CHAPTER III

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF TEACHING ENGLISH IN SUDAN
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CHAPTER III
AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF TEACHING ENGLISH IN SUDAN

INTRODUCTION:

English language came to Sudan with the emergence of the Anglo-Egyptian rule. Its introduction into administration and education took place immediately after the occupation of the country. It started playing two roles, the administrative role where it dominated the official transactions in the various departments of the Government administration. Therefore, it became the official language of administration. It also played a major role in the sphere of the educational system established by the Anglo-Egyptian regime as soon as they arrived in Sudan. English language was introduced in the educational system both in the north and the south of Sudan and since there were two different educational systems both in the north and in the south, the role played by English language varied greatly. It was either being taught as a subject, or used as a medium or used as a weapon against Arabic. All this created a divergence of the aims and objectives of its role in education before independence which definitely affected its role after independence as well. There appears to be a great deal of confusion between use of English as a medium of instruction and teaching of English as a Second language. There is a lot of difference in the situation as is obtained in the north from that of the south. The patriotic impulse of introducing Arabic sometimes comes into conflict with the desire to keep pace in the world through English.

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THE AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF ELT IN SUDAN BEFORE INDEPENDENCE:

The aims and objectives of teaching English language in the Sudan were part of the aims and objectives of the administrative, political and educational set up established by the Anglo-Egyptian rule in both the north and the south of Sudan.

The aims of the new administration were pronounced by Kitchener, the first Governor-General for the first time as:

"It is not mainly to the framing and publishing of laws, that we must look for the improvement and the good government of this country. The task before us all is to acquire the confidence of the people, to develop their resources and raise them to higher level .... It is to the individual action of British officers working independently but with a common purpose on the individual natives whose confidence they have gained that we must look for the moral and industrial regeneration of the Sudan".

With these words, Kitchener, set the objectives for the new administration and pointed out the road of change. On the basis of such administrative objectives, the educational system was established to serve, mainly, the purposes of administration. Education which would help the administrative machinery to function was needed. The need for an educational class was expressed by Lord Cromer when he stated:

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"I wish, however, to explain what I meant by an educated class, I do not refer to high education..... What is now mainly required is to impart such a knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic to a certain number of young men as will enable them to occupy with advantage the subordinate places in the administration of the country. The need for such a class is severely felt".  

However 'meagre' and cautious, the educational set-up may appear to be, the same tune has been emphasized by Lord Kitchener while he was appealing to the British Public for funds for the foundation of a college in Khartoum in memory of General Charles Gordon. He said:

"Certain questions will naturally arise as to whom exactly we should educate, and as the nature of education to be given. Our system would need to be gradually built up. We should begin by teaching the sons of leading men, the heads of villages and the heads of districts. They belong to a race very capable of learning and ready to learn. The teaching in its early stage would be devoted to purely elementary subjects such as reading, writing, geography and the English language. Later....a more advanced course would be instituted... The principal teachers in the college would be British".  

In addition to specific educational objectives laid down by
Currie embodied in the creation of a competent artisan class, the diffusion of sufficient education among the masses and the creation of a small administrative class. (Please see chapter II, P. 26.) the aims of the teaching of English in Sudan came on such, so closely interdependent, administrative and educational set up. It is clear that the British did not consciously lay down a definite aim for teaching English language, but the beginning of such policy stemmed from within the British scheme of administration, education and politics whether in the north or in the south of Sudan.

Having laid the administrative and educational aims, the British thought how and where to start. They were always conscious about the effect of introducing a foreign language immediately after the occupation of the country. They feared the reaction of the natives to such a step. Cromer, frankly stated that,

"As a matter of fact.... for one political difficulty you remove by the teaching of English you create a dozen". 4

Cromer favoured starting the teaching of English not before the Primary school level which was the second stage of the newly established education system, and the general tendency adopted by the new regime was that English language should be learnt by Sudanese who are destined to the government service. The same report went on to announce:

"At present only those boys should learn English

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who are subsequently going to make use of it in the government service or in commercial pursuits in which such a knowledge is necessary.  

The outstanding objective of teaching English was that the Anglo-Egyptian rule aimed to establish a foreign administration. P.M. Holt in this regard says that the British found it, "simpler to dismiss the past comprehensively as a time of anarchy, oppression and misgovernment and create a new enlightened and alien administration". An 'enlightened' administration naturally meant the employment of British personnel and consequently the use of English language in running the administration system. English language was thus made the official language of the government, and since the primary function of the education was to produce Sudanese functionaries for the administration, it was only logical that the schools provided a practical command of the English language of the administration.

The teaching of English in the first stage of the educational system, the Elementary schools, seemed to be irrelevant to the need of the Sudanese who studied at this level as they would be absorbed not by the administrative system but they would go back to the traditional life of the society. Therefore, the British favoured a late start to the teaching of English. Cromer objected to the early start of English in the Elementary school and preferred that English should be taught in

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the Primary level which was the second stage of the education system. His objection was based on his conviction that, "Its teaching could furnish the subject races with a very powerful arm against their alien races." Therefore, one year after the occupation of the country it was declared that English will be taught in the higher classes. In this way, the aims of teaching English language were founded. The teaching of English, therefore, in the Primary schools had twin purposes; of providing a basic command of the language for the vast majority of pupils who were destined for fitting many government posts in the English medium administration; and of, preparing the small minority who were to gain selection for the 'advanced course' in Gordon College.

Therefore, it is not surprising, while looking through the history of teaching English language in Sudan, one can find any reference to decisions about the aims of using English as a medium of instruction in the post-Primary level of education, and that its use as a medium in Secondary and Higher Secondary levels must have been taken for granted right from the beginning.

It may be relevant to recall Kitchener's statement in his appeal for the fund to establish Gordon College that the principal teachers in the college would be British as a gesture to the fact that English naturally would be the medium of instruction. Hence higher education in English was viewed through a perspective other than that of a mere supply of administration. Even the evolution of teaching in English in education in Sudan.
for administrative purposes, had been anticipated by the direction of British policy in India more than half a century earlier. Like their forerunners in India, the British in Sudan were to adopt a policy in which education and administration were interdependent. Describing the situation of the British administration in India, Selig S. states: "Their urgent every day dependence on clerks and bureaucrats competent in English led them to build the entire educational edifice to suit their needs..."9 It is also turned out to be the case in Sudan more than fifty years later. Education, Bashir puts it, was to harmonize the best elements in European civilization with Sudanese society.10 Education in English was naturally assumed to be the only possible means of providing the perspective elite with the kind of knowledge required by political, professional and occupational needs of the colonial regime for enlightened and alien administration.

