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Multilingual Prayer Practices among Sindhi Hindus in Malaysia: Negotiating Heritage, Identity, and Change

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Abstract

This paper investigates multilingual prayer practices among Sindhi Hindus in Malaysia, highlighting how language choice in religious contexts reflects broader elements of legacy support, personality arrangement, and adjustment in diaspora. Drawing on qualitative unstructured interviews with eight members, supplemented by observation of religious sites and YouTube recordings, the study utilizes thematic analysis to look at generational contrasts in supplication in language choices. Findings demonstrate that while older Sindhis preserve Sindhi and Hindi in communal prayers, more youthful Sindhis increasingly use English in private commitments, reframing supplication as personalized spirituality. Multilingualism also underpins inclusivity, empowering Sindhis to take an interest in Hindu, Sikh, and interfaith religious prayers and practices. The study underscores the typical but delicate part of Sindhi in diasporic religiosity, the dominance of Hindi in custom, and the developing affiliation of English with modernization and reflection. It adds to scholarship on diaspora multilingualism, religiosity, and heritage language sustainability.

Keywords: Diaspora, English, Heritage Language, Hindi, Identity, Malaysia, Multilingualism, Prayer, Sindhi, Spirituality

Introduction

Diaspora communities often confront the challenge of preserving their language and cultural heritage as they adapt to new linguistic environments. Among various signs of heritage, religious practices and rituals are particularly important for sustaining identity and transmitting cultural

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values to the next generations. For many migrant groups, prayer serves not only as a religious activity but also as a domain of language selection, where religious practices intersect with concepts of belonging, continuity, and adaptation (Omoniyi & Fishman, 2006; Edwards, 2009). In multilingual diaspora contexts, the languages used in prayer often act as symbolic indicators of heritage, while also reflecting adaptations to the contemporary dynamics of linguistic change and globalization.

This study contributes by exploring the prayer practices of Sindhi Hindus in Malaysia. It emphasizes the multilingual aspects of Sindhi spirituality and examines how language selection varies among generations as a reflection of broader issues related to heritage language maintenance, cultural intermingling, and the negotiation of diasporic identity. Sindhi is a vulnerable diasporic language facing challenges in passing down through generations in various parts of the world (David, 2008). In Malaysia, where the number of Sindhi speakers is limited, factors such as assimilation, the prevalence of English-medium education, and the prestige associated with Hindi due to Bollywood have accelerated the shift away from Sindhi. However, even in spiritual settings, younger Sindhis increasingly opt for English in their religious practices, frequently overlooking Sindhi and Hindi.

The research gap that this study aims to address is the lack of investigation into the multilingual aspects of Sindhi Hindu prayer practices in Malaysia. While there has been substantial research on Sindhi migration, language shift, and religious hybridity in general, there is a scarcity of information regarding how Sindhis in Malaysia manage their prayer languages in both community and personal contexts.

Background of the Sindhi Community in Malaysia

Sindhis arrived in Malaysia during the colonial period as traders and businessmen (David, 2001). Despite their relatively small population, they have established themselves as a socially and economically influential community. However, in terms of language, the Sindhi community in Malaysia faces significant challenges. There is no formal teaching of the Sindhi language in educational institutions, and the transmission of the language across generations is limited (David, 1999).

In this diverse linguistic setting, aspects of religious life such as temple rituals, satsangs, and family prayers are among the few instances where Sindhi continues to be utilized. The language of devotion also reflects a blend of influences, with Malaysian Sindhi Hindus not only worshipping traditional deities like Jhulelal but also embracing Sikh and Sufi customs, sometimes attending gurdwaras or translating prayers into Hindi and English. This positions Malaysian Sindhis within a broader diaspora trend of religious adaptation and cultural exchange.

Diaspora and Language Maintenance.

Research into language maintenance in diaspora settings has traditionally highlighted the vulnerability of heritage languages in the context of migration and assimilation. The research has indicated that religious practice frequently surfaces as the "last bastion" of heritage language survival with ritual language maintaining symbolic power even where every day fluency is compromised (Omoniyi & Fishman, 2006). In Malaysia, David (1999) has reported the language shift of Sindhis, recording increasing use of English and Hindi over Sindhi in domestic and community life.

