

PDF hosted at the Radboud Repository of the Radboud University Nijmegen

The following full text is an author's version which may differ from the publisher's version.

For additional information about this publication click this link.

<http://hdl.handle.net/2066/43402>

Please be advised that this information was generated on 2019-02-17 and may be subject to change.

The use of English in job advertisements in a Dutch national newspaper – On what factors does it depend?

Hubert Korzilius/ Frank van Meurs/ José Hermans

Nijmegen

1 Introduction

'The sky is the limit', 'professional', 'Search & Selection', 'Leisure is our business', 'Office Manager'. In themselves, the words and phrases quoted here are not remarkable. What may be remarkable is that they were all found in job advertisements that were published in the Dutch national newspaper *de Volkskrant*. The use of English in Dutch job advertisements is one aspect of the use of English in countries where it is not the official language and more particularly of the use of English in advertising in non-English-speaking countries. Through a corpus analysis, this study aims to provide a systematic description of the English language use in job advertisements in the Netherlands and the factors on which this may depend.

Although numerous studies of the use of English in advertising for products and services in non-English-speaking countries have been published (see Piller 2003 for an overview), little attention seems to have been paid to the use of English in recruitment advertising in these countries. Larson (1990) notes that the use of English is obvious in Swedish job advertisements, particularly in work areas and job titles, illustrating his point with examples but not with figures quantifying the spread of English. Hilgendorf (1996: 10-11) gives a number of examples of the use of job titles "reflecting varying degrees of Englishization" from job advertisements for positions advertised in German in the German newspaper *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. However, we are not aware of any *quantitative* analysis of the use of English in job advertisements in countries where English is neither a first nor an official second language. Kachru (1985/ 1992) defines these countries as belonging to the 'expanding circle' of World Englishes. By studying the Dutch situation in this respect, we hope to provide materials and a methodology for similar studies in other countries, including a more explicit definition of what is to be regarded as English

than is given in most of the studies we have seen (where such a definition is often not given at all).

Several authors have observed that English is widely used in various domains of Dutch society, including the media (see, for example, Berns 1995; Claus/ Taeldeman 1989; De Bot 1994; Gerritsen/ Nickerson 2004; Ridder 1995; Van der Sijs 1996). More specific figures are available for the use of English in business communication through the Dutch media, the type of communication to which job advertisements belong. Gerritsen (1995) shows that English was used on 19% of pages containing advertisements in Dutch newspapers and magazines published in 1994. In 2004, 64% of the advertisements in the glossy women's magazine *Elle* included English (Gerritsen et al. in press). According to Gerritsen/ Korzilius/ Van Meurs/ Gijsbers (2000), approximately one third of television commercials broadcast on Dutch television in 1996 contained English.

Although Schreiner (1990: 7) and Renkema/ Vallen/ Hoeken (2001: 257) claim that English terms are used more and more frequently in Dutch job advertisements, no specific figures are available for this genre (see Van Meurs/ Korzilius/ Den Hollander, to appear, for a discussion of the genre status of job advertisements, following the definition of genres from Yates/ Orlikowski, 1992: 319, as "typified communicative actions invoked in recurrent situations and characterized by similar substance and form"). It seems important to analyze the genre of job advertisements, because job ads are the most commonly used means of recruiting personnel in the Netherlands. According to Van Dalen (1999: 42), who bases her figures on data from 1996, 30% of vacancies are filled by attracting applicants through job advertisements. The next two most effective means of filling vacancies mentioned by Van Dalen are uninvited applications (20%) and temping agencies (13%); other means include external relations, existing employees, and schools. We are only aware of one published study of one specific aspect of the use of English in job advertisements from Dutch newspapers. Gerritsen (2001) specifically compared the use of Dutch and English gender-neutral terms – such as 'hoofd' [head] and 'engineer' – in the headings of job advertisements published in 1989 and 1999. On the basis of an analysis of advertisements in the national daily *de Telegraaf* and the national weekly *Intermediair*, Gerritsen (2001) establishes a statistically

significant increase in the number of English gender-neutral terms in Dutch job advertisement headings from 60% in 1989 to 81% in 1999.

The purpose of this article is to make a detailed study of the use of English in complete job advertisements in Dutch newspapers (not just headings), and of the factors on which this use may depend. The aspects we research are based on considerations from the literature, especially literature on English in commercial advertising. We will first of all investigate how widespread the use of English in complete job ads actually is (cf. Gerritsen et al. 2000/ in press on Dutch commercial advertising). Secondly, we will study the frequency with which English is used in the various *parts* of job advertisements, inspired by the approach taken by Cheshire and Moser (1994: 456-457) and Piller (2001: 161-162), who suggest that English is given more prominence when it is used in certain parts of advertisements for products and services, such as the headline and the signature line. Thirdly, since English in advertising is strongly associated with “the young, cosmopolitan business elite” (Piller 2001: 180), and since interviews with advertising agencies revealed that they used English especially for “upper-middle and upper classes” and avoided it for lower-class and lower-middle class target groups “with little educational background” (Alm 2003: 151), we will try to determine whether the amount of English that is used depends on the *level* of the position offered. Fourthly, since Cheshire and Moser (1994: 459-463) find that English in advertising is associated with particular types of products, such as cigarettes and computers, we aim to establish whether the amount of English depends on the *sector* of the organization offering the position. Fifthly, in view of Larson’s (1990) suggestion that multinational companies prefer English terms in job ads to native variants in order to create consistency in the terms used by their branches in different countries, we will analyze whether there is a difference in the amount of English used between job ads from *organizations that only have branches in the Netherlands* and those from *organizations that also have branches in other countries*. Finally, we will determine *what English words* are used and what the *level of difficulty* of these words might be, following the analysis in Cheshire and Moser, who conclude that only a minority of the English words in their sample of advertisements “seem likely to cause a real problem of understanding to a reader

with a basic knowledge of English” (1994: 458). Thus our research questions are the following:

- (1) How many Dutch job advertisements contain English?
- (2) In which parts of Dutch job advertisements is English used?
- (3) To what extent does the use of English in Dutch job advertisements depend on the sector of the organization that placed the advertisement?
- (4) For which job levels is English used in Dutch job advertisements?
- (5) To what extent does the use of English in Dutch job advertisements depend on the type of organization (multinational vs. Dutch mono-national)?
- (6) What English words are used most frequently in Dutch job advertisements and what is their potential level of difficulty for Dutch readers?

By answering these questions, we aim to fill a gap in research into the Anglicization of Dutch business communication through the mass media.

2 Method

2.1 The corpus

The use of English was analyzed in 679 job advertisements published in four successive Saturday editions of the Dutch national daily *de Volkskrant* (4, 11, 18 and 25 August 2001). According to Van Dalen (1999: 47), *de Volkskrant* is the Dutch national daily newspaper whose job advertisements reach the largest percentage of highly educated people in the Netherlands (30%, according to figures from 1997). Only the weekly *Intermediair* reaches a larger percentage of highly educated people (47%), but these are from a more limited range of professional fields than those reached by *de Volkskrant*. This is because *Intermediair* does not cover the fields of education and health care (BOA Plus 2003). Figures from the year 2000 indicate that the percentage of highly educated people reached by an average edition of *de Volkskrant* is 25%. The highest percentage, 41%, is reached by an average edition of *Intermediair* (BOA Extra 2000).