The use of English as a medium of instruction in the higher levels of education, also, was based on the educational experience in Egypt. In the first place, all the educational administrators of Sudan including Currie himself, had been working with the Egyptian Ministry of Public Instruction before they were seconded by Cromer in Sudan. Secondly, the cultural context in which education was to operate in Sudan, as Currie and his staff must have realized, was very similar to that of Egypt. Hence, whatever was adopted as aims and ways of language teaching in Egypt could reasonably be assumed to hold good for the northern Sudan.
The aims and objectives of teaching English and its consequent role in different educational levels seemed to be interpreted as being influenced by Douglas Dunlop's linguistic philosophy in Egypt. Dunlop worked as a teacher and inspector of education in Egypt. He was appointed by Cromer as advisor to the Egyptian ministry of education. However, it is interesting and may be, also, relevant to have a look at some of his views which influenced those who worked in the sphere of English language teaching and education as a whole in Sudan.

Dunlop wrote in 1907 'The Linguistic Basis of Instruction in the Egyptian Government School'. He stated that in Kuttabs (Elementary schools) all instructions should be in Arabic, at the higher level, 'It is the view of the Ministry of Education that all the instructions should be given in the mother tongue with the exception of English or French which from its commencement in the class of the first year, and in increasing measure throughout the course should be taught through the medium of the English or French language itself.'

He justified his argument by saying that 'The government machinery could not operate without an adequate working knowledge of English or French as well as Arabic'. To the critical question of, why an adequate knowledge of the foreign language could not be attained by teaching it just as one subject in the curriculum without utilizing it as a medium of instruction, Dunlop gave a number of reasons. He stated that the students 'acquire greater facility in the comprehension and use of the
foreign language' and that it was, therefore, necessary for the instruction in the foreign language to begin as early in life so that the language will 'form as largely as may be possible the living vehicle of thought and expression'. He went on saying that because in college the instruction to be of value, it must be given by 'experts who are specialists within their own profession and keep themselves constantly abreast of the latest scientific development in Europe'. He continued to defend the use of a foreign language as the medium of instruction at the Secondary and higher professional colleges and considered it as a matter of necessity due to the lack of qualified local teachers for the Secondary level. It was also not possible to secure up-to-date supply of textbooks in the Arabic language. He went on arguing that this last shortcoming would be the more difficult if it was realized that 'the world of science and technology was so rapidly changing that the books were likely to be obsolete'.

When we trace the language policy adopted in Sudan and compare it with the directions of such views, it becomes clear that the aims of teaching English language in Sudan and the roles assigned to it to play in various administrative and educational spheres have been coined by those colonial educators who worked in Sudan and who were under the grip of such philosophy. Perhaps given an educational system primarily intended for production of government officials, teaching of English and in English was after all inevitable. For even, the preparation and training of future functionaries for an 'enlightened administration' must have
necessarily meant acquisition of European Knowledge and techniques for the 'industrial regeneration' of Sudan. "The important decision" as Pattison B. puts it "was whether to propagate the view of the world and the resulting systemised knowledge that became general in Europe from the seventeenth century. Once that was decided, there was no other way for it than English". 12 Therefore, in this way, the aims of teaching English in higher education or using it as a medium were evolved.

In addition to its administrative and educational objectives, teaching of English language played a political role in the south of Sudan. Unlike the north, education in the south was not undertaken by the government, but it was a task carried out by the missionary societies. Therefore, the aims of teaching English language seemed to have dimensions other than merely administrative and educational. It seemed to be part of the political policy as a whole, which aimed, as mentioned in the second chapter, at the removal of Islamic influence from the pagan tribes and to create 'a chain of Christian stations, across the whole of the central Africa', (Please see chapter II, P. 31.). Education was not geared for employment, but, it was, essentially geared to Christianize the pagans. Consequently, the English language aim evolved was also different from that of the north.

Inspite of the fact that a form of pidgin Arabic was beginning to evolve as a lingua franca of the South, but Arabic, being an 'Islamic influence', was not favoured by the
British officials who preferred to make English the official language of education and the lingua franca as well. But Arabic was the lingua franca of the South. And, the missionary societies started, at the beginning, to use Arabic as the medium of teaching and English as a subject. Wingate has, in November 1904, condemned this system. He thought that by using Arabic as the medium of instruction and teaching of English as a subject would produce 'Arabical speaking Muslims with a smattering of English'. Therefore, Wingate's official pressure in favour of English as a language of education and administration was of great importance for the situation of English in the south. In 1910, he wrote to one of the Governors of the southern provinces that:

"What I would like you to do is to consider very carefully whether...any method of making English the official language is feasible".  

The Governor General instructed him to implement this policy "without putting the dots on the i's too prominently". Even the non-administrators, also, aimed at making English the dominant language in the South. In this regard, Gwynne, of the Church Missionary Society wrote to Wingate, in 1910, saying that, so long as government business was transacted in Arabic there was no desire for natives learn English.  

The same letter went on saying that, "Unless the government of the pagan provinces would encourage the employment of English speaking natives, it would not be worthwhile his mission teaching English nor there be any demand for this

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from the natives". He continued to argue that,

"English would give Christian missionaries some slight chance over the overwhelming advantage which Islam seems to have at present in the Southern Sudan".

So English language was introduced in the south, in addition to its educational and administrative characteristics, as an effective weapon against Arabic and Islam. Arabic was held to be incapable of fulfilling the function of a language of inter-communication and it was accordingly decided not to encourage its use either in administration or in education.

In this way, the official and non-official Britishers started their efforts to give a major role to English language, and the culmination of these efforts came when the government declared in 1918 that English was to be the official language of correspondence in the south. Gradually, English started to assume an administrative role. Feilden, an inspector in the south, assumed that he encouraged the teaching of English and was willing to employ clerks who knew some English and no Arabic. It is clear that English language, in Sudan, was introduced and taught with the aim of making it the language of administration, the medium of instruction, the lingua franca of the south and the weapon against Arabic and Islam as well.