Religion has been reported as an important domain of language policy and identity expression (Edwards, 2009). Prayer, hymns, and ritual chants tend to be conducted in heritage languages in order to maintain a connection with cultural memory. Meanwhile, diasporic communities often hybridize their religious practices by using more than one language, driven both by pragmatic requirements and by symbolic inclusivity (Omoniyi & Fishman, 2006). Hybridity can become a resource for negotiating identity, enabling diasporic individuals to cling to tradition while interacting with new cultural milieus.

The flexibility of Sindhi religious life has been emphasized by work on the subject. Kothari (2004) noted their tendency to create hybrid religious spaces in diaspora. Boivin and Lalchandani (2024) also demonstrated how Sindhi religiosity further becomes individualized through domestic altars, customized rituals, and digital practices like online arti or prayers through YouTube. However, no systematic examination of the linguistic component of prayer practice has been conducted.

Although previous studies have examined religious hybridity among Sindhi Hindus worldwide (Boivin & Lalchandani, 2024) and linguistic change among Malaysian Sindhis (David, 2001), no research has specifically examined the languages of prayer in Malaysia. There is a lack of study on the languages used in collective vs private worship, the differences in language usage between generations, and the implications of these patterns for heritage language preservation and cosmopolitan language such as English. By providing empirical evidence of prayer behaviors among Malaysia's Sindhi Hindus and contextualizing them within broader discourses on multilingualism, religiosity, and diaspora identity, this study closes this research vacuum.

The objective of this study is to examine the multilingual prayer behavior of Malaysian Sindhi Hindu women, focusing on generational differences and their relevance to heritage language maintenance as well as religious identity. This study was feminist in its focus as all participants were women. The research is framed around the following research questions:

1. What languages (Sindhi, Hindi, English) are employed in prayer practices among Malaysian Sindhis?
2. How do generational differences shape language use in prayer?
3. What do these practices tell us about heritage language maintenance, religious identity, and multilingualism in the diaspora?

Methodology: Research Design

This study examined Malaysian Sindhi Hindus' multilingual prayer life using a qualitative methodology. The primary technique of gathering data for the study was unstructured interviews since it focused on lived experience, sense-making, and the interface between religion and language. This strategy allowed the researcher to explore emerging ideas in an elastic way while granting the participants the freedom to articulate their activities and views in their own ways. Participants were eight individuals (P1–P8) who were recruited through personal connections and community networks. Each of the interviewees identified as a Malaysian Sindhi Hindu. By including both young and older community members in the sample, generational disparities in language usage and prayer practices were obtained. The participants chose to communicate in English. Data related to use of languages in Hindu prayers were also collected from YouTube.

Table 1. Participants' Demographic Profiles

Participant	Gender	Age	Language(s) Used in Prayer	Mode of Interview	Religious Orientation
P1	Male	20–30	English (private), Hindi (group)	WhatsApp (voice)	Hindu (temple-goer)
P2	Female	20–30	English, Sindhi	Email	Hindu (family-based practice)
P3	Male	30–40	Hindi, Sindhi	WhatsApp (chat)	Hindu (traditional)
P4	Female	40–50	Sindhi (collective), English (private)	WhatsApp (voice)	Hindu (heritage-focused)
P5	Male	40–50	Hindi, English	Email	Hindu (cosmopolitan orientation)
P6	Female	50–60	Sindhi, Hindi	WhatsApp (chat)	Hindu (ritual-focused)
P7	Male	60+	Sindhi (temple), Hindi	WhatsApp (voice)	Hindu (traditionalist)
P8	Female	60+	Sindhi (temple), English	Email	Hindu traditionalist (someone who seeks to preserve traditions) with hybrid practices.

This allocation records a cross-generational range: younger subjects reported higher use of English, particularly in private prayer, whereas older subjects singled out Sindhi and Hindi as indicators of tradition and communal identity.

Data Collection

Taking into account the convenience and availability of the participants, interviews were conducted electronically between February and June, 2025, using email and online communication platforms such as WhatsApp Messenger. Every interview lasted roughly half an hour and was done in English. Participants were able to speak extensively about their intergenerational practices, language use, and prayer habits thanks to the utilization of unstructured interviews. The respondents interviewed were asked to recollect the way their grandmothers and mothers prayed. Apart from the interviews, visits were made to institutional places of worship like the North Indian temple and gurdwaras in Kuala Lumpur. In addition, YouTube videos of such places of worship by Sindhi Hindus were sourced to document the language of prayer in such institutions. Contextual observation was documented by taking field notes as soon as possible after each interview.

