THE
ROLE OF ENGLISH
IN
EDUCATION IN THE SUDAN

MUSTAFA M. ABDEL-MAJID

Ph.D.
University of Edinburgh
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SUMMARY

This thesis attempts to describe and explain the role of English in education in the Sudan from its advent with the establishment of colonial rule at the beginning of this century to the present time - sixteen years after independence in 1956. It does this against a survey of the multilingual diglossic nature of the country and against a background description of the introduction and development of a highly selective Western system of education, in which English, naturally, came to assume a central role. More particularly, the study is concerned with the change in the role of English in the new situation, since independence, and its educational future in the Sudan. It seeks to establish the most durable needs for English and the existing and anticipated educational uses of the language and then to assess, in an empirical manner, the extent to which the teaching of English corresponds to these needs and uses.

A consideration of the colonial background reveals that the position of English was absolutely central to the working not only of administration but also of education. With the establishment of colonial rule, English became the official language of administration. Since the primary function of education was the production of a small elite with which to feed the administration, the need for teaching English and for education in English were self-evident.
The overall aims of English teaching throughout the colonial period in the Sudan, as in many other countries, can be shown to be closely parallel to the aims of English teaching in Britain. Because English was the medium of secondary and higher education, its teaching as a subject, which went on alongside, was treated largely as an extension of British cultural behaviour and the stress was therefore on the appreciation and production of literary English - the English of the printed page, with literary merit. But despite the vague cultural aims, the literary content and the ineffective methods of English teaching in the past, three conditions were present which were conducive to the attainment of reasonably high standards: a highly selective secondary school intake, intensive motivation and a great amount and variety of exposure to English through its use as the medium of instruction.

With the transition from colonial rule to independence, the situation radically changed. National unity and economic progress became the aim, and with that came a demand for the expansion of education and trained manpower. Arabic became the official as well as the national language and within an expanding educational system, it subsequently became the medium of secondary education. But it was evident that modernization and economic progress required the retention of English and that English was to remain of necessity, at least for some time to come, the medium of nearly all higher education.
Thus, as in many countries, the language once imposed by historical accident has been catered for in a more limited but still crucial role as a medium only of higher education. But the teaching of English has continued to be wedded to the conditions and geared to the needs of the past—the vague cultural aims and the diffuse literary content enshrined in the traditional English syllabus have continued to be pursued in defiance of the requirements of the new situation created by Arabization. Given that even when Arabization is eventually extended to higher education, English will almost certainly continue to be the medium of scientific and technical studies, the teaching of English in schools needs to be assessed in terms of its relevance to the existing and anticipated uses of the language. This leads to the hypothesis posed in this study.

The basic hypothesis in this study was formulated against the background of English teaching in the secondary school and the direction of proposed reforms. The hypothesis postulates that the teaching of English, in terms of its aims and content, is not related to the valid needs and most immediate uses of the language as a medium of higher education. The hypothesis resolves itself into two main questions: 1) Given the Arabization of secondary education, is agreement possible about what English is for and what the aims in teaching it should be? 2) Given that English will continue to be the medium of scientific and technical studies even when Arabization is extended to higher education,
is the kind of literary English, which characterizes the secondary school syllabus, the most effective instrument for the needs and uses of English as a medium of higher education?

The procedure for investigating the first question was based on a survey of the views and attitudes of a highly representative sample of all those involved in the English teaching operation in the Sudan. The second question was investigated by means of a test administered to the first students whose secondary education has been conditioned by Arabicization and whose learning of English by exposure to the literary uses of the language. This English proficiency test was designed to measure the performance of the 'arabicized' students in the kind of literary English to which they have been almost exclusively exposed as compared with their performance in the kind of English they will need as a medium of scientific and technical studies in higher education. The findings which emerged from these investigations indicate clearly that while there is broad current consensus on what are the real needs for English and hence what should be the aims of English teaching, the content of what is taught is not of the greatest relevance and use to those who need English most. It is a serious matter that entrants to institutes of higher education are not well enough versed in the kind of English they will need to pursue the scientific and technical studies to which higher education is mainly devoted and on which the development and modernization of the Sudan ultimately depend.
This is the problem which the teaching of English in the Sudan has now to reckon with, and these are the findings. What then are the implications of these findings and what is to be done to tackle the problem?

This is the question which, in conclusion, this study attempts to consider. The problem and the implications of the findings are discussed in relation to the wider context of English teaching in other comparable developing countries of the Middle East and Asia and some general proposals for the solution of the problem are examined. The specific solution being attempted in the Sudan is explained and upheld as a possible model for other countries of what needs to be done to ensure that the teaching of English is adapted and oriented to the real needs for the language and to its vital uses as a medium of scientific and technical studies in higher education.
MAP 1. Africa showing location of the Sudan.
MAP 2. The Sudan: International and Provincial Boundaries.
CHAPTER I

THE SUDAN AND THE SUDANESE

1.0 Introduction

In this introductory chapter, it is intended to give a historical and political outline together with a brief account of the geography and economy of the Sudan. It does not pretend to be a comprehensive survey of the country and its people for this would be irrelevant and indeed impossible within the scope of a study of this kind. The purpose is rather to select and describe those features and characteristics of the Sudan which are considered to be of particular importance and relevance in furnishing the necessary background to this study.

1.1 Political History

The name 'Sudan' is Arabic and derives from the expression 'Bilad al-Sudan' (literally meaning 'The Land of the Blacks') which was used by medieval Arabs as a generic name for the regions lying south of the Sahara from the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic. It refers to the fact that it was at these latitudes that the Arabs came into contact with the negro peoples of Africa when they penetrated the continent.

1. In this sense the term is still used by Western scholars, notably anthropologists and linguists (e.g. Greenberg in his classification of African languages) but rarely by contemporary Arab writers.
The history of the Sudan is interwoven with that of Egypt and both countries are often considered under one term: the history of the Nile Valley. From time immemorial the river has been a continuous way of intercourse. Temples of the Nile record the expeditions of victorious Pharaohs who raided their southern neighbours in order to protect themselves from attacks, to secure control of gold mines, to capture slaves and to establish trade. The history of the Egyptian dynasties also tells us how the shepherd kings of 'Nubia' (which was the Ancient Egyptian name for the territories lying southward and which means 'land of gold') in turn imposed their dominion for a while on Egypt. In Roman times the empire frontiers guarded Egypt at about the northern limit of the Sudan, but in the days of Herodotus (around 460 B.C.), Nubia was still a mystery. In the early Christian era, Christianity came to Egypt and from there spread to Nubia, and for more than seven hundred years (580 to 1317 A.D.) the Christian kingdoms of Nubia flourished in Northern Sudan.

The event of the greatest significance in the early history of the Sudan was the coming of the Arabs. Africa, and especially its eastern territories, was by no means unknown to the Arabs before Islam. But the Arabization\(^2\) of Northern Sudan, as indeed

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2. The term 'Arabization', used here to designate the processes of assimilation and acculturation, is to be distinguished from the term 'Arabization' which is subsequently used throughout this thesis to refer to the replacement of English by Arabic as a medium of instruction.
of the whole of North Africa, did not come about until, and by reason of, the rise of Islam in the 7th Century A.D., and its subsequent spread. In the year 641 the Muslim Arabs, surging northwards with all the fervour and drive of a new religion, seized Egypt from the Byzantine Empire. Gradually infiltrating through Egypt and across the Red Sea, the Arabs eventually overran the Christian kingdoms of Nubia. They readily mixed and freely intermarried with the indigenous population. By the end of the 14th Century they had effected a social and cultural revolution which resulted in the total transformation of Nubia and the establishment, in 1504, of the Islamic Kingdom of Funj, which lasted until 1821. With the added advantage of political control over the central Sudan, they were then able to break through on both sides of the Nile and the further they penetrated, the greater became their power and momentum through the twin processes of Arabization and Islamization. But further advance into what is now Southern Sudan was stopped by the difficulty of penetrating swamps, by tropical humidity and by the resistance of Nilotic tribes. Some of the Arabs therefore turned eastwards, entered Abyssinia and settled there, while others pushed westwards as far as Lake Chad and Bornu in Central West Africa.3

The outstanding result of these events is that while Northern Sudan has thereby become almost completely Islamized and to a large, though lesser extent, also Arabized, the South remained

virtually untouched by these influences until the 19th Century. In spite of their common nationality and African identity, therefore, the North and the South of the Sudan - like the northern and southern regions of the chain of African states that runs from the Red Sea to the Atlantic - have, on many occasions, tended to show signs of estrangement and conflict rather than harmony and unity.

The 19th Century marks the beginning of the modern era in Sudan history. In 1821, Muhammad Ali, the Turkish ruler of Egypt, sent two military expeditions to conquer the Sudan. His main motive appears to have been to establish an empire for the sake of the revenue that he could draw from it, whether in gold or in slaves to serve his armies.4 In due course, an administration, which came to be known as the Turkiya, was set up with its capital at Khartoum. The lack of effective control from Cairo, however, combined with the low calibre of many of the Egyptian officials, led to many abuses in the administration. The exaction of taxes from the inhabitants of the country was accompanied by considerable severity, and even after the Khedive of Egypt had in 1857 declared the abolition of slavery in his dominions, officials continued to connive at the trade in slaves drawn from the negro areas in the south.

In 1881, discontent with Egyptian rule culminated in a revolt instigated by Muhammad Ahmed, a native of Dongola and a man of

great piety, who declared himself to be the Mahdi or Divine Guide to Salvation summoned by God to establish the kingdom of God on earth. By this time the British had established themselves in a dominating position in Egypt but had no desire to extend British rule up the Nile. When, therefore, it had become apparent that the Egyptians had not the strength to crush the Sudanese revolt, the British refused to come to their rescue and dispatched General Gordon to Khartoum, charged with the responsibility of evacuating the Egyptian garrisons. As it turned out, even the forces required for a successful and orderly evacuation were not available, and Gordon never attempted to carry out his instructions. By January in 1885 Khartoum had been besieged and captured, Gordon had been killed and almost the whole of Sudan fell into the hands of the Mahdi, who established an administration, usually referred to as the Mahdiya, with its capital at Omdurman. This was the first independent Sudanese government of what is now Sudan.

It thus came about that just at the time of the 1885 Conference of Berlin, when the whole of the African continent was in the process of being partitioned into spheres of influence between the powers of Europe, Sudan became independent of foreign control. On the death of the Mahdi in 1885, his successor, the Khalifa Abdullahi, made himself undisputed master of the country. He set up a fanatically Muslim regime which was equally hostile to all foreigners and rejected all civilized contact with the outside world. The Mahdiya was thus a Muslim theocracy of a puritanical
nature. Perhaps its greatest achievement was the blending together into a united society an otherwise extremely tribalized and heterogeneous one.

It was not to be expected that Sudan's independence would long be respected by all the powers of Europe. By 1894 the French reached the Bahr el Ghazal area from the west and entered into negotiations with the Ethiopians concerning an expedition which was to cross the continent from west to east. At the same time the Belgians crossed the Nile-Congo watershed, previously regarded as the limit of Egypt's dominions, and reached the Nile. Simultaneously, the Italians were trying to enlarge their sphere of influence in Eritrea. So in 1894 Britain decided that the time had come to put a stop to these encroachments and to secure the security of Egypt's southern frontier by reconquering the Sudan. This was made the more important by the fact that during their period of rule in Egypt, the British had initiated a number of irrigation schemes in the country, and so were anxious to ensure the uninterrupted flow of the Nile. In the interest of economy and to allay Egyptian fears, the reconquest of Sudan was carried out from Egypt, use being made of units of both the British and Egyptian armies under the leadership of Lord Kitchener.

The campaign of reconquest was well planned, and despite the

courageous opposition of the Khalifa's armies, was steadily brought to a successful conclusion by 1898. The expedition had come none too soon, for on proceeding further south from Khartoum by steamer, Kitchener found that a small French force had just established itself on the White Nile at Fashoda, while the Belgians had already acquired by lease temporary rights to an extensive area on the west bank of the Nile. Both these places had formerly been regarded as quite definitely parts of the Egyptian Khedive's dominion. By vigorous diplomatic representations it proved possible to maintain the argument that Sudan had never ceased to be part of the Egyptian Empire, and so the two powers - France and Belgium - were persuaded to forego their claims to any parts of the Sudan. The French retreated at once and the Belgians surrendered their enclave as part of a general Anglo-Belgian settlement in 1904. An important consequence of the intervention of these two powers was that, having persuaded them to retreat, Britain was precluded from paying heed to the realities of power in the Sudan by establishing a regime in the country that should be dependent on Britain alone. It thus became evident, moreover, that at least at first considerable expenditure would be required to pay for the administration and garrisoning of Sudan. For both political and financial reasons, therefore, no attempt was made by Britain to annex Sudan outright. Instead it was decided to create a new form of government, a

condominium, wherein the British and Egyptian flags would be flown side by side. Officials to administer the country were to be recruited from both Britain and Egypt, but ultimate power remained in British hands, since Britain was at the time in virtual control of Egypt. Supreme military and civil command in the Sudan was vested in one officer, the Governor-General, who was to be appointed by the decree of the Egyptian Khedive, on the recommendation of the British Government. Such were the terms of the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement, signed in Cairo on 19 January 1899, and which lasted for over half a century during which it provided the constitutional framework for the administration of the Sudan.7 As a result of this Agreement, the country was henceforth known as the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan until it attained full independence on 1st January 1956 to become the Republic of the Sudan. The special status of the Sudan as a Condominium thus stemmed from Egypt's connection with the Sudan and Britain's involvement in Egypt during the course of the 19th Century. This peculiar situation, which distinguished Sudan from any of Britain's other African dependencies was of particular importance for its effects on many questions relating to the colonial future and development of the country as will be indicated in subsequent chapters.

7. Ibid., pp. 69-71.
1.2 Geographic, Economic and Social Outline

The present boundaries of the Sudan were settled with the advent of the Anglo-Egyptian regime in 1898 and its subsequent establishment in the country. During the Mahdist period (1885-98) the boundaries of the state varied with the variation in the power of the government and its ability to elicit obedience from the people over whom it claimed to exercise authority. During the latter period of the Ottoman-Egyptian administration (1821-85), the Sudan formed part of a huge empire which extended from the Mediterranean to the Great Lakes of Central Africa. As in the days of the Mahdiya, however, there were no definite frontiers in the modern sense of the word and boundaries simply ebbed and flowed with the rise and fall of the effective power of the state. Before the advent of the Ottoman-Egyptian regime in 1821, the country never existed as a single administrative unit. Northern Sudan was divided into a number of competing tribal domains and the South was a little known part of 'Darkest Africa'.

As it exists today the Sudan is an immensely vast country - the largest in Africa. Stretching from latitude 22 degrees north to latitude 4 degrees near the Equator and from the Red Sea to Chad in Equatorial West Africa, it covers just under one million (967,500) square miles or over two and a half million (2,506,800) square kilometres. This is as large as Britain, Spain, France and the Netherlands put together, or more than ten times that of

8. Arkell, op.cit., "What is known as the southern Sudan today, has no history before A.D. 1821", p. 2.
Britain. The Sudan is a land of many frontiers. It shares boundaries with Egypt and Libya to the north, Ethiopia to the east, Kenya, Uganda and the Congo to the south and the Republic of Chad and the Central African Republic to the west. The dominating geographical feature is the River Nile flowing south to north. Geographically, the country can be divided into three zones running east-west; the northernmost from the Egyptian border to Khartoum consisting mainly of desert and scrubland; the central zone from Khartoum south to 10 degrees latitude, well supplied with the Nile tributaries and extensively irrigated and cultivated; and the southern zone, which is typically 'central African' with large areas of swamp, savannah and tropical forest and small tracts of cultivated land.

Sudan as thus constituted is not a wholly arbitrary section of the desert and savannah lands of Africa north of the Equator. It achieves a significant geographical unity from the fact that it is a large and important part of the Nile Basin, containing the head waters of the drainage system in the south-west and approximately the whole of the Blue and White Nile systems below the plateau where they have their origins in Ethiopia and the Great Lakes of East and Central Africa respectively. However, the variety of climatic conditions in such a vast country with extremely poor means of communication is bound to produce different modes of living.

In the northern part of the Sudan, from the Egyptian borders
to the north of Khartoum (which as an administrative unit constitutes the Northern Province - see map) the population live almost entirely on the River Nile, beyond the banks of which rocks and bare desert make life impossible. They grow palm trees and citrus fruits for export to the rest of the country and they grow enough food crops for themselves.

Western Sudan is a land of extensive pastures covering the provinces of Kordofan and Darfur, which are the domains of the nomad Arab camel breeders. They constitute a strong tribal community whose members are in constant rhythmical seasonal movements in pursuit of pasture and grazing grounds. To the southwest of the camel-breeding Arabs live a group of tribes known as the Baggara, who raise cattle and horses.

Eastern Sudan is yet another vast stretch of land between the Blue Nile on the one hand and the jagged mountains of the Eritrean border and the Red Sea hills on the other. This is the homeland of the Beja tribes whom the world has known by the different name of 'Fussie Wuzzies' which Kipling gave them in one of his poems. Some of the Beja provide the bulk of labour in the docks of Port Sudan; others have been recently assembled into villages to grow cotton and fruits in the delta of the river Gash. The main sections of the tribes are, however, still following their camels up and down among the valleys of the Red Sea hills.

The Southern Sudan consists of the three provinces of Bahr el Ghazal, Equatoria and Upper Nile covering an area of 250,000
square miles or about one fourth of the total area of the country. Unlike the North, the South lies within the tropics and is thus dominated by forest woods and swamps. The physical and climatic conditions have produced an environment difficult to live in. It has, on the other hand, produced a variety in the modes of living. At one extreme there are those who live on animal husbandry and at the other extreme those who live on crop production. In every area fishing, hunting and gathering of wild vegetation and fruits are subsidiary economic activities.

The heart of the country both geographically and economically is central Sudan which contains the richest agricultural and grazing lands including the famous cotton growing area of the 'Gezira' (meaning 'Peninsula') between the Blue and White Nile. This region which is roughly coterminous with the two provinces of Khartoum and the Blue Nile, is not only comparatively the most prosperous and hence the most populated but also comprises most of the chief towns which constitute the centres of almost all political, economic and administrative action in the country.

The main feature of the economy of the Sudan, as in most developing countries, is that it is predominantly agricultural. About 85% of the active population are engaged in agricultural activities, live-stock, fishing and forestry. With the exception of Yemen, the Sudan is the poorest of all Arab countries. The Gross National Product (GNP) in 1968 was estimated to be $1,390
million with a GNP per capita of $97.9. Cotton is by far the most important economic resource. Much of it is produced by the Gezira Scheme, which is controlled by the Government. It usually contributes 60% of the total export earnings. The principal food crop is millet, while coffee, tobacco and sugar cane are also grown. Vast forests provide timber and gum arabic of which Sudan provides 80% of the world’s supply. Industry is confined mainly to the manufacturing of food, vegetable oils, cement and textiles. The country depends heavily on imported commodities which, apart from various consumer goods, include transport equipment, machinery, chemicals and petroleum products. Private management of the economy was checked by the May 1969 Revolution and the present trend is towards centralised planning, with most of the foreign companies, especially in the service sector (banks and insurance), having been nationalised.

1.3 The People

The total population of the Sudan was estimated on 17 January 1956 (the date on which the first population census was completed) at 10,262,536.10 Of these over half a million (about 3%) were


foreigners - mainly West Africans, Egyptians and Greeks. The remainder represented no less than 572 tribes and sub-tribes which range in size from one million down to groups of a few dozen individuals. Although 39% of the population claimed 'Arab' descent more than 50% reported that they speak Arabic as their mother tongue.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 25-26.}

Ethnically, there is no pure race of any kind in Northern Sudan. The people are a great mixture of early Caucasians, Hamitics, Arabs and Nilotic negroes. A clear indication of this is the wide range of colours and features among the Sudanese Arabs who are, on the whole, much darker than other Arabic-speaking peoples north of the Sahara and across the Red Sea in Arabia. However, both ethnically and culturally the two regions of Northern and Southern Sudan are strikingly dissimilar. While the North is held together by the Arabic language, the Muslim faith, and a sense of sharing in the Arab heritage, the inhabitants of the South consist of many negroid tribes speaking different languages and professing many beliefs. This, as has been noted earlier, is to be explained in terms of the historical evolution of the country which in turn has been largely determined by the geographical setting of the two regions of the country. The harmonization of these two regions has already shown itself to be the main preoccupation of the Sudanese in their post-independence history and may prove to be of still greater importance in the
future. Needless to say the fulfilment of this objective is not merely of administrative or constitutional significance for the Sudanese. It is central to their vision of themselves as a creative link between the worlds of Africa and the Middle East.

From this survey, it will have been seen that the geographical position of the Sudan between the Mediterranean and the Middle Eastern world on the one hand and Central Africa on the other, coupled with the fact that the Nile runs through Sudanese territories for hundreds of miles before it reaches Egypt, has always played an important part in determining the character and historical evolution of the country from Biblical times to the present day. In almost all cases of contact between the Sudan and the outside world, Egypt has been the most important link and especially since the rise of Islam, by far the greatest single influence. Thus the Pharaohs, the Romans, the Arabs; the Turks and the British - all those who governed or conquered Egypt in the past have found it either necessary or expedient to attempt (with varying degrees of success) to extend their influence if not their power beyond the traditional boundaries of Egypt into the lands which now constitute the Republic of the Sudan.
CHAPTER II

NATIONAL SOCIOLINGUISTIC PROFILE

2.0 Introduction

As we have seen in Chapter I, the Sudan has in many respects a significant position in being the 'hyphen' between the Arab world and the world of Africa south of the Sahara. Geographically, culturally and linguistically, Sudan as thus constituted, is a microcosm of Africa. The significance of this position can be readily appreciated when it is realized that the Sudan contains within its borders representatives of all the major defined groupings of languages in Africa with the exception of the Khoisan languages of Southern Africa. In the continent of Africa only one country - Somalia - has a population with a single mother tongue. Each of the Arab countries of North Africa has a non-Arab minority speaking one or two different languages (Berber, Kanuri, Nubian). Further south almost every country of Middle Africa has a population speaking many languages belonging to several language groups. The number of distinct languages spoken in the Sudan

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cannot be much less than 100.² A few of these, perhaps about a dozen, are spoken only in the Sudan; the remainder are shared with immediate neighbouring territories - with the exception of course of Arabic, which has by far the widest dispersal of any language of the Sudan. Thus, the Sudan is a typical African country in that it is multilingual and a typical Middle African country in that it is richly multilingual. A detailed account of the distribution of the languages of the Sudan, let alone a linguistic description of them would certainly require extensive field work as well as considerable linguistic expertise, which are beyond my purview and competence.

All that can be attempted in this chapter is to give a general account of the language situation or what Ferguson calls a "Sociolinguistic Profile".³ This account is largely based on a limited amount of data derived mainly from the first and (so far) only nationwide census of 1955/56, and other sources. It is proposed to describe the language situation in terms of:
1) number and size of languages, 2) distribution of major languages, 3) the pattern of language dominance, 4) the extent and nature of standardization. This approach follows a slightly modified version of Ferguson's prescription for the formulation of a national sociolinguistic profile.⁴ What Ferguson

². The list of "Languages, sublanguages and dialects" can be found in First Population Census of Sudan 1955/56, Methods Report, Vol. II, pp. 277-87.
calls "language of wider communication" (LWC) applies, in the case of the Sudan, to English which of course is the main object of this study and will not therefore figure in this background against which it is to be subsequently examined.

2.1 Number and Size of Languages

In 1956, it was reported that the Sudan - an area of just under one million square miles - has a population of 10.2 million people speaking 100 or more languages. Uncertainty about the exact number arises partly because it could not be ascertained in some cases whether a speech variety was a distinct language or a dialect and partly because new languages are still occasionally 'discovered'. The Census asked for the language spoken at home, "the operative word being at home", and therefore does not provide any measure of actual second language knowledge or of multilingualism.

Arabic is the giant among Sudanese languages, being reported as a mother tongue by over 5.2 million people. Following a considerable distance behind are Dinka with 1.1 million and Nuer and Benja (Bedawiye) with almost half a million each. Seven other languages - Zande, Shilluk, Bari, Lutuke, Fur, Nile Nubian and Nubian - have the respectable number of between 100,000 and

5. First Population Census of Sudan 1955/6, op.cit. This and the following figures are taken from the Census unless otherwise stated.
But these last ten languages have between them only 60% of the number that Arabic has. At the other end of the scale are the languages of pygmy size, so small that the Census did not trouble to count them separately. Of these the best known are Eliri with reputedly 100 taxpayers (probably not more than 400 speakers), Njalgulgule with 219 taxpayers and Talodi with 205.\(^7\)

At this point it is important to note that the Census used both ethnic and administrative criteria in classifying Sudan’s languages for census purposes. Although one census objective was to illustrate the incidence of language related to tribal and cultural groups, another was to identify the broad geographical and administrative areas in which they occur. One therefore finds both tribal (e.g. Nilotic) and geographical (e.g. northern and central Sudan) language classifications (see Table 1). The essentially British ethnic classification of Sudan tribes and languages, on which the Census enumeration was based, appears to have been, until recently, accepted by anthropologists and linguists alike. It was the American linguist J.H. Greenberg who has first questioned the validity of these British classifications and has come out with a completely new classification of the languages of Africa in which the languages listed in the Census as Sudanic, Nilo-Ramitic and Nilotic have been differently grouped and reorganized.\(^8\) Perhaps

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the greatest importance of Greenberg's work lies in his having brought the whole theory of language classification into question. Greenberg's cardinal distinction is between genetic and typological classifications. A genetic classification reflects the genealogical history of the languages concerned; a typological classification is one which has no historical implication, either in terms of common descent, or in terms of interaction between languages. A typological classification is thus arbitrary, depending upon the criteria selected by the investigator; but a genetic classification is non-arbitrary since it is linked to historical events which must have occurred or not occurred, and a correct genetic classification is one which implies those events which did occur. It was the merit of Greenberg to begin to analyse the characteristics of various types of classification and to apply his own historically oriented approach consistently over the whole range of African languages.

The most comprehensive work published to date in the whole field of African languages, however, is the "Handbook of African Languages" compiled by the linguists of the International African Institute. Part III of the "Handbook", already referred to, is a survey of the languages of North-East Africa and is therefore of particular relevance here. In this survey, as in

9. Greenberg, Essays in Linguistics (University of Chicago Press, 1957), Chaps. iii, iv and vi. This is not to say that the distinction was originally made by Greenberg but rather that he was perhaps the first to clarify the distinction between genetic and typological classifications and between the kinds of data appropriate to each type of classification.

10. Ibid.

11. See note 7.
all others produced by the International African Institute, the compilers use as their basic unit of classification not the language area but the individual language. They distinguish three kinds of speech variety all of which count as basic units at the same level of classification:

a) a language with no identified dialectal variants.

b) a language with which dialects of lesser importance are associated.

c) Dialect Cluster: a number of dialects none of which seems to be dominant.

On the basis of common features and resemblances, the basic units found to be related are further grouped into larger sections which are termed "Language Group". ¹²

However, it is in terms of language area rather than individual languages or Language Groups that I now propose to draw the rest of the sociolinguistic picture. This is necessarily dictated by considerations of usefulness as well as by limitations of space. Furthermore, it would seem necessary and perhaps profitable to confine the picture to the major language areas because of the large number of languages involved and the almost infinite fragmentation of language areas which is a feature particularly of the south-west and south-east border

¹². The term 'Language Group', always given with capital letters is a technical term of classification and applies to a number of related languages and language clusters at a certain stage of classification.
MAP 3. Distribution of the Major Languages of the Sudan*

A: Nile Nubian Language
B: Bedawiye and Tigre
C: Nuba Hills Languages
D: Darfurian Languages
E: The Languages of Southern Sudan
F: Arabic

*(Simplified from Census Map PC 11 in Final Report Vol. 11.)
TABLE 1. Distribution of population by Language Spoken.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language Spoken</th>
<th>Number of Persons in Thousands</th>
<th>Percentage of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>5,276</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Arabic languages spoken in northern and central Sudan</td>
<td>1,244</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nilotic</td>
<td>1,843</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nilo-Hamitic</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudanic</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darfurian</td>
<td>546</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West African</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other African</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>10,263</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Source: First Population Census, Methods Report Vol. II, pp. 277-87. The table shows the ten major language groups into which the Census divided Sudan's languages. As indicated earlier (p. 19), the Census used both ethnic and geographical/administrative criteria of classification. The latter is of two kinds. Item 2 in the table combines numerous ethnic groups, including Sudanic peoples, to find the total number of persons in northern and central Sudan who do not speak Arabic. Item 5, on the other hand, Sudanic Languages, includes in fact only the Sudanics in the south and southwest Sudan, not Sudanic ethnic groups in the north.
regions of the Sudan. Languages are found not in a single discrete area but instead occupy many 'islands' dispersed either through areas of other languages or through non-populated areas. When to this fragmentation of language areas is added the penetration of the border areas of the Sudan by a large number of languages whose main weight lies in neighbouring territories, it will be understood that the linguistic map of the Sudan is necessarily complex in detail.

2.2 Distribution of Major Languages (See Map 3)

Besides Arabic, there are in Northern Sudan four main languages and Language Groups distributed mainly over four distinct regions. The order of presentation is a geographical one, moving from north to south and east to west as far as is possible.

A) Nile Nubian Language: This is the language spoken by the Nubians who live on the Nile banks all along the northern part of what is called the Nile Valley, extending north across the Sudanese-Egyptian border. Typically classified as a Dialect Cluster, the Nubian language has four main dialects: Mattoki, Sikkoti, Mahasi and Dongolawi, all of which are more or less mutually intelligible. Of the 311,000 Nubians, a little less than half are estimated to have left their traditional home to seek employment in the urban centres of Sudan and Egypt.
Nubian is reputed to be a descendant of the oldest recorded language in the Sudan. Though no longer a written language, we know that Old Nubian was the language of the early Christian Church in Nubia and that the Bible was translated into it during the Christian period (6th - 13th Centuries A.D.) long before the Arabs invaded the country.

B) Bedawiye and Tigre: These are two distinct languages spoken by the various Hamitic tribes known collectively by the name of Beja. The Beja, who are mainly camel nomads, occupy almost the whole of the Red Sea Hinterland stretching across the north-eastern part of the country. There are four main Beja tribes: the Hadendowa, which is the largest, the Bisharin, Beni Amer and the Amerar. Together with a dozen or so minor affiliated tribes, these make up the estimated 472,000 speakers of Bedawiye and Tigre in the Sudan.

Bedawiye, a Hamitic language, is the more widely spoken of the two but nothing is known of dialectal divisions within it. Tigre, on the other hand, is a Semitic language with hardly any dialectal variations and is spoken mainly across the border in Eritrea. Most of the minor Beja tribes are said to be bilingual - speaking both Bedawiye and Tigre. Of the major tribes Beni Amer alone is linguistically mixed with some speaking Bedawiya, some Tigre and some both.
C) Nuba Hills Languages: It should be pointed out at the outset that this group of languages is quite distinct from the Nile Nubian Language already discussed. The inhabitants of these hill masses in the south-west are both ethnically and geographically quite apart from the Nile Nubians. Although there seems to be no final explanation of how the name "Nuba", which originally belonged to the inhabitants of the Nile Valley, came to be extended to include other unrelated peoples, it has been suggested that during the destruction of the Nubian Kingdoms by the Arabs (13th - 16th Centuries A.D.) some of the Nile Nubians fled to take refuge in the remote hill country in the south-west, taking with them their language and their name. Later, by extension, their name was given to the hills and came to be applied by the Arabs to the original Negro inhabitants into whom the fleeing Nubian were eventually entirely assimilated.

Of the numerous distinct languages spoken today in the Nuba Hills only one language - a Dialect Cluster - is reckoned to be related to the Nile Nubian Language. The exact number of the languages spoken throughout the Nuba Hills has not yet been determined although on the basis of research conducted over long intervals by various missionaries and scholars, three Language Groups covering 45 languages and dialects have been established. 13

The diversity of the linguistic enclave of the Nuba Hills has long been recognised and expressed by the popular saying that there are as many Nuba languages as there are Nuba Hills. In fact it is not surprising that African linguists have found it "impossible to treat the languages spoken in the Nuba Hills together on any but a purely geographical basis".\textsuperscript{14}

The 500,000 or so Nuba people inhabit an area of approximately 30,000 square miles (about the size of Scotland) which is the whole of the Nuba Hills region. Although almost completely surrounded by Arab tribes, the Nuba people, unlike the other linguistic minorities of Northern Sudan, have remained - in their isolation - largely pagan and quite impervious to Arab cultural influence.

D) \textbf{Darfurian Languages}: To speak of Darfurian languages is simply to make use of a convenient geographical or rather an administrative label, (Darfur is the name of the westernmost province) to account for an otherwise intractable linguistic situation. For in this province are scattered several languages, the classification of which has posed considerable problems for African linguists.

The two major languages are Fur and Zaghawi, both of which are spoken on both sides of the Sudan-Chad frontier. Fur, classified as an Isolated Unit, is spoken, with little dialectal

variation, throughout a large part of Darfur province by about 170,000 people. Zaghawi, a Dialect Cluster which is a member of the East Saharan languages, is spoken by about 41,000 on the Sudanese side of the border. The other minor languages spoken in various parts of Darfur include, among others, Masalit, Daju, Tama, Maba, Birked, Meidob with numbers ranging between 27,000 and 1,800 speakers. Some of these languages are said to be related while others are widely separated.

The linguistic picture of Darfur, and in fact the whole of Western Sudan, is further complicated by the presence of other West African languages that have found their way into the country ever since the turn of the century when vast numbers of West Africans, mainly from Nigeria and Chad, first began to settle permanently all along the pilgrim route to Mecca across the Sudan. Today it is estimated that there are more than half a million West Africans in the Sudan and although some of them have mixed with the local inhabitants of Western Sudan, they have, in the main, tended to form colonies of their own in towns and rural areas, thus retaining their own languages and traditions while at the same time practising Islam and adopting Arabic.

E) The Languages of Southern Sudan: Although it is impossible to draw a rigid line between the mainly Muslim, Arabic-speaking

15. These and all subsequent figures are taken from Tucker and Bryan, Ibid. The number of speakers given refers to speakers within the borders of Sudan only.
North and the mainly pagan, partly Christian and negroid South, the tenth parallel may conveniently be taken as their point of divergence. In the three Southern Provinces of Bahr-el-Ghazal, Equatoria and Upper Nile, an even greater complexity of population is to be found. Linguistically the inhabitants have been traditionally divided into three principal groups: the Nilotics, the Nilo-Hamitics and the Sudanic tribes. These groups in turn have their subdivisions and while some languages are understood by a wide range of peoples there are others known only to small dying sections of a single tribe.

The Nilotics include the Dinka (1.1 million speakers), Nuer (460,000 speakers) and Shilluk (150,000 speakers) and other smaller tribes, giving a total of about 1.8 million speakers, who mostly live in Bahr el Ghazal and Upper Nile Provinces. All the Nilotics are conspicuous for their absorbing interest in cattle, which enters widely into their customs and traditions.

The Nilo-Hamitics, too, are by tradition cattle-owners, and like the Nilotics they are to be found both within and beyond the border areas of the Sudan. The three main language groups are Bari (170,000 speakers), Latuka (110,000 speakers) and Toposa (34,000 speakers), which together with languages and language groups add up to a total of about 450,000 speakers.

The Sudanic-speaking tribes of south-western Sudan comprise numerous tribes speaking a number of related languages of which by far the most dominant is that of the Zande which claims
220,000 speakers. Again most of these languages spill over the borders into the Congo and Central Africa.

The foregoing is little more than a sketch of the distribution of what may be considered the purely African languages of the Sudan. But before we turn to Arabic, we must briefly relate a few points that stand out in this connection. We should note first that in the case of the African languages there is a broad and definite correlation between ethnic origin, geographical location and language. Thus the basically Hamitic Nile Nubians though Islamized and tinged with an admixture of Arab blood, still retain an ethnic identity and a language which date back to the pre-Arab conquest. The same is true of the Beja of the Red Sea Hinterland who are also indigenous descendants of the Hamitic race. The Nuba Hills people, despite their wide variety of languages and tribes, are by all accounts a distinct ethnic group of Negro-Hamitic descent. Historically, they are said to be the back-wash of many African Negro-Hamitic tribes who have been swept up from various places into the hills. The fact that they are still largely pagan separates them even further from the rest of the people of Northern Sudan. The various tribes of Darfur, dispersed as they are today among the camel-owning Arab tribes, are all unquestionably of Negro descent and though they profess Islam, they form a distinct ethnic group on account of their common negroid appearance and their indigenous African languages.
There is of course always danger of confusion when expressions like "Hamitic", "Semitic" and "Negroid" are used to refer to both race and language. This is even more so in the case of the Sudan since everything approaching pure racial types is rare and very little can therefore be gained by attempting to classify the inhabitants of the country into racial subdivisions. However, since we are here concerned only with language, what is important for us to realise is that the linguistic minorities are also to a greater or lesser extent identified with certain non-Arab ethnic groups. Historically, it is recognised that these ethnic groups, above all the Nile Nubians and the Beja, have existed on Sudanese soil long before the coming of the Arabs and have maintained, despite varying degrees of admixture with Arab blood, uninterrupted continuity into the present. Furthermore, these ethnic groups are today identified with certain geographical regions in the country which are recognised as their traditional homelands.

With these general facts in mind, we may now turn to Arabic. Later when we come to discuss the pattern of language dominance, the social and linguistic implications of these facts will be of particular relevance.

F) Arabic: It can now be safely said that the remaining greater part of Northern Sudan is the domain of what is probably the "youngest" of the languages of the Sudan. Arabic is today spoken not only as a mother tongue over the largest part of
central and northern Sudan but also as a lingua franca throughout Northern Sudan. In the urban areas of Southern Sudan a kind of pidgin Arabic has evolved and become more widespread in recent years as a means of communication between Northerners and Southerners on the one hand and among speakers of various tribal languages of the South, on the other.

Arabic is the sole language of the most densely populated lands extending all along the Nile from the Nubian homeland in the north through Khartoum and the Gezira in central Sudan to the southernmost fringes of Northern Sudan. It is the sole language of the Arab tribes in the central clay plain extending east of the Blue Nile and bordering the Red Sea Hinterland of the Beja. Apart from the Hill Nubians in the south-west and the Darfurians in the extreme west, Western Sudan is principally inhabited by various Arabic-speaking tribes. Such is the wide diffusion of Arabic in the Sudan.

Although the Arabic spoken in the Sudan has a recognisable individuality which distinguishes it from, say, Egyptian or Syrian Arabic, it is of course far from being a homogeneous entity. There are within the so-called Sudanese Arabic a large variety of regional dialects and sub-dialects which are difficult to account for in any systematic way, let alone classify. This is not in any way surprising since variation within language is the 'normal' state of languages as has been persistently
Furthermore the dialectal map is made even more complex by the enormous size of the country, the inadequacy of communications (and hence the inaccessibility of certain areas) and the existence of almost self-sufficient communities and nomadic tribes. Thus, whereas some dialects are limited to geographically well-defined areas or to a particular tribe, others are typical of only a town, sometimes a single village or group of villages. So far, however, no linguistic studies have been made of the forms of Arabic spoken in the Sudan and for our purpose it would suffice to distinguish the three main groups of the sedentary population: (1) Northern: Northern Province; (2) Central: Three Towns, the Gezira and the country east of the Blue Nile; (3) Western: Kordofan and Darfur provinces.

2.3 Pattern of Language Dominance

The sheer numerical superiority and the wide diffusion of Arabic have already been noted. The 5.2 million native speakers of Arabic make up 51% of the total population of the Sudan. But since, according to the Census, only 39% of the population claim Arab ancestry, the Census Commissioner suggests that these figures "may be taken in a way as a measure of the expanding 

influence of Arabic culture". The Census further reports that about 20% of the population speak Arabic as a second language. It is of course reasonable to suspect that these figures may be a little exaggerated by religious and patriotic motivation or by various sociocultural pressures to report Arab ancestry and/or knowledge of Arabic as mother tongue or second language where this is not really the case. Furthermore, reports concerning knowledge of Arabic as a second language are even more doubtful since there was apparently no way of determining the degree of control of the language on the part of these claimants. Nevertheless these reservations cannot be made strongly enough to balance out the evidence for the increasing dominance of Arabic.

Although very little appears to be known about the process of conversion to Arabic, there are undoubtedly various pressures working on the Northern non-Arab Sudanese individual to adopt Arabic. Least of these pressures, it seems, is the demographic one. The fact that there is a majority of Arabic speakers is not adequately felt as such because the enormous size of the country, the inadequacy of communications and the predominantly tribal mode of life are all factors which militate against, rather than enhance, the intermingling of the Arabic-speaking majority with the non-Arabic speaking minorities except in modern urban areas.

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Historically the religious factor has been working more efficiently than any other in bringing about the adoption of Arabic. There is a definite correlation between Islam and Arabic. The Koran, being the embodiment of the words of God, is the final authority not only on Muslim religion but also on the Arabic language. Muslim prayer is accepted only when it is said in Arabic and so are all other religious rituals ranging from the Muslim equivalent of "grace" to the rites of pilgrimage in Mecca. Every Muslim is required to say his prayers five times a day and this involves reading verses from the Koran in Arabic. The Koran often draws the Muslim's attention to the beauty of its language and recommends to him the desirability of committing to memory as much of it as possible, for there is great virtue and salvation in this. The Prophet, Muhammad, is to be imitated as an example of life by all Muslims. He also stressed his Arabness and defined it as the ability to speak and understand Arabic. There is then a great deal of indoctrination in Islam which induces its followers to adopt Arabic. This perhaps is why so many different Muslim peoples - Persians, Pakistanis and formerly Turks and Hausa - teach Arabic as a religious language and adopted the Arabic script for their own languages. It is not therefore surprising that in the Sudan, Arabic is spoken more among the Muslim Nile Nubians, the Beja and the Darfurians than among the non-Muslim Nuba Hills people or the pagan Southerners. Thus the religious homogeneity created by Islam in Northern Sudan naturally came to be expressed
In Arabic and both Islam and Arabic have come to be powerful unifying influences even beyond the spread of the Arabs themselves or the assimilation of Arab blood. Whatever ethnic divisions exist among the peoples of Northern Sudan, almost all Northern Sudanese are today agreed on the acceptance of the Islamic heritage and the Arabic language that goes with it. Nor is there any significant demand among those whose mother tongue is not Arabic, whether Nubians, Beja or Darfurians, that their language be adopted in place of Arabic for administrative, educational or general use. It is interesting to note that in recent years when the Sudanese constitution was being rewritten, the only objection to Arabic being written into the constitution as the official language, was raised by the parties of the non-Muslim Southern Sudan.

On another level, the machinery of government in all its various spheres—administrative, judiciary, military, etc.—is a pro-Arabic factor. Both during the Turko-Egyptian and Anglo-Egyptian periods, government was conducted mainly in Arabic. Although English became the official language during the Condominium period, its active use was confined to government offices and the middle and higher levels of education. The ordinary man in the street rarely came in contact with it. The special political status of the Sudan as an Anglo-Egyptian Condominium, on the other hand, excluded from it such features as English-speaking settler communities, and the few British
administrators in the country were in fact required to learn Arabic for the conduct of their work.

The most effective and crucial agents of conversion to Arabic - especially since modern technologies began to find their way into the Sudan - are undoubtedly the social and economic forces. That this is so has been convincingly demonstrated by McLoughlin in his monograph, which embodies the results of an extensive analysis of the Census data on tribal groups and languages in the Sudan.\(^\text{18}\) In this monograph, McLoughlin (who was sometime lecturer in the Department of Economics, University of Khartoum) attempts the worthy though extremely complex operation of getting more ethnic and linguistic information out of the Census results than was directly asked for. He was particularly concerned "to demonstrate one of the ways in which a census can be made more useful. (The monograph) attempts to show how the sociologist and the economist may put together data on tribal groups and languages to measure the incidence of 'language-switching'.\(^\text{19}\) This he does by attempting to analyse the disparities in distribution between figures for tribal groups and the speakers of languages corresponding to these groups. The disparity is invariably of the type: "X proportion of Y tribal group do not speak the Y group language". This disparity he


\(^{19}\) Ibid., p. iii.
explains as the result of language-switching from vernacular to Arabic. He further labels this language-switching as the result of 'socialization' - meaning in this case assimilation to the nationally dominant ethnic and linguistic group of Arab. For the purpose of his study, McLoughlin divides the Sudan into nine distinct economic regions and then proceeds to examine and measure the distribution of tribal groups and languages within these regions. On the basis of the two sets of materials yielded by this analysis he sets out to ascertain how many people, of which ethnic groups and in which economic regions have adopted Arabic instead of or in addition to their customary language. One of his conclusions is that "higher income regions tend to have a greater range, in both number and diversity, of tribal and nationality groups who make up the Arabic-speaking but non-Arab category". All tribal groups, observes McLoughlin, show incidence of switching to Arabic, some more readily than others. The Nile Nubians show the highest degree of language change with 62.2% while the Nuba Hills people show the lowest with 13.8%; The Beja have changed only 26.3% while the Darfurians and West Africans both show half of their members adopting Arabic and, in some cases, other languages that happen to be prevalent in the various economic regions to which they migrate. In terms of the economic regions' propensities to

20. Ibid., p. 63.
induce language-switching, regardless of tribe or tribal groups, it is found that the Three Towns has the highest percentage of switchers, with Nile Nubians, Beja and Darfurians showing rates much higher than average, Nuba slightly higher and West Africans about average. The Gezira has the second highest rate of switching to Arabic. But these - that is the Three Towns and the Gezira - are also the two regions with the highest economic output, which goes to demonstrate and confirm the strong pull of the economic force behind the change to Arabic.