The total number of job advertisements (N = 679) was studied in order to determine how many advertisements were completely in English. For more

detailed analyses, a random selection of 120 job advertisements was made (18%, slightly more than one in six). This sample size results in a 95% level of confidence with a sampling error of plus or minus 8% (Korzilius 2000: 111-112).

2.2 Defining 'job advertisement'

All advertisements in which organizations asked for personnel were analyzed as job advertisements, except for so-called '1 in 3 mini's', small advertisements published simultaneously in three Dutch dailies. These are used for a variety of purposes, not only job offers, but also contact advertisements and advertisements for holidays and courses. Many of the job advertisements in '1 in 3 mini's' are not fully-fledged job advertisements (see below for the elements of a job advertisement) but are brief, consisting of no more than a reference to the type of work and contact data.

Our definition of a job advertisement centered on the job title. If in one advertisement more positions were offered at the same company, or if in one advertisement a recruitment agency advertised positions at several companies, each job title and all the information pertaining to the job described by that job title - including information that was relevant to that job as well as to the other jobs advertised by the company or the recruitment agency (such as contact information or a slogan) - was regarded as one job advertisement. If, for example, a recruitment agency or a company placed one general advertisement containing three different job titles, we analyzed this as three different job advertisements. Information which was not specific to one particular job but relevant to all the jobs described by the three different job titles was counted three times in our analysis. Our sample of 120 job advertisements included 18 cases where two or more advertisements were taken from the same, larger advertisement.

The two decisions we made in determining what we analyzed as a job advertisement are supported by the information published since October 2002 by *de Volkskrant* in lists of vacancies on offer in its Saturday editions (*'de Volkskrant banen'*). These lists present the job titles in alphabetical order and for each job title specify the organization offering the position and the newspaper section and the page where the advertisement appears. Vacancies advertised in the so-called '1 in 3 mini's' are not listed.

On the basis of Van Dalen (1999: 103-110), we distinguished the following elements of job advertisements (see Figure 1 for an illustration):

- job title;
- job description: tasks and responsibilities;
- job requirements: the requirements an applicant should meet, for instance in terms of education and experience;
- headline ('kopregel'): serves to draw the reader's attention; it does not have to be at the very top of the ad, but it always has text in a large font;
- company information: information about the organization, but also about what the company offers (such as salary, fringe benefits, and working environment) and about the application procedure (such as contact information);
- end line (Van Dalen, 1999, uses the term 'pay-off'): an expressive phrase at the end of the advertisement containing a message from the organization;
- illustration and logo.

We chose to include information about what the company offers and about the application procedure under 'company information', even though these are three separate categories in Van Dalen (1999). This decision was made because all three categories contained information about the organization, which was not always easy to separate and was often presented in the same part of the text. The element 'illustration and logo' will not be discussed in the rest of this paper, because there were no illustrations and logos containing English.

2.3 Defining 'word' and 'English'

In order to be able to determine how many English and Dutch words were used in our sample of job advertisements, we needed to define what a word is. For the purposes of this study, a word was defined as "a character or consecutive string of characters between spaces, or between a space and a punctuation mark" (cf. *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary*, no date). For problematic cases, see Appendix 1.

Wyeth is een Nederlandse dochteronderneming van American Home Products Corporation (AHPC), een van 's werelds grootste innovatieve farmaceutische bedrijven. Divisies van AHPC spelen wereldwijd een leidende rol op het gebied van recept- en vrij verkrijgbare geneesmiddelen, vaccins en veterinaire producten.

In Nederland is Wyeth als producent van receptgeneesmiddelen een belangrijke marktpartij op het gebied van CNS/psychiatrie, gynaecologie/woman's health, reumatologie en vaccins. In het ziekenhuis concentreert Wyeth zich op de voorgeschreven geneesmiddelen in de oncologie, hematologie en microbiologie.

Door de niet aflatende inspanning in ontwikkeling van nieuwe geneesmiddelen introduceren wij momenteel een reeks nieuwe producten die een gezonde groei van het bedrijf zullen waarborgen.

Onze cultuur is open, eerlijk, gericht op resultaat en stimuleert persoonlijke ontwikkeling. Onze samenwerking gebeurt op basis van wederzijds respect, zodat ambitieuze mensen volledig tot hun recht kunnen komen.

Met het oog op het op- en uitbouwen van extra service richting artsen, apothekers en patiënten op het gebied van de snel ontwikkelende vaccins markt zijn wij voor de medische afdeling op zoek naar een

Scientific Information Services Officer Vaccins M/V
(fulltime)

De functie
Deze functie biedt een ideale opstap voor een carrière in de farmaceutische industrie. Wyeth is in Nederland een middelgrote farmaceutische onderneming, waardoor alle afdelingen in nauwe samenwerking voor één resultaat kunnen werken. De Scientific Information Services Officer Vaccins zal, na een gedegen opleiding, het eerste aanspreekpunt zijn voor artsen, apothekers en patiënten voor vragen over de vaccins van Wyeth. In eerste instantie betreft het een tijdelijk dienstverband van 6 maanden.

Interesse?
Stuur dan uw sollicitatiebrief voorzien van motivatie en curriculum vitae binnen 14 dagen aan AHP Pharma B.V., ter attentie van onze Personnel Officer, mevrouw S.T. Klaassen, Postbus 255, 2130 AG Hoofddorp. Solliciteren via email kan ook: simone.klaassen@wyeth.nl. Nieuwsgierig? Bezoek onze internationale website: www.wyeth.com of bel 023-5672567.

Profiel

- Een voltooide opleiding tot arts, apotheker of (medisch)-bioloog; met gebleken belangstelling en/of ervaring in de immunologie;
- Het vermogen om complexe materie op een heldere wijze weer te geven, afgestemd op de geadresseerde;
- Actief kunnen luisteren;
- Affiniteit met een commerciële werkomgeving;
- Een echte teamplayer;
- Goede computervaardigheden in het algemeen en specifiek m.b.t. databases.

Wyeth, Postbus 255, 2130 AG Hoofddorp

WYETH

AHP PHARMA B.V.
DIVISIE VAN

1

2

3

4

4

2

1

5

Figure 1: Example of a Dutch job advertisement (*de Volkskrant*, 18 August 2001, Science section: 5). Words which were regarded as English according to our definition are underlined.

