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**TAMAZIGHT IN THE ALGERIAN SCHOOLS: DECISIONS AND
RESPONSES**

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Abstract

Tamazight was recognised as Algeria's national language in 2002, and a constitutional decree designated it as an official language in 2016. In 2002, the language was allowed to be taught in some middle schools, particularly in cities that were predominantly inhabited by Berbers. Although the decision did not result in the mandatory teaching of Tamazight in any Algerian schools, it did spark a groundswell of opposition from a wide variety of sectors of Algerian society. Since the first attempt to promote the indigenous language and spread it throughout the nation's most important institution, the school, the government has made a large number of decisions, prompting a large number of opponents to attempt to overturn them. Throughout this investigation, we will focus on the most significant measures taken by the Algerian government regarding the teaching of Tamazight in the country's educational institutions since 2002. We will pay particular attention to the political, cultural, and social circumstances that shaped the decisions. On the other hand, we will look at the most significant responses, whether they are critical or supportive of the decisions, with a focus on the factors and conditions that led to them. The study also makes some predictions to try to figure out where Tamazight education may go in the future and what the government may do with it in light of the social and political changes Algeria is going through.

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1. Introduction

After gaining its independence, Algeria faced a challenging battle to uphold its goals, reignite nationalism, and rebuild cultural and national values. The country's initial constitution was drafted by a commission set up by Ben Bella, the country's first president, with the intention of making Arabic the official language and Islam the official religion. Arabization was chosen for nationalistic and religious purposes as the Arabic language is closely linked to Islam. Following independence, the National Liberation Front aimed to revitalise not only the Arabic language but also Arabic culture and identity (Bouherar & Ghafsi, 2021).

Education was one of the most important areas of focus for those concerned with the Arabization policy. Since 1963, there has been a progressive Arabization of schooling. In 1963, Arabic began to be taught in all schools for a defined number of hours each week, in addition to French. Between 1966 and 1975, the Arabization was accomplished in all three phases. Despite the commitment of succeeding administrations to provide resources and establish specialised committees to produce appropriate programmes, curricula, and textbooks, the Arabization process was fraught with obstacles, most notably a lack of supervisors and teachers. In the few subjects where Arabic departments were added to the existing French departments, such as journalism in 1965, history in 1966, and law in 1967, the language of instruction in higher education remained French. And if, sixty years after regaining its national sovereignty, Algeria has been able to Arabize public education in all of its phases, including the humanities in universities and many ministerial sectors, then the French language is still influential in the central and local administrations as well as the departments of economy, finance, and diplomacy, according to the opinions of observers. In addition to this, numerous aspects of consumerism, advertising banners and commercial and tourist service areas, demonstrate the supremacy of the French language in Algeria.

The language crisis in Algeria was not only the result of the heated debate between French and Arabic, but its aspects were multiplied to include other conflicts, the most important of which was the struggle to impose the existence of the Amazigh language as an acquired right for the first inhabitants of the country. The three most important decisions made regarding the Amazigh language were: 1. recognising it as an element of national identity alongside Arabism and Islam in the 1996 constitution; 2. recognising it in 2002, following bloody riots in the Kabylie region, as a national language; and 3. making it an official language alongside Arabic in February 2016, by a constitutional decision.

Teaching the Amazigh language was initially included in schools in some towns in 1995, coinciding with the establishment of the High Commission for Amazighity (Haut Commissariat de l'Amazighité). Gradually, the teaching of Tamazight was generalised to include 38 states in 2017, and the number of students studying this language reached 343,725 during the 2017-2018 academic year, pending the generalisation of its teaching to the rest of the towns.

This study focuses on the Algerian government's decision to integrate Tamazight in the school curriculum and the resulting responses, whether positive or negative. It begins with a brief sociolinguistic overview of Algeria, followed by a discussion of the government's efforts to promote Tamazight beginning in 1995, when the language became an integral element of Algerian identity. The main part of the study is on the implementation of Tamazight in Algerian schools, as well as the reactions and attitudes

that arose from this decision, with an emphasis on the circumstances and conditions that influenced such decisions. The study's final section offers some predictions to try to figure out where Tamazight education will go in the future and what the government will do with it in light of the social and political developments taking place in Algeria. This research attempted to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the proportions of Algeria's language crisis?
2. What have been the most significant stages in the evolution of the Amazigh language since its independence?
3. What are the most significant decisions surrounding the integration of Tamazight in schools, and what causes contributed to its crystallisation?
4. What were the most vocal reactions to the decision to teach Amazigh in schools?
5. What is the future of teaching Tamazight in view of the country's political and socioeconomic changes?

