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## **Narrative Inquiry: A Dynamic Relationship between Culture, Language and Education**

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*Abstract: Human development is a cultural process, and language serves as a cultural tool is closely related to virtually all the cognitive changes. The author addresses issues of language in education, and suggests that changing the medium of instruction should not be understood as purely a pedagogical decision. The connection between culture and language is examined for understanding why Hong Kong Chinese learners are stereotyped as passive learners. Through exploring personal experience with a student teacher, the author exemplifies how narrative inquiry is found to be a pragmatic approach to support teachers to become reflective thinkers. This study argues that narrative methods can serve as pedagogical strategies in teacher education since narrative can help both teachers and learners reflect on, question, and learn from their storied experiences.*

### **Introduction**

Language in education systems has long been recognised as a crucial instrument for fostering learning but also as a critical factor of power relations in societies (Bray & Koo, 2004; Chan, 2002; Poon, 2004). Having been a British colony for over 150 years until 1997, Hong Kong Chinese students have become bicultural individuals who are characterised by the intermingling of Eastern and Western cultures, and their proficiency in English is highly regarded as a means for maximising their future success and career prospects. According to a survey conducted by the Union of International Associations, 85% of the top 500 international organisations in the world use English as their official language (Crystal, 1997). To enhance global competitiveness, English is taught as the primary language and is highly valued by many sectors in Hong Kong society.

Research has indicated that both students and parents show high concern for English as a subject in the school curriculum (Hu, 2007; Lee & Tseng, 2013). There have been keen debates on whether to use English or Chinese as the medium of instruction (MOI) in classrooms and schools, from the pre-primary to the tertiary education levels. Despite the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) government's support of mother-tongue education, the popularity of using English as the medium of instruction (EMI) in schools has continued. However, teaching and learning in English entails a price. It is not difficult to understand the challenges that students as well as teachers face when one language is used in school and a completely different language is used in all other contexts.

Hong Kong students are generally regarded as passive learners and to lack critical thinking and self-reflection in learning (Chan, 2012; Chiu & Chan, 2009). Researchers have

asserted that an examination-driven curriculum contributes to rote learning and resistance to creative activity (Ho, 1994; Sweeting, 1990). Although pedagogical innovations have been introduced in Hong Kong, teachers are still blamed for having a lack of creativity that hinders change and innovations. I argue that if the language policy which placed EMI schools in high regard remains in effect, then expecting change is unrealistic, because people continue to teach and learn in the same manner.

Currently, English still holds its 'high language' status, with Chinese retaining its 'low' status (Poon, 2004). The unequal political, social, educational, and cultural statuses of the two languages in Hong Kong have created paradoxical conditions in teaching and learning. The different statuses among the two languages are illustrated in the MOI policy adopted in Hong Kong education. To enhance the English proficiency of student teachers, in our institution, all students in full-time bachelor of education programmes have been required to complete at least 50% of their courses with EMI since 2012/2013, and a conversion to 100% is in progress. Language as symbolic and social capital is influential in the cultural transformation across colonial and postcolonial periods, and ultimately affects students' learning orientations.

The teacher education institution at which I work has a goal of preparing students to become reflective teachers. However, because of the challenges of such traditions as didactic teaching and passive learning, we have not been as successful as we expected. According to Connelly and Clandinin (1990), Van Manen (1990), and Eisner (1993), narrative is an approach to studying experience by examining the lives of people through their stories. I adopted narrative as a means for analysing the essence of lived experiences that involve the student teacher taking a more active role in her or his learning to reflect how past experiences inform practices. From this perspective, storytelling is an educational activity because it prompts reflection that promotes active learning and critical thinking. Considering that the didactic teaching of English as a high-status and favoured language in Hong Kong may exacerbate passivity and inhibit the reflective and creative abilities of students, I addressed the following two research questions:

1. What is the relationship between culture and language and its impact on learning?
2. How does narrative inquiry support teachers to become reflective thinkers?

In this paper, I begin by examining the relationship between culture and language. I then discuss the use of storytelling as a means for encouraging and supporting reflective practice. By exploring personal narratives collaboratively with a student teacher, I illustrate how narrative inquiry is adopted as a pragmatic approach to support teacher development.