However, in an education system which came to be
regarded as a gateway to government service, English language became popular among the Sudanese who were motivated to learn it. It was the means by which they could be employed in the administrative system. Thus, it was regarded as a passport for better paid jobs and the language of earning for living. Eltigani, a prominent Sudanese educationist, gave a vivid description of the attitude of the Sudanese towards English and English speakers. He stated that,

"Those who spoke it fluently and wrote it efficiently were envied by others who called them 'Black Englishmen'." 19

Generally, successful employees for the government service were those who had successfully passed in English in School Certificate. Eltigani went on saying that, "English was given preference for it was accorded more prominence in that failure in performance in English meant depriving one of pass in the final exam in the different stages". 20

This situation enhanced the importance of English language as the essential gateway for higher education. Therefore the demand to learn it and to undergo the process of Western education has been highlighted. This policy coincided with the policy of native administration adopted by the British who were in favour of replacing the Egyptians or Syrians employed in Sudan by Sudanese. A policy which was according to the spirit of Milner Commission Report in 1921 which recommended, as mentioned in the second chapter, the 'decentralization and

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employment, wherever possible, of native agencies for the simple administrative needs of the country. But, the report also, warned against a haphazard expansion of administration just to engage the educated Sudanese. It stated that "There is no room in Sudan for the host of petty officials and education should be directed to giving the Sudanese a capacity and taste for employment in other directions". 21

Moreover, the British were reluctant for further expansion of education. Throughout the first two decades, Currie’s educational objectives continued to be pursued and the intake in the Primary schools and the Gordon College continued to be regulated by the absorbed capacity of the government service. This shows that the policy of education was still adhering to the principles laid down by Cromer in 1902 which stated; ‘Schools for this purpose at present should be few’ (See P. 32). Therefore, there was dissatisfaction among Sudanese towards the administrative and educational policy. Even the policy of indirect rule in Sudan tended to use the traditional leaders and tribal allegiances rather than encouraging the employment of the newly English educated and deterribalized Gordon college graduates. Describing the situation Mudathir A. says that, While education was not spread for further ambition more than the filling of government service, during the 20’s the nationalist movement created hatred for the English and English language. 22 Those nationalist were the educated Sudanese who were known as the ‘Effendiyya’ a term of Turkish origin and Egyptian usage which, in

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the Sudanese context referred to those who received Western education; learned English language; and got government jobs. Thus, revealing the deeper ties that bind them to their people and culture and the dichotomy that existed in their lives. The 'intellectual proletariat', as asserted by Trimingham, were those who had led the nationalist movement during the 1924 revolt and the consequent expulsion of Egyptians from Sudan which on its part affected the administrative machinery of the government. Under such a situation multiplied by the demand of the Sudanese to review the education system, the government was obliged to move for action and in 1932 the Winter Committee was set up. The danger of creating a large class in excess of what could be absorbed by the administration could not be avoided for long. The deportation of the Egyptian officials in 1924 created vacancies which were to be filled in by more educated Sudanese. Therefore the Commission recommended:

"broadening of the base of Elementary education and more careful adjustment of the Secondary education in the present conditions of the country and the opportunity of profitable employment".  

It seems that still the British were cautious in considering any educational expansion. The dissatisfaction of the Sudanese continued. Again in 1937, as has been mentioned in the second chapter, the education expansion was the keynote of the De La Warr Commission's Report. Educational policy was no longer to suffer from its dependence on only satisfying the administration.
This seems to benefit the English language in sustaining its aims. But the most important recommendation made by the Commission, as has been mentioned in the second chapter, and which served the English language teaching, was that which advocated the linking between the standard of Secondary school with that of a full British Secondary school course. Cambridge School Certificate 'for overseas' was introduced in 1938 so as to be a yardstick to measure the standard of the Sudanese Secondary education. Therefore, English language as stated by Eltigani became an essential language both, as a means of performance in all subjects of the certificate, except of course Arabic, and as a subject failure in, entailed failure in the whole certificate. 25

This was the corner stone in the journey of English language in Sudan. It Anglicised the whole educational system and made English language the designer and the decider of the learner's further education and the future as well. The dimension of its educational aim was accelerated.

However, during the decade of 1940s, many factors started operating against the colonial education and language policies in general and the English language in particular, in both the north and the south. The growing sense of nationalism started shaping the attitude of the Sudanese towards English language and the educational policies. Eltigani the Sudanese educator say$:  

"Prior to independence, when Condominium rule had already been discredited .... one used to hear

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the cry for ousting imperialist bag and baggage

...English was denounced as the language of imperialism." 26

The Sudanese also were critical of the British policies in the South. They started questioning and challenging it. It was directed not only to the teaching and the official use of English and local vernacular languages in preference to Arabic, but also, to the education system as whole. The Graduates Congress, which emerged as a result of the growth of the sense of nationalism, submitted a memorandum in 1942 to the government. It demanded that Arabic language should provide the lingua franca in the south. It, also, demanded the unification of the educational syllabuses and, education should not be geared for employment which limited its expansion, but it should aim at a complete removal of illiteracy. 27

The wind of change started blowing against favouring English language. The Ten Year Plan 1946-56 recommended that Arabic should be introduced in the southern schools with a view to establishing a unified educational policy for the whole country. However, in 1949 the Legislative Assembly for both the north and the south was established. The first Sudanese minister of education informed the members of the Assembly that,

"as the Sudan is one country, sharing one set of political institutions, it is of great importance that there should be one language which is

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understood by all its citizens. That language could only be Arabic, and must therefore be taught in all our schools."  

In another statement in 1951, he declared that the aim of the education, "is to weld the system of education hitherto in use in Northern and Southern provinces respectively into one harmonious whole designed to meet the needs of pupils in all parts of Sudan". Therefore the overall aim of education started changing from the spirit of that of the colonial system. The Ten Year Plan 1946-56 aimed at expansion of education. The Sudanese seemed to be preparing for the departure of the colonial rule. It stated that,

"It is the vowed intention of the government to make the country's advance along the road leading to self government as rapid as possible to fill the more responsible posts in the local and central service."

