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Exploring Code Switching as a Strategy for Euphemism: A study of Bilingual Undergraduate of Pashto and English in Degree college Wari, Dir Upper

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

In contemporary plurilingual societies, the once uncommon and sporadic occurrence of bi/multilingualism has transformed into an inevitable and naturally unfolding global phenomenon (Grosjean, 2010). This linguistic landscape sets the stage for code-switching, as delineated by Kachru (1983), wherein two or more languages intertwine within a single discourse, encompassing the alternation or blending of linguistic elements across morphemes, words, phrases, clauses, and entire sentences. Code-switching, intricately linked to bi/multilingualism, has garnered significant attention and scholarly support over the years (Muhammad & Mahmood, 2013; Cook, 2013; Gulzar & Qadir, 2010; Sipra, 2009). This linguistic practice, where individuals proficient in two languages seamlessly shift between them, has become a subject of interest in various fields, particularly sociolinguistics.

Recent studies focusing on code-switching, particularly from a sociolinguistic perspective, delve into the captivating question of why individuals proficient in two languages choose to alternate between them in specific situations. Moreover, these studies seek to unravel how the social context plays a pivotal role in motivating or influencing the choice of words or codes within a given discourse.

One compelling aspect of code-switching is its ability to adapt to diverse social contexts. In professional settings, individuals may intentionally alter their language, employing specialized and formal vocabulary to convey a sense of expertise and professionalism. This linguistic versatility serves not only as a tool for effective communication but also as a strategic means to navigate complex social dynamics. Furthermore, the incorporation of diverse professional jargon can enhance precision and clarity in communication, ensuring that the message is conveyed accurately within the given professional or technical domain. This deliberate linguistic adaptation underscores the dynamic nature of code-switching, illustrating its role beyond mere language proficiency.

The fact that CS is a context-governed phenomenon has also been noted by Malik (1994) (p. 12). Certain expressions, which are banned in certain language contexts, may seem quite normal when used alone. Words are seen in both their denotative and connotative meanings when language is analyzed for meaning; the former is literal, conceptual, and explicit, while the latter is associative, emotive, and implicit. Although certain words have connotations that

make them unpleasant, repulsive, and unmentionable in everyday conversation, words by themselves are not forbidden. In their connotative sense, several of the terms on isolation shown in the tables (see table 2, 3) below are simply linguistic Taboo in Society (this will be referred/Abbreviated LTS onwards); as in their denotative sense, they are more widely used Pashto words. As a result, they ought to be understood in the context of their particular languages.

In addition to linguistic competence, the choice to code-switch is influenced by various social factors, such as the participants' relationships, the setting of the interaction, and the cultural nuances at play. Understanding these intricacies is crucial for unraveling the underlying motivations behind code-switching behavior. As the scholarly discourse on code-switching continues to evolve, researchers are challenged to explore new dimensions, such as the cognitive processes involved in language alternation and the impact of code-switching on social identity. By expanding the scope of investigation, scholars can contribute valuable insights into the complex interplay between language, cognition, and social dynamics.

The impact of code-switching in Pakistan has been substantial, significantly influencing research studies over the past two decades (Gulzar, 2010). Despite this influence, the Pashtun society's perspective on the code-switching phenomenon remains relatively underexplored, with limited data reported to date.

One contributing factor to this gap in research is the long-standing assumption that code-switching was a 'subconscious behavior' (Wardhaugh, 2000, p. 103), suggesting that speakers might not be consciously aware of the language or code they employ in conversation. This assumption hindered serious investigations into the socio-pragmatic functions and well-defined communicative purposes of code-switching in Pashtun society. The link between socio-pragmatic function and the conscious aspect of code-switching lies in the intentional and strategic nature of language choice employed by speakers to achieve specific communicative objectives within their social environment. By consciously navigating through linguistic codes, individuals actively engage in a process of social negotiation and meaning construction, thereby shaping their interactions and relationships.

This conscious dimension of code-switching becomes particularly evident when examining how speakers adapt their language use to accommodate the communicative needs and expectations of their interlocutors. For example, in Pashtun society, where language is deeply

intertwined with cultural norms and social hierarchies, individuals may strategically code-switch to demonstrate respect, establish authority, or foster camaraderie, depending on the situational context and the dynamics of the interaction. Such conscious decisions reflect an awareness of the socio-pragmatic functions of code-switching and a deliberate effort to leverage language variation as a tool for effective communication and social navigation. Furthermore, the conscious aspect of code-switching is closely tied to speakers' sociolinguistic competence—their ability to understand and manipulate linguistic norms and conventions within different social settings. Through conscious code-switching, speakers demonstrate their proficiency in navigating the intricate nuances of language use, including register, tone, and cultural appropriateness, to achieve desired communicative outcomes. Moreover, the conscious consideration of socio-pragmatic functions extends beyond individual interactions to broader sociocultural contexts. Speakers may strategically employ code-switching to assert cultural identity, resist linguistic assimilation, or negotiate power dynamics within larger societal structures. By consciously utilizing language variation as a means of social expression and negotiation, individuals actively contribute to the dynamic construction of sociocultural identities and relationships within their communities. However, it is now well-established that code-switching is not solely a subconscious behavior. Instead, it can be intentionally and effectively employed for various social effects, and individuals may have specific reasons for choosing particular linguistic elements within their discourse. Scholars such as Myers-Scotton and Ury (1977), Myers-Scotton (1993b), Auer (1984), and Wei (1998) have contributed significantly to this shift in understanding, highlighting that code-switching is a conscious and purposeful communicative strategy. Code-switching is a conscious and purposeful communicative strategy primarily because it involves deliberate decisions by speakers to switch between languages or dialects in order to achieve specific communicative goals within a given social context. Firstly, speakers exhibit conscious awareness of their linguistic repertoire and the sociocultural norms associated with each language or dialect they speak. They actively assess the situational demands, audience characteristics, and social dynamics before employing code-switching as a means of effective communication. For example, in multilingual environments such as urban areas or diverse communities, speakers may strategically switch languages to accommodate the linguistic preferences or proficiency levels of their interlocutors. Secondly, code-switching serves various communicative functions, each requiring conscious consideration and strategic planning. Speakers may use code-switching to signal solidarity or intimacy with certain social groups, assert cultural identity, negotiate power dynamics, express emotion or emphasis,

clarify meaning, or facilitate smoother interaction. By consciously selecting linguistic codes to fulfill these functions, speakers navigate through complex social interactions and convey nuanced messages that align with their communicative intentions.

The socio-pragmatic motivations behind code-switching have become a focal point of inquiry, allowing researchers to delve into the detailed examination of why individuals choose to alternate between linguistic codes. This includes investigating the social effects of code-switching and the individual reasons that may prompt language alternation in specific contexts. As scholars increasingly recognize the intentional nature of code-switching, there is a growing acknowledgment that speakers can articulate and explain their choices in using specific linguistic elements. This paradigm shift opens up avenues for more comprehensive studies that not only document code-switching patterns but also seek to understand the underlying motivations, both at the individual and societal levels.

The occurrence of code-switching (CS) is a complex phenomenon influenced by a myriad of sociolinguistic factors. While it proves challenging to create an exhaustive list of socio-discourse functions that code-switching serves (Auer, 1984; Martin-Jones, 1995), it is acknowledged that code-switching can be intentionally and consciously employed as a 'discourse strategy' in communication (Romaine, 1995, p. 121). The reasons behind the occurrence of code-switching are multifaceted, encompassing social, cultural, and individual factors. Auer (1984) and Martin-Jones (1995) emphasize the intricate nature of these functions, suggesting that attempting to compile a comprehensive inventory is inherently difficult. This recognition underscores the dynamic and context-dependent nature of code-switching, which may serve different purposes in various communicative settings.

Romaine (1995) introduces the concept of code-switching as a 'discourse strategy,' highlighting the intentional and conscious use of code-switching in communication. This perspective challenges the notion that code-switching is solely a subconscious behavior. Instead, it positions code-switching as a strategic choice made by speakers to achieve specific communicative goals.

Understanding code-switching as a discourse strategy implies that speakers have a conscious awareness of the linguistic choices they make during communication. This conscious deployment of code-switching allows individuals to navigate the communicative context

effectively, taking into account social dynamics, linguistic nuances, and the specific goals of the interaction.

The multifunctionality of code-switching becomes apparent in its ability to convey nuances that may be challenging to express using a single language. It can serve pragmatic functions such as emphasizing a point, signaling group identity, or accommodating the linguistic preferences of the interlocutors. The intentional use of code-switching as a discourse strategy enriches communication by allowing speakers to draw on the full linguistic repertoire at their disposal.

Therefore, code-switching (CS) serves as a purposeful communicative strategy that finds application across various contexts, including expressions of solidarity, emphasis, social status, chosen topics, affection, and persuasion, among other reasons (cf. Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Gumperz, 1982; Myers-Scotton, 1983, 1988, 1989, 1992; Appel & Muysken, 1987, p. 117; Genesee, Paradis & Crago, 2004; Rihane, 2013). Importantly, CS can be a behavior in discourse motivated by the need for 'linguistic avoidance' or 'euphemism' in speech (Mukenge, 2012, p. 581).

In a study analyzing the Zimbabwean film 'Yellow Card,' which addresses HIV and AIDS campaign messages, Mukenge (2012) illustrates that CS from Shona (the native language) to English is employed as a communication strategy for linguistic avoidance. Similarly, a study on CS in the Hong Kong Chinese press, particularly in showbiz discourse by Li (2000), suggests that English words in Cantonese/Chinese are likely utilized for euphemistic purposes. For instance, the incorporation of the English word 'bra' in Chinese as 'Wow! Visible bra princess' when referring to Lin Xinru, a Taiwanese actress, exemplifies this linguistic strategy. Leung's research (2006, p. 14) on CS in Swedish print advertisements further argues that taboo words and topics are often avoided in the native language and code-switched to a foreign language, as the native language carries more emotional force.

While these studies, although limited in range, context, and methodology, highlight a correlation between linguistic taboos and CS, they primarily emphasize the structural aspects and pedagogical utility of CS. A research gap has been identified in the contemporary literature concerning CS serving a euphemistic purpose in speech to mitigate the undesirable effects of violating linguistic taboos in Pakistan, as discussed in the literature review. Therefore, the current study aims to examine Pashto-English CS as a discourse strategy for

linguistic avoidance, proposing that English words/expressions are employed in Pashto to sidestep direct references to taboo words or topics in Pashtun society, which are socially perceived as unpleasant, offensive, and prohibited. The data for this study were collected from Pashto speakers enrolled in the BS English program at Govt. Degree College Dir Wari, located in district Dir Wari, KPK, Pakistan, for homogeneity and specificity. Results indicate that CS from Pashto to English is motivated by altruism, positive-face considerations, and/or euphemism, especially when discussing taboo topics, as linguistic taboos in Pashto are deemed more objectionable, and expressing them in English is considered more euphonic and less offensive to Pashtuns.

1.2 Different Triggers for Code-switching

According to Si A and Ellison M (2022) Code-switching (CS) behavior is multifaceted, influenced by an array of triggers that operate within diverse linguistic and social contexts. One prominent trigger is situational context, whereby speakers navigate language alternation based on the setting, participants involved, and discourse topic (Gumperz, 1982). For instance, individuals adeptly transition between Hindi and English in formal professional environments, contrasting with their use of vernacular languages in informal social gatherings with friends and family. Additionally, discourse structure plays a pivotal role in code-switching dynamics, with speakers employing language alternation to delineate shifts in speech acts or pragmatic functions (Poplack, 1980). This may encompass utilizing code-switching to accentuate specific points, convey nuanced emotions, or navigate power dynamics within conversational exchanges. Furthermore, speaker identity serves as a significant trigger, encompassing factors such as ethnicity, social status, and linguistic proficiency (Heller, 1988). Speakers strategically engage in language alternation to either align with or differentiate themselves from specific social groups, assert their cultural identity, or accommodate the linguistic needs of their interlocutors.

Indeed, while euphemism is one reason people engage in code-switching, it is far from the sole motivator. The multifaceted nature of code-switching behavior suggests that individuals navigate a complex interplay of linguistic, social, and situational factors when alternating between languages. Beyond euphemistic intentions, code-switching may also serve pragmatic purposes such as demonstrating solidarity or establishing rapport with specific interlocutors. Moreover, code-switching can function as a marker of social identity, allowing speakers to signal their affiliation with particular communities or assert their cultural heritage.

Additionally, linguistic proficiency and social status play crucial roles in code-switching dynamics, as individuals may strategically employ language alternation to navigate power dynamics or accommodate the communication needs of diverse audiences. Therefore, while euphemism certainly contributes to the richness of code-switching behavior, it is just one facet of a broader spectrum of triggers that shape language alternation practices.

1.3 A Psycholinguistic Perspective of Code-Switching

Previous research has extensively explored the dynamic relationship between code-switching (CS) and emotional experiences among bilingual speakers. While existing literature has primarily focused on cognitive control and emotion regulation perspectives, a more nuanced psycholinguistic account, such as taboo-avoidance, warrants consideration. Taboo-avoidance, as observed in the study by Williams et al. (2020), posits that bilingual speakers may strategically employ CS to navigate culturally sensitive or socially inappropriate topics, thereby managing their emotional expression within specific linguistic contexts. This perspective suggests that the choice of language in emotional discourse may not only be influenced by cognitive and affective factors but also by socio-cultural norms and communicative taboos. Integrating taboo-avoidance into the discussion of CS and emotion can provide a richer understanding of how bilingual individuals navigate linguistic and emotional landscapes, shedding light on the intricate interplay between language choice and socio-cultural dynamics in emotional expression.

While the integration of taboo-avoidance into the discourse on code-switching (CS) and emotion offers a compelling perspective, it's crucial to critically examine its applicability and implications. While Williams et al. (2020) provide valuable insights into the role of CS in navigating sensitive topics, the generalization of taboo-avoidance as a predominant factor in bilingual emotional expression may oversimplify the complexities of language choice. The extent to which socio-cultural norms and taboos influence CS patterns likely varies across individuals and communities, warranting further empirical investigation. Moreover, prioritizing taboo-avoidance as a primary explanation for CS in emotional discourse risks overlooking other socio-psychological factors, such as identity negotiation and power dynamics, which also shape language selection. Therefore, while acknowledging the significance of socio-cultural context in bilingual communication, it's essential to approach taboo-avoidance as one of several potential influences on CS behavior, rather than a universal explanatory framework.

In exploring the intricate dynamics of code-switching within psycholinguistic frameworks, it becomes imperative to delve into its nuanced facets, particularly its relationship with taboo-avoidance. Drawing from the insightful work of Sheikh & Titone (2015), which illuminates the cognitive mechanisms underlying language processing amidst emotionally charged contexts, we can enrich our understanding of how code-switching operates as a strategy for navigating linguistic taboos. By integrating their findings, we can posit that code-switching serves as a cognitive buffer against the potential emotional impact of taboo words, thereby facilitating smoother language comprehension. This psycholinguistic perspective underscores the adaptive nature of code-switching, where speakers instinctively maneuver between languages to mitigate the cognitive load imposed by emotionally charged lexical items. Consequently, incorporating a psycholinguistic lens into the analysis of code-switching not only unveils its pragmatic function in communication but also sheds light on its intricate interplay with taboo-avoidance strategies.

In order to exploring how people switch between languages when dealing with taboo words sounds fascinating, there's more to the story than just the cognitive stuff. Sure, Sheikh & Titone's (2015) research on how our brains handle language in emotional situations. The investigation into the neurocognitive processes involved in language comprehension during emotionally charged contexts is intriguing. However, when attempting to extend these findings to elucidate the reasons behind language switching among individuals, complexities emerge. Language functions not only as a reflection of cognitive operations but also as a manifestation of cultural identity, social background, and communicative context. Therefore, positing that code-switching serves primarily as a mechanism to circumvent taboo language may oversimplify the phenomenon. After all, why we switch languages can depend on a whole bunch of things, like how comfortable we feel in a certain language or the social norms around us. Plus, what's considered taboo can change depending on who you ask and where you are. So, while looking at language through a psychological lens is neat, it's not the whole picture. To really understand why people switch between languages, we've got to consider everything from our cultural backgrounds to the social situations we find ourselves in.

In a study by Sheikh and Titone (2015), the emotional representation of words in a second language (L2) was explored through eye-movement analysis during reading comprehension tasks. The research aimed to investigate whether emotional words in L2 are emotionally impoverished compared to those in the first language (L1). Findings revealed that while positive words were read more quickly than neutral words in L2, this emotional advantage

was not consistently observed for negative words, particularly in the earliest reading measures. Additionally, negative words in L2 were influenced by factors such as concreteness, frequency, and L2 proficiency, similar to neutral words, suggesting a potential risk of emotional "disembodiment" specifically for negative words during L2 reading. The study implies that emotional word processing in L2 may differ from that in L1, with negative words being more susceptible to emotional detachment. This research provides valuable insights into the psycholinguistic aspects of L2 word processing and complements studies on language alternation, such as code-switching for euphemistic purposes. This enriches our discussion on language alternation strategies, offering a broader understanding of the psychological mechanisms underlying language use and the potential impact on communication strategies, particularly in contexts where taboo words are substituted for euphemistic effect.

Ponari et al.'s (2015) study provides valuable insights into the processing advantage for emotional words in bilingual speakers, particularly in the context of second language (L2) acquisition. Their research explores whether affective features of words undergo similar processing in both native language (L1) and L2, addressing previous discrepancies in the literature. By employing a lexical decision task with tightly matched negative, positive, and neutral words, the study demonstrates that highly proficient English speakers, regardless of their native language, age of English acquisition, or frequency of English use, exhibit similar facilitation in processing emotionally valenced words as native English speakers. This suggests that emotional word processing in L2 may not be significantly influenced by factors such as age of acquisition or language dominance. Drawing upon Ponari et al.’s study, deepens our discussion on psycholinguistic perspectives of language alternation, complementing the examination of code-switching for euphemistic purposes. It underscores the complexity of language processing mechanisms and highlights the need to consider various factors, beyond euphemism, that may motivate individuals to code-switch in bilingual contexts. Thus, while euphemism remains a relevant aspect of code-switching behavior, Ponari et al.'s findings broaden the scope of understanding, emphasizing the interplay of emotional, cognitive, and sociolinguistic factors in language use.

