

**THE INTELLECTUALIZATION TENDENCY
IN THE CURRENT VOCABULARY
OF THE ROMANIAN AND BULGARIAN LANGUAGES**

**Rumyana LYUTAKOVA
“Sf. Kliment Ohridski” University of Sofia
(Bulgaria)**

Abstract

The present paper aims to follow the tendency of intellectualization in the context of language development of Romanian and Bulgarian in the recent three decades, mostly in their lexicon. It proves to be one of the active language tendencies, being opposed to democratization, and less visible than that. It is identified in the following aspects: enrichment of the terminological subsystems with new units, determinologization, and at the level of word formation. Determinologization is regarded as a process of subsequent stages: from the migration of the specialized vocabulary into the general vocabulary to the gaining of a new figurative meaning in common usage. Essential similarities of the importance and intensity of the intellectualization tendency in both languages have been found.

Key-words: *vocabulary, current, Romanian, Bulgarian, intellectualization*

Résumé

Cet article vise à suivre la tendance à l'intellectualisation dans le contexte de dynamique du vocabulaire roumain et bulgare les dernières décennies. C'est l'une des tendances linguistiques actives, s'opposant à la tendance de démocratisation, étant moins visible que cette dernière. Elle se trouve à la base de l'enrichissement des sous-systèmes terminologiques par des unités néologiques, à la base de la déterminologisation et dans le domaine de la formation de mots. La déterminologisation est conçue comme un processus qui se réalise à différents degrés : depuis la pénétration du lexique spécialisé dans le lexique commun, vers l'apparition de nouveaux sens figurés utilisés dans le vocabulaire d'usage général. A l'exception de certaines particularités de composition, on a constaté des ressemblances essentielles entre les deux langues en ce qui concerne l'importance et l'intensification de la tendance d'intellectualisation dans la période actuelle.

Mots-clés: *vocabulaire, actuel, roumain, bulgare, intellectualisation*

In the last three decades, along with the radical political, economic, and social changes that have led to advancements in all areas of social and cultural life in Central and Eastern Europe and, in particular, in Bulgaria and Romania, one can notice considerable linguistic developments, especially at the vocabulary level. As the most dynamic compartment of language, it is subject to the action of several tendencies, such as internationalization and nationalization, linguistic economy, etc. In addition, there are two opposite tendencies that can be qualified as stylistic-functional, namely those of democratization and intellectualization of language.

These reflect both the enrichment of the vocabulary through new terminological or colloquial units, and the intertwining of different linguistic registers, the blurring of precise boundaries between them which delimit the informal communication from the official one, the spoken language from the written one. The intellectualization tendency is diametrically opposed to that of democratization of language, which acted massively in the last decade of the 20th century, in the so-called transition period. The democratization of language is naturally due to the democratization of societies in Romania and Bulgaria after the events of 1989. It emerged as a reaction to the wooden language used in the years of socialism and is characterized by the migration of familiar, popular, slang, and regional expressions into journalistic discourse and political language, as “a tendency to shift the current expression to the *subliterary* level” (Guțu-Romalo 2005: 90). In contrast, the intellectualization of language occurs at a slower and more balanced pace and is more difficult to observe.

1. The characteristics of intellectualization

Although intellectualization is not a process dependent on the transformations after 1989, it is considered one of the important tendencies of the current language (Blagoeva, Kolkovska 2013: 323).

According to Havránek’s definition, intellectualization is “the adaptation of literary language so that linguistic phenomena are precisely determined and abstract as needed, in order to express the complexity and coherence of thought, strengthening the intellectual side of speech” (Havránek 1932/1963). Intellectualization reaches all linguistic levels, but is most clearly seen in the vocabulary.

In this article we will pay attention to the manifestations of the intellectualization tendency at the lexical level, considering the dynamics of the vocabulary of Romanian and Bulgarian in the last three decades. The results can be found in the following aspects: enrichment of the terminological subsystems with new units, migration of the specialized vocabulary into the common language, determinologization, as well as in the field of word formation.

2. Enrichment of the terminological subsystems with new units

Nowadays the creation and use of terminological units is very active. It represents a continuation of the process of formation of specialized terminologies which began with the transition to the modern stage of literary language¹ and intensified significantly in the second half of the last century. Today, due to the development of many fields of human knowledge, the process has become more powerful, being closely connected with neologization.

