

TERM IN NON-SPECIALISED CONTEXT. CASE OF DETERMINOLOGISATION OF PSYCHIATRIC TERMINOLOGY

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Original scientific paper

DOI: 10.31902/fl.45.2023.4

UDC: 811.133.1'276.6

Abstract: The concept of “term” as a strictly monosemic, isolated unit incompatible with synonymy and polysemy is not based on reality. Term variation can be of diatopic, diachronic, or diastratic nature. In addition, there is a close relationship between specialised vocabulary and general vocabulary, as term can migrate from specialised language towards general language (and vice versa). The phenomenon is called determinologisation (other authors call it despecialisation, vulgarisation, dedomanialisation, banalisation, or lexical trivialisation). The article deals with determinologisation of psychiatric terminology. The number of terms penetrating non-specialised language is growing, but determinologisation remains a phenomenon that only concerns certain categories of terms and, in particular, certain topics (such as environment, medicine, information technology, and space industry). The objective of the paper is to analyse the specificities of use of psychiatric terms in non-specialised texts, particularly in journalistic texts, by investigating the question of degree of specialisation of term for its use in determinologised context. To identify the basic psychiatric terms submitted for analysis, authors used the 5th chapter of the *International Classification of Diseases*, containing mental and behavioural disorders. The phenomenon of determinologisation has been analysed in *LeMonde.fr*, online version of the French daily newspaper, using *Sketch Engine* software tool. The authors identified a number of terms commonly used in non-specialised context (newspaper articles of various sections – news, culture, economics, sports). Usually (with certain exceptions), these were one-word terms, all of them being nouns and adjectives.

Keywords: French language, lexicology, term, terminology, terminologisation, determinologisation, specialised language, lexicology, vocabulary, psychiatry, mental disorders

1. Introduction

Since the formulation of general theory of terminology, the foundations of which were laid by Wüster in the 1930s, term has long been considered as a lexical unit specific to the specialised language,¹ opposed to word in the same

¹ (Kocourek 77) : “... le terme est une unité lexicale définie dans le texte de spécialité.”
Translation by authors.

way as specialised language was opposed to general language. Moreover, in the Wüsterian approach, term was perceived as an isolated unit, independent of the context, strictly monosemic, and therefore, not admitting synonymy and polysemy.

Since those times, terminology has undergone considerable development gradually upsetting the long-held postulates of the general theory of terminology. Modern terminological research shows that specialised language is a natural language that functions according to the same principles as general language. These changes in approach manifest themselves above all in socioterminology, which is developing, in particular, in France and in other French-speaking countries, including Canada, in textual (“textual terminology” advocated by Slodzian, 2000), communicational (developed by Cabré, 1998), pragmatic (pragmaterminology developed by de Vecchi, 2016), and variationist approaches.

Contemporary terminologists point to different variations of terms. A variation of term can be of diatopic, diachronic, and diastratic nature, giving rise to a number of terminological synonyms in different fields. Diatopic variation is manifested by terminological synonymy existing in different countries that use the same language. The terminology of law using different terms to refer to the same concept is a typical case. Let us compare the following legal terms used in France and in Quebec: *réviseur aux comptes – vérificateur des comptes, société anonyme – compagnie, gérant – administrateur, entreprise individuelle – travailleur autonome*, etc.

Diachronic variation reflects the changes in terms during evolution of terminologies pursuant mainly to developments in human knowledge. Medical terminology is a typical example, medicine being one of the oldest disciplines in which the progress is very obvious. Let us quote, for instance, the terms *jaunisse – ictère, rhume des foies – rhinite allergique, peste blanche – tuberculose*, etc. (Honová 34-35). Diachronic variation has been addressed by Kacprzak (49) who mentions, in this context, the existence of a whole series of terms used for certain diseases, as *paludisme (malaria, fièvre paludéenne, fièvre paludique, fièvre palustre, fièvre à quinquina, fièvre maremmatique, fièvre des marais)*. Examples also include scientific nomenclatures introduced in 18th century, such as Carl Linnaeus’ binomial nomenclature of cellular organisms, or chemical nomenclature replacing the alchemical names of compounds (*cristaux de Vénus – nitrate de cuivre, fleurs de Jupiter – oxyde d’étain, sel d’yeux d’écrevisse – acétate de calcium, pierre infernale – nitrate d’argent*). Some of them have survived to this day, and some are even used more often than their newer equivalents (*eau-forte – acide nitrique, rouille – oxyde ferrique, vitriol – acide sulfurique*) (Walter 82-85).