Explanation of numbers indicating elements of the job advertisement:

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------|
| 1 = Company information | 4 = Job description |
| 2 = Job requirements | 5 = Logo |
| 3 = Job title | |

In this study, we used a restrictive definition of English, in that we did not consider a word of English origin to be English if it had in some way become part of the Dutch language. To draw an analogy, in a study of French in US advertising, the word 'route' would not be regarded as French, even though it derives from French. When deciding whether an English word was English in a

strict sense or had been Dutchified, we tried to apply criteria that could be objectively verified. Our criteria were the following:

- If a job advertisement was completely in English, that is, if all the words it contained could be found in an English dictionary and the grammar and syntax were English, all the words in the advertisement were considered to be English.
 - Example. In a completely English advertisement, the noun ‘water’ was considered to be an English word, even though ‘water’ is also a Dutch noun.
- If a job advertisement was not completely in English, but partly or fully in Dutch, we basically considered a word English when it was found in an English dictionary or on an English website and did not occur in the latest edition of the authoritative dictionary of the Dutch language, the thirteenth edition of Van Dale *Groot woordenboek der Nederlandse taal* (Geerts, Den Boon, Geeraerts and Vos 1999; henceforth Van Dale 1999) and was not adapted to Dutch spelling or grammar conventions.

For a more detailed description of the procedure we followed to determine whether a word in not completely English job advertisements was English, see Appendix 2.

2.4 Determining sector and job level of the positions advertised

In order to determine whether the frequency with which English was used depended on the type of organization that placed the job advertisement or on the type of position that was advertised, we classified the organizations and positions according to the official categories of the Dutch Bureau of Statistics (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, CBS):

- the classification by sector was based on the Standard Company Classification 1993 (‘Standaard bedrijfsindeling 1993’; CBS, 1993);
- the categorization of positions was based on the Standard Job Classification 1992 (‘Standaard beroepenclassificatie 1992’; CBS, 1992).

The Standard Company Classification categorizes economic activities at six different levels, called sections, subsections, divisions, classes, and sub-classes. To classify the organizations in our corpus, we used the highest level, that of the 17 sections, such as ‘Manufacturing’, ‘Education’, and ‘Health and

social work'. The CBS Standard Job Classification categorizes jobs at four different levels: by job level, job class, job group, and individual job. To classify the positions in our corpus, we again used the highest level, i.e. the classification by job level, for example, medium- and higher-level jobs.

2.5 Defining mono-national and multinational organizations

When studying whether the use of English depended on whether or not the organizations were multinationals, we defined a particular organization as a multinational and not a Dutch mono-national organization if any of the following conditions applied:

- Dutch branches and branches in other countries were mentioned in the job advertisement that the organization had placed;
- Dutch branches and branches in other countries were mentioned on the organization's website;
- the organization was part of an organization whose website mentioned Dutch branches and branches in other countries;
- websites for branches of the organization outside the Netherlands were found by changing the website's extension from '.nl' (the country code for the Netherlands) to '.com' or '.org'.

If these conditions were not met and the organization's website only mentioned Dutch locations, we decided that the organization only had branches in the Netherlands.

2.6 Determining the difficulty of the English words used in the corpus

Cheshire/ Moser (1994: 457-458) determined the potential difficulty of English words in Swiss advertisements aimed at Swiss readers by checking whether a word was included in a basic English dictionary for French learners and whether it "could be easily associated with either a French or German word". If a word did not meet either of these criteria, they concluded that it seems "likely to cause a real problem of understanding to a reader with a basic knowledge of English". Since no basic dictionary of English specifically aims at Dutch learners, we used the following three criteria to get an indication of the level of difficulty of the English words in our corpus of partly English job advertisements. A word was considered relatively easy if:

- its stem was among the words used in the defining vocabulary of the *Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture* (Summers 1998: xviii-xxiii) whose target group are learners of English. The defining vocabulary is a limited set of words that are used for all the definitions in the dictionary, and which are taken from lists of the most frequent English words;
- its stem was a word marked with four of five ‘black diamonds’ to indicate that it falls in the top two frequency bands in the *Collins COBUILD English Dictionary*, which also aims at learners of English. These words are among the most frequent words in the corpus on which the dictionary is based, and “account for 75% of all English usage” (Sinclair 1995: xiii);
- a similar Dutch word (a cognate) could be found in the Dutch dictionary Van Dale (1999), such as ‘kwaliteit’ for ‘quality’. In this third category we also included words of English origin, such as ‘novelty’ (as a cognate for ‘novel’ in the sense of ‘new’). However, we did not regard the following types of cognates as helpful in interpreting the English words, and therefore did not categorize them as proper cognates:
 - words that were labeled ‘old-fashioned’ (such as ‘tegader’, a cognate for ‘together’);
 - words that were too different in form to be recognized as cognates (such as ‘ik’, a cognate for ‘I’);
 - words whose meaning was too different from that of the English cognate (such as ‘gepeupel’, a cognate for ‘people’);
 - words that we considered infrequent and therefore not likely to be familiar to many readers of job advertisements (such as ‘manufactuur’, a cognate for ‘manufacturing’).

2.7 Interrater reliability

Interrater reliability was determined by having two independent judges evaluate a random sample of 30 job advertisements from the set of 119 not-completely-English advertisements in our study. The degree of interrater reliability was defined in terms of the qualifications in Rietveld/ Van Hout (1993: 221). For the nominal categories sector and level of the positions advertised,

we calculated Cohen's kappa (κ). For the ratio variables numbers of words and numbers of English words, we calculated Pearson's correlation coefficient r .

For the classification by sector of the positions in our sample, we found a κ of .85 (qualification: almost perfect). For the classification by job level, we found a κ of .80 (qualification: substantial). In total, we calculated 14 correlations to determine interrater reliability for the number of words and the number of English words in the six elements we distinguished in the job advertisements and in the job advertisements as a whole. These correlations varied from .29 to 1.00; 12 of the 14 correlations were higher than .61 (qualification: substantial). Mean r of the 14 correlations was .76 (qualification: substantial).

2.8 Statistical analyses

We calculated frequencies, means and standard deviations. We also carried out inferential statistical tests. Since the dependent variables in this study, i.e. the number of English words in various job advertisement elements, were not normally distributed (determined by means of the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test), these inferential statistical tests were non-parametric. To determine the difference between two independent groups we used the Mann-Whitney test, and when more independent groups were involved we used the Kruskal-Wallis test. We carried out the Wilcoxon Signed Ranks test to determine the difference between two dependent samples. In order to analyze the relationship between variables, we calculated Spearman's correlation (r_s).

3. Results

3.1 How many job advertisements contain English?

Of the 679 job advertisements in our corpus, 2.4% (16 ads) were completely in English. Our sample of 120 job advertisements contained one completely English advertisement (313 words). On average, the 119 other advertisements from the sample were 328 words long (SD = 110, minimum 60, maximum 602). In 72 of these 119 advertisements (61%) not a single English word was used,

while 47 (39%) contained one or more English words, 34 (29%) contained two or more English words, and 25 (21%) contained three or more English words.

The mean number of English words in the 119 not completely English job advertisements was 2.2 (SD = 4.3, minimum 0, maximum 17). The mean number of English words in the 47 not completely English advertisements containing one or more English words was 5.47 (SD = 5.35; minimum 1, maximum 17). The number of English words in the 119 not completely English advertisements did not correlate with the total number of words in these advertisements ($r_s = .05$, $p = .59$, $n = 119$), nor was there such a correlation in the 47 advertisements containing one or more English words ($r_s = -.12$, $p = .44$, $n = 47$). When an advertisement contained a relatively large number of words, this therefore did not automatically mean that it contained a relatively large number of English words.

