

# The Semantic Change of the English Color Terms BLACK and WHITE in Japanese

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**Abstract**—This study examined the development of the metaphorical and metonymic meanings of the words black and white appearing in Japanese contexts by contrasting the meanings in Japanese with the original meanings in English. It investigated the semantic shifts which affected grammatical structures in highly real-time language on Twitter. The study revealed that black and white in Japanese contexts were used metaphorically in the narrow sense of the original English meaning. Black was used in the meanings of break the rules, persecute, and take advantage while white was used in the opposite manner. Nevertheless, these meanings do not appear in English contexts. It is a semantic change for specific usages in Japanese contexts. At first, the words black and white were mainly used with the noun company as compounds. Then, their meanings were expanded in a metonymic manner with the contiguity of senses. In other words, from being used to describe a characteristic of a company, black and white are later used to describe the characteristic of a company worker and an action of a person. The usage also changes from a compound noun to a single word in a predicate and as an adjective *na*.

**Index Terms**—black, white, semantic change, grammatical shifts

## I. INTRODUCTION

Most of the loanwords used in the Japanese language belong to English, and the proportion of loanwords from the English language keeps increasing. The reason words are adopted from another language is to describe new events or items for which people are unable to find the right words in their own language. Daulton (2008) discovered that there were around 45 percent of frequently used word families in the British National Corpus (BNC) which were utilized as loanwords in Japanese. A National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (NINJAL) study (2004) of loanword use by Japanese people revealed that 80% of them used these words “frequently” or “sometimes”. Besides, the tendency of loanword use seems to have increased among people aged 10-39 years who had a positive attitude toward loanwords. In Japan, this group also uses Twitter at a high frequency (IICP, 2020).

Even though most loanwords have been adopted from English, many studies found problems of pronunciation and meaning of these loanwords for English native speakers (Daulton, 2008, pp. 61-63). Many loanwords are used in a narrower sense of meaning than the original words while some are used in a broader sense. The changes of the sense of meaning mean that Japanese loanwords have specific usages. Loanwords widely used in Japanese are ones related to colors, especially the basic colors black and white. The present study aimed to investigate the development of meanings in the morphological and metonymic aspects of the words black and white used in Japanese compared with their original English meanings. It also analyzed semantic change which affected grammatical structures. The analyzed data were collected from Twitter which is a microblogging platform that enables users to exchange short messages ([www.twitter.com](http://www.twitter.com)), a communication tool for the current generation (Christopher, November 21, 2012), and a popular method for communicating in real-time (Emre, 2010). Semantics and cognitive semantics theories were used for the examination of lexical semantic change in this study. Socio-cultural factors, for example, words concerning fashion or specific groups of people, were not involved in this study.

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

### A. Semantic Changes

Semantic changes are divided in traditional classification by Willem (2009), as follows:

- (1) Melioration and Pejoration: Melioration is the change of meaning in a more positive way while pejoration is the change of meaning in a more negative way.

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- (2) Generalization is the change of meaning in a broader sense while specialization is the change of meaning in a narrower sense, compared to the original one.
- (3) Metaphor is the comparison of similarity between two things.
- (4) Metonymy is the use of close characteristics between two things.

Occasionally, semantic changes can be explained by more than just one type of classification. For instance, the word *rude* falls under melioration, meaning charming, which is a good meaning. Its meaning changes, from relating to a characteristic of ill manners, to a more positive aspect, becoming an aspect of charm, which is also considered a semantic shift in the contiguity of senses, or metonymy. Willem (2009), therefore, summarized that semantic changes can occasionally belong to more than only one type.

Semantic narrowing is a type of semantic change by which the meaning of a word becomes less general or inclusive than its earlier meaning, also known as specialization or restriction. The opposite process is called broadening or semantic generalization (Nordguist, 2020, August 27). Regarding loanwords and their semantic changes in both narrow and broad senses of meaning, Guan (2009) identified that, at the early stage of borrowing words to name events or things which have never seen before in the target language, the narrower sense of a word meaning seems to be used in the target language. However, the meaning tends to be in a broader sense when the words are accepted as the vocabulary of the target language.