1.4 Code-switching, Code-mixing and Borrowing

In the realm of linguistics, the term 'code' can be interpreted as a language system, a specific language, or a variant or style of a language. The term 'code-mixing' (hereafter referred to as

CM) is distinguished from 'code-switching' by emphasizing morphological hybridization or assimilation of languages, whereas the latter highlights a transition from one language to another without altering the governing rules of the languages in terms of grammar and syntax. Poplack (1980) makes this distinction by asserting that code-mixing involves the synthesis of two or more languages within a sentence, while code-switching grammatically blends the codes of two or more languages at the clausal level. Conversely, Bhatt (1997) considers the terms to be synonymous and interchangeable. For the purposes of this study, the distinction between CS and CM is deemed irrelevant and does not impact the outcomes. Therefore, the researcher unequivocally adopts Carol Myers-Scotton's approach, using CS (intra-sentential switching) as a comprehensive term that encompasses both, as CM is viewed as a constituent part of CS.

It is important to note that the term 'code-switching' differs from other language interaction phenomena, such as lexical borrowing, which results from the absence of a lexical item in the speaker's linguistic repertoire. In code-switching, the speaker has a genuine choice (Holmes, 2000). Consequently, a speaker who engages in code-switching makes a deliberate choice among the words and expressions available in their communicative linguistic competence (Scheu, 2000). Therefore, words or expressions borrowed from another language are included from the analysis, as the speaker in such cases lacks an equivalent term in their native language. This inquiry exclusively focuses on instances of code-switching, acknowledging the potential difficulty in distinguishing borrowing from code-mixing from a theoretical standpoint.

1.5 Linguistic Taboos in Society

Defining the concept of taboos proves to be a challenging endeavor, given its expansive and ever-evolving nature (Hughes, 2006, p. 462). However, it is crucial to establish a working definition to fully comprehend the focus of this investigation. In general terms, a taboo encompasses behaviors or language deemed provocatively objectionable by members of a society, inducing feelings of "anxiety, embarrassment, or shame" (Wardhaugh, 2000, p. 234). Throughout human history, language, and culture, taboos have persistently existed, with the term itself not receiving definition until 1777, attributed to Captain James Cook's Tongan term 'tabu,' denoting something 'set apart or forbidden' (Cook, 1812, p. 676).

The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2010) characterizes taboo as "a cultural or religious custom that restricts people from engaging in, discussing, or using a particular thing

due to its offensive or embarrassing nature." Taboo words, therefore, are regarded as offensive, morally objectionable, embarrassing, and impolite in various social contexts, representing a category of emotionally charged references (Jay, 2000, p. 83). Terms related to sex, body parts, religion, blood relations, politics, certain professions, ethnicity, race, and even skin color are identified as taboos in numerous societies (Ahmad, Ghani, Alam, and Gul, 2013). For the purpose of this study, it is emphasized that any word, phrase, or topic causing embarrassment, shame, shock, or offense when mentioned in public constitutes a linguistic taboo (Qanbar, 2011, p. 88).

Words and sounds themselves lack inherent unpleasantness or derogation until a society assigns negative connotations in specific speech situations. According to Khan and Parvaiz, linguistic taboos in society are governed by customary and religious laws (Khan & Parvaiz, 2010). The classification of linguistic taboos into harsh, mild, and moderate categories is contingent upon factors such as age, gender, education, culture, social norms, context, and purpose. Simply put, words become taboos when they elicit disapproval, embarrassment, or offend others, creating discomfort in polite discourse. There is an inherent moral code involved in uttering linguistic taboos, as violating them may tarnish one's public image, instigating feelings of shame, embarrassment, rudeness, and awkwardness among interlocutors' beliefs.

1.6 Euphemism

Euphemism functions as a strategic discourse tool characterized by the use of less offensive, indirect, and contextually specific polite expressions instead of terms that may be perceived as too direct, harsh, unpleasant, or offensive. Warren (1992) aptly describes euphemism as the utilization of words or expressions that indicate the speaker's intention to denote a sensitive phenomenon in a tactful and veiled manner (p. 135). Euphemism serves to navigate around taboos, which have varying degrees of potential offense based on factors such as culture, gender, the relationship between the speaker and addressee, and the specific subject matter.

Humans naturally seek to present themselves as polite, civil, well-mannered, and gracious. Consequently, we tend to avoid discussing certain unpleasant topics, carefully choosing our words and non-verbal cues to convey the best possible image to society (Douglas, 1966). In this light, linguistic taboos are often replaced by euphemistic expressions in speech to soften the impact of harsh, unpleasant, or distasteful realities. For instance, Ahmad et al. (2013, p. 40) explored taboos in Pashtun society and noted that the Pashto term for sexual intercourse is

replaced with a more euphemistic expression, "korwaly or samlastal" (literally, to sleep). This substitution arises from the strong taboos surrounding body organs, their functions, and sexual acts in Pashto, prompting indirect references.

Similarly, the term 'mahwari' (female periods/menses) is expressed as 'bemari' (literally means illness), exemplifying how linguistic taboos are tactfully addressed through euphemism. While monolinguals have alternate synonymous words or linguistic registers to employ euphemistically in their language for politeness, bilinguals and multilinguals possess linguistic codes as a resource for sociolinguistic strategies during conversations (Gumperz, 1982; Ervin-Tripp, 2001). Ahmad et al.'s findings suggest that strategies to avoid direct reference to linguistic taboos in Pashtun society often involve the use of jargon terms, euphemisms, metaphoric expressions, and the incorporation of English terms (2013, p. 36). This study builds upon their results by establishing a correlation between code-switching (CS) and euphemism in the context of linguistic taboos.

1.7 Study Objectives:

1. Identify and validate instances of code-switching (from Pashto to English) as a discourse strategy when bilinguals encounter taboo topics.

2. Determine and analyze the perceptions of Pashto speakers in Dir Wari, KP, Pakistan, while expressing taboos in Pashto (LI) and English (L2), respectively.

1.8 Research Questions:

1. What are the common taboo topics (i.e., words and phrases) typically found in Pashto culture that are strategically code-switched in conversation?

2. What factors prompt L1 Pashto speakers to code-switch to English when they encounter a taboo topic?

1.9 Study Objectives:

This study aims to contribute to sociolinguistic research on bilingualism and multilingualism, with a specific focus on code-switching (CS). It provides valuable insights for students, researchers, educators, and scholars in applied linguistics, cultural linguistics, sociology, anthropology, education, and social psychology. The socially and culturally oriented linguistic analysis of CS makes the study meaningful and relevant.

Additionally, the study's outcomes hold immense value for the development of CS studies, especially in understanding its impact on teaching-learning processes, social interactions, language, media discourse, and educational policies. The research sheds light on the role of CS in comprehending social and cultural values and the psychology of individuals within a specific society and culture.

Furthermore, the study explores linguistic taboos, offering profound insights into understanding social norms, religious beliefs, and metaphysical perspectives. The implications of this research directly address language challenges related to sensitive subjects discussed with diverse audiences, ensuring messages maintain their content without adversely affecting face-value. For example, the study's findings could be applicable to social awareness campaigns that involve messages and issues requiring careful communication to avoid censure from the target audience.

1.10 Limitations of the Study

During this survey, it was anticipated that some participants (specifically the female participants) might be reluctant to give their feedback partly due to the sensitive nature of the topic under investigation, and mainly due to the social and cultural barriers/ restraints. Hence, sufficient data could not be recorded from the participants as were expected to represent the ideal population. By the same token, it was also anticipated that before collecting the data, some students might fudge the answers owing to the sensitive nature of the topic under investigation. Indeed, it is true that "Taboos are avoided to be used and [even the] study of taboo words is considered a social taboo" (Ahmad et al., 2013, p. 36). The study focused on formal setting in controlled environment: ideally, the data must have been collected from various social settings from diverse speakers for better understanding the nature of such CS occurrences. It is also acknowledgeable to vocalize that the results cannot confidently be generalized holistically to all Pashtuns living in Pakistan or even in KPK due to the small number of the sample, unjustified ratio of male-female participants, and age/ region constrained sample.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Poplack (2004). Its earlier marginal status shifted with Haugen's seminal article in 1950b, which consolidated precursor studies on language hybridization, systematically describing bilingual linguistic behavior and introducing terms like 'mixed' or 'hybrid' language (Haugen,

1950a, p. 288). The subsequent term 'code-switching' emerged, signifying a pivotal juncture in its evolution. Traditionally, approaches to bi/multilingualism concentrated on linguistic facets, but expanded to encompass sociolinguistic and psychological dimensions in the 1950s, as noted by Li (1998, p. 165). By the 1970s, Gumperz argued against the notion of code-switching as random, highlighting 'stylistic' and 'metaphorical' motivations over 'grammatical' ones (Romaine, 1995, p. 125). This era saw groundbreaking contributions from scholars like Blom and Gumperz (1972), Gumperz (1982), and Poplack (1980), firmly entrenching bi/multilingualism within the domain of sociolinguistics and paving the path for extensive scholarly inquiry in subsequent years. Code-switching studies employ three key approaches: grammatical, psycholinguistic, and sociolinguistic (Ruan, 2003). The grammatical approach explores how lexical items from one language are integrated into the syntactic system of another. Psycholinguistic accounts investigate how bi/multilinguals process and manage distinct language systems in conversation. Sociolinguistic research delves into social and cultural motivations, considering extralinguistic factors for language choice based on social contexts, participants, topics, interaction functions, forms, and the values associated with each (Hymes, 1962, p. 25). Myers-Scotton highlights that a primary concern in bi/multilingualism revolves around "the social factors involved in how people become bilingual and the ways in which they allocate their different languages to different uses" (2002, p. 5). Bentahila and Davies (1992) assert that a considerable portion of research on code-switching (CS) has disproportionately focused on its syntactic aspect, treating it as primarily a structural phenomenon, while neglecting its socio-cultural and psychological dimensions. It is crucial, they argue, to delve into the functions that each code serves in discourse, examine speakers' attitudes toward each code, and understand the socio-cultural motivations behind choosing a particular language in a given situation. Myers-Scotton and Gumperz echo this sentiment, advocating that language choices are socially motivated and each code carries specific social meanings and values, serving distinct discourse functions in a social context. This chapter aims to provide a detailed analysis of empirical CS studies primarily conducted in the Pakistani context to establish a research niche. Additionally, it presents theoretically related studies from various locations, with a particular focus on sociolinguistic factors that influence or motivate language choice, especially for socio-culturally restricted and less spoken topics like linguistic taboos, encompassing all their manifestations. The sociolinguistic dimension of code-switching is explored, particularly the reasons and social motivations that drive bi/multilinguals to incorporate elements of one language into another. While extensive works have examined how bilingual individuals organize and manage their languages in speech,

there is still limited understanding of the motivations behind code-switching. Functional studies on code-switching have long debated the reasons why bilingual speakers engage in this phenomenon, exploring the social contexts in which such utterances are produced, the social functions they aim to serve, and the sociolinguistic factors triggering this behavior (Chung, 2006; Castells, Fernandez-Ardevol, Qiu & Sey, 2006; Sue, 2003; Al-Khatib & Farghal, 1999; Auer, 1999; Adendorff, 1996; Myers-Scotton, 1995; 1998; Mustafa & Al-Khatib, 1994; Gumperz & Hernandez-Chaves, 1978). While numerous research studies globally have investigated the socio-cultural and socio-pragmatic reasons and motivations underlying the code-switching phenomenon, there is a notable scarcity of data from Pakistan in general and Pashtun society in particular. Despite the multifarious reasons behind code-switching, speakers' linguistic choices exhibit patterns and predictability based on certain features of the local social system (Blom and Gumperz, 1972, p. 409). Code-switching can be consciously employed as a "discourse strategy" in communication (Romaine, 1995, p. 121), with bilinguals' language choice influenced by factors such as the relation between interlocutors, subject matter, and the social context in which a speech act occurs (Bhatia & Ritchie, 2004).

2.1 Studies on Code-switching in Pakistan: A Review

The summary-cum-critique provides an overview of various studies on code-switching (CS) in the Pakistani plurilingual context. While several works have explored different dimensions of CS, the focus on CS as a euphemistic strategy remains underexplored in contemporary research. Code-switching, as described by Kachru (1983), involves the alternation or blending of two or more languages within a single discourse. This process encompasses the juxtaposition or substitution of linguistic elements, such as morphemes, words, phrases, clauses, and even entire sentences, from one language to another. Code-switching, a phenomenon intricately linked to bi/multilingualism, has garnered significant attention and scholarly support over the years (Muhammad & Mahmood, 2013; Cook, 2013; Gulzar & Qadir, 2010; Sipra, 2009). This linguistic practice, where individuals proficient in two languages seamlessly shift between them, has become a subject of interest in various fields, particularly sociolinguistics. In multi-lingual contexts, where the fluid transition between languages within a single discourse, known as code-switching, is commonplace (Muhammad & Mahmood, 2013; Cook, 2013; Gulzar & Qadir, 2010; Sipra, 2009). In the contemporary context, the phenomenon of bi/multilingualism has shifted from being an uncommon and sporadic event to an inevitable and naturally occurring global occurrence in plurilingual

societies (Grosjean, 2010). Code-switching, as described by Kachru (1983), involves the alternation or blending of two or more languages within a single discourse. This process encompasses the juxtaposition or substitution of linguistic elements, such as morphemes, words, phrases, clauses, and even entire sentences, from one language to another. Bridge the two first sentences in a better way, e.g., “multi-lingual contexts, switching between two languages in one single discourse in common In contemporary plurilingual societies, the once uncommon and sporadic occurreaza1nce of bi/multilingualism has transformed into an inevitable and naturally unfolding global phenomenon (Grosjean, 2010). This linguistic landscape sets the stage for code-switching, as delineated by Kachru (1983), wherein two or more languages intertwine within a single discourse, encompassing the alternation or blending of linguistic elements across morphemes, words, phrases, clauses, and entire sentences. link the following paragraph with this one in better way: Code-switching, a phenomenon intricately linked to bi/multilingualism, has garnered significant attention and scholarly support over the years (Muhammad & Mahmood, 2013; Cook, 2013; Gulzar & Qadir, 2010; Sipra, 2009). This linguistic practice, where individuals proficient in two languages seamlessly shift between them, has become a subject of interest in various fields, particularly sociolinguistics. This linguistic landscape sets the stage for code-switching, as delineated by Kachru (1983), wherein two or more languages intertwine within a single discourse, encompassing the alternation or blending of linguistic elements across morphemes, words, phrases, clauses, and entire sentences. Code-switching, intricately linked to bi/multilingualism, has garnered significant attention and scholarly support over the years (Muhammad & Mahmood, 2013; Cook, 2013; Gulzar & Qadir, 2010; Sipra, 2009). This linguistic practice, where individuals proficient in two languages seamlessly shift between them, has become a subject of interest in various fields, particularly sociolinguistics. One contributing factor to this gap in research is the long-standing assumption that code-switching was a 'subconscious behavior' (Wardhaugh, 2000, p. 103), suggesting that speakers might not be consciously aware of the language or code they employ in conversation. This assumption hindered serious investigations into the socio-pragmatic functions and well-defined communicative purposes of code-switching in Pashtun society. I think this could be expanded. How is the socio-pragmatic function linked to the conscious aspect of code-switching? Expanding on the link between socio-pragmatic functions and the conscious aspect of code-switching reveals a nuanced understanding of how individuals strategically employ language variation to achieve specific communicative goals within their social context. While the long-standing assumption depicted code-switching as a subconscious

behavior (Wardhaugh, 2000, p. 103), recent research highlights the active role of speakers in selecting and utilizing linguistic codes to navigate social interactions effectively. Socio-pragmatic functions of code-switching encompass various purposes such as demonstrating social identity, expressing solidarity or intimacy, marking social distance, negotiating power dynamics, and accommodating interlocutors. These functions are intricately linked to conscious decisions made by speakers based on their perception of social norms, audience characteristics, and situational demands. For instance, in Pashtun society, where linguistic diversity and social hierarchy play crucial roles in interpersonal interactions, code-switching serves as a means to negotiate social relationships and convey nuanced meanings. Speakers may consciously switch between languages or dialects to establish rapport with interlocutors, assert cultural identity, or signal group membership. Moreover, the conscious awareness of code-switching allows individuals to adapt their language use dynamically, depending on the context, thereby enhancing communicative effectiveness and social integration. In this light, the exploration of the socio-pragmatic functions of code-switching unveils its conscious dimension, challenging the notion of it being merely a subconscious phenomenon. Understanding the conscious aspect of code-switching sheds light on the intricate interplay between language, culture, and social dynamics, enriching our comprehension of communicative practices in diverse sociocultural contexts like Pashtun society. The link between socio-pragmatic function and the conscious aspect of code-switching lies in the intentional and strategic nature of language choice employed by speakers to achieve specific communicative objectives within their social environment. By consciously navigating through linguistic codes, individuals actively engage in a process of social negotiation and meaning construction, thereby shaping their interactions and relationships. Code-switching, a conscious communicative strategy, involves deliberate language choices by speakers to fulfill specific goals within social contexts (Adendorff, 1996; Ahmad, Ghani, & Gull, 2013). Speakers demonstrate awareness of linguistic norms and social dynamics, strategically selecting languages or dialects to accommodate interlocutors' preferences or proficiency levels (Al-Khatib & Sabbah, 2008). This strategic use of code-switching serves various functions, including signaling solidarity, asserting cultural identity, negotiating power dynamics, and facilitating smoother interaction (Auer, 1999; Chung, 2006). Speakers monitor and regulate their language use in real-time, adjusting choices based on contextual cues and feedback (Giles, 1973). Additionally, code-switching reflects communicative resourcefulness, enabling speakers to bridge linguistic gaps and maintain social cohesion (Fishman, 2000). Ultimately, code-switching showcases speakers' active engagement in shaping linguistic