Even the use of English as a medium of instruction in the Secondary schools, though not in the University, was deeply questioned. Writing in 1954, the first Sudanese Vice-chancellor of the University of Khartoum, considered the question of language of instruction in the Secondary school. He stated that although

"...English as a medium of instruction has obviously many advantages ....But inspite of this, the position of English in the educational system is proving a real strain on the part of the pupils

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and a handicap in the assimilation and expression....This difficulty of a foreign language; the fetters of an external examination; and the poor performance at the lower stages of education; all continued to lower the standard of the Secondary school achievement". 31

The evergrowing concern of the role of English language and education as a whole continued. In 1954 the Governor General of Sudan invited an International Commission to investigate and report on Secondary education. However, its final recommendation dealt not only with the Secondary education but with the whole educational system. Its final report in 1955 seemed to lay down a new objective for education in general and English language in particular. The report refuted the political, and to a major part, the educational principles of English language designed since a long time by the colonial rule. It stated that,

"The country was just emerged from the stage of colonialism into political freedom and is on the way of developing democratic institutions. It has to fight poverty and to raise the standards of the masses and for this purpose it must develop its potential resources with the help of modern science and technique. In order to do so .... it must find and train men and women for various government departments as well as other national needs and activities. They must not only be

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'efficient' in the technical sense but also as a nation's servants on whose character, integrity and devotion the nation may rely at this time of particular urgency and difficulty. On the social side, it has to deal with a number of very difficult and complicated problems, like the unification of the people, particularly as between the North and the South .... In the solving of all these problems, education has obviously a vital role to play, and these problems must themselves largely determine the pattern of education and educational objectives. 32

With these the Commission seemed to point toward the road of change in the educational objectives as a whole. These new aims and objectives, setting for the first time a new role for education to play in Sudan. It is on this foundation of such new educational objectives that a new aim of English language teaching in the Sudan emerged. The Commission investigated into the difficulties involved in the use of English as the medium of both instruction and examination. It summarizes the main reasons that made English to be used as the medium of instruction in the Secondary school as follows:–

(a) English was the official language of Sudan government throughout the Condominium administration.

(b) Most Secondary school teachers especially
during the last decades had been British.

(c) Education in general, and Secondary education in particular were conceived at the outset as a means of preparing minor employees for Government service and later as a gate-way to the University College. 33

Subsequently the Commission found that the close relation which has been established between Secondary and Higher education and institutions like the Cambridge Overseas Syndicate and London University resulted in a closed dependence of the education system of Sudan on that of England. The effect of this was that Secondary Curricula and standards linked up with the Cambridge Overseas standard and requirements, has resulted, in the first place, in an increasing dependence on English Secondary school teachers, and in the second place, the need for developing a national system of education was not recognised till recently and no effort was made to prepare Arabic text-books. 34

All these factors, created a tendency to regard English language as the natural medium of instruction and it almost came to be considered that Arabic was not a suitable medium of instruction at the Secondary school level. But the Commission seemed to say that all these factors were invalid. With the dawn of the political change which was leading to independence the Commission's suggestion was that,

"The argument based upon English being the official language is now hardly applicable, for
the official language in future will in all probability be Arabic". 35

And on the basis of the educational aims set up by the Commission itself, the aims of using English as the medium of instruction seemed to be refuted. The Commission's view was that the strongest argument for using English as a medium in the Secondary schools seemed to be that University education is given in English, but the Commission added that,

"This same argument was used in other countries about half a century ago and has since been proved untenable .... Even if we consider Secondary education merely as a preparation for University studies, teaching in a foreign language will always defeat its own purpose". 36

The Commission did not forget to review the aims of English language in the south. It maintained that,

"Southern Sudan has been treated as a separate territory, where education was left continually to foreign missionary societies which started missionary schools where the medium of instruction has been invariably English". 37

But the Commission found "Little argument in favour of English being particularly suitable as the medium of instruction". 38 Arabic, being already the medium and lingua franca of the south, would be easier to teach and in consonance with the
policy of national unity which was an objective of the educational system and policy.

Therefore, the Commission's view was that English should be discontinued as a medium of instruction in the Sudanese schools both in the north and in the south, because it was considered that teaching in a foreign language below university level 'was both harmful and wasteful' (Please see chapter II, P. 54).

In this way, English language as a medium of instruction started its regression. It became obvious that it would not enjoy the same status as it did earlier in educational, administrative and political systems in Sudan. However, the southern politicians and the southern party which emerged in 1955 drafted a manifesto demanding both English and Arabic as official languages. 39

THE AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF ELT IN SUDAN AFTER INDEPENDENCE:

In this way a controversy over the role of English language in Sudan seemed to have erupted. This is clear also from the delay of the proposed Arabization of the Secondary schools ten years later when it was implemented in 1964 and the government, supporting the Arabization, declared that "The majority living in this country are related religiously, culturally and to some extent racially to the Arabs". 40 The attention of the education ists was directed to the Arabization and integration of the education system. By the political independence of Sudan in 1956 and the Arabization of the

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Secondary schools, which has been completed by the end of 1960's, the administrative and a major part of the educational role of English has been phased out. The country indulged in an era of vagueness and the absence of any clear or definite aim of teaching English language although English remained the medium of instruction in higher education and as a strong compulsory subject in the lower level. While A. Krawi Report in 1958 recognised the importance of English for Sudan and considered it as "a language of international culture and as a necessary medium of instruction of higher education for some time to come", Kadhim A. Report in 1960 echoed the same observation by stating that "there is no question that the retention of English is very important for the Sudan both culturally and economically". But the controversy over its role continued. The Conference 'English in Sudan' held in 1966 expressed conflicting views. The supporters of English claimed that, "In Sudan, English was the means of communication between the educated elements of the North and the South and between those of the Southern elements". They maintained that English was essential for "the maintainance of international contacts", and that it was even to be regarded as 'a tool in the establishment of the African unity.' They considered it as 'a window to the world and is one way of achieving the higher standards of efficiency in every field'. They warned against the declining of its standard and on the basis of the fact that 'a reasonable high standard has been reached and it would be a pity to lose what has been gained'. They maintained that 'English is indispensible'.

