

## Diglossia as a Symbolic Capital in Bangladesh: A Bourdieun Analysis

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### ABSTRACT

French sociologist and public intellectual, Pierre Bourdieu's (1930-2002) *Linguistic Capital*, one of his *Symbolic Capitals*, vividly connects with the reality and motto of the use of diglossia in Bangla language. Concurrently, this study seeks to analyze the Bangladeshis' use of various forms of diglossia in the light of Bourdieu's symbolic capital. It aims to elaborate how the diglossic forms of Bangla language are shaped as per both the Bangladeshi speaker's and listener's symbolic capitals – social capital, cultural capital, and linguistic capital; how language form reveals one's whole power, position, status and money in the society; and how, in Bangladesh, the differences in a person's general behavioral pattern or assumptions toward other persons about their social position can be spotted through the use of diglossia of Bangla language. The study applied a simple random sampling to conduct a survey on 50 Bangladeshis aging 18-50 years from across the country. It used the qualitative research methodology which utilized a semi-structured questionnaire to collect data, and it analysed the collected data through coding, categorizing, and percentile representations. The findings offer integral affiliations between the use of diglossia and capitalistic considerations mostly symbolical ones.

**Keywords:** *analysis; Bangladesh; diglossia; Pierre Bourdieu; symbolic capital*

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## INTRODUCTION

Bangladesh is a diglossia country where people usually speak in two varieties – regional variety and standard variety of Bangla language (Faquire, 2010; Awal, 2021). The standard Bangla belongs, mostly, to the educated class whereas the regional Bangla to the working, illiterate or unsophisticated class (Awal, 2021). The social structure in this country apparently endorses a historical, cultural and, fundamentally, economic setting where a person's position defines power, and position can be shown in every possible way a person lives, like- through properties, degrees or skills one has, their posture and mannerisms and even through the form of language they use. People are always busy finding their way out to make differentiation among themselves in comparison to the position, power, social status and lifestyle they lead. All these things are closely connected with the way one behaves, eats, walks, and works, and the degrees or things one uses and even the way one speaks. The society as a whole will

always be there to force one to follow its terms and conditions in life. This combination of sociology and linguistics forms the term called sociolinguistics which indicates the science of society and language (Mu'in, 2019). Additionally, according to Mu'in (2019), the study of sociolinguistics discloses the connections and disconnection of the language and society for understanding the function of language and its communicating ways. Rjend (2011) holds that people from different backgrounds have different forms of language, and various ways of conveying it.

The differences can be idiosyncratic but they are also connected with a particular group of people. In our country, we even try to find a maid for the children with a proper standard Bengali form of language, even if she has never got the chance or environment of the society she was born in and raised in. With the standard form, she can raise her prize because she speaks the form of the language her employers use. For example- (আরে আমার সোনাবাবাটা, কি খাবেন আপনি?- *arey amar sona baba ta ki khaben apni?*- My dear boy, what will you eat?). When, this way, she is asking a question to the owner's child, she is using the formal form of language. This, by default, has a healthy impression of her reception into her employers' family since this goes in line with the existing belief and practice of sophisticated manners determined from social, cultural and linguistic considerations of Bangladesh. But, at her home or elsewhere, the same maid uses the lower form of her language with her own children. For instance: (কি খাবি তুই?-*ki khabi tui?*- What will you eat?) she asks the same question to her own children using the lower variety of Bangla diglossia since this does not, normally, connect her with monetary considerations.

Here arises the question of symbolic capital which Bourdieu (1986) interprets as social world's accumulated history, accumulated labor that signifies any object's two-sided values – one: its inscribed value, and another: the value which it receives from outside. Bourdieu's critical framework and methods are chiefly useful to discern the structure of the varied economic entities, and to appreciate the different ways in which symbolic and economic dimensions reciprocate (Jourdian, 2015). Bourdieu elucidates the idea of economy as not just affiliated to palpable money or paper notes or coins bearing acknowledged monetary value. One of Pierre Bourdieu's foremost contributions to social sciences is that he illustrated the symbolic foundations of economic phenomena (Jourdian, 2015). He helps the world understand that each and every aspect of human life inherently contains symbolic value, social, cultural or linguistic, ultimately corresponding to transferrable money, be it body shape or eating habits, choice of songs or diction, pronunciation habits or quotidian convictions about things, anything and everything. He emphasizes if a house is to be sold at a considerable economic exchange, it must be associated with different symbols, like tradition, handmade etc. which fulfil the buyer's tastes, while the sellers, i.e., real estate agents, publicity agents etc. contribute to such symbolic association (Bourdieu, 2005).

