals the
impact of Indian ideas. Concepts like *fanā*, *baqā*, *hulūl*, etc. are inexplicable except in the context of Hindu and Buddhist religious traditions. Thus some of the Iranian mystical ideas that reached India during the medieval period had in fact originated in India and were cycled back to India under Islamic rubrics. Indian fables (like Panchatantra), lexical and phonological traditions, mathematical theories and astronomical concepts reached Iran and influenced Iranian thought.

If one surveys the historical landscape of India during the medieval period, a number of Iranian cultural streams in the realm of polity, social traditions, literature, historiography and mystic thought seem flowing in every direction enriching the soil and contributing to the variegated culture pattern of India. It was generally believed in India during the Sultanate period that kingship was not possible without emulating Persian customs, ceremonies and principles of government. When Iltutmish, the real founder of the Delhi Sultanate, is referred to as *Fārī du'n far*, *Qubad Nahād*, *Kāvūs Nāmūs*, *Sīkandar Daulat*, *Bahram Shaukat*, the whole concept of greatness seems to reel round the Iranian heroes. Both Iltutmish and Balban prided in calling themselves descendants of Afrāsiyāb. Barani’s *Fatāwāy-i Jahāndāri* illustrates the depth and dimensions of Iranian influence on medieval Indian polity. The sultans of Delhi were Turks by race but Iranian by culture. Their entire administrative set-up—from names and nomenclature of offices to forms and functions of institution was modeled on the Iranian pattern. Barani remarks: “it became necessary for the rulers of Islam to follow the policy of the Iranian emperors in order to ensure the greatness of the True Word and the maintenance of their own authority.”

In the fields of learning and literature, Iranian influence shaped the contour and conspectus of historiography, poetry, *tasawwuf* (mysticism), *inshā* (epistolary principles) and *tibb* (medicine). Amir Khusrau has referred to the linguistic homogeneity brought about by the Persian language in a country of proliferate linguistic traditions. He remarks:
The Persian language as spoken in India is the same from Sind to Bengal. This Persian is our Dari. Indian languages differ from group to group and change (their dialects) after every hundred miles. But Persian is the same over an area of four thousand farsangs.

History writing among the Muslims was conditioned by two distinct traditions—the Arab and the Iranian. The Arabs wrote history of an age and handled the historical data year by year; the Iranians, inspired by the traditions of Shāh Nāmāh, dealt with dynasties and their assortment of facts concerned mainly the court and the camp. The Iranian historians generally dedicated their works to rulers or the ruling dynasties. In India the Iranian tradition influenced the pattern of history writing.

From Hasan Nīshāpūrī, the earliest historian of the Delhi Sultanate (Tāj al-Ma’āthīr) to Khāir al-Dīn Ilāhābādī, the last historian of the Mughal Empire (‘Ibrāt Nāmāh), the Iranian pattern determined the collection and presentation of historical data. The whole jargon of official correspondence and epistolography was developed in India on the principles of ḵīm-i ḫaḏīrī, as described in Chahār Maqāla and as adopted in Dastūr al-ʿAlbāb fī ḵīm al-Ḥisāb by ʿAbdul Hamīd Muharrir Ghaznavī. The drafting of Fath Nāmahs (official communiques of victory) was done on the Iranian model. The Fath Nāmahs of Ṭālqānī Khaljī drafted by Kābir al-Dīn have not survived but Balban’s fath Nāmah of Lakhnānti as drafted by Amīr Khūrsāwī is available in ʿIjāz-ī Khūrsawī and Akbar’s fath Nāmah of Chittor is preserved in Namakīn’s Munšaʿat wa Ruqāʿat. Their form and format are to all intents and purposes Iranian.

With the Shāh Nāmāh, which crystallized the historic memory of Iran, begins the history of literary, cultural and political traditions of Iran. It ushered in the dawn of Persian Renaissance and Firdausī justly claimed: Ṭajaṁ zinda kardam bedin Pa’rsī (I have brought back Ṭajaṁ to life through this Persian.) From the time of Balban to the days of Akbar and even later the Shāh Nāmāh was read at the courts of sultans and principles of governance and cultural effervescence were
drawn from it. Its verses were recited even in the khânqâhs. When Balban presented himself at Pakpattan to seek the blessings of Shaikh Farid Ganj-i Shakar, the saint recited the following verses of Firdausi:

\[
\begin{align*}
Fari`du^n-i farrukh firishtih nabu`d
Za `a`d-o za `amhar sirishtih nabu`d
Za dâd-o dahish yâfâ `ân nikui
To dâd-o dahish kun, firishtih to-i
\end{align*}
\]

(Fari\textsuperscript{\textit{du}}\textsuperscript{n}, the blessed, was not an angel; he was not made of agallochum or ambergris. He attained the position of kingship through his bounty and liberality. Bestow liberally and Fari\textsuperscript{\textit{du}}\textsuperscript{n} is thee.)

The Shâh Nâmah influenced the politico cultural thinking of the people so deeply that its translations were undertaken in several Indian languages-Urdu, Hindi, Gujarati, etc. \textsuperscript{\textit{Isa}}\textsuperscript{\textit{mi}} wrote his Futu\textsuperscript{\textit{h al-Sala\textsuperscript{\textit{ti}}}n as Sha\textsuperscript{\textit{h Na\textsuperscript{\textit{m}ah-i Hind and said:

\[
\begin{align*}
Jahân tā ki bāqist andar jahân
Bi Shahna\textsuperscript{\textit{ma Ba\textsuperscript{\textit{qist na\textsuperscript{\textit{m}-i shaha\textsuperscript{n}}
\end{align*}
\]

(As long as the world lasts, the Sha\textsuperscript{\textit{h Na\textsuperscript{\textit{m}ah will remain and with it the names of the kings it describes.)

Shaikh A\textsuperscript{\textit{zari versified the conquests of Ahmad Sha\textsuperscript{\textit{h Bahmani in Bahman Na\textsuperscript{\textit{mah on the pattern of Sha\textsuperscript{\textit{h Na\textsuperscript{\textit{m}ah. During the time of Aurangzeb, Baha\textsuperscript{\textit{dur Ali rendered into prose many stories of Sha\textsuperscript{\textit{h Na\textsuperscript{\textit{m}ah and named them Sha\textsuperscript{\textit{h Na\textsuperscript{\textit{m}ah-i Bakhta\textsuperscript{\textit{war Kha\textsuperscript{n}i. The glamour of Sha\textsuperscript{\textit{h Na\textsuperscript{\textit{m}ah as a model of sociopolitical activities inspired Hafeez Jallandhari to write Sha\textsuperscript{\textit{h Na\textsuperscript{\textit{m}ah-i Islam in Urdu.
In all the important genres of poetry—ghazal, mathnawi, qasid— the success of a poet in South Asia was measured by the extent of his approximation to the standards set by the Iranian poets. In the words of Jami there were three prophets in the sphere of poetry—Firdausi of abiyat, Anvari of qasid— and Sa’adi of ghazal. Each one of them had his literary following in India.