interactions to achieve communicative goals, contributing to the dynamic construction of sociocultural identities and relationships (Myers-Scotton, 1993). Code-switching, a discipline nestled within sociolinguistics, initially received scant attention until the late 1970s, marked by its various monikers like the "interference phenomenon," "performance of the imperfect bilingual," and "language mixture" (Haugen, 1950a, p. 271). Despite its early classification, it wasn't until the late 1970s that it began to gain recognition, as noted by Myers-Scotton (1993, p. 48) and Poplack (2004). Its earlier marginal status shifted with Haugen's seminal article in 1950b, which consolidated precursor studies on language hybridization, systematically describing bilingual linguistic behavior and introducing terms like 'mixed' or 'hybrid' language (Haugen, 1950a, p. 288). The subsequent term 'code-switching' emerged, signifying a pivotal juncture in its evolution. Traditionally, approaches to bi/multilingualism concentrated on linguistic facets, but expanded to encompass sociolinguistic and psychological dimensions in the 1950s, as noted by Li (1998, p. 165). By the 1970s, Gumperz argued against the notion of code-switching as random, highlighting 'stylistic' and 'metaphorical' motivations over 'grammatical' ones (Romaine, 1995, p. 125). This era saw groundbreaking contributions from scholars like Blom and Gumperz (1972), Gumperz (1982), and Poplack (1980), firmly entrenching bi/multilingualism within the domain of sociolinguistics and paving the path for extensive scholarly inquiry in subsequent years. Gulzar's (2010) comprehensive study delves deeply into the intricate dynamics of code-switching (CS) within Pakistani English as a Foreign Language (EFL) classrooms, shedding light on the multifaceted academic functions it serves. By meticulously examining the phenomenon, Gulzar identifies a spectrum of eleven distinct reasons underpinning teacher code-switching practices in these educational settings. These reasons range from facilitating comprehension and clarifying concepts to scaffolding learning and maintaining classroom discipline. The research underscores the pedagogical significance of code-switching as a versatile instructional tool that caters to the diverse linguistic needs and comprehension levels of students. However, amidst its recognition of the pivotal role CS plays in EFL pedagogy, the study also highlights a critical gap in the existing literature: the insufficient exploration of the underlying reasons driving teachers' code-switching behaviors in bilingual classrooms across Pakistan. This acknowledgment not only underscores the complexity of language use within educational contexts but also underscores the need for further empirical investigation to unravel the nuanced motivations behind code-switching practices among educators in bilingual settings. Through a more thorough understanding of these motivations, educational practitioners can develop more effective pedagogical strategies that leverage the potential of code-switching to enhance learning

outcomes and foster linguistic inclusivity in diverse classroom environments. Dar, Akhtar, and Khalid (2014) conducted an extensive indigenous investigation to uncover the underlying motivations and purposes behind teachers' code-switching (CS) practices in Pakistani English language classrooms. Through their meticulous study, they identified a diverse range of 14 reasons driving CS, encompassing both academic and social dimensions. Among these reasons, academic purposes included explanations of difficult concepts, clarification of instructions, and provision of translations to aid students' comprehension. Social reasons, on the other hand, involved fostering rapport with students, expressing emotions such as frustration or excitement, and demonstrating cultural authenticity. Their findings shed light on the complex interplay between language use and pedagogical practices, emphasizing the adaptive nature of CS as a communicative tool in educational settings. Importantly, the study underscores the significance of incorporating regional languages alongside English in classroom discourse to facilitate effective communication and enhance students' learning experiences. By acknowledging the multifaceted motivations behind teachers' CS practices, educators can adopt more inclusive and culturally responsive approaches to language instruction, thereby promoting linguistic diversity and fostering a conducive learning environment for all students. This detailed analysis provides a nuanced understanding of the study's findings, highlighting its implications for language pedagogy and the broader educational landscape in Pakistani English language classrooms. Khan (2011) not only examines the syntactic aspect of code-mixing in Pashto speech but also investigates the social factors influencing English code-mixing in Pashto. The study highlights the social relevance of code-mixing beyond its structural component. Through a comprehensive analysis, Khan not only examines the structural elements of code-mixing but also uncovers the underlying social dynamics shaping language use in these contexts. By elucidating the intertwined relationship between language structure and social context, Khan's findings provide valuable insights into the multifaceted nature of language use among Pashto speakers. This study highlights the significance of understanding the social factors driving code-mixing practices beyond mere linguistic analysis. By recognizing the social motivations behind language choices, such as identity construction, social affiliation, and power dynamics, Khan offers a more comprehensive understanding of language use in Pashto-speaking communities. Moreover, by shedding light on the social relevance of code-mixing, the study contributes to broader discussions on language variation and sociolinguistic phenomena. Ahmad et al. (2013) conducted a descriptive study focusing on linguistic taboos within Pashtun society, drawing upon Brown and Levinson's Theory of Politeness. The study aimed to classify

linguistic taboos and illuminate the strategies employed by Pashto speakers to circumvent them. However, the study's reliability is brought into question due to methodological issues and inconsistencies in referencing Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness, which could potentially undermine the validity of their findings. Despite these limitations, Ahmad et al.'s study provides valuable insights into the cultural and linguistic practices of Pashtun society. By examining linguistic taboos and the strategies used to navigate them, the study offers a glimpse into the intricate social dynamics at play within Pashto-speaking communities. Moreover, the application of Brown and Levinson's Theory of Politeness, albeit with some inconsistencies, demonstrates an attempt to contextualize linguistic behaviors within a broader theoretical framework. Moving forward, future research in this area could benefit from addressing the methodological shortcomings identified in Ahmad et al.'s study to ensure greater rigor and reliability of findings. Additionally, further exploration of linguistic taboos and politeness strategies within Pashtun society could provide deeper insights into the cultural nuances of language use in this context. Despite its limitations, Ahmad et al.'s study serves as a stepping stone for future inquiry into this fascinating area of sociolinguistics. The critique emphasizes the need for authentic and empirical data, expressing concerns about the lack of clarity on sources, methodology, and demographic information in Ahmad et al.'s study. The existing CS studies in Pakistan are acknowledged for their attention to structural aspects, such as syntactic and grammatical considerations, as well as the relevance of CS in EFL classrooms. However, the summary points out a research gap in functional studies on CS from a sociolinguistic viewpoint, particularly regarding socio-cultural and pragmatic motivations triggering CS beyond academic contexts. The research niche identified involves the exploration of euphemism via code-switching to English in Pashto. The current study aims to address this gap through a small-scale qualitative survey, contributing to and broadening the scope of sociolinguistic-oriented CS studies in the Pakistani context.

2.2 *Euphemism: A Socio-cultural Motivation for Code-switching*

Functional studies on code-switching (CS) in various plurilingual societies have indicated that euphemism is among the communicative functions served by CS, as endorsed by researchers such as Gibbons (1987), Takashi (1990), Li (2000), Bhatia (2004), Lindberg (2004), Al-Khatib & Sabbah (2008), and Dewaele (2010). Research in sociolinguistics and psychology has demonstrated that meaning, whether positive or negative, changes when switching from the host language (LI) to a foreign or second language (L2). This shift reduces unintended negative connotations, particularly in the case of linguistic taboos (LTs), allowing speakers to

distance themselves from undesirable associations with certain words (Brown, 1990; Grosjean, 1998; Jay, 2009). Consequently, speakers may choose to switch from their native language (L1) to English (L2) to convey politeness, humility, acceptability, and euphemism. However, the motivation behind this choice remains enigmatic, controversial, and debatable, with potential roots in pragmatics, social factors, or culture. One commonly cited function of CS is the 'affective function,' where speakers switch codes to the native language of the interlocutor or addressee to express emotions and build solidarity and intimate relations. This aligns with Gumperz's (1976) distinction between the 'we-code' and the 'they-code,' where a shift to a foreign language implies distance, threat, or alienation, while switching to the native language signifies intimacy, closeness, and personal appeal. However, an opposing argument suggests that expressing emotive or unpleasant words (linguistic taboos) in the native language may provoke intense negative emotions, whereas pronouncing the same subject matter in a foreign language may not have the same undesirable effects (Jay, 2009). Gibbons (1987) supports the idea that using another code helps detach oneself from the emotional connotations associated with the vocabulary of the native language. Tse (1992) also views code-switching as a form of euphemism or emotional buffer, providing detachment in conveying messages related to taboo or sensitive topics. Fishman (1965/2000) argues that certain topics are language-specific due to specialized terms, making one language more appropriate for dealing with a particular topic than the other. Dewaele (2010) adds that a switch to a second language may elicit less intense emotional reactions compared to the native language. To conclude, bilinguals may use CS to convey affective positions: switching from L2 to L1 signals intimacy, 'we-ness,' or expression of emotions, while moving from L1 to L2 signifies distance, an out-group attitude, or describing emotions in a detached way (Pavlenko, 2002). These findings highlight the nuanced ways in which code-switching serves communicative functions, including euphemism, in diverse sociolinguistic contexts. In a previous investigation on code-mixing motivations of English expressions in Cantonese in Hong Kong, Luke proposed a model classifying English code-mixing into two types: "expedient" and "orientational" (1998, p. 148). The former, described as "pragmatically motivated" mixing, occurs due to a "lexical gap" or the strategic convenience principle, where English words are used in discourse when there's no corresponding counterpart in Cantonese. The latter, termed "socially motivated" mixing, involves Cantonese speakers intentionally using prestigious English lexis even when Cantonese equivalents are available, aiming to present a more educated, modern, and westernized image in their speech (1998, p. 145). Li (2000) synthesized Luke's framework, categorizing English usage in Chinese into four

sociolinguistic motivations: 'principle of economy,' 'generality/specificity,' 'euphemism,' and 'bilingual punning' (2002, p. 80). Notably, Li argued that euphemism motivates the use of English words in Cantonese/Chinese, contending that this choice is pragmatically motivated rather than socially motivated. Li provided an example from 'Showbiz Discourse' (Li, 1996) where the English word "bra" was interspersed with Chinese words in an entertainment news story, suggesting that the use of English in this context may serve the purpose of being euphemistic. Wai (2013) reinforced Li's proposed sociolinguistic motivations for code-switching in the context of Chinese-English used by hosts in radio broadcasting through a qualitative research approach. In this study, Wai likely employed methods such as interviews, discourse analysis, and possibly participant observation to examine the linguistic practices of radio hosts. By analyzing instances of code-switching within radio broadcasts, Wai aimed to uncover the underlying sociolinguistic motivations driving this phenomenon. The results of the study likely revealed that code-switching in radio broadcasting serves various functions, including enhancing audience engagement, expressing cultural identity, and negotiating social dynamics. Additionally, the study might have highlighted how code-switching reflects the complex interplay between linguistic norms, cultural influences, and communicative goals within the specific context of Chinese-English radio programming. Overall, Wai's research contributes to a deeper understanding of the sociolinguistic functions of code-switching and its implications for media communication. The study found that hosts switched to English for euphemistic purposes, avoiding direct reference to native words with negative connotations. In another context, Saudi Arab citizens in the United States expressed a preference for using English over Arabic when uttering curses (taboo words) in their native language, considering their native language offensive and discourteous (Bhatia, 2004). AL-Khatib & Sabbah (2008) examined mobile text messages for code-switching in Arabic and English, highlighting socio-cultural and religious functions. Of particular relevance to this study is the socio-cultural function served by code-switching, including the use of English for euphemism. English words such as "toilet," "boyfriend," "underwear," "cancer," and "period" were employed for euphemistic purposes, allowing speakers to discuss sensitive topics openly without embarrassment. These studies collectively illustrate the diverse sociolinguistic motivations for code-switching, with a specific focus on the use of English for euphemism in various linguistic and cultural contexts. In a recent investigation of computer-mediated communication as a performative construction of online identities by Tsiplakou (2009), it was observed that native Greek was primarily used for stating factual or referential information, while English was chosen predominantly for comments aimed at mitigating potentially face-

threatening acts and for affective and evaluative purposes. Wai (2013) also acknowledged that a non-native language can function as a face-saving act in speech, facilitating and maintaining friendly and harmonious relations. These studies suggest a potential link between code-switching (CS) and Brown and Levinson's Theory of Politeness. Cain et al. (2011) conducted ethnographic research on language choice and sexual communication in HIV prevention messages among Xhosa speakers in Cape Town, South Africa. They argued that the permissible language varies dramatically in public and private settings, among different gender groups and age demographics, and for titillation versus education. Given the sensitivity of social taboos and the potential for offense, shock, and embarrassment in explicit discussions like those in HIV prevention campaigns, the researchers recommended the use of non-native terms, which allow speakers to communicate outside the restrictive limits of their mother tongue by reducing culturally emotive connotations. The argument developed suggests that code-switching is a discourse-motivated linguistic strategy available to bilinguals, influenced by socio-cultural norms, context, participants, gender, social relations, and the speaker's face in communication. In summary, code-switching is a sophisticated linguistic tool used instinctively by bilinguals for affective and evaluative purposes, guided by socio-cultural and religious expectations, norms, and constraints. This includes the use of euphemism as one of the strategies, as discussed in the literature. The literature review has broadened our understanding of code-switching practices, offering valuable insights into the phenomenon's implicit relation with euphemism via linguistic taboos. The researcher hypothesizes a correlation between code-switching, taboos, and euphemism from a sociolinguistic viewpoint, where avoiding taboos in speech is linked to face-saving, and euphemism provides speakers with an opportunity to navigate linguistic taboos, with code-switching being one of the strategies available to bi/multilinguals to mitigate taboo-loaded expressions in a non-native language.

3 RESEARCH METHDOLOGY

This research employed a mixed-methods approach to investigate the phenomenon of code-switching among undergraduate English students, focusing on the differences observed between male and female participants. The methodology comprised two main components: focused group observations (FGOs) and individual interviews. Data collection was conducted over multiple sessions, involving 20 participants in total, consisting of 13 males and 7 females, all of whom were proficient in English. The FGOs were conducted to observe and analyze code-switching behavior within a controlled setting. The first FGO session included

13 male participants and was facilitated by the primary researcher, accompanied by a faculty member from the Department of English. The presence of the faculty member aimed to create a formal and academic atmosphere, conducive to productive discourse. During the session, participants were presented with predetermined topics for discussion. These topics (for topic see 4.1.1) were carefully selected to encourage formal language use and academic discourse. The duration of the session was approximately one hour, during which nearly sixty instances of code-switching were observed among the male participants. Following the FGO sessions, individual interviews were conducted with each participant to gain deeper insights into their code-switching behavior. The interviews were structured to elicit responses regarding the participants' intentional use of code-switching and their motivations behind specific language choices. Participants were asked a series of open-ended questions, such as whether they intentionally code-switched and the reasons behind their choice of expression. These interviews were conducted separately for each participant, ensuring confidentiality and encouraging candid responses. The duration of each interview session averaged one hour and twenty minutes. The data collected from both the FGO sessions and individual interviews were subjected to qualitative analysis. Recorded instances of code-switching were transcribed and categorized based on the context and motivations identified during the observations and interviews. Themes and patterns emerging from the data were analyzed to identify differences in code-switching behavior between male and female participants.

3.1 Research Design

The present research adopts an interpretive paradigm and employs descriptive qualitative research methods to explore, understand, interpret, and describe subjective social phenomena rather than aiming to testify, confirm, or present purely objective reality independent of the observer. Qualitative research, in this context, seeks to engage in a deeper understanding of the subject matter, moving beyond surface features (Johnson, 1995). Utilizing a multimethod approach, the study combines qualitative interviews with qualitative focused group observation (FGO). Unlike a mixed-method approach, which combines qualitative and quantitative methods, multimethod involves deliberately combining different types of qualitative methods within the same investigation to overcome each method's weaknesses and limitations (Hunter & Brewer, 2003). The multimethod approach allows the researcher to triangulate data obtained from FGO with semi-structured informal interviews through elicitation techniques. Triangulation, in this context, refers to the integration of multiple data collection methods to ensure the validity and reliability of the findings and to offset the

weaknesses of one method with the strengths of another. The justification for using triangulation is rooted in the argument that no single method can adequately solve the problem of rival causal factors, as each method reveals different aspects of empirical reality. Therefore, multiple methods of observation must be employed to obtain a comprehensive understanding (Denzin, 2009). A pilot study was conducted to determine the validity and reliability of the FGO and interview methods, ensuring that they would yield relevant information for the study's objectives. This preliminary investigation also helped estimate the time required for data collection and analysis. The reliability and validity of interview questions and discussion topics were determined through the pilot project, leading to the selection of well-planned and structured questions and topics for data collection. The researcher chose Focused Group Observation and Interviews as the most suitable data collection tools for enhancing the reliability of the results. FGO, a form of non-participant observation, allows the researcher to observe participants producing utterances in a natural setting without intervening. This method is considered crucial for linguistic programs (Labov, 1972) and provides access to unexpected information, revealing hidden aspects of the phenomenon under investigation. Semi-structured interviews were selected to gain useful insights from respondents. This format allows for modification or alteration of question sequences, enabling a deeper exploration of respondents' thoughts. Semi-structured interviews are deemed suitable for this research because the interviewer has a clear picture of the topics to be covered but is also prepared to allow the interview to develop in unexpected directions (Heigham & Croker, 2009).

3.2 Participants

The researcher selected a purposive sample comprising 20 students with a mixed gender (where 13 males and 7 females) (for details see table 1 below) from the BS English program for the present study. Demographically, the participants belonged to the Dir district in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), Pakistan. These participants were multilingual, with Pashto being their first language (L1), and they were asked to give a detailed information. All participants were adults within the age range of 20 to 25, and they were considered educated and literate enough to easily switch and/or mix codes. In summary, the selected participants met the essential criteria for being an ideal sample for the present inquiry—Pashto-English bilinguals.

