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Challenging Gairaigo: Original vs Current Borrowed Meanings

Sorrell Yue

1 Introduction

With countries around the world becoming increasingly more cosmopolitan and assimilating aspects of foreign cultures, it comes as no surprise that the frequency of loanwords continues to be "a very common linguistic phenomenon" (Langacker 1968:176). In an attempt to curb the influx of English loanwords into France, the Académie Française has prohibited the use of an English term when a French equivalent already exists (Crystal 1997:19). Nonetheless, as has been well documented, language change is inevitable, however much people may try to prevent it (Aitchison 1981; Bauer 1994). Japan is one example of a nation continuing the trend of adopting words from other languages, as clearly demonstrated by the former prime minister of Japan, Shinzo Abe. On 29th September 2006, in his debut general policy address as prime minister, loanwords were used more than 100 times in a speech lasting less than thirty minutes (Cabinet Public Relations Office 2006).

As far back as 1964, the Japanese Language Research Institute disclosed that 10% of the words in Japanese usage were western loanwords (Koo 1989:125). The percentage of loanwords appears to have increased only minimally within newspapers (Hashimoto 2007), yet with the proliferation of television, cable and satellite channels in addition to the advent of the World Wide Web, the number of loanwords has continued to rise. At present, English loanwords reportedly account for approximately 90% of the total loanwords in Japanese (Shinnouchi 2000:8 cited in Rebuck 2002). It is not possible, however, to state with accuracy the number of loanwords in the Japanese language today because it increases on a daily basis.

The Japanese have been depicted as, "the most relentless borrowers of English loanwords" (Bryson 1990:179) and this strong presence of loanwords is very conspicuous to native English speakers living in Japan. In addition, on first hearing, many of the terms require much thought to decipher the 'original' word or meaning in English due to altered pronunciation and meaning, for example パート (pa-to), a "part-time job" or "part-time employee", cannot be translated as "part". As one spends more time in Japan, however, the importance for native English instructors to study the significance and place of loanwords in Japanese, together with their meanings and relevance in the EFL classroom,

becomes increasingly evident.

This paper considers the use of the English loanword "challenge" in the Japanese language. The results of research conducted on university students in Japan will be presented, and the implications for a group of native English-speaking people who commented on the level of "natural" English in a selection of the students' sentences. Furthermore, the ensuing confusion which resulted from the Japanese meaning of the English loanword will be investigated.

It is maintained that while loanword influence and usage affects the learners in Japan, it is also an area native English speaking instructors cannot ignore if they want to assist their students in acquiring a competent level of English, and avoid unnecessary miscommunication. Despite some who believe the use of loanwords in the Japanese language is detrimental to the development of English language skills, this paper suggests their usage may enhance comprehension and demonstrate that students have a greater "English vocabulary" than initially assumed.

Finally, some suggestions will be presented on ways to cope with the issues relating to the influence of English loanwords in the EFL classroom, and how native speaking English instructors are able to use loanwords in the classroom to their advantage.

2 Gairaigo and the Japanese People

2.1 Classification of the Term 'Gairaigo'

Gairaigo (外来語) is the Japanese term for loanwords, otherwise known as borrowed words. Crystal (1995:126) defines loanwords or borrowings as lexemes, which have been taken from one language into another. As Aitchison (1981:120) points out, the English terms for gairaigo are misleading since the words are never returned to the "donor Language". Because both the terms 'loan' and 'borrowed' seem ambiguous, in this paper, the Japanese term (gairaigo) is used to denote this linguistic phenomenon, since its literal translation (a foreign or imported word) is closer to the linguistic inference of the word.

Some might argue that the number of gairaigo in Japan is far greater than the 10% stated by the National Language Research Institute. However, as Miura (1998) explains, the sources of foreign words in Japan are separated into 漢語 (kango), words of Chinese origin, and gairaigo, words of non-Chinese foreign origin.