Diastratic variation in terminology is related to the context and the communicational situation in which the term is used. Examples include

terminological synonyms used by a doctor when speaking to a patient on the one hand, and when speaking to a colleague on the other (*plaquette – thrombocyte*, etc.), as well as the synonymy existing between the official name and the commercial name of a term (*acide acetylsalicylique – aspirine*), or the synonyms used in different companies for a single concept (*ordinateur individuel – ordinateur personnel*) to distinguish, in particular, the company from its competitors (Bédard, 15-17). Let us also mention the variation associated with internationalisation of terminologies resulting in the existence of synonymy between a term formed from resources proper to the language and internationalism (*lissage – lifting, jeune pousse – start-up, logiciel – software*, etc.).

Moreover, term behaves differently depending on the context in which it is used. It is obvious that term is, in principle, intended to be used in specialised communication. Nevertheless, nowadays it often leaves its strictly specialised framework and penetrates the day-to-day, non-specialised communication. As a result, contemporary terminologists realise that the boundary between words and terms is not strictly defined, being, on the contrary, quite blurred, in the same way as the boundary between specialised language and general language. This fact results in migration of terms from a specialised domain to a non-specialised domain as well as in the circulation of terms between different domains of specialty.² According to Meyer and Mackintosh (213), the phenomenon of migration of terms towards general language is accentuated in the environment of “knowledge society” in which we live:

[...] as specialised knowledge infiltrates our day-to-day lives, an increasing number of lexical units will quit their fixed terminological character and undergo semantic and pragmatic changes in the process of determinologisation.³

2. Terminologisation and determinologisation

The process of determinologisation (and the opposite process of terminologisation), showing close relationship between specialised vocabulary and general vocabulary, has been mentioned in the theory of Czech terminology since the 1980s (Poštolková et al., 1983; Poštolková, 1984), while French terminologists pay less attention to this issue. Czech terminologists define terminologisation as a process during which a common language word acquires

² The permeability existing between specialised languages and general language has already been shown by Rondeau (25).

³ “[...] au fur et à mesure que les connaissances spécialisées infiltrent notre quotidien, un nombre croissant d’unités lexicales se détacheront de leur caractère terminologique fixe, subissant des changements sémantiques et pragmatiques au cours du processus de détermination.” Translation by authors.

a specialised meaning, considering it a highly efficient mode of term formation, when a word existing in general vocabulary is used to name a new specialised concept. During such process, the meaning of the word does not change completely, but specialises its meaning because only certain semantic features are retained. The same term is also used by Cabré (1994, 593) for words that “pass to various domains with precise signifieds”⁴, or Sager (54) for “the assigning of a limited meaning to a word of general language”, while Depecker (7) prefers the term “specialisation” of a linguistic unit, defined as the special meaning that a linguistic unit accepts without any formal mark, derived from a “continuum between general language and specialised language”.

As far as terminologisation is concerned, it is considered by Czech terminologists as weakening or loss of part of the specialised meaning of a term. According to Poštolková (106), during the process of terminologisation, a term becomes non-term either in its primary (original) meaning, or in its derived meaning. Furthermore, the author emphasises that terminologisation is the result of frequent and less precise use of terms in general (non-specialised) language. Besides Czech terminologists, terminologisation is mentioned, in particular, by Meyer and Mackintosh (2000) as “stretching of terminological meaning”,⁵ as well as by Madinier (2008) and Picton (2018).

Nevertheless, most French linguists prefer other terms such as despecialisation (Condamines and Picton, 2014; Gouadec, 1990), vulgarisation (Gouadec, 1990), dedomanialisation (Rastier and Valette, 2009), banalisation (Jacobi, 1986), and lexical trivialisation (Galisson, 1978). The latter defines banalised language as a “second language, grafted on a ‘technical’ language, to ensure wider dissemination of information relating to the field of experience covered by the technical language in question”.⁶

Whatever name we use for the processes defined above, the growing penetration of terms into contemporary non-specialised communication is evident.