3.2 In which parts of the job advertisement is English used?

Table 1 shows how often one or more English words were used in the various parts of the 119 not completely English job advertisements. English was most frequently used in the elements 'company information' and 'job description'.

Since not all elements of a job advertisement contain the same number of words, we calculated the percentage of the number of English words in a particular element out of the total number of words in that element of the advertisement (see Table 2). This expresses the concentration of the use of English in the various parts of the job advertisements. The mean percentage of the number of English words out of the total number of words in the 119 not completely English advertisements was 0.71% (SD = 1.41; minimum 0, maximum 5). The concentration of English was higher in the elements job title, headline and especially end line than it was in the other elements of the advertisements (due to limitations of space, we have omitted the results of the Wilcoxon Signed Rank tests we used to determine statistically significant differences).

Element	n	%	Example from job advertisement element, [English translation], (company name; number of English words)
Job title	13	11	<i>Technical Consultant ICT Security</i> (Njama; 2)
Job description	22	18	De <i>Risk manager</i> is er primair verantwoordelijk voor dat alle (commerciële) activiteiten in overeenstemming zijn met ' <i>Risk Management policy and Procedures</i> '. Deze hebben betrekking op wholesale- en retailactiviteiten [=The Risk manager is primarily responsible for all (commercial) activities being in agreement with ' <i>Risk Management policy and Procedures</i> '. These relate to wholesale and retail activities] (Delta Nutsbedrijven; 6)
Job requirements	16	13	<i>Hands-on professional</i> , die zich in een internationale setting kan manifesteren [=Hands-on professional, who can manifest him- or herself in an international setting] (Nestlé, Friskies; 2)
Headline	11	9	<i>Young Executive Recruitment</i> (YER recruitment agency; 3)
Company information	26	22	Hewitt's motto is dan ook: ' <i>To excel, around the world, at helping our clients and their people succeed together</i> ' [Hewitt's motto, therefore, is: ' <i>To excel, around the world, at helping our clients and their people succeed together</i> '] (Hewitt; 14)
End line	15	13	Oplossingen in <i>legal & finance</i> [Solutions in legal & finance] (Eiffel; 2)
Total job ad	47	39	

Table 1: One or more English words in elements of not-completely-English job advertisements

Note. The column labeled 'n' gives the number of advertisements with one or more English words in the element of the advertisement concerned. The column labeled '%' gives the percentage of this number out of the total of 119 not completely English advertisements. To illustrate the criteria used to determine whether a word is English or Dutch, the words in the examples that were considered to be English are printed in italics, the number of these words is given in brackets after the company name.

A significant correlation between the number of English words and the total number of words was only found for the elements headline and end line (headline: $r_s = .49$, $p < .001$, $n = 119$; end line: $r_s = .51$, $p < .001$, $n = 119$). This means that when the text length of these elements increased, the number of English words also increased.

Element	n	M English words	M total words	M %	SD %	Max. %
Job title	119	0.14	3.26	4.51	13.47	50
Job description	105	0.30	56.95	0.60	1.55	9
Job requirements	114	0.20	46.97	0.56	1.56	8
Headline	62	0.28	4.39	4.40	9.56	25
Company information	118	0.61	198.75	0.38	1.13	8
End line	40	0.63	1.99	33.00	45.64	100
Total job ad	119	2.16	328.08	0.71	1.40	17

Table 2: Concentration of English in not completely English job advertisements

Note. The column labeled 'n' gives the number of job advertisements that contain the element concerned. The columns headed '%' contain descriptive statistics on the percentage of the number of English words in a particular element out of the total number of words in that element of the advertisement. The minimum percentage of English words in all elements is zero.

3.3 In which sectors of the job market is English used?

The job advertisements were placed by organizations from a variety of sectors according to the Standard Company Classification of the Dutch Bureau of Statistics (CBS, 1993). Five sectors accounted for ten or more advertisements each. In total, 84% of the 119 not completely English advertisements were placed by organizations from these five sectors (see Table 3).

CBS code	Sector	n	%	Examples
K	Commercial Services	13	11	commercial ICT company, housing association
L	Public Administration	30	25	ministry, district water board
M	Education	10	8	secondary school, university
N	Health	37	31	home care, hospital
O	Other Services	10	8	private employment agency, broadcasting corporation
	Other	19	16	utility company, manufacturer of photocopiers

Table 3: Job advertisements per sector

Note. The column labeled % gives the percentage of the number of job advertisements in a particular sector out of the total of 119 not completely English advertisements.

Most job advertisements were placed by organizations from the Health and Public Administration sectors. The use of English was analyzed in the various elements of advertisements placed by organizations from the five sectors that were represented most frequently. We used Kruskal-Wallis tests with sector as the independent variable and the number of English words in the various elements of the job advertisements as the dependent variable.

Element	Sector					Chi-Square ^a (df = 4)
	Commercial Services (n = 13)	Public Admin (n = 30)	Education (n = 10)	Health (n = 37)	Other Services (n = 10)	
Job title	7.7	5.0	7.0	0	0	8.07 ^{ns}
Job description	1.0	0.1	1.8	0.2	0.7	11.26*
Job requirements	0.2	0.2	0	0.4	2.4	16.75**
Headline	6.3	0	0	0	8.0	11.18*
Company information	1.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.6	2.51 ^{ns}
End line	40.0	3.1	0	14.3	100	12.94*
Total job ad	1.3	0.2	0.3	0.2	1.3	9.22 ^{ns}

Table 4: Average concentration of English words per job advertisement element, broken down by sector

Note. ^aTested with Kruskal-Wallis Test. ^{ns} not significant; *: p < .05; **: p < .01.

Table 4 demonstrates that, on average, the concentration of English was higher in the headline and in the end line in the Commercial Services and Other Services sectors than in the other sectors. However, as is shown in Table 2, the total number of advertisements containing headlines and end lines is relatively small. As for the element job description, the average concentration of English was higher in the 'Education', 'Commercial Services', and 'Other Services' sectors than in the other two sectors. As far as the element 'job requirements' is concerned, the mean concentration of English was highest in the Other Services sector. For the elements job title, company information and the total job advertisement, no statistically significant differences were found in the use of English between the various sectors.

3.4 For which job levels is English used?

According to the categorization by job level of the Standard Job Classification devised by the Dutch Bureau of Statistics (CBS, 1992), positions at a medium level were offered in 10 (8.4%) of the not-completely English job advertisements in our sample, while in 105 advertisements (88.2%) higher-level and academic positions were offered. For four job advertisements, the level of the job offered could not be determined. The average concentration of English words was 0.15 for the medium-level jobs (SD = 0.48), and 0.78 for the higher-level and academic positions (SD = 1.47). The Mann-Whitney test was used to analyze the use of English in the various elements of job advertisements. No statistically significant differences were found.