Data Analysis

Using Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis paradigm, the data were transcribed and subjected to thematic analysis. An inductive coding approach was used to find recurring patterns in the narratives. After several readings of the transcripts, the codes were iteratively compiled into higher-order themes. Changing generations of prayer language, religious hybridity and multilingualism, and English as the expanding language for individualized spirituality were the three main themes that emerged. Comparisons between and within participant reports were made, with a focus on regions of convergence and divergence, in order to strengthen the interpretive stringency.

Validity and Trustworthiness

A number of actions were performed to improve the findings' validity. In order to secure data triangulation, replies were first gathered using a variety of communication channels, including emails, text messages, and voice notes on WhatsApp. Second, respondent validation was incorporated by asking participants to confirm or clarify their statements by paraphrasing important aspects both during and after interviews. Third, the researcher employed reflexive journaling at every stage to monitor possible biases and confirm that interpretations were based on participant voices rather than researcher assumptions.

The study adhered to accepted ethical standards for qualitative research. Before participating, each subject provided their informed consent after being fully informed of the technique, goal, and voluntary nature of the involvement. Participants were assured of confidentiality and anonymity; pseudonyms and codes (P1–P8) are used for reporting. Sensitive religious practices were treated with tact and securely kept in password-protected files.

Findings

The analysis of multilingual practices in Malaysian Sindhi Hindu prayers is presented in this part. According to the findings, social worship, pluralist religiosity, intergenerational transmission, and the personalizing of spirituality are the main causes of language use in prayer. Four overarching themes emerged: (1) language transition and ritual continuity; (2) institutional and communal

multilingualism; (3) inclusion and spiritual hybridity; and (4) prayer modernization and personalizing. Every subject is described in terms of participant responses and supported by tables.

Ritual Continuity and Language Shift

Prayer practice in households among Sindhi Hindus exhibits both ritual form continuity and language choice shift over generations. The older generations spoke mainly in Sindhi and Hindi, but younger generations increasingly use English, particularly in personal prayer.

Table 2. Ritual Continuity and Language Shift

Participant	Practices	Languages Used	Generational /Personal Shift
P1	Mom used to bathe the statues of the gods fold her hands and say short prayer in her heart in English... On bigger festivals like Deepawali, all family members sat together and did Lakshmi and Ganesh's pooja and Navagraha i.e. nine planets pooja and put Hatri ie little toy hut like house in silver or clay, representing the family and lit candles and diyas all around the pooja place welcoming goddess Lakshmi Ji with lights into our home and lives and then singing Aarti of Ganesh Ji, Lakshmi ji and Om Jai Jagdish in Sindhi and then hugging each other after the Deepwali prayers saying <i>Dyari ji lakh lakh wadhai</i> in Sindhi.	Hindi/Sindhi (aartis,Sai Baba bhajans), English	Hindi→English→Sindhi
P4	In the olden days everything was done in Sindhi. Today we talk to the deities in English offering our gratitude and sometimes bringing our problems to them asking for help	Sindhi and English	Continuity maintained in the community
P5	Nuri is in Sindhi Gita is in Sindhi and Hindi. She reads Gita.	Sindhi (mother), Hindi (bhajans), English (self).	Hindi(bhajans), English(self) Sindhi →Hindi→English
P6	Parents read Nuri Granth (Sindhi) and Bhagavad Gita (Hindi); self wrote prayers in English notebooks; subsequently hybrid blend.	Sindhi, Hindi, English	English personalization → Ritual-heavy → Hybrid

P5 definitely affirms that "in the olden days everything was done in Sindhi, today we speak to the deities in English." This disparity is especially pronounced between P4, who upholds Sindhi-Hindi norms in communal contexts. Additionally, P6 describes a shift from ritualized chanting in Sindhi and Hindi to private musings in English, with a subsequent return to traditional scriptures. P1 has

a cyclical trajectory: she returned to structured Hindi prayers through the Sai Baba tradition, but her mother absorbed English prayer. The topic generally demonstrates how ceremonial continuity is maintained, while subsequent generations' linguistic preferences shift toward English, especially when they are not in group settings. There is one Hindhu temple mainly attended by North Indians mainly Sindhi Hindus and Gujeratis

If the congregation is for a Sindhi religious function like the monthly Chand function then the priest who comes from India speaks in Hindhi but generally if a Sindhi makes an announcement it is in English. On the other hand if it is a memorium service for a well known Sindhi in the North Indian temple and the audience is made up of not only Sindhis but other ethnic groups then the speeches are in English and the Arti in Hindhi.