According to Roberts and Josselin-Leray (327), the fact that terms are penetrating general language more than ever before is attested by a growing volume of terms in general dictionaries. Even if terms are treated, in principle, by terminographic works, the presence of terms in current lexicographic works is constantly increasing. Among the reasons of this trend, the authors rightly underline the difficulty of establishing precise delimitation between words of general language and terms, due to migration of lexical units between general

⁴ “passent à divers domaines avec des signifiés précis”. Translation by authors.

⁵ “Étirement du sens terminologique”. Translation by authors.

⁶ “Langage second, greffé sur un langage « technique », pour assurer une diffusion plus large aux informations relevant du domaine d’expérience couvert par le langage technique en question.” Translation by authors.

language and specialised languages, as well as the importance of terms in contemporary life and with respect to user expectations.

However, even if the number of terms that enter non-specialised language is growing, determinologisation remains a phenomenon that only concerns certain categories of terms. Some authors (e.g. Honová 110) concluded that certain terms in certain domains become determinologised more easily than others. In this regard, it is necessary to take into consideration the fact that terms vary depending on their specialisation. Therefore, we distinguish three categories of terms⁷, namely:

- terms with low degree of specialisation;
- terms with medium degree of specialisation;
- terms with high degree of specialisation (ultra-specialised terms).
- The first category includes terms that are closest to general language, being known even to non-specialists. On the other hand, the terms which present high specialisation are characterised, in principle, by the following attributes:
 - based on scholarly forms (Greco-Latin);
 - semantic opacity;
 - archaic character;
 - formation by long syntagmas;
 - formation by initialisation.

Nevertheless, there are other criteria of pragmatic nature. Determinologisation manifests itself, in particular, through the media, which are often broadcasters of new terms in non-specialised communication. It also depends on the level of media coverage of a specific subject. Obviously, the phenomenon of determinologisation is specific to terms in the most publicised fields. The recent COVID-19 pandemic has allowed the spread of epidemiological terminology into the language of the general public, and the current war in Ukraine has disseminated military terminology. Condamines and Picton (2014, 168) give other examples of such fields:

[...] the fact that a term spreads in general language is often due to increased interest of the public/interlocutor for the subject to which this term is linked: medicine, information technology, nuclear energy, space industry.⁸

3. Research objectives and methodology

The objective of the paper is to analyse the specificities of use of psychiatric terms in non-specialised and, particularly, journalistic texts, by investigating the

⁷ We base the classification particularly on Rondeau (25).

⁸ “[...] le fait qu’un terme se diffuse dans la langue générale est souvent lié à un intérêt accru du public/interlocuteur pour la thématique à laquelle est lié ce terme : la médecine, l’informatique, le nucléaire, le spatial.” Translation by authors.

question of the role of degree of specialisation of a term for its use in the determinologised context. Some previous works (e.g. Honová) examined terms occurring in French press related to the field of bioethics, an interdisciplinary field at the crossroads of biology, medicine, genetics, ethics, and law, and a topical, widely publicised issue, interesting even to non-specialists.

To identify the basic psychiatric terms submitted for analysis, we searched the globally used *International Classification of Diseases* (hereinafter *ICD*), published and maintained by the World Health Organization. Diagnoses are divided into 22 chapters marked with alphanumeric codes for specification of a disease (and other circumstances, such as external causes of injury or disease). The classification is regularly updated and, at present, the 11th revision is available. However, we used the French version of *Chapter 5* of the 10th revision of *ICD* from 2019: *Mental and behavioural disorders (Troubles mentaux et du comportement)*, including diagnoses marked as F00-F99 (World Health Organization).

The phenomenon of determinologisation was analysed in *LeMonde.fr*, online version of the French daily newspaper and one of the first French newspapers appearing on the web. To search the terms, we used *Sketch Engine*, corpus manager and text analysis software produced by Lexical Computing Ltd., initially released in 2003. Only the most typical and obvious occurrences were retained as examples in this article.