In "The Forms of Capital", Bourdieu (1986) says,

The social world is accumulated history, and if it is not to be reduced to a discontinuous series of instantaneous mechanical equilibria between agents who are treated as interchangeable particles, one must reintroduce into it the notion of capital and with it, accumulation and all its effects. Capital is accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its "incorporated," embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor. It is a *vis insita*, a force

inscribed in objective or subjective structures, but it is also a *lex insita*, the principle underlying the immanent regularities of the social world.

In his work, Bourdieu (1980) also illustrates an 'economy of symbolic goods' which is specifically based on a joint disavowal of profitable interests and revenues, and absolutely devoted to the accretion of symbolic capital (i.e. credit, prestige, authority). More elaborately, Bourdieu identifies cultural capital, one of the major representations of symbolic capital, in three forms - one: in an embodied state, i.e., a person's accent, gait, dispositions and tastefulness; two: in an objective state, i.e., paintings, books, dictionaries, machines, instruments, etc.; and three: in an institutional state, i.e., certificates, diplomas, success in competitive selection (Grenfell, 2009). Bourdieu (1984) furthermore explains that the way different fractions of society can be identified in terms of the configuration of capital they hold: the shared patterns of social, economic and cultural capital that feature in particular groups. One's pattern of linguistic delivery corresponds to his position which, somehow or other, hinges upon one of the categories of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1980). The various use of semantics, syntax, phonology, phonetics, vocabulary and style, which altogether construct diglossia, makes a clear difference in their social position (Rahman, 2014).

The term 'diglossia' was first used by Ferguson (1959), and according to him, it referred to a specific relationship between two or more varieties of the same language in use in a speech community. The superposed variety of the language is defined as a (H)igh language and the other as a vernacular or (L)ow language (Ferguson, 1959).

Ferguson (1959) stated,

DIGLOSSIA is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language ... there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superimposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respective body of written literature ... which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

The co-existence of higher domain and lower domain of the same language in the same community has specific implications – its use seemingly organizes and navigates diversity in everyday life, and corresponds to social and political debate on language policies (Knoll and Jaeger, 2019). Diglossia refers to the situations when two distinct codes exist in the same speech community, and these two codes are kept apart in their functions. The classic definition of diglossia by Ferguson (1959) has been in usage ever since for identifying diglossic situations. The idea of diglossia has long helped understand the dynamics of language contact and language shift through a discernible theoretical framework (Oakes, 2013). It has been accepted as a basic sociolinguistic term of art signifying unidentical uses of a single language (Hudson, 1992). The original definition of diglossia has been elaborated by Fishman (1972), who pleads that wherever speech communities interact with one another, have admittance into and are stimulated by social elements to have disparate roles and where these roles are functionally and contextually distinguished, both diglossia and bilingualism are considered to exist.

Clearly the power goes to the person with formal diglossia and the informal one will be always the inferior one. Rahman (2014) stated that it has become a custom of the ruling class people to dominate the non-ruling class people and build different

communities according to the difference in social position, economy and education of people. In Bangladesh, it is a common sight that the people with power use low divergence to insult the powerless one. This concurs with “symbolic capital” where Bourdieu (1986) delineates that everything relates, inherently, socially, culturally and by *habitus*, to money, even if it’s the different version of one’s mother tongue. Because of the class distinctions the powerful son is afraid of his father who may speak the accent of his lower class, which can be embarrassing and revealing about his non-powerful past. For example: If the father blurts out, (“তুই এতবড় কোম্পানির মালিক!”- *tui eto boro companyr malik!*-You are the owner of such a big company!), the “tui” (you, a less respectful salutation) part may spoil his aura of respect and honor in the ambience. Thus, the father cannot use his usual lower form of language with his own son because he belongs the higher class people in the official decorum, and everyone uses the formal version of the language to retain superimposed treatment.

