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Poland

Words Mean. Words Look. Words Sell (Themselves)

Abstract

An article entitled *Words Mean. Words Look. Words Sell (Themselves)* focuses on three issues: dominance of the use of English loanwords over attempts to create their Polish equivalents (as a result of which a product, a process, an event, or an artefact promoted by the English-speaking culture is adopted together with its name), a trend whereby words (and titles composed of words) become images (through a choice of font, a non-standard use of lowercase and uppercase letters, or an inclusion of non-letter characters, e.g. parentheses), and ascribing to words present in micro-acts a promotional function, advertising the entire product – a text. The trends discussed in the article are not new, but it is their intensity level that is new.

K e y w o r d s: word, loanword, neologism, communication macro-act, title

Introduction

Computer-based text editing allows for texts to be visualised in a variety of ways. Such visualisation is best seen in initial parts of texts, i.e. in titles as well as synthetic advertising slogans and informal online messages. A title is a metalingual synthetic message that both summarises and advertises the text. In today's world, where everything (or almost everything) is for sale, titles become meaningful "packaging" for texts. J. Bralczyk, an eminent Polish linguist, has written a paper of several dozen pages on this issue. Its emphatic title – *Język na sprzedaż* [*Language*

for sale] (2004) – encapsulates a multi-aspectual and multi-dimensional review of communication micro-acts, or advertising slogans. The concept of a *micro-act* has been employed by K. Skowronek: "[...] an advertisement is a speech micro-act of indirect nature with a dominant persuasive function, composed of the following micro-acts (direct or indirect): encouraging, persuading, stating, praising, suggesting, offering advice, guaranteeing, promising as well as courtesy micro-acts, whose pragmatic functions are always subordinate to the primary function" (Skowronek, 1994, p. 84).

This article addresses three issues, highlighted in the very title: 1) words mean (they are of symbolic character, see: Aitchison, 1996), 2) words look (i.e. they have specific shapes, formats, colours etc.), and 3) words advertise (themselves) (they not only have meanings but also persuade the reader to get to know the product, i.e. the text the words make up). Adhering to this sequence, I will be committing to paper my reflections on the meaning, shape, and persuasive power of words in various (tele)literacy aspects. In my analysis, I make reference to customary and normative sanction for modern techniques applied to words, invoking, among others, consultative and advisory decisions of the Polish Language Council (hereinafter: RJP), which, however, have no normative authority apart from spelling guidance.

Words Mean

In languages – which are very efficient communication tools – each word has to have a meaning. From an economic point of view, words without meanings are not, or are ceasing to be, words of a particular language. For example, what do the words *mal* and *mil* mean in Polish? These words were used in a phonetic experiment designed to show that the smallest unit of language, which is a phoneme (in this particular case phonemes /a/ and /i/ were involved), can be assigned certain meanings. Most of the participants in the experiment assigned to the word *mil* the meaning of "a large table," and to the word *mal* – the meaning of "a small table." It was concluded that what materially contributed to that decision was vowels – their sound and colour produced certain semantic associations in those taking part in the experiment. Similar experiments, utilising phonetic symbolism, have been carried out on the words *takete* and *maluma* as well as *kiki* and *buba*; cf. one of the earliest publications on symbolism by E. Sapir (1929), or J. Aitchison's book The *Seeds of Speech. Language Origin and Evolution* (1996) as well as articles (e.g. Hatalska, 2002).

The above observations are confirmed by J. Bralczyk's conclusion: "However, there is [...] a list of words in whose power senders believe, and by the way,

sometimes they are right in doing so. Some of the words have special formal characteristics – it is thought, for example, that a name should end with a vowel, and the most effective names are those that also start with a vowel" (Bralczyk, 2004, p. 24). Associations relating to words are determined by their sound, visual shape, as well as meaning, including associations evoked (connotations). Words – as J. Bralczyk goes on to say – operate within an entire system composed of associations, which the recipient controls to a varying degree, "therefore familiarity with vocabulary that is attractive in terms of connotation, i.e. knowledge of which words can produce desired effects in the recipient is basically a must for the author of the message" (Bralczyk, 2004, p. 24).