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However the supporters of Arabicization stated that 'the idea usually adopted in the past has been that English was a second language till the distinction was made between foreign language and second language'. They maintained that the overgoing "Arabicization will reduce English to its 'normal' role as a 'foreign language'". Therefore, they urged that 'English should be taught as a foreign language'. They said that 'English would now be reduced to the same status as other subjects in the curriculum and this is no bad thing'. They even seemed to be ambitious by saying that 'let's hope that within a decade the university itself may make Arabic its medium of instruction'. They refuted the claim that Arabicization would lower the standard of English by saying that 'Arabicization will enhance rather than retard' the standard of English. They added that 'for general education in Sudanese schools English is not really a prerequisite nor need to be so. The efforts involved in teaching of English have been hardly justifiable in recent time'. Therefore Arabicization was not carried out immediately after the recommendation made by the International Commission in 1955. It seemed that such situation has delayed the declared policy of Arabicization as commented later in 1969 by Hawkens C.N. that "this declared Government policy was delayed for reasons never made quite explicit".45

Such conflicting views continued even among the politicians. The apparent decline in the standard of English during the 1960's seemed to have been created by the unplanned and
haphazard implementation of the Arabicization without making adequate provisions for averting such undesirable consequences of Arabicization. The delay of the Arabicization and the political decision in 1964 to implement it was a result of political motivations rather than educational as Hurreiz S. H. puts it: "This Arabicization policy .... started as an answer to national feelings and enthusiasm .... It was mainly political and national issue rather than educational or linguistic. This enthusiasm led to hurried and uncalculated decisions". In 1972 the Addis Abbaba peace accord assigned more role to the English language in both administration and education in the south. While accepting Arabic language as the official language of Sudan it made English 'the principal language of the South'. Educationally, also, in the south, English seemed to try to maintain a foothold. In 1974 the controversy in the Regional Assembly of the south over whether to use Arabic or English as the medium of instruction erupted. It became an object of ebb and tide between the political bodies embodied in the Regional Assembly which tried to make English, by a political decision, the absolute medium of instruction in education, and its aversion by the Regional High Executive Council. Finally it was settled down by making English as a medium only in Higher Secondary schools.

While Gill Scharer, the Advisor of English at Miridi Curriculum Development Centre, noted and exposed the real situation of English language. Commenting on the 1974 controversy in the Regional assembly over whether to use Arabic or English as the Contd..106/-
medium of instruction and the final decision to make English the medium of instruction in the Higher Secondary School, he stated: "What is said to happen in schools is not what in fact takes place". He lamented that "English language, unfortunately, is an emotive issue". The north demanded for a Southern view regarding English as "that of the north where English has no official place in the constitution but it is viewed as an important international language and a medium of instruction for subjects at the national universities.

So, the above discussion shows the controversy in both the north and the south over the role of English language. There was a steady decline in the standard of English language while there were no clear aims and objectives of teaching English in Sudan. The attempt to restore its standard was made in the form of adjusting the existing materials of teaching and the introduction of new material in the 1980’s.

This state of affairs continued. In 1990 a conference on educational policies was held. It viewed the language issue from a nationalistic point of view. There was a strong feeling that Arabic should be the medium of instruction throughout the country and at all educational levels as well. It stated that "The school Curriculum is a national curriculum and should be enforced in all regions." It maintained that, "More attention should be given to .... teaching Arabic language and to consider Arabic as the national language and the medium of instruction in all levels of education".

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These policies coincided with three major steps, the first was the Arabization of the higher levels of education which was declared in 1990, and the second was the changing of the Educational ladder from 6+3+3 to 8+3 (Basic + Secondary level) declared by the conference and the third was the introduction of English language as a subject from the fifth year of the 8 years education level from 1990.

However, the continous decline in the standard of English and the absence of clear and well defined aims and objectives of teaching English and the situations under which this language was being taught has undergone significant changes which make the English language suffer chronic problems.

THE CHANGING SITUATION OF THE ELT IN SUDAN:-

English language in Sudan was the direct offshoot of the colonial rule. The colonialists were primarily concerned with creating an English speaking class to serve their imperial stronghold over the political, administrative and educational units. Therefore, the educational system came into existence aiming at promoting English language so as to operate in these inclaves. Gradually, English language started acquiring an important position in administration, education and, to some extent, among the educated intelligencia.

Since the Government transactions were to be carried out bilingually, English language was, initially, taught on the
basis of Grammar-translation method. However as its educational role expanded. The government as well as the missionary schools were, both, dominated by foreign teaching staff and mostly, by British teachers, English language started becoming the medium of instruction and was also taught through the direct method which was introduced during the 1930s. English language played the role of preparing the students for higher education. Therefore, there was a great stress on the sort of English language materials being used in British schools. Tom Jupp, a Sudanese educationist listed the following items of the Sudanese Secondary Schools materials:

1) Content and imagination in composition
2) The study of classical English literature
3) The acquiring of Secondary language skills, precis, paraphrasing, reading aloud etc.
4) The study of semi-philosophical Grammar. 53

It appears that such materials were suitable for those whose mother tongue was English. Therefore, English in Sudan used to be taught as if it was the first language. This state of affair continued without a significant change inspite of the fact that as early as 1937 the De La Warr Commission suggested that "the valuation of English as the equivalent of a foreign language should be granted to Sudanese candidates". 54 Till the 1950s, when a reform was introduced in the existing material and methods in the form of Oral Approach and Structural Material. However, English was the language of administration, the medium

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of instruction and the significant subject which was taught through materials similar to that of the British education.

However, with the change of the language of administration to Arabic in the 1950s and the Arabicization of the Secondary schools in the 1960s English remained the medium of instruction in the higher Education and played a major role in the southern administration and education. These changes, inspite of the domination of the structural material, oral and direct method in the field of teaching English language, brought a shift in the status of English to that of a second language. The conference of 'English in Sudan' held in 1966 stated that, "Most of the books we use in our schools are designed for foreign pupils who are learning English as a second language". The same situation continued without a significant change till the 1970s. In 1975 the Report of the English Department in Bakht el Ruda Institute of teachers training said "The syllabus of English which is operating now is the same old syllabus which was introduced in the 1950s". No significant change was made between the years 1980-83 when new integrated teaching materials were introduced for all the six years (General Secondary and the Higher Secondary). The Arabicization of the Higher Education, which was declared in 1990, phased it out from the role of the medium of instruction. Now it is only a compulsory subject in schools.