Most of the loanwords from English in Japanese seem to be used in terms of a single meaning from the several meanings they can have in the source language (Yoneda, 1996). Therefore, it may be concluded that most loanwords in Japanese possess a narrower sense of meaning.

#### *B. Black and White – English Meaning and Usage From Dictionaries*

The meanings of black and white, collected from English dictionaries, can be summarized as follows:

Black can be used as a noun and an adjective. It has a wide range of meanings according to English language dictionaries (Oxford, Merriam-Webster, Cambridge, Collins, Longman), and refers to a very dark color (black clothes), without light (black night), or without milk (black tea). It can relate to people with dark skin (black family). It can also mean very dirty or soiled (black feet (covered with mud)), angry (black mood), or very sad (black day). It can even involve jokes about sad situations (black humor), the meaning of the supernatural (black magic), or the devil. In a literary aspect, it is immoral, evil, or wicked (black lies). It also indicates condemnation (black mark (on a resume))

White, with regards to some English language dictionaries (Oxford and Merriam-Webster), possesses several meanings. The word white refers to having the color of fresh snow or milk (white shirt) and can relate to people who belong to a group with light or pale skin (white community). It can convey the meaning of pale or light because of emotion or illness (white-faced) and can mean free from moral impurity (pure white heart). White can also indicate that something is harmless (white lie) or convey the meaning of the supernatural (white magic). Apart from the positive definitions, white can be negative, referring to being pale or light because of illness.

As seen above, the relationship between black and white can, therefore, be considered an antonym relationship.

#### *C. Black and White in Previous Studies: Metaphor of Black and White*

Colors are concrete objects that represent metaphors for abstract concepts or feelings, and black and white are basic colors found in all languages. Research on metaphor of black and white can be found in comparative studies between languages.

According to Chinese and English, black and white have metaphorical meanings which are both similar and different between the two languages. The metaphors found in both languages which relate to the present study are evilness, such as black magic, and illegality, such as black market (Tinghua, 2020). Nevertheless, white as a metaphor which relates to this study is not found.

In Guimei (2011), black is the color representing mystery, sadness, and darkness. In Bible, black is depicted as the symbol of evil spirits while white expresses purity, cleanliness, and innocence in both English and Chinese. In Lena, (2012) death, pessimism, bad luck, loss or disaster, illegal things, depression, and anger are all imagined as black.

In a religious sense, white is often connected to goodness whereas black is often related to evil. These connections are common in many languages. It can be summarized that the association of color with moral concept is ubiquitous in popular culture (Yin & Ye, 2014). Regarding the metaphorical meaning of these two colors, it can be noticed that, in most cultures, black is often associated with a bad deed whereas white often symbolizes a good deed. This kind of universal symbolic meaning is not common to all colors.

From the previous studies, it may be concluded that metaphorical expressions of black represent negative thoughts while white deals with positive ideas.

#### *D. Black and White in Japanese Research*

According to Takahashi et al. (2018), in the Japanese language, the word black does not connote racism. However, it tends to symbolize illegality, evil, and darkness.

Muranaka (2015) investigated color terms in Japanese loanwords from the Himawari corpus with colors divided into two groups. One group included pink, green, blue, and beige, in which the descriptive functions of colors were described by single words. No compounds were found among these colors and other words. The other group of colors

consisted of brown, red, yellow, white, and black with the latter being used to refer to objects. No descriptive function was found in the usage of black, but an indicatory function was found. The use of black was found 55 times, and all of these were combined with other words, for instance, black and white, blue-black, and blacklist. The term white was found 73 times. Of these 73 instances, 67 belonged to compounds and 6 were used as single words. All uses of the single word, white, were for naming white objects, but not even one was used to describe objects that were in color. Examples are shown below.

- (1) e no gu howaito mo nai no yo.

There is no white (used as a noun referring to white one).