But they never thought that the different forms of their mother tongue or the way of using it would create a huge difference by differentiating people according to the use of standard diglossia and lower diglossia while speaking to the lower- and higher-class people. Saxena (2014) cites Bourdieu’s (1990a, 1990b) to present that the embodiment of cultural capital is closely related to the dominating version of language which is advantageous toward the linguistic market. As we can see the journey from shaping people’s language to judge them on basis of it, Pierre Bourdieu has connected everything with people’s social position, power and most importantly with money. This research gives the detailed description of the discrimination Bangladeshi people face on the basis of their language variation which somehow indicates the social variation they have.

The linkages between diglossia and particular forms of social structure and practice make diglossia a heuristic notion, providing a perspective on Bengali culture complementary to that presented in the historical literature reviewed above. The notion of diglossia helps us reexamine the relation of language to religion and ideology, and the relationship of literacy to status. Lebaron (2014) stated that, the concept of “symbolic capital” is the fourth general type (“specie”) of capital dealt with by Pierre Bourdieu’s sociological theory, together with cultural, economic, and social capital. Pierre Bourdieu (1986) classifies capital into three forms basing on the field in which it works, e. g. economic capital, cultural capital and social capital. Economic capital can instantly and straightly be converted into money and may be formalized into property rights while cultural capital can conditionally be transformed into economic capital and is likely to be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications whereas social capital which consists of social connections can be circumstantially converted into economic capital and is likely to be recognized as a title of nobility (Hossain, 2022). There is also a part of cultural capital called linguistic capital where Bourdieu proved that the words people use, the language they speak, the forms of that language, and the ways of expressing them etc., separately or altogether, can indicate the educational value of a person, their social background and their economic conditions.

To signify the presence of symbolic capital in social life, Bourdieu (2013) elaborates that social agents perform as factually marked by a couple of distinct kinds of properties: firstly, by solid properties which, starting with the physique, can be numbered and measured like any other object of the material world; and, contrarily, by symbolic properties which are fastened with them through an association with subjects able to perceive and evaluate them and which claim to be evaluated in accordance with their specific affiliation to value. The theory *Symbolic Capital* shows that the life of

every human being revolves around symbols which they portray intentionally or unintentionally. A person's every movement can be symbolic, and can indicate the power or the amount of money they own. And even the form of language a person speaks is also included in this list of symbols. Along with the symbols regarding using a beauty product, listening to a song, staying in a particular region and using the form of language indicates the symbolic capital or the actual position of Bangladeshi people. Here the use of higher and lower diglossia clearly shows the relation of language and position through Pierre Bourdieu's theory.

Ferguson (1959) explains that in many speech communities, two or more varieties of the same language are used by some speakers in different situations with disparate conditions, and he terms this variety within the same speech community as diglossia. Naturally, people are different in terms of language use, dialect, lifestyle, geographic facets and many other considerations. Although all the speech communities have the differences among themselves, they still manage to use it with an average linguistic resource like- diglossia, codes, dialects, registers and styles (Wilce, n. dat.). The formal sections like - speaking in front of a bunch of people, textbooks, educational languages and all the other respectable works are ruled by H norm while the L norm is most often used in everyday language, jokes, in streets and markets (Schiffman, 2017). The transfer of the varieties of a language can be more explicit at the lexical level, coherence, and structure level in spite of the typo-logical differences between the used languages (Sayahi, 2007).