But inspite of this shift from the literature and structural material to language and communicative competence and the removing of English as a medium of instruction in higher
education, the language policy makers in Sudan hardly seemed to be aware of such change in the situation of English language teaching as a whole.

Now, English is in the process of acquiring the status of a compulsory foreign language since it is no longer a medium of instruction, although it is called a foreign language in the School curricula of the new Educational ladder implemented in 1991. However, it would not be out of place, here, to discuss the implication of the terms 'second language', 'foreign language', 'library language' because the more clearly we define these terms, the better it would be for us in formulating our objectives in the teaching of English. These terms are not always used to convey precisely the same sense in all countries. In U.S.A., for instance, the terms 'Second' language and 'Foreign' language are used interchangeably. 57

The British Council report for the year 1960-61 brought out this distinction:

"It has been customary to speak of teaching English as a foreign language, often merely to emphasise that the process is by no means the same as teaching it to those who already have it as their mother tongue. More recently, the term English as a second language has been employed to describe English taught or learnt for practical and necessary uses of communication ---- whether to serve as the language of instruction in education,

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or as a lingua franca among those to whom English is an acquired tongue. The distinction is important: for example, English in France or Germany is still largely learnt for reasons comparable to those for learning French or German in Britain—as a human discipline, and as an introduction to a foreign culture. In many countries, however, the place of English in education may be more important and indeed more fundamentally necessary, because it is either the medium of education itself or a necessary link with resources beyond the borders of the country where it is learnt. When it is used as a second language, English is not necessarily the vehicle of distinctively British or American cultural values. It may well be the means of expressing those of the country where it has been adopted". 58

A second language and a foreign language do not play the same role in the affairs of the life of a country. The term 'second language' refers to a more important status and wider use than is implied by the term 'foreign language'. According to K. Bose, there exists an obvious distinction between the terms 'second language' and 'foreign language'. He stated that,

"Of these, the latter was in greater use in the past whereas the former term has gained currency in the last decades. A foreign language is a

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non-native language learnt within a country (may be) but used generally with reference to a speech community outside national/territorial boundaries, whereas the second language is non-native to the speaker who learns it within the country and who shows that the language 'L2' has a recognized function within the country. It virtually has an official status which a foreign language does not have'.

Wilga Rivers states that, "second language is a term which is commonly used for a language not the native language, that is in general use in the community in which the learner lives and works. In actuality, this may, of course, be a third or fourth language for the learner". While V. V. Yardi says that the term foreign language refers to,

"a situation where it is taught for certain specific purposes viz; reading scientific works, translation, communication at certain levels for certain purposes only. English as a second language refers to a situation where English is used widely for purposes of administration, education and as a common link language".

Y. Yalden gives a similar distinction. He says that "there is a long-standing distinction, especially in the United Kingdom between foreign and second language teaching, based on the environment in which the teaching is being conducted. If
the classroom language is not the language of the environment, it is a foreign language, if it is, it is a second language. However the dividing line is not always so easily established. Although the traditional foreign/second language distinction is valid most of the time, what, for example, of students from an Arabic country learning English in Ottawa in order to enter universities in Canada? ....The term 'foreign' implies distance geographical originally, but psychological as well". 62.

The Editor of the English Teaching Forum, while commenting on one of the letters raising doubts on the various acronyms like TESL, TEFL (Teaching English Second Language, Teaching English as Foreign Language) says,

"TEFL is generally referred to the teaching of English in a country in which English is an official language or the language of Education etc., that is where it plays some broadly essential role within the country in which English has no official role or special status". 63

Handling the language in education K. Bose says that English as a library language signifies the use of English language "primarily in specialized branches of study". 64 However V. V. Yardi shows the close relationship between foreign language and library language when he states that "a library language tends to acquire the status of a foreign language". 65

However, regarding the learning process of the foreign
language and the second language and the different purposes of the learner to learn them, Wilkins D.A. says,

"Foreign language learning therefore, is like second language learning, in that, the material and method is designed to give a practical command of the language. But whereas the second language learner needs the language for use within his own community, the foreign language learner needs it so that he can form contacts with community other than his own". 66

Until recently, English was considered in Sudan, as a second language because it was a language of Secondary and Higher education and also the language of administration and even a medium of lower education in the south. However, now, it cannot be denied that English language teaching situation has changed. In a world wide survey conducted by Wilga Rivers on the foreign language learner's goal in 1978, she found that in Sudan English is the medium of instruction at the university but it has no role outside the university. 67 While officially it is regarded as a foreign language (Please see chapter II, P. 69). Moreover, now, it is no longer used as a medium of instruction nor it is the language of administration, and middle level education in the south. It is only a compulsory subject from class fifth Basic level and failure in it in the S.S.C. does not entail failure in the Secondary School Certificate Examination as it was before independence. Most universities and higher educational

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institutions have changed over to Arabic language. Even the literature paper which once was compulsory for students of 3rd year Arts stream in Secondary school has become an optional paper.

This new situation urges for the revision of the aims and objectives, methods of teaching, preparation of material and teachers training programme. Although the academic role of English has diminished and, now, it plays a comparatively less significant role than it used to play in the past, it must be noted that English language has not descended to the level of a foreign language like that of German, French, Russian or Chinese, which are taught, only, in specialized Departments of Higher education. It is a compulsory subject from the lower levels of education.

From the above discussion it becomes quite apparent that English language has neither the status of a foreign language nor that of a second language. Its status is somewhere between the foreign language and the second language and soon it has to lose the advantage of being a 'library language' or the language of academic references.