Webb (1990:7-8) highlights how through the process of "borrowing", the meanings of many loanwords change from their original definitions. Of the seven groups into which Webb categorises gairaigo, one applies to the research for this paper: "words whose meaning or usage is different from the original English word" (ibid).

2.2 A Brief History of Gairaigo

In 1914, during the Taisho era, the first gairaigo dictionary was published with 7000 terms listed. In contrast, the 2004 edition of *Sanseido's Concise Katakana Dictionary*, contains over 55 000 words; that number having risen by 10 000 from the edition only 4 years earlier. Kindaichi (1978:39) states that the Japanese language had little influence from foreign languages, other than Chinese until approximately one hundred and fifty years ago. It is, however, debatable whether the West had so little influence on the Japanese language. Trading between Japan and Europe began in 1542 and two gairaigo from that time are still very much in use today: タバコ(tabako = tobacco) from Portuguese, and ガラス(garasu = glass) from Dutch (Kamiya 1994: vii). From the early 17th century until the onset of the Meiji era, almost 250 years later, Japan was 'closed' to the world and anything Western was forbidden with extreme forms of punishment for those caught disobeying. Hence, any signs of gairaigo usage at the beginning of the 17th century may have been forcefully "eradicated".

Prior to World War II, gairaigo were a regular part of the Japanese lexicon. With the onset of war, however, all words of foreign origin were banned since they were considered "words of the enemy" (Hashimoto 2007). Interestingly, after the war ended, gairaigo went back to the same level of usage as in pre-war times. Thereafter, from the late 1950s to 1970s, there was an explosion of gairaigo usage - increasing three or fourfold (ibid). One important reason given for the rapid expansion of foreign words in Japanese since 1945 is the influence of the United States of America. They had a dramatic effect on many aspects of Japanese life and instigated, albeit perhaps unwittingly, an inclination in the Japanese of that era "to adopt a foreign culture" (Kindaichi 1978:40).

2.3 Some Characteristics of Gairaigo in Japanese

Aitchison (1981:120) describes two characteristics of gairaigo which are applicable to the Japanese language:

i. a "detachable" element, which in no way affects the structure of the borrowing language. For example, ハウス (haus = house)

ii. a word is altered to fit with the "borrower's language". For example, in the case of the English word "challenge", the Japanese language has adopted it as both a verb and noun. While the noun remains チャレンジ (charenji), the verb form has inserted the Japanese auxiliary suffix する(suru), thereby creating the term チャレンジする(charenji suru).

It is clear to the native English instructor in Japan that words borrowed into Japanese (from English) have been adjusted to fit in with the phonological sounds in the language, and at the same time have often had their meanings altered from those of the original language's definition. Koo (1989:125) suggests definitions may have been modified because most of the English words introduced into the Japanese language were by people who

lacked “native control of the source language”.

In Japanese there is an expression “waseieigo” (和製英語) which means English words made in Japan. Words like サラリーマン(sarari-man = salary+man = employee) and オーエル (o-eru = O.L. - office lady = secretary) demonstrate how Japanese innovatively adapt and incorporate foreign words (Barshay 1996:137). That the Japanese language appears at such ease with gairaigo may be accredited to the language having a long history of borrowing Chinese kanji (Chinese characters) together with the “ON” (Chinese sounds) readings (Barshay 1996:139).

In contrast, Thompson (1987:221) identifies “false friends” used by Japanese learners, including the term: コンセント(konsento = electric socket), and truncated forms such as マスコミ(masukomi = mass communications), which are used on the supposition that they are correct English.

2.4 The Present-day Appeal of Gairaigo

It is evident that English gairaigo have become deeply entrenched in the everyday language of many Japanese people (Kimura 2004:15; Rebuck 2002:62). Nasu (2007) explains how this pervasiveness of gairaigo has deceived many Japanese into deeming them correct English. While Croft (2000:205) observes that basic linguistic features of the native language are less likely to be replaced by loanwords, Japan demonstrates a trend to the contrary. One of the many examples of this, is the often used term アパート(apa-to = flat/apartment), which has apparently discarded its “foreign-like feeling” (Chinen 1983:96).
Even though there are words conveying the same meanings in kanji, different groups in Japanese society have adopted progressively more gairaigo in their daily lives. There is a certain “prestige factor”, as highlighted by Langacker (1968:179). For example, younger and more modern Japanese people especially like to use gairaigo because of the cosmopolitan impression they are perceived to give, while specialists like to apply them in their fields of study as they are considered to sound more professional (Chinen 1983; Hashimoto 2007; Rebuck 2002:54; Torikai 2007:58).