3.5 Does the use of English depend on the type of organization (multinational vs. Dutch mono-national)?

The majority of the partly English job advertisements in our sample (88.2%, 105 out of 119) were placed by Dutch mono-national organizations, i.e. organizations that did not have branches outside the Netherlands, rather than by multinational organizations. Examples of the 14 multinational organizations in our sample are Wyeth (see Figure 1), Greenpeace and Nestlé. As can be seen in Table 5, the job advertisements placed by multinational organizations contained a significantly higher concentration of English words both in the adver-

tisement as a whole and in all job advertisement elements, except for the job title (tested with Mann-Whitney).

Element	multinational (n = 14)	Dutch mono-national (n = 105)	Z ^a
Job title	8.3	4.0	1.23 ^{ns}
Job description	1.4	0.5	3.46 ^{**}
Job requirements	1.8	0.4	3.36 ^{**}
Headline	21.6	1.9	5.42 ^{***}
Company information	2.2	0.1	4.71 ^{***}
End line	77.8	20.0	3.15 ^{**}
Total job ad	3.1	0.4	4.92 ^{***}

Note. ^aTested with Mann-Whitney Test. ^{ns} not significant; **: p < .01; ***: p < .001.

Table 5: Average concentration of English words per job advertisement element, broken down by type of company.

3.6 What English words are used most frequently and what is their potential level of difficulty for Dutch readers?

In our sample of 119 not completely English job advertisements, 108 different English words were used. Most of these words occurred only once or twice. The majority of the English words in our sample could be called 'relatively easy', since most of these words were included in the *Longman Defining Vocabulary* (Summers 1998) (56.5%; 61 words), were in the two highest frequency bands distinguished by Sinclair (1995), meaning that they were among the most frequent words in the corpus on which the *COBUILD* dictionary is based (66.7%; 72 words), and had a Dutch cognate (77.8%; 84 words), or met a at least two of these criteria (69.4%; 75 words). In addition, many of the relatively uncommon words had Dutch cognates, which is likely to make them easier to understand; this applies to 37 (78.7%) of the 47 words not included in the *Longman Defining Vocabulary*, and 27 (73.0%) of the 36 words not included in Sinclair's two highest frequency bands.

The most frequent English words in our sample of partly English job advertisements are presented in Table 6. It can be seen that all 14 words met at least one of the three criteria we set up to determine whether they could be considered potentially easy to understand for Dutch native speakers with a basic command of English, while 13 of the 14 words met at least two of these criteria.

Word	n	in Longman defining vocabulary (Summers, 1998)	COBUILD frequency band number (Sinclair, 1995)	Dutch cognate
Before	11	Yes	5	voor
Control	6	Yes	5	controle
Executive	11	No	4	executieve, executive
Human	4	Yes	5	humaan
Last	12	Yes	5	laatst
People('s)	4	Yes	5	no helpful cognate
Professional(s)	8	No	4	professioneel
Recruitment	11	No	1	rekrutering
Senior	11	No	4	senior
Stop	11	Yes	5	stop
The	12	Yes	5	de
Top	11	Yes	5	top
Young	11	Yes	5	jong
Your	11	Yes	5	jouw

Table 6: The most frequently used English words in not-completely-English job advertisements

The fact that the English words in “young executive recruitment” and “your last stop before the top” appeared more frequently than other English words is due to these words being the headline and the end line of advertisements placed by the recruitment agency *YER* which include a large number of job titles. If we leave these words out of consideration, the most frequently used English words were ‘senior’, ‘professional(s)’ and ‘control’.

4. Conclusion and discussion

The purpose of this article was to contribute to the study of the Anglicization of Dutch business communication by analyzing the use of English in job advertisements published in four Saturday editions of the Dutch national daily *de Volkskrant*. An analysis of all 679 advertisements shows that 2.4% were completely in English. An analysis of a sample of 119 not-completely English advertisements reveals that 39% of the advertisements contained one or more English words. When looking at the elements of job advertisements, it was found that English was relatively frequently used in the elements ‘company information’ (22%) and ‘job description’ (18%). If the percentage of the number of English words out of the total number of words in the various job advertisement elements is considered, it was found that the job title, the headline and especially the end line contained most English words. On average, English was

used more frequently in the 'Commercial Services' and 'Other Services' sectors than in other sectors.

4.1 Our findings in relation to other studies

4.1.1 The frequency of the use of English in the genre of Dutch job ads

In comparison with types of external business communication in the Netherlands for which data are available, the use of English in Dutch job advertisements appears to be somewhat more common than in Dutch TV commercials and less common than in print advertising for products and services from Dutch glossy women's magazines. It is more difficult to compare our findings with what Gerritsen (1995) found for commercial advertisements from newspapers and magazines, since she represents the use of English in percentages of pages – not single advertisements – containing English. With 39% of job ads containing at least one English word, English appears to be used somewhat more frequently than in TV commercials, since about one third of commercials broadcast on Dutch TV in 1996 contained English (Gerritsen et al. 2000). The percentage of advertisements containing English in the Dutch glossy women's magazine *Elle* in 2004 (Gerritsen et al. in press) was considerably higher (64%) than in our sample of job advertisements from 2001. When comparing our data with the figures for TV commercials and print advertisements, however, we should not lose sight of the fact that the data were collected at different times. The differences in the amount of English found may not only be due to a difference in the use of English among genres, but may also be due to a general increase in the use of English over time.

In Gerritsen's (2001: 108) corpus of job advertisements from 1999, 45% of job titles contained English (i.e. 260 in a corpus of 573 advertisements). This is a larger percentage than the 11% of job titles containing one or more English words in our study, which may be due to the fact that the corpus which Gerritsen (2001) analyzed was composed of different papers (*Intermediair* and *de Telegraaf*). The aim of our study was broader than that of Gerritsen (2001), who only analyzed job titles. By studying complete job advertisements, we hope to have given a fuller picture of the way English is used in this area of business communication through the Dutch media.

4.1.2 The frequency of the use of English and its concentration in the various parts of Dutch job ads

As for the use of English in the various parts of job advertisements, we observed that it was most frequent in the elements 'company information' and 'job description'. However, when the proportion of the number of English words to the total number of words is taken into account, the percentage of English used in these elements – its concentration – is not very large (0.38 and 0.60, respectively). The concentration of English words was the highest in the job title, headline and end line. According to De Witte (1989: 212), eye tracking suggests that the job title is the element that makes readers of job advertisements decide to move on to the next advertisement or not. Although De Witte does not comment on the attention paid to headlines and end lines, it may be deduced from research on headlines and other eye catchers in newspaper articles (Donkers/ Willems, 1999: 147-152) that headlines and end lines are also likely to be among the first elements to attract the attention of potentially interested readers of job advertisements. If this is indeed the case, it gives English a more prominent position in the advertisements, and, as a result, the use of English may make more of an impression. A similar line of argument – that English occurs most frequently in parts of advertisements where it is likely to have a greater impact on the readers – is used for advertisements promoting products and services in relation to the use of English in the 'signature line' (the brand name, often in combination with a slogan or a trademark) at the bottom of an advertisement (Cheshire/ Moser 1994: 456-457), and in relation to the use of English in headlines (Piller 2001: 161-162). On the one hand, English is, therefore, used more frequently, but in a lower concentration in job advertisement elements which may give it a more prominent position. On the other hand, English occurs in a higher concentration, but less frequently in elements of job advertisements that seem to be less prominent. Further empirical research is needed to determine the communicative effect of the use of English in the various parts of job advertisements.