2. Research Methods

A historical research design was used in this study. We gathered facts about Algerian government policies concerning the Amazigh language, such as declaring it a national and official language and incorporating it into schools. We examined scholarly sources, national newspapers, and the official websites of several authorities, such as the Ministry of National Education and the High Commission for Amazighity, to verify the facts. The descriptive research approach entails answering the research questions listed above. We have primarily described the Amazigh language's status, connecting it to historical, social, and political contexts.

3. Findings

3.1. The Sociolinguistic Profile of Algeria

Arabic and Tamazight (Berber) are Algeria's official languages, as mentioned in the country's constitution since 1963 for Arabic and since 2016 for Tamazight (Berber). Algerian Arabic and Berber are the native languages of over 99% of Algerians, with around 90% of the population speaking Algerian Arabic and 10% speaking Berber (Leclerc, 2009). According to Statista report (Statista Research Department, 2021), Algeria has 19 living languages. The majority of them, seven in all, are considered to be in trouble: three are classed as developing, three as vigorous, four as being used at institutional levels in the country, and two as dying.

3.1.1. Standard Arabic

The formal and official form of the Arabic language is standard Arabic. Arabic is not just the language of the Quran, but also the official language of every nation in the "Arab World." According to Benali (2007), standard Arabic is regarded as the most prestigious variety of the language because it is the language of religion and has a rich history and body of literature dating back to the pre-Islamic era. It is

worth noting that a distinction is frequently established between classical Arabic and modern standard Arabic, despite the fact that the differences between the two are rather minor. Classical Arabic is derived from the dialects of ancient Arab tribes. Modern Standard Arabic, on the other hand, is the most popular form of Arabic in Arabic-speaking countries today. It is used in all forms of media, including television, film, newspapers, and radio broadcasts (Benrabah, 2007).

3.1.2. Algerian or Colloquial Arabic

In daily life, most people in Algeria speak Darja, which is a dialect of Arabic that is not standard. The majority of the words in the lexicon are Semitic, but there are also many Berber and Latin words, and a few words from French, Spain, and Ottoman Turkish (Benrabah, 2005). In this way, Darja and MSA are believed to have a diglossic relationship, with the former being the low variety and the latter being the high variety, each serving distinct functions. Algerian Arabic is spoken in four primary geographic regions, each with its own linguistic characteristics. Western Algerian Arabic goes from Morocco to Tunis, Central Algerian Arabic goes from Morocco to Bejaia, Eastern Algerian Arabic goes to the Tunisian border, and Saharan Algerian Arabic is spoken by about 100,000 people (Benrabah, 2005).

3.1.3. Tamazight (Berber)

The ancestral language of Algeria and much of North Africa is Berber, Tamazight, or Amazigh. While the Tifinagh script has been in use for at least 2500 years to write the Berber language, the spoken language is much older. Berber languages were once spoken by the majority of Algerians (and North Africans), but certain regions have abandoned them in favour of Derja or Algerian Arabic. Kabyle (Taqbaylit), Mzabi (Tumzabt), Chaouiya (Tachawit), Chenoua, Tamahaq, and a number of other Algerian Berber languages (or dialects) continue to exist. The most common varieties are Kabyle, which is spoken in the coastal mountainous region of Kabylie; Mzabi, a dialect concentrated around the city of Ghardaa; and Tamhaq, the Touareg language spoken in Algeria's Sahara desert (Bouherar & Ghafsi, 2021).

There is a heated debate in the country regarding ethnicity and, by extension, language. Today, many Algerians identify as Arabs, and others see the Berber languages and identity as a contradicting narrative in this regard. As a result, the gap between Algerians who speak one or the other language appears to be growing (Bouherar & Ghafsi, 2021). Tamazight has recently been standardised, with Latin writing replacing the indigenous Tifnagh script.

3.1.4. French

Algeria's first foreign language is French. It is taught in schools and is widely known among the general public (Benrabah, 2005). For decades, the French lobby and Francophones have been particularly concerned with protecting the privileged status of French in the country (Bouherar & Ghafsi, 2021). This way of thinking about the French in Algeria, according to Benrabah (2007), could be seen as a fight against the hegemony of Arabization.