Almost every country of the world has a formal form of language and an informal form of it. There are also mainly two types of language forms in Bangladesh. The H norm or High Variety or the standard form of language is known as *Sadhu vasha*, and the L norm or Low variety or non-standard or informal form of language is known as *chalit vasha*. According to Schiffman (1999), the diglossic H/L varieties in a particular social context can be compared with T/V situation whereas the L variety will not be used or offered to the speakers who are socially high in position and the H variety will not be used with the people who are not considered socially high at all. Similarly, the typical thinking and reality prevalent in Bangla language is that all the upper-class people will have or will be addressed with standard form of language, and all the lower-class people will have or will be treated with the lower form of language. The strongest stage in society can be attained by using language as a weapon, which vividly establishes the intact relation of language and society (Moto, 2013).

Language is shaped, formed and demolished over time. The layer of society is created on the basis of worldly behavior, use of language and speaking style of a person. In Bangladesh diglossia has a great impact on people and the society they live in. Along with the personal wealth, someone's place of living, educational background and certainly the language he speaks leaves a remarkable impression on the perception of 'class' in society (Mooney and Evans, 2019). This can be easily surmised from the general view that it is not accepted that a person from lower class will speak arrogantly to a person who is considered to belong to the higher class. Even in a country with low objective inequality, social class and attitudes about social class can still be found and linked to linguistic performance (Mooney and Evans, 2019). This classical word class has a grave importance in Bangladeshi societies where a father can belong to the upper working class, whose father probably used to be a lower working class speaking two different forms of language, which can create well-established differences among their definition of wealth and class. The linguistic behavior of each and every individual is controlled by the society (Snell, 2014). As per Bourdieu and Wacquant (2013), the

materialized belongings work as an ancient form of language, which represents ourselves more than we represent it.

However, in Bangladesh, there has not been any remarkable research which might speculate about diglossia of Bangla language being anyhow affiliated to any capital, any one of social, cultural, and linguistic ones. But the quotidian interaction and communication through diglossic varieties of Bangla language in the societies of Bangladesh has considerable influences as well as implications on people as a whole. Therefore, this research carries substantial significance in terms of understanding the prevalent sociolinguistic metaphysics of the country, and as such, venturing for further scholastic studies in the field.

Accordingly, this study seeks to know how language forms are shaped as per both the speaker's and listener's symbolic capitals – social capital, cultural capital, and linguistic capital; how language form reveals one's whole power, position, status and money in the society; and how, in Bangladesh, the differences in a person's general behavioral pattern or assumptions toward other persons about their social position can be spotted through the use of diglossia of Bangla language. It hypothesizes that diglossic forms of Bangla language are shaped as per both the speaker's and listener's symbolic capitals – social capital, cultural capital, and linguistic capital; disparate forms of Bangla language reveal interlocutors' power, position, status and money in the society; and in Bangladesh, the differences in a person's general behavioral pattern or assumptions toward other persons about their social position can be explicitly spotted through the use of diglossia of Bangla language. According to Toledo et al. (2011), "The research hypothesis contributes to the solution of the research problem". In this paper, we have elaborated some linguistically-shaped terms like sociolinguistics, diglossia and its variation with the hidden assumptions of conscious or unconscious minds that decorate people's language according to the so called social classes basing on the fact that in Bangladesh a homeless person speaking people's ideal type or standard form of language can be thought of as a mansion owner whereas a mansion owner speaking everyday language can be thought of as a homeless penurious person.

## **METHOD**

The research is mostly based on the perspectives and psychological states of the people of Bangladesh. How they judge other people according to their diglossia and behave according to their psychological assumptions they get from a person's use of diglossia of Bangla language. So, it is a qualitative research for understanding the deep inner shaping and reacting process of people. Both the open-ended questions and close-ended questions were asked to the sample population about the language and the representational differences they face. The matter can be very critical but the researcher will make it comfortable by asking the opinions of different people throughout interviews (Adhabi and Anoze , 2017) .

### **2.1 Population Sampling**

This study applied simple random sampling to select 50 participants aging from 18 to 50 years old across the country to collect representative data on the research problem. Singh (2003) suggested that Simple Random Sampling (SRS) is the simplest

and most common method of selecting a sample, in which the sample is selected unit by unit, with equal probability of selection for each unit at each draw. The diglossic discrimination is visible and utilized all over Bangladesh. So, it was easy to select any random person who has faced or felt the symbolic capitals through the use of language.