Table 1: Participants

Gender	Strength	English proficiency	Age (Avg)	Other language
Male	**13**	**Advance**	**25**	**Pashtu**
Female	**7**	**Advance**	**24**	**Pashtu**

3.3 Data Collection

As described above, the data collection for this study occurred in two phases: a) non-participant focused group observations, and b) Stimulated recall semi-structured interviews through elicitation. The data collection process spanned approximately one month and involved both sources. Triangulation, gathering data from multiple methods or sources, was preferred for this survey. The purposive sample, consisting of 20 students, was used for both observations and interviews. In the first phase, an observation sheet was utilized to identify taboo topics and instances of code-switching in a formal setting or discourse. Subsequently, the identified participants were interviewed using stimulated recall semi-structured interviews with direct and/or indirect elicitation. They participated as part of a group, but their individual responses were recorded for analysis, focusing on their code-switched taboo words from Pashto to English. The study setting was intentionally kept formal based on the literature review, suggesting that very informal situations might not prompt many instances of polite discourse involving code-switching. The data were exclusively collected at Govt. Degree College Dir Wari. A focused group of 20 students from the Department of English and Foreign Languages was selected for this study, including a separate session for a detached group of female students. Participants were given specific topics for discussion, with a high probability of eliciting the use of linguistic taboos in Pashto. They were instructed to discuss these topics primarily in their mother tongue. Five sessions, including two by female students and three by male students, were recorded and observed for relevant instances of code-switching. Code-switching strategies were noted, and observatory notes were prepared for data analysis and interpretation. Similarly, interviews were conducted with the same sample of twenty students who participated in the focused group discussions. Their responses were recorded and later transcribed, following Eisner's acknowledgment that note-taking and

audiotaping are crucial tools in qualitative research, providing reminders, quotations, and details for both descriptions and interpretations.

3.3.1 Focused Group Observation

Focused Group Observation (FGO) serves as a valuable method for collecting authentic data in a natural social setting. In the first phase of this study, spontaneous instances of code-switching (CS) involving linguistic taboos from native Pashto to foreign English were recorded during FGO sessions. Firstly, the participants were given topics for discussion and the name of the topics were written in Pashtu. These instances were then transcribed, isolated, and cited for further analysis. Careful verification by the participants ensured that the identified instances were strategically code-switched for euphemistic purposes or other reasons. After completing the FGO task, participants were individually interviewed regarding their code-switching behavior. Specifically, they were asked whether they engaged in code-switching strategically and purposefully or if it occurred unintentionally. This interview process aimed to gain insights into the participants' awareness and intentions behind their code-switching practices. To address potential issues like the observer's paradox, two factors were considered during FGO: the presence of the recorder and the researcher himself. Prolonging the discussions was one strategy employed to minimize the impact of the observer's paradox on the natural flow of participants' speech. This approach proved effective in maintaining the authenticity of the data. Despite the researcher cum teacher's presence during discussions, the results of the study are unlikely to be adversely affected. Participants were keen on presenting a positive face in their speech, avoiding offensive or unpleasant language in the presence of their teacher. This strategic language choice added depth to the study's findings.

3.3.2 Interviews

All interviewees were provided with a brief explanation of the study's purpose and the terms 'taboos' and 'code-switching' at the beginning of the interviews. The researcher, conducting the interviews himself, ensured a comprehensive exploration of all relevant points. The interviews were recorded for later transcription and analysis, providing a thorough examination of the data. This process not only complemented the insights gained from FGO but also allowed for a clearer understanding of the validity of the obtained results. The recorded interviews were transcribed to facilitate analysis, and the participants' views were directly written in the analysis section ensuring their voices were accurately represented in the

data analysis. To enhance the validation and reliability of the findings, the results of interviews and their interpretations were shared with the students, promoting a collaborative and transparent approach to the research process.

3.4 Ethical Concerns

Ethical considerations were given utmost priority and were a significant concern throughout the data collection process. The researcher obtained both verbal and written consent from the participants, utilizing an Informed Consent Form (ICF) provided in the appendix. Prior to data collection through Focused Group Observation (FGO) and interviews, participants were not only briefed about the nature of the study but were also informed about the audio recording of sessions and interviews. They were explicitly informed of their right to withdraw from the research at any point, adhering to ethical standards. All participants willingly contributed to the study. To ensure confidentiality, participants were assured that their responses would be used exclusively for research purposes and would not be made public without their permission. Identifying information was safeguarded by assigning abbreviated labels (MR1---MR13/ FR1---FR7) with numeric numbers for reference, except for indicating their genders, which were necessary for data analysis. This approach was taken to protect the participants' identities and uphold ethical standards in research.

3.5 Data Analysis

In the analysis phase, the recorded interviews underwent transcription, coding, and the development of categories. Themes emerged from these categories, which were then simplified for interpretation. Thematic analysis, a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns within data, was employed (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This approach aims to uncover meaningful categories or themes in the data (Fulcher, 2010). According to Howitt and Cramer (2010), the researcher's task in thematic analysis is to identify a limited number of themes that adequately reflect the textual data. A theme represents a cluster of linked categories conveying similar meanings and typically arises through the inductive analytic process characteristic of qualitative research. The researcher, by scrutinizing the text, seeks to abstract recurring themes about what is being communicated. Data familiarization is crucial in thematic analysis, and after becoming familiar with the data, the researcher can systematically organize it. The results section of the report then presents the collated and reported themes. The study identified themes that were thoroughly analyzed and incorporated. This process

ensured a comprehensive exploration of participants' perspectives on code-switching, linguistic taboos, and euphemism in a clear and accessible language (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Fulcher, 2010).

3.6 Reliability of the Tools and Contents

To ensure the reliability of the research tools, a pilot study was conducted involving five Pashto speakers who were interviewed, and a group discussion was organized. Following their participation, the participants were asked to provide feedback on the topics and questions covered in the interview. The valuable input received during this pilot phase played a crucial role, and adjustments were made to the tools based on their suggestions. This iterative process helped refine the research instruments and enhance their effectiveness for the main study.

4 DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

The current study's main goals were to identify frequent linguistic taboos in Pashto that were purposefully code-switched to English and to ascertain how Pashto speakers understood such taboo ideas or subjects in their home and foreign languages, respectively. Two distinct sources of data have been analyzed in order to systematically improve our understanding in both depth and scope: Results pertaining to the first study question are presented using data from focused group observation. In contrast, the information obtained from semi-structured interviews mostly presents the noteworthy discoveries related to the study's second question.

4.1 Results of The Focused group observation

The purpose of the focused group observation sessions was to facilitate discussions among the participants in Pashto (L1), although they were free to mix languages if they so desired. Based on gender, the data have been separated into two sections: the first contains taboos in Pashto that male students (represented as MRs) have collected, while the second portion is derived from the responses and discussions of female students (identified as FRs). Here are some classified instances of the participants' use of CS, which they later verified was a deliberate decision to either minimize rudeness or denote politeness in their speech. More Pashto taboo words in their conversation; consequently, this would raise the likelihood that code-switched taboo words (topics) would occur more frequently in their discourse, providing more opportunities to document contextualized Pashto linguistic taboos being switched to English. Although the data from focused group observation address the study's first objective and research question, the data from interviews revisit the study's first objective and research

question for attestation; additionally, the interviews primarily focus on the study's second research question, i.e., the perception and strategy of Pashto speakers, as well as the study's second objective. Braun & Clarke's (2006) theme analysis has been used to the interview data analysis. The first step in gathering data for identifying taboo words in Pashto was focused group observation. During the interviews, Pashto speakers validated their strategic CS to English for those taboo words from the aforementioned group discussions. As stated above to identify taboo words in Pashto culture, a series of formal group discussions were organized in which 20 participants—13 men and 07 women—were asked to debate the topics in their mother tongue. Their live talks were being recorded in the meantime, and at first, each word that was code-switched between Pashto and English was identified on a separate page. Subsequently, the participants were examined to confirm whether the code-switched instances were taboo or not. They were also asked to approve, for example, if they had purposefully chosen to use English expressions instead of Pashto words in order to avoid offending, embarrassing, or both. Their opinions about speaking in Pashto or English and how it affects the conversation Participants were asked to discuss their thoughts regarding utilizing English words instead of Pashto in their FGO, but the content of the interviews was left up to them. Since the borrowed words did not pertain to the current study's scope, they were excluded from analysis. Chapter One comprehensively examined the concepts of code-switching, code-mixing, and code-borrowing (see 1.1). 162 Pashto-English CS cases were recorded in total, but only 119 of these were determined to be deliberate linguistic avoidance changes made by informants in an effort to use euphemism in their speech after verification by informants. However, certain words were restricted and considered taboo in language for students of both genders, while others were intended to be agreed upon by students of both genders. Although these terms might seem ordinary in isolation, they were taboos depending upon the context in which they were used. As some words are challenging to classify as taboo since their status can vary depending on the context. What may be acceptable in one situation could be considered highly inappropriate or offensive in another. Context plays a significant role in determining the appropriateness of certain words, as they carry different connotations and implications based on factors such as cultural norms, social settings, and individual perceptions. Therefore, it's essential to recognize the fluidity of language and the nuanced ways in which words can be interpreted and deemed taboo in specific contexts. Despite the fact that the participants' opinions regarding several of the reported words in this study were found to be mixed, none of them were completely rejected by all of them. Thus, any terms that even one informant deemed disagreeable or unmentionable are included in the tables. For

example, some females preferred to use the comparable English phrase “handsome” instead of “khkolaay” when pointing out or discussing the attractiveness of the other sex or gender. The same is true for male students: although the Pashto word khazaa (and khazi which is plural) is frequently used, some boys are reluctant to use it and instead substitute English phrases like woman/women or lady/ladies. Furthermore, a few participants acknowledged that they had converted to English in order to avoid the negative connotations of the Pashto words, but they also expressed the belief that they could find some euphemistic Pashto expressions. Nevertheless, they felt that it would be safer to completely alter the code as a precautionary measure because they could not bear the risk of breaking any linguistic taboos.

4.2 FGO Results

During a group discussion, 13 males were assigned various topics for discussion (See the table 4.2), which lasted for one hour and ten minutes. Throughout the session, the male students were observed to use 60 taboo topics and code-switched 23 times, although not for euphemistic purposes. These participants were assigned topics where 60 code-switched words were reported as taboo. Following this discussion, I organized a female group consisting of 7 participants. They were also given the same topics as the male group and asked to discuss them one by one. All the participants produced 59 code-switches considered taboo, while 20 code-switches occurred for reasons other than taboo. This session also lasted for one hour and ten minutes.

4.3 Conclusions drawn from interviews

Twenty undergraduate students (seven female and thirteen male) enrolled in the BS English program were selected and given individual semi-structured interviews; all of them were native Pashto speakers. These student interviews were audio recorded, and for data synthesis and analysis, key passages were chosen, extracted, transcribed, and translated as needed. In order to inform the respondents, the researcher started the interviews by asking generic questions to find out if the respondents were aware of any taboos. With a few exceptions, most participants were genuinely unaware of what taboos were. They were briefed on forbidden words and themes at the beginning of the interviews, but they still had a vague notion that some terms were unpleasant or impolite and should never be spoken in public. The tabulated words listed below in table 2 (for details refer to table 2 below under section 4,3,1) were approved as Linguistic Taboo in Society (LTS hereafter) in Pashto. The participants also confirmed that they purposefully selected these English terms rather than their Pashto

equivalents in order to sound "comfortable and polite" when speaking (MR3). When they mentioned prohibited languages in conversation, it made them feel awkward and impolite. As previously stated, the primary goal of the researcher's attendance throughout the group talks was to ensure that the settings remained official and under control for the participants. The participant explained his decision to use English words for abortion and pregnant instead of the native lexis when asked why he did so. "I chose English words because I couldn't use Pashto for them when I was talking there (in FGO) about that sensitive topic in front of my seniors and classmates," the participant said. The participant's choice to prefer English expressions over Pashto was intentional, conscious, and strategic (MR3). Being certain about what and why he did so was more important than anything.

4.3.1 Comparing Switched and Un-switched Linguistic Taboos

The terms in the native and non-native languages are thoroughly analyzed in this section, and the participants have provided their rationale for selecting the native or non-native words. Example words in pairs (an English word and its Pashto equivalent) were supplied to the participants from the following list, which was primarily taken from Ahmad et al. (2013)'s study on linguistic taboos in Pashtun society.

4.4 List of Topics

The Following topics were given to the participants, first and then the sub-topics below in the right column.

Table 2: List of topics

Topic	Description
1. Physical Body Parts	- Seena (Breast) - Memi wrkool (Breast-feeding) - Shoondy (Lips)
2. Physical Disabilities	- Mazuaraa (Disable/differently able) - Konr (Deaf) Rond (Blind)
3. Animal Names as Taboos	- Spyee/Sapay (Dog/Bitch) Khree Khraaha (Donkey/Ass) Sandha/Mikha (Buffalo)- Ghwaa (Cow) - Gongayee/Kwhang (Owl)
4. Names of Certain Professions	- Nayee (Hairdresser) -Chapraaasi (Peon)
5. Singing	- Dhamtob (Singing) - Dham/Fankaar (Singer)
6. Divorce	- Talaak (Divorce)
7. Sex	- Korwalay (Sex)
8. Love Marriage	- D Menee Wdh (Love Marriage)
9. Socially Outlawed	- Segrete Skhal (Smoking Cigarette)

Behavior	
10. Women's Disease	- Bache Artwal (Abortion)
11. Menses	- Khzu Bimre (Women's Disease)
12. Miscarriage	- Mashoom Lredal (Miscarriage)
13. Cousins	Trah Loor (Uncle's Daughter) Trah Zway (Uncle's Son)

The study in question focuses on a corpus of 162 target words, (see the below table 3) of which 119 are categorized as taboo. These taboo words encompass terms related to physical body parts, disabilities, animal names used as insults, certain professions, intimate relationships, and socially outlawed behaviors. The prevalence of taboo language in the dataset underscores its significance in linguistic interactions, highlighting the complex interplay between language, culture, and social norms.

Table 3: List of total code Switch

Khaaza	(wife)	Chaprrassi	(Peon/Laborer)
Khawend/	Mirh (husband)	Dham	(Singer)
Khoor	(sister)	Fankaar	(Singer):
Lor	(daughter)	Talak	Divorce
Khazi	(women)	Zha wahhi shvee yam	I am married
Doctara	(female doctor)	Wdh Kray	Married
Dayee	(lady health worker)	Wdh	Marriage
Jenyee	(female)	Makhki Wah	Early marriage
Jenayeei	(girls)	Rosta wadh	Late marriage
Malgriii	(girlfriend(s))	D mene wdh	Love marriage
Malga'ray/Malgari	(boyfriend(s)	Talaq	Divorce
Trhloor	(cousin)		Smoking

Tattyee	(bathroom/toilet /washroom)	Skhal	Alcoholic
Shoondy	(lips)	Shraabia	Drugs
Sina’a	(breast)	Naashaa	(Drugs addicted)
Mazura'a	(disabled)	Naashayee	(Abortion)
Khaarr	(donkey)	Mashoom ghorzawal	(Depression)
Spyee/Sapay	(dog/bitch)	Khfgnn	(Miscarriage)
Khree khraaha	(donkey/ass)	Mashoom lredal	(Baby Birth)
Sandha/Mikha	(buffalo)	Mashoom kidaal	(Check up)
Ghwaa	(cow)	Zan pokhtana	(Breast cancer)
Gongayee/Kwhang	(owl)	Do Sinnii Maarhaz	Pieces of aborted baby)
Nhaye	(Hair-dresser/Barber)	Peerwan (	(Medical effects)
Langedaal	(Delivery case	Mashum Lrikawal	Mensus
Naswar	Snuff –	Da dhwayie asaraat	Women Disease
Ghadar	Traitor	Da Khazu Bemarii	(Physical care)
Khkwlay	Beautiful	Khiyal sathal	(Patient)
Naqabila	Dull	Bemar	(Unsafe babies)
Twaif	Courtesan	Kheta Ghtiidhal	(Child
Sheetan	Evil/Wicked	Bache rwral	
		Kheta Sa'atal	
		Nhaye)	

Katha	Bald	Chaprrassi	bearing)
Qsabi	Butcher	Dham	(Baby bear)
Kafir	Infidel/Non-believer	Fankaar	dresser/Barber)
Harami	Bastard	Talak	
Dala	Jobless	Zha wahhi shvee yam	(Peon/Laborer)
Shodda	Fool	Wdh Kray	(Singer)
Sheetan	Devil	Wdh	(Singer)
Aram khor	Eater of Forbidden	Makhki Wah	(Divorce)
Lowly Bekara	Lowly	Rosta wadh	(I am married)
Ghazi - Jihadi	Ghazi	D mene wdh	(Married)
Sex Worker - Koni	Sex Worker	Talaq	(Marriage)
Villain - Kameena	Villain	Skhal	Early marriage
Lazy - Soor	Lazy	Shraabia	Late marriage
Saint - Molla	Saint	Naashaa	Love marriage
OBodda	Old Man	Naashayee	Divorce
Dala	Coward	Khfgnn	Smoking
Marghay	Bird	Mashoom lredal	Alcoholic
Kamzoor	Weak		Drugs
Sinnii Maarhaz	(Breast cancer)		Drugs addicted
Bachay	Son	Mashoom ghorzawal	Depression (Abortion)

Ror	Brother	Mashoom kidaal	(Miscarriage)
Shay	Thing	Zan pokhtana	(Baby Birth)
Morghud	Illegitimate	Kafir	(Check up)
Hijrah	Enoch	Bachabaz	Non-believer
Tattayee	Wshroom		Same Gender love
Ghuslaye	Bathroom		Bed
Mena	Love	Kat	Stupid
		Gandoo	Beloved
		Laila	Sick
		Bemar	Thug
		Badmash	

Of the total target words, it is inferred that all taboo words were code-switched, amounting to 119 instances. Code-switching in this context serves as a linguistic strategy for negotiating the expression of sensitive or taboo topics within the conversational framework. By switching to a different language or language variety, speakers may mitigate potential social or cultural constraints associated with the use of taboo language, thereby managing interpersonal relationships and communicative effectiveness. Furthermore, the study provides insights into the distribution of taboo word production among participants based on gender. While 7 female participants contributed 59 taboo words, 13 male participants produced 60 taboo words. Although the difference in total taboo word production between genders is marginal, it suggests potential variations in language use influenced by social and cultural factors as some the words were produced as code-switch but not for the avoidance of taboo or euphemism for that matter (see table 4 below: words that are code-switched for other reasons). These findings contribute to our understanding of how gender dynamics may intersect with linguistic practices in taboo language expression.