Sa’adi was the great master of ghazal. He was justified in claiming sovereignty over the realm of letters (Sukhan Mulkist Sa’ad r musallam). In his poetry, which is soaked in cosmic emotion, feelings move in tune and time as naturally as the heart beats. Amr Khusrau and Hasan both tried to emulate him but did not succeed. However, both of them admitted their indebtedness to Sa’adi. Khusrau acknowledged having poured in his cup the wine of Shiraz and Hasan claimed to have plucked a flower from the garden of Sa’ad. Shaikh Nasr al-Din Chiragh, a friend of both Khusrau and Hasan, however, remarked:

Amir Khusrau va Amir Hasan bisiyār khwāstand ki be-tariq-i Khwaja Sa’adi bi-guyand, muyassar nashud; Khwaja Sa’adi a‘nchih guft az sīrr-i hāl guft.

(Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan much desired to emulate Khwaja Sa’adi in their poetry, but did not succeed. Whatever Khwaja Sa’adi has said is based on cosmic experience).

Unfortunately this sīrr-i hāl of Sa’adi was overshadowed by his eminence as a poet. But in India his pre-eminence as a dedicated Sufi was widely acknowledged and invocatory and incantational significance was attached to his verses. Shaikh Hamid al-Din Nagauri, a distinguished khalifa of Khwaja Mu’in al-Din Chishti of Ajmer, told his audience that during the closing years of his life Shaikh Sa’adi lived in seclusion at the mausoleum of Shaikh ’Abdullāh Khafifī and spent his time in prayer and meditation. He thus advised those who came to see him:
“Offer five time prayers regularly and whatever much or less God has given you share it with the needy and the poor. If you do that then wherever you may be (placed in life), you can proceed from there on the path to God (and attain gnosis).”

He made altruism a corner stone of his mystic discipline. He had learnt from his spiritual mentor, Shaikh Shihâb al-Dîn Suhrawardî, that rejection of egotistical arrogance and self-abnegation was the only way to spiritual enlightenment. He says:

\[
\text{Marā Pir-i dānā-}yi \text{ murshid, Shihāb}
\]
\[
\text{Do andarz fardmūd bar rū-}yi \text{ āb}
\]
\[
yiki in-ki bar khwish khud-bin mabāsh
\]
\[
duvum in-ki bar ghayr bad-bin mabāsh
\]

(My wise and blessed spiritual mentor, Shihāb

Gave two pieces of advice to me while sailing on the river

First, do not be ego-centric (and overbearing)

Secondly, do not look down upon and wish ill of others).

Sa’adi’s role in focusing on moral and ethical ideas of Islamic mysticism was second to none. Innumerable works of Indian Sufis have quoted his verses as the real way to attain gnosis. In fact, in India the mystic spirit was generated and sustained more by Persian verses than mystic classics or ethical treatises.

In the thirteenth century the clan of Persian poetry was towards moral rejuvenation of society by restoring the dignity of man as Man and inculcating respect for moral and ethical values. There was a painful realization that the moral fiber of man had
weakened and that human beings were multiplying while humanity was languishing. The life breath of the poetry of Sa‘adi, Rumi and ‘Iraqi was their restless concern for humanity. In fact, the process of what Iqbal called ādamgarī (shaping the man) and which later on became the summum bonum of mystic activity, begins with them. Rumi set out in search of “Man” crying insānam ārizūst (I yearn for a true human being); Sa‘adī found beasts masquerading in human form and sought protection from vicissitudes and revolution of the time (zinḥār az dowr-i giti va inqilāb-i rūzīgār). They applied all their energy to resurrect the fallen structures of faith and confidence and in directing the soul movement of man. In the poetry of Amir Khusrau one can hear an echo of the spirit generated by these great masters. His mathnawi, Matla’ al-Anwār, is soaked in this spirit of the age and reflects his anxiety to salvage humanity from its imminent doom. Surprisingly, the Iranian poets were writing in an age of gloom and depression when the Mongols had devastated centers of Muslim culture and Khusrau wrote when the Khalji Empire had risen with all its grandeur and glory. That under so dissimilar circumstances their concern for humanity should be the same shows their anxiety to salvage higher values in times of both gloom and glory. Rūmi’s Mathnawi and Khusrau’s Matla’ al-Anwār supplied Iqbal with both ideals and emotions and he prayed to God in Armaghān-i Hijāz

‘Atā kun shūr-i Rumi, sūz-i khusrau

(Bestow on me the tumult of Rumi and the flame of Khusrau).

Ghazals apart, Sa‘adi’s Gulistān and Būstān were read by princes and plebeians alike and were prescribed in the syllabus of medieval Indian madrasahs. The Gulistān became a manual of guidance for the ethical and moral training of young minds. Not only its verses, but prose sentences also passed into proverbial literature and set the norms of good behavior. A number of works were written in imitation of Gulistān-Bahāristān, Khāristān and Parishān—to name a few, but none
could come anywhere near Sa’adi’s work. Khâristân was written by Majd al-Din Khwâfî at the instance of Akbar, Qâsim Kûhi wrote in imitation of Bustân during the same period. But Sa’adi was inimitable.

In the sphere of ghazal, Hâfiz (d. 1389) was the other charismatic figure whose influence on the literary traditions of India was deep and far-reaching. A literary artist, he depicted delicate feelings and ideas like a painter, giving them a life-like touch. Bâbâ Fughâni, Sâ’îb, Naziri, ‘Urfî and a large number of other poets in Iran and India struggled hard to emulate his musical thought but did not succeed. Even the arrogant ‘Urfî considered him a literary sanctum (ka’abih sukhan). Urdu poets like Ghâlib, Saudâ and Momin have borrowed delicate sensitivity of emotions from him.

Hâfiz’s literary reputation reached India during his life time. Bengal and Kashmir were in direct contact with him. About the appreciation of his poetry by the people of Kashmir he himself says:

\[ Bi-shi’r-i Hâfiz-i Shiraz mi-raqsand-o mi-nâzand \]

\[ Sivah-chashmân-i kashmiri-o Turkân-i Samarqandi \]

(The black-eyed Kashmiris and Turks of Samarqand love the verses of Hâfiz of Shiraz and dance in tune.)

His poetry came to represent the quintessence of romantic fervor of Iran. His verses, chiselled linguistically and charged emotionally, took the contemporary Persian-speaking world by storm. Both men of letters and mystics enjoyed his verses in India. Looked upon as lisan al-ghayb (the tongue of secrets), people turned to his work for auguries and divinations. An old manuscript of Diwân-i Hâfiz preserved in Bankipur Library shows that Humâyûn and Jahângir frequently consulted it for fâl (augury). Reacting to this aspect of popular interest in Hâfiz’s poetry, Iqbal warned them against too much involvement in Hâfiz. He was
opposed to impressionism but fully realized Hāfiz’s greatness as a poet and his charismatic influence.