## **Culture and Language**

The population of Hong Kong is approximately 7 million, with 93.6% of the population being Chinese and 86.1% speaking Cantonese (Census and Statistics Department, 2011). Hong Kong is close to Guangdong Province, China, where Cantonese is the primary dialect. The early inhabitants of Hong Kong were mainly migrants from mainland China who brought with them great Chinese traditions including Chinese literacy, which are instrumental in shaping a person's individual identity. According to Vygotsky (1962), language or literacy is a cultural tool that helps children master culturally meaningful activities, and through social interaction, children acquire the manners of thinking and behaving that constitute a community's culture. From this perspective, language or literacy acquisition is a means for cultural transmission.

### **Colonial Period**

The language situation in the colonial period was highly complex because English was considered a colonial language intended “to produce colonial cultural assimilations to facilitate colonial governance” (Hu, 2007, p. 87). At the beginning of the colonial period in the mid-nineteenth century, there was no statutory provision for what constituted the official language. In the Treaty of Tientsin (also spelled Tianjin) of 1842, article 50 revealed the establishment of a ‘diglossic’ situation in Hong Kong. According to Hu (2007),

*English was by practice the sole language used in executive, judicial and legislative branches of government during 1842 through 1974. The British colonial government increased the prestigious status of English to emphasise the use of English in all official affairs, whereas Chinese, meaning Cantonese, changed to an inferior language. (p. 86)*

Despite the small English population relative to the large Chinese population, English was highly regarded by society because it was correlated with high social status (Lee, 1997). To achieve effective communication between the government and the community, it was necessary to strengthen a selected group’s English proficiency so that this elite group could then influence and enlighten fellow citizens and thus facilitate effective governance (Chan, 2002). Moreover, English as the language of international commerce provided a distinct advantage in securing Hong Kong as an international centre for trade and finance, particularly in the Asian region. Thus, knowledge of the English language affords a person a real political and economic advantage. The proportion of the population able to speak English increased from 38% in 1996 to 46% in 2011 (Census and Statistics Department, 1996; 2011). English is strongly considered worth learning because mastering the English language positions a learner for personal advancement, and is perceived as a ticket for future success. In Bourdieu’s (1991) terminology, the English language has become a linguistic habitus for the people of Hong Kong, and gradually has become part of the people’s collective identity that serves to distinguish Hong Kong from the rest of China.

### **Reunification Period Since 1997**

Since the reunification with China in 1997, Hong Kong has been administered with a high degree of autonomy under the concept of ‘one country, two systems’, according to which the previous capitalist system and lifestyle shall remain unchanged for 50 years from the date of reunification. Hong Kong is perceived as a meeting place between East and West, and this perception is strongly ingrained in people’s self-identity and their image of the society (Wong, 1998). The combination of Chinese and Western culture is regarded naturally as a part of life in Hong Kong, making the Hong Kong identity more than simply a Chinese identity. As Mathew (1997) suggested, the Hong Kong identity has three distinct meanings: Chineseness plus affluence, cosmopolitanism, and capitalism; Chineseness plus English, colonial education, and colonialism; and Chineseness plus democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. Accordingly, Hong Kong people can be considered to have gradually cultivated a sense of bicultural and biliterate identity. Such an identity prompts debate on language utilities, such as that regarding the use of English instead of Chinese as the MOI in classroom education.

### *How Language Policies Affect Learning Preferences*

One of the major changes after the transfer of sovereignty to China in 1997 concerns the MOI policy. Despite the strong objection from society, the HKSAR government implemented the ‘mother-tongue education’ policy in September 1998, which entails allocating students leaving primary schools to EMI and CMI secondary schools depending on their relative academic performance in English and Chinese. Consequently, nearly 75% of secondary schools were forced to adopt Chinese as the MOI. Such a stratified school system has reduced students’ English exposure and been perceived as “socially divisive” (Tsui, 2004, p. 99), resulting in strong labelling effects among schools. To lessen the conflict between CMI and EMI schools, the ‘fine-tuning policy’ was adopted in September 2010, allowing secondary schools more flexibility in deciding which language to be used as the MOI for a particular class or subject. However, parents generally favour English because knowledge of English is correlated with high social and cultural status (Lee, 1997; Lee & Tseng, 2013). Starting in the early years, children in Hong Kong are drilled by teachers and private tutors in English proficiency. From my own teaching experience, students in EMI contexts are used to learning by rote because they must memorise the English vocabulary words in the textbook prior to mastering the content knowledge. Various researchers have demonstrated that low language proficiency and high anxiety contribute to students’ lack of motivation to communicate and, quite possibly, a passive mode of learning (e.g., Kennedy, 2002; Wannagat, 2007). Language policy is therefore more than an educational concern because it influences cultural development in Hong Kong. As an educator teaching child and human development courses, I became aware of such language concerns because the teaching content is in English and my students are Chinese. In the following sections, I illustrate why narrative inquiry can be an effective approach to teacher education that helps student teachers conceptualise knowledge from their storied experiences.