The Arabization policy had little impact on the French's strong position in Algeria. All university courses in science and business are still taught in French. Schools have recently begun to introduce

French into the curriculum as early as when pupils begin to learn written classical Arabic. French is extensively used in business and the media. Following a political dispute in Algeria in the late 1990s about whether to replace French in the educational system with English, the government decided to keep French. However, despite the fact that French is widely spoken in Algeria, the country has not joined the Organisation internationale de la Francophonie, a global organisation of French-speaking nations (Charpentier, 2022).

3.1.5. English

English is the second foreign language taught in Algerian schools, behind French. In 1979, English was taught in middle school as a foreign language, while French was introduced in elementary school (Benrabah, 2007). The first official attempt to introduce English into primary schools was made during Ali Ben Mohamed's educational reforms in the 1990s. In fact, beginning in September 1993, fourth-grade children were required to choose between French and English as their first mandated foreign language (Bennoune, 2000). However, due to the small number of students who chose English, this language competition ultimately favoured French (Benrabah, 2007).

The promotion of English after the "Black Decade" of the 1990s illustrates Algeria's political efforts to foster linguistic pluralism through the encouragement of English rather than French. Upon ascending to office in 1999, Bouteflika championed linguistic variety and raised English to the same status as French. Many calls have been made recently to replace French with English in Algeria's higher education institutions. Several political and social factors contributed greatly to raising the hopes of defenders of the English language and renewing their determination to advance reforms in higher education and scientific research. The removal of former President Bouteflika and the appointment of a new government with the goal of reviving the nation may have been the most significant factor. People who wanted to use English in academic and scientific circles were led by the former Minister of Higher Education, Tayeb Bouzid.

3.2. The Promotion of Tamazight

On its journey to becoming a national and official language that is taught in schools and even some universities, the Amazigh language has encountered many hurdles and obstacles. We will attempt to focus on the most significant stages in the sections that follow.

3.2.1. Arabization

Hussein Ait Ahmed founded the Socialist Forces Front on September 29, 1963, shortly after former Algerian President Ahmed Ben Bella declared in a speech on July 5, 1962, his decision to pursue an Arabization policy. In a political life dominated by a single-party system, Ait Ahmed sought political pluralism. The policy of developing and consolidating the Arabic language was also among the priorities of the second president of independent Algeria. In 1968, he signed a proclamation requiring all Algerian employees to have adequate mastery of the national language (Arabic) when they are employed. The president's decisions regarding the dissemination and development of the Arabic language were made at

the expense of the Amazigh language, which had to fight the battle of marginalisation and exclusion. For instance, the Algerian authorities outlawed the use of non-Arabic names between 1974 and 1975. On June 19, 1977, at a match attended by President Boumediene, JS Kabylie supporters chanted anti-government slogans such as "The Amazigh language shall live" The JS Kabylie team was renamed the Electronic Tizi Ouzou team as a result of the incident.

3.2.2. Berber Spring

When the Algerian government forbade Mouloud Maamari from delivering a lecture on ancient Amazigh poetry at the University of Tizi Ouzou in 1980, Berber protests broke out (Benrabah, 2007). The "Berber Spring" uprisings of 1980 were the first significant destabilisation of the state and served as a precursor to the 1988 October protests, which led to the fall of the one-party "socialist" system and political reform. Under the ideological leadership of the Berber Cultural Movement, Berberophones sought political liberalisation after 1980 in order to guarantee their linguistic and cultural rights within a democratic Algeria (Maddy-Weitzman, 2001). They also opposed the Arabization of the educational system due to its incapacity to convey democratic and secular ideas (Mahé, 2001).

3.2.3. The Recognition of Tamazight as a National Language

Following riots in spring 2001, In June 2001, the Coordination of Arush organisation was formed, which included the most influential families in the Amazigh tribes as well as representatives from other Berber activities, particularly civil society organisations. Algerian President Abdelaziz Bouteflika requested that the "Coordination of Arush" submit a petition in September 2001. On October 3, the same year, Prime Minister Ali Benflis invited representatives from Arush to convince them that four of the twelve demands had been approved. In April 2002, President Bouteflika's government established Tamazight as a national language without equating it with Arabic.