In fact the ghazal tradition in India, both in Persian and Urdu, derived its hue and color from Hāfiz. There were people in India who ascribed talismanic effect to his verses. Shāh Fāzl-i Rahmān Ganj Murābādī, spiritual leader of some of the most distinguished Indian ‘ulama of the nineteenth century, wrote Hāfiz’s verses in amulets.

Hāfiz returned India’s compliment to Persian masters by eulogizing Tūtiān-i Hind. Amir Khusrau has very beautifully described in Dibācha Ghurrat al-Kamāl the significance of tūti imagery in literature. Hāfiz’s appreciation and esteem of Khusrau’s poetry is evident from the fact that he copied out his khamsah in his own hand.

The Khamsah tradition in Persian literature owes its origin to Nizāmi of Ganja (d.1209), the most resplendent poet of romantic epic. The profundity of his ethical and philosophical thought created a stir in the literary and Sufi circles in India. A large number of Khamsahs were written in Central Asia, Turkey and India in its imitation, but in Browning’s words, “They strove to do, agonized to do, but failed in doing.” In India Khusrau wrote a replica of his Khamsah. According to Jāmi, no other poet could write a better rejoinder to Nizāmi than Khusrau.18 But Nizāmi’s emotional rigor and grasp of minute detail could not be achieved by Khusrau. Shibli thought that Nizāmi wrote with patience and concentration; Khusrau hurriedly and with a distracted mind. The result was obvious. According to Daulat Shāh Samarqandi some Central Asian princes held a seminar on the relative merit of the two Khamsahs. They debated and argued in support of their points of view. Ultimately the following verse of Khusrau:
(No hen takes a drop of water without lifting its head towards the sky (in
gratefulness to God), led to their verdict in favor of Khusrau. This was rather too
much. However, it cannot be denied that Khusrau’s use of bird symbols was
superb. Explaining the concept of makân and lâ-makân he said:

\[
\text{Gar makân-o lâ-makân khwâhi ki yak-jâ bingari}
\]

Important mystic teachers in India like Shaikh Farîd al-Dîn Ganj-i Shakar and
Shaikh Nizâm al-Dîn Awliyâ’ cited verses of Nizâmi to explain and illustrate
different emotional states and mystical concepts. ’Isâmi said that every word of
Nizâmi was loaded with breathtaking incantational power. Inspired by Nizâmi’s
Khusrau-o-Shirîn, Jâmi wrote his Mehr-o-Mâh. But Nizâmi was nonpareil.

The masters of Persian qasidah-Rûdaki, ’Unsuri, Farukhi, Khâqâni and others-
determined qasidah patterns and motifs in India. Rudaki inspired generation after
generation of Indian poets, including Ghâlib and Shibli, to compose verses in the
same rhyme and meter. Khusrau admits in Tuhfat al-Sighar that he struggled hard
to emulate Khâqâni but did not succeed. The Mughal court poets Ghazzâli,
Meshidi, Faizi, Tâlib Âmuli, Kalim Hamadâni all followed the footsteps of the
qasidah writers of Iran. Ghâlib wrote a rejoinder to Nazîri (d.1612), the chief lyric
poet of the time, but confessed his mistake:

\[
\text{javâb-i Khwâja Nazîri nivisht-i Ghâlib}
\]

In fact, the Iranian milieu, its smiling meadows, murmuring brooks, twittering
bulbuls, melting glow of the twilight and moving moon up the sky, was a source
of undying inspiration to the poets of Iran. As the Indian poets did not have first
hand and direct experience of the Iranian phenomena of nature, their references to
it appear insipid and prosaic. However, the incantation of words in the qasidahs of
Indo-Persian poets was superb.

The most prolific period of Persian poetry in India was the age of Akbar (1556-
1605), which Professor Hermann Ethe considered to be the “Indian summer of
Persian poetry.” Abul Fazl has referred to Gulistān, Hadiqah, Mathnawi of Rumi,
Auhadi’s Jām-i Jam, Shāh Nāmah, Khamsah-i Nizāmi, Kulliyāti-Jāmi, Diwān-i
Hāfiz as popular studies at the court of Akbar. These works set the norms of
excellence and the poets of Akbar’s court vied with each other in emulating these
masters. Akbar’s liberal patronage of men of letters attracted to his court scholars,
philosophers, poets and artists from every part of the Persian speaking world-
Meshed, Ispahan, Shiraz, Nishapur, Harat, Marv, Najaf, Hamadan, Kashan, Ray,
Sabzwar and Tabriz. Under him Agra could boast to have within its confine many
of those celebrities whom the author of Ma’āthīr-i Rahīmī significantly calls the
musta’idân-i Iran. This atmosphere continued in the centuries that followed and as
late as the nineteenth century Ghalīb claimed:

\[\text{Emrūz man Nizāmī-o Khāgānī-am bi-dahr}

\[\text{Delhi za man bi Ganja-o sherwān barābar ast.}\]

(In the world today I am like Nizāmī and Khāgānī. Due to my presence here Delhi
is like Ganja and Sherwan.)

The Persian poetic genius found a congenial atmosphere at Akbar’s court and its
influence spread far and wide. India became a channel for the spread of Persian
poetic traditions in other lands. “After Jāmī,” wrote Ghalīb, “‘Urfī and Faizi were
the chief Persian influences on Turkish poetry.” Nefā’ī, the greatest Turkish poet
of the seventeenth century is specially seen vying with ‘Urfī and it is not without
significance that copies of some of the best qasidahs and Diwâns of 'Urfi are found in the libraries of Ankara and Istanbul. 'Urfi infused a new spirit in eulogistic literature by his qasidahs and ghazals, which are characterized by high ideals, deep egotistical perspicacity, dynamism and drive. According to Iqbal, who drew inspiration from him in evolving his concept of khudi, 'Urfi's imagination built a magnificent palace at the altar of which the wonderland of Bû Ali Sinâ and Farâbi could be sacrificed. Even Ghalib was beholden to him.

The emotional vigor and linguistic finesse with which Persian language, literature and traditions spread in India may be gauged from their effect on the various vernacular languages of India. Dr. Maulvi 'Abdul Haq has traced the impact of Persian language on the Marathi language. Many Persian tales and terms form part of Bengali literature. Jayananda writes in his Chaitanya Mangal: “A Brahmin will grow a beard and read Persian. He will put on socks and with a stick in one hand will take a bow in the other. The holy Brahmin will recite the mathnaw^.” Similarly in the Punjab many themes and stories of Iran were assimilated in the Punjab literature.

When Akbar got Sanskrit works translated into Persian, the frontiers of Persian language were further widened and Persian became the language of all Indian religions. Mahabharat Ramayan, Atharban, Haribas, etc. were rendered into Persian by the scholars of Akbar's court. It was through D^r^ Shukoh's Persian translation that the philosophy of Upanishads was introduced to Europe.