Gairaigo are also an attractive option when talking about offensive subjects. For example, in the cases of sexual harassment and stalking, two new terms were coined: セクハラ (sekuhara) and ストーカー (sto-ka-). Torikai (2007:59) maintains how it is easier for Japanese to discuss these topics when using gairaigo.

Similarly, to avoid the usage of candid expressions in Japanese, gairaigo can be used to alter the way people feel about issues. In 1997, for example, the governments of both the United States of America and Japan were discussing guidelines for security defence. Torikai (2007:59) reveals how there was concern that employing the term 指針 (shishin = guideline) might have resulted in questions being raised about the proposed policies. It

was therefore decided to adopt the term ガイドライン (gaidorain = guideline); it is believed that change in expression might have helped eliminate questions or challenges to the political decisions taken at the time (ibid).

2.5 Definition of "charenji-suru" vs "to challenge"

Taking the current appeal of gairaigo into consideration, it could be argued that "charenji suru" is more attractive to many younger Japanese than the traditional word: 挑戦 (chosen = challenge), even though the meaning is comparable. In the aforementioned speech by Abe (Cabinet Public Relations Office 2006), the term "charenji" (derived from the English word "challenge") was used 7 times, further demonstrating the widespread use of this particular English loanword in Japanese.

While the noun "charenji" means "challenge", with the auxiliary verb suffix, the meaning changes, and is defined in gairaigo dictionaries as: trying to do something *difficult* (Kamiya 1994:50; Petersen 1999:20-21; Webb 1990:131). It is Petersen (1999:20-21) who clarifies how the use of "charenji suru" is different from the English verb "to challenge", with the emphasis being on "accepting the challenge, not making the challenge".

In high school English vocabulary books, the noun "charenji" is included, with the one word definition - "challenge". On the other hand, the verb form, "charenji suru", is not listed. This may explain why EFL students in Japan use the same translation for both expressions.

3 The nature of the research

The fundamental objectives of this research are:

(i) to assess the level of "natural" English produced by EFL learners when using gairaigo in English

(ii) to consider whether the use of English loanwords in Japanese negatively affects Japanese learners' English (i.e. negative transfer), thereby hindering comprehension on the part of native-English speakers.

This investigation comprised two distinct groups of people: University EFL students in Japan and Native English speakers living outside Japan.

3.1 Preliminary Research on EFL Students

3.1.1 Investigation

The preliminary research entailed an analysis of EFL learners' written English. Its purpose was to assess how the word "challenge" was utilised in the authors' compositions.

3.1.2 The Participants

The written work of 147 male and female first year university students was involved in

this preliminary investigation. All the participants were non-English majors studying Academic English Writing as a compulsory subsidiary subject once a week. Their level of ability in English ranged from low to intermediate.

3.1.3 The Assignment

During the initial writing class of the academic year, the students were asked to write one paragraph in English to introduce themselves. The teacher deliberately chose a relatively easy topic to enable them to write more freely. The participants were asked to try to include the English term "challenge" (as a noun or verb) in their writing. No dictionaries were permitted before or during the writing activity to eliminate the possibility of any example sentences or structures being memorised or copied.

3.1.4 Findings (of the Assignment)

On examining the written work, it was found that from a total of 147 students, 91 used the word, or derivative of "challenge." Overall, the term was utilised 111 times. 17 participants included the term more than once in their writing, while 56 participants failed to include the term. It is important to note that of those 56, several approached the instructor after class and admitted they had forgotten to incorporate the assigned word. Others, however, lacked confidence in how to correctly assimilate it, and accordingly avoided its usage.