The enrichment of the specialized Romanian and Bulgarian vocabulary is achieved mainly by borrowing or loan translation of the terminological units created in the languages of the countries that occupy a leading place in the field of science and technology, especially in English. In this sense, the process, being favoured by globalization, by the enormous flow of information, by the intense scientific exchanges, and rapid communication, is related to the internationalization of the vocabulary, most of the newly formed terms being of international use.

The last decade of the 20th century and the first decades of the 21st century have witnessed the emergence of many terms, predominantly in the field of informatics, technologies, and communications, but also in various branches of science, technology, economy, politics, medicine, ecology, etc. For instance:

Rom.: *beta-blocant, bitcoin, blogosferă, burn-out, cleptocrație, coaching, (companie) start-up, colectare selectivă a deșeurilor, copywriter, eficiență energetică, factor de impact, fibran, hub, ideologem, macro, overdraft, panou de control, placă de bază, port infraroșu, organză, overdraft, podcast, teraoctet/terabyte, tiermondist, wahhabîți* ('beta-blocker, bitcoin, blogosphere, burn-out, kleptocracy, coaching, start-up (company), selective waste collection, copywriter, energy efficiency, impact factor, fibre, hub, ideologeme, macro, overdraft, control panel, motherboard, infrared port, organza, overdraft, podcast, teraoctet / terabyte, tiermondist, wahhabis');

Bulg.: *бетаблокер, биткойн, блогосфера, бърнаут, депозитарен, дерогация, дънна платка, енергийна ефективност, идеологема, импакт фактор, инфрачервен порт, клептокрация, контролен панел, копирайтър, коучинг, макрос, овърдрафт, органза, подкаст, разделно събиране на отпадъците, стартъп (компания), терабайт, ухабители, фибран, хъб;*

Following the integration of Romania and Bulgaria in the Euro-Atlantic structures, a lot of terms referring to the policy and organization of the European Union and NATO, numerous names of institutions, community bodies, international treaties, etc. were introduced in their languages.

¹ This process took place in Romanian at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century (see Ursu, 1962), and in Bulgarian - in the second half of the 19th century, due to specific historical conditions.

The simultaneous accession of the two countries to the EU in 2007, the long preparations for the harmonization of legislation and the efforts made for full alignment with European structures and for the absorption of European funds are the prerequisites for parallel processes in adopting vocabulary in this field. A new specialized terminology emerges in Romanian and Bulgarian – the European terminology, also called *Eurojargon*². It consists exclusively of internationalisms, having as source the English and French languages, by borrowing or by structural or semantic loan translation. Its purpose is both the precision and the standardization of specific EU terms. Here are some examples of European terms in both languages:

Rom. *acquis comunitar* ('Community acquis') – Bulg. *право на ЕС*

autoritate contractantă ('contracting authority') – *възлагащ орган*

autoritate de management ('management authority') – *управляващ орган*

axă prioritară ('priority axis') – *приоритетна ос*

BERD (Banca Europeană pentru Reconstrucție și dezvoltare – 'European Bank for Reconstruction and Development' EBRD) – *ЕББР* (Европейска банка за възстановяване и развитие)

capitol de negociere ('negotiation chapter') – *преговорна глава*

clauză de salvagardare ('safeguard clause') – *предпазна клауза*

comitologie ('comitology') – *комитология*

conectivitate ('connectivity') – *свързаност*

corrigendum ('corrigendum') – *коригендум*

creștere inclusivă ('inclusive growth') – *приобщаващ растеж*

economie circulară ('circular economy') – *кръгова икономика*

Europa cu două viteze ('two-speed Europe') – *Европа на две скорости*

interoperabilitate ('interoperability') – *оперативна съвместимост*

MCV (*mecanismul de cooperare și verificare* 'Mechanism for Cooperation and Verification') – *механизъм за сътрудничество и проверка*

(*misune de peer review* ('peer review mission') – *партньорска проверка*

negociator-șef ('chief negotiator') – *главен преговарящ*

perioadă de programare ('programming period') – *програмен период*

Pactul ecologic european ('European Green Deal') – *Европейски зелен пакт*

Parteneriat Estic ('Eastern Partnership') – *Източно партньорство*

politică de coeziune ('cohesion policy') – *кохезионна политика*

program operațional ('operational program') – *оперативна програма*

raport MCV ('MCV report') – *мониторингов доклад*

² See in this sense Pitiriciu 2008 and Busuioc 2003.