English language programme in Sudan ambitiously aims to develop 'Communicative Competence' in learners at both Basic and Secondary levels. This naturally means that the learner reaches the state of bilingualism. According to H.P. Fillin, "Bilingualism in the narrow sense of the word means more or less perfect competence in two languages, the mother tongue and the
non-mother tongue, while in the broader sense it will mean relative competence in the second language, so that it can be used in certain definite sphere of communication, scientific or daily life". 68

For W. F. Mackey, bilingualism means "the alternative use of two or more languages by the same individual". 69 While according to Halliday "Bilingualism is recognized wherever a native speaker of one language makes use of a second language, however, partially or imperfectly". 70

Whatever may be the status of the language taught, language teaching, in general, is influenced by many factors, according to J.C. Catford any language teaching operation takes place in a context of highly variable external factors, and must be adjusted to suit them. These factors may be:

a) The geographical situation, political affiliations and economic conditions of the country where the teaching is being carried on;

b) The internal linguistic situation in that country;

c) The student's age, intelligence, educational and cultural background, motivation etc.;

d) The teacher's training, experience, cultural background, etc.;

e) Characteristics of L2;

f) Characteristics of L1, and especially, differences between L1 and L2. 71

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While J.B. Carroll\textsuperscript{72} suggests another list of variables which account for the wide variety of situations in which children throughout the world learn second or foreign languages:

a) Linguistic factors
b) Level of attainment expected
c) Degree of contact with the second language (aside from educational contacts)
d) Motivation for learning the language
e) Relative social status of the target language
f) The instrumental value of the language
g) Opportunity to learn
h) Mode of learning

Probably the most comprehensive coverage of these factors is to be found in C. Practor's inventory of the problems involved in the teaching of English in Sub-Saharan Africa. However, Practor suggests that there are five factors which are basic to a given bilingual situation:

a) Age at which the child first becomes acquainted with the second language "L2".
b) Relative prestige of mother tongue "L1" and "L2".
c) Need for L2 or use to which it will be put.
d) Strength of general community and national support for L2.
e) Linguistic relationship between the two languages.\textsuperscript{73}

These lists are, of course, very general and far from exhaustive but one need only note how even these minimal lists are far from identical to realise the multiplicity of the factors Contd..118/-
involved and varieties of aspects which has to be considered in the English language Teaching.

English language in Sudan is not used in real life situation. The programme itself admits this by saying that since exposure to English depends on experiencing and communicating in the language, the learner must be given chance to compensate for this loss by reading. 74

This shows a clear absence of precise aims and objectives and also implies contradiction in the directives of the new ELT programme itself. Another point of contradiction, also, is that while the programme aspires for communicative competence, it assigns English the status of 'a foreign language' and at the same time the status of a 'library language', while the overall aim of the school curricula as stated by the Committee of Educational Reforms held in 1991 which says that the aim is to make students, "learn one or more foreign languages to a level that it can help in acquiring scientific and humanistic knowledge". 75

In this way English language teaching aims, objectives procedures, methods, materials, and teachers preparation fluctuates between the policy makers who are theorists rather than practitioners and the grim reality in its implimentation. English language teaching policy has not been viewed as a whole since independence. After independence, the Intermediate school teachers of English were recruited from among Secondary School

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leavers who have passed their Higher School Certificate Examination but have not qualified for admission to the higher education. They have studied English for eight years as a subject when English was immersion language. This used to support the general standard of English. The intermediate Teacher Training College which has been established in 1949 in Bakht el Ruda gave one year in-service training course for male teachers, while Intermediate Teacher Training Institute in Omdurman gave one year in-service training course to female teachers. They are trained to teach three subjects. The training course was more professional rather than academic. It's aim was to give teachers confidence in their material and principles of their own work rather than to improve their command of English.

The Secondary school teachers of English used to be recruited from the University level. Before the change of the educational ladder at the beginning of the 1970s the percentage of trained teachers of the General Secondary Schools (Intermediate level) was 50% while 66% of the Higher Secondary School teachers were trained. Describing the problem of ELT and the professional qualification of the teachers the conference of 'English in Sudan' held in 1966 said, "The problem of teaching English in the Secondary schools above all is a problem of the teacher himself, most of the teachers particularly those who teach in the junior forms are untrained and inexperienced".  

The same note of dissatisfaction was echoed about the qualification of teachers of the General Secondary Schools in
1972, when a report about English language teaching in the General Secondary schools described the teachers training as inadequate and infrequent initial and advanced in-service training.  

During the 1980s the situation became worse. The 1981-82 educational statistics showed that only 41% of the Higher Secondary School teachers were trained. An Educational conference in February 1984 lamented the deplorable standards of English language and stated that, "General Secondary School teachers are appointed from among those who have studied English only for six years while many of the Higher Secondary School teachers are graduates from disciplines other than English language and .... they have not undergone any training".  

This shows that the post independence practice of teacher's appointment is still followed without any consideration of the changing situations of English language in the Sudan. While the training duration has decreased. The Educaional Report of 1989-90 stated that,"Teachers get a two weeks pre-service training and after two or four years get the in-service training". While in 1991 the report stated that, "The duration of the in-service training of English teachers was ten days".  

Even when the time allotted to the teaching of English language traced throughout the past three decades it lost a lot of its time. By 1972 it has been decreased by 49% and by 1990 it went further to 47% of the total time it used to enjoy in the past. Moreover many of the Higher Secondary School Teachers of
English are holding degree from disciplines other than English.

From this background it becomes clear that the problem of English language is not only a problem of materials to be taught but a multi-dimensional problem. It is of aims and objectives, of teachers and their qualifications, both, academic and professional, of the time allotted for the teaching of English. The whole English language Teaching establishment with different factors involved in it need to be reviewed.

THE NEED FOR REVISION OF THE ELT OBJECTIVES:

English language in Sudan now is in the process of acquiring the status of only a compulsory foreign language. Any approach to language teaching whether it is second language or foreign language or library language must cater, directly, to the needs of the learner. The changing of teaching/learning materials and planning its strategies, aims and objectives, methodology and procedures must be according to their needs too.

Objectives which do not consider the changing situations and do not cater to the immediate needs are bound to be unreachable mirage. Objectives must be analysed critically with reference to the learner, what he will need to do with the foreign language, the situation in which he is expected to need the use of the target language, who are the teachers and what are their academic and professional qualifications, the extent of exposure to the target language, all these need to be closely considered. It means Contd..122/-
that without explicitly defined aims and objectives all those who are involved in the process of teaching/learning will fail to know whether the system is working or not, what the points of its strength and weakness are. Again, in the absence of clear objectives, the operating methods, approaches, pedagogical activities, tests, evaluation and teachers' preparation and training will be aimless and haphazard, because all are so closely linked that none can exist without the other.