Despite the difficulties and the ambiguity surrounding governmental decisions about the development of the Tamazight language, the High Commission for Amazighity, during its early stages of work was able to implement some Tamazight promotion programmes. Tamazight news updates were carried on Algerian television, Tamazight was used in National Assembly debates, Tamazight was included into the elementary and secondary educational systems in numerous towns, and a Tamazight branch was established for bachelor's degrees. During the administration of President Abdelaziz Bouteflika in 2017, the Algerian Academy of the Amazigh Language was established.

3.2.4. The Recognition of Tamazight as an Official Language

Tamazight was elevated to the status of a national and official language 14 years later, as part of the 2016 constitutional reform. According to Article 4 of the new constitution, "Tamazight is likewise a national and official language." Aside from the officialization of this language, the country's fundamental law states that the state strives for its promotion and development in all its linguistic variations in use on national territory. It also calls for the establishment of an "Algerian Academy of the Amazigh Language" under the supervision of the President of the Republic. The academy, which relies on expert work, is

responsible for bringing together the prerequisites for the promotion of Tamazight in order to concretize its status as an official language in the long run.

A recent step in favour of the advancement of the Amazigh language and culture was the designation of the Amazigh New Year, Yennayer, as a paid national holiday beginning January 12, 2018. The beginning of President Tebboune's rule was also marked by some decisions in favour of promoting the Amazigh language.

Despite the challenges and obstacles that the Tamazight encountered on its path to becoming a national and official language, there is still a long way to go before the fulfilment of promises and the implementation of political and legislative decisions that recognise the multiplicity of languages at all levels.

3.3. The Integration of Tamazight in Algeria Educational Institutions

Over the last 20 years, the promotion of Amazighity in legal documents has been accompanied by its integration into education. For this purpose, a joint commission was established in 1998 by the Ministry of National Education and the High Commission for Amazighity. Along with education, several ministerial departments are interested in promoting Amazigh culture. In this context, the Ministry of Culture has started a number of initiatives to promote Berber publishing and art as well as Amazigh culture. Azzeddine Mihoubi, who used to be the minister of culture, made 2018 the "year of Amazigh cultural heritage."

Despite efforts to promote Amazigh and incorporate it as a subject taught in schools, the results remained dismal, suggesting a growing unwillingness on the side of pupils to learn it. Even though Tamazight is a national and official language, the data nonetheless reflect a slow rate of language instruction twenty years after the first attempt to teach it in schools. Djamel Ikhroufi, who is responsible for the training of Tamazight instructors, stated in a news release that the number of pupils studying the Amazigh language in 38 wilayas of the country reached 343 725 for the 2017-2018 school year (Mouloudj, 2018). Considering that the overall number of pupils is 8,691,006, this percentage is only 3.95 percent. Mouloudj (2018) also maintains that this lack of interest in learning the Amazigh language is due to the fact that children begin learning Tamazight in the fourth year of primary school, after having studied French for a year in the third year, and that the coefficient of the Amazigh language is 2, whereas that of foreign languages is 3 or higher (Mouloudj, 2018).

The fluctuation in numbers and ratios regarding the desire of students and teachers alike to learn and teach Amazigh, as well as the uncertainty surrounding its future prior to each school year, generated a climate of anxiety and fear among those interested in the development of the Amazigh language and culture. According to Lahiani (2021), The Ministry of Education published a teaching programme for the school year 2021-2022 that did not include a reference to the Amazigh language. This sparked outrage, and activists defending the Amazigh cause expressed their concern, especially in light of the repercussions of the authorities' prosecution of Amazigh activists belonging to the separatist "MAC" movement, which Algeria classifies as a terrorist organisation. The Ministry of Education then announced that the reduction of the instructional programme was due to the Corona pandemic.

In terms of higher education, two translation departments from Tamazight to other languages will be formed at the universities of Bejaia and Tizi Ouzou as of 2022, the government has declared. The High Commission for Amazighity has hired a team of linguists to find out where Tamazight is spoken in Algeria in reference to the Linguistic Atlas, a UNESCO initiative that aims to compile a list of Algerian languages. The President of the Republic's Prize for Literature and Language was also announced, and according to Mr. Si Hashimi Asaad, this is all part of an effort to improve and promote the Amazigh language, particularly in the public media. It was also announced that the High Commission for Amazighity would be at the 25th International Book Fair of Algeria (SILA) from March 24 to April 1, 2022, with 27 new Amazigh titles, and that an online Amazigh newspaper would be available on that date (Algeria Press Service, 2022).