"Sufism," remarks Shaikh Ali Hujwiri, "is too exalted to have any genus from which it might be derived." Notwithstanding the fact that mysticism has no genealogy and that the mystical attitude was developed in all regions, languages and religions of the world, the Sufi ideology and institutions in Islam were nurtured in Iran. South Asia imbibed these metaphysical and ontological concepts from Iran and its mystical thought rotated within the perimeters laid down by the
Iranian thinkers. Ideology apart, even the organization of khānqāh life was largely determined by the Sufis of Iran. Shaikh Abu Said Abul Khair, Shaikh Saif al-Din Bākharzi and Shaikh Shihāb al-Din Suhrwardi had taken a momentous decision to transform the mystic discipline, which had hitherto remained confined to individual spiritual salvation, into a movement for mass spiritual culture. Iran provided drift and direction, animation and ardor to this effort. Organization of khānqāh life, principles of spiritual training and demarcation of areas of spiritual jurisdiction (walāyats) were the crucial matters and once their details were worked out, the mystic movement entered a new phase and vast areas became available for the proliferation of Sufi ideology and institutions.

Shaikh Abd al-Qahir Abu Najib Suhrwardi laid down rules regarding pir-murid relationships in his ādāb al-Muridin. His nephew Shaikh Shihāb al-Din Suhrwardi gave in 'Awārif al-Ma‘ārif a complete code for the organization of khānqāhs. Shaikh Farid al-Din Ganj-i Shakar who was anxious to transform mystic disciplines into a mass movement taught 'Awārif to his senior disciples and prepared its summary. The 'awārif became widely popular when its Persian translations were made and mystics of all silsilahs turned to it as manual of guidance. At a time when the concept of walāyat was being worked out as silsilahs were taking shape, it served a great need of the time. The earliest Persian translation, as could be expected, was made at Multan by Qasim Dā‘ūd Khātūb during the time of Shaikh Bahā al-Din Zakarriyā, a distinguished khalīfa of Shaikh Shihāb al-Din. Qasim Dā‘ūd’s aim, as he himself says, was to make it available to a large circle of people so that they could act upon it. Another early translation of 'Awārif was made by Shaikh 'Abdur Rahman b. Ali Buzghūsh whose father was a disciple of Shaikh Shihāb al-Din Suhrwardi. Long before 'Izz al-Din Mahmūd Kāshānī (d.1334) prepared a Persian recension of 'Awārif al-Ma‘ārif under the title Mishah al-Hidāya wa Miṣfāt al-Kifāyah, the ideas of Shaikh Shihāb al-Din Suhrwardi had become popularly known in the Sufi circles of South Asia and
khānqāhs were organized on the foundational principles enunciated in ʿAwwârif. With the effective organization of khānqāhs, it became possible for the saints of different silsilahs to carry forward their programs of mass spiritual culture.

A number of mystic silsilahs flourished in South Asia during the medieval period. Abul Fazl gives a list of fourteen orders which have worked in India. Some of the important saints of these silsilahs either belonged to Iran or had spent some time in the Sufi centers of Iran. Before he entered India, Khwāja Muʿīn al-Din Chishti, the renowned founder of the Chishtī order in India, had spent considerable time in the company of Sufi saints in Iran. The founder of the Suhrawardi order in India, Shaikh Baha al-Din Zakarriyā, was a disciple of Shaikh Shihāb al-Din Suhrawardi and the spiritual guide of ʿIrāqi. The founder of the Firdausi order in India, Shaikh Badr al-Din Samarqandi, was a disciple of Shaikh Saif al-Din Bākharzi who was a friend of Maulānā Jalāl al-Din Rumi’s father, Makhdum Muhammad Gilānī, who popularized the Qādiri order in India, had for years travelled in Iran and Khurasan. Khwāja Baqi Billâh, founder of the Naqshbandi order in India, was born in Kabul and had spent considerable time in Māwarā al-Nahr (Transoxiana) and Balkh. The Shattāri silsilah, which traced its origin to Shaikh Bāyāzīd Taifūr Bistāmī and was known in Iran as Ṭariqa-i Ṣhīqiya, came direct from Iran. Its pioneer saint in India was Shāh ʿAbdullāh Shattārī who lies buried in Mandu. Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth, an outstanding Shaikh of the Shattārī order, translated Amrit Kund into Persian under the title of Bahr al-Hayāt. The way Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth has used Muslim mystic terminology to communicate Hindu mystical concepts is most striking. He was in a way a precursor of Dara Shukoh, whose majma’ al-Bahrain is an expression of the same attitude which inspired Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth.

The organization of silsilahs in India made the dissemination of Sufi ideology easier. Itineracy being a part of the mystic discipline in those days, itinerant Sufis from Iran and India carried mystic traditions from one country to another. Delhi, Lahore, Multan and Ajodhan were connected with the mystic centers of Iran and
Central Asia. 'Ir\'q\' of Hamadan joined the circle of Shaikh Bahå al-Din Zakarriya's disciples in Multan and brought to India Ibn 'Arab\'s pantheistic philosophy, which he had learned at the feet of Shaikh Sadr al-Din Qunavi. Through Khwâja Qutb al-Din Bakhtiyâr Kâki who hailed from Aush, a great Hallâji center, pantheistic ideas of Ahmad Jâm found currency in the mystic circles of Delhi.

Both mystic thought and experience derive their sustenance from cosmic emotion ('ishq), which is embedded in the psyche of Iran. It was cosmic emotion that wove the essential features of Sufi soul movement into the texture of Iranian thought. Since mystic experiences could not be explained in plain language, the Sufi poets adopted the language of symbols for the communication of their ideas. Abu Sa\'id Abul Khair, Sanâ\'î, 'Attâr and Rumi planted the symbolist tradition in Iran and Indian Sufis drew inspiration from them. Iqbal was so deeply influenced by Rumi that according to Sa\'id Naficy he revived the "symbolist traditions with magnificent results." In India the Sufi tradition developed under the symbolist rather than the impressionist trends in Iran.

The poetical works of Shaikh Abu Sa\'id Abul Khair (d.1049), Khwâja 'Abdullâh Ansâri (d.1088), Sanâ\'î (d.1131), Ahmad Jâm (d.1142), Nizâm Ganjavâ (d.1209), 'Attâr (d.1229), Shaikh Saâf al-Din Bâkharzi (d.1259), Rumi (d.1273), 'Irâqî (d.1289) Sa\'ad (d.1292), Shaikh Awad al-Din Kirmâî (d.1237), Hâfiz (d.1389) and Jâmi (d.1492) supplied a warm fund of emotions to Indian Sufis and provided those moral and ethical ideals which became the elan of the Sufi movement in South Asia. The mystic literature produced in India during the last 800 years or so is replete with extracts from the works of these poets. Many of their verses have been accepted as epitomes of ideal behavior and have assumed the significance of proverbs based on unimpeachable human experience.
Iqbal has remarked in his Development of Metaphysics in Persia that the secret of vitality of Sufism is the complete view of human nature upon which it is based. A mystic teacher, therefore, needed nafs-i gir^ (intuitive intelligence) and psychological insight to make his efforts at moral and spiritual regeneration of man and society really effective. Apart from inculcating love of God, the Sufis strove hard to strengthen the moral fiber of man by drawing him to futuwwat (generosity and manliness). The mystic poetry of Iran consequently became a powerful vehicle for the dissemination of these ideas.