- (2) koko no yōki wa mō daibu atsukatta. Koyata wa howaito ichi mai ni natte nekondeitaga,

The weather at here was already hot. Koyata fell asleep in one white shirt.

The fact that the single words black and white are not used as descriptive words is because the color terms in Japanese, kuro (i) (black) and shiro (i) (white), are already used as basic descriptive words.

It can be concluded, as mentioned by Muranaka (2015), that black and white are mostly used as compounds to indicate objects, while the descriptive function is found less often.

### III. BLACK COMPANY AND WHITE COMPANY IN ENGLISH

This section describes the use of the compound black company in English, from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), by analyzing for what meaning black company is used. According to the Most Evil Corporations Award Committee (n.d., cited in Takahashi et al., 2018), in Japanese contexts, a black company is a company that acts against the law, including labor laws, and tends to compel its employees to work intentionally and/or arbitrarily even though their working conditions possibly violate laws. In addition, a black company has the habit of resorting to violence with their employees, which is called power harassment.

From the above definitions of a black company in Japanese contexts, there come two metaphorical meanings of a black company. One is an act which breaks labor laws, and the other is an act which affects employee's feelings. These definitions are metaphorically examined from the meanings of black in the literature review. The change of meaning by the metaphorical process does not occur in the English language just like it does in Japanese. As can be seen from 16 uses of black company collected in the COCA, black in examples 1-11 relate to people with dark skin.

- (1) first musical that was written, produced, created and played entirely by a black company. That was a really remarkable thing in its time.
- (2) Jeffrey Nickelson abruptly resigned from the Shadow Theatre, the state's only black company. It was all the more shocking coming just one year after moving the company...
- (3) When I got to the office building, there was a stream of black company cars lined up out front dropping off executives. Those lucky motherfuckers were living too.
- (4) ...Youngton... the guy hangs out with a black coach and black company. That may explain his success. mitz I'm black and I think he....
- (5) ...He performed with Just Us Theater; a black company started by Theater of the Stars producer Chris Manos.
- (6) Denver's only black company has received a low, five-figure grant from the Eulipions Grant of the Denver Foundation
- (7) work departments over the course of the interwar years, the betrayal of outward black company allegiance through racially discriminatory layoffs during the Great Depression,...
- (8) Mediated by a proud race consciousness and a realistic calculation of black self-interest, black company loyalty in the stockyards was contingent and reversible...
- (9) A Black company was organized in Jacksonville to build and operate a street railway system. ...
- (10) We're the first black company to be distributed by Landmark, "Prominence owner Melvin Couch said."...
- (11) and Korean leaders rejected a proposal for a \$52,000 public relations campaign by a black company headed by Mr. Williams. ...

Examples 12-16 represent black as part of proper names.

- (12) ...We have from BarbaraAnne Black Company, the sequin apron for the cook who never gets a chance to change their
- (13) because I do love the Game of Throne books (and First Law & Black Company), where kindness is almost an alien concept...
- (14) the Evil Empire they were trying to replace by a narrow margin. # Black Company, although POV is on The Empire side and revolution ultimately fails in fist book
- (15) Bruce Sterling & Orson Scott Card my favorite authors, Glen Cook's The Black Company series the only fantasy series I ever really liked...
- (16) Strange Land,' by Robert Heinlein, a book from Glen Cook's Black Company series and one of C.S. Lewis' Narnia' books....

In a Japanese context, the phrase "black company" conveys a negative meaning by referring to a company that does not follow rules that protect employees. In other words, it refers to a company that takes advantage of its workers.

However, the phrase black company with the same meaning as it is used in a Japanese context does not appear in an English context according to COCA. Regarding this linguistic corpus, 16 examples of black company are found in English contexts, but none of them possesses the same meaning as shown in Japanese contexts. Most of the examples relate to people with dark skin.

Although there is a meaning of the word black in English language dictionaries which is apparently close to the meaning of “black” in Japanese “black company”, this compound word with the same meaning occurs only in the Japanese, and not in the English context.