The economy of language manifests itself when words cease to be needed or their designata have fallen out of use (cf. numerous names relating to farming methods, archaic industries), or when obsolete words have their equivalents in the vocabulary (cf. archaic *lija* and contemporary *ulewa* – both meaning "intense heavy rain"). At the other end of the scale, diametrically opposite archaic words are neologisms: words which are waiting to enter circulation (usage) or are gradually penetrating into it (to stay there for a short or a long time). Once a word obtains social approval (i.e. simply starts to be used by speakers of Polish), it enters circulation and after that is incorporated into dictionaries. However, it is difficult to identify the moment when a particular word that, for example, has been used in an advertisement or a news headline becomes a valid word in a given language and ceases to be ephemeral. K. Kleszczowa addresses the subject of neologisms "wearing out" by analysing selected examples in her book entitled Nowe slownictwo polskie. Materiały z prasy lat 1972–1981 [New Polish Vocabulary. Press Materials from 1972–1981]. Kleszczowa claims: "It is astonishing how many of the words mentioned there did not survive until the end of the twentieth century. [...] however, this does not change the fact that it took just 20 years for ca. half of the words diligently recorded there to be removed from memory, for example efektyw 'efficient,' filopolsko 'in a phili-Polish manner,' lekozależność 'drug dependency,' lekliwiec 'a fearful person,' linozwijacz 'rope winder,' losowiec 'a person relying on destiny when playing a game,' lunearny 'lunar'" (Kleszczowa, 2012, p. 187).

Current loanwords are words of English origin. They are necessary to refer to the processes, facilities, devices, etc. that have found their way into Polish pragmatic space. In the majority of cases, technologies and devices being disseminated as well as their names are "imported" at the same time. Polish language accepts foreign words (mostly English), e.g. coaching, copywriter, outsourcing; stalking, mobbing, and bullying; Facebook and fejsować (meaning "to publish on the social network site www.facebook.com"), Google and wygooglować (meaning "to search for information using the search engine www.google.com"), Instagram and instagramować ("to publish on the portal www.instagram.com"); Internet / internet (the choice between the uppercase and lowercase version depends on categorising

the lexeme as a proper name – starting with a capital letter, or as a common noun – starting with a lowercase letter), and words with the *e*- prefix (*e-mail*, *e-book*, *e-książka*, *e-teacher*, *e-polonistyka*, *e-literatura* meaning "literature making use of, among other things, network capabilities") or the *i*- prefix (*iPhone*, *iPod*). The word *e-book* has not been added to dictionaries yet. Those in favour of avoiding using loanwords in Polish can use the polonised form *ibuk*, which is used in the name of the website ibuk.pl (http://grzegorj.interiowo.pl/popraw/slow03.html, accessed 11 January 2017). The e-teacher software website informs users: "This [English language learning] software is open-ended: in addition to ready-made exercises, learners can add their own exercises or edit ones provided with the software. It is also possible to create one's own tabs and thematic trees" (http://www.programosy. pl/program,eteacher.html, accessed 10 January 2017). A publication entitled *e-polonistyka* (Dziak & Żurek, 2009) is the outcome of the conference under the same name, held by the Lublin Catholic University KUL.

Loanwords often retain their original spelling for a certain period of time. Over time their spelling becomes polonised. This was the case with the words wideo (video), smartfon (smartphone), and words relating to other spheres of human activity. The degree of polonisation is demonstrated by the spelling of words which initially was identical with the original spelling, but – as loanwords "set up home" in Polish word stock – their spelling takes on a form consistent with Polish orthography. This is evidenced by the growing popularity of the word *e-mail* spelled as mejl. This word can be written using both original English spelling (in official communications) and polonised spelling, but it should be remembered that the latter spelling is also acceptable, although it appears it is still reserved for informal settings. On the other hand, another spelling variant -mail being a combination of the original spelling e-mail and the polonised mejl, has not gained acceptance. "I think," claims A. Dabrowska of the Polish Language Council, "that the name *list elektroniczny* 'is going through' its transitional phase – the English spelling version is still present (e-mail), and at the same time the polonised version (mejl) is being increasingly used. Only time will tell which of these versions will prevail. Still, both are correct" (http://www.rjp.pan.pl/, accessed 10 January 2017).