## 2.2 Data collection

Data collection is the most important and valid part of any research paper. It guides the researchers to their destined way and gives possible proves for the results or many suggestive results. In this study, both the survey method and observation method of data collection were conducted. The instrument for the survey method was hand printed questionnaires and individual interviewees of different people from different classes. It is almost impossible to understand people's psychological state without observation. So, in this research the researchers have tried to observe the people while interviewing them and also they observed some social situations where the diglossia was very much clear while imposing position on others.

The researchers have distributed the hand printed questionnaires among 50 people. The data collection was also done by providing questionnaires through Google docs. In case of observing people, the researchers have interviewed 5 people from different sociological background having different diglossic forms and their perspectives about the connection between their language and position. Moreover, they observed some social situations among the headmaster and the watch man, the mansion owner and the caretaker, the rickshaw puller and the businessman, and the corporate officer and his new employee to scrutinize how they use their language to impose and make an impression of power.

## FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

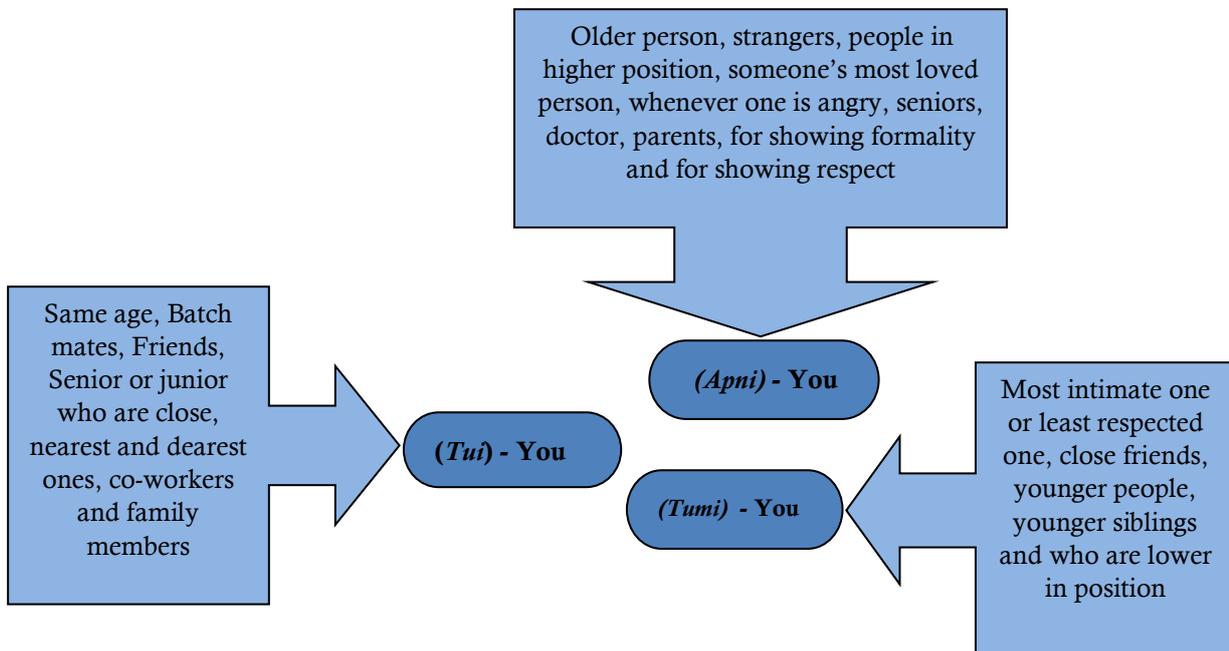


Figure 1. Regarding whom people usually address as *Apni*, *Tumi* and *Tui*

Most of the people address someone as *Apni* when they are older in age, more educated, superior to the other, socially powerful one, and sometimes *Apni* is used to show emotional outburst. Whereas *Tumi* is used with the same aged persons, both with senior or junior people and family members. *Tui* is the most informal form of addressing someone in Bangladesh and people use it with their most closed ones, people from lower class or inferior one and with younger ones.