The sentences including the word "challenge" were divided into verb and noun forms and grouped into two categories considered "correct" and "incorrect" by the author. As can be seen in *Table 1* below, of the 111 sentences, only 19% demonstrated a natural (or nearly natural) usage of the term "challenge", and all of these were using "challenge" as a noun. Nevertheless, of the 19%, 9% comprised very simple structures, which included the following patterns: "It is a challenge" or "It was my challenge". Of particular interest for this research project, was that of the 73 cases where "challenge" was written as a verb, on not one occasion was its usage deemed correct by the instructor.

Table 1 : Uses of "challenge" deemed correct / incorrect by the instructor

Usage of "Challenge"	Frequency of Usage	Frequency of Usage as a %
Correct verbs	0	0
Incorrect verbs	73	66
Correct nouns	21	19
Incorrect nouns	17	15
TOTAL	111	100

A selection of these sentences was then used to formulate a questionnaire for native English speakers.

3.2 Secondary Research on Native English Speakers

3.2.1 Experiment: A "Challenging" Questionnaire (Appendix 1)

The secondary research involved an experiment with two objectives:

i. to test whether the sentences produced by Japanese university students would be thought of as natural by native speakers of English

ii. to assess whether incorrect usage of the gairaigo "challenge" hinders comprehension when communicating with native-speakers of English

3.2.2 Participants

The survey was sent by e-mail to 30 native English speakers. 20 responded: 6 male and 14 female. All respondents were from the United Kingdom and aged between 30 and 68. In order to diminish the possibility of participants sympathising with any unnatural English, it was decided that only people without prior knowledge of the Japanese language, other than (in a few cases) recognising simple greetings, would be involved in this research.

3.2.3 Method

The distributed survey (Appendix 1) included 12 sentences, each using the word "challenge" or "challenging" in context. Of these 12 statements, only two (1 and 11) incorporated "challenge" in its noun form. Questions 1, 4, and 11 were distractors, that is, sentences thought to represent relatively natural uses of "challenging" which would secure "natural" responses and thereby ensure respondents would feel confident that they were responding to the survey properly. These three distractors were taken from the sample sentences. The remaining questions were examples, chosen by the author from the aforementioned paragraphs, and considered representative of the comparatively unnatural ways in which the term "challenge" is apt to be used by Japanese EFL learners. A few of these sentences were marginally altered to avoid averting the participants' attention from the intended area of research, that being the usage of "challenge".

In Part I, all the participants were asked to rate each sentence using a three-point Likert scale, with response options including 1 ("natural"), 2 ("undecided"), and 3 ("unnatural"). All respondents answered this section of the survey completely. For the second part of the survey, the participants were requested to give suggestions for what they assumed the writers were trying to convey where they had unnaturally utilised "challenge". 17 of the respondents completed Part II. Some of these observations will be mentioned in the discussion section.

3.2.4 Weaknesses of the experiment

Although the respondents were asked to assess the sentences, room was not given to indicate fully the level of difficulty experienced, and time taken, when speculating on the intended meanings of what the students had written. Some respondents added a note to the author explaining how challenging it was to deduce possible intended meanings for certain

sample sentences. In future research, a more controlled test might produce a clearer picture of the initial level of confusion over some utterances.

4 Results and analysis (Appendices 2 and 3)

4.1 Observations

As expected, results for every statement were statistically significant at the .01 level of significance, with the distractor sentences 1, 4, and 11 (sentences included for their natural use of "challenge" or "challenging") receiving a significant number of "natural" responses and the rest of the questions obtaining a considerable amount of "unnatural" answers. Data was collated (see Appendix 2) and the responses were then analyzed using a chi-square test. Because the test does not give valid results when two out of three categories receive responses of zero, the chi-square test could only be applied to statements 1, 3, 5, 10, and 11.