In practical everyday terms the economic force is to be seen in the sheer need to communicate, particularly in the work environment, where the majority of persons speak Arabic. The non-Arabic speaker must learn Arabic to retain his job or very often to be employed at all. The selling and purchasing of commodities in the shops and markets of the urban centres, the need to read legal and other notices that affect him and so on, compel an individual to adopt Arabic.

Socially a person may be snubbed and scorned for his poor Arabic, his inability to converse about events and people, and his inability to read papers and communicate with neighbours. When this shortcoming is coupled with a lower status, markedly dark and heavier non-Arab features, non-observance of Muslim customs, or working at a menial job, the fastest and easiest way to conformity and social acceptance becomes the adoption of Arabic.
With more and more people entering the wage market, more and more people adopting Islam, and with all who receive any formal education receiving it in Arabic, this language is becoming the main language of an increasing percentage of the linguistic minorities of the Sudan.

Of all the languages spoken in the Sudan, Arabic is by far then the most dominant. Not only is it numerically superior, being the mother tongue of over half the population, but it is also the only language that is used in all national spheres of life - literary, administrative, military, educational and for general communication. Moreover, partly for these two reasons, Arabic is the sole language which is increasingly learned to any large extent by native speakers of other languages in the country, who, as adults tend to adopt it as a second language, or, as children brought up in urban centres, ultimately switch over to it.

2.4 Standardization

As Ferguson points out, the development of a language as a national language depends primarily on the extent of its written use and the degree of its standardization. 22 As a scale for measuring the extent of writing, Ferguson suggests the following:

WO: a language not used for normal written purposes.
W1: a language used for normal written purposes.

W2: a language in which original research in the physical sciences is published regularly.

In terms of this scale, it will immediately be recognised that, with the exception of Arabic, all of the languages of the Sudan fall within the W0 category. In fact, apart from Arabic, none of the languages of Northern Sudan are written at all. It was only in Southern Sudan that Christian missionaries, anxious to obtain a vernacular medium for religious teaching and worship, have developed orthographies for about a dozen or so languages. But even these are not today used for normal written purposes although some of them still retain an embryonic printed literature. Arabic, on the other hand, being one of the major literary languages of the world, clearly belongs to the W1 category and may in time develop well enough to qualify for W2. This being so, and quite apart from the matter of standardization, the other minority languages of the Sudan could not have competed with Arabic for its dominant position as a national language.

As a measure for the extent of standardization, Ferguson proposes an St0 - St2 scale, where St0 at one end of the scale represents "a language with no important amount of standardization" and St2 at the other end of the scale refers to "a language which has a single widely-accepted norm which is felt to be appropriate with only minor modifications or variations for all purposes for which the language is used".23 In terms of this scale of

standardization, almost all the languages of the Sudan, with the exception, again, of Arabic, would correspond with St0 end of the scale. Thus both Nubian and Bedawiye are identified as Dialect Clusters, and although the dialectal variations within the languages of the Nuba Hills and Darfur are not exactly known, no identified dialectal variety of any of these languages is known to be a norm among native speakers of these languages. Arabic, on the other hand, as already noted, has a wide variety of regional and sub-regional dialects extending in a chain of, more or less, mutually intelligible varieties ranging from that of the smallest local village to that of the largest urban centre. Although the urban population tend to rate their dialects as regional norms, this is not generally known or accepted by the rural inhabitants who constitute the majority of the population. The urban dialect of the Three Towns, however, freed from all purely tribal and local features, sensitive to external influence, literary and political, is becoming increasingly a recognizable standard. Formed as it has been through the agglomeration of people from all of the Sudan, there is a family resemblance between it and most other dialects, and it is generally accepted, at least by the literate section of the population, as the norm for Sudanese Arabic. It is this dialect that among speakers in towns, who may have been brought under the influence of a local dialect, serves as the common means
of communication, or to use Gumperz's term, the "code matrix".\textsuperscript{24}

There is then a certain degree of standardization within Sudanese spoken Arabic and to this extent, unlike the other languages of the Sudan, it belongs more to the St2 end of the scale.

But quite apart from the degree of standardization which Sudanese Arabic enjoys in contrast with the other languages of the Sudan, there is quite another kind of standardization, different in nature, which is characteristic of the Arabic language as a whole in its widest context of the Arab world, the Sudan included. This is the bi-modal standardization based on the 'vertical' or role differentiation between the classical variety of Arabic on the one hand, and colloquial Arabic in its different dialectal forms, on the other. That there are two varieties of Arabic - classical and colloquial - existing side by side throughout the Arab world has long been recognised but never fully described or satisfactorily explained. The linguistic phenomenon, which is by no means confined to Arabic, has however been the subject of Ferguson's classic article in which he introduced the term "diglossia" to characterize this particular language situation.\textsuperscript{25} Ferguson's own definition of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{24} John J. Gumperz, "Types of Linguistic Communities", \textit{Anthropological Linguistics}, Vol. IV (1962), pp. 31-32. Gumperz defines the term code matrix as the "set of codes and subcodes functionally related to the 'communication matrix'" the latter being "the totality of communication roles within a society".
\end{itemize}
"diglossia" would be enough here to serve as an outline summary of this interesting study, a congested account of which would merely result in generalizations of the more significant detailed observations in the text. Diglossia is defined as "a relatively stable language situation, in which in addition to the primary dialects of the languages (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written or formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation". Such is the case with Arabic, Modern Greek, Swiss German, and Haitian Creole. Within each of these languages, the superposed variety, called H ("high") and the regional dialect or dialects, called L ("low") have two distinct functions such that in one set of situations or activities only H is appropriate while in another set only L is appropriate. In a number of respects, H commands more prestige, being regarded superior to and somehow more 'real' than L, apparently because of its association with religion and/or because of its literary heritage. The learning of H is chiefly accomplished by means of formal

26. Ibid., p. 435.
education whereas L is acquired naturally. There is in H a strong tradition of standardization, with grammars, dictionaries, treatises on pronunciation and style, whereas the dialectal forms of L, with their wide variations in grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation are only studied, if at all, by scholars outside the speech community. H has a well established orthography whereas L is not usually written and when occasionally individuals write it, they usually resort to 'transliteration' in the script of H.

In the Arab countries there is almost a universal awareness of H as the symbol and preserver of the cultural unity and conscious efforts directed at constant standardization of H are endorsed by official support from Arab governments. Although in most, if not all, Arab countries, there is a standard L, often that of the capital, language loyalty throughout the Arab world is bestowed on the standard H, which is regarded as the symbol of cultural continuity and the embodiment of the national identity of all Arabs.

On examining the structural systems of H and L, Ferguson finds striking differences in grammar, in lexicon and in phonology. In general, the grammar of L is found to be 'simpler' than that of H, which has grammatical categories that are not present in L and an inflectional system that is much reduced in L. Although the bulk of vocabulary is found to be shared between H and L, there are differences in use and meaning as well as variations in form. In phonology, it is found that "the sound systems of
H and L constitute a single phonological structure of which the L phonology is the basic system and the divergent features of H are either a sub-system or a para-system". 27

Such is the extent of the divergence between the Classical and the Colloquial, and such is the nature of standardization of Arabic in its widest socio-cultural setting. Of course, in the Arab community at large this Arabic diglossia is not seen as a 'problem' and although among Arab intellectuals and scholars there is awareness and general agreement that a linguistic problem exists, educators by and large refuse to admit that classical Arabic is virtually a second language relative to the colloquial language of the Arab language.

27. Ibid.
CHAPTER III

COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION, EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND LANGUAGE POLICY, 1900-1956

3.0 Background

The present educational system in the Sudan has its roots in the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium rule which extended from 1898 to 1956. Prior to that period the Sudan had its indigenous educational institution which was very similar in character to its counterparts in other parts of the Muslim world. This is the Koranic school or "Khalwa" which, with the spread of Islam and the settlement of Arab tribes, had become the basis of popular traditional education. Religious education, being a basic requirement of all Muslim communities, demanded a knowledge of the Koran and consequently the ability to read and write. The Khalwa's one and only teacher was the "faki" (religious teacher) who instructed the village children in the religious duty of reciting the Koran and in the simple elements of reading and writing in Classical Arabic. The main object of the Khalwa was to provide religious instruction and moral training and since both had their source in the precepts laid down in the Koran, education was reducible to the study and memorization of this text. The faki, who lived on the offerings of parents, often combined many functions in himself and was the most respected member of the community.
The Khalwa was the beginning and, for the majority, the end of education. Lord Cromer dismissed the Khalwa "as nearly useless as any educational establishment could be".¹ This does not seem to be a fair assessment since it can at least be said that, whatever its failings, the Khalwa was instrumental in transmitting and perpetuating the established set of Islamic values. Cromer obviously fails to recognise that the function of the Khalwa was to preserve a social order rather than to effect a social change, such as might have been consciously or unconsciously conceived by the Condominium regime. Whatever might be said about the mistaken or limited conception of the aims and ideals of education in the past, it certainly is true to say that the Khalwa was successful, if only partially, in attaining those aims and ideals. From among the pupils of the Khalwa "came the leaders of tribal and village life and the youths who went to complete their religious studies in Egypt".² It was a product of the Khalwa, the Mahdi, who led the successful revolt against the Turko-Egyptian rule in the Sudan.

The Sudan first came into contact with the Modern World during the Turko-Egyptian rule of 1821-1882. This was, however, a very feeble contact and in essence was but a faint reflection of a more vigorous development that had been initiated

². R.L. Hill, Egypt in the Sudan, p. 126.
in Egypt by the Ottoman Viceroy, Mohamed Ali. Mohamed Ali had embarked on an enlightened and modernised educational programme in connection with his remodelling of the Egyptian army and administration. Thus there developed in Egypt a system of state schools, providing the personnel for the new state, side by side with the old Islamic centres of learning. Egyptian scholars were sent to study in Europe and European expatriates were employed in the newly-founded schools and colleges. The work of Mohamed Ali was continued by his successors who took the development of education to heart. With the succession of Ismail Pasha, Mohamed Ali's grandson, this development first began to make an impact on the Sudan. One of Ismail Pasha's first acts was to order 'one or two' schools to be set up in Khartoum to receive at least 500 pupils. In 1867 a primary school was started in Khartoum and in 1868 two or three others were opened in various places. The further history of these schools is obscure. But this probably was the first time that the country had experienced secular education. Meanwhile, religious education continued to flourish. There had long been a steady stream of students from the Sudan to the venerable Islamic college of Al-Azhar in Egypt. By the grant of small stipends, Ismail Pasha now encouraged more of the best products of the Khalwa to pursue their studies in Al-Azhar.

The meagre formal state education introduced by Ismail Pasha was, however, "a delicate plant which never took root during
the Egyptian regime and which withered in the contemptuous blast of Mahdism. During the short-lived Mahdist theocracy a new impetus was given to the traditional Islamic education of the Khalwa which had always continued independently of ruling authorities. The Khalwa education was re-affirmed and encouraged by the religious zeal of the Mahdist regime. All traces of secular education were completely obliterated.

With the establishment of the Condominium rule in 1898, the Sudan came once more into contact with outside influence, which once implanted afresh, was destined to grow steadily for more than fifty years of colonial administration and become part of the heritage of the Sudan. It was, moreover, a contact with two cultures: that of the East which was to make its impact through Egypt and that of the West which was to make its impact through British presence and influence. But before we go on to discuss the development of education, through which these new influences were assimilated, let us look briefly into the administration system of the new regime that was to create the new educational system.

3.1 Foundations of the Administrative System

At the head of the new Condominium Government stood the Governor-General in whom were vested supreme military and civil

3. Ibid., p. 127.
command. As the Governor-General was in theory appointed by the Khedive of Egypt on the recommendation of Britain, he was responsible to both powers of the Condominium for the administration of the country. His real responsibility, however, was to the British Agent and Consul-General in Egypt, which at the time was virtually under the control of Britain.

From the outset, a Legal Secretary, a Financial Secretary and Secretary for Education were appointed from among British personnel to help and advise the Governor-General in the discharge of his legislative and creative powers. These Secretaries continued to function as an advisory council for the Governor-General until 1910 when an ordinance substituted a formal Council. In this Council the three Secretaries were retained as ex-officio in addition to two to four members appointed by the Governor-General. In this way, the meeting of the Governor-General with his advisors took an official and constitutional character and laws came to be made by the Governor-General-in-Council.

The country was divided into Provinces. At the head of each Province was a British Governor, who was allowed to enjoy wide powers in the internal administration of his Province. The Provinces were further divided into Districts, each with a British Officer, who later came to be called District Commissioner. Directly answerable to the District Commissioner were the 'Mamurs' and 'Sub-Mamurs' who were recruited from the officers of the Egyptian army. It was not until some years later that the Sudanese
began to replace Egyptian officials. From the outset, however, the new administration had a place for tribal chiefs who continued to administer their tribes and villages after a fashion.

The administrative machine was thus British in its higher rank, Egyptian (and later Sudanese) in its lower ranks. In the early years the administrative personnel was almost entirely military, being composed of Egyptian and British officers of the army. As time went on these officers were progressively replaced by civilians recruited from university graduates in Britain.

"From this recruitment developed the upper cadres of the Sudan Civil Service, particularly the administrative branch which came to be known as the Political Service.... Their numbers were small; this, with their close personal relationships with their superiors and the scope left to them for initiative in their work, stimulated the growth of a strong esprit de corps. Frequent transfers from one province to another, and from the provinces to the Secretariat in Khartoum, gave them experience and adaptability. Many of them acquired a considerable knowledge of the spoken Arabic or the other languages of the Sudan; a few became proficient readers of Arabic. Since they normally passed the whole of their careers in the Sudan, they acquired a wide and intimate knowledge of the country, and a devotion to what they regarded as its best interests".4

The tune for the new administration was called by Kitchener, the first Governor-General, at the outset. "It is not mainly to the framing and publishing of laws", Kitchener wrote in a circular to his officers in 1900, "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 to raise them to a 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 to the road of change.

3.2 Foundations of the Educational System in Northern Sudan

It must have been obvious to Kitchener that education was instrumental for the kind of social change he had envisaged, for it was as early as 1898, only two months after the final battle of reconquest, that he laid before the British people his scheme for a system of education in the Sudan. He first launched his scheme in Edinburgh when he came to receive an honorary doctorate in law from the University of Edinburgh in the morning and the Freedom of the City in the afternoon of 29th

November 1898. In making his appeal to the British public for funds for the foundation of a Gordon Memorial College in Khartoum, he said:

Certain questions will naturally arise as to whom exactly we should educate, and as to 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 stages would be devoted to purely elementary subjects, such as reading, writing, geography and the English language. Later, a more advanced course would be instituted, including a training in technical subjects, specially adapted to the requirements of those who inhabit the Valley of the Upper Nile. The principal teachers in the College would be British, and the supervision of the arrangements would be vested in the Governor-General of the Sudan. I need not add that there would be no interference with the religion of the people.

"That policy", wrote James Currie late in 1934, "was a new departure in the Victorian England of 1900". James Currie was an officer in the Egyptian Ministry of Public Instruction when in 1900 he was transferred to the Sudan to be jointly Director of Education and Principal of Gordon Memorial College which was then being built. For the next fifteen years, he was the man mainly responsible for the implementation of the educational policy and the organisation of the entire educational system of the Sudan. Currie himself gives a brief account of his background experience in the field of education. "Such experience

6. The Scotsman, November 30, 1898.
7. The Scotsman and The Times of November 30, 1898.
as the writer possessed had been acquired by work in Scottish state-aided schools, and in helping as an officer of local authority, to lay the foundations of the expansion of Scottish secondary education when ... the task was undertaken by the Scottish Education Department in 1895". On his appointment to the Sudan, Currie was briefed for his task by Lord Cromer, the British Agent and Consul-General in Egypt. Cromer told Currie "that progress would be slow, that Sudan revenues were scanty, that the amount of help Egypt could render was limited but that he could rely on fair consideration being given in support of a reasonable system, the establishment of which was to be one of the fundamentals of Sudan policy". Thus from the outset shortage of funds ruled out contemplation of any ambitious educational programme in the Sudan. In addition to his instructions to Currie, Cromer had some advice to give as to what should be done to avoid what he considered to be an evil influence on education. "As a result of Lord Cromer's Indian experience", writes Currie, "he was particularly impressed with the failure of English educational effort in India, which he was fond of ascribing to the unrestricted dominance of the Indian Civil Service over the other Departments of State. In conversation with the writer, he has likened that service to a Upas tree under which nothing could live .... He (was) anxious that the

10. Ibid., pp. 362-363.
education staff should take a share in the normal administration of the country". 11

Lord Cromer's advice in effect meant that in order to devise and develop a system of education that would meet the vital needs of the country, it was necessary for the education administrators themselves to acquire intimate knowledge of the economic needs and social conditions of the people instead of trusting to the Civil Government's claim of understanding the governed. It was in accordance with this advice that Currie undertook, on his arrival in the Sudan, to serve on various levels of administration, including short periods as Governor of a small province. "Further from the beginning of the Civil Government an elaborate scheme was set on foot by which it was made possible for members of the educational service to do a tour of service on the administrative side, thus acquiring first-hand knowledge both of the character of the people and the machinery of the Government". 12

"After an interlude of eighteen months for observation and considerable travel all round the country, the beginnings of a policy were launched. Its objects were defined as follows:—

i. The creation of a competent artisan class.

ii. The diffusion among the masses of the people of education sufficient to enable them to understand the machinery of

11. Ibid., p. 364.
12. Ibid.
Government, particularly with reference to the equitable and impartial administration of justice.

iii. The creation of a small administrative class, capable of filling many Government posts, some of an administrative, others of a technical nature. 13

Currie's scheme was obviously limited and practical in its aims, and had been criticised for its "poverty of conception and meagreness of execution". 14 Having formulated their objectives the Department of Education were now confronted with the problem of how and where to begin.

The Khalwa, the only educational institution in existence at the time, was obviously entirely unsuited to serve the purposes of the new educational policy. To the new educational administrators even the best Khalwas must have seemed completely incapable of providing a basis for an enlightened system of education. But they must have equally realised that they could not abolish the Khalwas without running the risk of being accused of suppressing the Muslim faith and consequently perhaps causing political disturbances in a country which had just been pacified. Furthermore, limited as they were, the funds could not have provided for the complete assimilation in the new educational set-up of about 60,000 pupils at the time attending 1,500 or so Khalwas scattered all over northern Sudan. 15

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13. Ibid., p. 364.
14. P.M. Holt, op.cit., p. 120.
therefore agreed, should remain as a useful adjunct to the educational system and teach a simple standard of literacy, though its proliferation was not to be encouraged. The Khalwa thus survived and long after Currie's scheme was in operation, it continued to be the only form of education accessible to the vast majority of children. In fact a further impetus was given to the Khalwas when later in 1922 the Education Department decided to grant small subsidies to those Khalwas which teach a little of the 3R's as well as provide short training courses for the fakis who were in charge of them.

The new educational system had therefore to start from scratch and dig its own foundations. The foundation stone was to be the Elementary Vernacular School which was to fulfil the function of enabling the masses "to understand the machinery of Government" as laid down by Currie. The course was to be of four years and the curriculum was to aim at providing a thorough grounding in the 3R's, religion, history, geography, hygiene, agriculture and handwork. In 1906 the first elementary school was opened in Khartoum while seven others were being built in various towns in the country.

To provide for "the creation of a competent artisan class", technical training was introduced at an early date into the curriculum of Gordon Memorial College, and in 1907 the first technical school was opened at Omdurmen. This was to be attended by boys drawn from those who had completed their elementary schooling. Their training was to be in carpentry,
bricklaying, smithing, fitting, etc., as well as a small amount of further general education. The course was to be of four years and the teaching only in Arabic.

Currie's third objective, namely "the creation of a small administrative class capable of filling many Government posts" was to be fulfilled by the Gordon Memorial College opened in 1902 by Lord Kitchener. Thus Gordon College was to be the apex of the educational pyramid of which the elementary school was the base. But with its provision of only four years of education, the elementary school could not become an immediate source of supply for the higher education of Gordon College. An intermediate stage was therefore necessary to provide the reservoir from which pupils may be drawn for the Gordon College. Thus the Primary School (later called "Intermediate" which more appropriately describes its function) came into being to take its place between the Elementary School on the one hand and Gordon College on the other. "Both in theory and in practice the main function of the Primary School has been to supply a steady flow of boys to the Gordon College".16 The Intermediate School has thus been conceived as a preliminary to the Gordon College, not as a means of educating a large number of boys who would go no further.

It was in consonance with this policy that expansion in

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intermediate (as opposed to elementary) education was strictly regulated to the needs and capacity of the Gordon College for nearly three decades. In 1900 the first primary (intermediate) school was opened in Omdurman. By 1905 there were three more of these schools in three other towns of Northern Sudan. Boys were admitted to these schools by examination from the elementary school between the ages of eleven and thirteen. The schools were to provide a four-year course at the end of which pupils sit for an entry examination to the Gordon College. The curriculum had a strong literary bias and the subject which received most attention was English.

Gordon College itself started with two Primary classes when it was opened in 1902. In addition it supported a technical school and a small training section for elementary school teachers. Working up with its own output and the intake from other primary schools, the College attained its secondary status as early as 1905. Thereafter secondary education became the main concern of the College but it was not until 1932 that it finally shed its primary classes and not until 1932 that it finally shook off its instructional workshops. The secondary education course at Gordon College lasted four years. The curriculum combined general academic education in the first two years with vocational training in the last two years for primary school teachers, translators, accountants, clerks, judges and other professionals. The medium of instruction for all subjects with the exception, of
course, of Arabic and Mohammadan law, was English. The staff of the College were mostly British, interspersed with Egyptians and a few Syrians.

The initial difficulty of staffing the few elementary and primary schools was at first overcome by the recruitment of Egyptian teachers to the Sudan on a temporary basis. Gradually they came to be replaced by the output of the elementary and primary teacher training sections of Gordon College.

Such was the shape of the state-controlled educational system as it stood by the end of the first decade of the Condominium rule. The implementation of Currie's policy laid down the foundation of the educational system: a four-year course at each of the Elementary, Intermediate and Secondary stages. By 1910 there were 39 elementary and 6 primary (intermediate) schools with Gordon College providing a mixed form of general secondary education and vocational training. In that year the enrolment figures for the various stages were as follows:¹⁷

723 in elementary schools
229 in primary (intermediate) schools
392 in Gordon College
29 in Teacher Training classes.

As these figures show the educational opportunities were certainly very meagre for a country with a population at the

time of about four to five millions. True, the funds were limited, but so too was the policy which aimed, not at giving a liberal education to the masses of the people, but at the creation of a "small class" of Sudanese functionaries to feed the bureaucratic system. The educational policy, however, was quick to reap its rewards and already by 1907 the first product of the schools entered Government service.

Throughout the second and third decades Currie's scheme continued to operate without change. Until the war of 1914-1918 "one guiding principle had been adhered to throughout - all educational endeavour was co-ordinated with the carrying out of a definite large-scale economic programme, embodying a collective Government policy, and ancillary to it". 18 With the outbreak of the war in this second decade of Condominium rule, progress was arrested and expansion in education, even at the elementary level, was faced with serious setbacks.

The 1920s witnessed some relatively rapid increase in the number of elementary schools and although the number of boys entering the primary schools and Gordon College was slightly increased, intake continued to be controlled to maintain the balance between production and consumption. The notable exception to this was the establishment in 1924 of the Kitchener School of Medicine to provide training for future Sudanese Medical Officers. In that same year, too, the policy was

inaugurated of sending selected teachers for training to the American University of Beirut.

From the end of the third decade onwards the story of the development of education is largely the story of two educational commissions whose work led to significant changes in the direction of educational expansion and adaptation. Before tracing the resultant developments that took place in the educational system during the next three decades or so, let us turn to examine, against this background, the language policy which evolved with the inception of the Condominium rule.

3.3 Language Policy in Northern Sudan

We have seen that with the establishment of the Condominium Government, a new educational policy was consciously formulated and implemented for the purpose, primarily, of creating Sudanese functionaries to feed the administrative machine. The educational policy was thus a well-defined policy based on conscious decisions. To speak of the language policy under the Condominium rule, however, is not to say that the new administration was consciously committed to bring about or promote a change in the linguistic situation in Northern Sudan. Far from being a deliberate attempt to manipulate the linguistic scene, the language policy that evolved during the Condominium rule was in fact an outcome of the administrative and educational systems initiated by the new regime. In other words, language policy evolved from the
implementation of decisions made by the kind of administration that was to be set up and the type and extent of education that was needed.

The general pattern of these decisions is obvious. When the two Condominium powers arrived in the Sudan they 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 in running the administrative machinery. English was thus made the official language of the Government. In this matter it seems there was no other choice. But, as we have seen already, education itself was a purely administrative necessity; and since the primary function of the schools was to produce Sudanese functionaries for the administration, it was only logical that the schools should provide a practical command of the language of administration. The inevitable use of English in administration has thus led to its introduction into the content of education. In fact, the evolution of British administrative and educational policies in the Sudan had been anticipated by the direction of British policy in India more than half a century earlier. Like their fore-runners in India, the British in Sudan were led to adopt a policy in which

education and administration were complementary and interdependent. Describing the position of the British administration in India, a writer says, "Their urgent everyday dependence on clerks and bureaucrats competent in English led them to build the entire educational edifice to suit their needs ...". Such also turned out to be the case in the Sudan more than fifty years later.

Thus although the British did not consciously lay down a language policy, the beginnings of such a policy stemmed from within the British scheme of administration and education. It is not surprising, therefore, that in looking through the official reports, one hardly finds any reference to decisions about the conscious use of English in education and administration. That English was to be the language of administration and that it was therefore to be taught in schools must have been taken for granted right from the beginning. It will be recalled that as early as 1898, Kitchener, in making his appeal for funds, told the British public that "the teaching, in its early stages would be devoted to purely elementary subjects such as reading, writing, geography and the English language".

It was then apparent that English was to play a considerable part in the curriculum of the schools. With the emergence of Currie's scheme, it must have looked obvious that English was

irrelevant to the needs of the elementary school, whose product was to be absorbed, not by the new 'enlightened' administration, but by the ordinary native occupations of the traditional community. It was in the primary school, the second rung in the educational ladder, that English was introduced as a subject. Writing in 1934, Winter tells us that in the primary school, "the subject to which most attention is given is English". That English should receive most attention was of course consistent with the view of the function of the primary school as a reservoir for Gordon College. In Gordon College, English was to be not only a subject in the curriculum, but the sole medium of instruction.

The decision to make English the sole medium of instruction at the higher level of education in Gordon College was obviously a conscious decision. We have already noted that official reports hardly contain any references to conscious decisions about the use of English. That, it seems, was assumed almost without question as it was probably recognised from the start that the need for English would stem naturally from the new state of affairs. As English inevitably became the language of administration, the schools had to teach it. But why was English also made the medium of instruction? To the British educational authorities making that decision in 1905, it must have been quite apparent that Arabic, though by no means the language of the

whole country, was by far the most predominant language in Northern Sudan. Although the mostly illiterate Muslim majority of Northern Sudan only spoke the colloquial variety of Arabic, as they still do today, classical Arabic, the written language, must have been a living force, even in that illiterate age, as the embodiment and expression of inherited Islamic religion and culture.

Why then, to ask once again, was it decided to use English instead of Arabic as the medium of higher education? The decision was in fact based on educational thinking and experience in Egypt. In the first place, all the educational administrators of the Sudan including Currie himself, Crowfoot, Sampson, Bowman, etc. had been working with the Egyptian Ministry of Public Instruction before they were seconded by Cromer to the Sudan.

Secondly, the cultural context in which education was to operate in the Sudan, as Currie and his staff must have realised, was very similar to that of Egypt - a religious Muslim-Arabic background and outlook. Hence whatever was adopted in the way of a language teaching policy in Egypt could reasonably be assumed to hold good for Northern Sudan.

The fashioning of a language teaching policy in Egypt was the work of Dr. Douglas Dunlop, who worked as a teacher and afterwards as an Inspector of Education in Egypt before Lord Cromer appointed him advisor to the Egyptian Ministry of Education - a job which put all responsibility for education in Dunlop's hands. Dunlop
was a controversial figure. The Egyptian Nationalist movement accused him of Europeanizing education and limiting its expansion. The British staff of the Ministry of Education accused him of a despotic attitude of mind and lack of imagination. Cromer, however, defended him with determination. "Few British officials", he wrote, "have been more severely criticized than Mr. Dunlop. I don't however doubt that the time will eventually come when the public in general will recognise, as I now recognise, that few servants of the Egyptian Government have rendered greater services than Dunlop to promoting the true interests and welfare of the Egyptian population".  

Dunlop's language teaching policy for Egyptian schools was laid down in a memorandum to Lord Cromer entitled "A Note with reference to the Linguistic Basis of Instruction in the Egyptian Government schools". Dunlop had advocated that English and French, not Arabic, should be the medium of higher education in Egypt. This policy had been accepted and adopted by Lord Cromer but its eventual implementation, as is revealed in the Memorandum itself, was not achieved without considerable debate. In the Memorandum Dunlop set out to justify his past decisions and defend his policy against his critics.

It is necessary to recapitulate some of Dunlop's arguments.


23. Dunlop's Memorandum formed an Appendix to Annual Report by H.M. Agent, 1906. All subsequent quotations come from Dunlop's text.
and answers in order to illuminate the background and origins of the language teaching policy which came to be adopted by "Dunlop's young men" in the Sudan. Dunlop's policy had been criticized in Egypt on two scores: that the use of English or French as a medium of instruction had an adverse effect on the study and learning of the mother tongue; and that it causes a strong mental tension to the detriment of the intellectual development of the pupils. The first point Dunlop answered by invoking the reports of inspectors and examiners as a witness of the "high degree of excellence achieved" in the standards of Arabic. The second contention he did not regard as "warranted by actual experience" since the intellect of the pupils "is stimulated rather than arrested as it grows to recognise the vast field of knowledge to which the study of the subject in a European language offers them admission". Moreover, he added, the study of language by hearing it spoken and conversing in it "is precisely Nature's system of mental development".

To the critical question of why an adequate knowledge of the foreign language could not be attained by teaching it as a subject in the curriculum at the same time utilizing it as a means of instruction, Dunlop gave a number of answers. First, in this way the pupils "acquire greater facility in the comprehension and use of the foreign language"; that, anyway, the

country did not possess staff qualified by training and education to man the schools and instruct in the mother tongue; and, that any valuable teaching, especially in the higher stages of education must be done as far as possible by "experts who are specialists in their own profession". Furthermore, Dunlop added, it was not possible to secure an up-to-date supply of text books in the Arabic language; this was all the more so because "the world of science and technology was so rapidly changing that books were likely to be obsolete" before being long in use. One corollary to this was the problem of follow-up and supplementary reading, because it was essential for the professional man "to follow the latest technical achievements as recorded in the professional periodicals and in the latest scientific publications". Dunlop considered the idea of translation but dismissed it as impracticable in terms of its costliness, the volume of work to be translated, the lack of translating staff and, perhaps more important, the inability of the Arabic language to convey scientific learning because of "its poverty of technical phraseology". Continuing his argument, Dunlop then went on to say that the machinery of government could not function efficiently unless "an adequate working knowledge of English or French as well as Arabic" was acquired. The non-governmental organisations and institutions, especially industry and commerce, used English or French in conducting their transactions and had therefore further enhanced the importance of a knowledge of these languages.
Dunlop's argument was, so far, sound enough. But his total condemnation of the Arabic language as having, by its very nature, "a rigidity and complexity of construction" which made it "peculiarly unadaptable for scientific studies" was of course misguided and unjustifiable. This was quite different from saying that it did not possess at the time the necessary scientific terminology.

Written in 1905 Dunlop's Memorandum is historically interesting and important. Its theme is still topical today as Dunlop addresses himself not only to the question of the medium of instruction but also to that of foreign language teaching methods and the question of the stage of education at which the learning of a foreign language should begin. Dunlop quotes at some length an address given by Professor Jowett, the Master of Balliol College, to "a gathering of French teachers at Oxford". The gist of that address is that the more we approximate our classroom methods of teaching a foreign language to the natural one by which a child learns its mother tongue, the more we are likely to achieve better results. In this method the pupil's age is an essential factor because we "observe that while the powers of the mind strengthen as the years advance, at least until the end of middle life, the faculty of learning a new language decays in almost an adverse ratio". On the strength of this theory Dunlop advocated "the natural method and not the abandoned grammatical method". Further on he wrote that "the whole weight of
educational authority in Europe and America is behind this practice", and that it was therefore necessary for the instruction in the foreign language to begin early in life so that the language will "form as largely as may be possible the living vehicle of thought and expression".

Such was the thinking that formed the background of "Dunlop's young men" who came to serve in the Sudan, and it was Dunlop's answers and solution to the problem of the medium of instruction in Egyptian higher education that inspired the decision to make English the medium of higher education in the Sudan. Perhaps, given an educational system primarily intended for the production of government officials, education in English was after all inevitable. For even the preparation and training of future functionaries for an 'enlightened' administration must have necessarily meant the acquisition of European knowledge and techniques. "The important decision", as Pattison put it, "was whether to propagate the view of the world and the resulting systematized knowledge that became general in Europe from the seventeenth century. Once that was decided there was no other way for it than English".  

3.4 Educational and Language Policy in Southern Sudan and Nuba

For historical and administrative reasons the Southern

provinces had been dealt with separately from the North ever since the establishment of the Anglo-Egyptian regime. The unifying influences of Islam and Arabic which made for a broad cultural unity in the North were lacking in the South. In the South there was no homogeneity of culture, no tradition of an older civilization and no predominantly literary language. In addition, the pacification and establishment of administration in the South were much more slowly accomplished. Finally the economic stringency which beset the Condominium Government until the end of the First World War made impossible any costly schemes for the development of the South and its people.

It was therefore felt that the only thing that could be done by way of general improvement was to allow Christian missionaries in the hope that their work would be "rather that of civilizing agents than an attempt to at once introduce Christianity among the pagan tribes". To prevent sectarian differences spheres of activity were demarcated by the Government. The missionaries made proselytism their main object without however neglecting the fact that education was a necessary part of their work. As a result of government support and encouragement, schools were eventually established by the Italian Roman Catholics, the Anglican Missionary Society and the American Presbyterian Mission. The establishment of churches went hand in hand with the opening of

schools, usually within the same premises. The four major problems facing missionary schools in general were the suspicion and hostility of the tribes, the multiplicity of languages, the scarcity of teachers and the limited financial resources. The learning of the local languages was a pre-requisite to the establishment of an effective means of communication. Until that was done either Arabic or English had to be used as a medium of instruction in schools. A form of pidgin Arabic was beginning to evolve as a lingua franca in the South. In both Bahr el Ghazal and Upper Nile provinces Arabic was the language of trade and the Dinka and Shilluk, by virtue of their contacts with the Arabic-speaking tribes in the North, spoke pidgin Arabic.

The schools that were established by the missionaries varied in type, size and educational standards. The curriculum and teaching methods varied from one missionary school to another but all of them emphasized the teaching of Christianity and the use of English as a medium of instruction. Between 1901 and 1917 about ten schools were established throughout the whole of Southern Sudan.27

Education in the South, therefore, remained completely in the hands of the missionaries. Like the central government in the North, the missionaries were successful in introducing a type of education suited to their own needs and objectives. But

unlike the central government in the North, the missionaries failed to bring about a unity in the educational system, as each of them had its own policy. Thus it came about that while secular education in the North was geared to employment, missionary education in the South was geared to the spread of Christianity.

The end of the First World War witnessed the beginning of what came to be known in the 1920s as the 'Southern Policy' which was, among other things, aimed at counteracting the spread of Islam and the Arabic language. This was the time when the British administration was beginning to be alarmed by the rise of nationalism in Northern Sudan allied to Egyptian nationalism following the Egyptian Revolution of 1919. The Sudan's political status became linked with the Egyptian problem. Official policy was to discourage a future link between Egypt and the Sudan; hence its encouragement of the groups and tribal leaders who sought a separate status from Egypt. Furthermore, indirect rule had, since the end of the War, become the gospel of colonial administration. Through its emphasis on native traditions and customs and the protection of pagan tribes against outside influences, it naturally led to the emergence of a Southern policy calculated to separate the South from the North. Although this policy was not spelt out in clear terms until 1930, it was suggested as early as 1920 in a government memorandum that "the possibility of the Southern (black) portion of the Sudan being eventually cut off from the Northern (Arab)
area and linked up with some central African system should be borne in mind. 28 Another memorandum stated that the South "would have, eventually, to be assimilated to the government of other African possessions such as Uganda and East Africa, as far as the Negroids are concerned. The Arab provinces would require different treatment. Therefore, consider the question of a Central African Federation under British control ...". 29

In line with these intentions a series of measures was introduced throughout the 1920s in order to exclude Egyptians, Northern Sudanese and other Muslims who were likely to engage in activities contrary to the policy of separating the Southern provinces. In 1921 the Governors of the three Southern provinces were no longer required to attend all the meetings of Governors held annually in Khartoum. 30 Instead they were to have their own meeting in the South and keep in touch with their opposite numbers in Kenya and Uganda. In 1922 the Passports and Permits Ordinance was promulgated. The Ordinance introduced a rigorous system of permits and empowered the Governor-General to declare any part of the Sudan a 'closed district'. 31 In 1925, the Permits to Trade Order provided that no person other than a native was allowed to carry on trade

30. M.O. Beshir, _op.cit._, p. 41.
31. _Ibid._
in the South without a permit. These last two measures were aimed at excluding Northern Sudanese from the South and reducing the numbers of Southerners who tended to look northward for employment. These measures were, of course, greeted with widespread approval by the missionaries who, for their part, had reason to fear that the admission of the Northern Muslims into the South would endanger the permanence of their work.

Another aspect of the new policy of localisation was the encouragement of missionary education during this period. For the first time, in 1925, a comprehensive scheme of education in the South was prepared by the government in cooperation with the missions which received considerable grants by way of subsidy for the execution of the scheme. The hope was then expressed that "the happy combination of missionary enterprises and experience on the one hand and government aid on the other, should afford sure ground and opportunity for the development of these negroid and pagan peoples." The system of education which finally emerged was based on two types of schools - elementary vernacular schools lasting for four years and intermediate schools in which it was agreed English should be the medium of instruction and the course of study, extending for six years, was to aim at producing teachers, clerks and other

32. Ibid., p. 42.
34. Ibid.
minor officials to replace the Northerners working in the South. 35

The result of government support was a rapid increase in
educational facilities. Several schools were opened in
subsequent years and in 1930 there were 32 elementary schools
with 2,024 pupils and three intermediate schools with 177
pupils. 36 By 1936, the number of elementary schools for boys
was 36 with an attendance of 2,977 pupils and the number of
pupils in intermediate schools rose to 346. 37 In addition there
were 18 girls' schools with 760 pupils and three trade schools
with 100 boys. 38

Missionary control of education and the segregation of
Southern education were further strengthened by a new language
policy. Moreover, as we shall see, attempts by missionaries
to develop vernacular languages had an adverse effect on the
growth of education. In the meantime the development of trade
and administration required a language of communication between
the trader and the administrator on the one hand and the local
population on the other. Arabic was the only possible medium
for this and its use had therefore increased despite the
restrictive policies adopted by the government and the missionaries.

In 1927 the Governor-General wrote:

38. Ibid.
Wherever I penetrated, whether to the top of the Imatong or to Belgian Congo border, I found Arabic in ready use by the local spokesmen of the people. In the face of this fait accompli we shall have to consider very carefully how far it is worth effort and money at the complete suppression of Arabic. Indeed we shall have to consider whether Arabic after all, in spite of its risks, must not be our instrument. 39

This was the subject of the Rejaf Language Conference in 1928. The conference which was sponsored by the government and attended by missionary representatives from Uganda, the Congo and the International Institute of African Languages and Culture, laid the foundation for the development of the local vernaculars and English in the South and the final suppression of Arabic. Six language groups - Dinka, Bari, Nuer, Latuka, Shilluk and Zande - were chosen as languages in which instruction in the lower elementary stage of education would be carried on. Textbooks would be prepared in these languages. As regards Arabic, the conference rejected its use on the grounds that "it would open the door for the spread of Islam, Arabicize the south and introduce the northern Sudanese outlook". 40 Accordingly, it was decided not to encourage the use of Arabic either in administration or in schools. If it became necessary to use it in the communities where it is strongly entrenched, Roman script and not Arabic script should be adopted. 41

language policy which was not settled by the conference, however, and which had curious repercussions at a later stage, was the question of standard orthography. This became more serious when two or more missionary societies were involved in the writing of one language. The nationality of the missionaries made agreement in certain cases difficult to reach and this led to delay in the production of textbooks. Problems also arose out of the decision to adopt certain languages and the realization at a later stage that some of these were not in fact spoken by the majority of the tribes for which they were selected. The eradication of Arabic in certain parts of the South was not easy to achieve. Contact with the Arabic speaking tribes in the North, the presence of numerous Northern traders and the absence of a lingua franca other than Arabic made it difficult for the authorities to achieve their aim immediately. The implementation of the recommendations of the Rejaf Language Conference thus led to some unhappy results and energy which could have been spent on extending education was directed towards solving these language problems. In spite of these difficulties, textbooks were being produced in the vernacular languages as well as in English and by 1934 grammar books and vocabulary inventories appeared in Shilluk.

Dinka, Nuer and Zande. In the meantime, Islam and the Arabic language were not only totally excluded from the schools, but were also being systematically erased throughout the Southern provinces.

The various administrative measures and decisions about education and language in Southern Sudan which evolved gradually throughout the 1920s were bound to meet with difficulties and give rise to doubts and uncertainties even in the minds of some of the British officials who were entrusted with their implementation. In 1930, Sir Harold MacMichael, the then Civil Secretary, ended these doubts in a 'Memorandum on Southern Policy' which incorporated the previous steps taken, and laid down in clear terms the programme for future action. From then on practice became official policy and piecemeal decisions turned into coherent principles. The basic principles governing Southern Policy were:

(a) The building up in the Southern Sudan of 'a series of self-contained racial or tribal units' with structure and organization based on traditional customs and beliefs.

(b) The gradual elimination of Northern Sudanese officials, clerks and technicians and their replacement by Southern Sudanese.

(c) The use of English where communication in the local vernacular was impossible. "An official unable to speak the local vernacular should try to use English when speaking to Government employees and servants, and even if possible to chiefs and natives. In any case, the use of an interpreter is preferable to the use of Arabic, until the local language can be used .... In short, whereas at present Arabic is considered by many natives of the South as the official and, as it were, the fashionable language, the object of all should be to counteract this idea by every practical means".

These guidelines and principles continued to be effectively implemented until 1947 when new forces, both domestic and international, led to the reversal of Southern Policy and all that it stood for, and by the end of the next decade brought about the end of the Anglo-Egyptian regime.

Meanwhile the same educational and language policies were being applied in another part of the Sudan which lay virtually within the boundaries of the southern provinces. The population of the Nuba Hills in Kordofan province, like the Southern population, was pagan. Unlike the Southerners, however, the Nuba lived in the midst of an Arab Muslim population and were therefore in constant contact with them and influenced by their culture. When the pacification of the Nuba was completed in 1920, the missionaries were allowed to extend their activities to the region. From the missionaries' point of view the spread of
Christianity among the Nuba was important because the region was adjacent to Southern Sudan and the conversion of Nuba would therefore discourage the spread of Islam to the South. From the government's point of view the preservation of the traditional Nuba life necessitated the introduction of measures which would protect the Nuba "against a bastard type of Arabicization". Missionary work among the Nuba proved as difficult as it was in the South. First, there was the problem of the multiplicity of vernacular languages which had to be studied before any useful communication with the Nuba could be established - many of these languages did not extend beyond ten miles from the mission's doorstep. Pupils, therefore, had to be taught in Arabic in Roman script at the beginning. Second, the existence of government elementary schools where Arabic was taught and school leavers had the opportunity of government service attracted the Nuba to government schools. Furthermore, the process of Arabization and Islamization was continuing at a greater rate than in the South. In order to discourage this process it was decided not to admit Nuba boys to government schools without prior permission from the district commissioners and instruction about Islam without the consent of parents was made illegal. In the few missionary schools that were opened the use of any language other than the vernaculars and English was prevented.