The *cartridge* lexeme could have retained its original form or have become polonised to the form $kartryd\dot{z}$ (some linguists claim that this version is better because the letter "r" is followed by "y", as in the loanword $bryd\dot{z}$) or $kartrid\dot{z}$ (the latter form contains the letter combination "ri", unusual under Polish pronunciation rules, which is present in a less popular polonised version of $bridge - i.e.\ brid\dot{z}$). A review of online store product ranges allows a conclusion that the not recommended version of the loanword $-kartrid\dot{z}$ — is gaining ground and prevailing over other forms. Not so long ago, only in 2002, professor M. Bańko, responding to a request submitted by a user to the PWN language usage advice site ("Could you please tell me how to correctly write out the word denoting a consumable component of printers (particularly inkjet ones), commonly referred

to as *kartridż*. Has this word been polonised?"), said: "You pronounce it as you spell, but it should be spelled in the English way – *cartridge*. The word is declined using an apostrophe: *cartridge'a*, *cartridge'em*, *cartridge'u*, *cartridge'e* etc. In Polish you can also say a replaceable ink container" (http://sjp.pwn.pl/slowniki/kartrid%C5%BC.html, accessed 14 January 2017).

A. Dąbrowska, a Polish Language Council representative, explained the mechanism for polonising loanwords as follows: "[...] loanwords, at the beginning of their 'life' in the Polish language, are spelled as in their original language. After a certain time, in most cases, loanwords adapt to the Polish system and speakers of Polish start to spell (and decline) them according to Polish declension patterns. This was the case with such words as *komputer*, *kompakt* or *lider*, which – when they first appeared in the Polish language – were spelled *computer*, *compact*, *leader*. Nowadays, the average Polish speaker would find such spelling objectionable" (http://www.rjp.pan.pl/, accessed 10 January 2017). There are no clear formulas by which to establish when such a polonising change will occur; it is the speakers of the language that have got the final say. The only thing that one can do is take note of a growing trend of using forms spelled according to Polish orthographic patterns.

From time to time, attempts are made by speakers of Polish to replace borrowings with neologisms. This is confirmed by what has happened to the lexeme *copywriter*, which has retained its original version and has a Polish equivalent – the neologism *tekster*. The word *tekster* is included in the latest editions of dictionaries: *Wielki słownik ortograficzny PWN* [*The PWN Great Spelling Dictionary*] edited by E. Polański (2003, p. 808) and *Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego* [*Universal Dictionary of Polish*] edited by S. Dubisz (2003, vol. 4, p. 38). The latter dictionary defines *tekster* as "a person employed to write advertising or publicity copy; copywriter." It is difficult to predict whether, for example, *copywriter* will continue to be *copywriter* for years to come, will transform into *kopyrajter / kopirajter*, or will be replaced by the lexeme *tekster* (based on this source: http://www.rjp.pan. pl/, accessed 14 January 2017).

According to information found on the Polish Language Council's website, the division of responsibilities with regard to the development of the lexical and grammatical system of contemporary Polish is as follows: "[...] the Polish Language Council, in its capacity as a consultative and advisory body in respect of the use of the Polish language, does not 'approve' any inflection forms (it only has the authority to approve certain orthographic forms). It is society, and especially its educated classes that accept particular forms by using them, and do not accept others by refusing to use them. On the hand, linguists (but not the Polish Language Council as an institution) compile dictionaries in which they describe, sort out and evaluate what has entered common usage" (http://www.rjp.pan.pl/, accessed 10 January 2017).

In conclusion, firstly, the presence of loanwords in Polish is not censurable or unnatural. Foreign words and grammatical structures have penetrated into

our language (and into all other languages) ever since these languages came into existence. In the past, we imported such words as sugar [cukier], roof [dach], shirt [koszula], and in the 20th century – business [biznes], computer [komputer], leader [lider]. Secondly, language follows its own rules and is subject to external regulation only to a small extent. One cannot just prohibit, in an authoritarian manner, the use of particular forms or structures even if they face opposition from within society, and, what is more, one should not do that. Language itself records (as a seismometer does) waves of lexical change. Thirdly, if a particular word is part of a Polish text (irrespective of whether it is spelled the English or Polish way), "it is a Polish word, albeit not fully adapted" (http://www.rjp.pan.pl/, accessed 10 January 2017); it is a word which we need for our communication. because at a given time the language does not have a better word (that would convey the meaning better). Finally, regardless of the origin of a given word, it is important that language speakers should want to treat words as a value and seek to maintain its quality both in speech and writing. This is because language is a social phenomenon, and responsibility for its condition lies with each speaker.