Apart from black company, “white company” is also used in a Japanese context with the opposite meaning from the former. The meaning of white company in English mostly relates to people with white skin (items 17-26) or proper nouns (items 27-30). All data in items 17-30 were also collected from COCA.

- (17) Then the white field foreman announces that anyone not buying ice from the white company will lose his job. And that is when something cracks, and feeling that
- (18) ...for the black couple. If you realize you purchased an item from a white company, do you return the item? " I wish I could ask them these
- (19) They'll also screen two documentaries: " How to Eat Your Watermelon in white Company (and Enjoy It), " which includes Spike Lee and others talking about
- (20) took his cards and trampled them outside a store, thinking that a white company was trying to make money off of the " Black is Beautiful " sentiment echoing
- (21) people were joking around and by me being black and it was an all-white company I was working for, I decided not to tell: " # Reasons for
- (22) Glencairn Limited, is little more than a black front to enable a major white company, Sinclair Broadcasting, to evade the federal ban on owning more than one television
- (23) for him to build it up from nothing to turn it over to a White company or anyone when he has four able-bodied children. " Family ties was also the
- (24) on his feet in Georgia, where he became an insurance salesman for a White company. In 1913 he startled the business world by creating Standard Life Insurance Company,
- (25) challenging the award of a contract to a Hispanic owned company, which the white company had underbid. The general contractor chose to hire a so-called disadvantaged business and by
- (26) The fact that he is a Black man leading a largely White company in an almost lily-White town -- and state -- rules that out.
- (27) via e-mail with voice-over to anyone, anywhere, over the internet. O.C. White Company, 2039 Bridge Street, Three Rivers, MA 01080, <http://www.ocwhite.com> See
- (28) in interstellar transit aboard the colony ship Sierra Leone; served with the White Company in the Far Eridani; in action on Delta Eridani II and Piscium III,
- (29) the author of several others, including " Sir Nigel " and " The White Company, " the latter considered his finest work of the kind. He also devoted
- (30) the next two years, which were devoted to the writing of " The White Company. " After its completion he turned around and abandoned literature for medicine, devoting

As seen from the above COCA data, both black and white compounds with company relate to people's skin complexion. Therefore, the metaphorical use found in Japanese does not appear in English, as seen from the COCA.

#### IV. BLACK IN JAPANESE

##### A. The Expansion Use of Burakku (Black) in Japanese as a Compound Word in the Case of Burakku Kaisha (Black Company)

Burakku (black) is found to have a meaning related to color and is used with the noun kaisha as burakku kaisha which means a company that abuses employees under illegal or poor working conditions (Kōjien<sup>1</sup>, 2021, p. 2591).

There are not many single words, in the use of burakku, in the work of Muranaka (2015), to express colors. It is mostly used with other words such as burakku ando howaito (black and white) and burakkurisuto (blacklist). Burakku in Japanese is used with expanded meaning which is more specific than its original meaning in English to describe an organization or a company that takes advantage of its employees or treats its workers poorly. Burakku in this sense of meaning tends to occur together with the noun kigyō (company) or kaisha (company), as burakku kigyō (black enterprise) and burakku kaisha (black company). Some examples from Twitter are shown below.

- (31) Dakara donnani okane ni komatteru ningenkankē ga hatanshita burakku kigyō niwa ikanai hō ga ii.  
(So no matter how you are worried about money, you shouldn't go to a black company whose relationships have collapsed)
- (32) Burakku byōtōkinmu no kangoshi ichinenme aruaru. Watashi wa korede yametakarimashita.

<sup>1</sup> Kōjien is the most widely accepted Japanese dictionary. The current edition is the seventh edition.

(I found the situation like this when I was a first-year nursing student working in the black ward. This made me want to quit)

Most uses belong to the combination with nouns relating to organizations to describe their characteristics which tend to not follow labor regulations or offer low-quality working conditions.