Multilingualism in Institutions and Society

Sindhi Hindus in Malaysia are involved with a broad array of religious institutions, which requires multilingual interaction. Depending on the religious institutions visited, various languages are noted. In Sikh temples, it is Punjabi, Hindi, and English (the latter mainly for announcements) in the North Indian temple and in communal gatherings in private homes when satsangs are conducted and where Sindhi, Gujarati and other Hindus attend, Hindi and English are used.

Table 3. Institutional and Collective Multilingualism

Participant	Sites of Worship	Languages Used	Observations
P1	Sai Baba centre	Hindi, English (guru references)	Multiethnic attendance and languages.
P4	Sindhi satsangs, Lakshmi Narayan Temple, Sant Nirankari Mission.	Hindi, Sindhi	Preservation of community rituals; if audience is mainly older Sindhi and the speaker is older Sindhi, Sindhi is used otherwise it is a mix of Sindhi, Hindi, and English.
P7	Gurdwara, Hindu temple, Sai Baba satsang, ISKCON, Radha Swami.	Hindi, Chinese, Sindhi, Punjabi/Gurmukhi, English (contextual)	Multifaith and multilingual participation
P2	Sikh gurdwara, Hindu temple, Jhulelal bhajans, Sai Baba satsang	Punjabi, Hindi, Sindhi	Multilingual adaptability across sites and across different bhajans to a range of named gods/godesses.

P2 and P7 are prime examples of diasporic adaptability, seamlessly switching between Hindi, Sindhi, and Punjabi based on the institutional setting. For instance, P2 reported that “prayers were held in Sikh Gurdwara in Punjabi, while Sindhi was used in offering prayers to Sindhi gods, such as Julelal”. P4 records community retention, whereby organized temple activities support Sindhi-

Hindi practice. The example of P1 demonstrates how Hindi is still used as a prayer language by transnational Hindu movements (Sai Baba centers). Hindi and Sindhi are more tightly maintained in institutional settings than in private prayers in homes, where English is more prevalent.

Inclusivity and Spiritual Hybridity

The Sindhi Hindus' openness to many religious traditions—a pragmatic and ideological pluralism—is a second major issue. The employment of multiple languages in prayer across different religious systems is an example of this plurality.

Table 4. Spiritual Hybridity and Inclusivity

Participant	Practices & Beliefs	Languages Used	Observations
P3	Hindu mantras; receptive to Quran, Guru Nanak, Christianity; prays in church with grandchildren.	Hindi, Sindhi chants, English	Christian prayers (Ideological pluralism).
P6 (grew up in India but lives in Malaysia in a nuclear family home)	Reads Nuri Granth (Sindhi) and Bhagavad Gita (Hindi); reads and writes prayers in the English language journals; hosts the birthday of Lord Ganesh and sometimes a satsang.	Sindhi, Hindi, English	Hybrid personal practice
P7	Visits several religious places.	Sindhi, Punjabi Hindi, English.	Practical pluralism

P6 practices hybridity by fusing English personal spirituality with Sindhi-Hindi scripture, whereas P3 displays overt theological openness ("We Sindhis are very open to any religion"). P7, on the other hand, participates in and attends a variety of religious organizations, socially materializing hybridity. For example, P7 says "I belong to land of multifaiths. It is openness of Sindhis to attend gurdwaras, Hindu temples, and places of praying to Sai Baba and Radha Swami". In these stories, being multilingual—Hindi, Sindhi, English is both a benefit and an indication of openness.

Personalization and Modernization of Prayer

Prayer has shifted from traditional collective practices to simple, personalized, and modernized practices for most participants. English becomes the most prominent language in these personalized practices of second and third generation Sindhis, even overtaking Sindhi and Hindi.

Table 4. Personalization and Modernization of Prayer

Participant	Practices	Languages Used	Observations
P5	Simplified prayer, bhajans on YouTube, protest against commercialization of gurus.	Hindi, English	Modernized devotion
P6	Diaries, gratitude journals, meditation; rituals reinterpreted.	English, Hindi, Sindhi	Personalized hybrid spirituality
P8	Prayer under COVID stress as therapy	English	Prayer as psychological resource.