Words Look

Words to be used in headlines and titles are often specially selected because of their sound, the specific letters they contain, and their capability of being re-shaped. I refer here, among other things, to the titles of publications on linguistics, cf. N@ wigacje słowa. Strategie werbalne w przekazach audiowizualnych [Word N@ vigations. Verbal strategies in audio-visual messages] (Wilk, 2000). The first word in the title contains a character commonly associated with Internet communication, which is called malpa / malpka [a monkey / small monkey] in colloquial Polish. A similar technique – using the character @ as a conjunction – is applied in the title of a monograph Język @ multimedia [Language @ Multimedia] (Dytman-Stasieńko & Stasieńko, 2005). "Inventive, witty titles attract readers' attention, they are intriguing, they provoke, and as they often are allusive and ambiguous, they encourage debate. [...] This is not a disinterested act, but a method to gain readership, to seduce readers' (Kamińska-Szmaj, 2001, p. 61).

 was indeed very long. Non-standard multiplication of graphical characters is also applied to punctuation characters, and the exclamation mark in particular; multiple exclamation marks can express intense emotion such as agitation, a row (Grzenia, 2012, p. 119). On the other hand, a red exclamation mark appearing alongside an email means high priority.

Phonic properties of written language are evidenced by shapes of words (appearance) that are inconsistent with their spelling, but which can attract the reader's attention, which is the primary objective of such a graphic and phonic procedure, cf. *Dłuugi weekend* [Loong weekend], *Dłuugi zoom dla iPhone* [Loong zoom for iPhone] (http://gadzetomania.pl/, accessed 10 January 2017), AAAAAAAAAAby do jesieni [Juuuuust tiiiiiill autumn comes] (GW, 10 September, based on: Ślawska, 2008). The above headlines are based on play with phonic forms, graphically recorded. By situating words in space, we substitute seeing for hearing. It is worth recalling here U. Żydek-Bednarczuk's opinion that after the era of phonocentrism there came the era of graphical-centrism. Furthermore, we can speak of "an electronic epoch or rather, electronic writing" (Żydek-Bednarczuk, 2003, p. 4).

When preparing texts, in addition to letter multiplication, one can enhance letters with texture, colour, and mimicking (iconic) effect; for example, in the adjective bialo-czerwony [white and red], upper parts of bold letters are white, while the bottom ones are red, which brings to mind unambiguous association with the national colours of Poland. The red colour of bold font forms background for black dots. As a result, the title Ladybirds printed using this font carries a double message about the article. Blue bold letters with white borders in the title Dolphins evoke associations with water – the mammals' natural environment. Letters of various colours (each letter is of a different colour) in the headline Parrots emphasise one of the characteristic features of the bird – multi-coloured feathers. Example titles are taken from the Polish language magazine Kumpel, intended for children of younger school age.

Graphisation (word visualisation) is also utilised in informal Internet communication. Common and widely used techniques (in addition to those referred to above, used in titles) include: a) the use of capital letters (*PROSZĘ*, *UDOSTĘP-NIJCIE TO NA SWOJEJ TABLICY* [*PLEASE POST IT ON YOUR BULLETIN BOARD*]), capital letters having become the Internet code for yelling; b) the decision not to use capital letters according to the rules (e.g. in proper names) resulting either from failing to use the Shift key + lowercase key combination or from a deliberate decision; c) alternating lower and upper case letters (*MoooJeEe tYY sŁoDkIe KoooFFFaniEeE* [*You aaaaaaRe SUuUuUuCh SwEEeeeeeeET DaaaaaaaaaaHliNg*]); d) replacing Polish characters (digraphs, letters with diacritics) with combinations of English and pseudo-English letters (*jush* [already], *poklikash?* [will you click?]); and e) the overuse of a particular letter, e.g. *x (narx buziax 4 @LL, Pozdrowka 4 all [Regards for all*]).

The above mentioned "beauty treatments" focus the recipient's attention on the form of words (of titles, slogans, messages, posts). Moreover, most probably – as has been the case with many expression-enhancing techniques described in source literature – they will fall out of use because they will cease to perform their primary function: that is, the expressive function. At the same time, new techniques will take their place, being different, fresh, fascinating, having persuasive and expressive power when they first enter usage. It is the role of linguistic scholars to record and describe such language phenomena. What is more, basing on such research, their role is also to draw conclusions about what is safe for language (for its status quo) and what poses a threat to its essence, i.e. the system.