3. Migration of the specialized vocabulary into the common language

An important manifestation of the intellectualization tendency is also visible at the level of the intertwining of different functional subsystems, namely the influence of the scientific style on the general vocabulary. In the current situation of language, in which science, technology, politics, economy, and other intellectual fields find their reflection, many technical terms leave the field of the specialized vocabulary, migrating into the common language, even the colloquial one. The process is caused both by the larger and larger volume of information delivered in various ways, and by the rapid technological changes which ensure an increasing accessibility to all kinds of data, as well as the interest of today's man in news. The tendency of intellectualization also marks the transfer of some bookish elements to the spoken language.

The causes can be identified in the increased role of science and technology in modern society, called *knowledge society* and *information society*, which determines the so-called “democratization or socialization of knowledge” or “secularization of science” (Bidu-Vrănceanu 2007: 16-17). The phenomenon has been described as “external terminology”, of wider interest for non-specialists too (ibidem: 19-23). The means that favour the extension of specialized terms are education, internet and, first of all, media of all types. The examples of terminological units made known to the public through texts of wide circulation are numerous.

The specialized vocabulary enters the common language depending on the degree of familiarity of the speakers. A whole series of technical terms in the field of computer science and communications, all of English origin, have been constantly established in current use, due to the fact that electronic devices and social networks are now part of our daily lives, for instance.: Rom.: *blogger* – Bulg. блогър, *browser* – браузер, *Facebook* – Фейсбук / Facebook, *influencer* – инфлуенсър, *Instagram* – Инстаграм, *internet* – интернет, *online* – онлайн, *operator mobil* (‘mobile operator’) – мобилен оператор, *phishing* – фишинг, *platformă educațională* (‘educational platform’) – образователна платформа, *rețea de socializare* (‘social network’) – социална мрежа, *ruter* (‘router’) – рутер, *selfie* – селфи; *scroller* – скролер, *smartfon* (‘smartphone’) – смартфон, *social media* – социална медия, *спат* – спам, *slide* – слайд, *software* – софтуер, *server* – сървър, *Twitter* – Туитър / Twitter, *Vyber* – Вайбър / Vyber, *webinar* – вебинар, *Wi-Fi* – уайфайетс.

Technical progress also determines the introduction in the common language of specialized abbreviations in the process of lexicalization, often taken as such from English: Rom. *ATV* – Bulg. *ATB*, *cod QR* (‘QR code’) – *QR код*, *DVD* – *DVD*, *format 3D* (‘3D format’) – *3D формат*, *GPS* – *GPS* / джипиес, *image HD* (‘HD image’) – *HD изображение*, *jocuri PSP* (‘PSP games’) – *PSP игри*, *тр3* – *тр3*,

rețea 5G ('5G network') – *5G мрежа, sistem cu frânare ABS* ('anti-lock braking system') – *ABS спирачна система, televizor LCD* ('LCD television') – *LC Дтелевизор, USB –USB*.

Due to the special significance of politics and economy in contemporary social life, a large part of political and economic terminology has been integrated into the common language: Rom. *audit* – Bulg. *одит, clientelism* – *клиентелизъм, cotă unică (de impozitare)* ('flat tax') – *пловък данък, deflație* ('deflation') – *дефлация, depolitizare* ('depoliticization') – *деполитизация, economie subterană* ('underground economy') – *сива икономика, exit-poll* – *екзитпол, indexare* ('indexing') – *индексация, indicatori macroeconomici* ('macroeconomic indicators') – *макроикономически показатели, interethnic* – *междуетнически, investor strategic* ('strategic investor') – *стратегически инвеститор, lobbyism* – *лобизъм, lustrație* ('lustration') – *лустрация, nesupunere civică* ('civil disobedience') – *гражданско неподчинение, parteneriat public-privat* ('public-private partnership') – *публично-частно партньорство, pluralism* – *плурализъм, populist* – *популист(ски), totalitar* ('totalitarian') – *тоталитарен, tranzacție* ('transaction') – *трансакция, etc.*