47. Ibid., pp. 11-20.
By 1930, however, this policy failed to achieve its purposes. The Governor of Kordofan confessed that 'Arabic is the only possible language of intercommunication' and recommended that 'Arabic in Roman characters should be taught as a subject in the elementary schools'.\textsuperscript{48} The use of Roman instead of Arabic script was recommended for two reasons. In the first place the children would learn Roman script when being taught to read and write their own language and no difficulty of teaching two scripts would therefore arise. In the second place, the use of Roman script would prevent pupils from reading Arabic literature and thereby promote their education under Christian influence.

Although the problems of teaching Arabic in Roman script were recognised from the beginning, it was better from the administration's point of view to try and get over the difficulties than to give up.\textsuperscript{49} What mattered primarily was to conform with the policy of indirect rule and to protect the Nuba culture from the pervasive influences of Arabic and Islam.\textsuperscript{50}

The policies pursued in Southern Sudan and the Nuba Hills were thus identical in many respects and the general outcome of administrative policy, Christian missionary activity and the related decisions about education and language were to enhance the differences between these two regions and the rest of the

\textsuperscript{48} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid., p. 34.
\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., p. 35.
country. Thus, apart from the inevitable introduction of English and the promotion of its position throughout the country, particularly in the South, it can be said that colonial language policy - to the extent that it was a process of specific language planning - was committed on the whole to resisting the penetration of Arabic rather than to the manipulation of the prevailing language situation.

3.5 The Development of Colonial Education

To return again to the 1920s and take up the story of educational development in the course of the next thirty years or so. The first warning against the dangers of Currie's educational policy was sounded in the Milner Commission Report which was originally the result of an investigation into the agitated political situation in Egypt following the declaration by Britain in 1914 of a protectorate over Egypt. In dealing with the related question of the political status and administration of the Sudan the report pleaded for "decentralisation and the employment, wherever possible, of native agencies for the simple administrative needs of the country".\footnote{Quoted in Sir Harold MacMichael, The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan (Faber & Faber, London, 1934), p. 145.} The report went on to give prophetic warning of the danger ahead: "At the same time care should be taken, in the matter of education, not to repeat the mistake which has been made in Egypt of
introducing a system which fits pupils for little else than
employment in clerical and minor administrative posts, and
creates an overgrown body of aspirants to government employment.
There is no room in the Sudan for a host of petty officials, and
education should be directed to giving the Sudanese a capacity
and a taste for employment in other directions .... 52  But
since it was precisely to achieve the object condemned that the
whole educational system was designed, needless to say no
immediate attempt was made to change the policy or adapt the
system. It was not until some years to come that necessity
forced the Government to undertake a change of policy.

Thus throughout the 1920s Currie's objectives continued
to be pursued, and intake to the primary schools and the Gordon
College continued to be regulated to the absorptive capacity of
the Government services. It was in these circumstances that
education came to be regarded as a gateway to government employ-
ment, a kind of apprenticeship to a paid job in the expanding
departments of the administration.

Those who have benefited by education in Gordon College,
almost twenty years since it had been founded, have by this time
constituted a new elite in the Sudanese society. They became
acquainted with what was going on in the Western world through
their ability to read in English and with what was going on in

the Arab world chiefly through the Egyptian press and publications. This elite came to be known as the 'Effendiyya', a term of Turkish origin and Egyptian usage which in the Sudanese context referred to those who received western education in Gordon College, learned English, obtained white-collar jobs and put on European dress which they generally took off after office hours, thus revealing the deeper ties that bound them to their people and culture and the dichotomy that existed in their lives - as pointed out by Trimingham who described the 'Effendiyya' as an "intellectual proletariat".53

The financial contribution the 'Effendiyya' made to their families out of their salaries enhanced their position in a predominantly poor country and the relatively luxurious standard of living coupled with their official status in the government machinery added further prestige to their social position. Their feeling of responsibility to their own families contributed to their general awareness of their responsibility towards the welfare of their countrymen in general.

The danger of creating a large educated class in excess of what could be absorbed by the administration could not be avoided for long. In fact had it not been for some irony of fate, the Sudan Government would have been faced with this problem as early as 1924. But in that year Sir Lee Stack, the Governor-

General of the Sudan, was assassinated in the streets of Cairo. One of the immediate effects of this assassination was the deportation en masse of Egyptian officials in the Sudan. They were replaced by Sudanese and thus the increasing output of the primary schools and the Gordon College was absorbed for some years to come. But by 1930 the situation was entirely changed by the economic crisis of the World Depression and opportunities for government employment were seriously curtailed. The output of Gordon College was now in excess of demand. The whole body of students felt threatened and went on strike - the first of its kind.

It was this train of events which led to the appointment by the Governor-General of the first commission of enquiry to study the problem of education. The Winter Committee, so called after its Chairman, was set up in 1932 "to review the educational system of the schools of the Northern Sudan and to decide what steps were necessary to ensure that the system and training are adapted to the practical needs of the country". Thus the Committee's terms of references were extended to include the whole educational system. In the main the Committee recommended "a broadening of the base of elementary education and more careful adjustment of secondary education to the present conditions of the country and the opportunities of profitable employment".

55. Ibid., p. 11.
Briefly stated the detailed recommendations were the following:56

1. The Gordon College was to provide general secondary education throughout the four years instead of a combination of general education and vocational training.

2. A balanced education was to be achieved through additional elementary schools with a bias towards agriculture and handicrafts.

3. A new teacher training college should be established in rural surroundings to replace the teacher training section at Gordon College with the following aims:
   a) to train elementary school teachers.
   b) to devise syllabuses and methods to replace the inefficient and unsuitable ones in use in elementary schools.
   c) to provide courses for existing teachers to improve their capabilities and enable them to teach parts of the new syllabuses.
   d) to experiment with a more efficient and more suitable form of 'intermediate' education.

The implementation of these recommendations led to significant developments in education, including the establishment in 1934 of a much enlarged and improved Teacher Training College in the rural

56. Ibid., pp. 11-13.
setting of Dueim, expansion in elementary education and the
creation of a cadre of education officers in the provinces to
encourage the people to support education at village level.
At this new Teacher Training College of Bakht-er-Ruda, the
objectives of elementary education were redefined, new syllabuses
and teaching methods were devised and the training of both new
and in-service teachers was undertaken, followed up by tours of
inspection by the staff of the College. The College, which
eventually grew into an Institute of Education, was so
successful in reforming elementary education that in 1939 it was
given the task of extending the process to the intermediate level.

In the field of secondary education, the Winter Committee
recommendations produced little positive results. Entry to the
Gordon College continued to be restricted to reduce over-
production and the mixed curriculum remained unchanged.

In 1937, the De La Warr Commission was invited to visit
the Sudan on its way from East Africa and draw up a plan for
future development. Specifically, the Commission was asked to
"enquire and report on the curriculum, staff and organisation of
the Gordon Memorial College of Khartoum: and to review the
method and organisation of the Elementary and Intermediate school
systems in relation to the Gordon Memorial College ....".57

57. Sudan Government, Report of Lord De La Warr's Educational
The visit of the De La Warr Commission to the Sudan turned out to be the most significant event in the development of education during the whole of the Colonial period. The Commission produced a report which was to guide educational policy for the next fifteen years. The chief recommendations were: 58

1. The provision of greatly increased funds for education;
2. The acceleration of the expansion, together with the continued improvement, of elementary education for boys;
3. The acceleration of the expansion of elementary education for girls;
4. The improvement and extension of boys' intermediate schools;
5. The improvement of the Secondary School; and
6. The recognition that a University in Khartoum was the ultimate goal of higher educational policy.

Expansion was obviously the keynote in these recommendations. Educational policy was no longer to suffer from its dependence on administrative needs. It was time for a reappraisal of educational aims and a more liberal educational policy.

Despite the great increase of expenditure involved and the retarding influences of the Second World War, the recommendations of the Commission were largely implemented. First, the Gordon Memorial College, for long a maid-of-all-work with some of the

58. Ibid., pp. 48-50.
outward trappings of an English Public School, was to shake off its vocational shackles to become a proper academic school preparing for the Overseas School Certificate of the Cambridge Syndicate. As early as 1938 some selected senior pupils were entered for the Overseas Cambridge School Certificate, which in the course of a few years became the final examination for all secondary classes. Second, a group of "Higher Schools", giving post-secondary education, were founded: Veterinary Science and Agriculture in 1938, Science and Engineering in 1939 and Arts in 1940. In 1945 these Schools together with the Kitchener School of Medicine were fused into a single institution to form the embryo of a future University College, and the name "Gordon College" by which the Secondary School had been known, was now transferred to this new institution. Secondary school education gradually moved out of the Gordon College to allow for the development of the new embryo University within the walls of the old Gordon Memorial College. The first secondary school was built in the same year to succeed to the functions of the old Gordon College. Another opened in 1946; a third in 1949. A number of the students of the Gordon Memorial College began to take the external degrees of London University, with which a 'special relationship' had been established. In 1951 the Gordon College blossomed into a University College and in 1956, shortly after independence, into a full University - the University of Khartoum.
The period following the De La Warr Commission witnessed remarkable expansion at all levels of education: elementary, intermediate and secondary. Freed from responsibility of higher education, the Department of Education began to concentrate its efforts on expanding and reforming the middle and lower stages. By 1950 there were 187 elementary schools for boys (compared to 87 in 1931) and 137 elementary schools for girls (compared to 22 in 1931). Intermediate schools grew from 11 in 1931 to 19 for boys and 5 for girls in 1950. By that year there were 4 major Secondary schools for boys and 1 for girls. Yet despite this increasing rate of expansion, the furor of public demand for education could not be contained. The War period, with its growth of national feeling gave a further impetus to the demands by the Sudanese for more education. Non-government schools, founded by public subscription, began to spring up everywhere. The first of these institutions, which came to be known as "Abliya" (national) schools, was founded as early as 1931 by a group of public-spirited Sudanese, and by 1950 there were more than 30 Intermediate schools and twice as many Elementary schools.

In the period between the two wars, small groups of Sudanese students had been sent by the Government chiefly, as noted before, to the American University of Beirut. These student missions were usually composed of the most promising recruits to the

59. These and subsequent figures are taken from Department of Education Report 1950 (Sudan Government Publications, Khartoum, 1950).
Education Department. This practice was commended by the De La Warr Commission which recommended that "for those who will require a thorough knowledge of English the United Kingdom is clearly the best place ....". Just before the outbreak of the Second World War, the first Sudanese students came to Britain for specialised training. The expansion and rising standards of post-secondary education in the Sudan during the following decade was reflected in an increasing flow of Sudanese students to British universities and specialised training centres. In addition, many students have made their way to Egyptian schools and universities, where they were particularly welcomed from the mid-thirties onwards, as tension grew between the two Condominium powers.

In 1946, the Director of Education put forward to the Northern Sudan Advisory Council a plan of development for the next ten-year period. "It is the avowed intention of the Government", he said, "to make the country's advance along the road leading to self-government as rapid as possible and for this purpose, to train Sudanese as quickly as possible to fill the more responsible posts in the local and central services". Consequently considerable attention was given to the consolidation of Intermediate and Secondary education and the training of teachers. Emphasis

was laid on the raising of the academic standard of entry to the Gordon College and the provision of a fuller education to the intermediate and secondary school leavers who still formed the bulk of the schools' population. To meet the needs of the expanding programme an Intermediate Teachers' Training College (I.T.T.C.) was established in 1949 at Bakht-er-Ruda Institute of Education. The I.T.T.C. was given the double task of reforming the Intermediate School syllabus - through experimentation - and of training Sudanese teachers to teach the new syllabuses. It was in the I.T.T.C. that Sudanese teachers of English began to get, for the first time, a comparatively efficient and adequate training.

Despite the almost phenomenal expansion of education in the post-war period as a result of the recommendations of the De La Warr Commission and the initial implementation of the ten-year plan of 1946, the gap between national ambition and colonial achievement still remained great. On the eve of the transitional period of self-government (1953-1956) the educational inheritance of the whole Sudan was no more than about 1,475 schools which, between them, provided a measure of education, ranging from elementary to secondary, for about 50% of the school-age town population and 15% to 20% of the school-age country population. However, the educational system was firmly established and the basic pattern fully developed.

It is desirable, in conclusion, to describe briefly the
educational ladder as it stood on the eve of independence and as in the main still survives today. The three rungs of the ladder were the three grades of school: Elementary, Intermediate and Secondary. Starting at about seven years of age a boy (or girl) who went through the three stages would spend four years in each school, taking school certificate in English, when he was about 19 years old.

In the elementary school the boy would learn to read and write Arabic and would take Arithmetic, Geography, History, Religion, very simple Science and other activities. In the intermediate school he would continue these subjects and he would begin learning English. All teaching in the elementary and intermediate schools was and still is done by Sudanese.

Entry into the secondary schools was decided, as it still is today, by competitive examination. There were British as well as Sudanese teachers in the secondary schools and English was the medium of instruction. School Certificate was the end of the secondary school course and the better pupils would go on to the University College of Khartoum. The rest would take up a variety of jobs, still mostly in Government service, some of them becoming teachers in intermediate schools. Such was roughly the content and extent of the educational system on the eve of independence.

With independence came change. The impact of this change on the spread, content and medium of education will be the
subject of the next chapter, in which we shall examine these questions with particular reference to the position and role of English.
CHAPTER IV

LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION SINCE INDEPENDENCE

4.1 The Colonial Legacy

When the Sudan regained its independence in 1956, it took over an administrative system of great complexity. The colonial administration bequeathed to the independent Sudan a civil service, an independent judiciary, a working system of local government and a network of institutions and corporations with variable economic and technological assets which have set in motion some revolutionary changes and laid the foundation for the growth of a modern state in the Sudan. The elite, from the midst of whom came the leaders of the struggle for independence, were nevertheless deeply affected by Western culture and ideas. They sought, therefore, not to destroy, but to control the administration and build upon the colonial legacy which they unquestionably accepted as the basis for socioeconomic progress. To this extent the independent Republic was not the supplanter but the successor of the Condominium Government.

The independent Sudan also inherited from the colonial administration an educational system that had been tailored in scale and in character to the production of a small elite.
According to the first population census of 1956, the literacy rate among the population at the age of five and above stood at 14%. Only 2.2% of those who were literate had attended secondary and post-secondary schools, 6.9% had eight years of education and the remaining 90.9% had elementary education of one sort or another. The literacy rate among females was much lower than that among males - 4% and 22.9% respectively. There was a similar disparity between education in Northern and Southern Sudan. While the proportion of literate persons among the whole Sudan was 12%, the average for the six Northern provinces was 30% and for the three Southern provinces only 7%. The number of English-speaking persons among the Sudanese constituted a mere 1% of the total population. This 1%, however, was concentrated within a narrow and influential section of the population - the urban elite who manned the top grades of the civil service, the army, the various government departments and the professions.

With the achievement of independence Sudan's two major requirements were national unity and economic progress. The implications of these two requirements, though difficult to set out in detail, seemed to have been obvious. First, the language of the foreign rulers could hardly serve as a symbol of national unity and so Arabic was declared as the official national language. Secondly, the narrow, but practical, aims laid down by the colonial administration in 1900, and later modified to accommodate the political, economic and administrative development,
were no longer suited to the new conditions and so expansion of education at all levels was considered necessary. Thirdly, it was obvious that manpower requirements were beyond the capacity of the University College of Khartoum and other institutes of higher education. Finally, it was also clear that the disparity in education between males and females and between North and South had to be progressively eliminated for the interests of both economic development and national unity. It was in an attempt to solve these problems that successive educational commissions were invited to investigate and report on the educational system. Since these reports summed up the achievements and limitations of the educational legacy of the colonial administration and set out principles which guided future policy following independence, it is desirable first to give a general account of the main features and recommendations of the major reports.

4.2 The Major Educational Reports

A few years before self-government in 1953, there was growing concern over secondary education and its problems owing to the disruptive effects of frequent strikes by students over political issues in the country. By 1953, the involvement of students in politics had become a real problem and it was thought to be an important factor in the deterioration of standards in schools. In November 1954, about a year before independence, the
Governor-General of the Sudan invited an International Education Commission to investigate and advise the Sudan Government on the improvement and development of secondary education with particular reference to:

"(a) the low standards of secondary schools and the problem of producing adequate numbers of young men with prerequisite qualifications to enter the University College of Khartoum.

(b) Inter-relationships of different types of secondary schools.

(c) The contents and methods of selection at the lower stages and how they affect this standard". 1

With these wide terms of reference the Commission was able to investigate and report, not only on secondary education, but also on all other levels of education. Its final recommendations therefore dealt with the whole system and its problems except those pertaining to the University College. The report laid down new objectives for education in the Sudan and stated them as follows:

The country has just emerged from the stage of colonialism into political freedom and is on the way to 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 and also

to deal with its growing problems of administration and social services which must now be handled by the Sudanese themselves, it must find and train efficient men and women for the various Government departments as well as other national needs and activities. They must not only be 'efficient' in the technical sense but also as the 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, bridging the social, cultural and economic differences which exist between the different regions, securing equality of opportunity, eradicating customs and traditions which are reactionary and out of harmony with the new shape of things. 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.2

These new objectives, setting for the first time a new role for education in the Sudan, could be achieved, in the Commission's view, through a general reorganisation of education, expansion and the improvement of its quality. In order to achieve this, the Commission made the following major recommendations.

(a) The diversification of secondary education so as to provide suitable curricula and activities for students of varying abilities: the secondary course is generally too narrowly academic. "Rectification of this is urgently needed and it will benefit both the academic and less academic boys".3

(b) Expansion of education at all levels, especially at the elementary and intermediate levels not because this was consistent

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2. Ibid., p. 16.
3. Ibid., p. 140.
with the idea of education for democracy but also because this would make it possible to select not only better but also a large number of candidates to secondary schools.

(c) The institution of a local certificate examination notwithstanding the benefits derived from an external examination with regard to the standards.

(d) The establishment of two committees: one consisting of local experts and educationalists and the other consisting of educationalists, industrialists and other interested bodies to advise on technical education.

(e) The establishment of a Department of Education in the University College or an independent College to undertake training of teachers for secondary schools.

As for education in the South, the Commission recommended that the schools should be taken over by the government so that Southern Sudanese would be provided with an education which would make them citizens of the country and which would enable them to take part in its development. In the meantime, and until enough schools were provided by the government, missionary societies should be asked to broaden the scope of their education.

4. Ibid., pp. 32-33.
5. Ibid., p. 42.
6. Ibid., p. 92.
7. Ibid., pp. 64 and 108.
The Commission's most important recommendations were in connection with the medium of instruction but these will be dealt with in the subsequent section.

In November 1958, a Committee of 11 Sudanese educationalists was appointed under the chairmanship of Dr. Akrawi, a Unesco expert. Its terms of reference as specified by the Minister of Education were as follows:

"(a) First, to study the aims of education in the Sudan and the direction in which it is advisable to orient it.

(b) Second, to study the present educational organisation in the three stages and the extent to which it meets or does not meet the needs of the country and to recommend the needed modification to the present system or lay down a new organisation based on new foundations.

(c) Third, to recommend a plan for the next five years which would ensure the orderly transition from the old to the new organisation without disturbing the running of the school and which would ensure the necessary expansion of education within the limits of the possibilities of the country". 8

The composition of the Akrawi Committee and the widespread discussions and investigations it undertook suggest that its findings reflected the considered views of those most closely concerned with and informed upon the Sudanese system of education.

Following their analysis of the elementary, intermediate and secondary schools, the Committee was pointing the way towards a new educational ladder. This was to consist of a primary school of six years (i.e. broadly 7-13 years) in place of the four-year elementary school (7-11 years) and in the Committee's view, this was justifiable on the grounds that four years is too short a period to protect the ex-elementary schoolboy from relapsing into illiteracy and that eleven is too early an age for a child to cease his education. The next stage of the ladder was to be a secondary school for six years to follow the primary school. This was to be divided into two stages: a general secondary school and a higher secondary school each of three years. Each school was suggested to be of two types: one predominantly academic and the other predominantly vocational. The latter was to be diversified into technical, agricultural, commercial and home economic schools.  

The Akrawi Report was referred in 1960 to a second Unesco expert, Dr. Kadhim, for the purpose of costing the proposals, advising on the implementation and suggesting any modifications or revisions. The Kadhim Report, whilst accepting that 6 years was the minimum desirable period of schooling and that 12 years was the appropriate period for the primary and secondary stages of education, was clearly uneasy about the organisation and

9. Ibid., pp. 51-60.
procedure proposed in the Akrawi Report. This uneasiness was based on two main considerations: (i) The case has not been conclusively made for abolishing the existing division into 4 years' elementary (i.e. primary), 4 years' intermediate (i.e. general secondary) and 4 years' secondary (i.e. higher secondary); (ii) serious administrative problems would be involved in carrying out a complicated conversion scheme, as a result of which throughout the Sudan, over a period of between 15 and 20 years, there would be schools at different stages of development and in differing shapes of transformation. Kadhim argued that in various countries different educational ladders were to be found and that the success of education was not, so it seemed, dependent on this or that kind of ladder. The length of schooling below university level, the co-ordination of educational action, the quality of teaching staff, textbooks and curricula were the more important factors. Kadhim also pointed another factor which probably had influenced the Akrawi Committee in recommending that ladder and this was the fact that in a number of Arab countries, such as Egypt and Iraq, the suggested educational ladder was in use. Other Arab countries seemed to be moving in that same direction as the Arab League


11. Ibid., p. 33.
through its cultural Committee, was trying to have uniformity in the duration of schooling below university level in content, in examinations and in the educational ladder. The Kadhim Report therefore made an alternative proposal. The first objective should be to provide a four-year elementary education for every child. The elementary and intermediate schools should be regarded as one unit and pupils should, for the most part, be allowed to proceed, without the need to surmount an educational hurdle, to the intermediate school. At the end of the second year intermediate school course, it would be decided by examination whether pupils should be allowed to proceed further to complete the course; in other words some pupils would be allowed to stay on to complete the course, others would be required to leave. The intermediate school would be followed by a four-year secondary school of one of the following types: academic (literary and scientific divisions), technical, commercial, vocational agriculture, teacher training and home science.

The Kadhim Report agreed broadly with the Akrawi Report on the aims, purpose and content of the curriculum. Whilst accepting that there was a lack of co-ordination between the three main stages of education and too much repetition in the syllabuses, excluding English and Mathematics, the report was

12. Ibid., pp. 34-35.
13. Ibid., pp. 81-103.
concerned to argue that existing deficiencies were not due to the existing structure; they were due to an over-emphasis on theoretical studies and to untrained teachers. The report took the view that criticisms of the intermediate and secondary schools as having no purpose of their own except as preparing for the next stage, were exaggerated.\textsuperscript{14}

Thus the International Commission Report, the Akrawi Report and the Kadhim Report provided a review and detailed criticism of the educational system which had been developed over nearly sixty years of Condominium administration. None of them proposed a total dismantling of the whole system although all three recommended major, and in some cases far-reaching, changes. The need for a new educational policy which would promote unity between the North and the South, bridge the gap between male and female education and suit the new political, administrative, economic and social conditions was recognised.

4.3 The Medium of Instruction

The question of the medium of instruction was a recurrent theme in the International Commission Report (1955), the Akrawi Report (1959) and the Kadhim Report (1960) as well as in the popular press. In their concern with the system, the content and the spread of education, all three commissions were

\textsuperscript{14. Ibid., pp. 84-87.}
inevitably faced with the related question of the medium of instruction, which was expressed in various ways and with different degrees and places of emphasis in all the reports submitted by the commissions.

When the International Commission on Secondary Education was conducting its investigations in 1954, there were over the whole Sudan 9 Government secondary schools including one in the South, one girls' school and one secondary technical with a total enrolment of 2,311. There were also 9 non-government secondary schools, including Egyptian and Missionary schools with a total enrolment of 2,279 pupils. In their assessment of these schools the Commission found that the deterioration of standards, as measured by the School Certificate results, was due, among other things, to "the difficulties involved by the use of English as the medium of both instruction and examination". The Commission summarised the main reasons why English had been used as the medium of instruction in the secondary schools 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.

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(c) Education generally and secondary education in particular was conceived at the outset as a means of preparing minor employees for Government service and later as a gateway to the University College.

Subsequently, the Commission found out that close relations had been established between secondary and higher education and institutions like the Cambridge Overseas Syndicate and London University with the result that the educational system in the Sudan came to be tied up to the English system. The effect of this was that secondary school curricula and standards also became linked up with the Cambridge Overseas requirements. This resulted in the first place in an increasing dependence on English secondary school teachers. 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 textbooks. 17

All these factors, in the opinion of the Commission, created a tendency to consider English 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 level, that it lacked the technical terms in science and that suitable textbooks could not be produced in Arabic for secondary schools.

17. Ibid., pp. 28-29.
The Commission maintained 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".\(^\text{18}\) The Commission went on to argue that the experience of other countries, whose official language is Arabic, shows that there is no justification for the assumption that the Arabic language lacks technical terms or textbooks. "Teaching is done in Arabic in all Arab Countries, at all levels below the University, and even at University levels in many faculties. It is true that books of reference and general reading are much fewer in Arabic than in English or many other European languages, but it may be said that even a limited library in the national language is more useful than a much developed library in a foreign tongue. The circulating library at the Bakht-er-Ruda Institute has shown that the greatest demand on the part even of elementary and intermediate teachers is for Arabic books".\(^\text{19}\) In the opinion of the Commission, the strongest argument for teaching in English in secondary schools seemed to be that University education is given in English. "But 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".\(^\text{20}\) The

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18. Ibid., p. 48.
19. Ibid., p. 49.
20. Ibid., p. 51.
continued use of English as a medium of instruction and 
examination was both harmful and wasteful, particularly because 
"it cannot be denied that a considerable number of candidates 
might have passed but for their failure in English". As 
examination papers were set and answers were required in English, 
this doubled the difficulty and tended to make instruction 
largely a matter of rote learning. There was not enough concen-
tration by the pupils on the subject matter, and their main 
concern was to learn their notes so as to be able to pass in the 
examination. The change from English to Arabic as the medium 
of instruction should enable secondary school leavers to attain 
a higher standard of knowledge in the various subjects. With a 
better grasp of the subject matter they, the pupils, would be 
more capable of understanding advanced matter. A high standard 
in the English language, the Commission maintained, can never 
compensate for real shortcomings in knowledge and it will not 
help a student who has a poor grasp of the subject matter.

The Commission also noted that it had been asserted that 
teaching in English in secondary schools will greatly facilitate 
learning at the University because the student will be familiar 
with the English technical terms in the various subjects. The 
Commission's answer to this argument was that studies in secondary 
schools cover only a small proportion of the terms necessary for

21. Ibid., p. 5.
University studies. It seemed to them that this limited number of technical terms could easily be picked up in the course of University studies when the students have had a clearer understanding of the facts themselves. Moreover, English technical terms could, if necessary, be put beside the Arabic terms in Arabic textbooks when the change-over to Arabic is effected. "When the medium of instruction becomes Arabic, it is expected that the four years of secondary education will allow secondary school pupils to attain a much higher standard of knowledge in the various subjects. In this case, they should be able to attain a standard in science, for example, equal to that of the English Sixth Form, and thus would give a much better account of themselves in the University". Moreover, teaching in Arabic in secondary schools will ultimately solve the problem of the School Certificate Examination, which hindered even some of the brilliant candidates from reaching the standard of university admission because they could not adequately express themselves in English in the examination. But, it should be clear, the Commission added, that teaching in Arabic in secondary schools should not lead to neglecting the English language. Far from this, every possible effort should be made to raise its standard as a foreign language. The principal aims in teaching a foreign language, the Commission maintained, were

22. Ibid., p. 50.
comprehension and expression and these could be attained without English being the medium of instruction.

The change-over to Arabic, the Commission noted, would depend on the availability of staff and would necessitate a plan for providing textbooks and for this reason it could not be introduced abruptly and possibly not even simultaneously. The Commission suggested that it might be necessary to introduce the Arabic medium at different dates for different subjects, depending on the strength of the qualified staff. The matter of textbooks was secondary to that of the teachers who, if well qualified and competent, would be able to teach their subjects in Arabic and many of them might be willing to enter into a healthy competition to produce suitable textbooks from which a choice could be made by the Ministry. The Commission hoped that the Ministry of Education would prepare a suitable scheme for facilitating and expediting the preparation of qualified secondary school teachers and suitable textbooks and thus bring about the change of the medium of instruction as quickly as it was administratively possible.

In making these recommendations, the Commission was not unaware of the special situation which obtained in Southern Sudan. The Commission recognised that "Southern Sudan has been treated as a separate territory, where education was left entirely to foreign missionary societies, which started missionary schools where the medium of instruction has been invariably English".23

23. Ibid., p. 48.
But even in the South, the Commission found "little argument in favour of English being particularly suitable as the medium of instruction". Arabic, being already the lingua franca of the South, would be easier to teach and consistent with the policy of national unity which was an objective of the educational system and policy. Teaching in the vernacular was rejected because "it would be a waste of time and energy to teach the children of the South in their own vernacular in which they will not be able to pursue any reading after they leave school. Such vernaculars have no literature and cannot be used as cultural media". These were fairly reasonable and practical suggestions but some of the remarks made in this connection by the Commission, which included a high proportion of eminent British educationalists, revealed gross misunderstandings of the nature of language. Thus the Commission wrote: "We have been informed that the number of the main languages in the South is about 45 and out of these 15 have been recorded in writing by adopting Latin characters to represent their sounds approximately. But the vocabularies of these languages are reported to be very limited, so much so that most of them do not have more than about 300 words!".

The Commission thus came down fairly and squarely in favour of the Arabization of secondary education throughout the Sudan.

24. Ibid., p. 51.
25. Ibid., p. 54.
26. Ibid., p. 51.
In defending their most important recommendation the Commission argued that "it has been the normal practice all over the world that people should be taught in their own language and whenever there is a deviation from that general norm, there should be some very strong justification for it. And whatever this justification care should be taken that the deviation does not continue for more than the minimum period determined by the conditions that made the deviation necessary". 27

The comments and recommendations in the Akrawi Report reflect at a number of points those made by the International Commission. On the question of the medium of instruction, the Akrawi Report stated that the Committee "took note of the suggestion of the International Commission ... which recommended that teaching in the secondary school should be changed into Arabic. It endorsed it heartily in the interest of national culture and as calculated to raise the level of understanding of the secondary school students and therefore their attainment of a higher academic standard". 28 The Akrawi Report also agreed with the International Commission that teaching in the schools of Southern Sudan should be in Arabic because "teaching in the vernaculars will tend to isolate the tribal groups from other tribes and from their compatriots all over the Sudan and make them unable to share in the life of the country". 29

27. Ibid., p. 48.
29. Ibid., p. 83.
Committee, however, recognised the importance of English as "a language of international culture, and as a necessary medium of higher education for some time to come" and went on to suggest that "it should therefore be introduced in the fourth year of the six-year proposed primary school. This will help compensate for any loss which might ensue from changing the language of instruction to Arabic in secondary schools".  

The Kadhim Report also endorsed the principle of the Arabization of secondary education but argued that "there is no question that the retention of English is very important for the Sudan both culturally and economically".  

However, the Kadhim Report opposed the teaching of English in the fourth year of the primary school as proposed in Akrawi's 6 + 6 Educational Ladder on the grounds of difficulties in recruiting enough teachers and the adverse effects on Arabic. "The general practice in most countries", Kadhim maintained, "is that learning a foreign language begins in the second stage of education. The emphasis in the first stage of education should be on the mother tongue".  

Thus both the Akrawi Report and the Kadhim Report endorsed the recommendation of the International Commission that English should be replaced by Arabic as the medium of instruction in the secondary school. All three reports, however, were unanimous

30. Ibid.
32. Ibid., p. 13.
in emphasizing the need for the retention of English and in urging that every effort should be made to improve the standard of English teaching not only because it was, of necessity, to remain the medium of higher education but also because of its importance as an international language.

4.4 Educational Expansion and Development

After self-government in 1953 and independence in 1956, the first priorities for expansion were in elementary and intermediate education. Between 1956 and 1961 Government intermediate school enrolment more than doubled, while in the private sector the increase was sevenfold. The number of boys in intermediate schools rose from 8,500 in 1955/56 to about 21,000 in 1960/61.\(^{33}\) For girls the numbers rose from a little over 1,200 to nearly 4,000 during the same period. Meanwhile there was a pause in the expansion of secondary education. Thus during the same period the numbers in secondary schools for boys rose from about 3,300 in 1955/56 to about 5,800 in 1960/61 and for girls from 190 to nearly 600 in 1960/61. But, by the time the intermediate school 'bulge' had reached secondary level in 1964, the Government's policy of rapidly creating urban day schools - a radical break with tradition - had more than compensated for it.

\(^{33}\) These and the subsequent figures are drawn from the annual Educational Statistics compiled by the Bureau of Educational Statistics, Ministry of Education, Khartoum.
Between 1962 and 1964 the number of Government secondary schools for boys rose from 186 classes with a total enrolment of 6,837 to 227 classes with an attendance of 10,490 boys. For girls the number rose from 154 secondary classes with an attendance of 1,170 to 62 classes with a total enrolment of 2,360 girls. The year 1963/64 was in fact described as having witnessed the greatest expansion in the history of education till that time. At all levels 390 new schools were opened in that year. This race for expansion was going on to meet the targets of the Government's "Ten Year Plan of Economic and Social Development 1961/62 to 1970/71" and also to avert the ominous prophesies by the Census Commissioner who warned in 1956 that the Sudan could easily find itself retrogressing if provision of education was not to exceed the increase in population.34

Since development became the aim of the successive governments after independence, the civil service became the main instrument for implementing development programmes and the University was its main source of professional supply. Other sources came to be scholarships abroad, sponsored by the various government departments or by other governments and international organisations. The University College of Khartoum became the University of Khartoum in July 1956 and thus became the first of the African Colleges affiliated to London University to reach

the status of an independent university, awarding its own degrees. But the University of Khartoum remained in close contact with British Universities in the fields of external examiners, recruitment of staff and scholarships for its future staff. Besides trying to cater for the manpower needs of the country from its eight faculties (the ninth faculty, the Faculty of Pharmacy, was opened in 1964) the University's other concerns have been the maintenance of a high academic standard and the training of its future Sudanese scholars abroad, mainly in Britain and the United States.

In response to public demand and government pressure, the University of Khartoum has, in recent years, considerably increased educational opportunity. "Between 1964 and 1966 University intake rose from 623 to 1,019"35 - an increase of about 61%. "In the following two years the intake was slightly less than for 1966 but only because of the shortage of student accommodation and teaching facilities".36 But in 1969 admissions again increased to 1,124, which is almost double what they were in 1964.37

The growth of the Egyptian type of education after the Second World War culminated in the establishment of the Khartoum Branch of Cairo University in October 1955. This provided further opportunity for higher education. As the requirements


36. Ibid., p. 6.
37. Ibid.
for entry were lower than those of Cairo University or the University College of Khartoum, it was possible to admit those who did not qualify for either; and as the classes were conducted in the evenings only, as they still are, many of its students were government officials combining work and study. The Khartoum Branch of Cairo University consists of three faculties only, Arts, Law and Commerce, to which a total of 286 students were admitted when it was opened in 1955. By 1968 enrolment had increased to 3,031 students.

Concurrently with these developments a number of technical and vocational colleges and institutes have either been developed or established. Foremost among these is what came to be known as the Khartoum Technical Institute (K.T.I.) which was established as early as 1950 to provide three-year post-secondary training in the technologies of engineering, industry and commerce. By the end of 1963 the K.T.I. stood at the apex of the pyramid of technical education with two secondary schools, 25 intermediate schools, 10 trade schools for the training of skilled foremen and one senior trade school to produce skilled supervisors of works. In the year 1964/65 there were about 500 students but by 1968 the total enrolment almost doubled. The Shambat Agricultural Institute was started in 1954 to produce agricultural technicians. It provides a three-year course, with an annual intake which now averages about 60 students. This and the two-year Forest Rangers College, established in 1957,
are run by the Ministry of Agriculture. The Khartoum Nursing College, established in 1956, is a special unit within the Ministry of Health. It offers a three-year course in basic nursing education to prepare young women as professional nurses; it has an annual intake of between 40 and 50 students.

Other post-secondary institutes or courses with a vocational bias which have been established since independence, include the Public Health Officers College, the Prison Officers College, the Police College, the Military College and the Post and Telegraph Training Centre. The length of the courses in these institutions varies from three years to a few months. The annual intake is also variable, the deciding factor being the need of the Ministry concerned. The newest addition to these post-secondary institutes are the Medical Technicians Training Centre and the Science Technicians Training Centre which were started in 1966. Both are under the wing of the University of Khartoum and are intended for training laboratory technicians for the University, the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Animal Resources.

Despite the remarkable rate of expansion at all levels over the last 15 years, the proportion of the pupils who are left out in the process of selection from one stage to the next still remains high. In the year 1968/69, the latest year for which figures are available, the percentage enrolment of the age-group in all three stages was 31.5% for elementary, 4.5% for intermediate
and 2.2% for secondary schools. The proportion of elementary school leavers who were selected for intermediate education compared with the total output was 16.1% representing 21.4% of the boys and 9.9% of the girls. Of those who completed the intermediate stage 49.6% gained selection for secondary education. Of the output from the secondary schools between 25% and 30% proceeded to higher education of one sort or another.

The expansion of the educational system since 1955/56, however, has not been achieved without serious stresses and strains upon teacher supply, not least as regards the expansion of intermediate and secondary schools. The Intermediate Teachers Training College (I.T.T.C.) for men teachers was started in Bakht-er-Ruda in 1949 to take recruits from the secondary schools in groups of 40 for an 18 months course. Two groups came each year and it was hoped to satisfy all needs within 10 years. How far this has fallen short can perhaps be gauged from the fact that as the staffing position deteriorated it became necessary to send recruits direct into schools for a maximum of four years before being given training at the I.T.T.C. Moreover, it was not until 1959 that the Intermediate Teacher Training Institute (I.T.T.I.) was opened in Omdurman to train women teachers for girls' intermediate schools. As regards the secondary schools, in 1955 the International Commission found the staffing in secondary schools to be unsatisfactory both in quantity and quality. Enough able recruits were not coming forward, teachers
in the schools were being drawn into other departments and services and many senior expatriates were leaving. Moreover many of the teachers were either untrained or had had far too little training. The main sources for recruitment continued to be graduates from the University of Khartoum, British expatriates (of whom in 1960/61 there were 87 in boys' and 8 in girls' secondary schools) and graduates from Egyptian Universities. From 1965, the Higher Teachers Training Institute (H.T.T.I.) became the most regular and invaluable source for the recruitment of secondary school teachers, both men and women. The H.T.T.I. was opened at Omdurman in 1961 by the joint effort of Unesco and Sudan Government to provide four years of general education and professional training. It started with an intake of 60 and subsequently increased to 90 in 1962 and to 100 in 1964. Because competition to get into the University of Khartoum is becoming fiercer every year, and because the H.T.T.I. trainees are paid employees of the Ministry of Education, the Institute attracts high quality entrants, who are then fully committed to the teaching profession and can scarcely be drained off to other government departments. By a new link with the University of Khartoum they will be awarded B.Ed. degrees from 1971 onwards.

The pattern of educational expansion, diversification and development, though in many respects chaotic, reflects many of the proposals made in the major educational reports, in particular those of the International Commission and the Akrawi Committee.
The proposal concerning the Arabicization of instruction in the secondary schools to which all reports subscribed was accepted and immediately declared as official policy. The Ministry of Education was committed to make arrangements for the implementation of the recommendation as soon as possible. Meanwhile, it looked as though the educational ladder of 6 + 6 proposed by the Akrawi Committee was going to be implemented in one form or another. The section on education in the Ten Year Plan stated that "the proposed investment of £3 32,896,110 is related to the introduction of the new educational policy in the Sudan. This educational re-organisation will raise our academic and technical standards to those enjoyed in most advanced countries. This new educational ladder will consist of three stages ...".

These were explained in more detail by the Ministry of Education in "A New Plan for Education in the Sudan" which was issued shortly after the Ten Year Plan had been published.

The New Plan stipulated that the existing educational ladder was to be abolished and replaced by a new one consisting of three stages: a primary school of 6 years followed by a general secondary stage of 4 years and further by a senior secondary of 4 years also. Akrawi had proposed 3 years for each


of the two secondary stages. But according to the New Plan, the senior secondary stage would provide a three years' course leading to the School Certificate (ordinary level). Those desiring to gain entry to university would stay for a further year, equivalent to the Sixth Form of the Grammar Schools in Britain, leading to advanced level examination. This final year of the senior secondary school would replace the one-year preliminary course given by the University of Khartoum. This, the New Plan concluded, would result in considerable savings in the state expenditure on the preparatory stages of University and higher education. Thus the period of school duration would be 13 to 14 years starting at the age of six.

The Plan came under severe criticism from many quarters including the University of Khartoum, which complained that it had not been consulted before the Plan was formulated and felt completely and deliberately ignored. The Plan was criticised on the starting age of six years as being too early for Sudanese children; it was criticised on the extension of schooling to 14 years instead of 12 years which all three major reports regarded as the appropriate period of full-time schooling, on the lack of reference as to what medium of instruction would be used in the proposed senior secondary school and on the absence of representation of the University on the suggested boards of the Ministry of Education as well as on the formulation of the

[^46]: Ibid., p. 7.
Plan which if implemented would necessitate major changes in the structure of the University of Khartoum. In the face of growing criticism and opposition from the University and from some influential educators and teachers, the Plan remained undefended and although it was not completely abandoned or withdrawn, its implementation seemed to have at least been postponed. From then onwards, the attention and efforts of the Ministry of Education were devoted to the urgent task of the expansion of the existing ladder and of solving the practical problems to meet the requirements of expansion.

Educational and language policies of successive Governments since independence were also calculated to bring about the integration of the South and the North to achieve national unity. At first educational policy was designed to bring existing Government schools in the South to Northern standards of staff and equipment, and then take over missionary schools. Between 1956 and 1964, expansion plans were concentrated on elementary schools of which 26 were opened. During the same period 4 intermediate schools and one secondary school were also opened. The emphasis was placed on the teaching of Arabic and the training of teachers. To this end, a Publications Bureau was established in the South to prepare suitable Arabic teaching material for schools and the Institute of Education, Bakht-er-Ruda was made

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responsible for the training of elementary and intermediate teachers in the South. The education of Southerners in the Northern secondary and higher schools was encouraged and a number of so-called Islamic (six intermediate and one secondary) schools were established to help spread Arabic and Islam in the South.

4.5 Arabicization

Between the strong recommendation put forward by the International Commission in 1955 and actual Arabicization 10 years later, the implementing of this declared Government policy was delayed for reasons never quite made explicit. It appears that many educators and other senior officials were then against it, partly because of the problems of textbook translation and supply of staff, but also because of deep-seated doubts about such a radical change in relation to the established standards of the English-medium they themselves have had. Nothing could perhaps testify more strongly to the prestige of that education and its identification with the elite it produced. But from 1960 candidates for School Certificate History were permitted to choose between English and Arabic as the language of their examination, provided each school kept to the same language throughout. This in effect meant the piecemeal Arabicization of the subject. The gradualness with which teachers changed over to preparing their students for answering in Arabic
interestingly underlines the need for preparing the ground well enough in advance if there is to be a universal simultaneous switch. In History it was 4 years before the majority of schools preferred Arabic, as teachers gradually found textbooks for the students and reference books for themselves to recast into an Arabic mould the knowledge derived from their own English-medium education. The same option was introduced for Geography in 1967 and again only a small percentage - less than 15% - immediately opted for Arabic.

So it was left to the civilian government, in the wake of the anti-military coup of 1964, to announce the Arabicization of secondary education abruptly in February 1965 with effect from the following July. The main immediate cause of this was renewed representations by the Teachers' Union, which was dominated by Arabic teachers who formed a strong lobby group to champion the cause. For the implementation of the decision the Ministry of Education was caught wholly unprepared. To avert the possible hazards of an overnight change in all secondary school classes, it was agreed that Arabicization should begin in the first year for all subjects and be progressively continued over four years from July 1965 till March 1969 by which time completely English would have been phased out as the medium of instruction. But even many of the teachers who were all in favour of the policy have been unhappy about the speed at which the change was
made and the varying standards of fullness and accuracy in some of the first textbook material produced by the panels specially set up for the purpose. Because of the suddenness of the decision some of the necessary material in Arabic was not available in time for the first or even second annual intake thereafter. Teachers, therefore, to some extent had to rely on Egyptian or English reference books from which to give dictated notes. The situation was complicated by the lack of complete agreement within the Arab world on Arabic equivalents to some English or French technical terms, even among those needed at secondary school level.

This policy, however, has not been forced on Southern schools as if they were no different from the schools in the North but begun from the lower end of the system, so that the few intermediate and secondary schools now functioning still use English.

Thus, policy since independence has had three main themes: while the educational system has retained much of the character to be expected of one that was originally established by the British, it has broken away radically from the received model in its far-reaching expansion at all levels, in its diversification, and in the replacement of English by Arabic as the medium of instruction in secondary schools. Correspondingly, there has been a crucial change in the status of English and its role in education. But before we examine the implications of this, it is necessary to give a brief survey and evaluation of the teaching of English, which is the subject of the next chapter.
CHAPTER V

ENGLISH IN EDUCATION

5.1 English in the Intermediate School

The present Intermediate School English syllabus was developed as early as 1953 at the Institute of Education, Bakhter-Ruda, which undertakes responsibility for both elementary and intermediate education in all matters of syllabus planning, teacher training and the inspection of schools. The syllabuses, the textbooks, handbooks and other teaching materials prescribed by the Institute are supplied to the schools through the centralised organisation of the Ministry of Education.