4. Typology of terms from the point of view of their use

On the basis of a research carried out in *LeMonde.fr*, we identified four categories of the analysed psychiatric terms, namely (a) terms used in *LeMonde.fr* exclusively in their primary, terminological meaning, (b) terms used both in their terminological, and determinologised meaning, (c) terms always or almost used in their determinologised meaning (these terms were not found in the corpus, but it is conceivable that they could be found in the terminology of another specialisation), and, finally, (d) terms not found in *LeMonde.fr* (*hypersomnie, hyperanxiété, agrophie, dyslalie, acalculie, trichotillomanie*, etc.).

Terms used exclusively in their primary meaning (category (a)) include, above all, those with a high degree of specialisation, such as those formed from scholarly forms (*agoraphobie, insomnie, somnambulisme, énurésie, encoprésie, pédophilie, pyromanie*, etc.), or terminological syntagmas (*retard mental, trouble anxieux*, etc.). Regarding terminological syntagmas, we can see that, in general, they rarely undergo the process of determinologisation, especially if they are long enough. Indeed, the longer the syntagma, the more specialised and less known is the term (*trouble obsessionnel compulsif, trouble affectif bipolaire*).

Terms of category (b) were quite abundant in the corpus, i.e. the terms found both in the primary, specialised meaning, and in the determinologised

meaning. The determinologised meaning was found in various newspaper sections (national and international politics, economics, culture, society, and sports). From the point of view of parts of speech, they are nouns, and, in some cases, adjectives. We also identified several derived verbs.

In the category of organic mental disorders, let us mention the term *démence* in the determinologised meaning, e.g. *démence électorale* or *démence juive*. In political comments, we also found a relatively expressive determinologised use of this term, such as *la démence sans retour qui s'est emparée de Bachar Al-Assad* (2012/08/14). The terms *amnésie* (classified as a neurotic disorder) and *amnésique* (used mainly as an adjective, sometimes appearing also as a noun) are evidently well known even to non-experts, as evidenced by their frequent use in the determinologised meaning (e.g. *société amnésique, la France est amnésique, la famille Le Pen est amnésique, petit rappel aux amnésiques*). The adjective *hallucinatoire* (forming part of the term *état hallucinatoire organique* in the ICD) was attested in the corpus in *Quant à la célèbre "Marche funèbre", étonnamment sage pour le coup, elle se réserve pour un finale hallucinatoire* (2010/09/20), ... *entre complotisme enkysté et tendances hallucinatoires* (2019/12/27), *J'ai longuement marché dans le désert avec une soif hallucinatoire* (2021/01/05). Even more frequently, we encountered the noun *hallucination* (*une hallucination collective, une nouvelle hallucination urbaine, hallucinations millénaristes, etc.*).

Among the terms falling under mental and behavioural disorders associated with psychoactive substances, we noted a significant occurrence of the term *intoxication* in the determinologised meaning, e.g. *intoxication idéologique, intoxication de l'opinion publique, l'intoxication marketing* and, in international politics comments, the expressive *une intoxication à Nétanyahou s'est développée au fil du temps* (2019/02/15). In the determinologised meaning, the term *intoxication* also occurs in an abbreviated form *intox* (*intox médiatiques, intox politicienne, intox de l'extrême droite, le théâtre des intox de Marine Le Pen, etc.*). In addition to the mentioned noun, we also noted the occurrence of derived determinologised verbs, *intoxiquer* (*il est fascinant de voir comment on intoxique facilement une population crédule, 2011/04/16*) and *désintoxiquer* (*se désintoxiquer de la technique, désintoxiquer l'économie, "désintoxiquer" la France des ressources fossiles*).

Among schizotypal and schizophrenic disorders, we mainly encountered the determinologisation of the term *schizophrénie* itself, typically with reference to a political situation, such as *schizophrénie des hommes politiques*. The occurrence of this term was also noted in connection with the verb *s'emparer*, e.g. *Quelle schizophrénie s'est emparée des Français, or un symbole de schizophrénie qui s'est emparée des Britanniques* (2019/12/25). *Paranoïa* is another term of this category, used often in combination with other medical terms such as *paranoïa aigüe contre la police, or Le cas du "G15" est*

symptomatique de la paranoïa des dirigeants (2013/05/10), as well as *paranoïa collective*, *paranoïa anticommuniste*, *paranoïa du régime*, etc. A similar situation was observed with the term *psychose*, which occurred in collocations *psychose parmi la population*, *psychose malade du nucléaire*, *début de psychose*, etc.