In the general vocabulary, the frequency of some medical terms has increased, for instance: Rom. *amfetamine* ('amphetamines') – Bulg. *амфетамини, anabolizante* ('anabolic') – *анаболи, anorexie* ('anorexia') – *анорексия, antioxidanți, antioxidante* ('antioxidants') – *антиоксиданти, byrass* – *байпас, celulită* ('cellulitis') – *целулит, ecografic* ('ultrasound') – *ехографски, inseminare in vitro* ('in vitro fertilization') – *оплождане ин витро, investigații imagistice* ('imaging investigations') – *образна диагностика, kinetoterapie* ('kinetotherapy') – *кинезитерания, laparoscopie* ('laparoscopy') – *лапароскопия, racemaker* – *пейсмейкър, pedofilie* ('pedophilia') – *педофилия, stent* – *стент, stimulent imunitar* ('immunostimulator') – *имуностимулатор, (substanțe) psihotrope* ('psychotropic substances') – *психотропни вещества, etc.*

Advertising often appeals to specialized terms to attract consumers and gain their trust. Thus, especially in the advertising of cosmetics and pharmaceuticals, in order to suggest their high efficacy due to the application of the latest scientific achievements in the field, some deliberately vague but seemingly convincing names of chemical ingredients or rare plants are introduced, for instance: Rom. *acid hialuronic* ('hyaluronic acid') – Bulg. *хиалуронова киселина, ginkgo biloba* – *гинкгобилоба, jojoba* – *жожоба, karite* – *ший, Omega 3* – *Омега 3, paciuli* ('patchouli') – *пачули, parabeni* ('parabens') – *парабени, pâine fără gluten* ('gluten-free bread') – *хляб без глютен, Q 10* – *Q 10, ulei de argan* ('argan oil') – *арганово масло, ylang-ylang* – *иланг-иланг.*

In some cases, due to the extralinguistic situation, the public's familiarity with certain specific terminological units and their use by a wider circle of speakers

is driven by events or problems that concern society at a given time. Being very active during their media coverage, however, the circulation of specialized terms has a transitory character and is diminished with their removal from the attention of society. In recent decades such cases have been observed, for example, in: Rom. *accelerator de hadroni* ('hadron accelerator') – Bulg. *адроненколайдер*; *Big Bang-Големият взрив*; *bulimie* ('bulimia') – *булимия*; *epizootii* ('epizootics') – *епизоотии*; *fotovoltaic* ('photovoltaic') – *фотоволтаичен*, *gaze de șist* ('shale gas') – *шистов газ*; *grăsimi trans* ('trans fats') – *трансмазнини*; *gripa A(H1N1)* ('A(H1N1) influenza') – *груп A(H1N1)*, *pestă porcină africană* ('African swine fever') – *африканска чума по свинете*, *presiune migraționistă* ('migratory pressure') – *миграционен натиск*, etc.

In this sense, at the moment, we are witnessing a great concern for the medical vocabulary related to the pandemic that has taken over the world for more than a year. Most speakers are well acquainted with the meaning of strictly specialized terms in medicine: Rom. *anticorpi*, *comorbidități*, *imunitate de turmă / de grup / colectivă*, *memorie celulară*, *răspuns imun*, *sechele*, *secvențierea genomului*, *test antigen*, *test RT-PCR*, *vaccinuri cu vector viral sau cu ARN mesager*, *tulpini ale virusului* ('antibodies, comorbidities, herd / group / collective immunity, cellular memory, immune response, sequelae, genome sequencing, antigen testing, RT-PCR testing, viral vector or messenger RNA vaccines, virus strains');

Bulg. *антигенен*, *антитела*, *антигенен тест*, *векторна / РНК вакцина*, *геномносеквениране*, *имунен отговор*, *клетъчна памет*, *клъстерно и дифузно разпространение*, *колективен / стаден / групов имунитет*, *щамове на вируса*, *PCR тест*.