4.1.3 The concentration of English in Dutch job advertisements in relation to sectors of the economy and job levels

English was found to be used more frequently in job advertisements from the Commercial Services and Other Services sectors than from the Public Administration, Education and Health sectors. It may, therefore, be concluded that English is more frequent in job advertisements placed by organizations from commercial sectors. No statistically significant differences in the use of English were found for the various levels of the jobs offered. It should be taken into account, however, that job advertisements in *de Volkskrant* are generally aimed at highly educated people (see Van Dalen, 1999) and that the vast majority of the positions offered in the advertisements in our sample were high-level jobs, according to the classification of the Dutch Bureau of Statistics. It can, therefore, be argued that, to some extent, Piller's (2001) observation that English in advertising is associated with the business elite applies to the job advertisements in our study.

4.1.4 The concentration of English in Dutch job advertisements in relation to the type of organization (multinational versus Dutch mono-national)

The job advertisements placed by multinational organizations contained a significantly higher concentration of English words than did the advertisements from organizations that only had branches in the Netherlands. The only exception were job titles, where there was not significantly more English in job advertisements from multinational organizations. Thus, although our results are in line with the observations that English is often used by international organizations, our findings do not corroborate Larson's (1990) *specific* suggestion that multinational companies use English in *job titles* to create consistency in branches across various countries. However, we should be careful in drawing conclusions in relation to the type of organization as our sub-sample of multinational organizations was small.

4.1.5 The most frequently used English words in Dutch job advertisements and their potential level of difficulty

Most of the English words used in our sample of partly English job advertisements - and certainly the vast majority of the most frequent English words -

may be called relatively easy since they are among the most frequently used words in the English language, are considered suitable for use in the *Longman Defining Vocabulary* (Summers 1998), or have Dutch cognates. This is in line with Cheshire/ Moser's (1994: 458) finding that about 85% of the English words in advertisements for products and services in Swiss French-language magazines could either be found in a basic English dictionary for French learners or had German or French cognates.

4.2 *Our definition of English*

When deciding whether a word was English or not, we have tried to apply clear-cut criteria. Our approach may have been too liberal with respect to what we considered to be Dutch and too strict with respect to what we considered to be English. Other studies of the use of English in countries where English is not the primary language often use a broader definition of what is to be considered English, which does not take the degree to which a word is integrated into the receiving language into account, as may be shown by inclusion of such a word in an authoritative dictionary of the national language, or by the use of non-English inflection, conjugation or spelling. Griffin (1997: 36), for instance, uses the following definition in his study of English in Polish magazine advertisements: "an English word was defined as any word that is a word in English - even if it is also a word in French, German, etc. - as long as its use fit an English definition of the word". In her study of English in French television commercials, Martin (2002: 9) defines English as follows: "the term 'English' is used to describe any word, phrase or sentence recognizable as belonging to any native or non-native variety of English". Our assumption was that a word of English origin was part of the Dutch language if it was included in Van Dale (1999), or inflected, conjugated or spelled in accordance with Dutch language rules. However, ordinary native speakers of Dutch may still regard such a word as English.

When we use a broader definition of English, it is logical that there is an increase in the proportion of English words in our corpus. According to such a broad definition, English words include not only the words that were considered to be English in the present study, but also words that Van Dale (1999) marks as being of English origin (with the label '[Eng]'), Dutch-English hybrids, and

English words that are conjugated, inflected or spelled according to the rules of the Dutch language, since they all contain an English element. This would mean that words such as 'manager', 'controlcyclus', 'ge-outsourced' and 'key-users' are also considered English. In fact, such 'broad' English words are among the most frequent English words in our sample of 119 not completely English advertisements. Used either as separate words or in compounds, 'manager(s)' is the most frequent broad English word ($n = 50$), followed by 'management' ($n = 42$), 'team(s)' ($n = 12$), 'account(s)' ($n = 9$), 'assessment' ($n = 6$), 'business' ($n = 6$) and 'service(s)' ($n = 6$). When we compare the results of an analysis of the 119 not completely English advertisements based on this broad definition with the results we have presented earlier, the proportion of English words would increase. The average number of English words per advertisement increases from 2.2 to 3.9 ($SD = 5.3$, minimum 0, maximum 21), while the average concentration of English words increases from 0.7% to 1.2% ($SD = 1.72\%$; minimum 0%, maximum 7%). The percentage of job advertisements containing one or more English words rises from 39% to 70%, that of advertisements containing two or more English words increases from 29% to 48%, and that of advertisements with three or more English words increases from 21% to 44%. This increase due to definition does not affect the comparison we made with other studies in Section 4.1.1, since these studies only used the restrictive definition of English.

4.3 Suggestions for further research

The present study has a number of shortcomings which must be considered in future research. The question is to what extent job advertisements from *de Volkskrant* are representative of all job advertisements published in Dutch papers. Since job advertisements in *de Volkskrant* mainly reach highly educated people, further research into the use of English in job advertisements aimed at other target groups would be a useful addition to the present study. It would also be useful to compare the proportion of English words with and without Dutch equivalents, in view of the observation in the literature that English words in advertising in non-English-speaking countries are not only used to fill lexical gaps, but also for other reasons, for instance to enhance prestige or to create international consistency (e.g. Alm 2003; Gerritsen et al. 2000: 20).

It would also be interesting to compare the use of English in job advertisements in Dutch papers to that in job advertisements published in other countries where English is not the primary language. It might be hypothesized that English is more widely used in recruitment advertising in the Netherlands than in most other European Union countries, in view of research on the status of English in the Netherlands in general. Eurobarometer data from 2001 indicate that 75% of the Dutch population claims to be able to speak English well enough to take part in a conversation, compared to an average of 32% of the population in EU countries where English is not the mother tongue (European Commission 2001: 83-84). Comparative corpus analyses should investigate whether there are indeed differences in the use of English in job advertisements in the various EU countries and whether these can be related to differences in general English language proficiency.