A. Aims

"The general aims of the Intermediate School English syllabus are to provide a basic all-round command of the language in both its oral and written forms within the range of a 'passive' vocabulary of some 2,500 words and an active vocabulary of about half that number on which basis those who gain entrance to the secondary school can advance deeper into English and others can have in their possession enough English to read or to use or to make their own way with". ¹ The syllabus was thus originally

designed to cater not only for the minority who proceeded to the secondary stage but also for the vast majority for whom the intermediate stage was the end of formal education and so of formal language learning.

B. Materials, Methods and Techniques

The Intermediate School syllabus basically follows the 'Oral Approach' in that the skills are introduced in sequence - listening, comprehension and speaking precede reading and writing. In general, especially in the early stages, the oral activity controls those of reading and writing so that the pupil reads and writes only what he has already learned to say.

The Intermediate School pupil begins learning English by speaking it, using the preliminary book, a book of pictures only, of the Oxford Course (French, 1946). In addition to French's Teachers' Handbook "First Year English - What and How to Teach", the teacher also has a copy of "Teacher's Handbook, English, First Year", especially produced to provide the teacher with detailed advice and information about his work.

Simultaneously with his speech lessons, the pupil starts to learn the English Alphabet and handwriting from a specially produced "Handwriting Book". He may soon begin to write words which he has already learned in his oral lessons and thus begins to make his first approach towards the task of reading English.

Having learned to say and use 150 words in about 30 'structures', the pupil has his first reading book, "Part Two:
Reading" by French, from which he learns to read the same 150 words plus about 40 new words in the same 30 structures. He has already learned the letters and their sounds through his writing lesson. He knows the words and sentences, their pronunciation and meaning from his speech lessons. The task of reading is thus reduced to the one new process of recognising the printed form. The reading book has many illustrations - both thematic and semantic - to help the learner grasp the meanings of the words and sentences in the text. Part of the teacher's equipment are 2 sets of flash cards, which he is to use at the beginning of every reading lesson to drill sound values of letters and groups of letters, word and sentence recognition and also to develop reading speed.

Oral work is continued right into 4th Year by means of the "New Method English Practice Books I - III" (H.E. Palmer 1938-39), and all the written work until 4th Year is directly based on this oral work. For the first 3 years the learner never writes anything which he has not already learned to say. Throughout all the oral work, the following steps are used:

1. The class listen to the teacher using a structure in a 'meaningful situation'.
2. The class imitate in a controlled drill, in chorus and individually.
3. Individuals use the structure in similar but not identical situations, to produce new sentences on the analogy of sentences already learned.
4. Class write sentences derived from the structure. Thus each new structure or sentence pattern is presented and taught through imitation, repetition and practice sufficient to enable the learners absorb the grammatical form 'unconsciously' and use it 'at will'. Throughout the drill, the teacher makes use of appropriate pictures, objects, actions, to demonstrate the meanings of the sentences which the class are to imitate and repeat. The "New Method English Practice Books I - III" provide a well-graded oral course which contains all the basic structures which the learner needs to express himself within his range of experience and vocabulary. The oral lessons based on these books are therefore the most frequent in the first 3 years of the English course and take up an average of 4 out of 9 periods a week.

The reading course is carried on by using the "White Nile Readers I - II" (Bright 1954). These are specially written books with the express purpose of bridging the gap between the Oxford Introductory books and the "New Method Readers II - VI, Alternative Edition" by Michael West (1946-50). The words and structures in the White Nile Readers are therefore chosen to bring the pupil to the point where his knowledge of vocabulary and structures is sufficient for him to begin West's "New Method Reader II". Hitherto, the pupil's reading has been within his active vocabulary. With the introduction to the White Nile Readers, a new stage in the development of the reading skill is
reached. New words and structures are still introduced orally, but they are met in print within the same lesson before the pupil has learned to use them in speech. Now he begins to develop a reading or receptive vocabulary and soon the vocabulary which he can understand in print begins to go ahead of his speaking vocabulary.

After finishing White Nile Readers I and II, the pupils are introduced to the West Readers II - VI, which cover the 2,000 words of the General Service List of the Interim Report on Vocabulary (1936). The West Readers are covered between the beginning of 2nd Year and the end of 4th Year, the main tasks of this stage being the acquisition of vocabulary, the growth of receptive familiarity with structure and the development of the reading ability. The dominating feature of the West Readers is that while the vocabulary is introduced in accordance with the basic principles of selection, grading and presentation at a specified rate with regular repetition, the structures are introduced rather haphazardly, apart from the general principle that the shorter precede the longer and the easier precede the more difficult. West Reader VI has a specialized function in that it introduces the pupil to the idea of words derived from Latin root meanings and taking prefixes and suffixes.

The pattern of a typical reading lesson is as follows:
1. Teacher introduces the new words, for each section of the reading passage, drilling the pronunciation and
presenting the meaning by various demonstrative means and in cases of absolute necessity, by the use of translation.

2. Class read the section silently.
3. Teacher asks oral questions to test comprehension.
4. Teacher reads section aloud, followed by individuals.

Used alongside the class Readers are a series of supplementary readers, with a weekly class period, called a Library period, for preparation and testing of private reading. The plateau type of supplementary readers give the pupil practice and enjoyment in reading at the vocabulary level he happens to have reached. He meets known words in new contexts, revises them and becomes more fluent in the recognition of structural forms. In his 3rd Year the pupil will have amassed sufficient vocabulary to enable him to use the "New Method Dictionary" (West, 1947) and so he is able to tackle the progressive type of supplementary readers, which introduce new vocabulary. Every year 4 to 6 of these supplementary readers are selected and set for reading in 4th Year and tested in the Final Examination by a 'Literature' paper.

Written work up to the end of 3rd Year consists of strictly controlled exercises based, as has been said, directly on oral work, the main function of writing being the consolidation of knowledge already acquired orally. A secondary function of writing is its use as a means of testing comprehension, spelling
and the ability to understand what is said. Dictation is always used, except in formal tests, as a teaching exercise. In 4th Year written work is developed using "Junior English Composition and Grammar" (Bright 1954) by means of well calculated devices and oral exercises, a little formal grammar, dictation and reproduction and expansion of stories, up to the point where, at the end of the course, free composition is undertaken.

The syllabus thus entails the use of a number of textbooks by different authors. Some of the books from one complete course are used with other books from another course, the fusion being aided by specially produced teachers' handbooks. Nevertheless, the syllabus is constructed round a specified and controlled inventory of teaching items and the material is co-ordinated and graded in relation to the language skills taught. In practice, it is the teacher who welds these various elements into a continuous whole. And a teacher who understands what he is doing can achieve this because the syllabus has been built up from a number of elements which reasonably satisfy certain basic principles. These principles, which have been indicated at different points may be summarised here.

Foremost, is the principle that a language teaching course must have a clearly defined goal and that the goal of the first stage of language learning should be to develop a basic command of all the primary language skills.
Secondly, language skills should be taught in sequence so that listening and speaking precede reading and writing.

Thirdly, the language material to be taught should include a specified and co-ordinated inventory of language items organised and introduced gradually in a way suitable for teaching.

Finally, language learning involves essentially the formation and performance of 'habits'. To establish in the learners 'habitual' control of the grammatical structure, the language material should be presented to the learner through repetition and practice, not through grammatical explanations and rules.

C. Teachers

Intermediate School teachers are recruited from among secondary school leavers who have succeeded in their School Certificate Examination but have not qualified for admission to the University or other institutes of higher education. These recruits, almost without exception, will have been through the three stages of education and will have therefore studied English for eight years. They are first appointed as trainee-teachers in the various intermediate schools and do 2 to 3 years' teaching before going to their course of training in the I.T.T.C., Bakht-er-Ruda, which trains men-teachers and the I.T.T.I. at Omdurman, which trains women-teachers. The training course lasts for one year in which student-teachers train
in 3 subjects. Training in English is more professional than academic, the aim being to give teachers confidence in their material and their principles of their work rather than to improve their command of English. Thus in the first term the emphasis is on the theory of teaching and learning a foreign language; in the second term the students study the principles underlying the Intermediate School English syllabus and textbooks and in the third term they learn in detail the recommended classroom methods and techniques of teaching the various language-skills and types of lesson by means of lectures in method, classroom observation and teaching practice. Throughout the training course the general principles of language teaching are related to the specific syllabus, school textbooks and teaching methods which the student-teachers will have to use in their schools.

Since the establishment of the I.T.T.C. in 1949, the length of the training course had been 18 months until 1963 when it was shortened to one academic year in order to supply trained teachers at a rate commensurate with the rapid expansion in intermediate education. In recent years many of the experienced trained teachers of English have either been sent on secondment to other Arab countries, or have been 'promoted' to work in secondary schools, with the result that the proportion of trained teachers of English still remains a little more than 50% of the total teaching force.
5.2 English in the Secondary School

A. Aims

There seem to be no clearly defined aims for the Secondary School English course except in so far as these are implicit in the requirements and standards of the School Certificate Examination. The School Certificate Examination Syllabus states that "the object is to test the candidate's ability to understand the English Language and to write it correctly", with no indication of the required level of attainment in these skills. The overall aim of English teaching in the secondary school is seemingly, therefore, the development of the reading and writing skills to whatever level is assumed to be required by the standards of the School Certificate Examination.

B. Methods, Materials and Techniques

One can only survey English teaching in the secondary school in terms of general approach and practices rather than in terms of materials, methods and techniques since there is no uniform syllabus or planned scheme of work which is common to all schools. Instead there exist many syllabuses, most of which are slightly modified versions of the early syllabuses introduced by the British expatriates in the first three government schools opened between 1945 and 1949. These have been handed down to

successive teachers and schools and have continued to be dominated by the standard requirements of the Sudan School Certificate which is modelled on its predecessor the Cambridge School Certificate.

The syllabuses, where they exist, are largely just an inventory of the various textbooks that may be used in each form for language work with modest estimates of the number of compositions and precis exercises that should be attempted and the number of literature books that should be completed. The textbooks used for language work may vary from one school to another but the syllabuses in use in the various schools are invariably similar in form. Far from being constructed round an inventory of language items, these syllabuses have tended more and more to be derived from the textbooks in use rather than the textbooks being chosen to conform to a syllabus. Teaching methods are not suggested in these syllabuses and the teacher is largely left to evolve his own approach which in practice is dictated partly by the manner of presentation inherent in the textbooks themselves and partly by the traditional practices dominating the schools.

This traditional freedom of the secondary schools in matters of syllabus, textbooks and teaching methods\(^3\) is in practice firmly limited by the constant awareness of the structure and standard

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3. This freedom stems largely from the fact that central authority puts the onus of deciding the curriculum almost entirely upon the heads of departments in the schools. Thus the head of the English department in any given school is supposed to hold himself responsible not only for the routine running of the department but also for ensuring that a proper syllabus is made, followed and constantly improved. It is also his job to help inexperienced colleagues, to provide the required books, materials and aids and in these ways influence what or how the teachers in his department can teach. Obviously the extent to which this freedom may be considered an asset depends on whether the heads of departments themselves have the time, the competence or the necessary training to fulfil the duties of the position.
requirements of the School Certificate Examination, in the direction of which all teaching is oriented. The School Certificate Examination consists of two papers: Paper I which requires candidates to choose 2 subjects for continuous composition, and Paper II which consists of passages for precis and comprehension as well as grammatical analysis. It is therefore on these language activities - composition, precis, comprehension and grammar - that the teaching of English throughout the secondary school is focused.

The whole approach to language teaching is changed in the secondary school and instead of the direct use of the language through practice in the communication skills themselves, as in the intermediate school, language work becomes wholly text-based and directed largely towards the acquisition of secondary language skills such as precis, paraphrasing, grammatical analysis and reading aloud.

In the first two years, 4 out of the 8 weekly periods allocated to English are devoted to the teaching of formal grammar, comprehension and the mechanics of composition, and each of these activities which together make up what is labelled as 'language work', is based on some familiar textbook hallowed by tradition. Thus for the study of grammar, most schools, if not all, use W.S. Allen's "Living English Structure" and/or Hornby's "Composition Exercises in Elementary English" in both of which the presentation follows the traditional procedure whereby the learner is first introduced to a grammatical rule which he can then apply to the drill exercises which follow. The practice of teaching grammar is thus determined to a large extent by the textbook procedure.

4. The School Certificate English examination syllabus has now been revised and the pattern of the Language Papers considerably modified by the introduction of objective testing. The first examination based on the new syllabus was held in 1971.
and the teacher's task is reduced to explaining the rule and then calling on individuals to manipulate the exercises applying the rule. He may then perhaps conclude by having the class do part of the exercise in writing. This practice is very conventional and varies little from class to class regardless of which grammar textbook happens to be in use. The weekly comprehension lesson is based on a familiar run of textbooks such as Hill and Fielden's "Further Comprehension and Précis Pieces for Overseas Students", or Drake's "Approach to English Literature Abroad" or Etherton and Thornley's "A Graded Secondary School English Course", all of which are invariably characterized by a high incidence of literary specimens of English followed by the usual battery of short exercises alleged to promote comprehension and extend vocabulary. The traditional practice of teaching comprehension is to have the class read the passage silently and then proceed to the exercises which are done partly orally and partly in writing, concluding the lesson with reading aloud.

Composition work throughout 1st and 2nd Years is again text-based, the most popular textbook being "English Composition Course for Overseas Students" by J.A. Bright, which in both content and procedure is more of a manual of information about composition than a source of practice in the use of the language. Lessons in compositions are thus largely devoted, particularly in the 1st Year, to the study of the various problems of technique, arrangement, paragraphing, sentence variety, punctuation, use of
tenses, etc., based on the illustrative passages provided in the text. In addition to exemplifying the various features and techniques involved in the writing of composition, the passages are also intended to serve as models illustrating a variety of narrative and descriptive compositions of the kind the class may be required to attempt. The usual practice in most schools is to devote one period per week for the study of a model passage and the discussion of the relevant features of organisation, paragraphing, use of tenses, sentence variety, etc. This done, the class proceeds to manipulate the exercises relevant to the passage. Following every two or three such lessons, the teacher sets a topic on which the class are required to write a piece of composition applying the knowledge they have seemingly acquired and the techniques they have studied, the assumption being that a series of lessons on what makes up effective writing would somehow come together in the act of composition. Thus, in a whole year a class makes no more than eight to a dozen attempts to formulate a continuous flow of English sentences, and since the compositions are neither guided nor controlled, the activity is reduced to an exercise in mental translation and the result is often not rewarding either to the pupil or the teacher.

Such is the extent of 'language work' and such are the practices of language teaching in 1st and 2nd Years. The remaining 14 periods which make up half the time allotted to English
per week are devoted to the teaching of what is labelled as 'literature'. This consists of the teaching of a few texts selected from the familiar corpus of the simplified 19th Century English novels published by Longmans and O.U.P. What goes under the name of 'Literature' throughout the secondary school is in reality a Reading Lesson in which the teacher reads aloud to the class, pausing only occasionally to explain a word or to paraphrase a sentence or a paragraph. Since the whole or most of the book is read aloud in class in this manner, no more than 4 or 5 books are completed in a whole year.

Language and literature teaching in 3rd and 4th Years is largely devoted to the preparation for the School Certificate Examination. To this end, language work is based almost entirely on certain textbooks traditionally believed to provide the necessary training and preparation for the passing of the examination. Such are Morgan and Bachelor's "Approach to School Certificate English" and Nicholson and Bright's "English Language for School Certificate", both of which provide a medley of exercises in précis, comprehension and grammar of the kind that is enshrined in the make-up of the School Certificate Examination. Composition is set, as in 1st and 2nd Years, with no guidance or preparation, thus becoming a test rather than a teaching exercise. The teaching of literature is continued in 3rd Year by the use of abridged instead of simplified versions of such novels as "Oliver Twist", "David Copperfield", "Pride and Prejudice" together with one or two plays in the original, the most popular
choices being Shaw's "Plays Pleasant" or "Plays Unpleasant" and Galsworthy's "Justice", "Strife" or "The Silver Box". In 4th Year the 4 literature periods per week are throughout the year devoted wholly to the study of 3 or 4 books selected from the titles set for the School Certificate English Literature Examination. The books prescribed for the 1969 Examination, for example, were the following:

Section A:

Shakespeare, either Richard II
or Romeo and Juliet
Shaw Caesar and Cleopatra
Sheridan The Rivals
Miller All My Sons

Section B:

Austen Northanger Abbey
Conrad Four Tales
Faulkner Moonfleet
Lawrence Selections from the Seven Pillars of Wisdom

Since the examination requires candidates to offer a minimum of 3 books to be chosen from both sections, most schools tend to restrict their efforts to the minimum 3 books they select from the 8 set titles. The selected 3 or 4 books, which are sometimes even started in 3rd Year, are then read and re-read in and

out of class, passages are paraphrased and notes are distributed and memorized in anticipation of the examination questions, and in the process literature is often reduced to a dull and meaningless grind.

C. Teachers

It was not until 1965 when the H.T.T.I. produced its first batch after 4 years of training that untrained university graduates, both Sudanese and British, ceased to be the prime source of secondary school teachers. From the original 8, its annual output is now about 20 specialising in English, and it is this source that is expected to make the major impact on the teaching profession. In the experimental stages, the English course at the H.T.T.I. came in for some criticism on the grounds of its over-concentration on literary education at the expense of professional training. "The literary element in the course is greater than the linguistic at present. This can be justified if the selection of texts is based on what can be meaningful to the students, encourage wide reading and extend experience of the current English they will have to use. Covering a representative sample of English Literature is of secondary importance".6

In this respect, it was pointed out, the H.T.T.I. English course seems to follow rather than give the lead to the secondary school English course. Although this literary bias has since been considerably modified, training in language teaching methods, based on modern linguistic principles, is admitted not to be as strong an element as it would ideally be.

In 1964 there began another important modification to the ex-British tradition of untrained secondary teachers - annual 3-week in-service training courses in the vacation, run by the Ministry of Education in concert with the H.T.T.I. and the British Council. These were intended for untrained Sudanese graduates and non-graduates comprising the few trained intermediate school teachers who were 'promoted' to the secondary schools and others who left university without a degree. Between 1964 and 1969 there have been six courses, for an average of 25 teachers.

The third source of training has been a special British Council-sponsored two-year course at the Institute of Education, University of Leeds. A total of 50 teachers of English are expected to have completed their training between 1965 and 1971. This is a specially designed course for Sudanese teachers with experience but no previous training.

7. Ibid., p. 19.
Training, therefore, has had a sharp effect on the professional picture since 1965. Table 1 gives an analysis of the composition of the teaching force by background and training for the year 1967/68.

The figures in Table 1 show that out of about 156 Sudanese teachers of English, 104 (66.1%) have now had either full training, an in-service course, or both. The discrepancy between the rate of 25 per annum attending in-service courses, quoted above, and the table is explained by the drift of untrained graduates in and out of the profession. If the present trend continues and expansion of the system is maintained at the present rate of approximately 10%, it is possible to estimate that by 1971/72 more than 50% of the teaching force will be fully trained for secondary schools. However, since the supply of trained teachers from the H.T.T.I. is inadequate even for the present demand, the recruitment of untrained teachers from among graduates and non-graduates is bound to continue and may increase with the increasing rate of educational expansion. Recruitment of untrained teachers will therefore continue to exert conservative pressure and the quality feedback injected into English teaching by the trained minority is bound to be submerged by the traditional approaches and practices prevailing in the schools.
TABLE 1. Secondary School Teachers of English, by background and training, 1967/68

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Secondary School Teachers</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
<th>Sub-Total</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H.T.T.I. - trained</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leeds - trained</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other trained graduates</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Untrained graduates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>54</td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left university without a degree:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>untrained</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abroad for training</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Sudanese</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>75.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British graduates: contract</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.S.O.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total British expatriates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other expatriates</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall Total</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Taken from C.N. Hawkes, "English in Sudanese Education", Teacher Education in New Countries, Vol. 9, No. 3, February, 1969, p. 255. This data was compiled from official sources by C.N. Hawkes, who was kind enough to supply the writer with it before the publication of his article. More up-to-date figures were not available in the English Inspectorate.
The number of British expatriates teaching in the secondary schools has been constantly declining since 1956. While up to 1959/60 nearly 2 out of every 3 teachers of English were British expatriates, there were by 1967/68 no more than 31, including both contract teachers and V.S.O. recruits - a mere 13.5% of the entire teaching force (see Table 1). The figure of 26 'other expatriates' in the table refers almost exclusively to Egyptians, mostly recruited in 1967 as part of an aid scheme by the Egyptian Government. The V.S.O. scheme was first started in 1964, at a time when the traditional British source of contract teachers was drying up. Now, numbering over 20 annually, with a few staying on for a second year of service, the Volunteers tend to be allocated School Certificate classes, to which they teach language and literature immediately in the shadow of the examination.

5.3 Evaluation of Intermediate and Secondary English Syllabuses

The Intermediate and Secondary English syllabuses, outlined above, have a comparatively short history. Until about 1950, English in the Intermediate School was taught by some form of grammar-translation method. Since the early 1950's, when J.A. Bright's reform of methods or syllabus were put into effect under the centralised direction of the I.T.T.C. at the Institute of Education, Bakht-er-Ruda, it has been a fair generalisation to say that the teaching has been systematic, well-graded and professionally thorough in a way that contrasted very
favourably with the secondary schools. In this the situation in the Sudan has been the reverse of other African countries, where it is commonly thought that the primary schools give such an inferior linguistic start to their pupils that subsequent efforts are made doubly difficult by having to compensate for it. The syllabus itself has come in for two main criticisms; that it has not changed at all in the 13 or so years since it was designed, and has therefore stagnated; and that in the present circumstances it attempts to do too much, especially in the final year, which now no longer need take such account of the previously high proportion of leavers not proceeding to secondary school.

By contrast, English in the secondary school continued to be taught, until about 1965, and to a large extent until the present, in the way introduced long before by British schoolmasters and tested by an equally conventional examination, based on traditional grammar, précis and essay writing. Faith in this old system was sustained by the high prestige attached to the first three secondary schools established between 1945 and 1949, all set at a short but effective distance from large towns so that, like English Public Schools, they were distinct and self-contained communities. English was widely used in the life of these communities as well as being the language of instruction. The school system was the key to privileged positions and great social and economic rewards; the content of education it offered
was therefore not likely to be closely questioned and a certain conservatism was naturally built into it. Moreover, teachers and taught had a common belief in the classical method of teaching languages, and probably knew of no other. The stress was thus on formal grammar and the ultimate supremacy of literature as the justification for language study, in the teaching of English by methods unimaginatively exported from the mother-tongue situation in Britain. In sum, English was taught in the same means and along the same lines as it was taught in Britain to native speakers of the language. The vitally needed practice in active use of the foreign language was provided by its being the medium for all other subjects except Arabic and Islamic Religious Knowledge and by the presence of considerable numbers of English-speaking staff.

In this situation, two essential conditions for the thorough learning of English were present: a high degree of motivation and a great amount of exposure to the target language. The standards reached were, therefore, often high despite the separation of English teaching from its real function - that of servicing education by establishing skill in the medium of instruction.
5.4 Effects of Educational Expansion on the Standards of English

As is often the case in other developing countries, the rapid expansion of education in the Sudan has not always been matched by a corresponding increase in teachers, buildings and equipment. "Educational expansion beyond the limits of facilities available affects the teaching of 'skill' subjects more than that of 'content' subjects. English, like any language, is primarily a 'skill' subject, and the increase in the number of students attending secondary schools has reduced the opportunities for effective and controlled exposure to, and practice in, the use of that language. This more than any other one factor has led to the deteriorating standards of English". The extent of the deterioration can be seen from the figures in Table 2, which gives the Sudan School Certificate examination pass rates for English Language, English Literature, Arabic, Islamic, Religious Knowledge and General Science during the years in which examination entries expanded most rapidly. It will be seen that whereas pass rates for 'content' subjects (i.e. English Literature, Islamic R.K. and Geography) show little fluctuation, the pass rate for English has fallen from 70.3% in 1963 to 43.2% in 1968. "The consistently high pass rate for Arabic, subject to the same pressures of increased numbers, as English, in part accounted for by the fact that Arabic (Classical) is taught and examined as a 'content' subject". For conventional examination purposes, factual knowledge can more easily be spread for retention by a fast-growing population of School Certificate candidates than skills that need constant practice under favourable conditions.


9. Ibid.
TABLE 2. Sudan School Certificate % Pass

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>70.3</td>
<td>54.0</td>
<td>82.5</td>
<td>87.9</td>
<td>71.9</td>
<td>74.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>68.4</td>
<td>62.4</td>
<td>84.3</td>
<td>83.4</td>
<td>75.4</td>
<td>74.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>66.2</td>
<td>58.5</td>
<td>85.8</td>
<td>85.9</td>
<td>72.5</td>
<td>74.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>57.9</td>
<td>66.5</td>
<td>85.6</td>
<td>90.0</td>
<td>72.6</td>
<td>70.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>47.9</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>85.4</td>
<td>88.5</td>
<td>71.5</td>
<td>65.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>60.2</td>
<td>84.8</td>
<td>87.1</td>
<td>72.9</td>
<td>66.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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* (Source: Sudan Examinations Office and M. Macmillan, ibid., p. 149)

Table 2 shows clearly that while the standards of English, and to a lesser degree of Genera Science, as measured by the School Certificate results, have been steadily declining since 1964, there has been comparative success in maintaining standards in content subjects throughout the period of expansion.

Despite official backing for efforts to improve English teaching, and widespread and genuine concern about standards, this decline has been assisted by the decision to make a pass in English no longer compulsory for the award of a School Certificate. From 1967 onwards, candidates have been required to sit for Arabic, Religious Knowledge and English and pass in only two of them. The decline in the School Certificate pass-rate thus became a plunge even before the arrival of the 'arabicized' candidates in 1969.
5.5 Guidelines for Reform

With the decline in standards and with the approach of Arabization, the urgent need for reform at last became evident. In February 1967, J.A. Bright, a highly respected figure in Sudanese education, was invited back to investigate and report to the Minister of Education on the modernisation of English syllabuses and examinations. In the month at his disposal Bright indicated guidelines for a thorough reform of the School Certificate English Examination on similar lines to what has already been introduced in East and West Africa.\(^{10}\) To underpin this he indicated priorities for the effective and realistic teaching of English in the conditions created by Arabization. The precise linguistic content of a syllabus within his broad framework is to be provided by a Materials Production Unit\(^{11}\) from which should come the first co-ordinated programme for English Language Teaching in the secondary schools in place of the medley of more or less unsatisfactory course and supplementary material found at present. This was the most important single recommendation made by Bright which was immediately accepted and acted upon and the Materials Production Unit started operation from the H.T.T.I. in July 1968. The Sudan Examinations Committee also moved swiftly to follow up and build on Bright's suggestions for School Certificate reform, which are planned

\(^{10}\) J.A. Bright, Report on the Revision and Modernisation of the English Syllabuses of the Intermediate and Secondary Schools in the Sudan (Khartoum, March 1967).

\(^{11}\) Ibid., p. 32.
to take full effect within 3 or 4 years. In this it works through its Subject Panel for English, chaired by the Professor of English at the University of Khartoum, and including the subject inspector, training institute staff and representative senior teachers.

5.6 English in Higher Education

With the implementation of the Arabicization of secondary education and its completion in 1969, the transfer from Arabic to English as the medium of instruction now takes place on entry to higher education. English is still the usual medium of most technical higher education institutions such as the Khartoum Technical Institute (K.T.I.), Shambat Agricultural Institute and Khartoum Nursing College as well as being the sole medium of the H.T.T.I. and the University of Khartoum though not of the Khartoum Branch of the University of Cairo, which teaches no science. Entry requirements for almost all these institutions and Khartoum University all include a pass in English and a credit in Arabic at School Certificate or vice versa; a very small number of candidates are permitted a second attempt at the English requirement through a special supplementary examination. As the premier institution of higher education in the Sudan and the source of most of its trained manpower, the University of Khartoum clearly carries the most weight in language policy. Just under 50% of its staff are non-Sudanese,
most of its 150,000 books are in English and many external examiners are invited every year from outside the Arab world. These three facts are the main impediments to 'arabicizing' the University although this is ultimately official policy. Opening a conference on "English in the Sudan", the then Vice-Chancellor of the University of Khartoum said, "At present the insufficiency ... of qualified teachers and books and publications in the mother-tongue make the adoption of Arabic impossible to implement immediately, and it will take quite a time and a great deal of effort before the present deficiencies ... are corrected. Any steps taken prematurely are bound to result in more loss than gain".[2]

With increasing anxiety among all staff about the capacity of students to operate effectively in English, the Department of English at the University of Khartoum has been called upon to increase its role as a service department, with teachers attached to the Faculties of Arts, Science and Economics for special language classes, two to five periods a week in the first year. Having had four years' warning of the arrival of its first 'Arabicized' intake from schools in 1969, the Department has done considerable research into the students' use of English, and

this has contributed to the use of special teaching material for these preliminary classes.\textsuperscript{13} The English needed by science students has received particular attention.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{13} For more details on the nature and content of courses see original paper by M. Macmillan, \textit{Some Aspects of Bilingualism in University Education}, presented at the East African Conference of Linguistics and Language Teaching, held at University College, Dar-es-Salaam, in December, 1968.

\textsuperscript{14} Personal Communication from M. Macmillan, July, 1970.
CHAPTER VI

THE SURVEY: UNDERLYING ASSUMPTIONS AND PURPOSE

6.0 Background Review

The main hypothesis in this study is that the teaching of English in the Sudan in terms of its aims, its content and its methods, particularly in the context of the conditions created by Arabicization, is not related to the valid needs for the language. Such a hypothesis calls for answers to three basic questions: 1) Why is the language taught? 2) What is taught? 3) How is it taught?

In the past the 'why', the 'what' and the 'how' of English teaching - and indeed of education in general - were obvious from the colonial context and were tacitly accepted or taken for granted. English was the official language of the colonial government, and since the primary function of education was the production of a small elite of clerks and bureaucrats with which to feed the administration, the need for teaching English and for education in English were self-evident. The educational system that was eventually established consisted of three main stages, Elementary, Intermediate and Secondary, each occupying four years. English was obviously irrelevant to the needs of the Elementary School whose product was to be absorbed, not by
the new colonial administration, but by the ordinary native occupations of the traditional community. It was therefore in the Intermediate School, the second rung in the educational ladder, that the teaching of English started. The teaching of English here had the twin purpose of providing a basic command of the language for the vast majority of pupils who were destined to become clerks in the English-medium administration and the small minority who were to gain selection for the English-medium secondary education. At the secondary and higher levels English became the medium of instruction because education in English was naturally assumed to be the only possible means of providing the prospective elite with the kind of knowledge required by the professional and occupational needs of the colonial administration.

The purposes of English teaching in schools were thus both vocational and educational. Because English was essential first for learning (as the medium of instruction) and later for earning (as the language required for government employment), its teaching had an immediate vocational purpose. In addition, because English was the language of general education beyond a certain level, its teaching had, as it were, to undertake some of the purposes which are usually ascribed to the teaching of the mother tongue. Accordingly, the teaching of English as 'language', like the teaching of English in England, was assumed to have a prime educational purpose. Similarly, the teaching of English as 'literature' which went on separately alongside was considered to have its own educational value as an access to English life and culture.
The overall aims of English teaching throughout the colonial period in the Sudan, as in many other colonial territories, were thus closely parallel to the aims of English teaching in Britain. Consequently the content (what was taught) and the methods (how it was taught) of the English syllabus in the Sudan came to be modelled on the English curriculum in Britain. Because the rest of the curriculum in the secondary school was taught in English, it must have been taken for granted that the purpose of the English syllabus, like that of British schools, was to teach the appreciation and the production of literary English - the English of the printed page with literary merit. It was under this influence that the content of the English curriculum came to be constructed round a repertory of literary texts which provided not only the novels and plays read and analysed in the literature class but also the raw material for the 'exercises' in the language class. Similarly, the methods of teaching English were modelled even more markedly on the formal pattern of instruction in Britain with the result that the set literary composition, formal grammar, the précis and comprehension exercises came to be established as the accepted elements and procedures of teaching the language.

With the transition from colonial rule to independence the situation has radically changed. National unity and economic progress became the aim, and with that came a demand for the
expansion of education and for trained manpower. Arabic became the official national language and within an expanding educational system, it subsequently became the medium of secondary education. The inherited pattern in which educational objectives were intertwined with administrative needs by the use of English in both education and administration has thus been gradually submerged by the implementation of Arabization on the one hand and the extension of education beyond an elite destined for government employment on the other. But it was evident that modernization and economic progress require the retention of English and that English was to remain of necessity, at least for some time to come, the language of nearly all higher education.

In this changed context English has assumed a more limited and differentiated role. But the obvious need for a corresponding change in the direction of English teaching has not been fully recognised - the highly unrealistic, diffuse cultural aims, the literary content and the traditional methods of English teaching which may have been appropriate and relevant in the past when English was also the medium of instruction have continued to be pursued in defiance of the requirements of the new situation.

This is not of course peculiar to the Sudan. In many of the ex-colonial countries, the retention of English has seldom been accompanied by a realistic assessment of the function of English and the needs for English. English may have a new and
important role to play in response to vital social and educational demands but because the needs for English and hence the purposes of English teaching are seldom adequately specified or explicitly defined as a matter of policy, the English teaching operation, sustained by sheer educational inertia, continues to be wedded to the conditions and geared to the needs of the past. The result is the familiar discrepancy between what needs doing through English and what is achieved by teaching English - a discrepancy which is often obscured by an unquestioning acceptance of outmoded assumptions and by a general climate of vagueness and confusion.

Thus in many of the countries where English is taught, whether as a foreign or second language, the aims of teaching English are often either taken for granted or expressed in terms of indeterminate social skills and vague cultural benefits assumed to be gained through English. As set forth in general syllabuses, in examination regulations or in documents representative of national policy, the aims of teaching English are often confused with general educational aims and not infrequently with reasons for teaching the language. The consequences of this state of affairs, which is typical of many English teaching situations, are best summarised in the words of Perren:

At present aims are usually expressed in terms which are 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.

This situation, as has been pointed out, is compounded and sustained by the absence of a realistic assessment of the function of English in each context and hence by the failure to define the central purposes and direction of the English teaching operation. But where should such a realistic assessment begin?

6.1 General Considerations

Traditionally doctrinaire controversies in the field of language teaching have been concerned more with the means than with the end and one therefore often heard of new 'methods' but seldom of new aims or different purposes. In line with this trend, prescriptions for the reform of English teaching have continued to concentrate on the need to adopt new methods without reference to the function of English, the relevant needs

for English and the different purposes of English teaching in separate or new contexts.

Behind the clamour of what are advertised as new methods and new courses for the teaching of English in developing countries there often seems to be a bland assumption that the need for English is some kind of constant from Persia and Pakistan to Kuwait and Kenya. But there is obviously a great difference, to some extent only of degree, between the needs for and uses of English in, for example, the exoglossic countries (to use Kloos's terms) of Sub-Saharan Africa such as Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya and Uganda and in those endoglossic countries of the Arab world such as Iraq, Jordan, Egypt and the Sudan. In the former countries English remains the official language of government and business, the channel for almost all the substance of education and literature and the means of internal communication in many facets of national life. By contrast, the latter countries share a language which has a long literary and scholastic tradition and which, being adequate for national purposes, is used as the official language throughout the entire

2. Heinz Kloos, "We may call a country endoglossic when the national official language(s) is spoken natively by a sizeable segment of the population .... We may call a country exoglossic when the national official language has been brought in from abroad, and its few native speakers do not form the majority of the inhabitants in any district or major locality" in "Notes Concerning a Language-Nation Typology" in Fishman et al. (eds.), Language Problems of Developing Nations (John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1968), p.71.
range of national life. In these countries English therefore retains a relatively and increasingly more limited though still crucial role as the language only of specialised domains and, to a greater or lesser degree, as the medium only of higher education. The difference in the respective roles of English is obviously a function, quite apart from historical and political considerations, of the broad sociolinguistic and socio-cultural conditions which distinguish between the countries of the Arab world and the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa. The need for English as an access to modern science and technology and as a means of international communication, all of which are bound up with the requirements of economic development, is no doubt a common denominator to all the developing countries where English has been retained or adopted. But the particular role of English in a given country is conditioned by many variables which in turn make the language learning situations themselves differ in many critical ways from one country to another. That this is so has been generally recognised although its implications for second language learning have rarely been adequately specified. Thus Catford states that "any language teaching operation takes place in a context of highly variable external factors, and must be adjusted to suit them", and he goes on to give a list of some of the factors:

(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
(for example, is there one or more national language?
Is the national language a 'world language' or a
purely local language? Is there a large number of
regional or minority languages? What uses are
actually made of the particular L₂ we are interested
in?);
(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 L₂.³

Carroll⁴ suggests another list of variables (also six in number),
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

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3. J.C. Catford, "The Teaching of English as a Foreign Language"
in Randolph Quirk and A.H. Smith (eds.), The Teaching of English

4. J.B. Carroll, 'Research Problems Concerning the Teaching of
Foreign or Second Languages to Younger Children', in H.H. Stern
(ed.), Foreign Languages in Primary Education (O.U.P., London,
1967), pp. 95-100.
(d) Motivation
(e) Opportunity to learn
(f) Mode of learning.

By using these 'key variables' Carroll attempts to draw up a typology of the kinds of language learning situations to which 'numerous analogues' could be found in various parts of the world.

Probably the most comprehensive coverage of these factors is to be found in Prator's inventory of the problems involved in the teaching of English in Sub-Saharan Africa. However, Prator 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.

These lists are, of course, very general and far from exhaustive. But one need only note how even these minimal

6. Ibid., p.65.
lists are far from identical to realise the multiplicity of the factors involved and the variety of aspects from which they could be considered. It is, however, significant that the linguistic factor, or other variants of it, should figure in all three lists. Again, it is noteworthy that the important question of what uses are made of $L_2$ is acknowledged in both Catford's list (under b) and Prator's list (item c) - a factor which Carroll, rather surprisingly, chooses to omit from his list of 'key variables'. Yet this factor is obviously centrally relevant whether we are considering the internal linguistic situation, and hence, how languages interact in response to the practical demands of society or whether we are evaluating the language teaching operation, and hence, to what extent the language instruction given in schools corresponds to the actual linguistic needs and uses.

One further factor which is basic to any language learning situation, and which, however, is explicitly acknowledged only in Carroll's list, is the question of whether the $L_2$ is made the language of instruction, and if so, at what level it becomes the medium of instruction in education. And there is here a range of possibilities. English may be the language of instruction throughout the primary school; or it may become so at some stage previous to the secondary school either gradually or at a certain point, as in most of East, West and Central Africa. The changeover point may come, as it used to in the Sudan, at the
moment of entry to the secondary school, or it may come, as it now does in the Sudan and other countries in the Middle East and Asia, at the stage where higher education generally begins. Each of these possibilities is bound to impose its own criteria in terms of the amount of exposure to English, the level of motivation and the future needs of the learners in relation to the next stage of schooling or education.

It is clear, then, that English may function within the national context and fit into the educational system of different countries in a number of different ways. Moreover, in each country teaching conditions may be quite different although the expressed overall aims may be quite similar. If English is to be learnt for use (and it must be learnt for use, if at all), and if the teaching of English should relate to its uses as well as conform with the realities of what can effectively be taught and learnt in each context, it is evident that no one method and no one particular course will apply in all circumstances.

Tinkering with new methods and new courses which purport to be of universal currency cannot therefore be the immediate answer to the problems of English teaching in developing countries. A method can only at best prescribe the linguistic content of what is to be taught and probably how it is to be taught, but this ultimately depends on the end; that is, on why the language is taught - in other words, what is the need for English and what uses are to be made of it? In language teaching and learning,
as with everything else, ends are prior to means, and it is only when meaningful ends are determined that alternative means can be judged.

6.2 The Purpose of the Survey

It was against this background and in the light of these considerations that this survey was undertaken. The main purpose of the survey was two-fold:

(a) to assess the consensus of opinion among all those involved in the English teaching operation as to what were the reasons for the continued use of English and the possible aims of English teaching in the Sudan, given the conditions created by the Arabicization of secondary education,

(b) to determine what sort of motivation for learning English and what kind of attitudes exist among secondary school pupils whose learning has been conditioned by the Arabicization of instruction.

In line with the first objective, a questionnaire was designed to be administered to secondary English teachers, teacher trainers and university teachers of English (see Appendix A). In line with the second objective, another questionnaire was constructed to be administered to 4th Year secondary pupils (see Appendix B).
The survey was conducted in the Sudan over a period of 4 months between August and December 1968. The data obtained from the survey was analysed in the main with the aid of punched cards at the Research Centre for Social Sciences between January and March 1969.

In the following two chapters each aspect of the survey is described in detail against the background problems and particular features of the English teaching situation and the findings reported and discussed.
CHAPTER VII

TEACHING ENGLISH: REASONS, AIMS AND PROBLEMS

7.1 Purpose

The main object of the Teachers' Questionnaire (Appendix A) was to attempt to discover, as mentioned before, the extent to which agreement was possible as to the purposes and aims of English teaching in the Sudan in the light of the conditions created by Arabicization. A secondary aim was to gauge the views and attitudes as to the various related problems and aspects of English teaching.

Reporting on the state of English teaching in the Sudan in 1967 - one year before the Arabicization of secondary education was completed - J.A. Bright summarised the situation as follows:

It was precisely with this end in view that this questionnaire was devised. With the advent of Arabicization it was evident that such a consensus was not only necessary but also timely as Bright goes on to point out:

There are signs that this year may be a good time during which to aim at getting general agreement about broad aims and principles, and starting to embody them in teaching materials and techniques."

Given the impact of Arabicization and the increasing awareness of its implications for English teaching, it was reasonable to suppose that the vague opinions and confusing assumptions underlying the teaching of English were more likely than ever before to crystallize into a definite consensus as to what English is for and what the aims in teaching it should therefore be. An investigation aimed at establishing such a consensus is, moreover, fairly feasible in a country like the Sudan, where the educational system is on such a small scale so that a relatively small number of people are responsible for the direction of the English teaching operation - 230 or so teachers in state secondary schools, 6 teacher trainers in all, one Inspector of English and the Head of the English Department at the University of Khartoum.

Within the administrative set-up there is some provision for official and professional contact between those who teach, those who train teachers and those who inspect and examine through

2. Ibid.
what are called the Subject Panels, but this provision leaves much
to be desired. This is so because these Subject Panels are
sponsored by the Sudan Examinations Committee, and are there¬
fore primarily concerned with establishing School Certificate
standards. Thus, like all other Subject Panels, the Subject
Panel for English, chaired by the professor of English at the
University and including the inspectorate, training institute
staff and representative senior secondary school teachers is
convened once or twice a year merely to discuss School Certificate
Examination results and to make recommendations for future
English Examination papers. Clearly the Subject Panel for
English, representing as it does all those who are involved,
would be particularly well-suited and capable of extension as
an instrument for securing basic agreement about what should be
aimed at, what English should be taught in secondary schools
and hence what teachers should know and teach. But because of
the limited function and scope of the Subject Panel and because
of the lack of clear directives from central authority, this has
never been attempted. The situation is further complicated by
the fact that although central authority exercises direct control
over secondary education in matters of administration, it has
continued to allow the secondary schools their traditional free¬
dom in matters of syllabuses, textbooks and teaching methods in
the knowledge that whatever control over the actual system of
instruction is necessary or desirable would in any case be
exercised through the centralised examination system. Thus it is only to the extent that the pattern of the School Certificate Examination has a moulding influence, as it inevitably has, on what is taught and how it is taught that the Subject Panel can be said to exercise any control over the actual system of instruction in the secondary schools. In this situation, where no centralised machinery exists to organize and co-ordinate the structure of the English teaching operation in terms of its aims, materials and methods, and where the relationship among all those involved remains largely undefined except in the context of the School Certificate Examination, it is not surprising that no attempt has been made to secure agreement even when, as a result of Arabicization, the need to do so was becoming evident.

These being the assumptions and this being the situation, it was obvious that, for the purpose of this research, some survey would have to be made to find 'meeting points' in the current situation conditioned by Arabicization, and to discover the common ground of agreement among all those involved as to what English is for and what the aims of teaching it should therefore be.

The hypothesis here, then, was that due to the impact of Arabicization, and given all the possible reasons and aims in teaching English, there is likely to be more agreement than disagreement as to what could be considered the most important reasons and the most relevant aims in teaching English in the Sudan.
7.2 Procedure and Sample

The questionnaire was first tested in Britain on a group of 11 Sudanese secondary school teachers attending the Diploma Course in English as a Foreign Language at the Institute of Education, University of Leeds, as well as on 5 British teachers who previously worked in various capacities in the field of ELT in the Sudan. In this trial run, respondents were invited to comment particularly on the content and coverage of the questionnaire and to make suggestions for improvement. In the light of these comments and suggestions, various adjustments together with some deletions and additions were made before the actual administration of the questionnaire in the Sudan.