New terms have become frequent: Rom. *ATI*, *focar (de infecție)*, *incidență*, *lock-down*, *pandemic*, *pandemie*, *rapel*, *vaccinare* ('Anaesthesia and Intensive Care, outbreak (of infection), incidence, lock-down, pandemic, pandemic disease, booster, vaccination'); Bulg. *вакцинация*, *заболеваемост*, *клъстер/ огнище на зараза*, *пандемия*, *пандемичен*.

New words came into being: Rom. *a carantina*, *carantinare*, *carantinat*; *COVID-19*, *SARS-CoV-2* ('to quarantine, quarantine, quarantined; COVID-19, SARS-CoV-2'); Bulg. *вакцинационен*, *карантинирам*, *карантиниран*, *карантиниране*, *КОВИД-19*. The very term Rom. *coronavirus* – Bulg. *коронавирус* was borrowed from English *coronavirus*, where it was formed with components of classical languages, being launched in the British journal *Nature* in 1968 by scientists who studied this human virus. It had been used in the language of Romanian and Bulgarian specialists, but it came into use in the common language once the pandemic broke out.

4. Determinologization

We see it as a manifestation of the intellectualization tendency because, through all its varieties, it refers to the integration of the intellectual in the common language.

4.1. Degrees of determinologization

In many works, the process analyzed in the previous chapter is called *determinologization*³ by specialists, taking into account “the extension of the specialized vocabulary, its assimilation, even partial, in the common language” (Bidu-Vrănceanu 2006: 234). In this case, the technical terms taken into the general vocabulary retain their denotative value, being used by non-specialists with their terminological meaning. This is the *broad interpretation* of the notion of determinologization.

However, the “migration” of the units into the general vocabulary can be done in different degrees. After taking the first steps towards the common vocabulary with their original meaning, some specialized terms, being gradually placed in various, unusual contexts, can change their semantic sphere, e.g. *miopie politică* ‘political myopia’ – *политическо късогледство*, *infuzie de capital* ‘infusion of capital’ – *финансова инжекция*, or *lider* ‘leader’ – *лидер* (in any field except politics or sports).

The contextual-semantic extensions allowed by the use of terms in texts of wide circulation may have the effect of the emergence of new metaphorical meanings – “the clear proof of the passage of the term to the word” (Bidu-Vrănceanu 2007: 29).

4.2. Determinologization by semantic derivation

It is the advanced stage, which we consider the maximum degree of determinologization or *determinologization in the narrow sense*, at which the term, by semantic derivation, developed a new meaning through which it works independently in the common language or in other languages, that aroused great interest among linguists. The phenomenon has been variously and controversially named by researchers⁴. It has been studied in detail regarding the Romanian language by Bidu-Vrănceanu (op. cit.)⁵, Stoichițoiu-Ichim (2001: 53-82), etc., and regarding Bulgarian, by M. Popova (2009).

The new meanings, appeared in the current period, are part of the recent semantic neologisms in Romanian and Bulgarian. Here are some examples:

- in Romanian and Bulgarian:

³ The phenomenon is also known under different names, analyzed in Bidu-Vrănceanu 2006: 234.

⁴ See the presentation of some views in Bidu-Vrănceanu 2006: 234.

⁵ The author accepts for this the term *trivialization*, in order to differentiate it from the “external terminology” which she calls *determinologization*.

dinozaur ('dinosaur') – *динозавър* - a paleontological term that denotes “a huge fossil reptile from the Mesozoic era”, developed the metaphorical meaning “anachronistic person / formation / regime”;

dividend ('dividend') – *дивидент* - a term in the field of finance with the meaning “share of the profit of a joint stock company, returning to a shareholder, in relation to the value of the shares he owns”, which has expanded into the journalistic and common language, meaning “advantage obtained from a certain situation”, most often in the phrase *dividende politice* ('political dividends') – *политически дивиденти*;

a eroda ('to erode') – *ерозирам* – a technical term in chemistry, geology, and technology with the value of “producing or suffering erosion; to wear away”, is used in many other contexts with the meaning “to weaken, to undermine”;

mastodont ('mastodon') – *мастодонт* – another term in paleontology meaning “huge mammal fossil, similar to the elephant, which lived in the Tertiary and Quaternary eras”, added the pejorative meaning “anachronistic, large organization, or institution with cumbersome functioning”;

sinergie ('synergy') – *синергия*, used in the field of physiology with the denotative meaning “association of several organs or tissues to perform the same function”, has broadened its semantic scope to “common and coordinated activity between institutions, organizations, personalities, etc.”