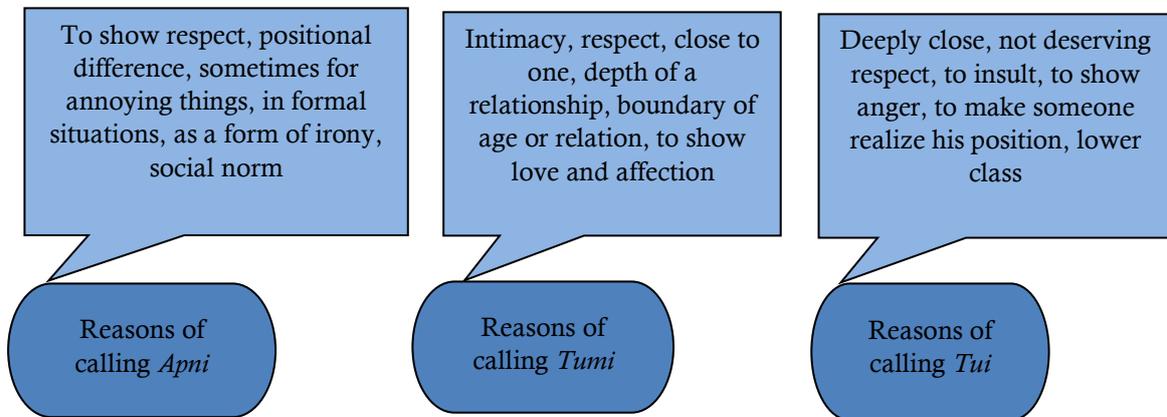


Figure 2. The reasons behind the use of the addressing forms of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun of Bangla diglossia.

To show respect, thinking about the age and social power and sometimes for maintaining the situations, people use *Apni* while to define intimacy, affection, love, bond and equal position in social life, people uses *Tumi* whereas *Tui* is used to insult someone, to show their actual position, power and class. People also use *Tui* to express the intimacy between them.

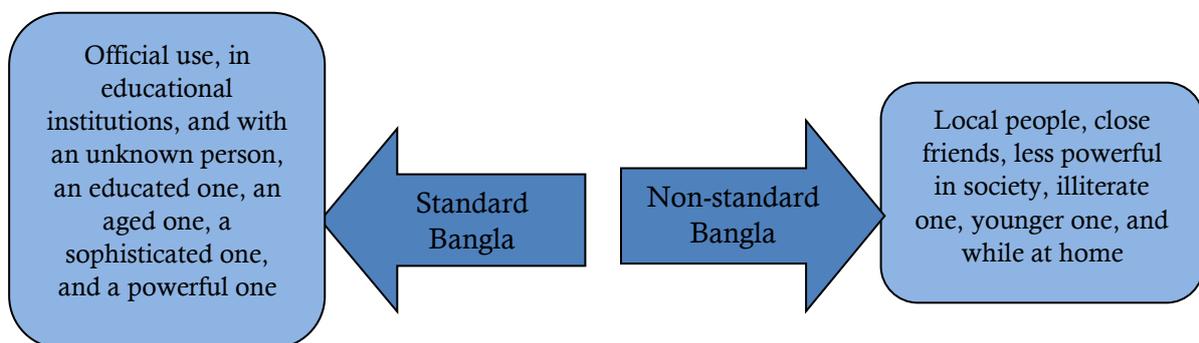


Figure 3. Contexts of the use of standard and nonstandard Bangla forms.

Standard form of Bangla can be also considered as the higher diglossia which is used in all formal situations with all the powerful and sophisticated persons. On the other hand, non-standard form can be considered as the lower form of diglossia which is used in all the informal situations, with all the powerless, illiterate and lower class people.