In the class of mood (affective) disorders, we noted frequent occurrence of the term *manie*, which appears in various journalistic topics, e.g. *manie obsessionnelle ou stratégie de globalisation littéraire*, *manie d'Obélix*, *manie du transport aérien*, in the field of sports also as *manie nationale de la repentance contamine même FIFA* (2010/06/29), or *Cette longue natte blonde qu'elle lissait entre les points, qu'elle triturait au même titre que son chapelet, parmi tant de petites manies qui irritaient aussi bien son adversaire que le public* (2016/04/06).⁹ This class also includes the adjective *dépressif*, occurring in determinologised meaning quite commonly in journalistic texts of various genres and topics (politics, culture, art) in collocations *France dépassée*, *dépressive*, *dépravée*, *paysage hexagonale*, *dépressif*, *climat dépressif palestinien*, *architecture dépressive*, etc.

In neurotic, stress-related and somatoform disorders, we noted significant occurrence of the term *amnésie* used in determinologised meaning. Several times, we encountered *amnésie nationale*, and *amnésie coloniale*, *amnésie collective*, *amnésie du présent*, *amnésie mise en place par l'État*, as well as *une belle amnésie sur les valeurs*. On the contrary, the occurrence of the term *anxiété* was recorded, in the vast majority of cases, in its original, terminological meaning, with the exception of *anxiété collective* and *anxiété sanitaire et économique*. The same applies to the term *hypochondrie* and the derived adjective *hypocondriaque* (used also as a noun), which are exceptionally used in determinologised meaning, e.g. *L'Europe des hypocondriaques écologistes se réveillera-t-elle bientôt?* (2019/08/19). In contrast to the previous two terms, we recorded relatively frequent occurrence of the term *phobie* in determinologised meaning, such as *phobie de la démocratie du monde arabe*, *phobie des bolcheviks*, *phobie "administrative"*, *phobie de l'inflation*, *phobie française*, *phobie de l'étranger*, and also *catho phobie*.¹⁰ This class of diagnoses also

⁹ In determinologised meaning, the term *manie* often becomes a mere synonym of words *obsession*, *passion*, *goût*, *habitude bizarre*, and becomes part of a number of neologisms (*anglomanie*, *mégalomanie*, *nymphomanie*, and the derived *anglomane*, *mégalomane*, *nymphomane*, etc.), all of them being attested in the corpus. However, the ICD terminology contains only *dipsomanie*, *toxicomanie*, *hypomanie*, *pyromanie*, *kleptomanie*, *trichotillomanie*, which we did not find in our corpus.

¹⁰ The term *phobie* functions as a synonym of *horreur*, *peur*, *haine* in determinologised meaning and becomes part of a number of neologisms typical for the journalistic style, e.g. *russophobie*, *germanophobie*, *europahobie*, *islamophobie*, etc. (as well as the derived words *russophobe*, *germanophobe*, *europahobe*, *islamophobe*, etc.), which were found in the corpus. ICD terminology includes only *agoraphobie*, *anthropophobie*, *acrophobie*,

includes the adjective *panique* (occurring also as a noun), both in its primary, and determinologised meaning, as *fuite panique des capitaux*, *panique bancaire*, or *fausse panique collective*. This term is equally the basis for the derived verb *paniquer*, commonly found in the corpus (*En ce 26 avril 1986, les opérateurs paniqués de la salle de contrôle de Tchernobyl feuilletent le manuel des opérations pour atteindre la section concernant la procédure à suivre en cas de fusion du réacteur*, 2019/12/31). Sometimes, it is not easy to distinguish between use of the term in its terminological and determinologised meaning. However, in the case of adjectives such as *panique*, *anxieux* and *dépressif*, when referring to inanimate entities, which, by their nature, cannot show any mental disorder or its symptoms, their determinologised meaning is quite obvious. It is interesting that determinologised terms often appear in collocations involving a collective, a nation, an ethnic or a religious group, with the adjective *collectif* (*panique collective*, *paranoïa collective*) and other adjectives as in previously mentioned collocations *amnésie nationale*, *phobie française*, *démence juive*, etc.