- in Romanian:

accept ('acceptance') – financial-banking term of German origin with the meaning “act by which someone undertakes to pay a debt at maturity” which has acquired the extended meaning “agreement, approval”;

clivaj ('cleavage') – the specialized term of geology with the value of “property of minerals, rocks, crystals, etc. to unfold into sheets or plates with flat surfaces” was transferred to the political language, and from there to the language of the press where it circulates frequently with the figurative meaning “dissension, division, split”;

a dezamorsa ('to defuse') – with the basic terminological meaning “to remove the primer of a projectile”, added the connotative meaning “to prevent unfolding, to calm down”, usually in the context of... *conflict, crisis, tensions*;

a (se) seta ('to set (oneself)') – a loan from English meaning “to establish, select or configure the operating parameters of a computerized technical system”, began to circulate in the current language as a reflexive verb too, in the context ...*man*, meaning “to decide, to propose, to be willing”.

sincopă ('syncope') – a term from medicine, music, and linguistics that, in recent decades, has been often used in journalism with the meaning “interruption, pause” or “gap, deficiency, lack” (in the phrase *syncopes in law*).

in Bulgarian:

капсулирам се – a term in physiology with the meaning “(about an organ, a tumour, a bacterium) to encapsulate”, has broadened its contexts by developing the meaning “(about an institution, a party, etc.) to close, to isolate, to limit their contacts”;

рестартирам – a recent term in the field of informatics “to restart (a computer or electronic device)” which came into general use with the extended meaning “to resume, to restart (any activity, process, relationships, etc.)”. It should be noted that, although less often, the same secondary meaning was developed by the Romanian neologism *a reseta* with the basic meaning “to reinstall one or more programs in a computer”, e.g. *a reseta activitatea / relațiile / procesul* etc. (‘to reset activity / relationships / process’ etc.)

Semantic changes are also achieved through transfers between the various terminological subsystems, when specialized terms develop new meanings by migrating, through the press, into another specialized vocabulary and, subsequently, into standard literary language. They “have a privileged position” (Stoichițoiu-Ichim 2001: 53) in point of their weight with regard to the dynamics of meanings in the current period. They were analyzed by Bidu-Vrănceanu within the so-called “interdisciplinary scientific vocabulary” (2007: 30, 181-199). The most frequent mechanism of the resulting semantic mutations is metaphORIZATION. (Petuhov 2010: 220).

Numerous cases of transitions between terminologies can be identified through semantic changes. Here are just a few examples of words that have developed figurative meanings provided by medical terminology to other fields⁶:

- in economy: *incubator* – *инкубатор* “business support system”; *terapie de șoc* (‘shock therapy’) – *шокова терапия* “rapid and decisive implementation of reforms for the transition from the planned economy to the market economy”; *colaps* (‘collapse’) – *колас* “fall, decrease, bankruptcy”;
- in informatics: *virus* – *вирус* “program with destructive effects on computers”; *scanner* (‘scanner’) – *скенер* “peripheral device of a computer that digitizes artwork, images, photos, etc.”

The term *absorbție* (‘absorption’), which belongs to physics and medicine, has a high frequency in the language of the Romanian press, in the phrase *absorbție de fonduri* (‘absorption of funds’) (Bulgarian uses with the same value the old economic term *усвояване на средства*).

⁶ Petuhov 2010 and Kolkovska 2007, respectively, are works dedicated in particular to the interference of medical terminology with political or economic language.