Although it cannot be claimed that this was intended to be an exhaustive survey it was originally hoped to administer the questionnaire to all of the 230 or so secondary school teachers if only to ensure an adequately representative rate of response that would reflect the true state of opinion among those most directly involved in the teaching of English. But despite the relatively small size of the secondary school system, it was not possible to attempt a complete coverage because of the vast extent of the country, the inadequate means of communication and hence the inaccessibility of some of the schools in the remote rural areas. Nevertheless it was possible to distribute the questionnaire to more than three-quarters of the teaching force in more than two-thirds of the state secondary schools.
The questionnaire was administered by arrangement with Headmasters and Heads of English Departments in 29 out of about 43 secondary schools. It was also distributed to all teacher trainers, 3 of whom constitute the English Department at the I.T.T.C., Institute of Education, Bakhter-Ruda where intermediate school teachers undergo their training, and the 3 who make up the English Department at the H.T.T.I., Omdurman, where secondary school teachers are trained. The Inspector of English and the staff of the English Department at the University of Khartoum were also given the questionnaire. Arrangements for the administration of the questionnaire were made by personal contacts and by letter. There was a great deal of co-operation and in general the rate of response was high.

In all, out of a total of about 230 teachers of English in state secondary schools, about 180 (i.e. 78.26%) received the questionnaire. From them 98 usable questionnaires were obtained, a response rate of 54.44% which accounts for 42.61% of the total body of secondary school teachers of English. This sample

3. In fact exactly 111 questionnaires were returned and the actual response rate was therefore 61.67% which accounts for 48.26% or nearly half the total number of teachers. But 13 questionnaires had to be discarded because they were returned by Egyptian expatriates and British V.S.O. teachers, who were all new recruits and were therefore unable to respond to most of the questions. Altogether 22 questionnaires were obtained from all expatriate teachers but only 9 of these were sufficiently answered to be included in the final sample, and all of these came from the 14 British contract-teachers who by reason of their length of service were the only ones among the expatriates to be in a position to respond fully to the questionnaire. Thus although

(Contd.)
represents a proportion of 51.76% (89 out of 172) of all the Sudanese and 15.5% (9 out of 58) of all the expatriates involved.

All 6 teacher trainers and the Inspector of English responded but only 5 of the 17 members of the English Department at the University of Khartoum were able to complete the questionnaire.  

In all, 110 respondents, both Sudanese and British expatriates contributed to the final sample, representing on the whole a fairly high proportion of 43.3% of all those who are involved in the English teaching operation throughout the system—with the exception of intermediate school teachers who were not covered by this survey. This is shown in detail against the distribution of the respondents by position and by background in the table below:

---

Contd.)

the proportion of all expatriates contributing to the final sample is relatively small (9 out of 58, or 15.5%), it should be remembered that this proportion represents 64.3% (i.e. 9 out of 14) of the most experienced expatriates who are familiar with the problems and features of the English teaching situation as a whole.

4. The 5 respondents, however, include the Head of the English Department, the sole Sudanese member and three of the British expatriate members with the longest service in the Department.
TABLE 1. Distribution of Respondents by background and position.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Background / Position</th>
<th>Sudanese</th>
<th>British Expatriates</th>
<th>No. of all Respondents</th>
<th>Total No. of Persons Involved</th>
<th>No. of Respondents as Percent of All Persons Involved</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secondary School Teachers</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>42.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Trainers &amp; Inspector*</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Teachers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>43.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* For convenience the Inspector of English is included in the teacher trainers category.

As shown in Table 1, our respondents can be classified by background into two groups, namely the Sudanese group and the British expatriates group, and by position (i.e. professional status) into three categories, namely, secondary school teachers, teacher trainers (including the Inspector of English) and university teachers. (The terms 'group' and 'category' will be understood hereafter to refer to this classification by background and by position, respectively.)

In the discussion which follows the tabulation and analysis of responses will be based throughout on the sample as a whole and comparisons and differences between groups and categories will
be introduced only where it has been found that there is marked or systematic variation in the pattern of response from one group or category to another.  

7.3 Results and Discussion

A. Basic Considerations

Part 1 of the questionnaire sought to discover the attitudes of the respondents towards the policy of Arabicization and the likely possibility, foreshadowed by that policy, of introducing other foreign languages besides English in the secondary school system. At the time of the survey in 1968, the process of the Arabicization of instruction was in its final phase but there was no sign of moves to introduce other foreign languages although there had been for some years sporadic talk of introducing French. Since these are the two major factors which are likely to determine the ultimate status and educational future of English, it was on these factors that the questions in Part 1 of the questionnaire were focused. The results are set out in Table 2.

5. To the extent that such variation exists, the overall pattern of response of the sample will, of course, be a function partly of the number of respondents in each group or category.
TABLE 2.

(\(N = 110\))

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. A foreign language should be a necessary part of education in any</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>country.</td>
<td>94.54</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. English should continue to be taught in the Sudan</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>94.54</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Other foreign languages like French, German or Russian should, if</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possible, be introduced besides English in the schools in the Sudan</td>
<td>84.54</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>5.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Are you in favour of Arabicization in principle?</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>80.9</td>
<td>12.72</td>
<td>6.36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table shows that 94.54% of the respondents agree that the teaching of a foreign language should be a necessary part of education; and since the same respondents also agree that English should continue to be taught in the Sudan, it is clear that for the overwhelming majority the retention of English would be justifiable on educational grounds alone. This means in effect that even if English could be dispensed with as a medium of higher education and as an instrument for the fulfilment of certain
national needs, its retention as an element of general education would still be desirable because it is a foreign language in its own right. Consistently with their commitment to the educational value of foreign languages but perhaps contrary to expectation, a surprising majority of 84.54% of the respondents are favourably disposed to the possibility of introducing such potential rivals of English as French, German or Russian, which perhaps goes to show that the positive responses to the first two questions have not been entirely influenced by interested motives on the part of the respondents. However, in reply to Question 1 in Part 3 of the questionnaire, 56.36% of our respondents think that "if one or more of these languages is introduced, it should be given lower status than English" whereas 35.45% feel that it "should be given equal status with English" and only 3.63% agree that "it should replace English".

Table 2 also reveals that 80.9% are in favour of Arabicization in principle; and it is interesting to note here that all of the dissenting 12.72% belong to the secondary school teachers category. The distribution of responses by group shows no significant difference, for 83.14% of the Sudanese group (i.e. 74 out of 89) and 87.5% of the expatriates group (i.e. 14 out of 16) express their agreement with Arabicization in principle. Indeed, it is perhaps a little surprising to find that there is slightly more support for the principle of Arabicization among the expatriates group than among the Sudanese group. Not surprisingly, however,
this was the question which attracted most written comment in
the whole questionnaire. Although the question asked
respondents whether they are in favour of Arabicization in
principle, no less than 35% thought it necessary to justify
or qualify their answers. Significantly, most of those against
Arabicization as well as some of those in favour, sought to
justify or qualify their answers mostly on the grounds that
Mathematics and/or Science in particular should have continued to
be taught in English. Some others in favour of Arabicization
complained that it was implemented too soon or too suddenly.

Thus the combined answers to Part 1 of the questionnaire
would seem to suggest that our respondents on the whole are in
favour of planning for a bilingual educational system, with
Arabic as its first language and its medium of instruction, as
it now is, but in which English should be retained as the pre-
dominant second language to share its place in the future, if
possible, with other foreign languages. If this is what the
present policy envisages - and it is not as yet clear that it
positively does despite Arabicization and the possible intro-
duction of French\(^6\) - it would seem to accord with the weight of
opinion in the English teaching profession.

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6. Since then the decision to introduce French in the secondary
school system has been made and a pilot scheme was launched
with the aid of French expertise in September 1970.
B. Reasons, Aims and Methods

Part 2 is devoted to the main object of the questionnaire, namely to assess the consensus of opinion as to the possible reasons for the study of widely-spoken languages such as English and French and in particular as to the purposes and aims of teaching English in relation to the Sudan and in the context of the conditions created by Arabicization. The hypothesis, it will be recalled, was that due to the impact of Arabicization and given all the possible reasons and aims in teaching English, there is likely to be more agreement than disagreement as to what could be the most important reasons and the more relevant aims. In accordance with the hypothesis, reasonably comprehensive and graded lists of reasons and aims were given in the questionnaire on the assumption that, by presenting respondents with lists of this kind, they would be obliged to consider a wider range of possibilities in a more systematic manner than might have been attained through open-ended questions. The lists were also designed to distinguish clearly between reasons and aims as these often tend to be confused in language teaching.

Table 3 presents the results pertaining to the possible reasons for the study of widely-spoken languages such as English and French in general. Table 4 presents the results pertaining to the possible reasons for the continued use and study of English in the Sudan in particular. As can be seen, the two lists are basically quite similar but the wording and the order
in which the items are given in the two lists were deliberately varied as a built-in check to spotlight inconsistencies in answer patterns. The reasons given in each list are not, of course, mutually exclusive nor are they necessarily discrete. Rather the assumption here was that it is often a complex of social, economic, cultural and educational reasons which tend to underlie the teaching of a foreign language at any given time and place. But at different times and in different places the reasons may vary or, more often, different emphases will be put within the complex of reasons. And it is where the emphasis is to be put within the multiplicity of reasons for the study of English (and French) in relation to the Sudan that these two questions sought to discover.

TABLE 3. Importance of Reasons for the Study of such languages as English and French.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Very Important</th>
<th>Moderately Important</th>
<th>Little Importance</th>
<th>No Importance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) To gain access to scientific and technical information</td>
<td>81.8%</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) To promote international communication and understanding</td>
<td>62.7%</td>
<td>30.9%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) To maintain commercial and economic contacts with the outside world</td>
<td>56.4%</td>
<td>34.5%</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) To stimulate and enrich the native culture (literature, art and music) through contact with other cultures</td>
<td>35.5%</td>
<td>40.9%</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) To develop the total personality of the individual by giving him a new means of communication</td>
<td>29.1%</td>
<td>39.1%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Looking down the first column in Table 3, we see that for the majority of our respondents the most important reasons for the study of such languages as English and French are those which relate to their use as an access to scientific and technical information (61.8%), as a means to international communication and understanding (62.7%) and as a vehicle for economic and commercial contacts (56.4%). By contrast, the remaining two 'cultural' and 'educational' reasons are assessed as being most important by only 35.5% and 29% respectively. Significantly, the highest degree of consensus among our respondents converges on the first reason, namely, the need for English and French as an access to scientific knowledge and technical information. In addition to being considered very important by 61.8%, this reason was regarded to be moderately important by 13.6% and of little or no importance by no more than 4.6%. While all of the given reasons are considered either very important or moderately important by at least 68.2% (item e), the figures indicate clearly that the consensus of opinion emerges in relation to the emphasis on the complex of reasons pertaining to the utility and use of English and French in science and technology, in world communication and in commercial and economic contact, in that order of importance.

The same emphasis emerges even more markedly from the figures in Table 4. We see here quite clearly an even higher proportion of agreement among the respondents as to what they consider to be the most important reasons for the continued study and use of
### TABLE 4. Reasons for the continued Study and Use of English in the Sudan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Very Important</th>
<th>Moderately Important</th>
<th>Little Importance</th>
<th>No Importance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) English is essential for international communication as it is the most widely spoken language in the world.</td>
<td>65.5</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) English is the most convenient access to the scientific knowledge of the Western World</td>
<td>84.5</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) English is needed to maintain economic and trade relations with the rest of the world</td>
<td>58.2</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) English is needed as a means of contact with Western Literature, music and art</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) English is needed as a lingua franca with neighbouring African countries and as a means of communication with the Afro-Asian world at large</td>
<td>65.5</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) English is needed as a mental discipline which may contribute to the students' general education</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
English in the Sudan. Of the 110 respondents 93 (or 84.5%) agree that English is very important "as the most convenient access to the scientific knowledge of the Western World", while 65.5% simultaneously agree that it is very important for international communication in general and for communication in particular with neighbouring African countries and the Afro-Asian world at large; and 58% agree that it is very important "to maintain economic and trade relations with the rest of the world". Here again the highest degree of consensus is focused on the importance of English as a vehicle for information of science and technology. This very close correspondence between the figures in Tables 3 and 4 with respect to these three items indicates clearly the consistency of emphasis within the given complex of reasons. By contrast, much less emphasis is placed on the 'cultural' and 'educational' reasons: only 34.5% consider English to be very important "as a means of contact with Western literature, music and art", and only 12.7% agree that it is very important "as a mental discipline which may contribute to the individual's general education". Of those who subscribed to these two reasons, the highest proportion assessed them as being moderately important - 49% and 37.3% respectively. The figures in Table 4 then reflect clearly the greater emphasis which the vast majority of respondents place on the importance of science and technology, on international communication and on economic and commercial factors in the order of reasons for the continued
study and use of English in the Sudan. This consistent pattern of emphasis on this complex of reasons indicates that while English is considered to have a role to play in the enrichment of the indigenous culture and in the fulfilment of the educational needs of the individual for self-realisation, its importance at present is seen to derive primarily from its utility and use in serving the economic and technological needs of society at large. This attests strongly to considerable awareness of the change in the role of English from being the relic of a link with a particular colonial power and a particular culture in a situation where it was necessary for individual self-advancement to being valued as a means of international communication and as an access to the scientific, technological and economic resources of a world culture for the needs of national development.

Having established that there is a considerable measure of consensus among our respondents as to the reasons for the continued study and use of English, we now come to consider the pattern of responses to the questions on aims which immediately followed. Question 3 in Part 2 of the questionnaire gives the list of all the possible aims for the English syllabuses in the Intermediate and Secondary stages. As noted before, this was designed to be a comprehensive list of all the possible aims. Although the given reasons were of necessity expressed in general terms, the given aims were expressed as far as possible in
specific linguistic terms representing the possible range of
the expected level of attainment or terminal behaviour. The
object here was not merely to assess the consensus of opinion
as to "the broad aims and principles" as Bright suggested, but
to ascertain the extent to which such a consensus can be
established in relation to specific linguistic definitions of
the terminal behaviour, which can provide clear guidance about
what precisely needs to be learnt and hence taught. Accordingly,
the aims were listed as a range of graded items under the four
language skills of understanding, speaking, reading and writing.
The range of the given aims was also designed to take account of
the difference in level between the Intermediate and Secondary
stages. Respondents were asked to check all the aims which
they would like to fulfil in each stage and subsequently in
Question 4 to assess which of the chosen aims they consider to
be most important, moderately important or least important. In
cross-tabulating the responses to these two questions, it was
found that a total of 10 respondents (7 Sudanese and 3 expatriates,
all from the secondary school teachers category) have either
confused the separate choices of aims for the Intermediate and
Secondary stages (checked in Question 3) when allocating them to

7. This list of aims was modelled on the MLA list of "Qualifications
for Secondary School Teachers of Modern Languages" in PMLA,
vol. 70 No. 4, Part 2 (September 1955), pp. 46-49.
8. See note 1 above.
the three given categories of importance (in Question 4) or have placed in the categories aims which they did not subscribe to in the first place. These response errors which may have been due mainly to the complicated nature of the instructions involved, have made it necessary to discount the 10 respondents in question. All the following tables of aims therefore represent the remaining 100 respondents in the sample.

The results are set out in Tables 5a, 5b, 6a and 6b. Table 5a, which covers the complete list of aims as given in the questionnaire, summarises the results pertaining to the aims of the Intermediate School English syllabus. The table gives the percentage of respondents who checked each aim and the percentage distribution of the responses as to the relative importance of each aim.

It will be recalled that in attempting to provide a comprehensive list of aims, it was assumed that, by presenting respondents with such a list, they would be obliged to consider a wider range of possibilities than might have occurred to them had they been allowed a free choice in the matter. Judging by the spread of responses in Tables 5a and 6a, this assumption appears to have been justified. Yet despite the diversity of responses, some common ground is revealed. If, as a rough measure of consensus, we are to extract from Table 5a only those items to which the majority of respondents (i.e. 50% or more) subscribed, and of those who subscribed, 50% or more rated as being most important,
### TABLE 5a. Intermediate School English Teaching Aims: percentage distribution of responses (N = 100)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aims</th>
<th>Chkd by</th>
<th>Most Imp</th>
<th>Mod Imp</th>
<th>Least Imp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>UNDERSTANDING</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) An ability to understand only simple sentences and conversations in English</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) An ability to get the sense of what an educated native speaker says when he is pronouncing carefully and speaking simply on a general subject</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) An ability to understand conversations, news broadcasts, lectures and films</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SPEAKING</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) An ability to pronounce English words and sentences intelligibly</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) A basic knowledge of spoken English</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) A fluent speaking knowledge of the language</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) Ability to speak with a good accent</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>READING</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) An elementary reading knowledge of simple English</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) A basic reading knowledge that would enable a pupil to tackle simple magazine articles and newspaper extracts</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j) A reading knowledge that would enable a pupil to grasp the content of a scientific or technical article</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k) A reading knowledge that would enable a pupil to read with some appreciation a modern English novel</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WRITING</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l) An ability to write reasonably correct sentences or paragraphs in straightforward simple English</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m) An ability to write a simple short letter</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n) An ability to write a &quot;free composition&quot; with clarity and correctness in vocabulary and construction</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o) An ability to express one's thoughts fully in written English</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p) An ability to translate from one language to the other material of average difficulty</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In these cases, the rows of figures entered under the categories of importance for each aim add up to less than the total given in the first column because not all respondents who checked an item chose to categorize it.
this would yield the items on which a significant measure of agreement is secured, giving Table 5b.


(N = 100)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aims</th>
<th>Chkd by</th>
<th>Most Important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>UNDERSTANDING</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) An ability to understand simple sentences and conversations in English</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) An ability to get the sense of what an educated native speaker says when he is pronouncing carefully and speaking simply on a general subject</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SPEAKING</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) A basic knowledge of spoken English</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>READING</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) A basic reading knowledge of simple English</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WRITING</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l) An ability to write reasonably correct sentences or paragraphs in straightforward simple English</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We see in Table 5b that the vast majority of respondents - between 72% and 98% - settled for five aims covering all four language skills. The table reflects a clear consensus not merely on the fundamental relevance of all four language skills in determining aims for Intermediate School English but on the specific level of attainment for each skill. This is evident
in the fact that the consensus which emerges is confined to only one item for each skill except in the case of 'understanding' where the majority of the respondents elected two items, namely (a) and (b). But this, of course, does not suggest any inconsistency not only because respondents were requested to check all the aims which they would like to fulfil but also because the items listed under each skill cannot be regarded as mutually exclusive. Rather, they are points in a continuum roughly indicating graded levels of attainment (or aims) and since, as seems to be the case here, one level of attainment may often pre-suppose or overlap with another, it would not be inconsistent on the part of respondents to check more than one item within a given range for each skill.

However, it is not possible here to tell directly whether the tendency on the part of the majority of the respondents to subscribe simultaneously to two alternative items is due to:

1) respondents generally failing to see that the items in question actually represent different levels of attainment, or to

2) respondents being inclined in general to check not only the item of their choice but also the one designating the level of attainment immediately below, as it were, because it is implied or presupposed by the one they opted for. There is reason to believe that it is the latter explanation which is more likely in this case because whereas 85% subscribed to item (a) namely, 'the ability to understand only simple sentences and conversations
in English', a higher proportion of 98% subscribed to item (b) namely 'the ability to get the sense of what an educated native speaker says when he is pronouncing carefully and speaking simply on a general subject'. It would seem, therefore, as the figures reflect, that the majority in fact chose item (b) as the appropriate aim but that most of them were inclined to check also item (a) because it is presupposed by item (b). Further evidence which goes to support this interpretation is the fact that of the 85 who checked item (a) only 69 (81%) considered it to be most important whereas of the 98 who checked item (b) as many as 92 (94%) considered it to be most important.

Of the items listed as possible aims for 'Speaking', only item (e) was elected by a majority (of 72%) of whom 55 (76.4%) assessed it as being most important. Similarly, of the items listed under 'Reading' only one item, item (h), was subscribed to by a majority (of 79%) of whom 69 (87.2%) considered it to be most important. Of the items listed under 'Writing', only item (l) was elected by a majority (of 74%) of whom 56 (75.7%) rated it as being most important.

We may conclude then that the pattern of responses to the list of aims reflects a considerable and consistent degree of consensus among our respondents as to the appropriate aims of Intermediate School English teaching. The aims on which this consensus of opinion converges, to summarise them once again, are the following:
**Understanding:** Ability to understand simple sentences and conversations in English and/or ability to get the sense of what an educated native speaker says when he is pronouncing carefully and speaking simply on a general subject.

**Speaking:** A basic knowledge of spoken English.

**Reading:** A basic reading knowledge of simple English.

**Writing:** Ability to write reasonably correct sentences or paragraphs in straightforward simple English.

These are, no doubt, fairly unpretentious and realistic aims, which in fact are markedly congruent with the broad aims originally set out in the Intermediate School English syllabus.

Table 6a presents the results pertaining to the aims of Secondary School English syllabus. The table gives the percentage distribution of the responses as to the relative importance of each aim.

Here again, we see in Table 6a that despite the spread of responses, there emerges a considerable degree of consensus on a set of aims for the Secondary School English syllabus. If here too we are to extract from Table 6a only those items to which the majority of respondents subscribed, and of that majority 50% or more considered to be most important, this would yield the core of consensus, giving Table 6b.
### TABLE 6a. Secondary School English Teaching Aims: percentage distribution of responses

(N = 100)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aims</th>
<th>Chkd by</th>
<th>Most Imp</th>
<th>Mod Imp</th>
<th>Least Imp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>UNDERSTANDING</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) An ability to understand simple sentences and conversations in English</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) An ability to get the sense of what an educated native speaker says when he is pronouncing carefully and speaking simply on a general subject</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) An ability to understand conversations, news broadcasts, lectures and films</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SPEAKING</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) An ability to pronounce English words and sentences intelligibly</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) A basic knowledge of spoken English</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) A fairly fluent speaking knowledge of the language</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) Ability to speak fluently with a good accent</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>READING</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) An elementary reading knowledge of simple English</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) A basic reading knowledge that would enable a pupil to tackle simple magazine articles and newspaper extracts</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>- +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j) A reading knowledge that would enable a pupil to grasp the content of a scientific or technical article</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k) A reading knowledge that would enable a pupil to read with some appreciation a modern English novel</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>- +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WRITING</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l) An ability to write reasonably correct sentences or paragraphs in straightforward simple English</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m) An ability to write a simple short letter</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>8 +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n) An ability to write a &quot;free composition&quot; with clarity and correctness in vocabulary and construction</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>- +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o) An ability to express one's thoughts fully in written English</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>- +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p) An ability to translate from one language to the other material of average difficulty</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7 +</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*In these cases, the rows of figures entered under the categories of importance for each aim add up to less than the total given in the first column because not all respondents who checked an item chose to categorize it.*

(N = 100)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aims</th>
<th>Chkd by</th>
<th>Most Important No.</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>UNDERSTANDING</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) An ability to get the sense of what an educated native speaker says when he is pronouncing carefully and speaking on a general subject</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) An ability to understand conversations, news broadcasts, lectures and films</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SPEAKING</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) A fairly fluent speaking knowledge of the language</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>86.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>READING</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) A basic reading knowledge that would enable a pupil to tackle simple magazine articles and newspaper extracts</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j) A reading knowledge that would enable a pupil to grasp the content of a scientific or technical article</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>85.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WRITING</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m) An ability to write a simple short letter</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n) An ability to write a &quot;free composition&quot; with clarity and correctness in vocabulary and construction</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>72.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o) An ability to express one's thoughts fully in written English</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>54.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6b shows that a majority of between 58% and 98% of the respondents settled for eight items covering, as in the case of Intermediate School English teaching aims (Table 5b), all four language skills. It is noteworthy that the set of aims elected for the Intermediate School English syllabus (Table 5b) and the
set of aims elected for the Secondary School English syllabus (Table 6b) do not overlap except in one item, item (b), which indicates that the aims in the list were sufficiently differentiated and meaningful to account for the difference in level between the Intermediate and Secondary stages.

As can be seen in Table 6b, most of the respondents elected either two or three items identically for all skills except for 'Speaking' where the majority settled for only one item. Again, this does not reflect any inconsistency not only because respondents were required to check all the aims to which they subscribed but also because some of the alternative aims listed under each skill naturally tend to converge more closely when considered in particular in relation to the Secondary stage. This is so because the higher the level of language learning, the higher the degree of overlap between possible aims and hence the less clear-cut the choice between alternatives within a given range of items. It is therefore not surprising that most respondents should see fit to check more than one item within the range of items given under each skill, and yet it is not a mere uniform coverage of the whole range of possible aims by all or most of the respondents. For, as can be seen from Tables 6a and 6b the consensus of opinion settles for eight out of the sixteen items covered by the entire list. But of these eight items, item (m) namely, 'the ability to write a simple short letter', though subscribed to by a majority of 58%, was considered most important
by only 15.5% of those who subscribed to it. This item may therefore be excluded from Table 6b, leaving the remaining seven items which meet our criterion for agreement.

Turning to Table 6a for a more detailed analysis of the results, we may note first of all that of the items listed under 'Speaking', only item (f) was elected by a majority of the respondents - 74% compared to 26%, 10% and 15% for the remaining three items. Of these 74 respondents 64 (or 86.5%) considered this item to be most important. Although it seems reasonable to aim at 'a fairly fluent speaking knowledge of the language', by the end of eight years of studying English it is perhaps ironical that nearly three-quarters of our respondents should consider this to be the required and appropriate level of attainment for the secondary school, where the teaching of speaking is entirely neglected.

Of the items listed under 'Reading', we see that the vast majority settled for items (i) and (j) to which respectively 89% and 81% subscribed. But whereas only 53 (or 60%) of the 89 respondents who checked item (i) considered it to be most important 70 (or approximately 85%) of the 81 respondents considered it to be most important. Thus although a slightly higher proportion of respondents subscribed to item (i) namely 'a basic reading knowledge that would enable a pupil to tackle simple magazine articles and newspaper extracts' there is relatively a higher degree of agreement as to the importance of
item (j), namely, 'a reading knowledge that would enable a pupil to grasp the content of a scientific or technical article'. This finding is particularly revealing in that it reflects once more a clear recognition of the more definite need for English as a vehicle of scientific and technical information. By contrast, and rather contrary to expectations, only 37% of the respondents chose to aim at 'a reading knowledge that would enable a pupil to read with some appreciation a modern novel', which would seem to reflect more appropriately the implicit purpose of what is taught in the secondary school at large.

Finally we see in Table 6b that of the items listed under 'Writing', items (n) and (o) were elected by 66% and 61% respectively. Of the 86 who subscribed to item (n) namely 'the ability to write a 'free' composition with clarity and correctness in vocabulary and construction', 62 (or 72%) considered this to be most important. Of the 61 who subscribed to item (o) namely 'the ability to express one's thoughts fully in written English', 33 (or 54%) considered this to be most important. Thus although both items were subscribed to by a majority of respondents with respect to both relevance and importance, the figures indicate clearly that the consensus is weighted far more in favour of item (n) which in comparison with item (o) was both elected and rated as being most important by a higher proportion of the respondents. Nevertheless, it is surprising that as many as 61% of the respondents should subscribe to item (o) which even
on a very modest interpretation is an over-ambitious and unreal-
istic aim, as one respondent observed by writing against this
item: "This perhaps could be described as one of my hopes but
not one of my aims".

In the light of the data which emerged and the foregoing
discussion we may now set out the consensus choice of aims for
the Secondary School English syllabus as follows:

**UNDERSTANDING:** An ability, at best, to understand conver-
sations, news-broadcasts, lectures and films
and, at least, to get the sense of what an
educated native speaker says when he is
pronouncing carefully and speaking simply
on a general subject.

**SPEAKING:** A fairly fluent speaking knowledge of the
language.

**READING:** A reading knowledge that would enable a pupil
to grasp the content of a scientific or
technical article and/or minimally to tackle
simple magazine articles and newspaper
extracts.

**WRITING:** An ability to write a 'free composition' with
clarity and correctness in vocabulary and
construction.

Here again the range of choice reflects fundamental consensus
not merely on the relevance of all the four language skills but
also, though to a lesser extent, on the possible degree of attainment required for each skill. In settling for these aims, the consensus of opinion among our respondents seems to indicate a definite awareness of the need to reconcile the aims of English teaching with the requirements of its use as a medium of higher education, where a certain degree of attainment in all four language skills is obviously called for.

As measured by our list of aims, the overall pattern of response reveals, then, a considerable and consistent degree of consensus as to what should be the aims of English teaching in both the Intermediate and Secondary stages. It will be seen too that the emerging consensus on aims is broadly consistent with what was established earlier about the emphasis on scientific and technological factors, on international communication and on economic and commercial considerations in the order of reasons for the continued study and use of English in the Sudan.

The original hypothesis that there is likely to be more agreement than disagreement about what could be considered the most important reasons and aims in teaching English would therefore appear to have been confirmed. The assumption, it will be recalled, was that, due to the impact of Arabicization and given all the possible reasons and aims, the emergence of a consensus was more likely than ever before. And this, as we have seen, has happened, showing a clear-cut and consistent pattern of consensus as to what are the reasons and what should be the aims in teaching English in the Sudan.
Following their choice of aims, respondents were asked whether they think that the teaching methods at present in use in the Intermediate and Secondary stages succeed in achieving the aims they would like to fulfil. Table 7 summarises the responses to this question.

**TABLE 7. Assessment of the Success of Teaching Methods in Intermediate and Secondary stages.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The present teaching methods</th>
<th>Intermediate</th>
<th></th>
<th>Secondary</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) succeed</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) partially succeed</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>64.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) fail</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) no answer</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first point to call attention to in this table is that 31.8% of the respondents failed to answer the question in relation to the Intermediate School as opposed to only 5.4% with respect to the Secondary School. This is understandable, particularly since almost all of the 31.8% belong to the category of secondary school teachers, who in general have little knowledge of the methods of English teaching in the Intermediate School but which nevertheless some of them tend to blame for the low standard (in their view) of English among the entrants to the Secondary School. In view of this, it is perhaps a little
surprising that 22.7% agree that the Intermediate School 'succeeds' in achieving the aims they would like to fulfil while only 3.6% believe this to be equally true of the Secondary School. However, whereas only 4.0% think that the Intermediate School 'partially succeeds', a higher proportion of 64.5% take the same view about the Secondary School. But if we disregard the difference in the degree of 'success' and add the figures for 'succeed' and 'partially succeed' for each of the Intermediate and the Secondary stages, the totals then amount respectively to 62.7% and 68.1%, which indicates that the majority of respondents are on the whole inclined to believe that the methods of instruction in both the Intermediate and Secondary stages succeed rather than fail in achieving the desired aims. But against this must be set the fact that while only 5.4% think that the methods of instruction in the Intermediate School 'fail', a relatively much higher proportion of 26.3% think this to be true of the methods of instruction in the Secondary School.

The last question in Part 2 of the questionnaire was intended to test the degree of importance assigned to the four language skills as general aims of English teaching in the Sudan. The question asked respondents to indicate the order of importance of the four language skills, given that the aim of English teaching in the Sudan is to impart all four skills. Only three out of the 110 respondents failed to answer this question. Since the initial tabulation of responses showed no marked variation.
between the groups or categories in the sample, the results presented in Table 8 were based on the overall pattern of response. To analyse these responses, the average importance of each skill was first calculated. In accordance with these averages, the skills were ranked in order of importance. Table 8 therefore shows the ranks of importance of the four skills according to the average of importance given to each of them by the 107 respondents.

Table 8. Ranking of Means of Importance of the four language skills.+

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skill</th>
<th>Importance Means</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Understanding Speech</td>
<td>1.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Reading</td>
<td>2.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Speaking</td>
<td>2.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Writing</td>
<td>3.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ranking of skills is from the higher to the lower in order of importance. The lower the figure, the greater the importance it expresses because the skills were ranked 1 to 4 in descending order of importance.

As Table 8 shows, the respondents generally attributed more importance to the receptive skills of understanding speech and reading than to the productive skills of speaking and writing. This emphasis on the receptive skills as general aims for teaching English no doubt corresponds more closely with the needs of most learners and the uses to which they can be expected to make of
English. But perhaps too much cannot be read into these findings in themselves, particularly since the real meaning of the answers given to this question will depend greatly on the extent to which it is at all possible to speak of the 'four language skills' as though they can be taught and practised separately.

C. Arabicization, Special Problems and Features.

The final part, Part III, of the questionnaire which comprises 15 multiple-choice questions, each with an open-ended alternative, surveys the views and attitudes of teachers as to the possible effects of Arabicization and the various problems and features of the English teaching situation in the Sudan.

In reply to the question concerning the possible effects of Arabicization on the general standard of English, 61.6% of the respondents maintain that 'it has caused a decline', 15.5% that 'it has had no effect', and only 2.7% that 'it has improved the standard'; the remaining 20% are almost evenly divided between those who did not give an answer and those who maintained that it was too early to judge.9 As to the effect of Arabicization on the general standard of the 'arabicized' subjects, 42.7% of the respondents believe that 'a higher standard is being attained', 14.5% that 'the standard is declining', and 13.6% that 'the standard has not been affected'; most of the remaining

9. Because the first 'arabicized' students were not due to take the School Certificate Examination until the following year.
29% maintain that it is too early to tell or that they 'don't know' or 'not competent to judge'. It would seem, then, for the majority of our respondents the adverse effects of Arabicization on the standard of English were far more in evidence than its expected beneficial consequences for the 'arabicized' school subjects - and this cannot be attributed to mere response bias since the vast majority of our respondents, it should be recalled, expressed their support for Arabicization in principle.

On the question of the amount of time that should be given to English teaching in view of Arabicization, opinion would appear to be divided: 45.4% feel that more time should be given, while 47.2% feel that no more time is needed and only one respondent maintained (perhaps frivolously) that it should be decreased. One respondent wrote: "No more time is required but more effective use of it", and this is typical of the comments inserted by most of the 6.3% who did not subscribe to any of the given choices. By contrast, a vast majority of 74.5% are however agreed that the "teaching of English should begin where it does at present" and only 20% are of the opinion that it should be introduced at an earlier stage of the educational system.

In the last of the questions dealing directly with the effects of Arabicization, the respondents were asked what needs to be done to the present Secondary School English syllabus if it is to meet the present educational needs of the new
conditions following Arabicization. Exactly 60% think that it 'should be replaced by a new syllabus' while only 34.5% felt that it 'only needs to be revised and adapted' and only 2.7% that it 'should remain as it is'. The remaining 3 respondents included a teacher trainer who remarked rather significantly: "Does a syllabus exist at all?"

The remaining questions in Part III were designed to determine the teachers' attitudes to the various problems and features of the English teaching situation. In the first of these respondents were asked whether the necessary reassessment of the function of English in the educational system following independence has been undertaken. Only 17.2% think that such a reassessment 'has already taken place and resulted in Arabicization' whereas a total of 71.8% are of the opinion that it 'has not been fully undertaken' or 'has not been undertaken at all'. Similarly, while only 6.3% of the respondents believe that the 'objectives of English teaching at present are in general clearly defined and understood', a vast majority of 89% either think that they are 'only vaguely understood' or that they are 'not clear at all'. The pattern of response to these two questions, to which we are continually having to return, would thus appear to confirm the fundamental assumptions on which the purpose and planning of this research were based, namely, that because of the absence of a realistic and genuine reassessment of the function of English and hence the failure to re-interpret the central purpose
and dominant aims, the teaching of English is not related to valid needs and uses.

As a possible measure of the teachers' rating of their own ability, it is significant that only 4.5% think that the 'general standard of proficiency among secondary school teachers of English is entirely satisfactory', whereas exactly 50% think that it is 'barely satisfactory' and approximately 39% that it is 'unsatisfactory'. This is the pattern of response among secondary school teachers themselves and there are no significant variations between the Sudanese group and the expatriates group. This assessment would appear to correspond broadly with that of the teacher trainers of whom 2 (one teacher trainer and the Inspector of English) rated the standard as being 'barely satisfactory' while the remaining 5 chose not to make an assessment in terms of the given choices but instead entered their own answers. Characteristic comments were ones such as the following:

While the standard among the trained teachers is perhaps fairly satisfactory, the acceptance of a university degree as a teaching qualification means that there are in the schools too many teachers without professional training.

The standard of teachers is unsatisfactory for the present system. But given clear guidance in syllabus and methods the teachers would be satisfactory in the majority.

Of the 5 university teachers only 2 answered this question and both judged the standard of secondary school teachers as being 'barely satisfactory'.

Not unexpectedly, 70% of all the respondents think that the audio-visual materials and aids available for English teaching in the secondary school are 'completely inadequate', 23% that they are 'barely adequate' and only 1.8% that they are 'fairly adequate'. A considerable number of respondents, however, qualified their answers to the general effect that textbook provision was on the whole good and/or that the situation is likely to improve considerably with the extension of the present English by Television programme and the implementation of the scheme to provide schools with tape recorders.

Another changing feature of the English teaching situation in the Sudan is the decline in the number of British expatriates recruited to teach in the secondary schools (see 5.2.0). This dilution of expatriates, it is sometimes claimed, has been one of the causes of the continuous decline in the standard of English\(^{10}\) - the assumption presumably being that the presence of native speakers, even if they are no better teachers, is likely to produce better results than when all the teaching is done by non-native speakers. It is arguable whether this assumption can be substantiated at all but it is its subjective significance which concerns us here. The relevant question in the questionnaire therefore sought to ascertain how teachers

themselves judge the extent to which it is desirable to retain British expatriate staff in the Secondary School system. In reply to this question, 14.5% took the view that 'it is highly desirable to retain some British expatriates in some schools' while a bare majority of 53.6% were in favour of having 'at least one British expatriate on the English staff of each school' and 20.9% in favour of 'replacing them all by qualified Sudanese'. It is interesting to add that the pattern of response among the British expatriates themselves is remarkably similar to that of the Sudanese, although a relatively higher proportion of Sudanese than British respondents subscribed to the majority view. A considerable number of those respondents, both Sudanese and British, who are in favour of retaining at least one expatriate teacher in each school sought to justify their answers on the grounds that it is useful to have a native speaker 'as a model for pronunciation and for background reference if nothing else' in the words of one Sudanese respondent. The remaining 10.9% who did not answer the question in terms of the given choices account for all the respondents in the two categories of teacher trainers and university teachers, almost all of whom chose to make qualifying remarks in reply to the question. Taken as a whole these remarks would appear to amount to a majority view which seems to run counter to that of the secondary school teachers, of whom a total of 68.1% (69.1% of the Sudanese and 62.6% of the expatriates) are in favour of some form of presence
of expatriate teachers in the secondary school system. By contrast, majority opinion among teacher trainers and university teachers, particularly among the British expatriates themselves who make up more than half the total number of respondents in these two categories, would appear to attach little or no importance to the retention of native speakers in the secondary schools. The following comments are typical of the general run of the answers given by the respondents and will serve to reflect majority opinion within these two categories:

"Native speakers are clearly very useful - but they should not control the teaching of English. English teaching should be firmly under the control of qualified Sudanese - natives should be used as needed and available".

(Inspector of English - British).

"I don't see much value in a few expatriates sprinkled over the country. Get really good ones, put them all together. Start a language institute to achieve (C) (i.e. qualified Sudanese teachers)".

(University teacher - British).

"Depends on who the expatriates are and how well qualified the Sudanese. V.S.O.'s are worse than useless and so are the hidebound. The best policy would be to replace all expatriates by properly trained Sudanese".

(Teacher Trainer - British).

"It is not economically possible nor is it desirable to have one British expatriate in each school and a trickle of untrained or inexperienced expatriates is no substitute for trained Sudanese teachers. What is needed is not native speakers to teach in the secondary schools but a small team of expatriates with special expertise in T.E.P.L. to give guidance and assistance in teacher training, inspection and curriculum reform until there are enough qualified Sudanese to do the job".

(Teacher Trainer - Sudanese).
It would appear, then, that there is a marked difference of opinion as to the need for native speakers not so much between the Sudanese and the British expatriates themselves, as one might have expected, but between the secondary school teachers category and the other two categories of teacher trainers and university teachers. A majority of secondary school teachers, as we have seen, would favour some form of presence of expatriates in the secondary schools, and in this there is no significant difference between the Sudanese and the British expatriates within the secondary school teachers category.

The question about the desirability of retaining native speakers as teachers in the secondary schools also gains in interest in that it is assumed to be linked to another important factor in the English teaching situation - namely that of motivation. It has been widely believed for several years now that there is an increasing decay of interest in English and that secondary school teachers are widely of the opinion that their students are becoming increasingly indifferent about learning English. Although this may be so and for many reasons, it has often been alleged that it is the rapid decline in the number of British expatriates teaching in the secondary schools together with the subsequent Arabicisation of instruction that must be considered primarily responsible for such decline in motivation as there has actually been. A question was therefore included in the questionnaire to obtain the respondents' estimate of the
level of motivation among students, and it is perhaps encouraging that only 3.6% of all respondents believe that 'the majority of students are inclined to resist learning English' while 36.3% believe that 'they are indifferent' compared to a majority of 54.5% who believe that they are still 'interested in learning English'. Although this sort of finding does not controvert the assumption about the possible decline of interest in learning English or the likely causes of such decline as there has actually been, it does suggest that the majority of teachers, contrary to frequent assertions, are nevertheless of the opinion that most students are still interested in learning English rather than indifferent or hostile as is often implied.

It would indeed be surprising if this were not so if only because a pass in English is still a requirement for higher education to which most secondary school students aspire. And on this requirement there is hardly any disagreement among our respondents, for in reply to the following question, exactly 90% agreed that a certain degree of proficiency in English should continue to be a pre-requisite for admission to the university and/or for post-secondary education in general.

However, only 10.9% of the respondents, all secondary school teachers, maintain that students who go on to higher education are 'sufficiently prepared' to meet the demands of studying through the medium of English whereas a bare majority of 51.8% think that they are 'only just prepared' and 33.6% believe that
they are 'insufficiently prepared'. The difference in the pattern of response here between the different categories in the sample is revealing. Thus while the majority of secondary school teachers judge the students to be either 'sufficiently prepared' or 'only just prepared', only 3 out of the 7 respondents in the teacher trainers category (two teacher trainers and the Inspector of English) estimate that the students are 'only just prepared', the other 4 agreeing with the university teachers who are unanimously of the opinion that the students are 'insufficiently prepared' to meet the demands of higher education through the medium of English. The unanimous agreement among university teachers on this assessment is perhaps what one would expect since it was on the strength of this conviction that the English Department has had to provide remedial courses in the first year of the university even before the arrival of the first 'arabised' intake. While for the majority of secondary school teachers to suppose that those of their students who are destined for higher education will be 'only just prepared' to pursue their studies through the medium of English is perhaps as much as can be hoped for, university teachers are probably inclined to set their expectations too high and to judge entrants to the university more by what they cannot do than by what they can do.
D. **Summary**

In conclusion it might be as well to re-state the main findings of the questionnaire. The results pertaining to Part I and Part II of the questionnaire reveal a fairly consistent pattern and a very high degree of consensus as to the need for English in the Sudan, the reasons for its continued use and study and the possible aims in teaching it at both the Intermediate and Secondary levels. The emphasis was consistently placed on reasons connected with the need for English to gain access to scientific and technological information, to communicate with the world at large and to maintain economic and commercial ties with it. The consensus which emerged as to the most relevant and important aims is broadly consistent with their conception of the role of English and indicates a clear recognition of the need to direct the teaching of English towards its use as a medium of higher education in general and as an instrument of scientific and technical studies in particular.

In response to the various questions in Part II of the questionnaire, the results again reveal that there is considerable agreement among the respondents in their views particularly with regard to the possible effects of Arabicization and its implications for English teaching. In general there seems to be considerable awareness of the need for the reappraisal of the objectives, procedures and problems of English teaching in the light of Arabicization.
CHAPTER VIII

LEARNING ENGLISH: MOTIVATION AND ATTITUDES

8.1 Purpose

The particular purpose of the Secondary School Pupils' Questionnaire (Appendix B) was to attempt an assessment of the possible effects of Arabicization on the level of motivation and attitudes in learning English. The questionnaire was specially designed to find out how much importance secondary school pupils attach to learning English after it has been replaced by Arabic as a medium of instruction, what level of motivation and what sort of attitudes are involved in learning English. The questionnaire was intended for completion by the first secondary school population whose learning of English has been conditioned entirely by Arabicization. At the time of the survey (October 1968) these pupils had reached the fourth and final year of the secondary school and were due to take the School Certificate Examination for the first time in Arabic in March 1969.

8.2 Sample and Procedure

The selection of the sample of fourth year classes was made on a random basis from an alphabetical list of state secondary
schools within the four provinces which make up Central Sudan. The list was confined to the schools within this region for two main practical considerations: (i) almost two-thirds of all secondary schools in the country are concentrated in this area and these represent nearly three-quarters of the fully-fledged schools (i.e. those which have existed for more than three years and thus contained Fourth Year classes); (ii) unlike the rest of the schools in other provinces, the schools in the central region draw their pupils from all over the country and thus represent a cross-section of the secondary school population as a whole.