### **Theoretical Framework**

Reflection is one key practice that has long been recognised as a valuable cognitive process. The publishing of Schon’s book *The Reflective Practitioner* in 1983 marked the emergence of reflective practice as an emphasis in North American teacher education (Zeichner & Liu, 2010). In Hong Kong, many teacher education programmes have incorporated views of reflection into their course structures, but the effectiveness and forms of adoption may be limited by the traditional nature of the programmes. Chan and Elliot (2004) stressed encouraging student teachers to participate more actively in reflective teaching to reduce their excessive dependence on authoritarian knowledge in their learning; however, without being taught effective methods for reflection, they experience difficulty in succeeding.

Clandinin and Connelly (2000) advocated narrative inquiry in which storytelling was acknowledged as a powerful tool for reflection on what personal practical knowledge teachers have and how such knowledge is formulated. Many educators have used life stories and personal narratives as a means of understanding teaching and learning (e.g., Chan, 2012; Chase, 2003; Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007; Yu, 2015). According to Lyons (2007), narrative is more than telling and reading stories, and “seemed especially useful to capture the situated complexities of teachers’ work and classroom practice” (p.614). From this perspective, narrative becomes a means for reflection, and new understanding of teaching and learning is gained by examining storied experiences regarding the practice setting. Narrative inquiry with its root in Dewey’s

(1938) philosophy of experience is regarded as a method of reflective thinking that enables learners to create connections between their actions and the consequences of these actions. By reconstructing experiences, teachers learn how to “get the benefit of past effort in controlling future endeavour” (Downey & Clandinin, 2010, p.384). In this study, I adopted the framework developed for narrative inquiry by Clandinin and Connelly (2000), in which experience is the key concept that helped me determine how narrative inquiry supports teachers to become reflective thinkers.

## **Method**

### **Mode of Inquiry**

The mode of inquiry I employed is grounded in Connelly and Clandinin’s (2000) work. For them, teaching is an act of inquiry and reflection. In this study, I began with an inquiry into the relationship between culture and language that provides an understanding of how language policies affect learning preferences. Considering the challenge of preparing student teachers as reflective practitioners, I share critical experiences of my research participant and my own experiences to explain how deep reflections can be elicited by stories told. It is through the case of Wendy (pseudonym), I explored the role of narrative in teacher education.

Wendy is a student teacher whom I met in the autumn of 2009 when she enrolled in the Human Development course. I became her mentor and invited her to participate in my research in 2012. I offered the invitation after submitting grades to meet the requirement of the ethical review committee, because at our institution, a researcher is not allowed to include students in research when the students are still being taught and graded by the teacher researcher. This requirement ensures that the selection process is ethical and fair to all students in the class. Nevertheless, ethical complexities remain in involving students as participants in my research because of its emphasis on the sharing of lived experiences. I must accept a certain loss of personal privacy, but I gain a closer teacher-student relationship as well as a long-term friendship.

In our inquiry process, we developed our individual family and school stories, tracing our past experiences and our memories of specific childhood episodes. We told our stories and invited each other to reflect on the meaning of the stories. The meanings that the stories carry, to Wendy and to me, as the research co-participant, become the rich resources because they prompt reflection. The following questions were considered to stimulate our thinking: Who were you as a child? How do you describe your childhood experience and was it a happy one? What can you remember regarding parent-child, sibling, or neighbourhood relationships? Did your childhood experiences affect the knowledge construction of child and human development? If so, how do they differ from the normative theories that will guide your future practices? Clandinin and Connelly (1995) stated, “teachers know their lives in terms of stories. They live stories, tell stories of those lives, retell stories with changed possibilities, and relive the changed stories” (p. 12). Accordingly, storytelling is a reflective act during which we acquire an understanding of how narrative inquiry supports teachers to become reflective thinkers.