#### *B. The Expansion Use of Burakku (Black) as a Single Word in the Meaning “Exploit, Oppress (Employees)” in Japanese*

The word burakku when used in this meaning is found to be a single word to describe the characteristic of an organization. An example from Twitter is shown in sentence 33 below.

- (33) Gakkō de burakku da to omou shidō (Guidance that I think is black at school)  
 Yasumanai ko ga rippa (Children who do not take a rest are glorious)  
 Jiko gisei ga bitoku (Self-sacrifice is a virtue)  
 Nagaku keizoku o suishō (To work continuously is admired)  
 Tsurakutemo gaman (Be patient even if it's painful)  
 Shūdan ni shitagauno ga seigi (Following the group's opinion is right)  
 Donna ru-ru mo genshu (Though how the rule is, observe it strictly)  
 Kyōsōsuru tameni benkyō (Study to compete)  
 Minna tomodachi (Everyone is friend)  
 Rentaiseikin (Solidarity)  
 Ikitsuku saki wa anka de kanrishiyasui rōdōsha (The way of workers who get a cheap wage and are controlled easily)

It can be seen from the example that the word burakku is used as a single word to describe a style of teaching that teaches students to be accustomed to being exploited. The use of single words to describe organizations that are exploitive or overbearing, treat employees poorly, or do not follow labor laws was not found in a dictionary or in Muranaka (2015), but was found in language usage on Twitter, as seen from item 33.

#### *C. The Expansion Use of Burakku (Black) to Describe Characteristics of People, Regulations, and Actions*

The meaning expansion of burakku for an organization or a company, which is specified in a dictionary as a compound burakku kaisha (black company), to a single word for describing characteristics of a person, regulation, or an action can be seen from the examples of language used in real situations, in items 34, 35, 36, and 37. This phenomenon is caused by the nature of the meaning of black company which has two parts to its meaning. One is labor lawlessness, and the other is power harassment. These meaning constituents are, later, developed for describing characteristics of people, actions, and regulations caused by the actions or behaviors of people.

- (34) [Burakku iryō o miwakeyō] PCR kensa shingata korowaku o utteru byōin. Ishi wa burakku desune.  
 (Let's distinguish black medical care) Hospital hitting the corona vaccine and PCR test. The doctor is black.)  
 (35) Sētōshidō [danshi no tsu-buro ya mittsuami made kinshisuru nowa] burakku kōsoku to iwaremasuga?  
 (Student guidance [Prohibition of men's undercuts and braids]. It is the black rule.)  
 (36) Dakara, somosomo mainichi 8 jimadeni nanteiu chōzetsu burakku na koto saseteru jikaku o moteyo.  
 (So, in the first place, be aware of what a transcendental black thing you are doing by 8 o'clock every morning.)  
 (37) Konokata, PTSD rakansareteshimattakoto wa mochiron taihennandakeredomo, sonoato no shokuba ga burakkusugita noga ichiban yokunakattano deha...taihen.  
 (Of course, it's hard for this person who suffers from PTSD. I think it wasn't the best that the workplace after that was too black.)

Sentence 34 is an example of the use of burakku, which describes the characteristic of “a doctor” who takes advantage or harasses a patient, by being used as a single word in the predicate to describe the subject of the sentence. On the other hand, sentence 35 shows the use of the combination with the noun kōsoku (school regulation) which represents “the regulation which harasses students”. Regarding item 36, this sentence demonstrates a single word in the position of adjective *na* (one of two kinds of Japanese adjectives) to describe the characteristic of harassment. Item 37 indicates the use of burakku as a single word, as in 34. However, the difference found in item 37 is that it is used with the grammatical form sugita (too much) which describes working behavior that is cruel or involves mistreating employees.