The clearest examples of the transition from group ritual to personal spirituality are found in P5 and P6. P5 prefers brief English-language prayers with sporadic Hindi bhajans and rejects the commercialization of gurus. For example, P5 states “It has all become more commercialised now and when they leave they get envelopes with money as offerings or to be put into the use of the faith they run...we listen to Hindi bhajans. They are all on YouTube. We listen to these every morning when we get up to start our day”. P6 uses English writing to reinterpret prayer as a contemplative activity while continuing to engage with the scriptures selectively. The use of prayer as a psychological coping strategy during the COVID-19 pandemic is discussed in P8, another transition, using English "reflections." The use of English as the medium for personal spirituality here signifies modernism.

Overall, findings identify four interrelated dynamics:

Generational Shift:

While younger people increasingly use English, especially in private contexts, older participants (such as P1's grandmother and P5's in-laws) rely heavily on Sindhi and Hindi.

Public vs. Private Prayer:

While private prayer is increasingly centered on English, public rituals in worship places, such as temples, satsangs, and gurdwaras are not always in Sindhi, Hindi, and Punjabi as it depends on who the devotees are and what the congregational prayers are. In relation to hybridity, witnesses like P3, P6, and P7 show how open Sindhis are to many religious traditions, as evidenced by their

multilingual language usage. In relation to modernization, English becomes the language of interiority as newer generations reframe prayer as introspection, meditation, or even therapy. The current study's findings show how Malaysian Sindhi Hindus use complex multilingual repertoires that encompass continuity and transformation when negotiating prayer.

P5 and P6 participants describe how "in the olden days everything was done in Sindhi," but English currently predominates in private prayer. This trend is consistent with studies that document Sindhi as a legacy language with inadequate institutional support, often supplanted by dominant lingua francas in host environments. However, as P1 and P4's stories demonstrate, ceremonial continuities in Sindhi and Hindi continue, particularly in places of communal worship like temples and places where satsangs are conducted. The study thus identifies two processes: institutional religion offers a sanctuary for Sindhi, Punjabi, and Hindi maintenance, while English intrudes into the private sphere of individual spirituality. Second, the information shows how multilingualism contributes to the persistence of diasporic religion.

Depending on the institutional setting, members such as P2 and P7 travel between gurdwaras, temples, and satsangs, engaging in prayers in Hindi, Sindhi, Punjabi, and English. This aligns with Vertovec's (2007) idea of super-diversity since multilingual resources can be used in a variety of contexts. In the instance of Sindhi Hindus in Malaysia, multilingual prayer practices serve a dual purpose: they sustain communal ties and promote identity in a religiously diverse setting. Language variety facilitates participation across various places of worship rather than acting as barriers. Third, spiritual hybridity and openness are among the findings' most noteworthy features.

Asserting that "Sindhis are very open to any religion," participants such as P3 publicly promote inclusion, whilst P6 and P7 practice hybridity by fusing Hindu and Sikh beliefs during prayer. According to studies, one aspect of Sindhi identity in the diaspora is religious cosmopolitanism (Falzon, 2004; Markovits, 2000). In many instances, language serves as a gauge of this hybridity: English promotes interfaith interaction, such as when P3 prays with her Christian grandkids, Gurmukhi/Punjabi roots Sikh participation, and Hindi and Sindhi link to Hindu ritual. Fourth, the increasing use of English in private devotions shows how prayer has become more personalized and contemporary.

For P5, ceremonial traditions are replaced by YouTube bhajans and de-ritualized personal prayers; P6 reinterprets prayer in terms of gratitude diaries and journals; and P8 employs prayer as psychotherapy in the COVID-19 age. In each of these cases, English emerges as a medium for self-expression and interiority that aligns with the broader tendencies in late modern civilizations toward personalized, therapeutic spirituality (Heelas & Woodhead, 2005). Thus, the spread of English demonstrates both linguistic and broader cultural shifts in the importance of prayer. Finally, the study raises concerns over Sindhi's continued use in liturgical contexts.

Despite the fact that Sindhi is still somewhat maintained by community institutions, the results show that Hindi and English have a greater functional dominance, whereas Sindhi's functional

influence is becoming more symbolic or ritual. Sindhi runs the risk of becoming less of an active medium of devotion and more of a cultural memory or a collection of ritual pieces in the absence of institutionally enforced continuity. However, the data also suggest the possibility of revalorization: P1's return to prayers and P6's syncretic merging of Sindhi texts with English show that young Sindhis may not completely discard traditions, but rather alter them.