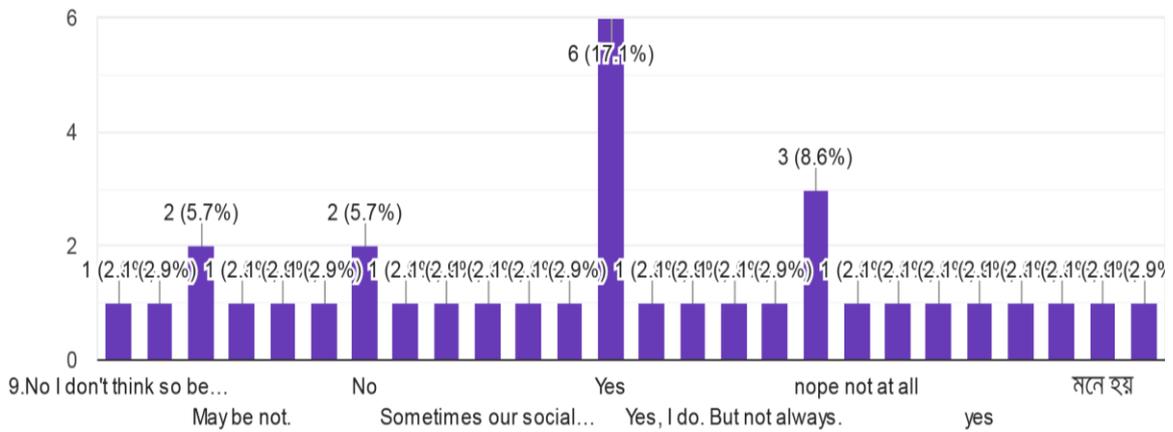


Figure 6. Poll of opinion about language defining social position

This chart of 0-6 indicates that the maximum number is 6 and a good number of people agreed that their language form somehow defines their social position. Though there are also some different opinions about it, majority of the people accepted the fact.

The second person addressing, “YOU”, in Bangla language, has three different meanings with distinct categories of mostly verbs and other diction along with meant respect, power, social status, financial hold and such demarcating lines.

For example:

Table 1. Diglossic difference of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun addressing in Bangla language

(আপনি - <i>Apni</i> – you- the most standard form of addressing someone.)	Based on the addressing form, the main verbal form is also changed. (খাবেন- <i>Khaben-</i> will you eat). This one, by default, means the highest form of respect, and other considerations of honored attributes.
(তুমি- <i>Tumi</i> – you- can be considered as formal form sometimes or acceptable form of addressing someone.)	The main verb according to the addressed subject form (খাবে, খাবা- <i>Khabe, Khaba-</i> will you eat). This one stays in the middle, that means, not the highest nor the lowest, although it might sometimes mean insulting, if the person spoken to does not agree tacitly to be addressed thus. Otherwise, usually, it means a good mutual relationship.
(তুই - <i>Tui</i> – you- informal or even considered as the most insulting or the most intimating form of addressing someone.)	The Bengali form of verb will also be changed here, according to the addressing form of subject (খাবি, খা- <i>Khabi, Kha-</i> will you eat). This refers to either the closest relationship or the farthest one denoting gaps of power, position, money, status and all such considerations where the person existing at the lower end receives such a salutation.

*Tui* also has two different impressions which totally depend on the person who is using it with whom. In Bangladesh, two best friends can address one another as *Tui* for showing the bonding and love between them. But the same *Tui* can be used for

insulting someone on the basis of their position in the society. Even people's facial expressions are changed with the change of diglossic forms of language. For example- a Bangladeshi will speak nervously, politely, consciously and softly while speaking at a seminar, but right after the seminar he may speak irritatingly, confidently and harshly with the servant who served him water but forgot to close the door. Ihlen (2018) cleared the fact that the concept of symbolic capital is closely connected with the importance of a person and his position in society.

For example: When a rickshaw puller speaks in a standard form of language, people just take it for granted as a pretension of showing respect to the passenger, which, if otherwise, is usually severely rebuked. Rickshaw pullers or individuals at their position, like CNG drivers, *pathao* drivers, *uber* drivers or the waiters of a hotel or restaurant in Bangladesh are, in reality, expected to say (স্যার কোথায় যাবেন? (*Sar kothay jaben-Sir where will you go?*) or sentences like this with the tone and diction of the higher domain of diglossia. Hence, A rickshaw puller is to always ask as politely as possible to the passenger who wants to ride. But still people make fun of him, while they will respectfully listen to the informal low variety of a politician thinking it as a standard way to behave. If a politician or an influential industrialist says, (“তুই চুপ থাক!”-*tui chup thak*- You shut up!), even when he is humiliating people, they will just listen to him, obey him obediently since it is well established that power validates everything.