Looked at from this angle, Shaikh Abu Sa’id Abul Khair was a powerful influence on Indian mind. He captured the imagination of Indian Sufis by his quatrains vibrating with emotions of human love and sympathy. Shaikh Nizám al-Din Awliyâ’, in particular, derived his mystic ideas and social ethics from him. His faith that real human happiness lies in large-hearted tolerance, compassion and good will towards all human beings was based on the teachings of Shaikh Abu Sa’id. He frequently recited these verses in support of his views:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{Har-ki mārā ranjā dārōd, rāhatash bīsyār bād} \\
\text{Har-ki mā rā yār nabvād, tād ‘ā rā yār bād} \\
\text{Har-ki andār rāh-i mā khārī nahād az dushmānī} \\
\text{Har guli kāz bāgh-i ‘umrash bishkufād bi-khār bād.}
\end{align*} \]

(He who nurses ill-will against me may his joys (in life) increase. He who is not my friend, may God be his friend, He who puts thorn in my way on account of enmity, May every flower that blossoms in the garden of his life be without thorns.)
The Indian Sufis derived from Shaikh Abu Sa‘id’s teachings the following principles of mystic morality:

1. Concern for the welfare of man as the summum bonum of mystic ethics.

2. Harmony in social relations as the basis of individual and collective happiness.

3. Ways of dealing with cognition, feeling and volition with a view to reforming human behavior.

4. Treating all living beings-man and animal-with equal affection.

5. Emphasis on cultivation of cosmic emotion in preference to intellectual pursuit.


7. Determinism and free will-extent and implications.

Inspired by Shaikh Abu Sa‘id’s teachings, Shaikh Nizâm al-Din Awliya’ advised his followers to reform human responses at the stage of cognition. This was the surest way to bring about change in human character. Further he believed that a man with vast human sympathies alone understood the divine purpose of life. He admired Shaikh Abu Sa‘id’s benevolent attitude towards all living beings, men and animals. Shaikh Abu Sa‘id once saw a man beating his bull and cried out in agony as if he himself was being beaten.

Again inspired by the example of Shaikh Abu Sa‘id Abul Khair, Shaikh Nizâm al-Din Awliya’ told his disciples that a morally autonomous personality was superior to an intellectual prodigy. He cited the following incident of Shaikh Abu Sa‘id’s life. One day Bu Ali Sinâ visited khânqâh of Shaikh Abu Sa‘id. He instructed an acquaintance to report to him the Shaikh’s impression about him after he had left.
The Shaikh on being asked by the person said: “Bu Ali is a philosopher, a physician and a man of vast learning, but he is devoid of moral qualities (makārim-i akhlāq nadārad).” On hearing this Bu Ali Sinā wrote to the Shaikh that he had written several books on ethics. “How do you say that I do not have moral qualities?” The saint smiled and said:

*Man na-gufie-am ki Bu Ali makārim-i akhlāq na-dānad; bal gufie-am ki na-dārad.*

(I did not say that B^ Ali does not know ethical qualities; I said that he does not possess them.)

In fact, Shaikh Abu Sa’d and Khwāja `Abdullāh Ansāri, popularly known as Pir-i Hari, supplied elan and motive power to the Muslim mystic activity in India. Pir-i Hari’s risalāhs sowed the seeds of later mystical didactic epic poems; his quatrains propagated mystic concepts as ideals of human behavior; his *Tabaqāt al-Sūfiya* laid the foundation of biographical studies of Sufī saints, while his *Munājāt* provided fire and fervor to Sufī invocation gatherings. In his foreword to Sardār Jogendra Singh’s English translation of *Munājāt*, Gandhiji appreciated him as one of the best minds of all the religions of the world.

Shaikh Abu Sa’id and Pir-i-Hari gave a revolutionary dimension to Sufi weltanschauung by defining the purpose of religious devotions in terms of the service of mankind. Countless genuflexions of prayer and endless fasts, they said, could not give divine significance to life, if not accompanied by deep and abiding concern for the welfare of man. They emphasized that life dedicated to social service was of greater value than pious contemplation in seclusion. Shaikh Mu’in al-Din Chishti’s definition of devotion (tā’at) as

*Darmāndīgān rā farād rasīdan va hājat-i bi-chārīgān rāvā kardan va gurūsnīgān rā sīr gardānīdan*
(Providing redress to the destitute, fulfilling the needs of the downtrodden and feeding the poor) and Shaikh Nizām al-Din Awliyā’s classification of devotion into tā’at-i lazmi and tā’at-muta’addī are, in fact, echoes of the same spirit. Bibi Fātimah Sām, a distinguished mystic woman of the thirteenth century, demonstrated the working of these principles in her life and shared her piece of bread with neighbors in straitened circumstances.

An early Persian poet whose poetry influenced Indian mystics at the emotional level was Shaikh Ahmad Jām. Shaikh Qutb al-Din Bakhṭīyār Kākī breathed his last listening to his verses.

Sanā’i presented mysticism as a philosophy of life. His diwān and Ḥadiqah were popular studies in India. The Ḥadiqah was read both in khānqāhs and the courts of the kings. Shaikh Nasīr al-Din Chirāgh of Delhi referred to Sanā’i’s life as a model of spiritual excellence. He invited people absorbed in materialistic pursuits to the realm of spirit by reciting the following verse of Sanā’i:

\[ Ay ki Shanādi sifat-i Rūm-o Chin \]
\[ Khīz-o biyā mulk-i Sanā’i be-bīn \]

(O’ you who have heard of the glories of Rome and China; Rise and behold the realm of Sanā’i.)

Shaikh Saif al-Din Bākharzi’s remark that Sanā’i’s verses made him a real Muslim, were often cited in the mystic circles of Delhi. Shaikh Nizām al-Din Awliyā’ approvingly quoted the following supplication of shaikh Saif al-Din Bākharzi:

\[ Ay-kāsh marā bād ānjā barad ki khāk-i sanā’i-st, yā khāk-i ’ā biyārad ki man surmeh kunam. \]

(O’ that some gale might take me to where Sana’i lies buried, or that it might bring his dust to me to put in my eyes.)
During the time of Shah Jahan, 'Abdul Latif 'Abbasi wrote a commentary on Hadiqah under the Laa'if al-Hadâ'iq. From the time of Shaikh Nizâm al-Din Awliyâ' to the days of Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, Sanâ'i has been a powerful influence on Indo-Muslim religious thought. Iqbal's Shikva, Iblis Ki Majlis-i Shura etc. at once takes one's mind to Sanâ'i's "Lament of Satan." Unlike many contemporary mystics, Sanâ'i did not think of knowledge as hijâb-i akbar (the greater curtain preventing the vision of Reality). He, however, rejected over-intellectualism and defined the purpose of knowledge ('ilm) clearly and thoughtfully. According to him Sufism was an appeal to a higher source of knowledge.