In summary, Sindhi Hindus in Malaysia engage in multilingual religious traditions that delicately balance innovation and continuity. English serves as the medium for both interfaith outreach and personal spirituality, Punjabi-the spoken language- facilitates intercommunal worship, while Sindhi and Hindi serve as the foundation for collective rituals and diasporic identity. By demonstrating how prayer, a very private yet social action, turns into a location where linguistic alternatives are employed to enact negotiations of legacy, belonging, and contemporary religiosity, this study advances the field of diaspora multilingualism scholarship.

Discussion and Conclusion

The findings both reaffirm existing scholarship and introduce new points that complicate prior debates. Prayer becomes a space where ritual continuity and language change exist together. In keeping with Omoniyi and Fishman (2006) contention that religious spheres are one of the last remaining sanctuaries of heritage language usage, the older Malaysian Sindhi Hindu generation persists in the use of Sindhi and Hindi in collective and domestic prayers. Nevertheless, younger respondents demonstrated a strong pull towards English, especially in secluded devotions. This supports David's (2008) description of Malaysian Sindhi language shift but broadens it by demonstrating how ritual form can be sustained even while the prayer language evolves.

The figures also highlight the ways in which institutional and community sites promote heritage languages. In order to prevent English from invading private prayer, Gurdwaras, satsangs, and temples uphold Sindhi, Hindi, and Punjabi. According to Omoniyi and Fishman (2006), multilingualism is symbolic as well as functional, fostering community links in heterogeneous diasporic contexts. The example of Malaysian Sindhi demonstrates how multilingual flexibility ensures legacy permanence and makes membership in different institutions easier.

The study illustrates Sindhi religiosity's syncretic and cosmopolitan tendencies. There are similarities between the participants' readiness to accept Sikh customs and the depictions of Sindhi diversity provided by Falzon (2004). The use of language for practice options—English for interfaith activity, Punjabi for Sikh involvement, and Sindhi and Hindi in Hindu traditions—acts as a semiotic resource for managing hybridity. As a result, prayer is not only bilingual but also multifait, broadening the understanding of Sindhi religiosity beyond national borders.

Regarding English as the emerging language of personal spirituality, this is a noteworthy finding. English is used when there are multiracial congregations. This is consistent with "subjective-life spirituality," as defined by Heelas and Woodhead (2005), where religion is reframed in terms of personal well-being and self-expression. English is associated with modernization,

individualization, and worldwide religion, in contrast to legacy languages that bind identity to tradition and community.

The future of Sindhi as a liturgical language continues to cause tension. Despite being symbolically maintained in public spaces, Sindhi's role in personal devotion appears to be declining. This highlights the risk that Sindhi will be reduced to ceremonial relics or sentimental symbols rather than a dynamic vehicle for devotion. Younger Sindhis, however, are reformatting tradition in hybridized forms rather than completely discarding it, as seen by signs of selective revalorization, such as participants returning to Hindi ceremony or combining Sindhi scriptures with English journaling. Thus, language transition in diaspora appears to be more of a negotiating process than a linear deterioration.

Together, they contribute to the study of diaspora multilingualism by showing how prayer is a dynamic site of continuity, hybridity, and change for Malaysian Sindhi Hindus. They support previous accounts of Sindhi language shift (David, 1999), but they apply them to the religious domain, showing how multilingual repertoires function differently in various public, institutional, and private contexts. English is becoming more and more common in individualized and modernized practice, heritage languages are still used in structured communal worship, and multilingualism serves as a tool for interfaith cosmopolitanism and intracommunal solidarity. Prayer practices reflect broader discussions of identity, belonging, and spirituality in addition to language choices.

This study has certain drawbacks. The study contains a relatively small participant sample. Furthermore, the scope was limited to language activities in prayer, ignoring paralinguistic elements that may also contain heritage transmission, such as music and ritual gestures.

For comparative viewpoints, future research may include participation from transnational Sindhi networks, and other age cohorts. Observing prayer practices through ethnographic fieldwork may capture embodied features of language use and support interview findings. Clarifying how prayer languages evolve throughout time would also benefit from longitudinal studies that track intergenerational relationships. Finally, comparing the Sindhi situation to other tiny diasporic Hindu groups in broader diaspora studies could help determine whether or not similar multilingual discussions occur elsewhere.

AI use statement: AI was used to organize data and proofread the whole paper.

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