The results were as follows: Statement 1 (x^2 (2, N=19)=12.4, p<.01), Statement 3 (x^2 (2, N=19)=19.9, p<.01), Statement 5 (x^2 (2, N=19)=16.2, p<.01), Statement 10 (x^2 (2, N=19)=16.2, p<.01), and Statement 11 (x^2 (2, N=19)=7.2, p<.01). Although chi-square tests were not possible for the remaining statements due to the unanimous responses of participants, when the "undecided" midrange option was eliminated, a binomial test showed each statement to be significant, p=.000. These results show that the null hypothesis, namely that native speakers will not be able consistently to make clear judgments concerning the "naturalness" of these uses of "challenge" or "challenging" in sentences, may be rejected. It can be stated with a fair amount of certainty that the statements chosen as representative examples of "unnatural" usage for the purposes of this survey are, in fact, ill-formed sentences from the perspective of native speakers of English.

4.2 Discussion

Just as Ueda depicted, this research advocates that "confusion and misunderstandings" take place if gairaigo are incorrectly used by Japanese people when communicating with native speakers of English who are not residing or working in Japan (Ueda 1993:142). Considering the possible reasons given by participants for the judgments they made for specific statements (Appendix 3), a few trends become apparent.

i. Examples of good comprehension

Statements 2, 7 and 10 elicited the highest number of correctly assumed meanings, just below 60%, proving they were the most straightforward for the participants to comprehend, despite being considered "unnatural". While many of the respondents elicited that the writers wanted to convey "try", the intended meaning of "trying *hard*" was insufficiently communicated.

ⅱ. Examples of hindered comprehension

Negative transfer is where the use of the native language (L1) pattern or rule, leads to an incorrect form in the target language (L2) (Richards et al 1985). Statements 5, 6 and 12 caused the most difficulty for the participants in correctly assessing the intended meanings, and clearly demonstrated that negative transfer was responsible for the confusion. Almost 60% of respondents interpreted Statement 5 as "wanting" to go to Tokyo, rather than the effort made to try and go there. An equal number (just fewer than 25% in both cases) considered Statement 6 to mean either "tried" or "studied" with the remaining respondents offering a broad range of 6 further probable meanings. These included: changed, took up and concentrated on. For Statement 12, just fewer than 55% of the respondents believed the writer meant "played", while less than 15% wrote "tried" for the intended meaning.

ⅲ. Further examples of confusion

Although over 40% of the participants assumed the writer was inferring "try" in Statement 3, just over 20% of the respondents were unable to even guess the intended meaning, displaying clear confusion. Statement 9 offered different challenges for the respondents. While just fewer than 55% suggested the writer implied "trying", this does not demonstrate comprehension on the part of the participants. If the sentence is changed to: "I'm trying to live alone", it could suggest that the writer is still living with his or her family but desiring to move out. In this statement however, the writer's probable meaning is closer to: "I am trying my best to live alone". Interestingly, one participant interpreted Statement 9 as: "I'm difficult to live with", highlighting the potential miscommunication for Japanese learners of English who misuse gairaigo in English.

ⅳ. "Trying" versus "trying hard"

After calculating the total number of suggestions for the sample sentences (149), excluding the distractors, "try" or a variation thereof, was listed as an alternative in almost 44% of the sample sentences. In addition, the concept of trying *hard* was only offered as a recommendation in four of the total number of preferred words.

5 Reflections and Recommendations

5.1 It's not all bad news!

Despite the overwhelming evidence from the data of negative transfer with regards to meaning, this should not be seen in an entirely negative light.

5.2 Recognising a richer source of vocabulary in EFL students in Japan

With the daily expansion of English gairaigo being adopted, Japanese students are starting high school with an even larger English vocabulary than they may ever have imagined. If teachers encourage the students to think of English gairaigo, then check the original meanings and native patterns of usage, students may start to use a far larger

vocabulary, with relative ease, from earlier in their high school career and on into their university education.