The list was stratified in order to give proportionally representative numbers from the various types of school with regard to sex (boys/girls) and size (large/small). Accordingly ten classes in eight schools were chosen to give a sample of about 400 pupils representing about 10% of the total Fourth Year enrolment in state secondary schools.

The first draft of the questionnaire, written in English, was tried on a group of 21 pupils in Khartoum Secondary School for boys. The trial run proved that it was unnecessary to translate the questionnaire but a few alterations in the phrasing of some questions were suggested and were made before the final administration of the questionnaire.

In order that the answers should not reflect particular school or teacher persuasions, the questionnaire was administered by a stranger, myself, in all schools. In each school pupils were told that the purpose of the questionnaire was to discover
what they thought about English and learning English. They were advised that there were no 'right' answers and that as they would remain anonymous they could express their views freely and honestly. They were also told that they could write in Arabic wherever they had to enter their answers if they so wished.

In the course of the survey, certain difficulties and complications arose which led to the exclusion of one boys' school and one girls' school and before alternative choices could be arranged, school holidays had begun. The sample which was actually obtained was therefore drawn from eight classes in six schools, giving a total of 327 pupils comprising 255 boys and 72 girls. The distribution of the sample is given in Table 1.

**TABLE 1. Distribution of the Sample by school and location.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>No. of classes tested</th>
<th>No. of pupils</th>
<th>Province</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wadi Seidna - boys</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>Khartoum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hantoub         - boys</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>Blue Nile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atbara          - boys</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Northern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matammar        - boys</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Khartoum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medani          - girls</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Blue Nile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shendi          - girls</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Northern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>8</strong></td>
<td><strong>327</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of the 327 questionnaires obtained, 27 had to be discarded through being incomplete or unusable for one reason or another. This left exactly 300 completed questionnaires, of which 238 were returned by boys and 62 by girls, representing approximately 7.5% of the total enrolment in Fourth Year classes in state secondary schools, 7.4% of the boys and 7.8% of the girls respectively.

8.3 Results and Discussion

Section A of the questionnaire (see Appendix B) was designed to obtain some information about individual pupils concerning in particular language - home background in order to examine whether such factors as bilingualism (knowledge of Arabic and another indigenous language), sociocultural environment (urban/rural) have any bearing on attitudes and motivations in learning English. Accordingly, in the preliminary analysis, the data obtained were broken down with respect to each of these variables to examine the possibility of association between background information and the pattern of response to the rest of the items in the questionnaire. When this was done no consistent pattern emerged and no significant relationships were found. Similarly, the breakdown of the sample by sex revealed no significant differences in the pattern of response to the questionnaire as a whole. The breakdown of the data and the classification of respondents by sex were therefore collapsed and the final analysis was based on the sample as a whole.
Section B of the questionnaire contained questions structured on a four-point scale aimed at testing responses and attitudes to English as a school subject, the use of Arabic as a medium of instruction and their views as to the effect of Arabization on their attainment in other subjects. Throughout the analysis, responses to related questions were cross-classified to measure the extent of consistency in the answers and to examine the significance of association between responses to various questions. The Chi Square ($X^2$) test of significance was applied throughout the analysis and where the overall pattern of response to related questions proved to be significant, further tests were made to ascertain the significance of association between selected variables of particular interest. For the purposes of this latter procedure, the data were in the main collapsed (as appropriate in each case) into two broad categories of positive and negative responses, to reflect, for example, whether in general fathers' knowledge of English is significantly associated with pupils' attitudes to English or whether those who think English is useful are also those on the whole who feel that the English lesson is interesting. The correlations made and the results obtained through this further analysis will be indicated where appropriate in the course of the discussion. However, for the reasons mentioned above and for the sake of economy, most of the main findings are presented in the form of cross-tabulations instead of separate tables for each question and only the tables
which have passed the $x^2$ test for significance will be presented.

Question 1 in Section B of the questionnaire appropriately belongs to Section A since it was intended to elicit information about fathers' knowledge of English, as a possible index of social background which may have a bearing on attitudes to English. To this end, the results relating to this question are presented in conjunction with the responses to Question 2 about what pupils think of English as a school subject.

**TABLE 2. Fathers' Knowledge of English vs. Pupils' Opinion of English.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fathers' Knowledge of English</th>
<th>English as a Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Most useful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>No. %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>109 36.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some</td>
<td>26 8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Good Deal</td>
<td>4 1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>2 0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer</td>
<td>0 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column Totals</td>
<td>141 47.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$x^2 = 33.956; \quad 12 \text{ df}; \quad p < 0.001$

Table 2 which cross-classifies information about fathers' knowledge of English with the pupils' opinion of English, is useful as it stands. It gives the detailed results in terms of numbers and percentages for both questions and reflects the general pattern of association between the responses to all items.
The $x^2$ test indicates that such a distribution as the table displays could only happen by chance once in a hundred times, and it is therefore a highly significant set of figures.

A) **Attitudes to English**

As shown in Table 2, English is considered to be useful by an overwhelming majority of 88.7% of the pupils, of whom 47% rated it as being 'the most useful subject' and 41.7% as being at least as useful as other subjects. A very small proportion of 11.3% considered it to be 'not very useful' (5.3%) or 'useless' (6%). Of the 300 respondents, only 16.4% report that their fathers know some English (12.7%) or a good deal of English (3.7%).

The possibility was examined of a relationship existing between fathers' knowledge of English and the pupils' favourable opinion of English and this was found to be significant at the 5% level. However, the $x^2$ test also indicates that there is no significant difference (at 5% level) in the commitment to the usefulness of English between those whose fathers know English and those whose fathers do not. All in all, then, the weight of evidence suggests that the responses as to the usefulness of English are markedly favourable and the fathers' knowledge of English, or a lack of it, would appear to be unimportant in determining attitude as compared with the perceived usefulness of learning English.

Despite the overwhelming commitment to the usefulness of English, the picture which emerges from the pattern of response to interest in the English lesson, though by no means gloomy, is not so encouraging.
TABLE 3. Pupils' Opinion of English vs. Attitude to English Lesson.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Subject</th>
<th>Most Interesting</th>
<th>Interesting</th>
<th>Like other subjects</th>
<th>Uninteresting</th>
<th>Row Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most Useful</td>
<td>45 15.0</td>
<td>65 21.7</td>
<td>25 8.3</td>
<td>6 2.0</td>
<td>141 47.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Useful</td>
<td>4 1.3</td>
<td>32 10.7</td>
<td>68 22.7</td>
<td>21 7.0</td>
<td>125 41.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Like other subjects</td>
<td>0 0.0</td>
<td>3 1.0</td>
<td>8 2.7</td>
<td>5 1.5</td>
<td>16 5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Useless</td>
<td>1 0.3</td>
<td>1 0.3</td>
<td>1 0.3</td>
<td>15 5.0</td>
<td>18 6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column Totals</td>
<td>50 16.6</td>
<td>101 33.7</td>
<td>102 34.0</td>
<td>47 15.7</td>
<td>300 100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 28.738; \] 9 df; \( p < 0.001 \)

In Table 3 we see that whereas English is considered to be 'most useful' or 'useful' by a total of 88.7% (47% and 41.7% respectively), the English lesson is rated as 'the most interesting' or 'interesting' by a total of only 50.3% (16.6% and 33.7% respectively) as against 49.7% who rate it as being 'no more interesting than other subjects' (34%) or 'uninteresting' (15.7%). Thus it would appear that although the English lesson still appeals to the majority of pupils, the general level of response to the English lesson is less favourable than the general response as to the usefulness of English.
**TABLE 4.** Relation of Pupils' Opinion of English to the Possibility of English Teaching being Given up.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Subject</th>
<th>English - Given up.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pleased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most Useful</td>
<td>No. %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Like other subjects</td>
<td>7 2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not very Useful</td>
<td>10 3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Useless</td>
<td>4 1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column Totals</td>
<td>32 10.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 29.366; \quad 9 \text{ df}; \quad p < 0.001 \]

In Table 4 the responses as to the usefulness of English are again cross-classified with the responses to the question which asked: "If English teaching was given up in your school, how would you feel?" We can see in this table the striking consistency in the pattern of response to these two questions as reflected by the close correspondence in the figures. Thus respondents who on the whole consider English to be useful (88.7%) are also more likely to be displeased or angry (74.3%) if English teaching were to be given up in schools. Similarly, respondents who regard English to be of no more use than other school subjects or useless (11.3%) are more likely to be pleased.
or indifferent to the possibility of English being abandoned.
Both these tendencies are significant at the 5% level.

B) Success in Learning English

It is perhaps a fair indication of the general reliability
of the answers to the questionnaire as a whole that in response
to a question which reflects on the pupils own self-image, only
10% of the pupils rate themselves as being 'very successful' in
learning English. A majority of 51.3% rate themselves as being
'reasonably successful' as against a total of 38.7% who admit to
'not being successful' or 'doing badly'. The pattern of response
to this question is cross-classified with attitudes as to the
usefulness of English in Table 5 and with responses as to interest
in the English lesson in Table 6.

TABLE 5. Success in Learning English vs. Attitude to English.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Subject</th>
<th>Success in Learning English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Very Successful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most Useful</td>
<td>No. %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23 7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Like other subjects</td>
<td>6 2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not very useful</td>
<td>0 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Useless</td>
<td>1 0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column Totals</td>
<td>30 10.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 31.495; \quad 9 \text{ df}; \quad p < 0.001 \]
TABLE 6. Success in Learning English vs. Interest in English Lesson.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Lesson</th>
<th>Success in Learning English</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Very Good</td>
<td>Reasonable</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Doing Badly</td>
<td>Row Totals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most Interesting</td>
<td>No. %</td>
<td>No. %</td>
<td>No. %</td>
<td>No. %</td>
<td>No. %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interesting</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Like Others</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uninteresting</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column Totals</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 31.612; \quad 9 \text{ df}; \quad p < 0.001. \]

A study of Table 5 reveals that within the sample as a whole there is in general a measure of association between the proclaimed degree of success in learning English and the extent of commitment to the usefulness of English. Similarly in Table 6 it can be seen that the degree of success is related to the level of interest in the English lesson. There is thus a linear relationship between the estimated success in learning English on the one hand and the extent to which English is considered useful and the level of interest in the English lesson on the other. In other words, those who, on the whole, consider themselves to be successful in learning English display more favourable attitudes to English in terms of both its usefulness as a subject and its appeal as a lesson, and these tendencies are statistically significant at the
1% level and the 5% level respectively.

As a possible measure of the pupils' estimate of their abilities with respect to each of the four language skills, they were asked to rate their level of attainment in terms of a scale ranging from 'excellent' and 'good' to 'average' and 'poor' (Questions 6 - 9). The answers to these questions were combined and the assessment scheme was reduced to two categories of favourable (excellent + good) and unfavourable (average + poor) ratings. In this way it was possible to show clearly the pattern which emerged and rank the skills in accordance with the order in which pupils assessed their relative competence in each skill.

TABLE 7. Rating of Attainment in language skills

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Skill</th>
<th>Assessment</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Excellent/Good</td>
<td>Average/Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>66.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Understanding Speech</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>61.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>44.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Speaking</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results given in Table 7 show how the ratings were allocated, and largely speak for themselves. The pupils' evaluation of their relative attainment with respect to the four language skills is certainly consistent with the relative emphasis given to these skills in secondary school English teaching.
C) Views on the Effects of Arabisation and Status of English

As shown in Table 8, 61.7% think that school subjects have become easier to learn as a result of Arabisation as opposed to 16.7% who believe that they have not become easier and 9.3% that they have become more difficult. The majority, then, see an obvious advantage in the use of Arabic as a medium of instruction but it is perhaps a little surprising that it is not such an overwhelming majority. However, this finding does lend some support to the educational assumption underlying Arabisation. But too much should perhaps not be made of this finding in itself, since the real meaning of the answers given to a question of this kind would depend primarily on whether the learners have in fact been exposed to instruction through the medium of both English and Arabic, which of course is not the case with our respondents. Nevertheless, to the extent that belief and subjective judgment are important in determining attitudes to learning, this finding is of some significance.

TABLE 8. Assessment of the Extent to which Arabic has made Learning Easier.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instruction in Arabic has made learning</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Easier</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>61.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Easier</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More Difficult</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The question as to whether school subjects would have been more or less interesting if they were taught in English instead of Arabic, yielded no clear-cut pattern of response. 39.7% thought they would be more interesting, 32.7% thought that they would be less interesting and 15% thought they would be just the same. When these responses were correlated with the responses to the question pertaining to the use of Arabic as a medium of instruction, no consistent pattern emerged and no significant associations were found to exist.

It is interesting to find that, contrary to widespread pessimism concerning this matter, Arabicisation does not seem to have considerably undermined the importance pupils attach to English. The evidence for this is provided by the responses to the last two questions which are cross-classified in Table 9.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English in S.C. should be</th>
<th>A Good Knowledge of English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Helps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compulsory</td>
<td>176 58.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optional</td>
<td>30 10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Included</td>
<td>16 5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column Totals</td>
<td>222 74.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

x² = 23.461, 6 df;  p < 0.001
As shown in Table 9, a majority of 58.7% are in favour of retaining English as a compulsory subject in the School Certificate Examination and 10% maintain that it should be an optional subject as against 5.3% who take the view that it should not be an examinable subject at all. Moreover, consistently with their commitment to the usefulness of English as noted earlier, we here see that an overwhelming majority of 74% believe that a good knowledge of English helps one to get a good job. As can be seen from Table 9, the pattern of response to these two questions is remarkably consistent and the association highly significant.

The conclusion to which all this leads up, then, is that despite Arabisation and the resulting decline in the status of English, the majority of pupils still recognise the importance of English and display, on the whole, fairly favourable attitudes towards learning English.
CHAPTER IX

THE TEST: MEASURING PROFICIENCY IN ENGLISH

9.0 Summary Review and Hypothesis

We have argued in this study that although the role of English has changed as a result of the conditions following independence and the subsequent Arabicization of secondary education, the teaching of English has continued to be wedded to the conditions of the past. This is no less apparent in the vagueness of the aims and the general looseness of the syllabus than in the almost exclusive concentration on literary English (5.2) all of which may have been justifiable when English was also the medium of instruction.

The basic hypothesis (6.0) in this study was formulated against the background to the teaching of English in the secondary school and the possible direction of proposed reforms. It will be recalled that the hypothesis postulates that the teaching of English, in terms of its aims and content, is not related to the valid needs and most immediate uses of the language as a medium of higher education. Given that even when Arabicization is eventually extended to higher education, English will almost certainly continue to be the medium of scientific and technical studies, the teaching of English in schools needs to be assessed in terms of its relevance.
to the existing and anticipated uses of the language. The evidence from the survey (7.3) suggests that there is considerable awareness of the change in the role of English and almost complete agreement as to what the aims of English should be. The need to adapt the teaching of English to its new and more limited role as the language of science and technology and as the medium of higher education is broadly reflected, as we have seen, in the consensus choice of aims. Having established, in part through the survey, why English is taught and what should be aimed at, it remained to investigate the other question posed by the hypothesis - namely, the content of what is taught. The question which is implicit here is whether the literary variety of English that characterizes the secondary school syllabus is the kind of English which best serves the needs for the language as the medium of higher education in general and of scientific and technical studies in particular, given that these are the most important and most durable uses of English in the Sudan. It was the attempt to give an empirical answer to this question, in the context of this enquiry, which led to the construction and use of an English test.

9.1 Purpose and Test Construction

It will be seen that the question, which the test was intended to answer, derives ultimately from the presumed implications of register theory for language teaching and
learning. If there are structural as well as lexical differences between language varieties, as is now commonly believed, then it may be that foreign learners (in particular) who are exposed, for example, only to literary English will find it difficult to perform equally well in, say, scientific English to which they have never been exposed. If this is so, then the best test could be one which attempts to measure and compare the learners' performance in both the literary and scientific varieties of English.

The basic assumption underlying the purpose and construction of the test, in the context of this study, is that the effect of the Arabization of secondary education has been to reduce not only the amount but also the variety of exposure to English. In the first place, because English is no longer the medium of instruction, the only English students learn is what they are taught in the English lesson. Moreover, where the former use of English as a medium of nearly all school subjects provided exposure to a range of registers, its teaching as a subject

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only has restricted exposure to the literary registers of the English lesson. Given these considerations, the question which arises is whether the kind of literary English taught in the secondary school is best suited to the need for English as a medium of higher education in general, as it is at present, and as a medium of scientific and technical studies, as it will be in the near future.

It was to answer this question that an English proficiency test was devised. The purpose of the test was to measure the performance of students in the kind of literary English to which they have been almost exclusively exposed as compared with their performance in the kind of English they will need as a medium of scientific and technical studies in higher education. Accordingly, the test material was drawn from specimens typical of the learning the students are assumed to have undertaken (literary English) and specimens typical of the learning they are going to undertake (scientific English).

The test is in two parts (Appendix C). Part I consists of two reading passages of comparable length, one of which is taken from a popular introduction to science, the other from a well-known literary biography. The passages were considered to be appropriate specimens of scientific and literary discourse exemplifying respectively the kind of English required for

2. I am grateful for the invaluable help that I received from Dr. Alan Davies in constructing the test.
higher education and the kind of English taught in the secondary school. Part II consists of short extracts culled from the sort of science textbooks students will be required to read on proceeding to higher education and from the sort of literature books they will have studied in the upper classes of the secondary school. In the original test, each of the passages in Part I was followed by 15 multiple-choice questions - a total of 30 test items. In Part II there were 30 extracts equally divided between scientific and literary texts and each followed by a multiple choice question - a total of 30 test items. There were thus four subtests comprising 60 test items in all. Subsequent to the administration and scoring of the test, item analysis was undertaken resulting in the elimination of 12 test items, three from each subtest. This left a total of 48 test items; 12 for each subtest as in Appendix C.

As can be seen from the passages (Part I) and the extracts (Part II) in particular, an attempt was made to cover (within the limits of the test) as wide a range as possible of 'general' and literary English and to make a reasoned selection representative of the various branches of general science and hence the styles of scientific English. Further, the test items themselves were varied to cover as far as possible the lexical, grammatical and semantic features in the texts - to the extent, of course, that these could be held to be discrete.

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3 Some of these extracts, both literary and scientific, were taken from the S.R.A. Reading Laboratory, Grades 5 & 6 (Science Research Associates, Inc. Chicago, 1958). These include items 2, 4, 7, 13 and 14 of Test 2 (see Appendix B).
9.2 Sample Selection and Test Administration

The test was intended to be administered to the first fully arabicized intake entering from the secondary schools to the institutes of higher education to pursue scientific and technical studies in the medium of English. The first students whose learning has been conditioned by Arabization entered the University of Khartoum and other institutes of higher education between mid-July and August 1969. Although it was necessary for the purpose of the test that it should be administered before the students were exposed to any teaching in the medium of English, circumstances prevented the test from being conducted earlier than the beginning of September, 1969. However, there is little danger that the overall performance in the test will have been affected by the intervention of so short a period of time between the admission of the students and the administration of the test.

In line with the purpose of the test, the students were sampled from among those who were admitted to pursue scientific and technical studies in the University of Khartoum and the other institutions of higher education. The administration of the test in the University of Khartoum was therefore confined to the students admitted to the Faculty of Science (from which the Faculties of Medicine, Pharmacy, Engineering, Agriculture and Veterinary Science subsequently draw their intake). The number of students admitted to the Faculty of Science in 1969 was 714 out of a total intake of 1,124 students (of whom 207
were admitted to the Faculty of Arts from which students can subsequently transfer to the Faculty of Law and 203 to the Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences). Similarly, in the Khartoum Technical Institute (K.T.I.) where a total of 185 were admitted, the students were sampled from the 115 accepted for courses in Civil Engineering, Mechanical Engineering, Electrical Engineering and Surveying but not from the remaining 70 students admitted to undertake courses in Secretarial Training and Fine Art. In the Higher Teacher Training Institute (H.T.T.I.), where a total of 115 students were admitted, the administration of the test was again confined to the 75 entrants to the Science section. In the remaining three institutions where the test was administered - the Forest Rangers College (F.R.C.), Shambat Agricultural Institute (S.A.I.) and Khartoum Nursing College (K.N.C.) - no such distinction in the sampling of students was made since the entire intake follow the same courses. The sample was thus drawn from six out of all the eight institutions of higher education in which scientific and technical studies are undertaken in the medium of English. The two institutes which were excluded are the Science Technicians Training Centre and the Medical Technicians Training Centre to which a total of only 12 students were admitted in 1969.

The sample is, of course, fairly homogeneous in that the entrants to these institutions are among the academically most talented products of the secondary schools, as measured by the
School Certificate Examination. Nearly all of these entrants will have attained 'Credit' or 'Distinction' standards in Science and Mathematics and obtained at least a 'Pass' in English in the Sudan School Certificate Examination, as is required by these receiving institutions. It should be remembered, however, that the 1969 intake from which our sample was drawn was different from all other previous intakes in one important respect: they are the first students whose learning of English has been entirely conditioned by the Arabicization of instruction in the secondary schools.

The test was administered with the co-operation and willing help of the staff in each of the six institutions during the month of September 1969. Because the test programme was a heavy one and in order to ensure that the same students took the whole test (Parts I and II), it was left to the staff of each institution to administer the test (in two sessions) during lecture periods given over to this purpose. Some general directives concerning the administration of the test and the size and selection of the required sample were given to all members of staff who volunteered to undertake the task. To enable students to attempt all questions a generous time allowance of three hours was assigned - 1½ hours for each of Parts I and II. Further, an attempt was made to ensure that for the purpose of testing, students were selected, as far as possible, at random but in practice this was dictated, by and large, by various circumstances and time-table contingencies
in the different institutions. However, a high proportion of students was tested as can be seen from Table 1.

TABLE 1. Sample and Percentage Distribution of Sudanese Students Tested.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. University of Khartoum (Faculty of Science)</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>714</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Khartoum Technical Institute (K.T.I.)</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Higher Teachers Training Institute (H.T.T.I.)</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Forest Rangers College (F.R.C.)</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Shambat Agricultural Institute (S.A.I.)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Khartoum Nursing College (K.N.C.)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>409</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,174</strong></td>
<td><strong>35</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 409 students who took the test thus represent approximately 35% of almost the total body of the first arabicized students entering institutions of higher education to pursue scientific and technical studies in the medium of English. Of the 409 sets of test scripts obtained, 9 had to be discarded: six because the students concerned have had their secondary education in English and three because of absence from Part II of the test. This left exactly 400 scripts.

The scripts were subsequently scored and item analysis was carried out for each subtest (using the $E_{1-3}$ formula). All items with discrimination index of less than .26 were rejected - the highest discrimination index being .49. As a result three
out of 15 test items had to be eliminated from each of the four subtests, leaving 48 out of the original 60 items in the whole test. The average discrimination value of all the 48 test items was found to be .34. The test scripts were therefore re-marked out of a maximum score of 12 for each of the four subtests or a maximum score of 48 for the whole test (i.e., one score for each item).

9.3 Validation

The detailed results of the test are the subject of the following section but the general conclusion needs to be stated here. The conclusion, in broad general terms, is that the first arabicised students admitted to institutions of higher education to pursue scientific and technical courses have been found to perform significantly better in literary English than in the kind of English they will need for their future scientific and technical studies. But this conclusion is warranted if, and only if, it can be established that the subtests used to measure performance in literary and scientific English were in fact of comparable difficulty. For it could easily be the case that the students did better in the literary English subtests simply because they were easier (as tests) than the scientific English subtests and not necessarily because students are better at literary English per se. This problem, obvious though it may now seem, was only vaguely anticipated when the test was being constructed and the attempt to resolve it at that stage was based
on judgment and general impression. But this of course was not good enough and since the test was administered before the requirement of comparability in difficulty between the literary and scientific English subtests could be met by some means of pre-testing, it was deemed necessary to validate the test results obtained against some outside criterion. The problem was to find the criterion.

The best way to obtain this criterion, it was eventually decided, was by administering the test to a sample of those Edinburgh University overseas students who took the English Language Battery (ELBA) Test in October 1969. The criterion was to be derived in the following way:

a) From the list of all overseas students who took the ELBA Test, a sample of both Arts and Science students was to be selected.

b) The students were to be selected on the basis of matched pairs such that for each Arts student a Science student with the same or roughly the same score in ELBA was to be chosen. Since ELBA is a standardized test, it can be safely assumed that an Arts student and a Science student who have attained the same or approximately the same score are, on the whole, equal in their overall command of English.

c) By administering the test to two groups of Arts and

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4. This suggestion I owe to Mrs. Elizabeth Ingram to whom I am also very grateful for the use she allowed me to make of the 1969 results of her ELBA Test as well as for the guidance her valuable comments provided.
Science students, matched and balanced on the basis of their performance in ELBA, it should prove possible to judge the relative difficulty of the literary and scientific English subtests in our test and hence the validity of the results relating to the Sudanese students.

The first step in the procedure, then, was the selection of the sample of the students to be tested. The problem here was that it proved difficult to find a large enough number of Arts and Science students with corresponding scores in ELBA. It was therefore decided to augment the number of Arts students by extending the selection to students of Social Sciences, Law and Divinity on the common sense ground that these disciplines are allied to Arts rather than to Science and that therefore the overseas students pursuing these disciplines can be regarded (at least for the purpose of our test) as 'Arts' students. In this way it was possible to obtain a large enough number of students of 'non-scientific' disciplines with a wide enough range of scores to correspond with those obtained by students of 'scientific' disciplines. The latter were selected, of course, not only from among the Faculty of Science students but also from among the students in the Faculties of Medicine and Veterinary Medicine. (The terms "Arts" and "Science" will therefore be understood hereafter to designate respectively all the selected students of Arts, Social Sciences, Law and Divinity on the one hand and all the selected students of Science, Medicine and
Veterinary Medicine on the other.) Accordingly, a total of 72 students, almost equally divided between Arts and Science, were selected from the list of all the 210 overseas students who took the ELBA Test in October 1969, and who were therefore in their first year at the University of Edinburgh, whether as undergraduates or postgraduates. The selection (and size) of the sample was governed by two main considerations. The first consideration, which has already been mentioned, was the most important: the need to match Arts and Science students according to their attainments in ELBA such that for each Arts student there will be a Science student with an equal or nearly equal score or vice versa. The second was to attempt to cover, as far as possible, within each of the Arts and Science samples a range of low-scoring, middle-scoring and high-scoring groups of students. But it was particularly important to concentrate on the lower and middle performance ranges since our test, which was set at a level of difficulty considered to be appropriate for Sudanese students just entering institutes of higher education, was likely to be too easy for (the predominantly postgraduate) overseas students who have attained relatively high scores in ELBA.

The next step was to contact the 72 students selected for testing. This started in early February 1970. Visits to the various University Departments in which students are enrolled were made in order to explain the purpose of the test, to secure
help and to obtain the students' home addresses. (In some cases addresses had to be obtained from Faculty Offices.) Almost every one of the 72 students was sent a personal letter either through his (or her) Department, in cases where collaboration was promised, or at his Edinburgh home address. The letter explained that the student was to help me with my research by taking part in a short test, which is originally intended for Sudanese students but which needs to be tried out on Edinburgh University overseas students representing as many nationalities and as many fields of study as possible. The purpose in trying out the test, it was stated, was only to help me determine the level of difficulty involved in the test items. The letter also suggested that the test could be taken at any time and place of the students' choice and that it need not involve any supervision. Of course, no mention was made of the fact that the student was selected for testing on the basis of his performance in ELBA.

Because of the collaboration kindly offered by three of the Departments, where between four and seven students were to be tested in each, it was possible to test a total of 14 students on three occasions without interfering with regular lecture and tutorial sessions.5 These three groups were administered the

5. The writer wishes to express his thanks particularly to Mr. A. Rodger of the English Studies Department, Professor G.H. Gordon, Head of the Department of Criminal Law and Criminology and Messrs. A.W. Chalmers and R.A. Jones of the Animal Health Department, for their support and help in administering the test to their students.
test under the writer's supervision in classrooms provided for the purpose and the testing conditions were therefore ideal. Luckily, it also happened that 13 of the students required for testing were in the same Hall of Residence as the writer. These were easy to contact personally and follow up during the evenings. Of these 11 co-operated and took the test individually in their own rooms to which the writer returned at an agreed time of the same evening to collect the test scripts. A similar procedure was used in administering the test to another five students in their own Departments. Fortunately, too, the sample happened to include three Sudanese students to whom the test was administered on one and the same occasion under the writer's supervision.

Most of the remaining 37 or so students were mailed the test (enclosing reply-paid envelopes) whether they had responded to the initial letter sent to them or not. Non-respondents were followed up by telephone, by visits to their homes or hostels in the evenings, by calling on them at their Departments in between lectures and tutorials and by sending further reminders with replacement copies of the test. This procedure was necessarily time-consuming and it was not until about mid-April, more than two months since the testing started, that enough scripts were obtained from matched pairs of Arts and Science students.

Thus different procedures were utilized in the administration of the test, the least satisfactory of which was the mailing
procedure. However, where this mailing procedure was used, as well as in all other instances in which the test was administered individually and without supervision, students were requested to complete the test in one sitting and to note the time taken to complete it. These instructions were intended as safeguards against possible resort to 'cheating' or 'collusion'. A varied response was obtained, comparable to the times taken under supervision, which suggests that the instructions were followed. Further, no evidence was obtained to suggest that the results were uniformly influenced by the method used. Nor was there any indication that the task was undertaken other than in a serious manner.

In all, a total of 53 out of 72 students completed the test, but only 51 of these constituted roughly matched pairs of Arts and Science students. The final sample therefore consists of 51 students, of whom 26 are Arts students and 25 are Science students. The approximate matching of these students and their classification into low-scoring, middle-scoring and high-scoring groups in accordance with their performance in ELBA together with particulars concerning nationality and subject of study (as supplied by the students themselves) are shown in Table 2.
Table 2. Final Sample of Edinburgh University Overseas Students, Classified by Attainments in ELBA (N = 51).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Subject of Study</th>
<th>ELBA Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>Nursing</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>Business Studies</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Adult Education</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>Nursing Admin.</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Business Studies</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Architecture</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Libya</td>
<td>English Studies</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>English Studies</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Lesotho</td>
<td>Law</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Lesotho</td>
<td>Law</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Lesotho</td>
<td>Law</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Lesotho</td>
<td>Law</td>
<td>204</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Divinity</td>
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<td>Architecture</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Student</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Subject of Study</th>
<th>ELBA Score</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Bahrain</td>
<td>Vet. Medicine</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>Medicine</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Physics</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>Vet. Medicine</td>
<td>150</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>Vet. Medicine</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Vet. Medicine</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Vet. Medicine</td>
<td>155</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>Wild Life Manag.</td>
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<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>Parasitology</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>Civil Engineering</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Animal Genetics</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>207</td>
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<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>Medicine</td>
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<td>Uganda</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>Civil Engineering</td>
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<td>Singapore</td>
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<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Since the maximum score for ELBA is 270, it is possible to classify the groups as follows: Groups A and B: low-scoring; Group C: middle-scoring; Groups D and E: high-scoring.
9.4 **Results and Discussion**

A. **Edinburgh Overseas Students**

The test scores for the Edinburgh University overseas students are given in Table 3. The table shows each student's score in ELBA together with his (or her) score in each of the four subtests in our English proficiency test (henceforth referred to as EPT). The scientific and literary English subtests of Part I and Part II are shown in the table as S1, L1 and S2, L2 respectively. The ELBA scores are out of 270 and the EPT scores are out of 12 for each subtest. As can be seen from Table 3 there is in general close correlation between performance in ELBA and performance in EPT, which goes to support the claim made earlier (9.3) - namely that the results are not likely to have been affected by the informality of some of the testing procedures used in the administration of EPT.

For the purpose of the statistical analysis which follows, Arts student number 11 (in Table 2) was omitted (from Table 3) so as to balance the number of Arts students with that of the equivalent Science students in group B. This leaves us with exactly 25 matched pairs of Arts and Science students, classifiable by their performance in ELBA into five groups or ten subgroups as shown in Table 3.

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6. It is worth noting here that Part I and Part II differ only in form in that the test items for each of S1 and L1 are based on one long passage whereas S2 and L2 are based on short extracts with only one question on each (see Appendix C).

7. The scores of Arts student number 11 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ELBA</th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>L1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>L2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>S2</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>244</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* Maximum score for ELBA is 270. Maximum score for each subtest (S1, L1, S2, L2) is 12.

** Student No. 11 in Table 2 not included here (see note 7).
The EPT scores of Edinburgh University overseas students were analysed according to the analysis of variance techniques. The basic idea here is that one compares the average difference between two sets of measurement of interest (e.g., scientific English and literary English) with the variation in this difference between individual students in a particular group (Arts or Science students in A, B, C, D and E). Thus to make this comparison for the preceding example, we first obtain the differences S-L for each student - i.e., \((S1 + S2) - (L1 + L2)\).

The result for subgroup A (Arts) students 1 to 5 is (see Table 3):

\[-3, +1, +2, -1, +6.\]

The variation among these is then measured by:

\[\frac{1}{5}( -3)^2 + (1)^2 + (2)^2 + (-1)^2 + (6)^2 - \frac{1}{5}( -3 + 1 + 2 - 1 + 6)^2\]

Each difference -3 etc. is formed from four figures \((S1, L1, S2, L2)\), hence the \(\frac{1}{5}\). Subgroup A(Arts) consists of 5 individuals, hence the \(\frac{1}{5}\). The same procedure is followed with each of the remaining nine subgroups. The average of the ten figures thus obtained forms a 'natural variation' against which can be assessed the average difference:

\[\frac{1}{50}[ - 3 + 1 + 2 - 1 + 6 ...]\]

8. I wish to record a special debt of gratitude to Dr. R.M. Cormack and Mr. E.A. Hunter of the Department of Statistics. Dr. Cormack not only suggested the application of the analysis of variance but also planned and executed, with the collaboration of Mr. Hunter, the analysis of the data accordingly. Dr. Cormack also gave generously of his time to explain (to the non-numerate writer) the technical manipulation involved and the meaning of the results obtained.
The three factors involved in our validation testing of Edinburgh overseas students are denoted by:

D: the discipline (Arts or Science) of the student,
LV: the language variety (literary or scientific) tested,
G: the group (A to E) of student classified by their performance in ELBA.

The results of the analysis of variance in relation to the differences between these variables and in relation to the various interactions between these variables are summarised in Table 4.

### TABLE 4. Analysis of Variance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Variation</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Sum of Squares</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19.845</td>
<td>19.845</td>
<td>4.69</td>
<td>P &lt; 0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1488.052</td>
<td>372.013</td>
<td>28.83</td>
<td>P &lt; 0.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D x G</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17.482</td>
<td>4.371</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>not sig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S (DG)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>169.246</td>
<td>4.231</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23.805</td>
<td>23.805</td>
<td>8.45</td>
<td>P &lt; 0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D x LV</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>43.245</td>
<td>43.245</td>
<td>15.35</td>
<td>P &lt; 0.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G x LV</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>35.439</td>
<td>8.860</td>
<td>3.14</td>
<td>P &lt; 0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D x G x LV</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.532</td>
<td>1.383</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>not sig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S (DG) x LV</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>112.729</td>
<td>2.818</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Standard error (S = students). Mean squares are obtained by dividing each of the sum of squares by its respective number of degrees of freedom (df). F is obtained by dividing the mean square by the appropriate standard error.

The conclusions are more or less clear-cut:

1. There are marked differences between groups, the two lowest groups (A and B) being very much poorer than the three better groups (C, D and E) in their performance in EPT as a whole.
(P < 0.0001). This can be seen from the mean scores for each group in the whole test as shown in Table 5 below.

TABLE 5. Mean Scores in EPT by Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean Score</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. These differences between groups are consistent over both disciplines (Arts and Science) but there is some evidence that they vary between language varieties (literary English and scientific English), the good students getting equal scores in both language varieties while the three lower groups scored more heavily on the scientific English subtests than on the literary English subtests (P < 0.05). This can be seen from the mean scores in Table 6 below.

TABLE 6. Mean Scores by Group and Language Variety

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language Variety</th>
<th>Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scientific English</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literary English</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Mean</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Differences between disciplines (P < 0.05) and language varieties (P < 0.001) and their interaction (P < 0.0001) were all significant. The pattern of these differences can be seen from the mean scores in Table 7.
TABLE 7. Mean Scores by Language Variety and Discipline.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language Variety</th>
<th>Discipline</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literary English</td>
<td>8.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scientific English</td>
<td>8.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Mean</td>
<td>8.36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Although the three lower groups (A, B and C) comprising both Arts and Science students scored more heavily on scientific English than on literary English, the evidence indicates that it is mainly the Science subgroups within these groups which contributed to this difference. This can be seen from the mean scores for each of the Arts and Science subgroups in each of the literary English and scientific English tests in Table 8.

TABLE 8. Mean Scores by Discipline, Language Variety and Subgroup.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language Variety</th>
<th>Arts Subgroup.</th>
<th>Science Subgroup</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A  B  C  D  E</td>
<td>A  B  C  D  E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scientific</td>
<td>6.8 6.8 8.6 9.9 9.4</td>
<td>9.2 7.7 10.8 10.6 10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literary</td>
<td>6.3 6.6 8.9 10.5 10.4</td>
<td>5.7 5.3 9.7 10.1 10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The analysis of variance thus shows that there are significant differences between the means, which are consistent with the variation in language (scientific or literary English), in discipline (Arts or Science students) and, to a lesser extent, in ability group (A, B, C, D or E). Further, it shows that all
interactions between the three variables contribute to the differences between the mean scores.

The application of the analysis of variance, however, required that certain assumptions about the observations should be met for the analysis to be completely valid. The two most critical assumptions are that the scores or observations are independently drawn from normally distributed populations and that the populations all have the same variance. This latter condition is referred to as homogeneity of variance. Since our sample of Edinburgh overseas students have been selected and classified on the basis of their performance in ELBA, and therefore not randomly drawn, the assumptions of normality of distribution and homogeneity of variance are unlikely to be wholly met by our data. The significance of the results by analysis of variance was therefore checked by the use of two alternative statistical procedures.

The first of these is the sign test, which does not make any of the assumptions involved in the use of the analysis of variance. In using the sign test it is only assumed that the variable under consideration is distributed continuously and that both members of each pair (of two parallel sets of measurements) are treated similarly except for the experimental variable. In applying the sign test to the Edinburgh overseas

9. Dr. Cormack, however, pointed out that the data are nonetheless most unlikely to be broken to such an extent that the main conclusions cease to be correct.
students' scores in EPT, we are testing not only whether there is a significant difference between performance in the literary English test and the scientific English test but also in what direction the difference lies. Accordingly, each student's score in the scientific English test \((S1 + S2)\) is matched against his score in the literary English test \((L1 + L2)\) to obtain the difference between each pair of scores. This is done for the 25 Arts students and the 25 Science students separately, as shown in Table 9. We then consider each pair of scores separately, noting whether the literary English score is higher or lower than the scientific English score and assign the appropriate sign as shown in the table. (P. 259)

From Table 9 we note that the 25 pairs of scores for the Arts students yield 9 plus signs and 12 minus signs, giving a total of 21 pairs of scores which show differences. Similarly, the 25 pairs of scores for the Science students yield 20 plus signs and 3 minus signs, giving a total of 23 pairs of scores which show differences. The question to ask then is whether these frequencies differ significantly from what we would expect by chance. The probability associated with the occurrence of a particular number of plus and minus signs can be determined by reference to the Binomial Distribution Table, where \(N\) = the number of pairs which show differences and \(x\) = the number of fewer signs. Reference to the Binomial Distribution Table reveals that the probability of obtaining a distribution of 9 and 12 in a sample of 21, as with the Arts students' scores,
TABLE 9. The Sign Test Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student No.</th>
<th>S (S1 + S2)</th>
<th>L (L1 + L2)</th>
<th>Sign</th>
<th>Student No.</th>
<th>S (S1 + S2)</th>
<th>L (L1 + L2)</th>
<th>Sign</th>
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<td>-</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No. of plus signs = 9
No. of minus signs = 12

No. of plus signs = 20
No. of minus signs = 3
is not significant \((P = 0.332, \text{one-tailed})\). But the probability of getting a distribution of .20 and 3 in a sample of 23, as with the Science students' scores, is found to be significant \((P = 0.001, \text{one-tailed}; P = 0.002, \text{two-tailed})\). In other words, while the difference between the Arts students' performance in the scientific English test and the literary English test is not significantly in favour of literary English, the difference between the Science students' performance in the two tests is significantly in favour of the scientific English test. When we consider the scores for both the Arts and Science students together as one group, we obtain 50 pairs of scores, giving a total of 29 plus signs \((9 + 20)\) and 15 minus signs \((12 + 3)\). For this data, \(N = \frac{44}{2} (29 + 15)\) and \(x = 15\). Since \(N\) is here larger than 25, we estimate the significance by converting into \(z\) (or standard) scores, using the following formula:

\[
    z = \frac{x + 0.5 - \frac{N}{2}}{\sqrt{\frac{N}{4}}}
\]

By substituting into the formula we have:

\[
    z = \frac{15 + 0.5 - \frac{44}{2}}{\sqrt{\frac{44}{4}}} = \frac{15.5 - 22}{\sqrt{11}} = \frac{-6.5}{3.32} = -1.95
\]
When this obtained value is read off the relevant Table of Probabilities, it is found to be significant at the 2% level \( (P = 0.025) \). The process of doubling this probability for a two-tailed test gives a departure significant at the 5% level \( (P = 0.05) \).

What this means is that our sample of Edinburgh overseas students as a whole did better in scientific English than in literary English and that this difference is significant \( (P = 0.05) \). But the sign test has also shown that it is the Science students within the sample who performed significantly better \( (P = 0.002) \) in the scientific English test than in the literary English test, and although the Arts students also did better in the literary English test, the difference between their performances in the two tests was not significant. It follows therefore that it is mainly the Science students' performance which contributed to the significance of the overall difference between performance in the literary English test and performance in the scientific English test. The sign test results thus reveal where the direction of the difference lies and this finding, it will be noted, bears out some of the results yielded by the analysis of variance (Table 6 above).

The sign test results thus lead us to conclude, as we did from the analysis of variance, that the scientific English test \( (S1 + S2) \) and the literary English test \( (L1 + L2) \) are equal in difficulty. Since the results indicated that
performance in the scientific English test was significantly better, it follows that the literary English test is, if anything, a little more difficult than the scientific English test.

The second statistical procedure used for further analysis of the data was the t-test. Although the use of the t-test, like that of the analysis of variance, presupposes normality of distribution and homogeneity of variance, it is said that the t-test is relatively unaffected by violations of these assumptions. 10

In applying the t-test to the Edinburgh overseas students' scores, we are again trying to find out whether there is a significant difference between performances in scientific and literary English and where the difference or differences are. The data were analysed in accordance with the procedure given by the t-test formula for correlated or paired set of data. Accordingly each student's score in the scientific English test (S) is paired with his score in the literary English test (L) and the difference (S - L) between each pair of scores calculated. The sum of these differences is then divided by the number of pairs of scores to give the mean difference. The deviations of the differences from their mean and the sum of squares of these deviations are then obtained to find the standard error of the mean difference. It is then derived by computing the ratio of the mean difference to the standard error of the mean.

difference. This procedure is given by the formula:

\[ t = \frac{\bar{D} - \bar{D}}{SE} \]

This analysis was undertaken with the Arts students' scores and the Science students' scores separately and with the scores of the sample as a whole (i.e., Arts and Science students combined). \(^{11}\) The results are summarised in Table 10, which gives the mean difference, the standard error and the \(t\) value obtained in each case.

**TABLE 10. t-test Results**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean Difference</th>
<th>Standard Error</th>
<th>(t)</th>
<th>(df)</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arts Students</td>
<td>-0.48</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>-0.72</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>not sig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science Students</td>
<td>3.24</td>
<td>0.73</td>
<td>4.42</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>(P &lt; 0.01)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Students</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td>0.56</td>
<td>2.46</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>not sig.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The conclusions to be drawn from the results in Table 10 are obvious. While the difference between the Arts students' performance in the scientific English test and the literary English test is not significant, the difference between the Science students' performance in the two tests is significant \((P < 0.01)\), and this, it will be seen, is consistent with the finding yielded by the sign test. When Arts and Science students' scores are pooled, it is found that there is no

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\(^{11}\) The computation was done by computer at the Edinburgh Regional Computing Centre.
significant difference between the performance of the students as a whole in the scientific and literary English tests. On the face of it, this finding does not agree with the sign test result for the pooled treatment, which showed that the overall difference is significant ($P = 0.05$). The difference between the two findings, however, is not surprising for while the sign test utilizes only information on the direction of the difference, the t-test uses information on the relative size of the difference as well. It can therefore be safely assumed that the discrepancy between the two findings is due to the limitations of the sign test.