As far as behavioural syndromes are concerned, we noted significant occurrence of the term *boulimie* in determinologised meaning, used as a synonym of the evaluative adjective *excessif*, e.g. *boulimie énergétique*, *boulimie de savoir*, *boulimie d'acquisitions des étrangers*, *boulimie de produits high-tech*, *boulimie d'avions*, *boulimie de sécurité*, *boulimie de justice*, *boulimie de piété*, *boulimie d'action*, *boulimie cinéphilique*. We recorded infrequent occurrence of the term *anorexie* (*anorexie patriotique*, *anorexie des valeurs*). The situation is similar for the term *cauchemar*, e.g. *cauchemar obscurantiste*, *cauchemar sécuritaire*, found in international politics comments, such as *en finir avec le cauchemar Maduro*, or *Leur plus grand cauchemar est qu'Israël se retrouve environné de régimes fondamentalistes hostiles à son existence* (2009/10/19).

In case of adult personality disorders, we noted the determinologised meaning of the terms *kleptomane* (*régime prédateur et kleptomane*), *fétichisme* (*fétichisme de l'équilibre budgétaire*, *fétichisme de l'argent*, *fétichisme de la "masse critique" et de "l'excellence"*), and *exhibitionnisme* (*exhibitionnisme idéologique*).

Within disorders of psychological development, the corpus contained frequent occurrence of the term *autisme* in the determinologised meaning, often with reference to the political context, e.g. *autisme gouvernemental*, *autisme des dirigeants politiques*, *autisme que l'on voit le plus souvent chez les hommes politiques ayant de très hautes responsabilités* (2020/01/01). The term *mutisme* was found in *mutisme tricolore*, *mutisme allemande*, *mutisme de l'institution catholique*, etc. The determinologised meaning of *onanisme* was

claustrophobie, *nosophobie*, and *dysmorphophobie*, which, however, were not attested in the corpus in determinologised meaning).

significantly less frequent and found exclusively in political context (*onanismes électoraux, onanisme intellectuel*).

It should be noted that the terminology contained in *ICD* represents only a section of psychiatric terminology. It does not comprise a number of terms designating symptoms (*apathie, paralysie, agressivité, frustration, confusion, sentiment d'aliénation, baisse de la libido, agitation, nervosité, rêves anormaux*), therapeutic and diagnostic procedures (*hypnose, électrochoc, thérapie de choc, travail / thérapie de groupe, art-thérapie*), drug indication groups (*antidépresseurs, sédatifs, hypnotiques, anxiolytiques, stimulants*), anatomical terms (especially terms related to the central nervous system, e.g. *cerveau, moelle épinière, nerf*, etc.), and older synonyms of the currently used terms, reflecting diastatic variation of terms. For instance, the older division of mental retardation (classified today as F70-F79), into *débilité, idiotie, imbécillité*, which ceased to be used at the end of the 20th century, or the term *hystérie*, which is nowadays considered inappropriate and pejorative (among other things, due to the Greek etymology referring to the womb). In the modern classification of diseases, this disorder is fragmented into diagnoses dissociative (or conversion) disorders (F44) or histrionic personality disorder (F60.4). However, the older versions of *ICD* (e.g. *ICD-7* from 1955) still included these terms (and others, e.g. *melancholie*). A number of these psychiatric terms would serve as other common examples of determinologisation (e.g. *thérapie de choc, nerf, idiotie* and *hystérie*). Among the above-mentioned terms, the occurrence of the term *thérapie de choc* in determinologised meaning was found, for example, in collocations *Les Républicains promettent une thérapie de choc consistant à réduire de 80 à 100 milliards d'euros la dépense publique* (2021/02/06), *Les Ukrainiens subissent la thérapie du choc* (2016/11/18), *La thérapie de choc de Mme Thatcher assainit l'économie* (2013/04/08).¹¹

5. Conclusion

This article examines terms in a non-specialised context, namely the terms used in psychiatry to designate diagnoses according to *ICD*, the 5th chapter of which represents a sufficiently extensive, closed and diverse source of

