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Transformation of a Metaphor: Semantic Shift in a Cantonese Term ‘Chi Sin’ Denoting Insanity

隐喻的改变：广东话「黐线」的语义转移

JYW Ng, EYH Chen

Abstract

Objectives: The historical evolution of the existing terms used to describe insanity may be able to shed light on the formation of stigma towards psychosis patients. In Hong Kong, a widely used Cantonese term for insanity ‘Chi Sin’ (黐线) provides a unique example because of its neutral original sense, as it literally means misconnection in a network circuit. We attempt to trace the origin and subsequent evolution of the term ‘Chi Sin’ from its early use to the present day to understand how local Hong Kong people have attached increasingly negative connotations to this scientific term since the mid-20th century.

Methods: We sampled as many newspapers and magazines published in Hong Kong from 1939 to June 2014 as possible, and sampled 7 popular local movies from the 1950s and 1960s. We also searched all the newspapers published in Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan, and Mainland China from January 1998 to June 2014, and searched several other local historical resources.

Results: In one early use of ‘Chi Sin’ in 1939, the term was only used in a technical sense to describe ‘short circuiting’. We found that the development of the telephone system, the Strowger system, in Hong Kong is closely related to the evolution of the semantics of the term ‘Chi Sin’.

Conclusions: The original meaning of short circuitry of the term ‘Chi Sin’ is no longer used, and it has become a dead metaphor through repeated use with negative emotional connotations. This illustrates some of the factors facilitating the emergence of a metaphor with subsequent semantic drift.

Key words: Psychotic disorders; Schizophrenia; Semantics; Social stigma

Introduction

Stigma and discrimination against mental illnesses are severe in spite of the high prevalence of psychiatric diseases around the world. Societies still hold deep-rooted negative attitudes towards mental health problems. Many studies have suggested that the general population may intellectually accept people with mental illness, but tend to withdraw from closer relationships, for instance, when...
working or living together.1,2 People with mental health problems continue to face multiple difficulties ranging from social isolation and unemployment to homelessness and institutionalisation.3

The Chinese term for psychosis ‘Yan Zhong Jing Shen Bing’ (嚴重精神病) literally means ‘serious mental diseases’ and carries strongly negative attitudes and considerable stigma.4,5 The stigma linked to the naming of mental illnesses have proven to have immense negative impact on patients.6 Mental health professionals have proposed changes to the naming of serious mental illnesses, especially, schizophrenia.7,8 In both Hong Kong and a number of Asian countries that use a character-based writing system,9 the stigma caused by traditional naming and a number of Asian countries that use a character-based writing system has proven to have immense negative impact on patients.6 Mental health professionals have proposed changes to the naming of serious mental illnesses, especially, schizophrenia.10 The effectiveness of this change and the long-term fate of new terms for psychosis are being studied. In this context, it is important to review the historical evolution of existing terms used to describe insanity in popular culture. In Hong Kong, a widely used Cantonese term for insanity ‘Chi Sin’ (黐線) provides a uniquely informative example because of the relatively neutral original sense of the term ‘Chi Sin’, which literally means ‘dysregulation of thought and perception’, has been used to replace the old term for psychosis.11 The effectiveness of this change and the long-term fate of new terms for psychosis are being studied. In this context, it is important to review the historical evolution of existing terms used to describe insanity in popular culture.

Understanding the early use of the term ‘Chi Sin’ and its subsequent evolution would be of paramount importance to understanding how local Hong Kong people have attached increasingly negative connotations to this scientific term since the mid-20th century. We attempted to trace the origin and subsequent evolution of the term ‘Chi Sin’ from its early use to the current time.

Methods

Newspapers, Magazines, and Comics
Regarding media sources, we tried to sample as many newspapers and magazines published since the late 1930s to June 2014 as possible through the micro-film format at the Hong Kong Central Library, The University of Hong Kong (HKU), Hong Kong Public Libraries, and Hong Kong newspaper clippings online of the HKU Libraries.11 We have also searched all the newspapers in Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan, and Mainland China published since January 1998 to June 2014 via WiseNews database via HKU Library subscription.12

Movies and Other Local Historical Resources
We conveniently sampled 7 popular local movies from the 1950s and 1960s. We also searched Hong Kong Oral History Archives of the HKU,13 Hong Kong Oral History Collection of the Hong Kong Public Libraries,14 the online exhibitions of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region Government Records Service,15 and the Hong Kong Literature Database of the Chinese University of Hong Kong.16 Efforts were also made to trace the radio programmes from the 1930s, but the availability of these resources was limited. We also tried to trace television programmes from the late 1950s and early 1960s (the first television station in Hong Kong was established in 1957).