Words Sell (Themselves)

The title of the third subsection – thanks to the reflexive pronoun – has a double meaning: words sell themselves implying "words themselves constitute an outward label (for language), words can be gentle and kind or aggressive and obscene, etc." but also words sell, i.e. "words play a service role, they help to advertise what they mean, what they denote." Utilising ambiguity of words is a specific game of meanings and a game played with the recipient interpreting these meanings.

As a result of the aforementioned semantic and formal operations, words sell (themselves) in various texts, including scholarly ones, which is evidenced by the titles of selected chapters in thematic monographs. At this point, I wish to emphasise that my intention is to present an autotelic function of these titles, and not to evaluate. Example titles of scholarly papers, in which special precision and quality of language use is required, have been taken from a number of linguistic monographs published in various academic centres in Poland, which I have indicated in my parenthetical references: Wypasione ściągi jako "protezy umysłu" [Def cheat sheets as "makeshift mind"], Konceptualizacje nazw portali edukacyjnych w języku licealistów [Conceptualisations of educational website names in high school students' language], Niedojrzały egzamin, czyli próba odpowiedzi na pytanie, co faktycznie sprawdza matura z języka polskiego [Immature examination or an attempt to establish what the maturity examination really verifies] (Kopeć & Sibiga, 2010); Czv cel uświeca środki? O (nie)szkodliwym łamaniu normy językowej w filmach animowanych dla dzieci [Does the end justify the means? On (non-)harmful violations of language rules in animated cartoon stories for children] (Karkut & Półchłopek, 2010); Kochany Panie Dziekanie – o przekraczaniu norm w podaniach studenckich ["Dear Mr Dean" – on violation of language rules in university students' applications], Proszę mi nie przerywać – o językowych i niejęzykowych regulatorach konwersacji w debacie publicznej ["Please do not interrupt me" – on linguistic and non-linguistic means to control conversation in public debate] (Steciąg & Bugajski, 2009); Moda na zmysły w służbie cywilizacji medialnej: "epoka ucha" czy "epoka oka"? [Senses fashion in the service of media civilisation: "the era of the ear" or "the eye"?] (Bujak-Lechowicz, 2015); Język na nielegalu, czyli wpływ multimediów na komunikację werbalną młodego pokolenia [Language on an illegal position or impact of multimedia on verbal communication of the young generation] (Dytman-Stasieńko & Stasieńko, 2005).

The aforementioned titles demonstrate a number of linguistic mechanisms, such as: a) using sociolect vocabulary (wypasiony, ściąga, na nielegalu [def, cheat sheet, on an illegal position]); b) using phrases present in formal indirect communication (Kochany Panie Dziekanie [Dear Mr Dean]) and direct communication, for example in public discourse (Proszę mi nie przerywać [Please don't interrupt me]); c) resorting to ambiguity by placing a part of a word in parentheses, cf. (nie) szkodliwy [(non-)harmful]; and d) using metaphors and collocations (niedojrzały egzamin [immature examination], epoka oka [era of the eye], epoka ucha [era of the ear], cel uświęca środki [the end justifies the means]). Such techniques ensure that words sell (themselves).

Close attention to words, visualisation, and meaning of titles – i.e. very synthetic and content-rich messages – is a necessity in modern times. A title sells a macro-product, which is the text. The poetic function in titles appears to be mandatory, desired, or at least – acceptable. This happens irrespective of the form in which a particular text is being disseminated: hardcopy or electronic format. Titles as shop windows for texts proper, on one hand, become active: they call out, encourage, advertise, and sell. On the other hand, words as such, used in titles, have to be of the best quality, most accurate, and most effective; they have to literally sell themselves. J. Fras has expressed this metaphorically, claiming that on the face of it, a title is like a tradesman inviting buyers to look at his merchandise, but, at the same time, it is something more than that – it is a sample of the material, a cut-out of information fabric (Fras, 1999, p. 114).