### **Data Collection**

Data sources included family stories, school stories, reflective journals, and autobiographical writing. The stories that I collected were based on my self-inquiry as well as two semi-structured interviews and subsequent conversations with Wendy. The interviews were held in my office for 45 minutes each. Between the interviews, we met twice for lunch in a restaurant where we shared our teaching and learning experiences. In addition, she was invited to my home for a visit 3 months after the interview. The informal meetings facilitated developing a relational understanding between us. Narrative inquiry is a relational activity and evokes responses to the stories told. Collaboratively, we shared the embedded stories, and analysed and interpreted the narratives to inquire into their meaning regarding the construction of teacher knowledge in a narrative, experiential, and practical manner.

### **Data Analysis**

The qualitative data collected from the interviews and conversations were transcribed, and themes were generated using content analysis. As the researcher, I read through the transcripts for emergent themes. Pre-determined codes such as “names of the characters”, “places where actions and events occurred”, “tensions that emerge” and “story lines that interweave and interconnect” were adopted to code the data (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 131). Under each code heading, I gathered relevant phrases, sentences or whole paragraphs, forming four major categories. Then I further identified emerging themes within each category. The themes concerning the role of narrative emerged when examining how narrative inquiry supports teachers to become reflective thinkers.

### **Analysis and Discussion**

The themes generated from this study concerning the role of narrative inquiry as a pedagogical strategy in teacher education are described in the following sections.

#### **Construction of Knowledge**

Narrative inquiry is a process of knowledge construction. Through inquiry into narratives, the participants have the opportunity to reflect on what they have experienced in their lives. As Connelly and Clandinin (1988, 1990, 2000) explained, teachers’ lived experiences can be a source of knowledge for classroom practices. In this study, narrative was the means through which Wendy demonstrated an active role in describing and reconstructing her knowledge that informed her practices. This approach to learning differs from the ‘traditional’ CHC approaches, which are teacher centred and focus on knowledge transmission. In the following excerpt from Wendy’s autobiographical writing, she describes her learning experience in English as very stressful, and the poor academic performance that led her to doubt her ability. Wendy, like many school children in Hong Kong, experienced great tension in her schooling.

*[M]y academic performance was not good in my elementary school years. I always failed in English courses, which made me feel that I was extremely weak in English*

*proficiency. I thought there was no room for improvement even though I kept trying. I felt helpless and blamed my ability for poor performance. This negative evaluation lowered my learning effectiveness and affected my ways of thinking as well as emotions.*

In the CHC context, parents and teachers believe that success depends much more on effort than on ability; therefore, trying hard is a moral responsibility. Apparently, Wendy was overwhelmed by negative thoughts and anxiety, leading her to develop learned helplessness. In this narrative inquiry, Wendy chronicled those critical events and reflected in writing to help her understand the impact of early experiences on later growth and development. In the following excerpt, she explains how she has recovered from failure.

*In Secondary 2 and 3, I attained my best performance in sports and arts. I was the overall champion in two consecutive athletic meets, and received awards for outstanding performance in art and design, and also in home economics. In addition, I received the Outstanding Talent in Cultural Activities Scholarship in Secondary 3. These achievements helped me to rebuild self-confidence. I came to realise that when working with students who lack competence or interest in academic subjects, one should try to develop their potential in other areas like arts and sports. It is important to let them know that they have talents in some areas compared with their peers, and their self-confidence can then be strengthened through achievements in those areas.*

Wendy's reflections on her school performance created an opportunity for knowledge construction. That she developed an awareness of respecting individual differences in learning style is critical. Her narratives reflect the complexity of the struggles and hardships that she experienced when studying in the CHC context. She realised that peer support is vital for her development. Thus, writing stories on her experiences was a cognitive process through which Wendy attempted "to make sense of life as lived" by untangling the complex narrative threads that have contributed to her knowledge and practices (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p.77).

### **A Tool for Reflection**

Another theme derived from this study was the recognition of narrative inquiry as a tool for reflection. The process of telling autobiographic stories provided the opportunity for Wendy to inquire into her past experiences to determine how they have shaped who she is. Thus, she became a reflective thinker who transformed what is to be learned according to her own experience and existing understanding. In the following excerpt, she addresses the impact of parental styles on a child's development.