In addition, it must be remembered that Japanese learn the meanings of gairaigo in the context of their native tongue, not through the study of English. Hence, however much native English speakers may want to claim a loanword from their own language, once integrated into the Japanese language, the term should be regarded as Japanese (Shepherd 1995). As Kimura's research reveals, being exposed to copious gairaigo from English does not automatically ensure that students will master the correct meanings in English (Kimura 2004:62). Therefore, just as most EFL learners recognise the need to diligently study the English translations for regular kanji, it is suggested that the same discipline be applied to gairaigo.

5.3 Utilising gairaigo to the instructors' advantage

By reflecting on the widespread use of English gairaigo in advertising, the mass media and magazines, it seems short-sighted to label the situation in Japan a "dilemma" or worse still, a "plague" (Shepherd 1995:6; McGill 1988). Would it not be wiser to look for the advantages for teaching English as a foreign language that lie within the use of gairaigo in the Japanese language? Having said that the common use of English gairaigo in Japanese is not as bad as some writers claim, there is a need to examine the current situation and see how related problems in the class can be tackled.

Although it is imperative not to encourage students to write katakana sounds as a pronunciation guide, is there any harm in encouraging learners to identify the gairaigo from the new English word and then establish the different written and spoken forms? Alternatively, if new words were presented in their gairaigo form first and the students asked to guess the true meaning in English, the challenge may help them identify the differences for themselves. This paper proposes, as Kimura also advocates (Kimura 2004:69), that EFL instructors devote time in their EFL classes to the constructive study of gairaigo.

Without doubt, Japanese EFL students' use of gairaigo is problematic for English instructors trying to teach academic English (Gabbrielli 2005:80). Perhaps the time is coming when native English instructors in Japan will understand, better than ever, the advantages of mastering as many gairaigo as possible to make them work to the advantage of the teachers and the students. By doing so, the teacher is able to communicate more effectively with the learners, and also appreciate the areas of possible confusion which may occur for the L2 students.

6 Conclusion

Linguistically, Japan is aspiring to become more international, so there is a great emphasis on raising a generation who can speak and use English proficiently (Torikai 2007:58).

Partly as a result of this, gairaigo have been able to become ever more prevalent (ibid) which is clear from the annually increasing lists of loanwords in Japanese dictionaries. The impact of these foreign terms can either be "welcomed or opposed" (Crystal 1997:19). In the eyes of Japanese traditionalists, gairaigo are making the language far less "Japanese", whereas a survey conducted for the *Daily Yomiuri* 10 years ago, portrayed the younger generations being at ease with the increase and prolific usage of gairaigo (Kyodo News 1997).

For English instructors in Japan, the daily usage of new English gairaigo should be considered for its positive influence. Teachers should make use of the changing Japanese language, particularly as gairaigo are "constantly being used in new ways with new meanings" (Webb 1990:8). While purists may dislike the meanings of English words being extended in this way, pleasure should be taken that more similarities in two very opposed language structures are becoming apparent day by day.

Hoffer (1990:19) believes that it is feasible for the integration of English gairaigo to develop so much that within the next one hundred years, "their uses and functions will be indistinguishable from all other vocabulary". If this should be the case, current teachers in Japan are at an advantage since many gairaigo are still recognised as such at present and this can enhance the teaching of vocabulary and comprehension. While most people like to avoid making major changes in their languages, the reality is that "living languages never hold still" (Langacker 1968:175).

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APPENDIX 1 *The Challenging Questionnaire*

Ⅰ. *Please read the following sentences and indicate your level of comprehension as follows*:

Write ① If you consider the usage of the word "challenge/challenging" in the sentence is natural English

Write ② If you are undecided

Write ③ If you consider the usage of the word "challenge/challenging" in the sentence is unnatural English

Ⅱ. *If you think "challenge/challenging" is used unnaturally,(below the relevant sentences) please write an alternative noun/verb indicating what you believe the writers should have used.*

NB: Please only look at the use of the word "challenge/challenging" in the sentences — NOT the style of the sentences