Table 4: List of Words Code-switched for other Reasons

English Word code-switched	Pashtu	English code-switched	Pashtu
Male	Nareena	Courtesan	Twaif
Mad	Lewanay	Evil/Wicked	Sheetan
Woman	Zanana	Bald	Katha
Extra	Palto	Butcher	Qsabi
Son	Bachay	Infidel/non-believer	Kafir
Brother	Ror	Bastard	Harami
Thing	Shay	Jobless	Dala
Illegetimate	Morghud	Beggar	Mlang
Enoch	Hijrah	Fool	Shodda
Non-believer	Kafir	Devil	Sheetan
Same Gender Affection	Bachabaz	Eater of forbidden	Aram khor
Bed	Kat	Lowly	Bekara
Stupid	Gandoo	Ghazi	Jihadi
Beloved	Laila	Koni	Sex worker
Sick	Bemar	Villan	Kameena
Thug	Badmash	Lazy	Soor
Snuff	Naswar	Saint	Molla

Traitor	Ghadar	Old Man	Bodda
Beautiful	Khkwlay	Coward	Dala
Fixer	Badakhor	Bird	Marghay
Dull	Naqabila	Weak	Kamzoor

Table 5: Qualitative Differences between LTs in Pashto and English

Categories	Example word	Pashto equivalent
Opposite Sex Relations	Sister	Khor
Bodily Functions	Washroom	Ghuslayee
Anatomical Terms/Parts Of The Body	Lips	Shoondyee
Disability: Physical Defects	Handicapped	Mauzoora
Animals' Names As Taboos	Donkey	Khaar
Some Professions As Taboos	Barber/Singer	Nayee/Daam
Divorce and Marital Status	Divorce	Talak
Socially Prohibited Acts	Smoking	Sigrette skhall
Disease And Women's Conditions	Pregnant	Khetta Kidal
Sex And Sexuality	Intercourse	Koorwaly

4.5 Opposite Sex Relation (Interview Results)

They were asked to explain their decision in a specific scenario after selecting between the Pashto native word and the English foreign word. With the exception of one (MR9), all of the participants—male and female—in their interviews confirmed that it is prohibited in Pashto to have a blood connection of the opposing gender. For example, because of the obvious cultural

and religious influence on Pashtun society, men are reluctant to use the word "khaaza" (wife) in public and find it taboo in most settings. It was evident from their answers that the interviewees were already aware of it. One participant accurately repeated this, stating that "the word khaaza" in Pashto typically denotes a gender relationship but has extremely negative connotations" (MR8). The recorded statement solidified this, indicating their preference for the English term over the Pashto one: "... because the word khaaza, or mentioning a female's name in public, is considered bad in Pashto society." I would rather use wife in a formal setting rather than khaaza (MR2). The female participants were asked to select between husband and khawend/mirh, the Pashto counterpart of wife (Khaaza), while the male respondents were given the pair of wife and its alternative in their local language, khaaza. Participants were given terms that referred to the other sex based on their gender equally. For example, women find the Pashto word "khawend" (or mirh) to be embarrassing. When asked to replace it with the English word "husband," all of the female interviewees condemned the use of the Pashto word in public or in front of elders, stating that it would be more appropriate in those situations to use the English word "husband." A female attendee went so far as to openly reiterate how humiliating it was for her to use the Pashto word; "husband" would be a better choice. Saying khawend feels really weird to me. I'm embarrassed to mention it (FR4). "If you say the other one [khawend/mirh]," a female said. Something feels off. It's a type of word that isn't allowed in DIR. It's not comfortable "(FR7), Another female interviewee summed up the entire dynamics in one phrase, whereas this female participant struggled to find the right words to describe what was taboo; A man is not allowed to discuss his wife or even mention her name. While women are allowed to mention their husbands' names at social gatherings and outside the home, it is acceptable for us to say "khawend" within. The word "khawend" doesn't seem appropriate when used outside or in a public setting; spouse would be the ideal moniker. (FR1)

Table 6: Words Referring to Opposite Blood Relation/Gender (MRs)

Code-switched to English	Pashto equivalent
Sister	Khoor
Daughter	lor
Partner/wife	khaaza

Women	khazi
Female doctor	Doctara
Lady health worker	Dayee
Female	Jenyee
Girls	Jenayeei
Girlfriend(s)	malgriii
Boyfriend(s)	malga’ray/ malgari

Furthermore, the question of whether the Pashto word "khoor," which means "sister," is taboo in their language was posed to the male participants. The Pashto word "khoor" is equally banned, hence the English word must be used, they said, adding that "both khoor and “lur” are taboo in Pashto and English words seem suitable substitutes" (MR7). "It [the English word sister] gives a beautiful meaning," says one interviewee. It seems prohibited to use the Pashto word [khoor]. The English term "sister" is very formal, according to MR4. Another term that is shunned outside of Pashtun community is "daughter." In an educational context, for instance, we prefer sister or daughter, but in our communities, we typically say "khoor or lur" (MR5). The implication is that the Pashto word "khoor," which is avoided outside of the family for the same reason, was interpreted negatively when spoken among family members. Table 2 demonstrates that during the Focus Group Observation (FGO), a considerable amount of phrases related to the other sex were noted. The participants acknowledged that they changed this terminology from their own language to English on purpose because it made them feel more comfortable. Additionally, the interviewees stated that they felt uncomfortable discussing other mother and paternal relationships that are opposite in gender, such as female cousins for males. Male participants, for example, were reluctant to disclose their relation to the terms "troor lur and/or trah lur," but they did demonstrate a tendency to substitute the terms "cousin" or even "female cousin" in public settings. One interviewee's statement, "Sometimes, I feel hesitation to say she is my trah lur or trah loor," can be used to confirm it. Therefore, we typically say "cousin," but when we're with other relatives in the village or at home, we have no choice but to use Pashto terms. It has shown that it is preferable to use

foreign words rather than native ones in order to avoid linguistic taboos, but the foreign term must be understandable to the listener (S). In cases where the alternative word is not comprehensible, CS, a euphemistic technique, is not available. In cases when it is necessary, such as in educational settings, the majority of female interviewees expressed overt skepticism about male cousin relationships and advocated for complete neglect. However, they also stated that in order to minimize any unpleasant feelings, they would naturally prefer to use the English cover term, cousin. They thought it was preferable that it was an English word, even though it covered up the gender identity. According to one interviewee, the relationship is better because “Trah Zway” (Cousin- Uncle’s son), the phenomenon, is currently really bad. The previously negative association meanings associated with the Pashto term have been further highlighted by this specific pint.

Table 7: Phrases Denoting Gender/Blood Relation Opposite (FRs)

Code-switched to English	Pashto equivalent
Partner	*Shreek*
Husband	*Khwend/mirha*
Second wife	*Dweama khza*
Couple	*jorra)*
Male	*Saray*

Similarly, when talking about topics in groups with other men, female participants chose the terms husband, partner, and male. They acknowledged that using these terms in Pashto makes them aware of the gender distinctions between them, which may be the cause of their lack of confidence. As a result, they deliberately chose to hide their "face" by speaking in English (refer to Figure 3.).

4.6 Physical Processes

In numerous civilizations and countries, the terms "bathroom," "washroom," "toilet," and "call nature" are considered taboo. Data gathered from Pashto speakers at the Dir upper also shows that, in situations where it is not casual or pleasant, they avoid using those terms in their home

tongue since they are prohibited. However, in instances where people of the opposing gender are present, in front of elders, or in official, educational contexts, they opt to adopt polite, euphemistic English phrases for the same events or things. Both male and female interviewees acknowledged this fact. It was observed that washroom/Tattyee is not a good fit for the Pashto term [Tattyee] (MR1). One participant (MR4) makes the argument that we should either use a circuitous manner to state it or use the word "washroom," which is essentially a foreign word and not a native Pashto one. It implies that the speaker has an extra option to use euphemism when utilizing native terminology. Even while MR5, another member, believes Tattyee is better with close friends, he would like to use the restroom in a "classroom where there is formal situation" where both males and girls are present. A participant who was male gave some background on this. We typically employ informal phrases like "stop the car tashoo ta" or "tashe meetyazee kom gady wadrwaa" which means, “” when we are among illiterate people. If we are in an official setting or are surrounded by women, we should say "washroom" rather than the Pashto word. The context or code of conduct will determine this. (MR3) The female contestants provided the best description. In this regard, research has been done to determine whether or not the Pashto term for "bathroom" or "washroom" is forbidden for them, as well as the replacement of the native word with an English phrase that is frequently used in speech. The first respondent (FR1) felt that the Pashto word Tattyee, or ghussalayee, was odd and repulsive. A female participant quickly explained why, saying rather plainly that it seems repulsive because it is in your native tongue. And if you respond, "washroom," it seems appropriate to you. (FR7). According to another participant, stating "washroom" conveys an air of education, well-manneredness, and a good family history, whereas saying "Tattyee" or "ghussal khawana" may give off an uneasy feeling. (FR4). She was obviously worried about how people would perceive her. An additional respondent (FR5) expressed her personal perspective on how she could be interpreted by others if she used the Pashto term; she stated that when we use this term [Tattyee /ghusalayee] in front of friends, elders, or people who are good-natured, they may believe that we are extremely sharmeedelyaa[bad manners]

4.7 Physical Nouns or Body Parts

While not all body parts are strictly forbidden in Pashto, there are several that are, especially for women. The interviewee was given the word lips and its Pashto translation, shoondy, as an example to allow them to share their impressions. Referring to parts of the body usually evokes sexual feelings, so they are avoided in Pashto; however, the English word may lessen

their taboo feeling and can fairly be used like other words in Pashto. "The word shoondy is more provocative than the English word lips," one participant stated plainly (MR8). The interviewees generally stated that certain parts of the body are taboo in Pashtun society and that using English words in intimate situations is acceptable. However, one male interviewee (MR7) did express a different opinion, stating that he did not perceive any distinction between Pashto and English words, lips, and shoondy. Both terms have the same emotional meaning for him. A student made a rather insightful remark in response to a question about the distinctions between using English words for body parts and their Pashto equivalents. The word "lips" in English won't cause other students to think negatively or focus on it, but the word "Shoondy" in Pashto will (MR3). When discussing the usage of Pashto words in poetry and jokes, MR11 expressed a similar opinion, saying that "the Pashto word shoondy has been used mostly in dirty jokes etc." While it is considered prohibited for teachers to use the word "shoondy" with students and makes them feel uncomfortable, MR5, another male participant, contextualized the use of Pashto and English words in his classroom and expressed his feelings in this way: "Normally, with friends, it's ok to say shoondy." This clearly indicates that, although it doesn't matter with close friends, using Pashto words for body parts (such shoondy or lips) in a professional setting like a classroom will make pupils uncomfortable and apprehensive if spoken by a teacher. The majority of body parts are prohibited, albeit not all of them. For example, we can chat about our lips, calves, and thing with friends, but in a classroom like ours, where there are both males and girls, we can't pronounce things like shoondy, khaatakee, or paton [lips, thigh, and calf, respectively].(MR-2) If we don't talk about a woman's name in public, how can we talk about her body parts? Although the terms "chest" and "chest infection" are commonly used, "seena'a" (breast) cannot be used in Pashto (MR2). Male respondents in the FGO claimed that they felt uncomfortable discussing breast cancer and breastfeeding because the word "breast" alluded to a female's private (sexual) area. In Pashto, however, English was a better choice as shown in Table 4).

Table 8: Words that refer to body parts: semi-private and personal (MRs).

Code-switched to English	Pashto equivalent
Breastfeeding	*Memi warkwal*
warkwalBreast cancer	*De sini naroghi*

All of the female participants objected to the word "shoondy" being used because they felt it was improper, embarrassing, or that it made them feel uncomfortable or evoked negative (sexual) thoughts. "The Pashto word shoondy sounds unpleasant to use [females/women]; it sounds typical and personal type," stated one interviewee (FR2). Something fell [mind it] from us. On the other hand, the English word “lips” is acceptable and official. Another student (FR3) thought it was "bad etiquette" to use the word "shoondy," and she thought it was okay to hear other terms that alluded to other body parts such the "head, eyes, or ears." The fact that participants know words like "shoondy" tells us that these words are likely used in specific groups or situations. It shows how language is connected to the groups we belong to and the experiences we share. By looking at when and where these words are used, we can learn more about how language reflects our social lives. Understanding this helps us see how language shapes our relationships and communities. But she claimed that the English term lips was preferable to "shoondy," since it is awkward to speak or hear in Pashto. It suggests that it is preferable to pronounce body parts in English that allude to, are attractive to, or evoke sexual sensations. Another girl (FR4) brazenly whispered, in reference to manners and the usage of the Pashto word "shoondy" and the English word "lips," that she would not dare use the Pashto word "shoondy" at the market because the shopkeeper would think about us in negative terms. How brazenly, in Pashto, she spoke of lipstick (da shondo surkhi), yet it was perfectly OK to use the English equivalent for the same concept. Additional female interviewees corroborate and state that the Pashto word "shoondy" is prohibited, in contrast to its English equivalent, "lips." For example, interviewee FR5 expressed a similar opinion when asked if she would say shoondy or lips in public, saying that the Pashto phrase is highly embarrassing to people because people would think that lady is very brave [in a bad sense / ill-mannered]. When one female student (FR7) was asked if using the Pashto word "shonody" was prohibited, her response was both especially fascinating and conspicuous. She answered, "It [shoondy] is a word in Pashto but It's still," infuriatingly striving to find the right word to convey her thoughts. Personally, I detest this word. It's like this term is... I'm not sure what to name it. It doesn't appeal to me. Since that's a nasty term, I never speak it. It's obvious how awkward it was for her to bring it up at all. It's taboo to discuss taboo topics”.

4.8 Impairment: physical flaws

Disability, whether physical or mental, is also taboo. Words referring to disabled personnel, such as deaf, blind, or even the very cover term disabled, are generally avoided in Pashto; however, as the interviewee's responses make clear, if they are replaced with English words

similar to the preceding ones, the negative effects of Pashto taboo expression may be lessened. "We cannot tell our fellow in Pashto that he is mazura'a, but we can say he is disabled in English," the statement reads. (MR2) and describing someone as konr [deaf] or roond [blind] is quite awkward in Pashto. The aforementioned theory that linguistic taboos in the local language, Pashto, damage feelings more than those in other languages is supported by [MR1]. Spoken in the non-native tongue (English, for example). In response to a question, one interviewee used official or legal language to address them in a formal manner. I believe that the English word seems more polite than the Pashto one because the disabled person will likely not mind because he has heard the English word "disable" or "deaf," among other things, used frequently in official language [documents], such as on [their] Card (identity Card), etc. However, the Pashto word can bother them. It's possible that he or she has an inferiority complex. (MR11). It suggests that Pashto words don't belong in legal documents where English speech is the standard. Additionally, the English lexicon is a sign of civility. One participant, a woman, expressed her thoughts as follows, for instance: "If I say that a person is mazora then he/she might be hurt or may feel (inferiority) complex about themselves." But if I phrase it nicely, as, "He/she is disabled," then it satisfies every requirement for being courteous. (FR2) Another female interviewee (FR7) agreed with others that using Pashto to describe any form of disability is "abusive to [those who are disabled]." Another respondent said that using English words was more courteous. (FR5).

4.9 Names of animals that are taboo.

Like many other cultures, Pashtun culture uses some animal names negatively, using them as synonyms for profanity and other derogatory terms. For example, the Pashto word "khaarr," which means "donkey," is often used disparagingly, much to the English terms "idiot" and "stupid." It's just not acceptable in Pashto. All participants were asked if there were any animal names that were taboo in Pashto, and if the answer was yes, which animals' names was taboo. This was followed by a related question that invited the interviewees to assess the negative and adverse impacts in meaning of English and Pashto terms for those animal names that were categorized as unpleasant in Pashto speech by comparing them. The information gathered from the participants revealed that while certain animal names were acceptable, most were not. Examples of these include spyee/sapay (dog/bitch), khree khraaha (donkey/ass), sandha/mikha (buffalo), ghwaa (cow), and gongayee/kwhang (owl). According to one participant, we typically utilize the names of animals as swear words in Pashto (MR4). Mikha is [also] a taboo word used to refer to a big girl, thus it's not just the name of an animal

(MR12). It was also observed that, according to the interviewee MR2, he didn't mind when one of his friends called him frequently stupid and even idiot, but he expected that he wouldn't put up with being called *khaar*. This demonstrates the derogatory connotation of the Pashto word as well as the less offensive and weakened meaning of the equivalent English idioms. Similarly, another respondent admitted that "I will call someone *khaar* if I am meant to hurt them; otherwise, in a friendly setting, I would normally call him stupid or idiot and I know he won't mind this." According to all of the female interviewees, the Pashto term for animals is "very degrading and insulting" (FR3). When asked, a female interviewee said, "it's a bit weird you call someone [khaar]" (FR7). She did concur with another interviewee, though, that "idiots and stupid people are [comparatively] acceptable" (FR6). The female participant shared the following statements, which, when prompted, she also declined to say in Pashto. These sentences encapsulated the appropriate but generic opinions of all the participants: These [Pashto terms] are used in a derogatory manner. Even while I'm speaking with you in this interview, I feel comfortable pronouncing words like "dog," "donkey," and "bitch." However, if I speak Pashto or my L1, I'll feel offended and it will fall under the category of gaali galoch [swearing/abuse] FR3. The term "stupid" will imply things like not delving too far or making fun of that someone. Even while we can use terms like "idiot" or "dumb" in jokes, the word "khaar" has a more pejorative connotation. It will appear barbaric. (FR2)

4.10 Certain Occupations considered as Taboo/s

One of the most defining characteristics of Pashtun society is the avoidance of vocations that are perceived as socially inferior. For instance, barber and peon are not recommended in public places since they are considered lower status occupations by Pashtuns. Furthermore, just like swear words, these occupations are frequently used to harm people. The comments that follow demonstrate how the Pashto phrases for different occupations are seen impolitely whereas the English words are chosen without creating any social taboos: The negative connotation of the term "nhayee" (Hair-dresser/Barber) is instantly recognizable, thus everyone is aware of how horrible it is. This explains why we often hesitate to use this word. Nonetheless, upon examining both terms, hairdresser and nhayee, we regard the latter as superior to the former. (MR7) Calling someone a peon or class IV (Peon/Laborer)) is more courteous than calling them a chaprrassi. The hairdresser feels the same way; calling him nhayee bothers him. My buddy is the one who generally cuts my hair. He once threw his scissors and comb and refused to complete his work while cutting my hair because someone

called him "nhayee." He left everything on the spot. However, he doesn't object if you refer to him as a hairdresser; in fact, he wrote the word "hairdresser" outside his store. (MR2) According to a male student, "the English word is better and appropriate like for example here [Upper Dir], people look down upon hairdresser and their profession...," best describes the taboo nature of and avoidance of similar vocations in Pashto. Using Pashto language would direct our attention to their impoverished cast, whilst using English would direct our attention to their line of work. (MR11). Female interviewees shared the same belief that occupations are of a lower caliber, but they also agreed that using English terms instead of Pashto expressions is appropriate, courteous, and respectable. "We refer to same professions," stated a female participant (FR3). They are forbidden. To the best of my knowledge, the barber's profession in Pashto is similarly seen negatively in our community. The assertions make it clear that professions are also categorized hierarchically, with certain professions having high prestige and others having low status. According to a second female respondent, "many professions are taboo in Pashto." The other one [nhayee/chaprrassii], in my opinion, is abusive. It's awful, because it feels like you're cursing them (FR7). Although Pashtuns enjoy singing and dancing, they view singing and dancing as less respectable and demeaning professions in their community. In Pashto, the word "singer" can be interpreted in two different ways: impolitely and euphemistically. The two participants quickly told the researcher, "We love being in the singing profession, but people don't like people in this profession or people who sing." [The singer] goes by “dham”. However, “fankaar” (Singer) is a better word. When the subject of English came up, they both agreed that speaking English, which is increasingly common these days, is also a better alternative and more courteous. Many non-bilingual speakers have other Pashto terms and expressions at their disposal to help them avoid the unpleasant feeling that arises when they mention lowly, prestigious occupations in a conversation.