#### *D. Summary of the Semantic Changes of Black in Japanese*

Burakku (black) in Japanese developed metaphorically from the English meanings evil and illegal. It was first used in a narrow or specific sense, in combination with the noun *company*. Later, its meaning developed metonymically in co-occurrence and combination with other constituents. It began with the depiction of an organization that takes advantage of or mistreats employees or does not follow labor laws. Then, it is used to describe the characteristics of workers in an organization that is immoral and takes advantage of others, and after that, people's actions in the form of an adjective, such as actions or regulations conducted by people with the same meaning that describes an organization. Metonymic

shifts occur at the same time as grammatical shifts. In the case of metonymy, the semantic link between two or more senses of a word is based on a relationship of contiguity, the state of being in some sort of contact, such as between a part and a whole, a container and the contents, a place and its inhabitants, etc. This contiguity also includes abstract things as mentioned in Shenli (2011, p. 72). Therefore, the semantic changes of *burakku*, from describing the abuse or illegal manner of *companies* shifting to its *workers* and shifting to *their actions*, are based on the close relationship between a place and its inhabitants, and people and their actions of metonymy. *Burakku* is used as a compound by being combined with other words, such as in *burakku kaisha* (black company), and then as a single word to describe a characteristic of person, an action of the predicate, and an adjective *na* modifying a noun by preceding it.

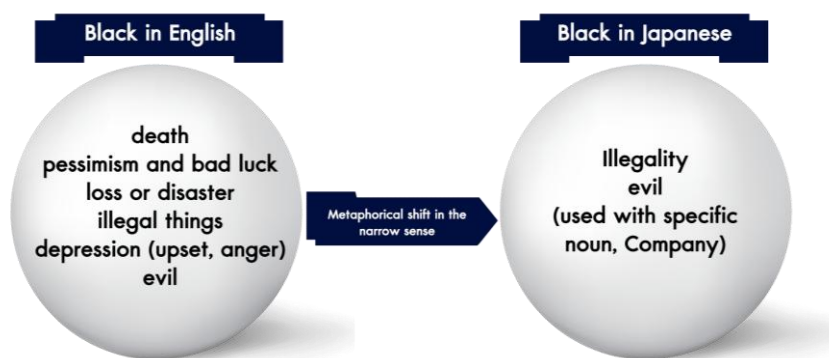


Figure 1 Metaphorical Shift in the Narrow Sense

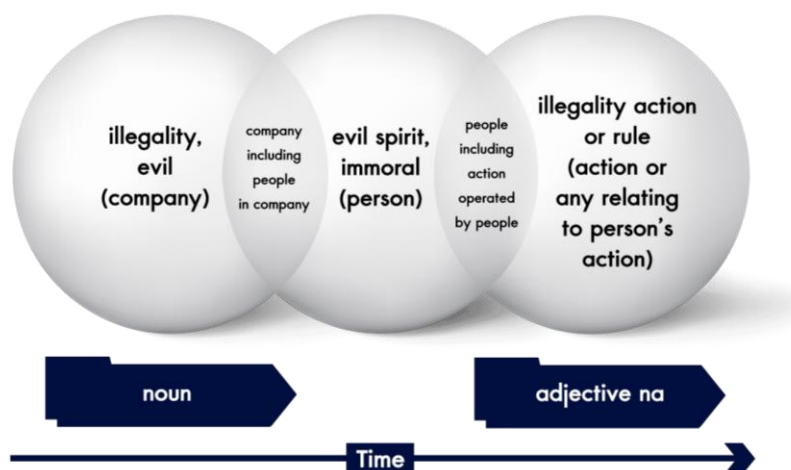


Figure 2 Metonymic and Grammatical Shifts Undergone by BLACK in Japanese

## V. WHITE IN JAPANESE

### A. Meaning Expansion of Howaito (White) in Japanese

The meaning of *howaito* (white) in a Japanese dictionary is as follows:

*Howaito* is found to have the meaning of a color, and no use with the noun *kaisha* or *kigyō* (company) is found (Kōjien, 2021, p. 2723). That the word white company is not in a dictionary shows that this word is not widely accepted for publication in normal language usage. However, on Twitter, where the language is highly dynamic, it is found to be metaphorically and widely used together with the word company. It can be inferred that white company represents the opposite meaning of black company. White conveys the opposite meaning from black of which white represents “good”, “legal”, and “moral”, and white has the same development as black.