*[A]t the age of 10, I quarrelled with my parents because of my insistence on keeping my hair long. My father then beat me with a cane. I felt deeply wounded not only on my hands but also in my self-esteem. I'd never requested long hair and gradually became introverted because I was afraid of punishment.*

Wendy was upset when telling her family stories. Her reflections on her patterns of learning in the family context were often critical reflections through which she developed an awareness of how her self-esteem was impaired, and according to her painful experiences, the importance of enhancing children's self-expression.

*[I] regret my lack of opportunities to learn how to interact with my parents when I was young. I developed low self-esteem because my parents seldom showed their*



*love, concern, and appreciation for me. Early childhood should be a critical period for learning self-expression.... Instead of solely insisting on obedience, I think nowadays parents are able to accept new ideas when teaching children, such as respecting children as unique beings and respecting their ways of thinking. We should encourage children to express their views.*

Schon (1983) stressed that students become aware of the centrality of lived experiences when they reflect. Through telling and reliving the stories, Wendy had opportunities to reflect on her life experiences. In her reflective journal, she illustrated the impact of parental style on child development. Thus, Wendy's attempt to make sense of her past experiences prompted her to be a reflective thinker. Instead of playing a passive role of simply listening, accepting, and learning, Wendy demonstrated an active role by providing feedback as well as making sense of her past experiences through inquires. Therefore, I believe that narrative inquiry has a role to play in changing the learning habits of student teachers in the CHC context. Because narrative inquiry is based on the development of relationships, researchers must act as co-participants to respond to the participants' stories. Collaborative dialogues can create connection and resonance that stimulate thinking or reflection. I concur with Clandinin and Connelly's view (1990):

*Narrative inquiries are shared in ways that help readers question their own stories, raise their own questions about practice and see in the narrative accounts stories of their own stories. The intent is to foster reflection, storying and restorying for readers (p. 277).*

### **An Interactive Approach to Teaching and Learning**

Narrative inquiry is a relational inquiry because researchers develop a participatory relationship with the participants in the process (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). During the interview, Wendy stated that she was scared when her father lost his temper. She became quiet at home because any disobedience and misbehaviour would lead to punishment. For example, she was requested to follow the Chinese tradition of keeping a distance of 3 feet from the table when having a family dinner; otherwise, she would be beaten. Wendy's narratives had an impact on me as the inquirer. I felt that I understood Wendy's tension due to her father's harsh practices. I also felt resonance and therefore responded to her with my childhood stories.

*[I] was scared to communicate with my father because of his authoritarian image. 'Do as I say!' was his attitude. He would resort to force and punishment if I did not comply with his demands. I recall one incident that led me to rethink what factors affect the shaping of a child's character and wonder about the impact of parenting techniques on children's development. As a child, I always argued with my father and tried very hard to justify my behaviour. He immediately stopped me and said, 'I am the commander-in-chief, and you are my soldier. You have to follow my order no matter if it is right or wrong; otherwise, you will be executed'. My eyes expressed my fearful but sceptical feeling, but I dared not look at my father and ask him why. There was another instance. 'Come and pick up the tissue on the floor. Put it into the bin!' I was so concentrated on my study at that moment that I could hardly hear my father's voice. Instantly he yelled at me angrily, 'Come and stand in the corner until I tell you to move!' I kept standing for an hour under great distress. This incident taught me a lesson: I should react fast to his order and follow his instructions without delay. I was trained to be disciplined as well as a*

*soldier. I learned how to be 'good' and obedient ever since I was a baby girl. When living with the perception of children as 'soldiers' at home, I was totally terrified. Those experiences and feelings brought me negative effects that smothered my creativity and curiosity. Because of my father's coercive measures, I was threatened to behave properly, and an enormous gap thus grew between me and my father.*

Through responding to Wendy's stories with my childhood stories, I had an opportunity to relive my experiences with my father. I reflected on how my father has influenced my development. This in turn shaped my views on the teaching of family influences on child development. The co-construction and reconstruction of narratives enabled us to "negotiate, co-construct, and story the meanings and values of essentially incomplete experiences" (Bochner et al., 2000, p.17). Clandinin and Huber (2010) emphasised that "narrative inquirers cannot subtract themselves from the inquiry relationship" (p. 436). Narrative inquiry is therefore an interactive approach to teaching and learning.