4.11 Separation, divorce, and marriage/Relationship Status

Mentioning divorce or married status (for men or women) is likewise frowned upon in Pashtun culture. As a result, speakers of Pashto evasively avoid using these terms; the former is primarily a sociocultural phenomenon, while the latter is primarily a religious one. One respondent remarked, "It is a harsh taboo because it is very exceptional [rare] case in our Pashtun society, and even it is considered as a thunder [very harsh/tragic/ unpleasant]," which helps us understand whether divorce is a taboo, harsh, or light one. (MR9). Participant stated that if the addressees are educated, they would use the English word divorce, as it is a severe

taboo. For instance, when asked which word—divorce or talak—seemed more appropriate to him, one participant answered right away, saying, "I would prefer divorce rather than the Pashto word." (MR1) Divorce [word] is (a) right. In our community, the word "talak" is derogatory and aggressive; if someone commits a wrong, we call them "divorce," which is a swear word. In our society, the English word is seen as formal. But if we say the same thing in Pashto, people will infer that he's not a good man, and that's why. (MR11) The female participants expressed the same opinions, but they did so with more intensity and emotion. Since they are the ones who are most impacted by divorce, it is crucial to give the opinions of women due consideration. Thus, it is argued that the term "divorce" ought to annoy women more than it does. One person in particular brought attention to this point by saying, "Women should avoid using the Pashto word talak because it is very harsh for them and not very problematic for men." (MR3). Another female interviewee acknowledged and echoed this: "In our [Pashtun] culture, the word talaak has a very negative connotation, and it hurts our feelings when someone utters it." But when we utter the word divorce in English, we don't hesitate too much (FR1). The participants' statements demonstrate that these remarks not only unequivocally state that divorce is a harsh taboo in Pashto, but also that the English word divorce, when replaced with the Pashto word talak, is formal, acceptable, better, and polite in speech. In other words, even if the English word divorce does not entirely eliminate the negative connotation associated with the Pashto word talak, it at least lessens and lessens its undesirable and detrimental effect. Other female participants also supported the claims. Interviewees FR4 and FR6 quoted, respectively, from their own words: "I think the English word divorce doesn't make you feel so bad; if you call someone here [in Dir/Pashtun society] talak, it makes him think of his character as being ill-perceived." The word talak has a lot of negative/bad expressions attached to it. Divorce has no such connotations; it is an English word.

Table 9: Words Associated with Divorce and Marital Status (MRs)

English Code-switched words	Its Pashtu Equivalent
Married	*Wdh Kray*
Marriage	*Wdh*
Early marriage	*Makhki Wah*

Late marriage	*Rosta wadh*
Divorce	*Talaq*
Rate of divorce	*D talaq rate*
Love marriage	*D mene wdh*

Names for marital statuses are also taboos for men as uttered by male participants in FGO and reported in Male FGO participants stated in their interviews that names indicating one's marital status are likewise prohibited for men. Words that have been taken from their conversation and subsequently recognized by them are listed in table 5 above. In Pashto, it is actually frowned upon to disclose one's marital status, i.e., one's marital status. It is not, however, as strictly prohibited as divorce. Additionally, data analysis revealed that women were comparatively less likely than males to disclose their marital status when they did state they were married. Few people mentioned that "this" word doesn't seem to be particularly taboo and that both Pashto and English words can be used equally when discussing marital status (MR3). Nonetheless, there was universal agreement that, in terms of hesitation and reluctance, the English word married was preferable to the Pashto word zha wahhi shvee yam. Take a look at the following commentary: "Saying that zh wadh shvee yama[I am married] is very awkward for me," a woman said. But I can state unequivocally che za married yam [that I am married]' (FR4), whereas another male participant expressed embarrassment about the phrase "the Pashto word embarrasses me, not the English one" (MR12).

Table 10: Terms Associated with Divorce and Marital Status (FRs)

English words-codeswitched	*Pashtu Equivalent*
Married	*Wdh*
Late marriages	*Rosta wadh*
Second marriage	*Dwayam Wdh*

Divorce	*Talak*

When it comes to disclosing their marital status in Pashto, both men and women experience shyness, or a shared sense of humiliation. Even in FGO, it was noted when female participants collectively confirmed the Pashto terms for divorce and marriage (refer to table 6). English words, however, might enable individuals to communicate these ideas without making them feel ashamed.

4.12 Socially Outlawed Behaviors

Like most other communities, the Pashtun community does not accept socially unacceptable behavior. The interviewees showed a strong tendency to choose English phrases over the native lexis when asked explicitly if they would prefer it if the Pashto terms were substituted with the matching English expressions, such as smoking or smoker. For instance, when comparing English and Pashto phrases, the male respondent I and the female respondent 6 expressed their opinions that the English term "smoke" is superior to the Pashto word "smoke." In his own words, another respondent says that the English phrase "smoking is more polite because it shows direct phenomenon." "Cigarette smoking, or skhal in Pashto, is very rude." (MR11). It suggests that the word of Pashtu has additional significance relating to one's character in addition to the act of smoking, which is still forbidden. We would specifically bring up the statement made by a female respondent: "Smoking and smokers are quite better, but saying the Pashto word gives very bad impression on people" (FR4). An extremely strange but more perceptive story comes from a male student who considered the impacts of his foreign and native languages at the same time. "One becomes enraged in one's mother tongue because even a child understands what a ward means in their mother tongue," the speaker stated. The English word doesn't have a profound effect in this instance (smoke/smoking/smoker/).(MR 10)

Table 11: Terms linked to Socially Prohibited Behaviors (MRs)

Code-switched to English	**Pashto equivalent**
Alcoholic	*Shraabia*

Drugs	*Naashaa*
Drugs addicted	*Naashayee*

Any form of addiction (naashaa) is wrong, and those who suffer from it are humiliated and publicly shamed for their moral failings. In Pashtun society, discussing addiction and addicts is not unusual (refer to Table 7.) For a better comprehension of the English and Pashto word usage and their impact on the conversation participants, the following insightful comment is added: "I would use the term smoker in a serious manner, but if I wanted to make fun of or make fun of someone, I would say something like, 'He is a cigratti' It will hurt them." (FR3) This particular statement suggests that, when employed in speech, the Pashto expression has strong negative connotations that could offend others, but the English expression lessens those same bad consequences. The purpose of the Pashto word choice is to intentionally offend the addressee, whether via regret or not. When you want to be courteous and don't want to offend someone, you use the English word instead of the Pashto one. One of the respondents articulated this point by stating that the English term "smoker" means "we are highlighting [reducing/softening] the [negative] effect of the [equivalent taboo] word," whereas the Pashto expression "abuse or scold" someone (FR2). A female student bemoaned the offensiveness of smoking in Pashto society, but she also said that the English word would seem more natural than the Pashto one. In response to a query, she expressed her opinion that "smoking is more beneficial than that one [the Pashto word]" even if it is a negative thing. (FR7).

4.13 Disease and Women's Conditions

These are included here since it was noted during interviews that interviewees would occasionally cite certain taboo terms on their own in response to questions. A student (MR4) stated, "... abortion is generally thought to be considered undesirable in Pashtun society regardless of whether someone says it in English or Pashto." The respondents also told the researcher that pregnancy and abortion were taboo topics in Pashto. However, in comparison, English words appear to be superior while discussing. One of the female interviewees confirmed that the phrase "abortion" is prohibited in Pashto."Abortion is an appropriate word in English, however if we say it in Pashto, it looks really nasty or awkward," she strongly believed. In a same vein, the same interviewee (MR4) who claimed that the word abortion

was problematic in Pashto also admitted that we prefer to use an oblique euphemism term for taboo subjects, such as "bimhara," which literally translates to "sick ill." Among the interviews, another Pashto speaker (MR9) corroborated it and expressed his preference to say that his wife was "beemara da" rather than "the actual Pashto word." This is another euphemistic term for pregnancy in Pashto, however listeners may find it confusing as it literally indicates that someone is unwell. Additionally, in Pashto, it is a euphemism term for the menstrual cycle. In his subsequent statement, the same respondent elaborated on this topic, saying, "If they could not understand what I meant by that then I would use the English word like "hagha pregnant dha" [she is pregnant]." Here, the English phrase accomplished two goals: it first defined the intended meaning, which the alternative polite but indirect Pashto word for pregnancy was unable to explain; and it also lessened the impact of the forbidden word's connotations. One responder equated language with society and culture, saying he was unable to use the Pashto word for pregnant woman in his home tongue because of cultural and socioeconomic restraints. But "pregnancy [seemed to him]... a valid word," in English. He went on to say that men are uncomfortable discussing women in this way in Pashtun society and culture. It is not approved by us. He came to the conclusion that in the West, people don't mind if you tell them straight out that a woman is pregnant after comparing Pashto and Western cultures. (MRI) Expressions marked in FGO that were spoken in English rather than Pashto because they pertain to things and situations related to illnesses and women's circumstances are included in the table below.

Table 12: 2 Words Concerning Women's Conditions and Disease and Illness (MRS) switched the code to English

Abortion	Mashoom ghorzawal
Depression	Khfgnn
Miscarriage	Mashoom lredal
Baby Birth	Mashoom kidaal
Check up	Zan pokhtana
Breast cancer	Do Sinnii Maarhaz
Pieces (of aborted baby)	Peerwan

Abort	Mashum Lrikawal
Medical effects	Da dhwayie asaraat
Delivery case	Langedaal
Women Disease [sic]	Da Khazu Bemarii
Physical care	Khiyal sathal
Patient	Bemar
Unsafe babies	Kheta Ghtiidhal
Child bearing	Bache rwral
Baby bear	Kheta Sa'atal

It was also noteworthy during the observation that, although many taboo words are discussed in close friendship circles, some Pashto words, like pregnancy, are forbidden to be discussed 'with anyone even not with friends whom we are so close' (MR12). However, there are

exclusions for discussing taboo subjects in speech when English terms are added or substituted.

Table 13: Words Associated with Illness, Disease, and Conditions Specific to Women (FRS) Code-switched to English:

Code-switched	Pashtu words
Baby carry	Halak Garzawal
Safety	Khayal kol
Rate of fertility	Amaal Hesshab
Mentally	Dhemaghi
Physically	Badan

One interviewee's concluding remarks below summarise the entire discussion about recognising, avoiding, and addressing situations where Pashto speakers were forced to discuss taboo expressions: "Actually, we are exposed to such an environment...like we are brought up in such an environment where our elders construe this [act of talking about women and their conditions] as lack of gheeraat [honour], and so they disapprove talking about or sharing wife's or sister's serious condition/illness with others." (MR11) "We feel and assume that such words must be taboo in Pashto... there must be something embarrassing about them because we hear our elders or teachers avoid using many Pashto words or, for example, use the English word pregnancy instead of Pashto." Because of this, [such words] are either hardly ever used in speech or are substituted with English words. (MR11)

4.14 Sex and Sexuality

Words in Pashto that allude directly or indirectly to sex and matters relating to sex are frowned upon and strongly disapproved of. In inappropriate contexts, Pashto terms such as yarana/yari (affair/ relation/ friendship/), yaaar (lover), Yara (girlfriend), in addition to baachey paaida kawaal (to give birth to a kid) are unbearably avoided.

Table 14: Words Referring to Sex or Sexual connotations (MRS) Code-switched to English:

Relation (amorous/ sexual) Illegal relation Sex-education	Be nekaha taluq Jhensye sabq
Sex	korwalaay
Contraceptive	Bache bndaawal
Condom	Pookanye
Illegal sex	Baadkaarii
Mistake sex	Khwshay kar
Sexual problem	Na marda
Illegal relationship	Naikaiz Taluk
Illegal sexual relationship	Zenakarii wala reshta
Temptation and worst things	Zrh kwal and khwshay kar kwal
Affairs	Reshtay
Sexual Relationship	Zainakarii wala reshta
Sexual energy	Merh motmayan kwal

Improper Miscarriage	Allk wran she
Girl Friend boyfriend	Yar aw Yari wala reshta sathal
Childbirth	Bchey Kidal
Prostitutions	Mstiztub kwal
Unwanted orphan	Araaami
Character	Kerdar
Girlfriend	Malgarii
Boyfriend(s)	Malgaraay

Tables 10 & 11 show the kinds of terms that participants purposefully avoided by switching to English English vocabulary even in group conversations. As surprising as it may sound, one cannot use terms like "Malga'ray" to refer to a boyfriend and "Malga'rey" to refer to a girlfriend in public. The premarital relationship between a boy and a girl in Pashtun society deviates from sociocultural norms. As a result, in speech, these ideas are regarded as strange and offensive.

Table 15: Terms with Sexual Allusions and References to Sex (FRS) Code-switched to English

Code-switching	Pashtu words
Illegal relation	Yaraan\ bd neka tluq
Interests	Gharaaz
Relation	Taluk

Young Age	Zwani
Feelings	Jazbath
Attractive	Khaista/khkolay
Attract	Zrh kwal
Friendship	Dostana
Boundary	Had
New Generation	Neway Nasahl
Immature	Kamaqal

Table 15 presents an intriguing example of the manifestation of friendship, as women participants pointed out, since in Pashtun culture, relationships between people of different sexes are generally viewed as immoral, irritating, vulgar, and indecent. Women tend to be more aware of the need to avoid any expression that even slightly connotes sex or sexuality. But, in contrast to what they hear or say in their own tongue, they would speak in a foreign language to convey such ideas since they feel more at ease there.

4.15 Perceptions of and Prompts for Code-Switching

The Linguistic Taboos' Reported Negative Nature in LI, the participants were requested to contrast and discuss how they personally understood the pairs of linguistic taboos in both their foreign English and native Pashto. Every participant admitted that when they encountered taboo words in their speech, they would switch from their native Pashto to English because they felt uncomfortable using such words in public and thought they were often extremely rude, indecorous, inappropriate, derogatory, and provocative. In their speech, participants disclosed and expressed dissatisfaction over the 'embarrassing' (FR4) and 'negative connotative meanings' (MR8) of Pashto taboo words; however, substituting them with English lexis lessened and reduced their unpleasant implications. .. One thoughtful student said, "We choose English since English language is so polite that the words do not

exert bad feelings on people," in response to the question, "Why do you prefer English words over Pashto words when you face taboo topics?" More hurtful than English words are Pashto ones. (FR1). She went on to explain that while expressing it in Pashto Tattyee, or ghusal khana, (Washroom or bathroom) was repulsive and uncomfortable when done so in one's mother tongue, speaking it aloud in English sounded natural. "The meaning in English changes." (MR 10) Linguistic taboos in speech typically elicit an unwanted response from the audience, which speakers typically avoid by speaking in English out of altruism. While the word "talaq" is undoubtedly a highly offensive term in Pashtun society and may even be as offensive in English as its equivalent word "divorce," participant MP8 conjectured that "When we take words from foreign languages, they are considered formally accepted in other languages quite normal as other words." Similarly, the Pashto word "talaq" may not be as objectionable to English speakers as it is to us. The use of taboo words in Pashto conveys a 'uncivilized' image of the speaker because they are completely avoided in Pashtun society and are viewed as extremely 'degrading and insulting' (FR3, FR2). Conversely, using those words in English embedded in the host language does not paint the speaker as rude or impolite. In spite of his hesitation to bring up linguistic taboos in his home tongue and his support for expressing LTs in English rather than risk being perceived as impolite and unkind, the MR8 also expressed grave concerns regarding the upkeep and preservation of the crucial Pashto language. On the one hand, he argued that in formal contexts, Pashto words or expressions related to taboo topics must be used in English; on the other hand, because it is widely believed that language is fundamental to a people's culture, in informal settings, the original Pashto words for taboos should be spoken in order to preserve a portion of the language. Therefore, losing Pashto repertory and consequently losing culture results from English replacing Pashto language taboos.