1. My challenge in Kyushu University is making many friends, beginning tennis and lead(ing) a full life.
2. So I gave up the dream and started to challenge to enter this university.
3. I think it is very important to challenge because if I don't challenge anything, I can't live in (a) new city.
4. So I'm challenging (him) to make a new band that has more energy.
5. I challenged to go to Tokyo, but I didn't have much money.
6. I challenged some things to get more skills.
7. I must challenge cleaning the room, cook(ing), wash(ing) the dishes, (and) wash(ing) the clothes by myself.
8. So I'm going to challenge some sports which I have never played before.
9. I'm challenging to live alone.
10. I don't have a lot of friends so I want to challenge to make more friends (during my) college days.
11. Finally, my challenge in my college days is to study very hard and become (a) respectful person.
12. So I went to (the) tennis court and challenged tennis.

NOTE: *The words in parentheses indicate alterations made by the author to the sample sentences before administering the test to the native speakers.*

APPENDIX 2 Results of *The Challenging Questionnaire* Part I

Participant	F/M	Age	St 1	St 2	St 3	St 4	St 5	St 6	St 7	St 8	St 9	St 10	St 11	St 12
1	2	68	1	3	1	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3
2	1	32	1	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3
3	1	32	1	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3
4	1	38	2	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
5	2	37	1	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3
6	1	39	1	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3
7	1	37	1	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3
8	1	36	2	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
9	2	34	1	3	3	1	1	3	3	3	3	1	1	3
10	1	67	3	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3
11	1	62	3	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3
12	1	64	1	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3
13	1	60	1	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3
14	1	32	1	3	1	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3
15	1	35	1	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3
16	2	37	1	3	1	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
17	2	62	3	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
18	1	38	3	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3
19	2	64	1	3	2	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3
20	1	39	1	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3

F (Female) = 1
M (Male) = 2
St = Statement

APPENDIX 3 Suggestions by participants for *The Challenging Questionnaire* Part II

Participant	F/M	Age	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12
1	2	68	1	took on the challenge	1	1	tried hard	concen-trated	must tackle	try to play	take up the challenge	try to make	1	played
2	1	32	1	try	?	1	tried	tried	try to	take up	trying	try to make	1	played
3	1	32	1	try	try	1	tried	studied	learn	learn	trying	try to make	1	played
4	1	38	2	plan	achieve	1	wanted	learned	learn	learn	learning	try	goal/aim	learned
5	2	37	1	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3
6	1	39	1	try	try	1	decided	studied	attempt	try	trying	make it a priority	1	challenged someone
7	1	37	1	the challenge	challenge myself	1	the challenge of going to	worked at some things	work at	attempt	aspiring	want to work at	1	tried
8	1	36	2	the challenge	try	1	wanted	tried	try	try	trying	aim to	my goal	tried
9	2	34	1	try	persevere	1	1	studied	try	participate	trying	1	1	played
10	1	67	3	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3
11	1	62	objective	set out to enter	try	1	endeavoured	tried	must try	try	endeavouring	try	1	attempted to play
12	1	64	1	try	try	1	wanted	worked at	get on with	attempt	trying	begin	1	played
13	1	60	1	compete for a place	test	1	wanted	studied	try	try out	learning	try	1	played
14	1	32	1	3	1	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3
15	1	35	1	try	have challenges	1	wanted to go	took up	start	take up	attempting	aim to	1	took up
16	2	37	1	started the challenge	1	1	it was a challenge	challenged myself	must get better at	going to attempt	I'm difficult to live with	my aim is	my challenges	learnt
17	2	62	goal	attempt entry to	adapt/try	1	wanted	learned	try	compete in	trying	try	aim	played
18	1	38	aim	try	?	1	wanted	tried	try	try	daring	try	1	played
19	2	64	1	trying	2	1	wanted	changed	set about	take up	going	try	1	played
20	1	39	1	try	?	1	wanted	learnt	take up the challenge?	play	take up the challenge	rise to the challenge	1	challenged someone

F (Female) = 1

M (Male) = 2

? denotes participants indicating an inability to comprehend the writer's intended meaning