Results and Discussions

Pre-existing Terms Describing Insanity Used in Hong Kong
In the popular language of Hong Kong, insanity is commonly described in Cantonese as ‘Chi Sin’ (黐線), ‘Jing Sun Beng’ (精神病), ‘Fat Sun Ging’ (發神經), ‘Fung’ (癲), and ‘Fung Din’ (癲癲). The terms ‘Sun Ging Beng’ (精神病) and ‘Din’ (癲) were commonly used to describe mental illnesses in local newspapers in the 1930s.

The First Appearance of ‘Chi Sin’ as a Technical Term
One early use of the term ‘Chi Sin’ is an article published on 17 June 1939 in the local newspaper The Chinese Mail (《香港華字日報》).17 The term was used in the article to describe technical circuitry problems of an air raid siren leading to a false alarm, and was not used to describe human behaviours. This may imply that in the year 1939 or earlier, the term ‘Chi Sin’ was only used in a technical sense to describe ‘short circuiting’.

How did ‘Chi Sin’ Evolve from a Technical Term to Describing Human Behaviours?
Development of the telephone system in Hong Kong is of paramount importance in understanding the evolution of the semantics of the term ‘Chi Sin’. Being connected to the wrong telephone number, i.e. ‘connected to the wrong line’ (搭錯線) apparently was the transitional semantic link between short circuitry and insanity. In this context, it is important to briefly review the history of the telephone system in Hong Kong.

‘Chi Sin’ and Phone Misconnection
Prior to modern digital telephone systems, the dial-based Strowger system used in Hong Kong until 1991 had certain intrinsic error rates resulting in a call being misconnected to a wrong telephone. When the selector got stuck at a particular position, there was no warning or alarm so the maintenance personnel would not know about the error unless there were customer complaints. The technicians would then have to carry out manual ‘clouting’ to clean the selector. For example, if the final selector got stuck on the telephone number 654321, all numbers from 654320 to 654329 would be directed to 654321, meaning that if the selector of 1 digit became stuck then all the telephone numbers of 1 to 9 would be defaulted to the number 1. The error rates rose exponentially as the number of exchange lines increased.
The total number of telephone lines in Hong Kong from 1955 to 2001 are listed in the Figure. We noticed there was a dramatic surge in the number of telephone lines from the mid-1950s and the early 1960s. It can be seen that, along with population growth, the proportion of Hong Kong people with telephone lines rapidly increased from 1% in the 1940s and the 1950s to around 20% in the 1970s. This made the experience of telephone misconnection commonplace as evident in the wrong connection jokes in the news in the 1950s and the 1960s. Below is a typical joke from the 1960s:

Mr A: "Hello, are you Mr B?"
Mr B: "Yes."
Mr A: "Can I borrow $500 from you?"
Mr B: "Sure."
Mr A: "Sorry I have a mis-connected call." Mr A hung up the phone and said to himself that no way Mr B could agree to lend me money.

This experience of having a misconnected phone call set the context for the semantic transformation of the term ‘Chi Sin’ from the previous technical sense to the new sense of telephone misconnection.

As the telephone services became more common in the 1960s and the Hong Kong population also grew rapidly, the term ‘Chi Sin’ was much more commonly used and became popular among the Hong Kong population. People started using the term to describe patients with mental illnesses and psychosis, including auditory hallucinations, bizarre delusions, and other behavioural disturbances.

The Establishment of the Term ‘Chi Sin’ to Describe Insanity in the 1960s

An earliest use of ‘Chi Sin’ to describe insanity was in an article published on 24 April 1964 in the Chinese Student Weekly (《中国学生周报》) with the content: “Telephone service charges have been raised. Crazy?” (the word ‘crazy’ here is used in the sense of not understandable, absurd behaviour). In another article published on 8 May 1964, also in the Chinese Student Weekly, the term ‘Chi Sin’ was used in the sense of craziness as a condition and an illness, “… some readers deliberately sent letters to condemn you and irritate you which is mental mistreatment to you, in the long term, you may become ‘insane’, in the worst case you may even die due to the anger.” Here the sense of a diagnosable disorder is becoming evident.

The health column of the local magazine Companion (《伴侣》) on 16 August 1964 clearly illustrated different types of psychosis and described insanity as ‘Chi Sin’. In the article, it is written that “Recently four ‘insane’ people..."
Semantic Shift in a Cantonese Term Denoting Insanity

Declarations

The authors declared that there was no financial support for this article and the research work, and no conflicts of interest in this study.

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