4.16 Guilt and humiliation.

For Pashto speakers, the native terms for taboos caused sentiments of shame, embarrassment, and mortification. Because they felt "disgusting" and "uncomfortable" expressing taboos in Pashto, Pashto speakers purposefully used English terms as better substitutes in their speech to avoid humiliation (FR4, FRI). The respondents felt that when taboo words were used in Pashto, speakers of that language would also feel embarrassed because they were reluctant, hesitant, uncomfortable, reserved, and shy when faced with such a lexis in their speech, just as they were when they heard such expressions in Pashto. The FR1 female student claimed that while they were not at all "hesitant" to say words like "divorce, lips, husband, and

washroom" when speaking in English, saying the same things in their mother tongue would make them blush and feel "mortified," which would "retard" their speech. The results also bring to light an intriguing point: in Pashtun society, taboo words are often discussed and even used in close friendship circles. However, when speaking to strangers, teachers, relatives, elders, the opposite gender, or in a formal setting, Pashto speakers view taboo expressions or topics as inappropriate and unsuitable, which can cause embarrassment, shame, and blushing on the part of the speaker as well as offense to the addressee.

4.17 Using Code-switching as an Empathic Discourse Technique

The majority of the interview's questions were created as qualitative inquiries with the following goals in mind: first, to find out how linguistic taboos are understood in Pashto and English, respectively; second, to find out if English expressions are intentionally code-switched into Pashto in order to avoid linguistic taboos in the native tongue; and third, to document any supporting factors for such strategic CS. The findings demonstrated that Pashto speakers attempted to avoid breaking language taboos in order to avoid upsetting their interlocutors and to come out as courteous and well-mannered. This was done in an effort to achieve altruism and euphemism in speech when speaking in public. In response to the question, "Why do you prefer English words over Pashto words?" the majority of respondents left comments. When you encounter forbidden subjects?', and declared that banned Pashto terms like shondyee are more sexually suggestive than their English counterpart, lips (MR8). Pashto words were said to 'divert' the listener's thoughts towards negative connotations (MR3). According to the analysis, discussing taboo topics in Pashto speech was deemed "bad etiquette." For example, Pashto terms that refer to body parts "sound unpleasant" and "personal" to the ears, and they are "embarrassing" to both genders in general and to women specifically because they would arouse negative [sexual] feelings (FR2). On the other hand, linguistic taboos conveyed in English are eloquent. When discussing forbidden subjects, Pashto speakers tend to avoid using taboo terminology. Instead, they either look up euphemistic expressions in their mother tongue or move to a different language to find the right words. Though educated Pashto speakers are conversant in both Urdu and English, English is chosen over Urdu because of its greater linguistic excellence and relative prestige in the current context. Hence, if they are in situations where they cannot avoid them and the participants are less uncomfortable, Pashto-educated speakers use English phrases and idioms to discuss taboo subjects. During an interview, a student (MR2) revealed his initial approach to steer clear of a forbidden phrase in Pashto for sexual relations by using korrwale, a more

elegant and euphemistic word. According to MR3, another participant, the "context or code of conduct" influences the vocabulary and word choices. For example, the Pashto phrase "mutyazy" is used when the addressees are "uneducated or the situation is informal." However, it is preferable to use the English word "washroom" rather than a Pashto phrase if the recipients are "females or in a formal situation." Overall, the results show that Pashto speakers, with a few notable exceptions, use code-switching to English as a discourse strategy when speaking about taboo words or topics. This is done to reduce the negative impact of those expressions on listeners, to be courteous, and to prevent being judged and thought of as ill-mannered rather than an educated person from a good family. At the conclusion of the interview, respondent MR5 affirmed that the main reason people use English language is to make sure the people listening don't mind or feel upset by what they say. The data analysis above indicates that, on average, there is a significant and direct relationship between Pashto and English in terms of politeness in speech; embedding English expressions for linguistic taboos acts as an emblem of politeness because, in a polite discourse, linguistic taboos in the native language prompt negative response or effects and are therefore avoided entirely; English terms, on the other hand, are perceived as acceptable, appropriate, and polite, and switching between Pashto and English is effectively a strategy used by Pashto speakers. when the intention is to speak about taboo subjects out of necessity while also preserving their cordial relationship and mutual respect. In Pashto speech, linguistic taboos are deliberately chosen to be used when the speaker wishes to make fun of, mock, or offend the audience (FR3). On the other hand, Pashto speakers convey Pashto linguistic taboos in English to lessen their negative impact on listeners so as to avoid offending them and to keep a cordial and pleasant relationship. When choosing between a forbidden word and a euphemistic local Pashto substitute—or even between a banned word and an English substitute—age and gender are important factors to consider. Young Pashto speakers utilize their language more tactfully when addressing seniors. On the other hand, Pashto speakers must make a conscious effort to avoid using taboo words in conversation and become more aware when they are around people of other genders. An informant stated that "they could fail to feel good and think that we are extremely bishraam [disrespectful]" (MR3).

4.18 Summary of the Results

In consideration of cultural sensitivities and the nature of the discussion topics, it was decided to conduct separate FGO sessions for male and female participants. The second FGO session involved the remaining 7 female participants and followed a similar structure to the first

session, albeit with slight modifications to the discussion topics. The session lasted approximately fifty minutes, during which 59 taboo words were recorded among the female participants. During the FGO, it was noted that some participants, proficient in both English and Urdu, abstained from code-switching to Urdu despite their proficiency. When queried about this decision in individual interview, a predominant response emerged, indicating a belief that the linguistic norms and taboos in Urdu mirrored those in Pashto, their native language. Participants expressed the perception that if a term or expression was deemed taboo in Urdu, it would likely be regarded similarly in Pashto, and vice versa. This alignment of linguistic norms across languages was seen as a deterrent to code-switching to Urdu, as participants anticipated similar social repercussions. However, it was observed that some participants utilized alternative words or expressions in Pashto for taboo terms, suggesting a nuanced approach to navigating linguistic taboos within their multilingual repertoire. This section mainly concentrates on important findings that are linked to the study's research questions, such as the use of code-switching (CS) as a discourse strategy to avoid Pashto linguistic taboos, common Pashto taboo expressions that are purposefully code-shifted to English to avoid their negative effects, Pashto speakers' attitudes and perceptions toward taboo expressions in both their native language and the foreign language, and the stimuli that underlie this CS behavior that favors English expressions over native taboo words in Pashto bilingual speech. The study's main conclusions are outlined and shown below. According to an examination of information obtained from Focused Group Observations and semi-structured interviews with Degree college Wari undergraduate students, computer-supported translation (CS) from Pashto to English has been validated as the best approach for managing taboos. In addition to serving other purposes, CS in Pashto acts as a purposeful euphemistic discourse strategy in circumstances that speakers are unable to avoid. Pashto educated speakers use English expressions for taboo words in Pashto as a deliberate and lawful discourse strategy adopted for linguistic avoidance. Because of cultural and religious conventions, it is considered improper behavior in Pashto society to use taboo words needlessly and to offend the listener when speaking. When it came to Pashto taboo terms, almost all of the students—male and female—who were interviewed felt that they were more harmful, disparaging, negatively impactful, and offensive than English equivalents when used in Pashto. Pashto phrases that were taboo caused embarrassment, yet English translations could not only be compromised, but also, ideally, be regarded as appropriate and courteous in speech. Speaking in Pashto and using English terms and expressions embarrassed Pashto speakers and listeners as well as being seen as a show of education. In Pashtun society, they

work as a stand-in for Pashto terms denoting forbidden behaviors or items. The data produced insightful, fascinating, and culturally relevant findings. The findings indicate that in Pashto, it is typically considered taboo to discuss blood connections when referring to people of the opposite gender. One participant mentioned, 'I cannot use the Pashto word 'tattayee,' “so I use 'bathroom' instead. I think it would give a pathetic impression to my audience, and it also makes me feel embarrassed. Therefore, in order to avoid this, I code-switch MR1”. While FR2 said,” I never use this word anywhere because of its bad feeling therefore I use bathroom or washroom instead of “tattayee” …za charta huma da word na istemalomm zaka che d deer bd lage pa de waja za bathroom ya washroom istemalom da “tattayee” pa zay”. However, in Pashto speaking, the embarrassment is lessened by using English phrases for blood ties that are opposite. Men, for example, found it embarrassing to say words like "wife," "khoor," "daughter," "trahloor," and "tarhloor" when referring to blood relations; women, on the other hand, felt the same way and were reluctant to mention terms like "husband," "mirha," "male paternal cousin," and "tarh zwaye" (male maternal cousin). As FR1 said, “za charta hum khpl kor ki nashma welay che zama mirh (my husband) balki alta wrla za “aghaa” istemaloom, ya wrta wayam che d planki plara kho bahar za de dprada English word “husband” istamalom…. In my house I cannot use “mirh” for my husband, I call him “that” while outside my home I never use “mirh” because it feels bad”. Along with in Pashtu society cousins marriages is common, thus when somebody speaks about his cousin people take different meaning than the employed as confirmed by FR2, “I never use Pashtu word “trah zway” for my cousin because people would think that I am ill-mannered …za chrta hum khpl cousin ta d “trah zway” na weam zaka khlk ba waye che da sa be sharma da”. However, when the same words were spoken in English instead of Pashto, the listeners or speakers did not experience the same emotions. To the Pashto speakers, they were more proper, courteous, and reasonably acceptable. From the results, it has been inferred that Pashto speakers are reluctant to employ phrases that are connected to or explicitly allude to body functions. Pashto terms like "Tattyee" and, to a lesser extent, "ghussalye khanaa " are banned, while English terms like "toilet," "washroom," and "bathroom" are fortunately justified as being courteous, proper, and acceptable. As confirmed by MR9 “za tattaye zaka na weam che da khwshe ihsasaat peda kwe ….i don’t use tattaye, I use bathroom for it, because I creates uneasy feeling”. Pashto has strict linguistic taboos against mentioning anatomical features that could suggest or stimulate sexuality in either gender due to negative connotations associated with them. Men and women therefore refrain from using terms like "lips," "breast," and "thigh," among others. However, research indicates that using English words to refer to similar body parts appears to cause less

offense or embarrassment to Pashto speakers and listeners. MR3 says, “Za seena nashm p pakhtu ki yadwlay da mta bd lagi, badakhale saray lagi, -- I cannot use seena for breast because it makes one appears immoral and it seems immoral thus I ues breast for “seena”. While MR7 came up with different opinion that “zama dpra dse nada za p koraneez mahol ki “seena” (breast) weam kho bia bahar za “breast weam” it is different for me in my informal setting I tend to use “seena” for breast while when I am outside or at any formal setting I use breasy and the reason behind it is shame”. Additionally, every participant expressed a propensity to feel ashamed while speaking Pashto terms that allude to any form of impairment. Conversely, terms in the English language convey a generally positive image (e.g. blind, short and bald). As FR3 mentions that, “I don’t call a person mazoora (disable) because this word is quite derogatory and inhuman therefore I use english word for it to feel the peron good… za chrta hum ko sok mazoora e no aghe ta mazoora na weam balki za wata English word weam “disable” zaka d Pashtu word mazoora mata deer gheer insani khkare aw za na ghwaram che dgha kas bad mehsoos ki”. Similarly, FR4 said, “za chata rond na weam blki blind use kom…. I don’t call someone” rond” (blind) I use to call him blind”. Along with that all the participants were not using the Pashtu word “rond” for a blind. Despite tight intimacy, some harsh language taboos are not even mentioned with close friends. The qualitative data from interviews and FGOS clearly show that Pashto speakers avoid taboo words in their speech in front of family members, relatives, classmates, or in public in general. Another intriguing idea that caught the researcher's attention in this study was the diverse ways that different genders employ computer science to circumvent linguistic taboos. In instance, the study showed that some terms that aren't typically considered taboo in language could be quite taboo for women. Despite a small sample size, the study's findings are intriguing. Furthermore, from a sociolinguistic perspective, this study presents CS data regarding the second most common regional language in Pakistan. Depending on the context and the relationship between linguistic taboo discourse participants, native Pashto words that refer to different blood relations, marital status, bodily functions, specific body parts, disability or physical deformity, some marked animals, socially low professions, socially prohibited acts, and certain conditions affecting women are classified as undesirable, objectionable, and equally impolite. First, these subjects are avoided completely; second, they are mentioned in an indirect manner; and third, linguistic taboos expressed subtly through euphemistic English expressions are purposefully replaced in Pashto speech with English words in an effort to present them in a more courteous, acceptable, and less offensive way. More hurtful than language barriers in a foreign language are linguistic taboos in the native

Pashto language. When native Pashto taboo phrases are replaced with corresponding English lexicon, the hostile and objectionable connotation of the original taboos is lessened. Conversely, speakers and listeners regard native Pashto taboo expressions as more disparaging, insulting, and unwanted. Furthermore, it has been discovered that Pashto speakers may resort to using linguistic taboos in their mother tongue with the intention of offending or upsetting their interlocutors. In order to preserve amicable relations, the speakers purposefully avoid directly addressing the uncomfortable subject or employ euphemisms in their discourse by using English or Urdu phrases.

5 DISCUSSION

The current study aims to address two primary research questions: firstly, to detect and verify instances of bilinguals using code-switching as a discourse strategy to avoid discussing taboo subjects; and secondly, to identify and examine the factors that lead to bilinguals using their native Pashto to avoid taboo topics and the cues that encourage them to use English to express linguistic taboos (LTS). Stated differently, the study focuses on how Pashto speakers in Swat, KP, Pakistan perceive taboos in both Pashto (L1) and English (L2), respectively. An extensive analysis of the data obtained from 20 university BS students through concentrated group observations and semi-structured interviews will be provided in this chapter. The information has been analyzed using three widely accepted conceptual frameworks: Howard Giles's (1973;1991) Communication Accommodation Theory, Goffman's (1955) Face, and Brown and Levinson's (1987) Theory of Politeness. A deeper understanding of the selective CS we have examined in this study will be possible by combining and utilizing these diverse techniques to data analysis. The outcomes are then cross-referenced with the body of current literature to see if they support or refute the findings of other comparable studies.

5.1 Understanding of Linguistics Taboos

From a linguistic perspective, words are socially classified as 10 but are not inherently good or evil, courteous or impolite. Beyond the cliché that mentioning certain words and actions is avoided or is least spoken as part of the socio-cultural norms because they cause embarrassment, anxiety, and shame to them—after all, they are members of a society—no convincing explanation for why some words are taboos can be found in the literature. But being socio-culturally oriented phenomena resulting from certain prevailing values, beliefs,

norms, collective attitudes, and perceptions in a given community, every culture has its unique repertoire of taboos (Chu, 2009). (Agyekum, 2002; Gobert, 2015). LTs and LTS violations are ingrained in the community members' psyche. However, in some inevitable circumstances, cultures apply linguistic sanctions against the usage of taboo or unacceptable topic subjects (Al-Khatib, 1995). Despite the knowledge that certain words should not be spoken in polite company and are therefore referred to as taboos, it is still challenging to categorize words as either taboo or non-taboo; rather, there is a degree of tabooness among LTS.To facilitate comprehension, linguistic taboos are categorized into three categories: severe, mild, and moderate, with the severity level falling between these two extremes. Similar to this, a language taboo may be light or just a common expression for some people, while it may be extremely severe and unpleasant for others. This idea is reflected in the data presented in FGOs, where some informants classified some phrases as common while others declared them to be linguistic taboos. As a general rule, the unpleasant effects are lessened if any word with negative connotations is substituted by any corresponding word in a foreign or second language (L2). The examples of occurrences given in the previous chapter are sparse.

5.2 Motivations and Reasons Based on Sociolinguistics

The information showed that bilinguals who are Pashto have a favorable opinion about English CS in their speech. The results pertaining to the second research question, which asked what causes L1 Pashto speakers to code-switch to English when confronted with a taboo subject, were presented in 4.1. The opinions of native Pashto speakers regarding code-switching LTs in English are the main topic of this section. From the data analysis, the following conclusions have been drawn, along with their interpretation and comparison to other relevant studies:

5.2.1 The Linguistic Taboos' Perceived Derogatory Nature in Linguistics:

The evidence has shown that, when compared to foreign languages, native Pashto speakers and listeners find native taboo words to be more repulsive and unpleasant. Because they are perceived as frequently being extremely impolite, improper, disparaging, offensive, and inconsiderate in public, Lakota speakers are the least talked about group in Pashtun society. When Pashto speakers must inevitably discuss LTS or other themes in their discourse, a variety of causes lead them to use euphemisms, such as interspersing English into Pashto. The unintentional negative implications of English phrases are softened or diminished when Pashto LTs are used in their place. Drawing conclusions from data analysis, one could say

that while the idea is the same in Pashto and English, the unfavorable consequences of learning a language change depending on whether it is spoken natively or not. In terms of their emotional strength, linguistic taboos are viewed differently in L1 and L2, being harsh in L1 but euphonious in L2. When someone speaks in Pashto, using LTs conveys a 'uncivilized' image of themselves because Pashto taboo words are viewed as extremely 'degrading and insulting' in Pashtun society and are therefore avoided completely (FR3, FR2). However, when those words are communicated in English embedded in Pashto, the speaker is not deemed impolite. The data analysis does not clearly explain this peculiar, hostile, and emotional attitude toward banned terms in native Pashto, but the suggestive evidence points to the speakers' emotional commitment to their mother tongue as one plausible explanation. Mothers' arguments are typically seen as the expression of closeness, feeling, and affection. Changing to a foreign language requires using a camouflage to reduce the emotional impressions that language learners may make during a conversation. Speaking Pashto with emotionally charged phrases in English or any other language means separating oneself from the negative connotations that have been passed down through the generations. The complicated data has been synthesized to show that a speaker's choice of words indicates how well they get along with other participants in a conversation. According to Li (1994, p. 17), "the speaking self is emotionally detached from the true self" applies to themes that may cause unpleasant, irritating, or powerful emotional reactions when discussed in a language other than the host language. The material that is currently accessible supports this view. It appears as though the speaker has split themselves off from the other person mentally. It was referred to as the "distancing function" of CS by Bond and Lai (1986, p. 184). Therefore, according to Wai (2013, p. 26), CS is seen as a "face-saving" measure taken to prevent shame. Eilola and Havelka's (2011) research further highlighted this point, showing that participants in their study experienced no negative emotions when speaking or hearing L2 forbidden terms. Therefore, in the case of some bilingual speakers, L2 appears to be linked to less acute emotional arousal.