Khwâja Farîd al-Din 'Attâr's Mantiq al-Tayr and Tadhkirat al-Awliyâ' were avidly read in the Sufi circles of Delhi. The Mantiq al-Tayr provided an interesting excursion in the realm of the spirit and its symbolic approach inspired others to undertake similar works. Ziâ Nakhshabi's Tûti Nâmah and Nâmûs-i Akbar seem inspired by 'Attâr's technique. His Pand Nâmah was for centuries included in the syllabus of madrassahs and its sentences passed into aphorisms. 'Attâr became a symbol of catholicity of thought and liberal tradition. His following verse was inscribed in the temples of Kashmir and was recited in the khânâ'hs of Delhi as a veritable expression of the cosmopolitan spirit:

Kufî kâfer râ-o din din-dâr râ
Zarre-yi dardî dil-i 'Attâr râ

'Iraqi was another dynamic figure whose verses provided moral and spiritual animation to the Sufi movement in India. His Lama'ât captured the imagination of intellectuals; his diwân fascinated the Sufis. His 'Ushshâq Nâmah traverses the same path of cosmic emotion that Râmâ's 'Ushshâq Nâmah has covered with greater artistic deftness and symbolistic vigor. His concept of ego and his emphasis on self-respect, resignation and contentment inspired Khusrau, 'Urfî and Iqbal. Iqbal was, in particular, deeply impressed by a risalah of 'Iraqi, Ghâyat al-Imkân fi Warâyat al-
Makān, which contains striking modern concepts. He interpreted, remarks Iqbal, “his spiritual experience of time and space in an age which had no idea of the theories and concepts of modern mathematics and physics.”

With Rumi’s Mathnawi the impact of Iranian Sufi traditions on South Asia touched its highest watermark. No mystic writer before or after him has succeeded in portraying soul movement and its subtle, inexpressible experiences with such perception and delicate sensitivity. Rumi believed in the creative urge of the self and visualized a long and unending process of its evolution and growth. He had a philosophy of life, a vision of moral and spiritual needs of man and society, a fine spiritual sensibility and a powerful imagination that made his delineation of delicate spiritual experiences a magical performance. In fact, he provided a picture gallery of mystic ideas and images. In India he was first quoted by Shaikh Nasir al-Din Chirāgh, a disciple of Shaikh Nizām al-Din Awliyā’. In subsequent years the mystics were so enamored of his Mathnawi that they taught it to their disciples, heard it in their audition parties and expounded mystic ideas to their audience in the light of the anecdotes given in it. It provided a powerful technique to communicate mystic ideas symbolically. Akbar remembered by heart a large number of poems from the Mathnawi and enjoyed reciting them. Significantly, Rumi has selected some stories that are of Indian origin and there are many words in the Mathnawi that are common to Persian and Hindi, as `Abdul Latīf `Abbāsī (d.1648) has pointed out in his glossary of Mathnawi, the Latā’īf al-Lughat. I may refer, incidentally, to only two references to India in the Mathnawi. God thus speaks in the Mathnawi:

“In the Hindus the idiom of Hind (India) is praiseworthy,
In the Sindians the idiom of Sind is praiseworthy
I look not at the tongue and the speech
I look at the inward [spirit] and the state of feeling.”
At another phase Rumi says:
He whose adversary is his own shadow is not safe either in India or Khutan."

These verses reveal Rumi’s assessment of India. It is interesting to find that in Rumi’s mind the Indian animal elephant was a symbol of nostalgic remembrance. At several places in the Mathnawi he says:

\[
\text{Pil chun dar khâb bînad Hind râ}
\]

(When the elephant dreams of India).

or,

\[
\text{Zân-ki pil-am did Hindustân bi-khâb}
\]

(Because my elephant dreamed of India)

Shams Tabrizi was perhaps the first to present the Indian elephant in that way. He said:

\[
\text{Dûsh âmad pil-i mā rā bâz Hindustân bi-khâb}
\]

\[
\text{Pardi-yi shab mî-darîd ‘ā az junîn tā bêmdâd}
\]

(Last night our elephant dreamed of India again

(Tearing madly at the curtain of night till the morn.)

The Indian Sufis drew inspiration from Rumi’s moral and ethical ideals and admired his cult of ‘Ishq (cosmic emotion), but an integrated approach to his work on which could be based integration of individual personality and regeneration of human society was still far off. It was left to Iqbal to turn to Rumi for inspiration and guidance for this purpose. Iqbal’s philosophy—his concept of khud, his ideal of human excellence, his spiritual goals—were all determined by Rm. Iqbal proudly calls himself a ‘disciple of Rumi’. Throughout the centuries, no one in
India has been so deeply inspired by the Mathnawi as Iqbal was and none has fathomed the depth of Rumi’s thought as minutely as Iqbal did. Emotionally speaking, Indian Sufis have always been in the domain of Rumi. A number of commentaries were compiled, particularly noteworthy being those of Muhammad Afzal Allahabadi, Wali Muhammad, Maulana ‘Abdul Ali Bahr al-Ulum, Muhammad Razi, Mirza Muhammad Nazir Arshi, Maulana Ahmad Husain Kanpuri and Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi. The writer of these lines has two very interesting manuscripts of Mathnawi. One is a thematic summary made by Muhammad b. Dost Muhammad, a disciple of Khwaja Obeidullah Ahrar and another summary belonging to Shah Waliullah of Delhi with marginal notes by Abu Razâ.

While interest in Mathnawi was unabated throughout the centuries, it was Iqbal who found in Rumi a real guide in the arduous task of resurrecting the individual and the community. Iqbal saw Rumi in his imaginary excursion to the other world addressing him as zinda rud (living stream). Inspired by Rumi’s symbolic imagery, Iqbal adopted shâhin as his symbol for selfless and persistent effort to achieve the goal and for hitching wagons to the stars. If there is any truth in Arnold’s remark that noble and profound application of ideas to life is the most essential part of poetic greatness, Sa’adi and Rumi may undoubtedly be ranked among the great poets of all time.

Not marble nor the gilded monuments.
Of princes shall outlive this powerful rhyme.