### **A Teacher Educator's Reflection Narrative Inquiry**

Traditionally, teacher educators are university-based researchers who transmit formal knowledge and theory (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1999). This implies that student teachers are passive knowledge receivers and accumulators. In recent decades, teacher knowledge has come to be viewed differently. Connelly and Clandinin (1988) coined the term personal practical knowledge to account for the tacit knowledge which can overshadow teachers' formal knowledge. They contended that teacher knowledge thus generated is fundamentally personal, experiential, and practical (Connelly & Clandinin, 2000). Recently, rapid growth has occurred in the understanding and use of life stories and other narrative approaches. However, this shift involves realising that students do not rely on teachers as a source of knowledge for teaching. In this study, I have focussed on the process of co-constructing knowledge with Wendy. In telling of life stories, Wendy not only recalled her life experiences, she also framed her experiences in the form of stories and explored what the stories meant to her. Wendy admitted that she had a good opportunity to exercise narrative inquiry helping her to develop an ability to construct knowledge through reflections in the narrative process. Wendy's reflections led me to the puzzles. How can I apply narrative inquiry in my daily teaching? The concept of developing student teachers into reflective practitioners is promising. How can we facilitate students' learning through continual reflection? This study has provided a variety of viewpoints and exemplified how narrative inquiry supports teachers to become reflective thinkers.

### **Understanding Chinese Students as Learners**

Researchers have used the CHC, a philosophy that has evolved over time, as a context for understanding Chinese students as learners (Higgins & Zheng, 2002; Lau & Yeung, 1996). In Chinese communities such as Hong Kong, teachers have traditionally been symbols of authority and generators of expert knowledge who require their students to learn through memorisation (Rao & Chan, 2009). However, Hong Kong has experienced rapid political, social and cultural changes in the past decades. These changes result in affecting our living and learning

experiences. It is crucial that educators develop an understanding of the dynamic relationships between culture, language, and education. Tang (2012) stressed that the lives of teenagers are becoming increasingly westernised through exposure to contemporary music and films from the West (Tang, 2012). This trend is unquestionable, and is further reinforced by the language policy. To achieve the 'biliterate and trilingual' educational goal established by the HKSAR government (Tung, 1997), young parents naturally embrace literacy and speaking ability in multiple languages in the early years as typical cultural and educational expectations for young children (Lee & Tseng, 2013). Thus, the 'East meets West' culture makes the Hong Kong identity more than simply a Chinese identity. Moreover, the widespread use of the English language in society has implications on the shaping of language policy that eventually affect students' learning.

### **Outcomes of the Study**

The study findings reveal that the didactic teaching of English as a high-status and favoured language may exacerbate passivity and inhibit the reflective and creative abilities of students. In Hong Kong, there is a paradoxical situation in which student teachers are asked for reflective engagement in the Chinese classroom where English is used as the MOI. To achieve the goal of supporting student teachers to become reflective thinkers, I adopt narrative inquiry as a pedagogical strategy in teacher education because storytelling can function as a mediation tool to stimulate reflection and inform practices. This study addressed the role of narrative inquiry in supporting teacher development. It is an interactive mode of teaching and learning which is different from the traditional CHC approaches. In addition, it serves as a tool for knowledge construction through reconstruction of experiences.

### **Conclusion**

Narrative inquiry has become a vehicle for implementing curricula on teacher development (Conle, 2000). According to Connelly and Clandinin (1988), teachers grow by constructing personal practical knowledge through telling and reflecting on personal stories and narratives. Hong Kong Chinese students are generally considered passive learners and to lack self-reflection in learning. In creating a space for student teachers to narrate and inquire, I hope they would participate more actively in reflective thinking so that they would be more open to growth and change as they examine their practices in their own classrooms.

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## **Appendix:**

### **Treaty of Tientsin of 1842**

#### **Article 50:**

All official communications, addressed by the diplomat and consular agents of Her Majesty the Queen to the Chinese Authorities, shall, henceforth, be written in English. They will for the present be accompanied by a Chinese version, but it is understood that in the event of there being any difference of meaning between the English and Chinese texts the English government will hold the sense as expressed in the English text to be the correct sense. This provision is to apply to the treaty now negotiate, the Chinese text of which has been carefully corrected by the English original.