Acknowledgements

We wish to thank Marinel Gerritsen and Brigitte Planken for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

Bibliography

- Alm, Cecilia Ovesdotter (2003): English in the Ecuadorian commercial context. In: *World Englishes* 22 (2), 143-158.
- Berns, Margie (1995): English in the European Union. In: *English Today* 11, 3, 3-11.
- BOA Extra (2000): BPA onderzoek arbeidsmarkt. Retrieved on 5 December 2003 from <http://www.intermediair.nl/adverteerders/boa/boaextra.pdf>
- BOA Plus (2003): Bereiks onderzoek arbeidsmarkt. Retrieved on 5 December 2003 http://www.intermediair.nl/adverteerders_new/boa/Boaplus2003.pdf
- Burrough-Boenisch, Joy (1998): *Righting English that's gone Dutch*. Den Haag/ Antwerpen: Sdu Uitgevers/ Standaard Uitgeverij.
- CBS (1992): Standaard beroepenclassificatie 1992. Retrieved on 31 January 2006 from <http://www.cbs.nl/NR/rdonlyres/83EBF567-ED31-44DC-B2F9-8C444E992A41/0/classificatieschema.pdf>
- CBS (1993): Standaard bedrijfsindeling 1993. Retrieved on 31 January 2006 from <http://www.cbs.nl/nl-NL/menu/methoden/classificaties/overzicht/sbi/default.htm>
- Cheshire, Jenny/ Moser, Lise-Marie (1994): English as a cultural symbol: The case of advertisements in French-speaking Switzerland. In: *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 15, 451-469.
- Claus, P./ Taeldeman, J. (1989): De infiltratie van Engelse (leen)woorden in het Nederlands en in Nederlandse woordenboeken. In: Theissen, S. / Vromans, J. (Eds.): *Album Moors*:

- Een bundel opstellen aangeboden aan Joseph Moors ter gelegenheid van zijn 75ste verjaardag, 1989. [Liège]: CIPL, 11-30.
- Crowther, Jonathan (Ed.) (1995): Oxford advanced learner's dictionary (5th ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- De Bot, C.L.J. (1994): *Waarom deze rede niet in het Engels is*. 's-Hertogenbosch/ Nijmegen: [Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen].
- De Witte, Karel (1986). Recruitment and advertising. In Herriot, Peter (Ed.): *Assessment and selection in organizations: methods and practice for recruitment and appraisal*. Chichester [etc.]: John Wiley & Sons, . 205-217.
- Donkers, Henk/ Willems, Jaap (1999): *Journalistiek schrijven voor krant, vakblad en nieuwe media*. Bussum: Coutinho.
- European Commission (2001): Eurobarometer: Public opinion in the European Union. Standard Report 55. Retrieved on 16 December 2004 from http://europa.eu.int/comm/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb55/eb55_en.pdf
- Geerts, Guido,/ Den Boon, Ton/ Geeraerts, Dirk/ Vos, Elska (Eds.) (1999): *Van Dale Groot woordenboek der Nederlandse taal* (13th ed.). Utrecht/Antwerpen: Van Dale Lexicografie.
- Gerritsen, Marinel (1995): 'English' advertisements in the Netherlands, Germany, France, Italy and Spain. In: Machová, Božena/ Kubátová, Sláva (Eds.): *Uniqueness in unity. The significance of cultural identity in European cooperation*. Prague: Envirostress, 324-341.
- Gerritsen, Marinel (2001): Changes in professional terms in the Netherlands: Anglicisation and the neutralisation of gender. In Van der Wouden, Ton/ Broekhuis, Hans (Eds.): *Linguistics in the Netherlands 2001*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 101-111.
- Gerritsen, Marinel/ Korzilius, Hubert/ Van Meurs, Frank/ Gijsbers, Inge (2000): English in Dutch commercials: not understood and not appreciated. *Journal of Advertising Research* 40 (3), 17-31.
- Gerritsen, Marinel/ Nickerson, Catherine (2004): Fact or fallacy? English as an L2 in the Dutch business context. In: Candlin, Christopher N./ Gotti, Maurizio (Eds.): *Intercultural aspects of specialized communication*. Bern [etc.]: Peter Lang (Linguistic insights. Studies in language and communication 14), 105-125.
- Gerritsen, Marinel/ Nickerson, Catherine/ Van den Brandt, Corine./ Crijns, Rogier/ Domínguez, Núria/ Van Meurs, Frank/ Nederstigt, Ulrike (in press): English in print advertising in Germany, Spain and the Netherlands: Frequency of occurrence, comprehensibility and the effect on corporate image. In Garzone, Giuliana./ Ilie, Cornelia (Eds.): *The role of English in institutional and business settings. An intercultural perspective*,.Bern [etc.]: Peter Lang.
- Griffin, Jeff (1997): Global English invades Poland: an analysis of the use of English in Polish magazine advertisements. In: *English Today* 13 (2), 34-41.
- Hilgendorf, Suzanne.K. (1996): The impact of English in Germany. In: *English Today* 12 (3), 3-14.
- Kachru, Braj B. (1985): Standards, codification and sociolinguistic realism: the English language in the outer circle. In: Quirk, Randolph/ Widdowson, H.G. (Eds.): *English in the world: Teaching and learning the language and literatures*. Cambridge [etc.]: Cambridge University Press, 11-30.

- Kachru, Braj B. (1992): Teaching world Englishes. In: Kachru, Braj B. (Ed.): The other tongue: English across cultures (2nd ed.). Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 356-365.
- Korzilius, Hubert (2000): De kern van survey-onderzoek. Assen: Van Gorcum.
- Larson, Ben E. (1990): Present-day influence of English on Swedish as found in Swedish job advertisements. In: World Englishes 9, 367-369.
- Martin, Elizabeth (2002): Cultural images and different varieties of English in French television commercials. In: English Today 18 (4), 8-20.
- Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary (no date). Retrieved on 3 March 2006 from <http://www.m-w.com/>
- Piller, Ingrid (2001): Identity constructions in multilingual advertising. In: Language in Society 30, 153-186.
- Piller, Ingrid (2003): Advertising as a site of language contact. In: Annual Review of Applied Linguistics 23, 170-183.
- Procter, Paul et al. (Eds.): (1995) Cambridge international dictionary of English. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Renkema, Jan/ Vallen, Emmy/ Hoeken, Hans (2001): Tuinapparatuur of garden equipment? Verschillen in betekenisnuance tussen Nederlandse en Engelse termen. In: Onze Taal 70, 257-259.
- Ridder, Susan (1995): English in Dutch. In: English Today 11 (4), 44-50.
- Rietveld, Toni/ Van Hout, Roeland (1993): Statistical techniques for the study of language and language behavior. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Schreiner, N.A.F.M. (1990): Zogenaamd zogenoemd: Sollicitatiewoordenboek van functie-benamingen. Baarn: Fontein.
- Sinclair, John (Ed.) (1995): Collins Cobuild English dictionary. London: HarperCollins
- Summers, Della (Ed.) (1998): Longman dictionary of English language and culture. Harlow: Pearson Education.
- Summers, Della (Ed.) (2000): Longman business English Dictionary. Harlow: Pearson Education.
- Tuck, Allene (Ed.) (1993): Oxford dictionary of business English for learners of English. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Van Dale (1997): Groot elektronisch woordenboek Engels-Nederlands. No Place: Van Dale Lexicografie.
- Van Dalen, Annamiek (1999): Doelgericht en effectief communiceren op de arbeidsmarkt. Bussum: Coutinho.
- Van Meurs, Frank / Korzilius, Hubert / Den Hollander, Adriënne (to appear): Testing the effect of a genre's form on its target group: Potential applicants' responses to the use of English in job advertisements from the Dutch job site Monsterboard.nl. In Gillaerts, Paul/ Shaw, Philip (Eds.): The map and the landscape. Norm and practice in professional genres. Bern [etc.]: Peter Lang.
- Van der Sijs, Nicoline (1996): Leenwoordenboek: De invloed van andere talen op het Nederlands. Den Haag: SDU.