Muslim mystics of Iran looked at the Ultimate Reality from different angles-as self-conscious Will, as Beauty, as Light and as Thought. All these trends are reflected in the Indo-Muslim religious thought. The symbols captured the imagination and preserved concepts otherwise abstruse and difficult to comprehend. Shaikh Shihâb al-Din Suhrawardi Maqtul’s (d.1191) Hikmat al-
Ishrat deeply influenced religio-philosophic thought. Who can say that his Āwâz-i Par-i Jibril did not suggest to Iqbal the title of his collection of poems Bâl-i Jibril (Gabriel's Wing). Suhrawardi presented human soul as an element of 'light' (nûr) and God as 'light of lights (nûr al-anwar) and used color and light as symbols of spiritual development. Seyyed Hossein Nasr's thought provoking study of Bû Ali Sinâ, Suhrawardi and Ibn 'Arabi is most helpful in fathoming the depth and impact of the thought of these three sages. Ishratî ideas reached India through the pupils of Mullâ Sadrâ, particularly Mir Bâqer Dâmad. Shaikh Mubârak, Mir Fathullâh Shirazî, Abûl Fazl and Faizi and a few others became ardent advocates of Ishratî philosophy. 'Abd al-Nabi Shattârî (d.1611) wrote a commentary on Hikmat al-Ishrat under the rubric Rûh al-Arwâh. The author of Anwâriya was a relation of the author of Tabaqât-i Akbari.

The thought of Ikhwan al-Safâ became a significant factor in the intellectual life of India during the time of Akbar. It was in a way a recycling of the ideas which were articulating through Kalila wa Dimna. Akbar got a Persian version of Ikhwan prepared at his court. Rejection of denominationalism, faith in evolutionary concepts, astral influences, millenary ideas came from Ikhwan. Some of the concepts of Ikhwan were echoed in the A‘în-i Akbari.

Though lesser in impact and influence, the Nuqtâwi movement of Iran also exercised some influence on religious thought in India. The Nuqtâwi ideas spread in India through Sharîf Âmulî, Tashbihî of Kâshân, Wuqû‘î of Nishâpûr. It appears from Târîkh-i ‘Alam ârâ-i ‘Abbâsi that Akbar had contact with Mir Syed Ahmad Kâshi.

Semasiological study of mystical terms with their subtle and fluctuating connotations in Iran and India is an interesting field for investigation and analysis. In Akbar's time Shaikh Muhammad Ghauth had made an earnest effort to transfer Hindu mystical concepts into Muslim mystical parlance. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindî
was perhaps unique in fixing sharp, clear and penetrating connotation of mystic terms in the light of Islamic mystical concepts. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Indian semantics saw subtle clashes arising out of ideological backgrounds of terms flowing from Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian sources. However, some concepts were from the very beginning differently understood in India and Iran. For instance, the following observations by Shaikh Ali Hujwiri, the author of Kashf al-Mahjûb, about fânâ (annihilation) and baqâ (subsistence) are significant:

“Some wrongly imagine that annihilation signifies loss of essence and destruction of personality, and that subsistence indicates the subsistence of God in man; both these notions are absurd. In India I had a dispute on this subject with a man who claimed to be versed in Koranic exegesis and theology. When I examined his pretensions I found that he knew nothing of annihilation and subsistence, and that he could not distinguish the eternal from the phenomenal.”

Mansûr Hallâj is a seminal figure in the history of religious thought. His works were mainly in Arabic but he was born in Iran and had visited many countries, including India. It was through Persian works that his ideas reached Indian mystics. He came to be regarded as an embodiment of the principles underlying the pantheistic philosophy. Opinion about him was, however, divided. The earliest Persian work to refer to him is the Kashf al-Mahjûb of Shaikh Ali Hujwiri who firmly held the view that ‘it would be an act of dishonesty’ to omit his biography in any mystical work. He quotes Shibli, who is reported to have observed: “Al-Hallâj and I are of one belief, but my madness saved me, while his intelligence destroyed him.” Hujwiri refers to his fifty works which he found in Baghdad and other places. Though he considered him an ecstatic (maghlûb andar hâl-i khud), he “derived much support from him” and even wrote a book in deference to his views. In one of his books entitled Minhaj, now extinct, Hujwiri gave a biological sketch of Hallâj. Though Hujwiri seems deeply impressed by Hallâj and Kashf al
Mahjūb was a popular study in medieval India, the attitude of Chishti and Suhrawardi saints towards Hallāj was one of caution. They feared lest his pantheistic utterances led to moral confusion. During the time of Firūz Shāh Tughluq all those mystics who were inspired by Hallāj thought—Masʿūd Bak, Ahmad Bihārī, Rukn al-Din and others—were charged with heresy and executed. Even as late as seventeenth century the state dealt strictly with Hallāji trends. The execution of Sarmad at the orders of Aurangzeb indicates the same attitude of disagreement with the views of Hallāj. Professor Louis Massignon once told me that his research suggests that Aush, where Khwāja Qutb al-Din Bakhtiyār Kāki was born, was a Hallāji center and a focal point for the spread of pantheistic ideas in India. His friend and associate Qāzi Hamid al-Din Nagauri was also keenly interested in the thought of Hallāj. His Risāla-i ʾIshqīya bears an indelible stamp of Hallāji thought. As I have shown elsewhere, Hallāj’s works were widely read in Chishti mystic circles. Hallāj’s execution became a symbol of sacrifice for the sake of freedom of thought and poets found no better expression of communicating the spirit of sacrifice for a cause than the episode of Mansūr Hallāj. Iqbal found in his thought many elements of permanent value. In Ḥāfīd Nāmah he presents Hallāj as a dynamic force revealing secrets of khudi. In Zabūr-i ʿAjam he depicts Hallāj along with Shankar and seems to suggest that he was inspired by vedantic philosophy. In his Metaphysics of Persia he presents Mansūr’s slogan ‘I am God’ as an echo of Indian Vedantist’s Aham Brahmā Asmi. In his Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam and in Ḥāfīd Nāmah he emphasized the originality of his thought and his greatness as a thinker. “In the history of religious experience in Islam, which, according to the Prophet, consists in the ‘creation of Divine attributes in Man’, this experience has found expression in such phrases as ‘I am the creative truth’ (Hallāj), ‘I am time’ (Muhammad), ‘I am the speaking Qurʾān’ (Ali), ‘Glory to me’ (Bāyazid),” observes Iqbal.
While Hallâj’s ideological influence remained confined to higher mystical intellects, the impact of Imam Ghazzâlî was more widespread. His Kimiyâ-i Sa’âdat became a popular study throughout South Asia. Its passages were read out daily in some mystic centers. Though for all practical purposes it is a Persian recension of Ihyâ al-‘Ulûm, the religious circles in India undertook to translate Ihyâ into Persian. During the time of Iltutmish, Muâiyd Jâjarmi translated it into Persian. Unique in the comprehensiveness of its approach and incomparable in its psycho-ethical analysis of the basic religious situations, the Kimiyâ became a manual of guidance for the Indo-Muslim society. Ghazzali had himself been a student of Greek philosophy and as he confesses in his al-Mungidh min al-Zalâl was greatly disillusioned by philosophy. He came to believe in the efficacy of ‘cosmic emotion’ which could unravel the mysteries of nature and give that solace and peace of mind which human soul longed for. His approach appealed to those also who believed in the supremacy of reason and thus its impact was felt on a wide scale.