What these conclusions add up to, then, is that the scientific English test ($S1 + S2$) and the literary English test ($L1 + L2$) have turned out to be of comparable difficulty. The analysis of variance and the mean scores obtained have shown that while the Arts students did significantly better in literary English, the Science students, with equivalent general ability in English (as measured by ELBA) did significantly better in scientific English. The sign test has revealed the direction of the difference, indicating that it is the Science students' significantly better performance in scientific English which mainly contributed to the overall difference in performance between the scientific English test and the literary English test. The t-test used to verify the findings yielded by both the analysis of variance and the sign test has shown conclusively that while, again, the Science students did
significantly better in the scientific English test, there was no significant difference between the performance of the Arts students in the two tests. Further, when the Arts and Science students' scores are pooled and the overall performance of the students in the literary and scientific English tests is considered, the difference is found to be not significant.

It will be recalled that our main purpose in administering the test to the (ELBA) sample of Edinburgh overseas students was to investigate the relative difficulty of the scientific English test and the literary English test in EFT. The preceding analyses of the data obtained from our validation testing have proved conclusively that there is no difference in difficulty between the two tests. In fact, several indications appeared in the analyses that the literary English test is, if anything, a little more difficult than the scientific English test. Having thus established that the two tests are equivalent in difficulty, we now turn to consider the results relating to the Sudanese students.

B. Sudanese Students

The statistical analysis of the Sudanese students' test scores were carried out by computer at the Edinburgh Regional Computing Centre. Appropriate computer programmes were written to work right through from the raw scores to the finished product. These provided us with t-test results and with means, standard deviations and correlation matrices for the whole sample (400) and for the breakdown of the sample into Khartoum University
students (198) and the students of the other five higher education institutions (202), treated as one group. (See Table 1). This breakdown was considered desirable only because entrants to these five institutions are not, in general, as highly qualified as entrants to the University, in terms of overall School Certificate results and grades. For this reason our sample can be regarded as consisting of two subsamples.

The t-test was applied to the Sudanese students' scores in exactly the same way it was used to analyse the Edinburgh overseas students' scores. That is to say, each students' score in the scientific English test (S1 + S2) was paired with his score in the literary English test (L1 + L2) and the difference (S - L) calculated for all the pairs of scores in accordance with the procedure given by the formula (see above). The results are summarised in Table II.

**TABLE II. t-test Results**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mean Difference</th>
<th>Standard Error</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>df (N-1)</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U. of K. Students (198)</td>
<td>-3.03</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>-13.11</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>P &lt; 0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Students   (202)</td>
<td>-1.85</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>-6.41</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>P &lt; 0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Students     (400)</td>
<td>-2.44</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>-13.03</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>P &lt; 0.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can immediately be seen from Table II that all the three mean differences are negative and hence all the t values are negative. Since all the t values are also significant (P < 0.01), it is clear that the performance of the whole sample as well as
that of the two subsamples is significantly in favour of the literary English test. Thus the difference shows up consistently in the results of the sample as a whole and in the results yielded by the breakdown of the sample. This is further borne out by the mean scores for each of the scientific English test and the literary English test, as shown in the following tables. Table 12 gives the mean scores and the standard deviations on the whole sample. Tables 13 and 14 give the mean scores and the standard deviations for each of the two subsamples - Khartoum University Faculty of Science students and the students of all the other institutions (K.T.I., H.T.T.I., F.R.C., S.A.I. and K.N.C. - see Table 9).

**TABLE 12. Mean Scores and Standard Deviations - All Students \( (N = 400) \)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Scientific and Literary English Tests</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MEAN</strong></td>
<td>5.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>S.D.</strong></td>
<td>2.18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 13. Mean Scores and Standard Deviations - U. of K. Students \( (N = 198) \)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Scientific and Literary English Tests</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MEAN</strong></td>
<td>6.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>S.D.</strong></td>
<td>1.98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 14. Mean Scores and Standard Deviations - Rest of Students \((N = 202)\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scientific and Literary English Tests</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>L</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MEAN</td>
<td>4.85</td>
<td>5.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.D.</td>
<td>2.09</td>
<td>2.40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the mean scores in Tables 12, 13 and 14, it is clear that our sample of Sudanese students did consistently better in the literary English test than in the scientific English test. The t test results in Table 11 have indicated that this better performance in the literary English test is both consistent and significant. Given that the scientific English test is intrinsically no more difficult than the literary English test, as the validation results have proved, it is remarkable that the Sudanese students should perform significantly better in literary English than in scientific English. These results seem to be even more remarkable when we take into consideration the fact that the three lowest groups \((A, B \text{ and } C)\) in the Edinburgh overseas sample, who are most closely comparable to the Sudanese students, performed significantly better in the scientific English test. The mean scores obtained by these three groups and by the whole sample of Sudanese students are compared in Table 15.
TABLE 15. Mean Scores of Edinburgh Overseas 3 Lowest Groups and all Sudanese Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Scientific and Literary English Tests</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edin. Overseas Students (3 lowest groups)</td>
<td>8.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudanese Students</td>
<td>5.60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15 shows that although the Sudanese students attained a mean score fairly comparable to that of the three Edinburgh overseas groups in literary English, their mean score in scientific English is appreciably lower. This lends further support to the consistency with which the Sudanese students performed significantly better in literary English.

Further supporting evidence for this consistency in the difference between performance in the literary English test and the scientific English test is obtained from the product-moment correlations computed for the four subtests (S1, L1, S2, L2). These are presented in the following tables.

TABLE 16. Correlations between Subtests - All Students (N = 400)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subtests</th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>L1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>L2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L1</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L2</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 17. Correlations between Subtests - U. of K. Students 
\((N = 198)\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subtests</th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>L1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>L2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L1</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.61</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L2</td>
<td>0.56</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 18. Correlations between Subtests - Rest of Students 
\((N = 202)\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subtests</th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>L1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>L2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L1</td>
<td>0.55</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td>0.56</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L2</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the correlations, in general, are not as high as one would expect, the pattern is remarkably consistent. As can be seen in each of Tables 16, 17 and 18, the literary English subtests (L1 and L2) are found to correlate more highly with each other than with either of the scientific English subtests (S1 and S2). Similarly S1 and S2 correlate more highly with each other than with either L1 or L2. When the figures are read off on a correlation coefficient table of significance, it is found that all the intercorrelations among the subtests are highly significant \((P < 0.001)\).
The results of the test show very clearly, then, that the Sudanese students did significantly and consistently better in literary English than in scientific English. This was the verdict of all the statistical analyses undertaken.

9.5 Test Reliability and Validity

The results reported above cannot be held to be conclusive until it is established that the English proficiency test used, EPT, was both reliable and valid. Reliability, in its simplest form, means consistency of test scores over time. An estimate of the consistency reliability can be obtained by correlating two sets of scores by the same individuals on the same test. This, however, requires two testing occasions.

The equivalence reliability of a test, however, requires only one testing occasion. So an estimate of this reliability was made, using the Kuder-Richardson formula. When item analysis has been made for a test, this formula is easily applied to the data to obtain the reliability coefficient. Since we have the item analysis results, derived from the Sudanese students' scores in EPT, it was possible to use the Kuder-Richardson formula to estimate the reliability of the test. The formula was applied, to the test item results for each subtest (S1, L1, S2 and L2) and for the test as a whole. This provided us with a coefficient.

12 The procedure for applying the Kuder-Richardson formula to estimate reliability is described in detail by Ingram (mimeographed, 1970).
of internal consistency for each subtest and for the entire test. The results are set out in Table 19.

**TABLE 19. Reliability Coefficients of EPT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>L1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>L2</th>
<th>EPT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>0.77</td>
<td>0.87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from Table 19, the reliability coefficients of the individual subtests are rather low. The test as a whole, however, has yielded a reliability coefficient of 0.87, which though not high, is in the region of a fully satisfactory coefficient, i.e. 0.95.

A test can be reliable without being valid. Validity is defined as the degree to which a test measures what it is presumed to measure - in the case of EPT, proficiency in English. The validity of a test is determined directly, whenever possible, by finding the correlation between the test and some independent criterion. There are different kinds of criterion for different types of validity. When we use as our criterion a test whose validity has already been established, we are concerned with what is called concurrent validity. The validity coefficient, like that of reliability, requires two sets of scores from a single group of individuals. In our testing situation, we have the Edinburgh overseas students' scores in EPT and their scores in ELBA. Since ELBA is a standardized proficiency test, it obviously
provides us with a good criterion for measuring the validity of EPT.

Thus, to establish the validity of our test, the scores of the Edinburgh overseas students' in EPT were correlated with their scores in ELBA by means of the Spearman rank-order method (rho). This correlational technique was the most appropriate for our data since it is said to be particularly well-suited to situations where the number of cases is small and where the relationship between the two variables in question cannot be assumed to be linear. Applying the usual rho formula, computations were undertaken to obtain the correlations between ELBA and each of the scientific and literary English tests of EPT and the correlation between ELBA and EPT as a whole. This was done for the scores of the Arts and Science students separately and for the scores of the group as a whole. The results are shown in Table 20.

**TABLE 20. Validity Coefficients - EPT and ELBA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ELBA &amp; S</th>
<th>ELBA &amp; L</th>
<th>ELBA &amp; EPT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arts Students</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science Students</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Students</td>
<td>0.56</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the figures in Table 20, it is interesting to note that the correlations between ELBA and the scientific English test of EPT are consistently lower than the correlations between
ELBA and the literary English test. Since EPT was intended to test proficiency in English, and although it is limited to only one mode of communication, reading attainment, it is reasonable to expect it to correlate highly with ELBA. The correlations obtained are not perhaps as high as one would expect but they are sufficiently high to indicate that EPT was a valid test of measuring proficiency in English.

We conclude therefore that EPT was both a reliable and valid test for measuring the proficiency in English.

9.6 Conclusions and Summary

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, our aim in using this test was to measure the performance of Sudanese students in literary English as compared with their performance in the kind of English they will need as a medium of scientific and technical studies in higher education. The basic hypothesis here was that our Sudanese students are likely to do better in literary English, given that their secondary education has been conditioned by Arabization and their secondary school learning of English conditioned by exposure to literary English. This hypothesis has clearly been sustained by the test results which have conclusively shown that the students did in fact perform significantly better in literary English than in scientific English. These results are all the more remarkable in that they were obtained by students most qualified for scientific and technical studies in higher education and their relatively poorer
performance in scientific English cannot therefore be attributed to any difficulty with science itself. Moreover, the validation results obtained with Edinburgh overseas students have shown that in the test used, the literary English subtests were at least equal in difficulty to the scientific English subtests, if not more difficult. There can be little doubt, then, that the main reason for this difference between performance in literary English and in scientific English is the fact that the students had been exposed throughout their secondary school years to the literary uses of English.

In summary, what we hold to have done is three-fold: (i) we have defined the English teaching problem arising mainly from the Arabicization of secondary education, (ii) we have devised and used the test as an instrument for investigating the problem in vindication of our hypothesis, and (iii) we have successfully validated the test and the results obtained.
CHAPTER X

THE WAY AHEAD: Summary and Discussion of Conclusions

10.0 Introduction

In this final chapter, we shall attempt to draw together the assumptions underlying this study and to summarise the findings reached. We shall then consider the implications of the main findings of this study for the possible direction of the reform of English teaching in the Sudan. In so doing, we shall raise questions related to these findings in the wider context of comparable English teaching situations in other developing countries of Africa and Asia and consider some of the current proposals for reform. We then consider the recent planned reforms of the Sudanese educational system, now being implemented, and discuss the consequences of these reforms for the proposals to improve the teaching of English in the Sudan.

10.1 Assumptions and Conclusions

The purpose of this study derives from certain basic assumptions. At the risk of being superficial, it might be as well to attempt a summary of these assumptions and the questions to which they point, as investigated in this study. First, we have shown in this study that as a result of the conditions
created by independence and the subsequent replacement of English by Arabic, English has come to assume a more limited and differentiated role as the medium only of higher education. Secondly, we have argued that even when Arabicization is eventually extended to higher education, it is almost certain that English will continue to be, for a long time to come, the medium of scientific and technical studies. Thirdly, we have argued that in the absence of a genuine reassessment of the function of English, and hence the failure to specify the central purpose and objectives, the teaching of English, particularly in the secondary school, has remained largely a legacy from the past - the vague cultural aims, the diffuse literary content and the traditional methods have, on the whole, continued to be pursued in defiance of the requirements of the conditions created by Arabicization. This leads to the two main questions posed by this study. 1) Given the Arabicization of secondary education, is agreement possible about what English is for and what the aims of teaching it should therefore be? 2) Given that English will almost certainly continue to be the medium of scientific and technical studies even when Arabicization is extended to higher education, is the kind of literary English taught in the secondary school the most effective instrument for the needs and uses of English as a medium of higher education?

The findings which emerged from the survey (Chapter VII) have indicated clearly that there is a wide consensus among all those
involved in the English teaching operation as to what are the reasons for and what should be the aims of English teaching in the context of the conditions created by Arabicization. It is, moreover, a consensus which reflects a clear recognition of the change in the role of English and, by implication, of the need to direct the teaching of English toward its use as a medium of higher education in general and as an instrument of scientific and technical studies in particular.

The results of the test (Chapter IX), on the other hand, have shown conclusively that the first arabicised output from the secondary schools are significantly better at the kind of literary English to which they have been almost exclusively exposed than at the kind of English they will need for scientific and technical studies in their higher education. There can be little doubt that the main reason for this difference between the students' performance in literary and scientific English is the fact that their secondary education has been conditioned by Arabicization and their learning of English conditioned by exposure to the literary uses of English.

In sum, the major findings of this study indicate that while there is broad current consensus on what are the real needs for English and hence what should be the aims of English teaching, the content of what is taught is not of the greatest relevance and use to those who need English most. For English teaching in the Sudan this latter finding is of the utmost importance. It shows clearly
that there is a serious discrepancy between the terminal behaviour achieved by the secondary school English syllabus and the entry behaviour required for undertaking scientific studies effectively through the medium of English in higher education. It is a serious matter that entrants to institutes of higher education are less well versed than they might be in the kind of English they will need to pursue the scientific and technical studies to which higher education is mainly geared and on which the development and modernisation of the Sudan ultimately depend.

This then is the problem and these are the findings. But diagnosis is not in itself a cure. What therefore are the implications of these findings and what is to be done to tackle the problem? In what ways should the teaching of English be adapted to conform to its new role as a medium of higher education in general and of scientific and technical studies in particular? But before we go on to discuss the solutions proposed in relation to English teaching in the Sudan, it is appropriate to place the problem in the wider context of English teaching in the comparable countries of Africa and Asia and to examine some of the proposed solutions and their possible consequences for language teaching.

10.2 The Problem of the Medium in the Wider Context

The problem which the teaching of English in the Sudan has now to reckon with is by no means new or unique. It is essentially the same problem which confronts all Arab countries, the example
of which the Sudan has come to follow. For while general education throughout the Arab world takes place in Arabic, higher education is still conducted, to a greater or lesser degree, through the medium of either English or French. Thus in Libya as in Jordan and Iraq, English is the usual medium of instruction in higher education. Even in Egypt - the country which took the lead and made the greatest advances in the Arabicization of instruction - English still remains the medium of scientific and technical studies in higher education. In the Francophone Arab countries of North Africa - Tunisia, Morocco and (Algeria) - national language policies since independence have been formulated and directed in the teeth of very obvious difficulties to the propagation of Arabic and the Arabicization of instruction, and although French is being replaced by Arabic as a medium of general education, it continues to be the medium of nearly all higher education.\(^1\)

In African countries, south of the Sahara, the development of indigenous languages and their adoption as national languages has a long way to go. Although Swahili has been made the national language of Tanzania, and although its influence is now spreading over most of East Africa, English remains the official language and the medium of all post-primary education in all the

former British East and West African countries. In fact while in Tanzania and Ethiopia the use of Swahili and Amharic, respectively, as media of primary education has already been established, current policies in Kenya, Uganda and Zambia seem to be moving in the opposite direction in allowing for the extension of the use of English as a medium of instruction in primary education. However, as in these latter countries, "English as a language has still a very important function in the national life of Tanzania. The importance of English as a language of science, technology, higher learning in general, international trade, and communication is well recognized. In the educational system of Tanzania it still plays a vital role. It is a subject in Primary schools, and the medium of learning in secondary schools and higher institutions of learning...But it would seem that in many areas English will progressively yield its function to Swahili, until such time as the two languages reach a more stable relationship." Already the use of Swahili as a medium of instruction is being extended to some subjects in the secondary schools and at university level.

In many Asian countries the use of English as a medium of secondary education has been displaced by its teaching as a subject only while continuing to use English, to a greater or


lesser extent, as the medium of higher education. In India, which probably faces the greatest and most complex problems of language teaching, English still continues to play a considerable part as a medium of instruction in higher education and will continue to do so, until, as is envisaged by the current 'three language formula', it can be replaced as a 'link' language by Hindi. But India has the problem not only of maintaining the teaching of English in schools as well as developing and teaching Hindi as the national language but also of establishing fourteen regional languages as media of instruction throughout the school system. Thus "the least favoured Indian pupils will have a minimum of four languages to cope with: their mother-tongue, the state (or regional) language, Hindi and English. The most favoured will have at least two - Hindi and English." 

Similarly, in Pakistan, Ceylon and Nepal, English continues to be the medium of instruction in most branches of higher education even though the national languages have for long been established as media of general education - Urdu in Pakistan, Tamil and Sinhala in Ceylon and Pahari in Nepal. But although the national languages now provide sufficiently for general education in these countries, the commitment to the teaching of English to meet the requirements of higher education cannot be reduced. Other countries of South-East Asia such as Burma, Malaysia, the Philippines and Indonesia all have declared national language policies designed to establish an Asian language as a national language for educational use as well as a means to

promote national unity. At the same time, all of them are committed to extend or maintain the teaching of English as an essential auxiliary for technical and economic development. For this reason, the teaching of English is compulsory not only in those countries where it still plays a considerable part as a medium of general education, as in Malaysia and the Philippines, but also in countries where it has already been displaced even as the medium of higher education, as in Burma and Indonesia. This is so because even in countries such as Burma and Indonesia which have implemented the changeover to the national language in higher education, English still remains in use as an indispensable auxiliary language. Thus it is noteworthy that in Burma "all scientific and technical instruction, the area signaled out by the new Higher Education Law, is still given in English". In Indonesia "English is used for reading purposes in many higher-education disciplines ...[and] is known to have been used during recent years as the actual medium of instruction (oral instruction and/or examinations) in the following fields: (a) agriculture and veterinary medicine; (b) medicine; (c) economics; (d) education; (e) linguistics; (f) nearly all subjects taught by expatriate professors".

Thus all these countries seek a balance between the need to

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7. Ibid., p. 115.
establish national languages and the need for teaching a world language, be it English or French, to assist national economic development. The rate of propagation of the national language depends on a host of factors but the general pattern for all countries is a steady movement towards the adoption of the national language for one purpose after the other, until it eventually encompasses all purposes, including education. Meanwhile the purposes for which the world language - English or French - is used as the national level and the extent to which it is used as medium of secondary and/or higher education varies from country to country. But the need to retain English as an instrument particularly of scientific and technical studies in higher education is no doubt a common denominator to all these countries. It is noteworthy that in Ceylon, where the use of Sinhala and Tamil as media of instruction was extended to university level from 1960, instruction in the two languages was confined, significantly, to the Arts courses and today English still remains the medium of most higher education.8 In India, it is fully recognized, in the words of Professor Gokak, that "A knowledge of English is imperative for getting access to modern scientific and technological knowledge. Even universities that have regionalised the medium will think twice before extending this step to courses in Law, Medicine, Engineering or Agriculture. Such a step will put the cart before the horse, the

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medium before the content of a subject. Even for subjects for which the medium has been regionalised, students have to supplement their knowledge by reading books and journals in English...".

It would be clear from this brief survey that English (or French) will continue to retain an important educational role - at least for some time to come - in nearly all the developing countries of Africa and Asia. All countries make use of English as a language of education at some stage in the educational system. Characteristically, all of the African countries, south of the Sahara, have found it necessary to continue to use English as the medium of instruction from the upper-primary or lower-secondary onward. In the Arab world, while the teaching is now uniformly in Arabic in the primary and secondary schools (except for the three Francophone countries of North Africa), almost none of the universities in the region teach entirely in Arabic. Even the University of Cairo retains English for medicine, veterinary, pharmacy and in part for general science and engineering also. In Asia, as we have seen, even where the national languages have already been adopted as the media of higher education, instruction in scientific and technical studies is, of necessity, still provided in English. This will no doubt also prove to be the case in those countries where such a change has

been proposed for the near future, as in the Sudan.

The conclusion to which all this leads up, then, is that while the national languages in the countries of Africa and Asia may now provide sufficiently for part or all of general education and in part for higher education, English (or French) will continue, for a long time to come, to be the principal medium of scientific and technical studies at the higher education level. The reason for this is obvious. Although most of the national languages of the African and Asian countries can be said to have been sufficiently developed (or in the process of being developed) to serve the needs of national culture, they have not as yet become viable as vehicles for the assimilation and propagation of the world culture of science and technology. In other words, these languages have not as yet sufficiently developed the range of registers (the lexis, styles and forms of discourse) required for coping adequately with the scientific and technological knowledge of the Western world. This is true, though to a lesser extent, of Arabic and Hindi as it is of Swahili. As a result, although in many countries it has proved possible to provide instruction and render textbooks in the national language up to secondary school level, instruction and textbook translation at university level, particularly in the physical sciences, have been inhibited by ponderous, almost insurmountable, problems. As the experience of some of the Asian countries and the Arab world has shown, regardless of the speed at which a given country is
moving towards the use of the national language as the medium of all education, it is certain that higher education will continue to stress the use of English for scientific and technical studies and for purposes of research and communication with the outside world, for a long time to come. As Fishman points out: "Technology is basically nonethnic and uniformizing throughout the world. It leads linguistically to but one, two, or three world 'technology' languages .... The uniformizing requirements and consequences of technology are such that for many years to come many monolingual nations in control of 'old languages' will need to resort to diglossian compromises in various technological and educational domains".

Thus every country faces the problem of preparing its students to communicate in English (or French) at some or all of the levels of education. But there is an obvious difference between those countries where English is still the medium of both secondary and higher education and those countries where English is the primary or partial medium only of higher education. Clearly, in the case of those countries of Asia and the Arab world (and now the Sudan) where the switch from the national language to English as the medium of instruction takes place late in the educational system, the problem is bound to be much more acute. As it relates to these countries, the problem has been characterized in

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the following terms:

"If English is to be used as the medium of instruction for higher education, this demands of the bilingual student, a command of the language almost equivalent to that of the native speaker. He is expected to read with the ability of an American or British student, express himself orally and in writing with ease and accuracy, and follow the spoken word with full understanding. If he cannot do this there is a 'Language Gap', which can conveniently be represented by the following formula showing that two factors are involved:

\[ LG = (b - a) + (c - b) \]

where:  
- \( a \) = the L2 performance of the bilingual student (i.e. what he does)
- \( b \) = the L2 competence of the bilingual student (i.e. what he has been taught to do)
- \( c \) = the performance of the student who can speak the language as his LI (i.e. what the bilingual student ought to be able to do)

In the ideal bilingual situation \( a = b \), and \( b = c \). Thus \( LG = 0 \), and there is no problem."

This formula, of course, accounts for the general nature of the problem — that is, the degree of proficiency required for active use of the language as a medium of instruction in higher education. In this respect the 'language gap' may be said to

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exist, to a greater or lesser degree, even in those countries where English is still the medium of secondary education. But in the context of Middle Eastern and most Asian countries the 'language gap' is also a function of the particular aspect of the problem — namely, whether what is taught, in terms of both content and skills, corresponds to the actual uses of the language as a medium of instruction in higher education. As we have seen, although in some countries, English is still retained as the primary medium of higher education, its use has already been or is being confined to the scientific disciplines for which the national languages are not yet equipped. Moreover, it is worth noting that the term 'medium of instruction', as it applies to these countries, is not completely unambiguous. It could refer to oral instruction (lectures) or to written instruction (textbooks and references) or to both. Thus while in some countries English may be used for both oral and written instruction, the use of spoken English in other countries may be restricted to lectures in a few subjects, mostly in the field of science. But no matter what the other aspects of language policy in higher education may be, it is certain that in all countries English will continue to be an indispensable medium of written instruction, if only for reading purposes at least in the scientific disciplines. Given that English is being learned in order to be used as a medium of higher education in general and of scientific and technical studies in particular, the teaching of English in each context
needs to be assessed not only in terms of the degree of proficiency achieved but also in terms of its relevance to the existing and anticipated uses of the language as a medium of instruction in higher education.

In sum, the problem which most Asian and Middle Eastern countries (including the Sudan) have to reckon with is the urgent need to adapt the teaching of English to its role as a medium of higher education. More particularly, the teaching of English in all these countries must somehow come to terms with the task of producing a body of students well enough versed in the kind of English they will need as a medium of scientific and technical studies in higher education. It is from the point of view of this urgent need that the teaching of English in most countries is being increasingly discredited for its vague cultural aims and its predominantly literary content which seem no longer to fulfil the educational function of the language in a new situation.

How, then, is this problem to be resolved? How can the teaching of English be reoriented in order to meet the demands made by the uses of English as a medium of scientific and technical studies in higher education?

10.3 Implications of Major Finding and Proposed Solutions

The above questions bring us back to the major finding of this study. In this section we shall examine briefly the main implications of our finding in relation to some general proposals directed specifically toward the solution of this problem. In
the next section we shall examine how it is proposed to tackle
the problem within the Sudan.

It will be recalled that in this study we have assumed that
while the primary function of English at present pertains to its
use as the medium of higher education, it is in respect of its
use as the medium of scientific and technical studies in particular
that the ultimate role of English in the Sudan is to be seen.
This, as we have seen (10.2), is the primary educational function
of English in the comparable countries of the Middle East and Asia,
and there can be little doubt that the present role of English
in these countries foreshadows its future role in the Sudan. 12)
Given this, and given that the learning of English in schools has
been conditioned by Arabization and hence by exposure only or
mainly to the literary uses of English, one may reasonably enquire
as to whether the linguistic content of the language course is
compatible with the need for and uses of English as a medium of
scientific studies in higher education. And it is towards this
end that the main investigation in this study was directed.

The major finding which emerged from this investigation, it
will be recalled, is that the Sudanese students are significantly
better at the kind of literary English to which they have been
exposed than at the kind of English they will need to pursue

12) Several signs already point in this direction. In July
1970 a Translation and Arabization Unit was set up within
the University of Khartoum to prepare for the gradual
Arabization of instruction.
scientific studies in higher education. The conclusion to be drawn from this must be that exposure to literary English is apparently not adequate for the purpose of preparing students (aside from language proficiency as such) to undertake scientific studies through the medium of English. The corollary to this is that exposure to the kind of English used in science is somehow a necessary condition for successful performance in the language of science. This finding in itself cannot, of course, lead us to infer or confirm that there must be formal and functional differences between scientific and literary English. That needs to be established by means of linguistic analysis and procedures with reference to the theory of register. What the finding does indicate, however, is that, whatever the differences between the two varieties may be, it cannot be assumed that command of literary English will serve equally well for coping with the functional range of scientific English.

The implications of this finding are obvious. If English is being learned to be used as a medium for scientific studies in higher education, and given that the use of English as a medium of secondary education has been displaced by its teaching as a subject only, then the kind of literary English which constitutes the linguistic content of the language course is apparently not the appropriate tool for the job. So long as the learning of English in the secondary school is conditioned by exposure to literary English, it would appear that the products of the schools
would be less well prepared than they might be for the task of pursuing scientific studies through the medium of English in higher education. They would be in possession of a blunt instrument. Since in many countries the teaching of English, particularly in the upper secondary school, still means the teaching of literature, the significance of this finding would seem to be relevant to many English teaching situations. The teaching of English must therefore somehow be directed toward its use as a medium of scientific studies in higher education. But how is this to be done?

As it relates to India in particular and parts of Africa in general, this problem has been the subject of two studies by Dakin and Widdowson. The first discusses the problem in relation to the complex situation in India and the second attempts to provide a general answer which derives from both theoretical and practical considerations. Widdowson's general answer to the problem is two-fold: (a) that science must be selected "as the subject to be taught through an English medium", and (b) that the linguistic content of the English syllabus "must derive from the register used for teaching scientific subjects up to school-


leaving age where English is the mother tongue". Thus, Widdowson concludes, we shall "have English taught as natural behaviour in the science lesson, and language taught as skill through repetition in the English lesson".

The trouble with Widdowson's first proposal - namely that science should continue to be taught in English - is that it is tantamount to a language policy decision. But decisions about language policy are of course made by politicians and educational administrators not by linguists or language teaching experts. Despite Widdowson's arguments to the contrary, such a recommendation is bound to be politically unpalatable in many countries. In such countries as the Sudan, where the decision in question has already been taken, political considerations make it impossible to recommend that science should be taught in English. It is in any case too late to reverse the trend.

It is perhaps Widdowson's second proposal which indicates the directions in which the solution may lie. The essence of this proposal is that we need, first of all, to define situationally the range of English used by native speakers in learning science. This will then provide us with a corpus from which the selection of the English required by foreigners for use as a medium for learning science is to be made. But this, of course, is a long-

15. Ibid., p. 158.
16. Ibid., p. 169.
term answer since it presumably has to wait on the results obtained from the study and analysis of the English used in the teaching of science in British schools. This in turn may further require preliminary research to develop techniques of discourse analysis applicable to classroom English. The task is obviously considerable but, given the techniques, rewarding. However, investigations of this kind would presumably depend ultimately on the results of research in the theory and description of registers, and this, it would seem, has a long way to go. But this does not mean that we have to wait for a full description before it is possible for us to determine the kind of English required for a given purpose. Approximate answers have to be found quickly, by rough-and-ready though not unsystematic means, to many of the problems which force themselves on the attention of those considering in detail what should be taught and how. The approximate answer in this case is obvious. Just as the linguistic content of the present teaching materials derives from literary texts and selections, so also it should be possible, to derive the linguistic content of the English required for science from examples of its use. If proficiency in literary English is a function of exposure to examples of literary English, as our finding seems to indicate, then it is reasonable to expect that exposure to examples of scientific discourse would lead (other things being equal) to a measure of proficiency in the kind of English required for learning science.
This, it seems, in the meantime is the most profitable approach to tackle the problem and it was along these lines that recommendations were made to orient the teaching of English in the Sudan.

10.4 Specific Solutions Proposed for Sudan

Reference has been made twice in this thesis (5.5 and 7.1) to J.A. Bright's Report on the modernization of English syllabuses and examinations in the Sudan. We have already noted (5.5) that the Report has set some important guidelines for a thorough reform of School Certificate English Examination and that it has indicated priorities for the effective and realistic teaching of English in the context of the conditions created by Arabicisation. A crucial recommendation in this Report, as we have mentioned, was that a teaching materials production unit should be set up to provide the precise linguistic content of the new syllabus and to co-ordinate the English teaching programme in general.

It was largely against the background of the Bright Report and the direction of the proposed reforms that the investigations in this study have been conducted. Thus, one of the important suggestions in the Report was that the initiation of syllabus reform requires some consensus of opinion among all those who teach, train teachers, inspect and examine as to what should be aimed at and what should be taught. And it was to this end

that our investigations were partly directed (Chapter VII). Again, the essential point of the main recommendations of the Bright Report was that the linguistic content of the syllabus should provide planned exposure to scientific and technical English because of the needs for the language as a medium for science in higher education. And, as will be seen, it was precisely to verify the assumption on which these recommendations are based that the main investigation in this study (Chapter IX) was undertaken.

The Bright Report makes firm and specific recommendations for tackling the problem of adapting the linguistic content of the syllabus to reflect the evident need for English as a medium for scientific and technical studies in higher education. Briefly, the relevant proposals are the following:

(a) A Scientific and Technical Reading and Writing Manual is required for each of Third and Fourth Years - i.e. the last two years of the secondary school course. The Report describes in detail what the manuals should contain:

(i) Each manual "should consist of extracts or complete articles, none of them fictional or literary in the English literature sense, on a wide variety of social, scientific and technical subjects, representing a range of kinds of writing for a number of different purposes".16

16. Ibid., p. 21.
(ii) Each text "should open up the possibility of further reading and the references given should be to material available in the school library". 17

(iii) the texts "should provide a course in study skills; the pupils will practice skimming, previewing, note-taking, outlining, summarising, abstracting, identifying generalisations, observing relationships of thought, noting purposes, etc. The objective is to learn how to read and work on non-literary prose. It is not to be a book of snippets but a serious introduction to non-literary English". 18

(iv) The manuals "should include suggestions for situational compositions". 19

(v) The main difference between the Third Year manual and the Fourth Year manual is that the latter "will include examination know-how and a certain number of practice tests of the kinds to be used in the examination. It will include passages for detailed comprehension work and on some of them objective questions for practice. It will include passages from which information or argument has to be abstracted or summarised, or from which notes or outlines are to be made". 20

17. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid. p. 21.
(b) Research Essay Study Kits are needed to supplement the Scientific and Technical Reading and Writing Manual for Third Year. The Report recommends that in the last term of the year, the various skills developed by working on the Manual should be brought together in a library project involving a large topic such as the Nile or Tropical Diseases. This work would be divided into a chapter per group, each group tackling one part or aspect of the topic. For this kind of Research Essay, it would be essential to have large supplies of relevant material available for discovery in the library. Hence the need for Study Kits. These would consist of books, magazines, off-prints, photographs, transparencies, film strips etc., and each kit would contain reference material ranged round a large central subject.\

(c) Every school library should have a strong technical and scientific bias. "The best libraries at present are over-literary; they culminate in 'the precious life-blood of master spirits', rows of unread classics, bottles of dried blood that fertilize nothing." The Report, however, admits that it is difficult to suggest titles or to be very precise about the kind of books that are needed. But it stipulates that they must be "popular in the sense of being comprehensible to the layman. They must be readable and reasonably attractively produced. They must not be childish. Between them they should cover as many sciences as possible,

23. Ibid., p. 22.
24. Ibid., p. 20.
from Agriculture to Zoology."

In view of the amount of work to be done and its very great urgency, the Report recommended the setting up of a teaching materials production unit. It suggested that this should consist of three people, who "between them should cover (i) an ability to write textbook material interestingly, (ii) a knowledge of linguistic theory, (iii) experience of teaching at secondary level in the Sudan or elsewhere, (iv) knowledge of Arabic, (v) knowledge of testing and examining techniques, (vi) knowledge of the difficulties, tastes, attitudes, preferences and aptitudes of Sudanese pupils."

It will be seen that the underlying intention of the above proposals is that it is only at the upper secondary level (Third and Fourth Years) that the content of the syllabus should be oriented toward scientific and technical English. This is both linguistically and pedagogically sound. Clearly, however desirable it is to concentrate on scientific English, it cannot be presumed that this can be taught without first assuming a basis of 'normal' or 'general' English. It is therefore appropriate that the syllabus at the lower secondary level should concentrate on consolidating the knowledge of the 'common core' lexical and structural features on which to build the foundation for the teaching and learning of scientific English. Further, this will no doubt be facilitated by the fact that the learners

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25: Ibid.
26: Ibid., p. 34.
will have become familiar with some of the basic concepts of science in the mother tongue before learning to manipulate them in the foreign language.

It might be possible, as it is sometimes claimed, to derive the linguistic content of an entire language course from scientific English and it could be argued that it would be more effective and profitable to orient the whole syllabus in this direction. But this would open up more problems than it could solve. For the plain truth is that scientific and technical material is of specialised not general interest. As Bright points out, "what may fascinate three pupils, may bore the remainder, and whatever the English syllabus is, it must not be tedious. One is forced to conclude that only in 'literature' can we find texts of sufficient general human interest to be used for class study as wholes". The syllabus therefore has to strike a balance between the learners' present interests and their future needs, and this in essence is the principle underlying the recommendations of the Bright Report.

The Report confirms that language activity at the lower secondary level (First and Second Years) will of necessity have to be based largely on the corpus of simplified literary texts, which constitute almost the only reading matter published at the appropriate vocabulary level. It is at the upper secondary level (Third and Fourth Years) that the syllabus is to be oriented

27. Ibid., p. 18.
toward scientific and technical English. And this, as we have seen, is to be achieved by the use of the manuals, the undertaking of research essays and the refashioning of the library in terms of science and technology. The Report offers further suggestions calculated to build into the syllabus certain compulsions to use the library for 'research' compositions and summaries relating to scientific topics, thus providing at this stage for closer integration of the library with the rest of the syllabus. In this way the orientation of the syllabus would provide intensive exposure to scientific discourse, give practice in the skills of reading and writing and develop the kinds of study skills needed for future study, all within the range of scientific English.

The Report recommends, however, that the orientation of the syllabus to reflect the evident need for exposure to scientific English should not lead to the exclusion of literature either from the syllabus or from the School Certificate Examination. It affirms that "we need the literature to learn the language". But this of course depends on what literature is to be chosen to do this and how it is to be used. The truth is that in the upper secondary level literature has traditionally been treated and used as a 'cultural document' and the choice of texts often based on what 'ought' to be read. Moreover, to the extent that literature has continued to be taught and examined as a 'content' subject, the practice has often tended to create a split between

26. Ibid., p. 28.
language activity and literature study. Whatever claims may be made for the teaching of literature on the grounds of enjoyment and use as a source of linguistic strength, it seems unlikely that the usual assortment of Dickens, Austen, Galsworthy and Conrad is of the greatest relevance either to the immediate interests or the future needs of the pupils. As Bright himself says in his Report, "English, they [the pupils] are told, provides their window on the world. I do not think we should tell them that they will learn something just as useful by studying the intrigues of nineteenth century clerics in Barchester Towers". However, the Report recommends that the texts chosen for literature study should be sufficiently modern to be good models of current English as well as good reading. It also gives some detailed suggestions to make literature a closely integrated part of language study.

The Bright Report proposals thus provide a workable solution to the problem of relating the linguistic content of the syllabus to its uses as a medium of scientific and technical studies in higher education. There is obviously no simple solution; nor is there any solution, however complex, that is perfect. But some such solution as is proposed here for the Sudan would go a long way to meet what must be an urgent need in many of the developing countries of Africa, the Middle East and Asia.

29. Ibid., p. 18.
As has been noted, the Bright Report was accepted and the recommendations are still being implemented. The Materials Production Unit set up for the purpose in July, 1968, however, has not made as much progress as was originally hoped for, mainly because of lack of expertise. Much of the work therefore still remains to be done. But it is from the Unit that it is hoped will come the first co-ordinated and tightly organized syllabus including the Scientific and Technical Reading and Writing Manuals, the Research Essay Study Kits and guides for the refashioning of school libraries, as well as teachers' guides to materials and techniques.

Although the Report recommended the placing of the Materials Production Unit in the Higher Teacher Training Institute (H.T.T.I.), as a sub-department under the Head of the English Department, it made no comment on the implications of the proposals for teacher training courses. It is of course clear that the proposed solutions to the problem will have important implications for teacher training programmes. It means that an important part of the training of English teachers must be a serious introduction to the idea that certain kinds of language are associated with particular subjects, studies and activities more than with others. The content of the training course should allow for some detailed analysis of how different subjects make different demands on language. It should include in particular an examination of the characteristic registers associated with scientific and literary
discourse. These procedures should not be theoretical in any way but should be related to the principles underlying the orientation of the secondary syllabus toward scientific English and discussed against the background of the functions of English in the secondary school and its existing and anticipated uses in higher education. The emphasis should be on how to make the most effective use of the teaching materials and texts that are planned for the scientific English-oriented section of the secondary syllabus. Teachers can be equipped by their training to do some things better than others and there is nothing so difficult about the principles or the application of the proposed procedures that Sudanese teachers cannot learn.

10.5 Implications of a Changed Educational System

The educational framework within which this study is set and in the context of which the Bright Report recommendations were made is now undergoing considerable change. On the 19th of September, 1970, the President of the Sudan rang a bell at an elementary school in Omdurman and formally inaugurated a new academic year - one which marks an important change in the educational system of the Sudan. This was the adoption of the new educational ladder originally proposed by the Akrawi Committee in 1959 (4.2). The Akrawi Committee, it may be recalled, proposed that the present three-tier system of four years elementary, four years intermediate and four years secondary should be replaced by a two-tier system of six years primary and six years secondary. But the secondary stage,
it was proposed, should be subdivided into a general secondary school and a higher secondary school, each of three years' duration. Thus the 12-year period of schooling was to be restructured into a pattern of $6 + 3 + 3$ in place of the existing $4 + 4 + 4$ pattern. Since it was first put forward in 1959, this proposed new ladder (4.2) has been a recurrent educational issue and although alternative proposals and modifications (4.3 and 4.4) were subsequently suggested, the question remained unresolved for more than a decade. So it was left to the Government which came to power in 1969 to resolve the issue by accepting the original recommendation of the Akrawi Committee and to announce its commitment to implement it with effect from September, 1970.

A scheme was worked out to complete the conversion of the present school system into the new educational ladder within a period of three years. The details of the conversion process need not concern us here. It would suffice to point out that the conversion scheme was planned to proceed simultaneously on all three fronts of the elementary, intermediate and secondary stages all over the country so that by the end of 1972-73 the present educational ladder will have been completely phased out. In its place there will be the new educational ladder with its extended six-year primary stage as the base of the pyramid, followed by the three-year general secondary school from which pupils proceed either to the three-year senior secondary school or to the four-year technical and vocational schools. Progression from primary to general secondary and from general secondary to senior secondary
or technical and vocational secondary will be decided by competitive examination at the end of each stage.

Education at the higher secondary stage is extensively diversified. Technical and vocational secondary education will comprise a number of different kinds of schools: commercial, agricultural, technical, domestic science and vocational training, including primary teacher training colleges. All these will extend over four years. The three-year senior secondary school will specialize in academic studies but subjects will be grouped to provide for specialization in either arts or science after the first year. The eventual aim is for the last part of the course to replace the preliminary year of study at the University of Khartoum.30

There will be consequent changes in teacher training. Primary school teachers will now have nine years of schooling instead of eight, going on to the four-year training colleges after the general secondary stage. All secondary school teachers will eventually be trained at the Higher Teacher Training Institute (H.T.T.I.), which has already been also entrusted with the responsibility for syllabuses and textbooks in partnership with the Institute of Education, Bakht-er-Ruda. Teachers in the technical and vocational schools will be trained in a new Technical Teacher Training Institute which is being set up.

As for higher education, it is thought that "the country

cannot depend for investment in human resources solely on the University.\footnote{Ibid., p. 16.} It is therefore intended to establish and develop more technical and vocational institutions, which will be diversified in accordance with the specified needs of economic development.\footnote{Ibid., p. 14.} "The emphasis will be on science and technology but there has to be some flexibility."\footnote{Ibid., p. 15.} One of these institutions will be devoted to specialization in foreign languages.\footnote{Ibid.}

This, briefly, is the pattern of the new educational system which is now being implemented and which will bring Sudanese education into line with that of most countries of the Arab world. The general trend in this new system is towards more emphasis on diversification and specialization at the secondary and higher levels. In this, the policy is guided by the need to adapt the educational system to the needs of economic development.

The new educational system has important implications for the teaching of English. Previously pupils had four years of English in the intermediate school followed by four years in the secondary school. Since in the new educational ladder, the introduction of English teaching is delayed till the start of the three-year general secondary school and continued in the three-year senior secondary school, pupils will now study English for only six years. However, those who proceed from the general
secondary school to the four-year technical and vocational secondary schools, will study it for seven years. For English, the main result of the change in the system, then, is the reduction in the length of time (from eight to six and seven years) for which the language will be taught. That this may have serious consequences for higher education, where English is still the main language of instruction, has, however, been fully realised. Thus, in order to avoid a lowering of standards, it is proposed that a top priority should go to increasing instruction in English in the new general secondary school so that it would be possible to cover the same ground as that of the former intermediate school syllabus. The amount of time allotted to English teaching in the new secondary school, it is reckoned, will automatically increase (from what it used to be in the former secondary school) as a result of the proposed 'streaming' into arts and science sections. It is interesting to note that the Minister of Education pointed out in this connection that unless the teaching of English is made much more economical and efficient, no amount of time will ever be sufficient. Whether the proposed or estimated increase in the time allotted to English will make up for the loss of one or two years of instruction remains to be seen.

The pattern of diversification and specialization in the new educational system, however, does offer some positive advantages for planning the reform of English teaching in secondary education. The former intermediate school English syllabus which has already been revised is being retained in the new general secondary school to provide, as before, a basic all-round command of the language in both its oral and written forms. At the higher secondary level, the syllabuses can now be constructed to suit both the interests and specific needs of the pupils in the technical and vocational secondary schools as well as in the senior secondary school. This is not to suggest that the syllabuses should provide for specialized English immediately at the initial stage, which in any case will need to be devoted to the consolidation of the language foundation laid in the general secondary school. In the senior secondary school, the orientation of the syllabus toward scientific English, as proposed in the Bright Report, will be greatly facilitated by the streaming, after the first year, into arts and science sections. Obviously, it is where the streaming begins that the syllabus can most effectively be oriented to serve both the interests and future needs of the pupils in the senior secondary school. But the orientation of the syllabus in the direction either of the science or the arts stream should not be narrowly conceived. The syllabus for the arts stream should not be based primarily on the study of literature but should attempt to
provide planned exposure to and practice in non-literary English. It should be designed to exemplify a range of the kind of informative, businesslike and useful prose associated with the various discipline they may later pursue. Similarly, the syllabus for the science stream should not necessarily exclude exposure to some literary and other texts exemplifying varieties of factual and informative English prose. Whatever syllabus is tailored to suit the science stream in the senior secondary school will no doubt be an appropriate model for the syllabuses to be designed for the different technical and vocational secondary schools.