It is completely fine for a person from the upper class to call the poorer class people or less powerful people as *Tui* whereas it will be considered as a grave crime if the lower-class people address the higher-class people, *Tui*. A person having a high position in society is always thought to have a high variety and lower-class people to have a low variety of diglossia in our society.

Personal interviews were conducted with people from different classes and positions as well as from different professions. The first interviewee was a first year student who mostly uses the higher form of diglossia with almost everyone except his younger siblings because of the fear of being humiliated for his own form of lower diglossia and the fear of powerful people of his society haunting him due to his using lower domain of the language. He even said that he could never imagine the situation of addressing his political leader with the lower diglossic form. The second interviewee was a watchman, for whom, the higher diglossia is the language of the elite class and the lower form of diglossia is their language. But he cannot use his own form with the elite class. He has to adapt their language form. A factory visitor whose position is quite high in society was also interviewed. When he was asked in which form he talked with the workers, he simply replied, “They would not understand our language. Higher form of language is not for them. I have to speak to them with their lower form of language.” We also talked with the housewife of a sophisticated family. She always speaks the higher form of diglossia with her family members and friends. But when the question was asked to her regarding how she usually talks to her house maid, she instead asked us why she should use higher form or standard form with the maid. She argued, “They have come from a lower background, and work here as servants, so, why do I have to use the standard language with her?”

When the researchers wanted to conduct an interview of a rickshaw puller, he said he did not understand these language forms or the various use of language. But, he knows that the language of upper class people is the polished version of the language.

He uses it with the passengers, and it gives them the power to mock or insult the rickshaw puller for his form of language. Some random situations in Bangladesh are also observed where the power defined language and gave the authority to higher class people with higher diglossic form. When the watchman of the school was called by the Headmaster, he used the most polite version of his language with the headmaster, but the headmaster was even using slang for negligence towards his duties. Despite being an educated man, the headmaster used the lower form of diglossia with the watchman because of the power he has in the society and the workplace, which the watchman does not have. The corporate officer usually uses the higher form of diglossia with everybody at the workplace, but when someone junior to him comes to him, he speaks with the lower form of diglossia because he has that authority over him. The findings from the data collected from the questionnaires, interviews and observations clearly indicate diglossia as a symbolic capital in Bangladesh. Here the addressing forms change with the social positions and powers people hold in society. Most of the people directly or indirectly accept the fact that their language forms identify their social position. There are also opinions about using the higher form of diglossia – some said, it depends on the situations, it can also depend on emotions, age factors, social positions and also power relations with the interlocutors. Sometimes the dilemma is created between the higher (*Apni*) and lower (*Tui*) forms of diglossia, while using it emotionally. When a person is angry or sad, he can use the *Apni* as irony or to insult someone and the same situation goes with *Tui*, for it is used ironically and to insult or to show the real position of that person.

## CONCLUSION

Diglossic forms of Bangla language are a clear indication of the Bangladeshis' tastefulness, sophistication, enlightenment, awareness of social manners, cultural consciousness, age-oriented language use, popular reception, ethical practices, economic status, and temperamental status. Here, the standard diglossic 2nd person pronoun salutation, *Apni* (You, in the most respectful tone and temperament) followed by concurring verbs and other diction signifies the speaker's best attributes including education, etiquette, pedigree, noble legacy, monetary possession and history, social status, political hold, and overall sophistication. On the other hand, if a person, anyhow, fails to distinguish the difference among the prevailing diglossic elements of Bangla language in his everyday communication with the fellow Bangladeshis in terms with the contexts, their identities, positions, social status, educational exposure, and many such determining issues, he is sure to be considered insane or unacceptable. Hence, in Bangla language, diglossia along with its symbolic capitalistic significance is a diurnal issue to be taken the most care of in communication both oral and written.

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