The Kashf al-Mahjûb consolidates mystic ideas as they had developed in Iran and Central Asia up to the eleventh century. The author had personal contact with many eminent mystic teachers like Hasan Khuttalî and Abû Qâsim Gurgâni. Dârâ Shukoh considers Kashf al-Mahjûb as the first book on mysticism written in Persian. This may or may not be correct, but it is a fact that Kashf al-Mahjûb exercised tremendous influence on contemporary and later religious thought, not only in India but in Iran also. Jâmi quotes from it extensively in his Nafaḥat al-‘Uns. In India Shaikh Nizâm al-Din Awliyâ’ used to say that for one who had no spiritual mentor, Kashf al-Mahjûb was enough to guide.

At the purely intellectual level it was Ibn ’Arâbi (d.1240) who dominated the scene. Though his works were in Arabic, it was mainly through Persian channels that his ideas found currency in India. The key and kernel of Ibn ’Arâbi’s thought is pantheism, the earliest exposition of which is found in the Upanishads. It was
Introduction

thus a recycling of ideas that had originally traveled from India under different rubrics. The pantheistic philosophy provided an ideological bridge between Islam and Hinduism. Though commentaries on Ibn 'Arabi's works were written in India by Syed Ali Hamadâni of Kashmir, Ali Piru Mahaimi of Gujurat and others, the ideas of Ibn 'Arabi fascinated the Indian Sufis when 'Iraqi and Rumi prepared the ground for their reception. Mas'ûd Bak's Divān as well as his Mir'ât al-Ârifin reflect the influence of Ibn 'Arabi. Shâh Muhibbullâh of Allâhâbâd wrote commentaries on Ibn 'Arabi's works both in Arabic and in Persian. From the sixteenth century onward enormous literature appeared in India on the mystical ideas of Ibn 'Arabi. Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's criticism of pantheism gave a temporary set-back to this trend, but when Shâh waliullâh attempted a reconciliation between the thought of Ibn 'Arabi and Sirhindi pantheistic ideas again became a force in the mystic sphere.

In the propagation of Ibn 'Arabi's mystical thought Mahmûd Shabistari's Gulshan-i Râz also played a very important role.

One of the most distinguished Persian Sufis who was a very enthusiastic advocate of Ibn 'Arabi's idea was 'Abdur Rahmân Jâmi (d.1492). His literary works and his mystical ideas were well known in India during his lifetime. Mahmûd Gawan corresponded with him and Jâmi created in him an interest in Ibn 'Arabi's thought. The last great mystic itinerant who visited Iran was Maulânâ Fazlullâh, better known as Jamâli. His meeting with Maulânâ Jâmi at Harat was a historic event. Due to long and arduous travels, Jamâli had no clothes on his body when he entered the majlis of Maulânâ Jâmi. Jâmi was a bit displeased when he saw a beggar-looking visitor sit near him regardless of the dust and the dirt that had enveloped his body. When Jâmi came to know about his Indian origin, he asked him if he knew Jamâli. Jamâli recited the verse
Ila rá --a khkik-i kiyat, pîráhâni-st bar tan
án hâm za ãb-i diqeh, sad châk tâ bi-dâman

(I have on my body a garment made of the dust of your lane,
And that too tears have torn into hundreds of pieces.)

and as those verses ran on his lips tears trickled down his cheeks and rolled on his body piercing the garment of dust. Jámi stood up excited, embraced him with mixed feelings of surprise, love and embarrassment. This meeting between Jámi and Jamâli was in fact a historic meeting between mystic traditions of India and Iran. Jámi had written Nafâhât al-'Uns to popularize the great mystics of Islam and their teachings; Jamâli wrote Siyâr al-'A rifîn on his return, perhaps inspired by Jámi and after him compilation of mystic tadhkirahs gathered momentum in India.

The ethical and moral ideas enunciated by Persian masters like Sa'âdi, 'Attâr, Rûmî, Sanâ'î and 'Irâqi became the inspiring motive of the lives of the Indian saints. Taken as a whole, the Persian Sufi ideas and traditions supplied to Muslim mystical movement in South Asia its motive power, its driving force, its ideals and its goals.

SECTION-IV

DISCUSSION

This study’s results suggest that CS is used for facilitating SUFI communication with each other despite language barriers and cultural differences between generations. In the interactions between family of SUFI members, CS functions as a communicative strategy to clarify or reinforce the speaker’s point, overcoming the gap of linguistic competence between the two languages. In relation to this, CS is used to promote each other’s comprehension between family of SUFI members who have a different preferred language. Moreover, CS is employed to meet the
complex communicative purposes, which fill a linguistic need for appropriate word or a lack of appropriate expression due to different cultural values. The purpose of the linguistic choices and the result created by the choice reveal that CS is used as a communicative strategy to achieve particular conversational goals in interactions with other bilingual speakers.

SECTION-V

A COMMUNICATIVE STRATEGY AS LOWERING LANGUAGE BARRIERS

The shifts by the SUFIs show that CS is exercised according to the addressee, that is, the dynamic of the relationship of the speaker addressee to each other and to their particular language proficiency. CS is employed to negotiate the language for the interaction and accommodate each other's language competences and preferences. Alongside the addressee's language choice, the father also switches back and forth between the two languages within a sentence, in consideration of his children's language proficiency. Furthermore, how do switchers instantaneously measure listeners' proficiency in both languages outside of the home domain, where multilingual and multicultural interactions take place?

The effect of repeating the same message by switching code performs the function of reinforcing point in Sufi discourse. In this sense, CS functions as a strategy to promote communication between addressee and the Sufi's. The function of code choices and CS varies in different cultures or language communities. Kramsch (1998) claims that since culture is acquired, socially transmitted, and communicated in large part by language, the language choice must be examined in light of culture and in relation to the specific interactions. The language choices of participants in this study reveal that the factors determining the shifting vary in relation to particular social and cultural values.
SECTION-VI

CONCLUSION

This study supports the possibilities that CS in SUFI discourse setting provides a resource for assisting communication and boding cultural identity across generations. The analysis helps raise awareness that CS, far from constituting a language or communicative deficit, supplies an additional resource that bilinguals systematically exploit to express a range of social and rhetorical meanings. Moreover, this study also indicates that since CS is becoming increasingly common in more parts of the world, it is of the utmost importance to understand how CS, as a communicative strategy, functions in various settings, that is, across various linguistic and cultural systems. The limited data in this study point to the need for future research focusing on CS, related to how the communicative demands are achieved by switchers from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds in their multilingual and multicultural interactions.