5. The tendency of intellectualization in the field of word formation

At the level of word formation, intellectualization is manifest mainly by the productivity of some procedures or of some formative elements with specialized character, either literary or bookish. The enrichment of the inventory of specialized terms is marked by the action of the tendency in the following aspects⁷:

- to the greatest extent with regard to suffixation: the formation of derivatives with abstract noun suffixes Rom. *-itate, -ism, -re, -izare*, resp. Bulg. *-ост, -изъм, -не, -ация, -изация*, for instance:

Rom.: *bugetare, clientelism, competitivizare, concurențialitate, confidențialitate, consumism, credibilizare, criminalizare, criptare, dialogism, digitalizare/digitizare, eficientizare, enclavizare, fidelizare, formatare, fundamentalism, informatizare, interactivitate, jihadism, mediatizare, parentalitate, populism, predictibilitate, securizare, sexism, sistemicitate; statalitate, sustenabilitate, transparentizare, trasabilitate, tripartitism, veganism, etc.* ('budgeting, clientelism, competitiveness, competition, confidentiality, consumerism, credibility, criminalization, encryption, dialogism, digitization, efficiency, enslavement, loyalty, formatting, fundamentalism, computerization, interactivity, jihadism, media coverage, parenting, populism, predictability, security, sexism, systemicity; statehood, sustainability, transparency, traceability, tripartism, veganism', etc.);

Bulg.: *анклавизация, банкиране, бюджетирание, гледаемост, джихадизъм, диалогичност, екипност, задлъжнялост, институционализация, интерактивност, информираност, кирилизация, клиентелизъм, конкурентност, конфиденциалност, концессиониране, корумпираност, криминализиране, популизъм, предсказуемост, проследимост, разградимост, сексизъм, трипартизъм, фундаментализъм* etc.

- to suffixation: the formation of adjectives with the neological suffix Rom. *-bil*, Bulg. *-аем, -уем*, characterized by their literary use; it should be noted that the examples in Romanian prevail:

Rom.: *accizabil, asigurabil, cesionabil, comercializabil, conectabil, degradabil, extractabil, finanțabil, fracționabil, gestionabil, manipulabil, modulabil, perfecționabil, programabil, promovabil, răzuibil, reciclabil, reîncărcabil, reutilizabil* ('excisable, insurable, transferable, marketable, connectable, degradable, extractable, financeable, fractionable, manageable, manipulable, modular, perfectible, programmable, promotable, scratchable, recyclable, rechargeable, reusable');

⁷ A detailed research on the formation of words in Romanian and Bulgarian in the period after 1989 can be consulted in Lyutakova 2018: 130-220.

Bulg.: *застраховаем, манипулируем, програмируем, преместваем, предвидим, разградим, разложим, рециклируем, търгуем;*

• to prefixation: the formation of terms with neological, international prefixes of the type: Rom. *co-*, *de(z)-*, *post-*, *pro-*, *re-*, *trans-*, resp. Bulg. *де-,ко-/съ-, пост-, про-, ре-, транс-*, etc., for instance:

Rom.: *cofondator, coproducător, declassificat, a decriminaliza, a demonopoliza, demotivare, deregistrare, dezesescaladare, dezideologizare, postindustrial, proatlantic, a refinanța, rehidratare, transbalcanic, transfrontalier*, etc. ('co-founder, co-producer, declassified, to decriminalize, to demonopolize, demotivation, deregistration, de-escalation, de-ideologization, post-industrial, pro-Atlantic, to refinance, rehydration, trans-Balkan, cross-border, etc.);

Bulg.: *копродуцент, съосновател, деескалация, деидеологизация, декласифициран, декриминализирам, демонополизирам, демотивация, deregистрирам, постиндустриален, проатлантически, рефинансирам, рехидратация; трансбалкански, трансграничен*, etc.

- to the thematic composition with prefixoids, a very active process in the last decades⁸, for example:

Rom.: *aeroambulanță, agroturism; autoreglementare, biocarburant, ecotoxic, eurosceptic, fitocosmetică, fotopolimer, macroregional, meteosensibil, microfinanțare, multicultural, nanorobot, neonomnclatură, telemuncă, videoconferință*, etc. ('air ambulance, agrotourism; self-regulation, biofuel, ecotoxic, Eurosceptical, phytocosmetics, photopolymer, macroregional, meteosensitive, microfinancing, multicultural, nanorobot, neonomnclature, telework, videoconferencing', etc.);

Bulg.: *авиокетъринг, агротуризм, биогориво, видеоконферентен, евроскептик, екотоксичен, макрорегионален, метеочувствителен, микрофинансиране, мултикултурен, наноробот, неономенклатура, саморегулация, фитокосметика, фотополимер*, etc.;