It remains to be seen what the effects of the change in the educational system on the standards of English will be. But if the situation is accepted, not as a handicap which requires apologies, but as a challenge to be exploited, then the professional efforts that are being made to improve the teaching of English have every chance of success. In the last analysis, any marked improvement in the teaching of English will depend on the basic incentives of the system, on syllabus reform and on the adequacy of teacher education and training.
APPENDIX A

ENGLISH TEACHERS' QUESTIONNAIRE

The purpose of this Questionnaire is to find out the views of teachers of English and others on some important problems related to the position, aims and methods of English teaching in the Sudan. The Questionnaire is of course entirely confidential and the results will mention no names. I would therefore be very grateful for a full and personal opinion in answer to the questions.

The Questionnaire is in 4 parts. Please answer all parts as indicated. The questions are all very simple: all you have to do is make ticks, circle chosen answers and occasionally write a few words. Please fill in your answers and return the Questionnaire as soon as possible. Please do not delay even if you cannot answer all the questions.
PART ONE

To answer the following questions (1 - 4) please write "YES", "NO" or "DON'T KNOW" in the spaces provided.

1. Do you think that the teaching of a foreign language should be a necessary part of Education in any country?

2. Do you think that English should continue to be taught in the Sudan?

3. Do you think that other foreign languages like French, German or Russian should, if possible, be introduced besides English in the Schools of the Sudan?

4. Are you in favour of the Arabicization in principle?

PART TWO

1. Here is a list of possible REASONS for the study of widely-spoken languages such as English or French. Each of these reasons can be either VERY IMPORTANT, MODERATELY IMPORTANT, of LITTLE IMPORTANCE or of NO IMPORTANCE at all. Please indicate your assessment of each by putting a tick (/) in the appropriate column.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Very Important</th>
<th>Moderately Important</th>
<th>Little Importance</th>
<th>No Importance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) To gain access to scientific and technical information</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) To promote international communication and understanding</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) To maintain commercial and economic contacts with the outside world</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) To stimulate and enrich the native culture (literature, art and music) through contact with other cultures</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) To develop the total personality of the individual by giving him a new means of communication</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Here is a list of possible REASONS for the continued use and study of English in the Sudan. Each of these reasons can be either VERY IMPORTANT, MODERATELY IMPORTANT, LITTLE IMPORTANCE or of NO IMPORTANCE at all. Please indicate your assessment of each by putting a tick (✓) in the appropriate column.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very Important</th>
<th>Moderately Important</th>
<th>Little Importance</th>
<th>No Importance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) English is essential for international communication as it is the most widely spoken language in the world</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) English is the most convenient access to the scientific knowledge of the Western World</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) English is needed to maintain economic and trade relations with the rest of the world</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) English is needed as a means of contact with Western literature, music and art</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) English is needed as a lingua franca with neighbouring African countries and as a means of communication with the Afro-Asian world at large</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) English is needed as a mental discipline which may contribute to the students' general education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Here is a list of possible AIMS of the Intermediate and Secondary English syllabuses. Tick (√) in the appropriate column ALL the aims which you would like to fulfil in each of the Intermediate and Secondary stages. Answer for one or both stages as you wish.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Understanding</th>
<th>Intermediate</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) An ability to understand only simple sentences and conversations in English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) An ability to get the sense of what an educated native speaker says when he is pronouncing carefully and speaking simply on a general subject</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) An ability to understand conversations, news broadcasts, lectures and films.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaking</th>
<th>Intermediate</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d) An ability to pronounce English words and sentences intelligibly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) A basic knowledge of spoken English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) A fluent speaking knowledge of the language</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) Ability to speak with a good accent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reading</th>
<th>Intermediate</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>h) An elementary reading knowledge of simple English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) A basic reading knowledge that would enable a pupil to tackle simple magazine articles and newspaper extracts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j) A reading knowledge that would enable a pupil to grasp the content of a scientific or technical article</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k) A reading knowledge that would enable a pupil to read with some appreciation a modern English novel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Writing</th>
<th>Intermediate</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>l) An ability to write reasonably correct sentences or paragraphs in straightforward simple English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m) An ability to write a simple short letter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n) An ability to write a &quot;free composition&quot; with clarity and correctness in vocabulary and construction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o) An ability to express one's thoughts fully in written English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p) An ability to translate from one language to the other material of average difficulty</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. Which of the above aims that you have just ticked do you consider:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intermediate</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) the most important</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) moderately important</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) the least important</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please indicate by putting in the appropriate column the letter (i.e., a, b, c, d, etc.) given to the aim in Question 3 above. Please ignore the Intermediate School Column here if you have not dealt with the aims of the Intermediate stage in Question 3 above.

5. Do you think that the teaching methods at present in use in the Intermediate and Secondary Schools succeed in achieving those aims which you would like to fulfil (i.e., the aims you have ticked in Question 3 above)? Please indicate the answer which best expresses your view with respect to each of the Intermediate and Secondary stages by putting a tick (√) in the appropriate column.

The present teaching methods:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intermediate</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) succeed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) partially succeed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) fail</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. The aim of a language teaching course is usually the imparting of one or more of the primary language skills listed below. Given that the aim of English language teaching in the Sudan is to impart all the four skills, what would you consider to be the right order of their importance? Please number the skills 1 to 4 according to their order of importance in the spaces provided.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Intermediate</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Understanding speech</td>
<td>...............</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Speaking</td>
<td>...............</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Reading</td>
<td>...............</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Writing</td>
<td>...............</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PART THREE

In each of the following items (1 - 15) circle only one of the four choices a, b, c or d to show the one you most agree with. If you circle d, then please write in your own answer.

1. If one (or more) foreign language such as French, German or Russian is to be introduced in the school curriculum, it should
   a. replace English
   b. be given equal status with English
   c. be given lower status than English
   d. none of these ____________________________

2. The change-over from English to Arabic as a medium of instruction has, in actual classroom practice, resulted in teaching through
   a. classical Arabic
   b. Sudanese colloquial Arabic
   c. a mixture of classical and colloquial Arabic
   d. none of these ____________________________

3. What has been the effect of Arabicization, so far, on the general standard of English in schools? I think it has
   a. caused a decline in the standard
   b. improved the standard
   c. had no effect on the standard
   d. none of these ____________________________

4. What has been the effect of Arabicization, so far, on the general standard of the Arabicized subjects? My impression is that
   a. a higher standard is being attained
   b. the standard is declining
c. the standard has not been affected
d. none of these

5. The amount of time allotted to English at present should, in view of Arabicization, be
a. decreased
b. increased
c. as it is
d. none of these

6. It has been felt that a reassessment of the function of English in the Sudanese Educational system was made necessary after independence. In my view this reassessment
a. has already taken place and resulted in Arabicization
b. has not been fully undertaken
c. has not yet been undertaken at all
d. none of these

7. The objectives of English teaching at present are in general
a. clearly defined and understood
b. only vaguely understood
c. not clear at all
d. none of these

8. To meet the present educational needs as well as the new conditions following Arabicization, the present Secondary School English syllabus
a. should be replaced by a new syllabus
b. only needs to be revised and adapted
c. should remain as it is
d. none of these
9. I think that the general standard of proficiency among Secondary School teachers of English is
a. entirely satisfactory
b. barely satisfactory
c. unsatisfactory
d. none of these

10. The Audio-visual materials and aids (textbooks, handbooks, T.V. programmes, films, film strips, wall pictures, etc.) available for English teaching in the Secondary School are
a. fairly adequate
b. barely adequate
c. completely inadequate
d. none of these

11. In my opinion the teaching of English
a. should begin where it does at present
b. should be introduced earlier at some stage in the Elementary School
c. should be postponed till the Secondary School
d. none of these

12. There are some British expatriates teaching English in the Secondary Schools. I think that it is highly desirable
a. to retain some of them in some schools
b. to have at least one British expatriate on the English Staff of each school
c. to replace them all by qualified Sudanese
d. none of these
13. I think that the majority of students are
   a. interested in learning English
   b. indifferent about learning English
   c. inclined to resist learning English
   d. none of these

14. I feel that a certain degree of proficiency in English should
   a. continue to be a requirement for University entry
   b. be a requirement for post-secondary education in general
   c. not be a requirement for University entry
   d. none of these

15. Do you think that Secondary School students who go on to
   the University or other higher institutes where education is
   mainly conducted through the medium of English, are sufficiently
   prepared in the language to take full advantage of the various
   subjects they study? I think that they are in general
   a. sufficiently prepared
   b. only just prepared
   c. insufficiently prepared
   d. none of these

PART FOUR

Have you any other comments which the Questionnaire has not
given you the chance to make? If so, please use this space to
comment freely on the aims and methods of English teaching in
the Sudan. Your comments may range widely over the whole position
of English in the Sudan. They may be as brief or as lengthy as
you wish.

Name: ................. School: ....................... Date: ........

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION.

Mustafa Abdel-Magid.
APPENDIX B.

SECONDARY SCHOOL PUPILS' QUESTIONNAIRE

This is NOT a test. There are no right and wrong answers. What we are trying to find out is what you like and dislike about in your English lessons. As you will see, we shall not ask you for your name. So please answer what you truly think.

What you write is absolutely private. Your answers will not be shown to any teachers either in your school or out of it. Write your own opinions and not the opinions your teachers want you to have.

Please do not copy from anyone. We want your own views.

Thank you for your co-operation.

School .................................................................
SECTION A.

1. Please fill in below the names of all the schools you have attended up to the present. Write in order the schools you attended and the number of years you attended. Start with your first Elementary School.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of School</th>
<th>Place (town or village)</th>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Number of Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. What language is usually spoken in your town or village?

3. In what language do members of your family usually speak to each other?

4. What other languages are sometimes spoken among members of your family?

5. (a) Do you understand or speak any other language in addition to Arabic or English?

   (Yes or No) ................................

   (b) If Yes, what language or languages?

   ...........................................

6. What is your tribe? ................................
SECTION B.

In each of the following questions, draw a circle round the letter (a, b, c or d) of the answer which applies to you. Circle only one answer for each question.

1. How much English does your father know?
   a. He does not know any English.
   b. He knows some English.
   c. He knows a good deal of English.
   d. I don't know.

2. What do you think of English as a School subject?
   a. I think it is the most useful subject.
   b. I think it is like other subjects.
   c. I think it is not a very useful subject.
   d. I think it is a useless subject.

3. How do you feel about the English lesson?
   a. I feel it is the most interesting one.
   b. I feel it is an interesting one.
   c. I feel it is like all other subjects.
   d. I feel it is uninteresting.

4. If the teaching of English was given up in your school as well as all other Secondary Schools, how would you feel?
   a. I would be pleased.
   b. I would not be pleased.
   c. I would be indifferent.
   d. I would be angry.

5. In learning English, I think I am
   a. very successful
   b. reasonably successful
   c. not very successful
   d. doing badly.
6. At understanding spoken English, I think I am  
   a. excellent  
   b. good  
   c. average  
   d. poor  

7. At speaking English, I think I am  
   a. excellent  
   b. good  
   c. average  
   d. poor  

8. At reading English, I think I am  
   a. excellent  
   b. good  
   c. average  
   d. poor  

9. At writing English, I think I am  
   a. excellent  
   b. good  
   c. average  
   d. poor  

10. Do you think that subjects like Maths, Science, History and Geography have become any easier to learn because they are being taught in Arabic instead of English?  
    a. I think they have become easier to learn  
    b. I don't think they have become any easier to learn  
    c. I think they have become more difficult to learn  
    d. I don't know.
11. Do you think that subjects like Maths, Science, History and Geography would be more or less interesting if they were taught in English instead of Arabic?
   a. I think they would be more interesting.
   b. I think they would be less interesting.
   c. I think they would be just the same.
   d. I don't know.

12. The English language, as you know, is now a compulsory subject in the School Certificate Examination. What do you think of this?
   a. I agree that English should be a compulsory subject.
   b. I think that English should be an optional subject.
   c. I think that English should not be included in the School Certificate Examination.
   d. I don't know.

13. I think that a good knowledge of English:
   a. helps one to get a good job.
   b. has nothing to do with getting good jobs.
   c. is not of any help in getting good jobs.
   d. is useless.
APPENDIX C.

ENGLISH PROFICIENCY TEST
[Instructions for Sudanese Students]

ENGLISH COMPREHENSION TEST

TEST 1

TIME: 1½ hours.

Please fill in the following particulars at once:

NAME (in full):

NAME OF FACULTY, INSTITUTE, SCHOOL OR OTHER PLACE OF STUDY:

SUBJECT OF STUDY:

NAME OF CENTRE AT WHICH YOU SAT SCHOOL CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION:

YOUR INDEX NUMBER IN THE SCHOOL CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION:

NAME OF SCHOOL CERTIFICATE YOU POSSESS (Circle the number of the one which applies to you):

1. Sudan School Certificate
2. Egyptian Secondary School Certificate
3. Greek Gymnasium Certificate
4. Cambridge Overseas Certificate
5. Other.

IF YOU POSSESS SUDAN SCHOOL CERTIFICATE, WHAT GRADE IS IT? (Circle the number of the one which applies to you)

1. Grade One
2. Grade Two
3. Grade Three

IF YOU POSSESS SUDAN SCHOOL CERTIFICATE, WHAT STANDARD HAVE YOU ATTAINED IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE? (Circle the number of the one which applies to you)

1. Distinction One
2. Distinction Two
3. Credit Three
4. Credit Four
5. Credit Five
6. Credit Six
7. Pass Seven
8. Pass Eight
9. Fail

Please make sure that you have completed all the above details.

This is the first of two tests intended to test your understanding of written English. Test 1 consists of two parts: Part 1 and Part 2. The time for Part 1 is 50 minutes, and the time for part 2 is 40 minutes. If you finish Part 1 in less than 50 minutes, you may go on to Part 2. BUT DO NOT SPEND MORE THAN 50 MINUTES ON PART 1. Now turn over to Part 1 and start. Answer all questions.
ENGLISH COMPREHENSION TEST

Please fill in the following particulars at once:

1. NAME (in full): ____________________________________________

2. FACULTY: ________________________________________________

3. COURSE OF STUDY: _______________________________________

4. NATIONALITY: ____________________________________________

This is the first of two tests intended to test your understanding of written English. Test 1 consists of two parts: Part 1 and Part 2. Please complete the test in ONE SITTING, NOTE THE TIME TAKEN, AND WRITE IT IN THE APPROPRIATE SPACE at the top of this page. Now turn over to Part 1 and start. Please attempt ALL questions.

VERY MANY THANKS FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION.
ENGLISH COMPREHENSION TEST 1

PART 1

READ THE PASSAGE BELOW CAREFULLY AND THEN ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

The aim of science is to describe the world in orderly language, in such a way that we can, if possible, foresee the results of those alternative courses of action between which we are always choosing. The kind of order which our description has is entirely one of convenience. Our purpose is always to predict. Of course it is most convenient if we can find an order by cause and effect; it makes our choice simple; but it is not essential.

There is of course nothing sacred about the causal form of natural laws. We are accustomed to this form, until it has become our standard of what every natural law ought to look like. If you halve the space which a gas fills, and keep other things constant, then you will double the pressure, we say. If you do such and such, the result will be so and so; and it will always be so and so. And we feel by long habit that it is this 'always' which turns the prediction into a law. But of course there is no reason why laws should have this always, all-or-nothing form. If you self-cross the offspring of a pure white and a pure pink sweet pea, said Mendel, then on an average one-quarter of these grandchildren will be white and three quarters will be pink. This is as good a law as any other; it says what will happen, in good quantitative terms, and what it says turns out to be true. It is not any less respectable for not making that parade of everytime certainty which the law of gases makes.

It is important to seize this point. If I say that after a fine week, it always rains on Sunday, then this is recognized and respected as law. But if I say that after a fine week, it rains on Sunday more often than not, then this somehow is felt to be an unsatisfactory statement; and it is taken for granted that I have not really got down to some underlying law which would
chime with our habit of wanting science to say decisively either 'always' or 'never'. Somehow it seems to lack the force of law. Yet this is a mere prejudice. It is nice to have laws which say, 'This configuration of facts will always be followed by event A, ten times out of ten.' But neither taste or convenience really make this a more essential form of law than one which says, 'This configuration of facts will be followed by event A seven times out of ten, and by event B three times out of ten.' In form the first is a causal law and the second a statistical law. But in content and in application, there is no reason to prefer one to the other.

There is, however, a limitation within every law which does not contain the word 'always'. Bluntly, when I say that a configuration of facts will be followed sometimes by event A and at other times by B, I cannot be certain whether at the next trial A or B will turn up. I may know that A is to turn up seven times and B three times out of ten; but that brings me no nearer at all to knowing which is to turn up on the one occasion I have my eye on next time. Mendel's law is all very fine when you grow sweet peas by the acre; but it does not tell you, and cannot, whether the single second generation seed in your windowbox will flower white or pink.

But this limitation carries with it a less obvious one. If we are not sure whether A or B will turn up next time, then neither can we be sure which will turn up the time after, or the time after that. We know that A is to turn up seven times and B three; but this can never mean that every set of ten trials will give us exactly seven A's and three B's.

Then what do I mean by saying that we expect A to turn up seven times to every three times which B turns up? I mean that among all the sets of ten trials which we can choose from an extended series, picking as we like, the greatest number will contain seven A's and three B's. This is the same thing as saying that if we have enough trials, the proportion of A's to B's will tend to the ratio of seven to three. But of course, no run of trials, however extended, is necessarily long enough. In no
run of trials can we be sure of reaching precisely the balance of seven to three.

Then how do I know that the law is in fact seven A's and three B's? What do I mean by saying that the ratio tends to this in a long trial, when I never know if the trial is long enough? And more, when I know that at the very moment when we have reached precisely this ratio, the next single trial must upset it - because it must add either a whole A or a whole B, and cannot add seven-tenths of one and three-tenths of the other. I mean this. After ten trials, we may have eight A's and only two B's; it is not at all improbable. But it is very improbable that, after a hundred trials, we shall have as many as eighty A's. It is excessively improbable that after a thousand trials we shall have as many as eight hundred A's; indeed it is highly improbable that at this stage the ratio of A's and B's departs from seven to three by as much as five per cent. And if after a hundred thousand trials we should get a ratio which differs from our law by as much as one per cent, then we should have to face the fact that the law itself is almost certainly in error.

Let me quote a practical example. The great naturalist Buffon was a man of wide interests. His interest in the laws of chance prompted him to ask an interesting question. If a needle is thrown at random on a sheet of paper ruled with lines whose distance apart is exactly equal to the length of the needle, how often can it be expected to fall on a line and how often into a blank space? The answer is rather odd: it should fall on a line a little less than two times out of three - precisely, it should fall on a line two times out of pi where pi is the familiar ratio of the circumference of a circle to its diameter, which has the value 3.14159265... How near can we get to this answer in actual trials? This depends of course on the care with which we rule the lines and do the throwing; but, after that, it depends only on our patience. In 1901 an Italian mathematician, having taken due care, demonstrated his patience by making well over 3,000 throws. The value he got for pi was right to the
sixth place of decimals, which is an error of only a hundred thousandth part of one per cent.

This is the method to which modern science is moving. It uses no principle but that of forecasting with as much assurance as possible, but with no more than is possible. That is, it idealizes the future from the outset, not as completely determined, but as determined within a defined area of uncertainty.

IN EACH OF THE FOLLOWING ONLY ONE CHOICE IS CORRECT. DRAW A CIRCLE ROUND THE LETTER (a, b, c or d) OF THE RIGHT ANSWER.

1. What is it that has become the abstract standard by which we judge the laws of nature?
   a. The law of gases.
   b. What Mendel said about sweet peas.
   c. Cause and effect relationship.
   d. Long habit.

2. What is the difference between a causal law and Mendel's law relating to sweet peas?
   a. A causal law appears to have an every time certainty about it whereas Mendel's law doesn't.
   b. A causal law is respectable whereas Mendel's law isn't.
   c. Mendel's law appears to have an every time certainty about it whereas a causal law doesn't.
   d. What Mendel's law says may sometimes turn out to be not true whereas what a causal law says is always true.

3. Which of the following is not a statement of causal law?
   a. Whenever you halve the space which a gas fills, and keep other things constant, you double the pressure.
   b. If A happens, then B always happens as a result.
   c. If you self-cross the off-spring of a pure white and a pure pink sweet pea, then on an average, one quarter of these grandchildren will be white and three quarters will be pink.
   d. After a fine week, it always rains on Sunday.

4. The statement "After a fine week it rains more often than not", is felt to be unsatisfactory because
   a. it doesn't really say very much.
   b. we always want and expect scientific statements to contain either the word 'always' or 'never'.
   c. it does not agree with our habit of wanting science always to be precise.
   d. it is taken for granted that science has nothing to do with the state of the weather.
5. A natural law which does not contain the word 'always' is
   a. a causal law
   b. an unreliable law
   c. a useless law
   d. a statistical law

6. "Given that a set of facts will be followed by event A seven
times out of ten and by event B three times out of ten, one
cannot be certain whether at the next trial A or B will turn
up; neither can one be sure which will turn up the time after,
or the time after that." This statement describes
   a. the one limitation a statistical law possesses.
   b. the two limitations a statistical law possesses.
   c. the one limitation any natural law possesses.
   d. the two limitations any natural law possesses.

7. If we want to test the truth of Mendel's law, it will be best
   a. to grow large quantities of sweet peas.
   b. to grow a small quantity of sweet peas in a windowbox.
   c. to conduct an experiment in a laboratory.
   d. to grow an unlimited amount of sweet peas.

8. Why is it that in no run of trials can we be sure of reaching
   precisely the balance of seven A's to three B's?
   a. Because no run of trials is ever large enough.
   b. Because the law says so.
   c. Because when the precise balance is reached, the next
      single trial will produce either A or B and upset
      the ratio again.
   d. Because we need at least 100,000 trials to reach the
      ratio of seven A's to three B's.

9. Buffon was prompted to ask his question because
   a. he was a naturalist.
   b. he was interested in many different things.
   c. he was interested in the laws of chance.
   d. he wanted to find out the value of pi.

10. Buffon found out that a needle
    a. should fall on a line a little less than 2 times out of pi.
    b. should fall into a blank space a little less than 2 times
        out of 3.
    c. should fall on a line 2 times out of pi.
    d. should fall on a blank space a little less than 2 times
        out of pi.
11. On what factors does the result of an experimental test on Buffon's problem depend?
   a. It depends on our patience.
   b. It depends on the care with which we rule the lines and do the throwing.
   c. It depends on the care with which we rule the lines and on our patience.
   d. It depends on the care with which we rule the lines and do the throwing but also on our patience.

12. This passage is about
   a. Mendel's Law
   b. Causal Laws.
   c. The Laws of Chance.
   d. The Uncertainty of Science.

THAT IS THE END OF PART 1. NOW GO ON TO PART 2.

ENGLISH COMPREHENSION TEST 1

PART 2

READ THE PASSAGE BELOW CAREFULLY AND THEN ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

And now I am to give a pretty full account of one of the most curious incidents in Johnson's life. It was in Butcher Row that this meeting happened. Mr. Edwards, who was a decent-looking elderly man in gray clothes and a wig of many curls, accosted Johnson with familiar confidence, knowing who he was, while Johnson returned his salutation with a courteous formality, as to a stranger. But as soon as Edwards had brought to his recollection their having been at Pembroke College together nine-and-forty years ago, he seemed much pleased, asked where he lived, and said he should be glad to see him at Bolt Court. Edwards: "Ah, Sir! we are old men now." Johnson (who never liked to think of being old): "Don't let us discourage one another." Edwards: "Why, Doctor, you look stout and hearty. I am happy to see you so; for the newspapers told us you were very ill." Johnson: "Ay, Sir, they are always telling lies of us old fellows."
Johnson appearing to be in a reverie, Mr. Edwards addressed himself to me, and expatiated on the pleasure of living in the country. Boswell: "I have no notion of this, Sir. What you have to entertain you is, I think, exhausted in half an hour."

20 Edwards: "What! don't you love to have hope realized? I see my grass, and my corn, and my trees growing. Now, for instance, I am curious to see if this frost has not nipped my fruit-trees."

Johnson (who we did not imagine was attending): "You find, Sir, you have fears as well as hopes." So well did he see the whole, when another saw but half of a subject.

When we got to Dr. Johnson's house and were seated in his library, the dialogue went on admirably. Edwards: "Sir, I remember you would not let us say prodigious at college. For even then, Sir, (turning to me), he was delicate in language, and we all feared him."

30 Johnson (to Edwards): "From your having practised the law long, Sir, I presume you must be rich." Edwards: "No, Sir; I got a good deal of money; but I had a number of poor relations to whom I gave a great part of it." Johnson: "Sir, you have been rich in the most valuable sense of the word." Edwards: "But I shall not die rich."

35 Johnson: "Nay, sure, Sir, it is better to live rich than to die rich."

Edwards: "You are a philosopher, Dr. Johnson. I have tried too in my time to be a philosopher; but, I don't know how, cheerfulness was always breaking in."

All eminent men to whom I have mentioned this have thought it an exquisite trait of character. The truth is that philosophy, like religion, is too generally supposed to be hard and severe, at least so grave as to exclude all gaiety.

Edwards: "How do you live, Sir? For my part, I must have my regular meals, and a glass of good wine. I find I require it."

45 Johnson: "I now drink no wine, Sir. Early in life I drank wine: for many years I drank none. I then for some years drank a great deal. I then had a severe illness, and left it off, and I have never begun it again. And as to regular meals, I have fasted from
the Sunday's dinner to the Tuesday's dinner, without any inconvenience. I believe it is best to eat just as one is hungry." EDWARDS: Don't you eat supper, Sir?" JOHNSON: "No, Sir." EDWARDS: "For my part, now, I consider supper as a turnpike through which one must pass in order to get to bed."

This interview confirmed my opinion of Johnson's most humane and benevolent heart. His cordial and placid behaviour to an old fellow-collegian, a man so different from himself; and his telling him that he would go down to his farm and visit him, showed a kindness of disposition very rare at an advanced age. He observed "how wonderful it was that they had both been in London for forty years, without having ever once met, and both walkers in the street too!"

IN EACH OF THE FOLLOWING ONLY ONE CHOICE IS CORRECT. DRAW A CIRCLE ROUND THE LETTER (a, b, c or d) OF THE RIGHT ANSWER.

1. Why did Dr. Johnson return Mr. Edwards's salutation with a courteous formality?
   a. Because he didn't like Edwards at first.
   b. Because he didn't recognize Edwards at first.
   c. Because Johnson's manner was always formal but courteous.
   d. Because Edwards accosted Johnson with familiar confidence.

2. What evidence do you find in the passage that Dr. Johnson was a well-known man in his time? The evidence is that
   a. he was a philosopher.
   b. "he was delicate in language".
   c. his illness was reported in the newspapers.
   d. he was a distinguished doctor of medicine.

3. Why did Mr. Edwards like living in the country?
   a. Because in the country he could see hope fulfilled.
   b. Because he had a farm in the country.
   c. Because there was not much in the country to distract him.
   d. Because he didn't have to practice the law in the country.
4. What did Dr. Johnson mean by saying: "You find, Sir, you have fears as well as hopes"? He meant that
   a. Mr. Edwards, like all other men, had fears as well as hopes.
   b. Mr. Edwards was unnecessarily worried about his fruit-trees.
   c. Country life was not safe.
   d. Country life had its fears as well as its hopes.

5. Which of the following statements is true to say about Boswell?
   a. He enjoyed country life because he agreed with Edwards that it was full of pleasure.
   b. He had no idea what country life was like because he had never been to the country.
   c. He enjoyed country life because there was enough in it to entertain him for half an hour.
   d. He did not enjoy country life because he didn't find it entertaining for more than half an hour.

6. "So well did he see the whole, when another saw but half of a subject." Which of the following is the correct interpretation of this sentence?
   a. The writer meant to say that Dr. Johnson had the wisdom to see the two sides of every question.
   b. The writer meant to say that Mr. Edwards was so foolish that he could see one side of a question.
   c. The writer meant to suggest that Dr. Johnson was always eager to give advice and guidance to his friends.
   d. The writer meant to suggest that Dr. Johnson was impatient with people who are not intelligent.

7. What did Dr. Johnson mean when he said to Edwards: "Sir, you have been rich in the most valuable sense of the word."
   a. He meant that it was better to live rich than to die rich.
   b. He meant that by helping his poor relatives, Mr. Edwards had made the best use of his wealth.
   c. He meant to suggest that Mr. Edwards was excessively generous.
   d. He meant to say that in having so many relatives, Mr. Edwards was rich in the best possible way.

8. Mr. Edwards's idea of a philosopher is that
   a. he should be somebody who is always cheerful.
   b. he must be an eminent person.
   c. he should have an exquisite trait of character.
   d. he should be capable of preventing the intrusion of cheerfulness.
9. In what way does the writer think that philosophy and religion are generally regarded as similar?
   a. They are both supposed to be extremely difficult.
   b. An interest in religion is usually combined with an interest in philosophy.
   c. Only eminent men are concerned with religion and philosophy.
   d. Both philosophy and religion are so strict that they cannot be combined with cheerfulness.

10. Mr. Edwards said, "For my part, now, I consider supper as a turnpike through which one may pass in order to get to bed." What do you take to be the meaning of the word 'turnpike' in this sentence?
   a. Period of time.
   b. Type of food.
   c. Gate.
   d. Hurdle.

11. In the sentence beginning "All the eminent men...." (Lines 39-40) the word 'it' (Line 40) refers to
   a. philosophy
   b. What Edwards said.
   c. cheerfulness
   d. character.

12. From Dr. Johnson's observation in the last sentence one can deduce that
   a. London was relatively a large and heavily populated city.
   b. the people of London were not used to stopping and talking to each other in the streets.
   c. Dr. Johnson was pleased for not having met Edwards in the forty years they had both been in London.
   d. the majority of the people in London owned and used vehicles.
[Instructions for Sudanese Students]

ENGLISH COMPREHENSION TEST

TEST 2  TIME: 1½ hours.

Please fill in the following particulars at once:

NAME (in full): _____________________________________________

NAME OF FACULTY, INSTITUTE, SCHOOL OR OTHER PLACE OF STUDY:________

SUBJECT OF STUDY:___________________________________________

NAME OF CENTRE AT WHICH YOU SAT SCHOOL CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION:

YOUR INDEX NUMBER IN THE SCHOOL CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION:________

NAME OF SCHOOL CERTIFICATE YOU POSSESS (Circle the number of the one which applies to you):

1. Sudan School Certificate
2. Egyptian Secondary School Certificate
3. Greek Gymnasium Certificate
4. Cambridge Overseas Certificate
5. Other

IF YOU POSSESS SUDAN SCHOOL CERTIFICATE, WHAT GRADE IS IT? (Circle the number of the one which applies to you)

1. Grade One       2. Grade Two       3. Grade Three

IF YOU POSSESS SUDAN SCHOOL CERTIFICATE, WHAT STANDARD HAVE YOU ATTAINED IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE? (Circle the number of the one which applies to you)

1. Distinction One  2. Distinction Two  3. Credit Three
4. Credit Four      5. Credit Five      6. Credit Six

Please make sure that you have completed all the above details.

This is Test 2, which contains 30 short passages with questions. DO NOT SPEND TOO MUCH TIME ON ANY ONE QUESTION. If a question seems to be too difficult, make the most careful guess you can, rather than waste time over it. Read the directions at the top of the page and start immediately. Answer all questions.
ENGLISH COMPREHENSION TEST

TEST 2

TIME: _____ Mins.

Please fill in the following particulars at once:

1. NAME (in full): _______________________________________

2. FACULTY: ____________________________________________

3. COURSE OF STUDY: __________________________________

4. NATIONALITY: ________________________________________

This is Test 2, which contains 24 short passages with one question on each. Please complete in ONE SITTING, NOTE THE TIME TAKEN AND WRITE IT IN THE APPROPRIATE SPACE at the top of this page. Please attempt ALL Questions.

VERY MANY THANKS FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION.
IN THIS TEST THERE ARE 24 SHORT PASSAGES. EACH PASSAGE IS FOLLOWED BY 4 CHOICES ONLY ONE OF WHICH IS RIGHT. DRAW A CIRCLE ROUND THE LETTER a, b, c or d OF THE CORRECT ANSWER IN EACH PASSAGE.

1. Water is a solvent for many things, but for such substances as grease, oil, fat and tar, other chemicals such as ether, gasoline and benzine are generally used because they are solvents for fats or oils which water does not
   a. form
   b. cool
   c. dissolve
   d. clean

2. Warm air is lighter than cold air, and so it rises through the cold air. The air which we exhale in breathing is warm, and so it rises towards the ceiling of a room. Thus in order to ventilate a room, we should open the windows at the top
   a. to allow the used air to escape.
   b. to keep the room warm.
   c. to admit fresh air to the room.
   d. to cool the used air.

3. Less food is necessary to maintain optimum body temperature during warm weather than during cold weather. In the summer any food that produces large quantities of heat should be
   a. attractively prepared.
   b. enjoyed by everyone.
   c. considered basic.
   d. eaten sparingly.

4. "Though none of the insects were fed, those kept in the dark lived for a longer time than those kept in the light." This difference is easily explained. The insect in the light struggled for release and these struggles quickly depleted its failing strength. The insect kept in the dark did not move about. It lived longer because it
   a. could see nothing
   b. was well fed
   c. usually flew at night
   d. was less restless
5. Instruments utilized in eye operations must be very sharp, and they must also be sterile. Boiling water provides the most satisfactory means of sterilizing instruments, but since it also reduces the sharpness of instruments, they cannot be immersed in it for a sufficient length of time. Sterilization by means of an electric current solves this problem, as this process does not
   a. corrode sharp edges
   b. sterilize the instruments
   c. sharpen the instruments
   d. eliminate prolonged immersion

6. In very hot weather, much water can be retained in gaseous form by the air. In cold weather, the water-holding capacity of the air decreases. Other conditions, remaining constant, the amount of water in the air will be greatest when
   a. the sky is cloudiest
   b. temperature changes occur
   c. the dew is on the grass
   d. the temperature is highest

7. The heat of any object is determined by the rapidity of motion of the atoms which compose it. When we heat a pan of water on a gas stove, we expose the water to the energy radiated by the flame, and this energy speeds up the movements of the atoms which constitute the water. When we put a jar of water in the refrigerator, we create a situation in which
   a. atomic movements will be accelerated
   b. atomic energy will be increased
   c. less radiation will be reflected
   d. atomic movements will be retarded

8. At low temperatures, the body loses heat directly to the air. Damp air facilitates this loss; hence, with a constant low temperature and increasing humidity we feel
   a. warmer
   b. drier
   c. lighter
   d. colder
9. Metabolism is the process of chemical change whereby some body cells are broken down to liberate energy to carry on bodily functions and activities while other cells are built up by the assimilation of nutritive materials. When we eat an insufficient amount of food, the metabolic process continues, thus
   a. using up cells faster than they are built up
   b. ensuring continued good health
   c. terminating the process of assimilation
   d. creating new cells to replace the old

10. The most accurate approximations of the earth's age are based on the rate of disintegration of uranium, a radioactive element, into lead and helium. This process occurs at a constant, known rate irrespective of variations of temperature, pressure etc. Lead and uranium are found in minute quantities in rocks, widely distributed over the earth's surface. From the relative proportions of lead and uranium found in a rock containing uranium-bearing minerals, we can determine the
   a. age of the rock
   b. geology of the rock
   c. rate of disintegration of the rock
   d. value of minerals in the rock.

11. Soil is constantly being formed at or near the surface of the earth as a result of changes in the underlying materials. Soil is also constantly being carried away, at the surface, by the process of erosion. If the rate of formation of the soil exceeds that of its removal by erosion
   a. very little soil can be formed
   b. erosive processes are inactive
   c. the soil increases in depth
   d. the depth of the soil is decreased.
12. The volume of a gas decreases by 1/273 for every drop of one degree of temperature, so that a gas occupying 273 cubic centimetres at zero degrees centigrade would have zero volume at -273. For this reason, -273 degrees centigrade is called the absolute zero of temperature. Only gases change volume in this way, and all gases become liquids before the temperature falls as low as -273. The question of exactly what the volume of a gas is at absolute zero is avoided because

a. this temperature cannot be reached in practice
b. a gas having no volume does not exist
c. matter can be neither destroyed nor created
d. no gases exist at this temperature.

13. Tom asked his father to buy him a bicycle. He was not at all surprised when his father said 'No'. But Tom did not give up, even though he knew that when his father said 'No' in that way, he

a. meant it
b. was just teasing
c. would buy a bicycle
d. meant just the opposite.

14. The old lady didn't seem to be able to help the little boy out of his difficulty. At first he had thought that everything should be all right once he told his troubles to an old person. But, by now, he saw that

a. it wasn't going to be as easy as all that
b. he would have to ask a grown-up to help him
c. he really didn't have any trouble at all
d. trouble was really just where he found it.
15. Once upon a time the Wolves sent an embassy to the Sheep, desiring that there might be peace between them for the time to come. "Why," said the Wolves, "should we be forever waging this deadly strife? Those wicked Dogs are the cause of it all; they are incessantly barking at us and provoking us. Send them away and there will be no longer any obstacle to our eternal friendship and peace." The silly Sheep listened, the Dogs were dismissed, and the flock, thus deprived of their best protectors, became

a. enemies of the Dogs
b. friends of the Wolves
c. enemies of both the Dogs and the Wolves
d. victims of the Wolves.

16. Benjamin Franklin wrote: "For want of a nail, the shoe was lost; for want of a shoe the horse was lost; for want of a horse the rider was lost; for want of a rider the battle was lost." This saying means that

a. all things are important
b. important outcomes may be dependent upon little things
   the ranks
c. victory in battle depends upon communication among
   d. infantry ordinarily cannot defeat cavalry

17. Napoleon: Some red ink.
Giuseppe: Alas! excellency, there is none.
Napoleon: Kill something and bring me its blood.
Giuseppe: There is nothing but your excellency's horse, the sentinel, the lady upstairs, and my wife.
Napoleon: Kill your wife.
Giuseppe: Willingly, your excellency; but unhappily I am not strong enough. She would kill me.
Napoleon: That will do equally well.
Giuseppe: Your excellency does me too much honour. Perhaps some wine will answer your excellency's purpose.

What does Giuseppe mean by saying: "Your excellency does me too much honour"? He means that

a. Napoleon does him great honour by asking him to kill his wife instead of killing himself.
b. he is highly honoured to know that Napoleon thinks nothing of him.
c. he is highly honoured to know that his blood is good enough to serve Napoleon's purpose.
d. he is highly honoured to know that Napoleon didn't really mean what he said.
18. Lady Stutfield: The world says that Lord Illingworth is very, very wicked.

Lord Illingworth: But what world says that, Lady Stutfield? It must be the next world. This world and I are on excellent terms.

Lady Stutfield: Every one I know says you are very, very wicked.

Lord Illingworth: It is perfectly monstrous the way people go about, nowadays, saying things about one behind one's back that are absolutely and entirely true.

What is the unexpected word or phrase in this dialogue?

a. perfectly monstrous
b. true
c. absolutely and entirely
d. wicked

19. Jill: But, Father, why all this - this attitude to the Hornblowers?

Hillcrest: Because they are pushing.

Jill: But why not let them be?

Hillcrest: It takes generations to learn to live and let live, Jill. People like that take an ell when you give them an inch.

Jill: But if you give them the ell, they wouldn't want the inch.

Hillcrest: Well, Jill, all life is a struggle between people at different stages of development, in different positions, with different amounts of social influence and property. And the only thing is to have rules of the game and keep them. New people like the Hornblowers haven't learnt those rules; their only rule is to get all they can.

Hillcrest believes that the Hornblowers

a. always get what they want
b. take an inch when you give them an ell
c. have more influence and property than they deserve
d. want to get more than their fair share.

20. She was seated before the mirror apparently looking at herself, her brow knit in one deep furrow, and her jewelled hands laid one above the other on her knee. Probably she had ceased to see the reflection in the mirror, for her eyes had the fixed wide-open look that belongs not to examination, but to reverie. Motionless in that way, her clear-cut features
keeping distinct record of past beauty, she looked like an image faded, dried and bleached by uncounted suns, rather than a breathing woman who had numbered the years as they passed, and had a consciousness within her which was the slow deposit of those ceaseless rolling years. The woman had probably ceased to see her reflection in the mirror because

a. she couldn't bear to look at her old and ugly face
b. she was ashamed to look at herself
c. she was lost in thought
d. she was growing blind.

21. He was not an ill-disposed young man, unless to be rather cold hearted, and rather selfish, is to be ill-disposed: but he was, in general, well respected; for he conducted himself with propriety in the discharge of his ordinary duties. Which of the following is the correct statement about the young man?

a. He was very well-disposed and well respected because he always behaved properly.
b. Though faithful in the discharge of his ordinary duties, he was rather cold hearted and selfish.
c. He was well respected because he was not ill-disposed in any way.
d. He was not an ill-disposed man because to be ill-disposed is to be cold hearted and selfish, which he was not.

22. It is a truth universally acknowledged, that a single man in possession of a good fortune, must be in want of a wife. However little known the feelings or views of such a man may be on his first entering a neighbourhood, this truth is so well fixed in the minds of the surrounding families, that he is considered as the rightful property of some one or other of their daughters. This comment simply means that

a. people are eager to marry their daughters to rich men
b. people want their daughters to get married at any cost
c. people think that it is not proper for rich men to remain bachelors
d. once a man is married he becomes the property of his wife.
23. Mr. Bumble had married Mrs. Corney, and was master of the workhouse. Another beadle had come into power; and on him the cocked hat, gold-laced coat, and staff had all three descended.

"And tomorrow two months it was done!" said Mr. Bumble, with a sigh. "It seems an age."

Mr. Bumble might have meant that he had concentrated a whole existence of happiness into the short space of eight weeks; but the sigh - there was a vast deal of meaning in the sigh.

The meaning in the sigh was that Mr. Bumble

a. had been very happy since he married Mrs. Corney
b. had not been happy since he married Mrs. Corney
c. had not been happy since he was replaced by another man as a beadle
d. had been very happy since he divorced his wife eight weeks earlier.

24. There was not much to amuse in the room; of which the most attractive feature was, a half-length portrait in oil of Mr. Mantalini, whom the artist had depicted scratching his head in an easy manner, and thus displaying to advantage a diamond ring, the gift of Madame Mantalini before her marriage. There was, however, the sound of voices in conversation in the next room; and as the conversation was loud and the partition thin; Kate could not help discovering that they belonged to Mr. and Mrs. Mantalini.

Kate could not help discovering that

a. the portrait and the diamond ring belonged to Mr. and Mrs. Mantalini.
b. both rooms belonged to Mr. and Mrs. Mantalini
c. the voices belonged to Mr. and Mrs. Mantalini
d. the rooms, the portrait and the partition belonged to Mr. and Mrs. Mantalini.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

CLASSIFICATION

The Bibliography is classified in Sections A, B, C and D as follows:

A: Published Bibliographical Sources
B: Archival Material
C: Published Official Sources
D: Published Works, Articles and Theses

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in the Bibliography:

D.R.S.: Democratic Republic of the Sudan
R.S.: Republic of the Sudan
S.G.: Sudan Government
S.N.R.: Sudan Notes and Records
A

PUBLISHED BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES


B

ARCHIVAL MATERIAL

Within Sudan, archival material is available in the Sudan Government Central Archives, Khartoum, in the Ministry of Education Archives, Khartoum, and in the Archives of the University of Khartoum. In Britain abundant archival material concerning the political, administrative and educational developments during the colonial period is to be found in the Public Record Office, London, and in the School of Oriental Studies, University of Durham. Some material relating in particular to Southern Sudan is kept in the Archives of the Church Missionary Society, London.

In the writing of the historical part of this thesis, relating to some aspects of the administrative, educational and
language policies during the colonial period, some use has been made of the material available in Sudan Government Central Archives (designated below as SGA), in the Ministry of Education Archives (designated as EDA) and in the School of Oriental Studies Archives, Durham University, where the collection is kept in numbered boxes (under SAD, as given below). Some use has also been made of the archival material at the Church Missionary Society.

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II. Britain


Letter from Cromer to Wingate, Cairo, 3rd February 1904, SAD/BOX 275/4.

Letter from Currie to Wingate, Khartoum, 23rd June 1904, SAD/BOX 103.

Letter from Currie to Wingate, Khartoum, 2nd January 1907, SAD/BOX 103.

Letter from Wingate to Cromer, Khartoum, 29th December, 1906, SAD/BOX 103.

Letter from Wingate to Cromer, Khartoum, 19th July 1907, SAD/BOX 103.

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