Conclusion

It is words that are the most readily noticeable material from which texts are made, irrespective of the media in which texts are edited and published (Bralczyk, 2004, p. 60). The meanings of words, their shapes, and their causative power (persuasive, poetic, informative power, etc.) continue to be important in the era of teleliteracy. Regardless of the origin of words used in communication, the following sentence, part of which I have quoted above, should be considered

valid: "Irrespective of whether this word [an Anglicism – M.B.] is spelled the English or Polish way, if it is part of a Polish text, it is a Polish word, albeit not fully adapted" (http://www.rjp.pan.pl/, accessed 10 January 2017). Let me make a second qualifying point here – texts which are properly and carefully prepared in an aesthetically pleasing manner will always be considered an asset. Reading a text (even the shortest one, such as a title or a slogan) is like eating an exquisite dish. That is why texts should be carefully "prepared" and "served" in a way attractive to the recipient. This applies both to texts in a classic form (hard copy) and texts in a teleliteracy form.

While visualisation is not a new phenomenon, it is its intensity that is unlike anything we have seen before. Strategies relating to words (their form and semantics) are utilised both in the traditional media environment (newspaper headlines) and in the audio-visual environment, in which language and language strategies continue to play a constitutive and defining function (Wilk, 2000, p. 82).

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Słowa znaczą. Słowa wyglądają. Słowa (się) sprzedają

Streszczenie

Artykuł zatytułowany *Słowa znaczą. Słowa wyglądają. Słowa (się) sprzedają* opisuje zagadnienie lingwistyczne dotyczące funkcjonowania anglojęzycznych zapożyczeń we współczesnej polskiej komunikacji multimedialnej i naukowej. Tekst pokazuje przykłady takich zjawisk, jak: 1) grafizacja wyrazów, tytułów (w tym tytułów lingwistycznych publikacji naukowych) i sporadycznie – słoganów; 2) proces spolszczania anglojęzycznych zapożyczeń (w tym internacjonalizmów); 3) bazowanie na wieloznaczności leksemów dzięki wykorzystywaniu metafor, znaków interpunkcyjnych (w tym nawiasu wykluczającego lub włączającego wyraz w nim użyty). W podsumowaniu została sformułowana konkluzja, że słowa – jako budulec tekstów – znaczą, a uwikłane w kontekst (np. w tytułach) mogą mieć charakter wieloznaczny, z kolei poddane zabiegowi grafizacji – mogą pełnić funkcję perswazyjną, estetyczną, poetycką. Przede wszystkim jednak w komunikacji werbalnej słowa pełnią funkcję kognitywną.

Słowa kluczowe: słowo, zapożyczenie, neologizm, makro-akt komunikacji, tytuł

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Слова имеют значение. Слова выглядят. Слова продают (сами по себе)

Анотапия

Слова имеют значение. Слова выглядят. Слова продают (сами себя) фокусируется на трех вопросах: преобладание использования английских заимствованиях над попытками создать их польские эквиваленты (в результате чего продукт, процесс, событие, являются артефактами английского языка культуры, принятыми вместе с названиями); тенденция в рамках которой слова (и названия, состоящие из слов) становятся образами (по выбору шрифта, нестандартного использования строчных и заглавных букв, включение небуквенный символов, например, круглые скобки), а также приписывание словам присутствующим в микро-действиях промо-функции, рекламирующей весь продукт – текст. Рассмотренные в статье тенденции не являются новыми, но их уровень интенсивности является новым.

Ключевые слова: слово, заимствованние, неологизм, коммуникация макро-акт, название

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Las palabras significan. Las palabras parecen. Palabras (se) venden

Resumen

Artículo: Las palabras significan. Las palabras parecen. Palabras (se) venden se centra en tres cuestiones: el predominio de las palabras prestadas del idioma Inglés sobre los intentos de crear sus equivalentes en idioma Polaco (como resultado del cual un producto, proceso, suceso, cualquier aspecto promovido por la cultura angloparlante se adopta conjuntamente con su nombre), una tendencia por la cual las palabras (y los títulos compuestos de palabras) se convierten en imágenes (a través de la elección de la fuente, el uso no estándar de letras minúsculas y mayúsculas, la inclusión de caracteres sin letras, por ejemplo paréntesis), así como la atribución a palabras presentes en micro-actos de una función promocional, publicitando todo el producto — un texto. Las tendencias discutidas en el artículo no son nuevas, pero es su nivel de intensidad lo que es realmente novedoso.

Palabra s clave: palabra, préstamo lingüístico, neologismo, comunicación en micro actos, título