Comparing the units formed with pseudoprefixes in Romanian and Bulgarian in the current period, it can be seen that the process is much more productive in Bulgarian, a large part of the formations with prefixoids being rendered in Romanian by phrases in which either an adjective or its autonomous use in the role of an invariable adjective determiner corresponds to the prefixoid, for example:

Bulg. *Автопроизводител* – Rom. *producător auto* ('car manufacturer')

Артрезиденция – *reședință de artiști* ('residence of artists')

Аудионосител – *suport audio* ('audio support')

биопродукт – *produs bio* ('bio product')

⁸ The procedure was analyzed by Stoichițoiu-Ichim 2006: 17-94, regarding the Romanian language and by Avramova 2003 and Nișeva 2012 - regarding the Bulgarian language.

видеофайл – fișier video ('video file')

демоверсия – versiune demo ('demo version')

кардиопрोगрама – program cardio ('cardio program')

киберпрестъпление – infracțiune cibernetică / informatică ('cybercrime')

наркокартел – cartel de droguri ('drug cartel')

термомост – punte termică ('thermal bridge')

• to compounds as such which also record a higher productivity in Bulgarian due to its Slavic nature, for instance:

Rom.: *iridodiagnostic, primoinfecție, vitroceramic* ('iridodiagnosis, primary infection, vitroceramic');

Bulg.: *банкнотоприемник, ветрогенератор, животозастраховане, земеразделяне, картодържател, кредитоспособност, лизингодател, правоприлагане, правоохранителен, рекламоносител, сметопакетиращ, текстообработка.*

Instead, in the current Romanian language there are many lexical formations made up of two juxtaposed nouns, the second having adjective value and called "name-epithet"⁹, e.g. *competențe-cheie, contract-cadru, mărfuri-pirat, proiect-pilot, test-grilă*, etc. ('key competencies, framework contract, pirated goods, pilot project, grid test', etc.)

• to abbreviation, the logo being the predominant and very productive procedure in both languages in the last thirty years for the names of parties, organizations, institutions, but also of other realities. It is both the result of the principle of linguistic economy and of the tendency of intellectualization. Some of the logos were translated from foreign models. Here are some examples::

Rom.: *ANAF, ANRE, CNA, CNAS, CSM, CUI, DNA, DIICOT, FMI, GPL, IDD, IMM, MCV, OCEMN, OMG, ONG, OSCE, OUG, PET, PNL, PPE, PSD, RCA, RON, SMURD, TVA, TVR, UDMR, UE, USR;*

Bulg.: *БНТ, БСП, ВЕИ, ВСС, ГЕРБ, ГМО, ДАНС, ДДС, ДКЦ, ДПС, ЕИК, ЕНП, ЕРП, ЕС, КЕВР, МБАЛ, МВФ, НАП, НЗОК, НПО, НФСБ, ОССЕ, ПРО, РИОСВ, СЕМ, СОТ, СРС, ЦИК, ЧИС.*

In conclusion:

At present, intellectualization is an active tendency in the dynamics of the vocabulary in Romanian and Bulgarian, although it takes place at a slower and more balanced pace and is more difficult to observe than the opposite tendency - democratization.

It accompanies neologization by contributing to the completion of terminological subsystems with new lexical units. It is closely related to the

⁹ See an in-depth approach to the problem in Stoichițoiu-Ichim 2006: 238-254.

tendency of internationalization, as a result of the enrichment of literary language predominantly through neologisms of international use.

It is also completed by the increasingly decisive migration of the specialized vocabulary into the common language. The highest degree of determinologization is observed in the case of the development of figurative meanings of the specialized technical terms in the general vocabulary.

Intellectualization is reflected in the field of literary and specialized word formation - in derivation, through neological, mostly abstract affixes, as well as in thematic composition, by prefixoids, and in that by abbreviation (use of logos). It is here that a certain asymmetry between the two languages can be observed, composition in Bulgarian having a higher share. However, in general, it can be stated that the intensity of the intellectualization tendency of the Romanian and Bulgarian vocabulary is currently almost the same.

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