5.2.2 Being embarrassed and Shame

Positive or unfavorable perceptions of speakers are influenced by their language. The study's conclusions support the theory that, among other powerful motivators, shame, embarrassment, and normative disapproval may be the reasons why Pashto speakers are reluctant, hesitant, and uncomfortable using LTs in their speech. Interlocutors experience mortification, embarrassment, and shame when they encounter native taboo words in Pashto.

When taboo topics like English divorce, lips, husbands, pregnancies, and the restroom are brought up in conversation, both parties experience mutual humiliation and reluctance. This results in sentiments of mortification and native language among the participants. For example, the translated terms for blushing and embarrassment in a discourse community are the same in Pashto. Speaking Pashto while expressing linguistic taboos erodes the speakers' trust in a communicative exchange. The results also point out an intriguing point: in Pashtun society, LTs are discussed and quite common in close friend circles where there is a high level of intimacy, candor, and humor. However, these same LTs are not talked about or seen in formal public settings, with strangers, teachers, relatives, elders, or people of the opposite gender.

5.2.3 Following Social, Cultural, and Religious Norms

One of the documented justifications for linguistic avoidance and the adaption of English words into Pashto is adherence to socio-cultural and religious norms. Our understanding of linguistic components is shaped and limited by the discourse context, social assumptions, and speakers' sociocultural and religious backgrounds (Gumperz, 1982, p. 66). Language is inextricably linked to society, culture, and religion. Because of the strong cultural and religious influences, Pashtuns are expected to behave in a way that is socially acceptable and are constantly overly mindful of the words they use in conversation because of their close relationship. Muslims pay particular attention to their manners and code of behavior, which includes language, and Pashtuns in particular. They make a friendly and courteous impression on the outside. In Pashtun community, using euphemism language and avoiding direct communication are highly valued traits. As a result, Pashto speakers frequently avoid using LTs in conversation—a practice known as total linguistic avoidance. It is not always feasible to completely avoid taboo topics in speaking, though; there are numerous circumstances in which speakers must discuss sensitive subjects or hot-button concerns that are accepted in society. Aware of the emotive character of LTs, the speakers are forced to choose between buffering emotionally charged words with code-switching to English (or Urdu) or encoding the message in a less offensive and indirect manner in their home tongue. Note that the second approach is restricted to bilinguals who speak Pashto and English. Speech euphemism is limited by respect to religious and sociocultural norms. By avoiding breaking taboos, incorporating or switching to English helped Pashto speakers satisfy their social, cultural, and religious norms.

5.2.4 Using Code-switching as an Empathic Discourse Technique

The results have shown clear evidence in favor of Pashto-English CS as a euphemistic discourse method for discussing taboo language topics. It is clear from data analysis that Pashto speakers work hard to uphold the socio-cultural and religious sanctions placed on their usage in order to maintain their social relationships on formal, public, and serious occasions. Pashtuns are aware that LTS in their native language is provocative, derogatory, offensive, and inappropriate. In Pashtun society, linguistic taboos are stigmatized behaviors, and discussing them is a surefire way to elicit criticism from fellow citizens. When someone uses LTs, they are perceived as being impolite and using poor language. When it comes to linguistic taboos, switching to English is seen as a gesture of kindness and a positively courteous language because English phrases mitigate the negative effects of linguistic taboos. Pashto speakers can talk about sensitive subjects in English without coming out as impolite, offensive, or disrespectful. An interesting finding emerged from the data study, which stated unequivocally that English is preferred in Pakistan over Pashto because of its prestigious but inevitable usage. Without a doubt, government documents, media, education, and medical science are all conducted in English. English is granted an allowance that Pashto does not have. For example, terms like "pregnancy," "abortion," and "blood" are used in medical records. Other terms that are frequently used in official documents include "sex," "gender," and "male." Although these terms are obviously LTS in Pashto, over time their usage in official papers lessens their negative consequences and allows them to be employed euphemistically without difficulty. This element was brought to light by FR2, who expressed a strong preference for English over Pashto in a number of situations, including those involving males, stotings, sisters, husbands, wives, age, illnesses, disabilities, and career names. Although one of the main conclusions of Al- Khatib and Sabbah's (2008) research is supported by the results of this study, there are a number of other areas in which they diverge, aside from methodological ones. They collected data from mobile texts written by Jordanian university students, and their results demonstrate that CS can act as a euphemism in speech when discussing awkward, uncomfortable, or embarrassing subjects in Arabic, the native language, that might offend the reader, among other sociolinguistic purposes like greeting, quoting, and expressing prestige. Even though there are similarities, it's important to recognize that there are differences as well. For example, the data used in that study came from typed texts, most of which were exchanged between close friends, but the current study indicates that context and the relationship between the addressee and the addresser do affect language choice. Language avoidance of taboo themes occurs in formal, public, and serious

settings with strangers, family, elders, and teachers, according to the analysis presented in the preceding chapter. The participants stressed how much they like having candid conversations on a range of taboo topics with close friends because they see this as a hallmark of genuine friendship—their intimate intimacy with one another.Saudi Arabian nationals participated in a code-switching poll in another study conducted in the United States (Bhatia, 2004). According to some of the students who were interviewed, they changed from Arabic to English to be more polite—for example, by using a taboo or curse term. They didn't want to offend anyone, thus the words they intended to speak in Arabic were forbidden. The results of this study run counter to Luke's (1998) assertion that "expedient and orientational language mixing"; nonetheless, they are generally in line with earlier studies on computer-generated speech (CS) used in media, which suggested that the use of English phrases in Cantonese/Chinese is most likely driven by "a desire for euphemism." debate, Hong Kong Press, testimony by Li (2002) when it is suggested that, among the four reasonsAccording to the study, native Chinese speakers' use of English terms like "bra," "breast," "toilet," and "washroom" do not indicate a "westernized/modernized image" or are doing so "out of convenience," as Luke claimed. Rather, they are simply pointing to the potentially embarrassing object without making an explicit reference in their native tongue. Words that allude to intimate areas of the body and underwear seem repulsive and have the potential to evoke sexual sensations. The data analysis presented in the previous chapter splits this case into two categories: Parts of the Body and Bodily Functions. It finds that the desire to achieve euphemism in speech or to mitigate the emotive connotations attached to linguistic taboos in L1 is what drives English word choice for these categories. In Pashtun society, being well-mannered is considered a show of education. Similarly, speaking with a mix of Pashtun and English words is considered a sign of sophistication. It follows that speaking appropriately should probably be done with caution. The data analysis reveals a noteworthy aspect: women in Pashtun society use English more often than men do. This is likely due to the widespread belief that women should demonstrate the highest level of modesty in their speech, in addition to their attire, gait, and manners. The literature on taboos that is currently available, the data in the table, and the data analysis of the responses from the participants in the previous chapter show that many of the taboos are associated with conditions that directly affect women, such as delivery, beauty, divorce, and periods, as well as private body parts like the lips, breasts, and thighs, and swear words related to women's sex. Nevertheless, it is plausible to suppose that women are more upset and embarrassed by LTs due to the absence of sufficient evidence. It suggests that women should exercise more caution while speaking than

do men, and as a result, when females interact with LTs, more English CS for euphemism should be observed. This somewhat aligns with Lakoff's (1975) supposition that the traditional politeness of women's language is indicative of their diffidence, shyness, lack of confidence, and lack of strong opinions in their linguistic behavior. Despite the arguments made, it is still unclear if female code-switching to English in speech is a sign of euphemism, prestige, or education. Moving from native Pashto to foreign English does not mean that the taboo words are completely eliminated; rather, foreign expressions take the place of native taboos, lessening their severity to "avoid possible loss of face; either one's own face or, through giving offence, that of the audience, or of somethird party" (Allan and Burridge, 1991, p. 11).Therefore, it is the euphemism or implicit civility that conversators perceive. Developing and sustaining courteous communication entails putting on and keeping a happy front. Since criticism, disagreement, and language taboos are inherently face-threatening, speakers steer clear of them. Speakers utilize linguistic tactics, such as using more polite language to lessen the face-threatening act, to deal with their negative impacts. Furthermore, the strategy of using English terms for linguistic taboos in Pashto to lessen the tabooness is not dependent on the speaker's high level of proficiency in the foreign language; Pashto speakers can use this strategy in their speech to achieve euphemism and prevent others from being offended even if they cannot speak English, so long as they have sufficient education to 5.1.5 From Linguistic Taboos towards Positive-Face find English terms that correspond to the linguistic taboos in their mother tongue. Language taboos are clearly defined as the untouchable or unspeakable truth, for example, those that are associated with being unpleasant, filthy, undesirable, scary, or impolite. "A word that is used for something unpleasant" (Palmer, 1981, p. 10) and "because the word is associated with a socially distasteful subject, it becomes distasteful itself" (ibid, p. 92) are the technical semantics terms assigned to them. Turner (1973, p. 116) notes that "throughout history there has been a desire to avoid naming the fearful and unpleasant," indicating that speakers have an obligation as well as a desire to avoid undesirable connotative meanings. So why not steer clear of linguistic taboos? Social, cultural, and religious customs typically dictate taboos and the avoidance of them in discourse. They are referred to as "unrestricted universals since they are governed by social and cultural factors" by Greenberg (1966, p. 245). Speaking freely about topics like as sex, death, illness, suffering, intimate body parts, derogatory terms like swearing, and other deeply ingrained cultural taboos may be regarded with normative condemnation by the community, which on occasion may put one in danger of persecution. Generally speaking, Pashtun culture forbids using language and idioms that allude directly to

these problems. One may legitimately be concerned about taboo management in speech, either to completely avoid discussing linguistic taboos or to look for a safe approach, given the consequences of breaking them. Linguistic taboos are generally, if not always, abandoned in favor of euphemisms, which are benign alternatives, to bridge communication gaps (Ullman, 1970, p. 205). Another language tactic to steer clear of information that could endanger the speaker in a speech event is linguistic avoidance (Janney, 1999). After doing some analysis, it makes sense to claim that code-switching can also be used as a linguistic avoidance tactic when it's necessary to steer clear of using terms and expressions that are seen as taboo in Pashtun community. With CS to English, Pashto speakers can talk to others in society about repulsive, disgusting, and taboo subjects without fear of judgment. Scholars define "euphemism" as a technical term that refers to a "softened, agreeable, or indirect expression used instead of the one that seems too harsh, indelicate, or direct" (Anderson & Stategberg, 1962, p. 139). Social incentives for CS in speech are justified by Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) (Hoffman, 1994). In CS, speakers modify, adapt, or shift their speech in order to preserve amicable relations with the addressee and to promote communication amongst interlocutors in their discourse. Euphemism is justified as one of the social reasons for CS in speech by Linguistic Avoidance, which is closely related to the Politeness theory (Leech, 1983). Leech defines politeness as actions taken by people to uphold comity or foster an environment of harmony in general. According to Leech's thesis, using euphemisms is therefore a rule of negative politeness, which aims to prevent conflict rather than promote harmony. Euphemism aids in dodging those intimidating ideas that could lead to disagreements during discourse. In and of itself, CS is a tactful approach. The students' responses indicate that there is a relationship between CS and euphemism. As it turns out, taboos and euphemism are really two sides of the same coin. This can be explained in terms of the universally applied politeness rules that govern diverse cultures; LTs are considered unacceptable, and euphemisms are employed as a substitute. Additionally, it is feasible to argue that, in terms of politeness, avoidance should be seen as a super-ordinate approach in this instance, subsuming euphemism as a subordinate technique. According to Mashiri, Mawomo, and Iom (2002), the primary reason for switching from everyday language to euphemistic phrases inside sentences or speech events is to preserve the listener's face. Additionally, it allows the speaker to refrain from using derogatory or explicit words in front of the audience. An alternative interpretation is that code-switching is used to convey ideas that are identifiable to a particular culture when spoken in the proper language (Chung, 2006). The findings indicate a stronger inclination to steer clear of overtly signifying forbidden

topics in polite conversation. Speakers must control their language and employ rhetorical strategies to steer clear of LTs. It was found that CS from Pashto to English was a discourse method that helped the addressee experience the desired beneficial effect. The results indicate that code-switching is used to avoid direct references to words and phrases that are banned whenever it is necessary for linguistic avoidance. It means that as the interlocutors move from one code to another to avoid direct discussion on unwanted and offensive problems, CS plays a major role in masking things that cannot be publicly addressed. These results are consistent with Qanbar's (2011) study, which examined the many tactics Yemenis use—such as euphemism, antonym creation, metaphoric phrases, and jargon—to avoid using banned terms. Speakers may use euphemisms or code-switch from L1 to L2 to manage LTs. Because L2 seems to be connected with less severe emotional arousal, the participants in Eilola and Havelka's (2011) study turned to L2 rather than finding any other phrases in their home language to deal with linguistic taboos. As inferred from the above data analysis, on average, the results are presented to demonstrate that there is a significant relationship between Pashto and English in terms of politeness in speech; native LTs elicit negative responses or effects in discourse and are therefore avoided entirely; English, by embedding English expressions in Pashto for LTs, acts as an emblem of politeness because the terms are perceived as acceptable, appropriate, and polite; in other words, this switching from Pashto to English is effectively a tactic used by Pashto speakers when they need to discuss taboo subjects while still maintaining their mutual respect and harmony in speech. In Pashto speech, linguistic taboos are deliberately chosen to be used when the speaker wishes to make fun of, mock, or offend the audience (FR3). On the other hand, Pashto speakers communicate in English to lessen the negative impact they have on listeners, avoid offending them, and have a cordial and amicable relationship. Overall, the results show that, with a few notable exceptions, Pashto speakers use code-switching to English in speech when confronted with taboo words or topics. This discourse strategy helps them to be courteous, reduce the negative impact of those expressions on listeners, and avoid being judged and thought of as an ill-mannered, rude person rather than an educated person from a good family. After examining how Pashto speakers use English in conversation in Swat, this study discovers that there are many more complicated and varied reasons why Pashto speakers use English in their speech than only as a representation of "Western" culture or identity. However, from a viewpoint point, we still need to look for additional proof to support this claim. By situating CS analysis inside the Theory of Politeness, the study has come to at an interpretation that suggests CS, from native Pashto to foreign English, can be viewed as a way to mitigate potentially face-threatening

acts. The data clearly shows that Pashto speakers would rather avoid discussing taboo subjects in public and, in the event that they must, would rather use euphemism techniques such as finding other Pashto terms or idioms. It has also been demonstrated that they would rather use English terms rather than oblique language for taboo subjects when they are confident that other speakers and listeners are sufficiently educated to understand English. According to a recent study, using euphemisms or indirect terms is a tactful way to lessen the awkward feeling that comes with breaking language taboos (McGlone & Batchelor, 2003).

6 CONCLUSION

The goal of this study was to identify and analyze Pashto-English code-switched instances as a polite discourse strategy used by Pashto speakers to mitigate inevitable linguistic taboos in Pashto. This was an unexplored and overlooked area in previous Pakistani studies on CS between Pashto and English. Ten categories were created by thematically analyzing data from semi-structured interviews and FGO, and the results were then interpretively synthesized using face theory and the theory of politeness. The conclusions that were reached and presented here are as follows. Lastly, the study's limitations—which were not foreseen beforehand—are addressed. The main finding of the study is the established, staple-stamped association between euphemism and Pashto-English CS/CM. According to the study, code-switching between Pashto and English during speech serves a euphemistic purpose to get around Pashto linguistic taboos. Although the study's scope and range were restricted, the findings showed that Pashto terms related to different blood relations, marital status, body functions, specific private anatomical organs, disability or physical deformity, some marked animals, low-status professions, socially taboo acts, disease and women's conditions, sex and sexuality, and other topics were deemed undesirable, objectionable, and impolite in public settings. By using semi-structured interviews to explore how Pashto speakers perceive linguistic taboos, the current study reveals that breaking these taboos in Pashto generates embarrassment, humiliation, nervousness, astonishment, offense, anxiety, and/or awkwardness in social situations. Language taboos are seen as inappropriate, improper, impolite, and unfit for use in conversation. The findings regarding their taboo management strategies also support three approaches that Pashto speakers use to deal with linguistic taboos: first, they attempt to avoid linguistic taboos entirely as a precautionary measure when possible; second, they express linguistic taboos in a euphemistic, indirect, or roundabout manner when avoidable; and third, and finally, they switch from native Pashto to foreign English. If LTS cannot be avoided, when they deal with taboo subjects to lessen and lessen

the negative and unpleasant impacts of language taboos on both speaker and hearer-using code-switching to transition between native and foreign languages as a courteous, face-saving conversation tactic to lessen the implicit, potentially intimidating conduct imposed by linguistic taboos. The latter tactic, therefore, may only be employed in tandem to and with other earlier tactics by Pashto-English bilinguals. The study's findings show that Pashto speakers move to English for a variety of interconnected sociolinguistic reasons, which are defined and controlled by the strong socio-cultural and religious customs that are currently in place and which cause this type of CS behavior. The aforementioned factors encompass a range of factors, such as the perceived derogatory nature of linguistic taboos in one's mother tongue, the expectation of shame and embarrassment resulting from breaking linguistic taboos, and altruism, which involves the desire to present a polite and consistent front in order to avoid offending the other person. The main reason Pashto speakers use English terms is because of these reasons. The conclusion goes beyond what was discovered in earlier research on language taboos and taboo management that was published in the literature. Linguistic taboos expressed in the native Pashto language include "candid talk" (because it implies a facet of negative social connotation), politeness, and euphemism. conduct that puts one's face in danger, while the same phrase, when expressed in English, indicates a positive- Based on a variety of factors including the speaker's intentions, background knowledge, cultural affiliations, social constraints, gender, speaker-addressee relationships, and physical and linguistic context, this study concludes that code-switching is a multifaceted sociolinguistic phenomenon. It is a valuable sociolinguistic tool that is exclusive to bilinguals.

7 References

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