Against this background, when we examine English language teaching in Sudan we find that it has suffered because we have failed to define its aims and objectives properly. Particularly, at the school levels (Basic and Secondary), the objectives are loaded with contradictions and stated rather vaguely in terms of linguistic skills. The Basic level syllabus of English states that at the end of this level the pupils are expected to acquire the following skills:

1) Listening and Speaking:
   
   (A) To enable the learner to listen and to understand dialogues whether recorded or oral and to participate in similar situation as listener and/or speaker.

   (B) To enable the learner to acquire the appropriate language functions at a reasonable degree so as to express himself in English.

2) Reading: To develop the reading skills and strategies in the learner so that he can interact as a good reader with simple texts such as essays, stories, and selected supplementary readers.
This will enable the learner to move to the horizons of 'free reading' which help the learners pursue (follows) self-learning and have benefit from other sources of culture.

3) Writing: The learner should acquire the satisfactory writing skills which enable him/her to construct accurate sentences and paragraphs which lead to writing guided and free composition. 

However the aims at the Secondary school level are:

1) To develop further the four skills acquired at the Basic level.

2) To give reading and writing more emphasis because of their preparatory nature to any further studies and at the same time to develop self learning competencies (abilities).

3) Since exposure to English depends upon experiencing and communicating in the language itself, the learner must be given chance to compensate for this loss by reading selected texts from English literature.

These objectives, seem to be rather ambitious, judged from the present context of the English language situation. The objectives mentioned in the above quotation regarding the acquiring of listening, speaking, reading and writing seem to be vague. It is difficult to know as to what level of language skills in terms of comprehension and expression they are expected to achieve, nor it is made clear how a pupil of eleven or twelve years, who starts the study of English at class fifth will, according to the term 'acquire' be able to do so with a foreign

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language, nor is it made clear as in what situation he will be making use of English, when the course itself admitted the limited nature of exposure to English language when it stated 'Since exposure to English depends on experiencing and communicating in the language itself, the learner must be given a chance to compensate for this loss by reading'.

At the same time the course does not prescribe any supplementary reading to compensate for the loss of the exposure to spoken English except the 'Literature course' which includes two texts for the third year (final) Secondary school, Art Stream. Even this course now is not compulsory but optional. It is also, difficult to know as to what level, in terms of language 'accuracy', the learner is expected to achieve. Further, in its address to parents, the syllabus designers state that it is also meant to be used by parents so that they can offer support at home. But this seems to be unrealistic in the present context of Sudan where the percentage of illiteracy according to the 1994 statistics is 72.9%.

All this is evident enough to show that even today we have not become aware of the changing situation and its implications and we have not adapted ourselves according to them and according to the realities related to them and consequently have not realised the necessity of precision in defining our aims and objectives. Although the higher education is being Arabicized, the new aims and objectives of ELT Programme still perpetuate accurately the aims which would have been suitable with the era of Contd...125/-
pre-Arabicization of higher education it says 'to give reading and
writing more emphasis because of their preparatory nature to any
further studies', (Please see P. 123), and it can be claimed that
what Hawkes C.N. said as early as 1969 when he state if "one feel
that the retention of English is as much a matter of 'habit' as of
planning", 85 may be applicable today.

Moreover an educational report in 1991 on English language
in schools lamented the lack of motivation in the student to
learn English. 86 This means that the new situation of English
language in Sudan made the learner feels no purpose behind
learning English. This urges the policy makers to give more
importance to the learner and his needs because the objectives of
teaching a language cannot neglect such factors as I.A.Van Ek says
"learning objectives must be geared towards learners needs". 87 It
means that in defining our aims and objectives we must define, the
group of the learners whose needs we wish to cater to, the target
group to determine what they will need to do with a foreign
language, the situation in which they are expected to need, and
the ability to use the foreign language.

The aims of teaching English are often confused with general
educational aims and not frequently with reasons for teaching
the language. This may happen in many countries where English is
not the mother tongue of the people, but the consequences of this
situation, which is typical of many English teaching situations,
are best summarised in the words of Parren G.,

"Aims are usually expressed in terms which are

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often vague, seldom realistic, and nearly always non-linguistic. Course writers, teachers and teacher trainers often have to interpret the aims of the syllabus without much help, and sometimes must do so arbitrarily in order to decide what precisely to teach. As a result, we may find an unnecessary and confusing variety of interpretations co-existing within a single educational system; a good deal of irrelevant teaching is a common side effect, as well as general looseness and vagueness about training teachers of English, because no one is quite sure exactly what these teachers are going to teach. The gap between aims and classroom procedures can be very wide for administrators may be satisfied by aims which merely sound good, while teachers may become subservient to established teaching methods which have previously been found effective, without questioning sufficiently the value of what they teach". 88

Although English has been phased out from being the medium of instruction in higher education, still we need it. English language is an important factor that keeps us in pace with the advancing science and technology. The acknowledgement of the conference of 'English in Sudan', held in 1966, to English as 'a window to the world' is still valid. Because even
if it is presumed that Arabic is taking the place of English as a medium of instruction in the higher education, English has an important role to play in Sudan. Today English has become one of the major languages of the world. It is a language which is rich in literature, scientific and technical studies, and we cannot cut ourselves off from the stream of ever-growing knowledge and development in every field. The importance of English can be judged from the fact that English is the language which is spoken by most of the people in the world next to the Chinese. But there is one important difference, the speakers of English are spread all over the world but the speakers of the Chinese language are confined to the Chinese sub-continent only. Even in China now the people are taking to the study of English in a big way.

However we are likely to agree with Gerard G. Hardin who takes the matter further, as far as the importance of English is concerned and states that, "English is taught in nearly every country in the world .... that English has thus become the most widely spread of the very few languages that can qualify as truly international is a fact that we have to live with ---- and take advantage of ----".

Against this background the study attempts to analyse the ELT situation in Sudan and suggest suitable measures for making it more effective.
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