Appendix 1: Decisions about word status in problematic cases

In order to be able to determine how many English and Dutch words were used in our sample of job advertisements, we needed to define what a word is. For the purposes of this study, a word was defined as “a character or consecutive string of characters between spaces, or between a space and a punctuation mark” (cf. *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary*, no date). In potentially problematic cases, the following decisions were made:

- An internet address, a telephone number, postal code and a sign such as € (for euro) were each considered to be one word.
 - Examples. The phone number ‘024 3612942’ (which can also be written as ‘024-3612942’) and the postal code ‘6525 HT’ were both counted as one word.
- Words joined by a hyphen were considered to be one word.
 - Example ‘Not-for-profit-instelling’ (‘Not-for-profit organization’) was counted as one word.
- An abbreviation, a shortened form of one or more words, whether written with or without dots, was counted as the number of words it stood for. However, an acronym, a noun made up of the initial letters of the constituent words, was considered to be one word.
 - Examples of abbreviations which are not acronyms, ‘N.a.v.’ (‘naar aanleiding van’, ‘with reference to’) was counted as three words. ‘A.s.’ (‘aanstaande’, ‘next’) en ‘mw.’ (‘mevrouw’, ‘Ms’) were both counted as one word.
 - Examples of acronyms. ‘HBO’ (‘Hoger Beroepsonderwijs’, ‘Higher Vocational Education’) and ‘CV’ were each counted as one word.
- In personal names, each initial was counted as a separate word.
 - Example. ‘D.K.M. Francken’ was counted as four words, while ‘Daan Francken’ was counted as two words.
- An ampersand (‘&’) was seen as a kind of punctuation mark and was not considered to be a word.
- Words separated by a slash (‘/’) were counted as separate words.
 - Example. The sequence ‘M/V’ (used after job titles to indicate that the applicant may be either male or female, to avoid sexual bias) was counted as two words.

Appendix 2: Criteria to determine whether a word was English

If a job advertisement was not completely in English, but partly or fully in Dutch, the following procedure was used to determine whether a word was English or Dutch.

- If a word was an entry in the latest edition of the authoritative dictionary of the Dutch

language, the thirteenth edition of *Van Dale Groot woordenboek der Nederlandse taal* (Van Dale 1999) in the meaning it conveyed in the job advertisement, it was considered to be Dutch, even if it was a word which was derived from English. This definition is essentially the same as that used in Gerritsen (1995, 2001) and Gerritsen et al. (2000), even though some of these earlier studies used an older edition of Van Dale.

- Examples. Because ‘manager’ and ‘assessment’ are in Van Dale in the sense intended in the advertisement, these words were regarded as Dutch.
- If a word, given the context in which it occurred, could be both English and Dutch, it was considered to be Dutch. In our interpretation of the constraints of the context, we deviate from Gerritsen (2001: 108) on a crucial point. She regards job titles that can be either English or Dutch as Dutch ‘except when they occurred together with an English word, for example people supervisor’, where ‘people’ is an unambiguously English word and ‘supervisor’ could be either Dutch or English. In the case of phrases consisting of strings of nouns, we decided that it was not possible to conclude that, because some of the nouns in the string were definitely English, all the nouns in the string must be English, since strings which are a combination of unambiguously Dutch and English nouns are possible too (e.g., ‘security adviseur’, meaning ‘security advisor’).
 - Example. In the job title ‘Technical consultant ICT Security’ ‘consultant’ and ‘ICT’ (short for ‘informatie- en communicatietechnologie’) were considered Dutch, while ‘technical’ and ‘security’ were classified as English.
- If a word occurred in a string of words which, in view of its grammatical and syntactic form, was clearly a completely English phrase, this word was considered to be English, even if out of context it could also be a Dutch word.
 - Example. ‘Your last stop before the top’ was analyzed as six English words, even though ‘stop’ and ‘top’ can also be Dutch words.
- If a word was not in Van Dale, or not in Van Dale in the sense intended in the job ad, but it was found in the right sense in English dictionaries (Crowther 1995; Procter et al. 1995; Summers 2000; Tuck 1993), it was considered to be English.
 - Example. ‘Professional’ was regarded as an English word, because in the job advertisement it was used in the sense of ‘someone who does a job requiring special education and training’ or of ‘someone who is very experienced, has a lot of knowledge, and does things very skillfully’ (Summers 2000), and not of ‘someone who practises a sport as profession’ (“iemand die een tak van sport als beroep uitoefent”), as it is defined in Van Dale.
- If a word was not in Van Dale, or not in Van Dale in the sense intended in the job ad, nor in the English dictionaries consulted, but it was found in the right meaning on English-language UK websites, using the ‘advanced search’ option of the search engine GOOGLE (‘language: English’; ‘site: UK’), it was classified as English. We

did not consult American websites, because most American web addresses do not include a country code.

- Example. 'Micro-arrays' was not in the English dictionaries we consulted but it was found on a UK website.
- An English proper name was not analyzed as an English word (unless it was used in a completely English job ad), because in the case of names there is usually no choice between a Dutch and an English variant, since the name of a person or an organization is usually 'a given'. However, if the name of an organization or a department contained meaningful English words, these were counted as English words, since in these cases the use of English is a matter of choice.
 - Examples. 'Johnson & Johnson' was not considered to contain any English words. 't for Telecom' was considered to contain two English words: 'for' and 'Telecom'.
- A compound noun consisting of an English and a Dutch part was regarded as a Dutch word. Such hybrids, words with parts from different languages, could also have been counted as half Dutch and half English, but we decided only to count full words.
 - Examples. The hybrid compound 'controlcyclus', made up of the English word 'control' and the Dutch word 'cyclus', was counted as one Dutch word. The compound 'teambuilder' was also regarded as a Dutch-English compound, and therefore as a Dutch word, since 'team' was in Van Dale, although 'builder' was not.
- If an English word was inflected, conjugated or spelled in accordance with Dutch language rules, it was considered to be a Dutch word.
 - Examples. The past participle 'ge-outsourced', with its Dutch prefix 'ge', was analyzed as a Dutch word. The compound 'key-users' was also seen as a Dutch word, since it was not spelled as two separate words as it would be according to English conventions, but as one hyphenated word - in accordance with Dutch spelling rules, which stipulate that a compound noun should be written as one word (e.g., Burrough-Boenisch 1998: 51-53).

Figure 1 shows a Dutch job advertisement with English words in a number of job advertisement elements. We have underlined the words that were regarded as English according to our definition. English is used in the company information sections ('American Home Products Corporation'; 'woman's health'; 'Personnel Officer'), the job title and the job description ('Scientific Information Services Officer'). The advertisement also contains words of English origin that we did not consider to be English because they were in the Dutch dictionary Van Dale (1999); in the company information sections we find 'service' (described as a word which has no plural form, unlike the English 'services' in the job title and the job description), 'fulltime', 'email', and 'www.wyeth.com' ('www' is in Van Dale), and in the job requirements we find 'teampayer' ('team' is in Van Dale) and 'databases'.