3.3.1. Responses in Favour of the Decision to Teach Tamazight

Many activists, intellectuals, and politicians inside and outside the country expressed their support for the decision to teach Tamazight at the level of schools and universities. On the other hand, the decision was met with widespread dissatisfaction because it did not require mandatory and universal teaching in all state educational institutions. According to experts, the fact that the teaching of Tamazight, since its inclusion in the programme in 1995, remains optional is an obstacle against which the High Commission for Amazighity has been fighting for years without finding a favourable responder for the time being. They maintain that despite the reported developments, Tamazight still faces huge shortcomings and faults that impede its propagation. For his part, Si El Hashemi Assad, the general secretary, believes it is essential to expand school programmes by promoting varieties of this language. He also pushed certain sectoral laws to be in line with the Constitution. He used the law on national education as an example of how certain current legal texts and mechanisms need to be adapted to the decisions made by the President of the Republic (Belgacemi, 2022).

The need to promote all the varieties instead of just one was advocated by many academics. According to Benali (2011), using Kabyle as the basis of a national Tamazight language onto which elements of the other variations will be grafted can result in diglossia due to a lack of mutual intelligibility across the other dialects. According to linguists, the majority of Tamazight speakers will acquire this dialect through education within two generations, whereas children will acquire a dialect that is distinct from their mother tongue (Benali, 2011). This can negatively affect children's personalities and impressions of their own language and culture. According to the writer Zaoui (2020), the new constitution's promise to guarantee Tamazight language cultural, educational, and political rights cannot be realised until the government abandons any regional approach. He maintains that the government should entrust this initiative to educational professionals and sociologists in order to develop an accurate scientific plan for generalising the teaching of the Amazigh language in a reasonable manner. According to Zaoui (2020), the Hirak revolution, which began on February 22, 2019, created a solid foundation for an open, democratic political will that really believes in a "new Algeria." According to Belgasmia (2018), it would be necessary to design a programme tailored to the socioeconomic and historical conditions of each Amazighophone region in the interior of Algeria. Instead of a national programme shared by all wilayas, it would be preferable to construct content that is adapted to the specific needs of each region, at

least at the primary and secondary levels. Belgasmia (2018) maintains that respect for regional specificity would boost Tamazight instruction, in our opinion. Standardizing the language would necessitate standardising the content, which would hinder the growth of Tamazight. In addition to this, diversifying the content of the programmes would increase possibilities for language acquisition, especially at the elementary, middle, and high school levels. During this time, standardisation would take place at the university level (Belgasmia, 2018).

3.3.2. Reactions against the Teaching of Tamazight

A large segment of Algerian society denounced the government's decision to incorporate Tamazight as an optional subject taught in public schools. Many activists and intellectuals with an Islamic orientation and many users of social media, the majority of whom do not belong to the Kabylie region, expressed their strong rejection of such a destructive step in their opinion. They justified their dissatisfaction by saying that learning Tamazight was of no use in the world of science and technology and that other languages such as English were the ones that deserved their money and effort. There are even those who consider Tamazight to be just a dialect, or even a mixture of different dialects, that may be difficult to learn even for the Kabyle population themselves. As for some advocates of patriotism, they justify their rejection of the fact that the unification of Algerians under one banner can only be achieved through one language and one religion. Moreover, according to their opinion, anyone who advocates otherwise is not a patriot. Even the parliament and the opposition refused in 2017 to pass a law that included the generalisation and compulsory teaching of the Amazigh language.