¹¹ The same applies to the term *paralysie*, forming part of the term *paralysie générale*, organic mental disorder connected with late-stage syphilis (and thus classified in Chapter I of *ICD* among infectious diseases), often occurring in its determinologised meaning in political and economic contexts, traffic, etc., as *paralysie de l'ensemble de l'économie française, facteur de paralysie de de crise de confiance dans le personnel politique, paralysie politique (totale), paralysie de l'administration, paralysie algérienne, paralysies du gouvernement fédéral américain, paralysie économique du pays, paralysie européenne, paralysie partielle du trafic, paralysie temporaire du système, paralysie des discussions à vingt-sept*, etc.

psychiatric terms. For other psychiatric terms (such as symptoms, side effects, therapeutic methods), it would be possible to use other sources, e.g. package leaflets of psychopharmaceuticals, specialised articles, textbooks of psychiatry, diagnostic manuals (as *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* published by the American Psychiatric Association), etc. It should also be noted that the examples from *ICD* mentioned in this article are not an exhaustive overview of determinologised psychiatric terms, because it can be assumed that in other corpora, one could find other terms used in determinologised meaning.

In psychiatric terminology, both processes involving evolution of terms can be observed, i.e. terminologisation, and determinologisation. These processes reflect the permeability between general and specialised language, as well as between specialised languages of different disciplines. Terms appearing in newspaper sections covering different topics (politics, economics, culture, society, sports) were almost always nouns and adjectives (except for the derived verbs *intoxiquer*, *désintoxiquer*, and *paniquer*, which are not, however, contained in *ICD*).

We did not find multi-word psychiatric terms in determinologised meaning, even though their use is conceivable (such as *trouble délirant*). Among the terms beyond *ICD*, *thérapie de choc* is relatively frequented. In some cases, a multi-word term used in this way appears to be a psychiatric term, but it does not indicate any specific diagnosis (e.g. *psychose / hystérie collective / de masse* belong more to psychology or sociology).

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LE TERME EN CONTEXTE NON SPÉCIALISÉ. LE CAS DE DÉTERMINOLOGISATION DE LA TERMINOLOGIE PSYCHIATRIQUE

La conception du « terme » comme unité strictement monosémique et isolée, incompatible avec la synonymie et la polysémie, se heurte souvent à la réalité. La variation des termes peut être de nature diatopique, diachronique ou diastratique. De plus, il existe une relation étroite entre le lexique spécialisé et le lexique commun et le terme peut migrer de la langue spécialisée vers la langue générale (et inversement). Le phénomène est appelé déterminologisation (d'autres auteurs l'appellent déspecialisation, vulgarisation, dédomanialisation, banalisation ou banalisation lexicale). L'article traite de la déterminologisation de la terminologie psychiatrique. Le nombre de termes pénétrant dans le langage commun augmente, mais la déterminologisation reste un phénomène qui ne concerne que certaines catégories de termes et, en particulier, certains domaines de spécialité (comme l'environnement, la médecine, l'informatique, l'industrie spatiale). L'objectif de l'article est d'analyser les spécificités d'usage des termes psychiatriques dans les textes non spécialisés, notamment dans les textes journalistiques, en se posant la question du degré de spécialisation du terme pour son usage en contexte déterminologisé. Pour identifier les termes psychiatriques de base soumis à l'analyse, les auteurs ont utilisé le 5^e chapitre de la *Classification internationale des maladies*, contenant les troubles mentaux et comportementaux. Le phénomène de déterminologisation a été analysé dans *LeMonde.fr*, version en ligne du quotidien français, à l'aide de l'outil *Sketch Engine*. Les auteurs ont identifié un certain nombre de termes couramment utilisés dans un contexte non spécialisé (articles de journaux de différentes sections – actualité, culture, économie, sport). En général (à quelques exceptions près), il s'agissait de termes composés d'un seul mot, tous relevant de la catégorie des noms et des adjectifs.

Mots-clés : langue française, lexicologie, terme, terminologie, terminologisation, déterminologisation, langue de spécialité, lexicologie, vocabulaire, psychiatrie, troubles mentaux