Many studies from (Aliouchouche-Kaci, 2018; Belgasmia, 2018; Belkhir & Abdelhey, 2019; Dourari, 2011; Ghounane & Rabahi, 2018; Sabri & Boukherrouf, 2018), and have documented the extent of problems faced by teaching Tamazight, including a lack of resources, inadequate training, student language barriers, and parental resistance to enrolling their kids in Tamazight classes. According to a study conducted by Ghounane and Rabahi in 2018, the majority of informants in Tlemcen who were teachers and pupils had negative attitudes toward teaching Tamazight in primary schools. Belkhir and Abdelhey's (2019) investigation of the teaching of Tamazight in Mostaganem reveals that educators need a great deal of training and that in a town where not many people are acquainted with Tamazight, more efforts should be deployed to achieve the goals. The most surprising findings came from a study by Belgasmia (2018) conducted in an exclusively Kabylean town, Tizi-Ouzou. Indeed, the majority of the informants who were primary and middle school teachers of Tamazight showed their dissatisfaction with the conditions surrounding the teaching of Tamazight. In the interviews carried out by the researchers, the teachers expressed their worries about the learners' lack of interest.

3.3.3. The Future of Tamazight Teaching

Recent reports on the teaching of the Amazigh language on the websites of the High Commission for Amazighity and the Algerian Academy of the Amazigh Language, as well as those from other media outlets through the Ministry of Education, show that the same problems still exist. The number of students desiring to study Tamazight is decreasing, and in some states, schools have even been shuttered. In light of these circumstances, the future of the Amazigh language is uncertain, particularly in terms of

its generalisation and imposition in schools. Some feel that the majority of efforts to promote the Amazigh language did not extend beyond establishing forums to introduce Amazigh cultures and languages.

In fact, what we are witnessing recently is the government's move towards spreading the use of English, especially after the Ministry of Education officially approved teaching English at the primary level starting from the 2022–2023 school year. The Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research also decided to gradually implement English in higher education institutions starting from the year 2023–2024. The ministry even launched the process of training teachers through intensive language education programs.

Some activists recently resorted to social media to express their outrage over the Algerian Bank's decision to replace French with English on a new banknote for the first time since independence in 1962. The banknote was released to commemorate the 31st session of the Arab League summit held in Algiers on November 1, 2022, and the 68th anniversary of the beginning of the Algerian War of Liberation. The aesthetics of the new 2,000 dinar banknote quickly gave way to a political discussion. While the majority of Algerians supported the government's decision to renounce French in order to assert national autonomy, other comments were unfavourable. French left-wing leader Jean-Luc Mélenchon tweeted, "If this new Algerian money signifies the end of the common language, Macron and Borne have failed on all fronts." As for the Amazigh side, the majority of answers were marked by anger and dissatisfaction. Belabbas (2022), the president of the political party "Rally for Culture and Democracy," expressed his displeasure in a Facebook post, arguing that the appearance of English on Algerian banknotes at the expense of Tamazight, the country's second official language, represents a symbolic surrender of sovereignty.

All of the government's actions have prompted many questions about how serious it is about promoting the Amazigh language and its full inclusion in schools, as well as its complete recognition as a national and official language after years of labour and sacrifice from its supporters. It is regrettable for scholars to predict that the future of the Amazigh would remain unclear for a long time given the rift in Algerian society between those who choose English over French and those who favour Tamazight over other languages. Based on prior experiences in this respect, the government's attempts to advance and recognise Tamazight as an official language have historically been gradual, very slow and subject to political and ideological influences.

4. Conclusion

Arabic and the policy of Arabization, as well as French and the policy of fostering French culture, have long posed a threat to Tamazight. It appears that the English language has actively entered the contest and has developed into a vigorous rival to the French language. The majority of Algerians support English, viewing it as the language of innovation, development, and science. On the other hand, the government has recently made some bold moves, such as the inclusion of English in the primary education stage starting from the 2022–2023 academic year as well as its gradual inclusion in universities starting from the 2023–2024 academic year.

Tamazight has made significant progress since it was declared a national language in 2002 and an official language in 2016, but it still has a long way to go before it can stand on its own. This cannot be accomplished without geographical, social, cultural, and linguistic growth. Until this is accomplished, it will not be easy to deal with and incorporate it into many fields, beginning with schools and universities. Instead of focusing on a single Berber language to represent all other ethnicities, the government should redouble its efforts to revive and strengthen other dialects by counting them and working to promote them based on science, variety, and the spirit of citizenship.

School should be a place where accurate, reliable, and valuable skills and knowledge are learned, as well as languages that are living and vigorous. The money and effort spent on language teaching should correspond to well-studied educational and pedagogical objectives. In this respect, the only conclusion that can be drawn is that Tamazight, or any other dialect, cannot be taught, standardized, or imposed without deliberate thought, strong societal commitment, and strong political will.

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