In dictionary, *howaito* is only found to convey the meaning of a color and is not used with the noun *kaisha* or *kigyō* (company) to describe the meaning of a company with an opposite meaning of *burakku* (black) (Kōjien, 2021, p. 2723).

Examples of this meaning from Twitter are as follows:

(38) Yokatta. Shachō mo rikaishitekuretatte koto! howaitokigyō.

(Good. The president also understood it! White company)

(39) Howaitokigyō o kenshitekureru tenshoku e-jento.

(Recruitment agency that carefully selects white companies)

Examples 38 and 39 represent the use of howaito in combination with the noun kigyō (enterprise) which is the same as burakku (black) but is used with the opposite meaning which is a company that does not harass or take advantage of employees.

- (40) Watashitachi genyakukyōin ga yūsenshinaitoikenai nowa, [wakamono ni kyōshi o mesashite moraeru howaito na gakkōgenbadukuri] dato omou.  
(I think that what we must prioritize is [to create a white school where young people aim to be teachers and work at])
- (41) Manpawā ga inochi no kango de hitodaiji ni shinai toka hontō mirainai desu. Mae ni ningenkankei howaito na shokuba de susumetekimashitaga, hitouruottemashitane....yamenaindesu.  
(There is no real future if manpower does not take care of people in life nursing. I've been working in a white workplace before, but people were enriched by that relationship, so please do not quit)
- (42) Kagakumēkā deareba howaito na imēji mo arimasushi, suteki na chihōraifu ga okuresō desune.  
(If it is chemical manufacturer, the white image comes to the surface, and it seems that you can have a wonderful life in local)

Examples 40-42 show the use of howaito as an adjective *na* and with the opposite meaning from burakku, which means to be moral or not to take advantage, by occurring with nouns relating to organizations, gakkōgenba (school) and shokuba (workplace), and also with a noun with no relation to an organization, which is imēji (image)

#### B. Summary of the Semantic Changes of White in Japanese

The use of howaito (white) to mean a company that treats employees fairly in accordance with labor laws is the usage that arises from the need to communicate using the opposite meaning of the word burakku kigyō (black company). It then becomes a compound, howaito kigyō (white company), for real usage. However, there is still no howaitto kigyō (white company) in the Kōjien dictionary (2017), yet it does include burakku kigyō (black company). This means that the use of howaitto kigyō (white company) arose from the need to express an opposite meaning after burakku kigyō (black company) was coined. This can be inferred that the evolution of howaito kigyō (white company) which occurred after the need to express the opposite meaning arose. Howaito kigyō (white company) is not used as broadly as burakku kigyō (black company) is. It was first found on Twitter, which is a user-generated repository of real-time language. The language use on Twitter tends to develop rapidly by semantic changes.

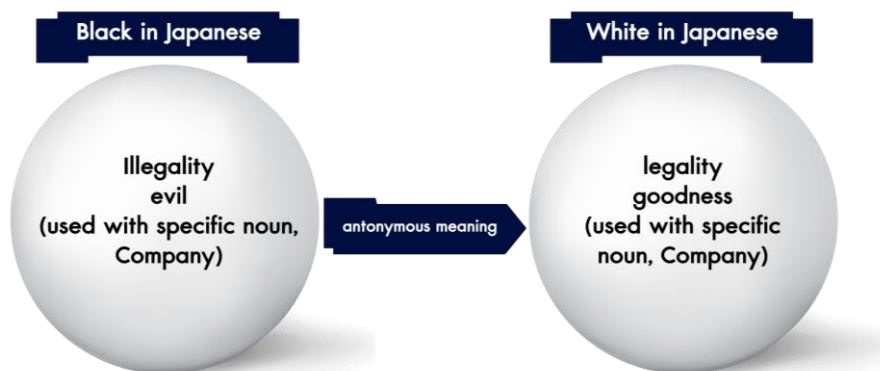


Figure 3 Opposite Relation Between BURAKKU (black) and HOWAITO (white)



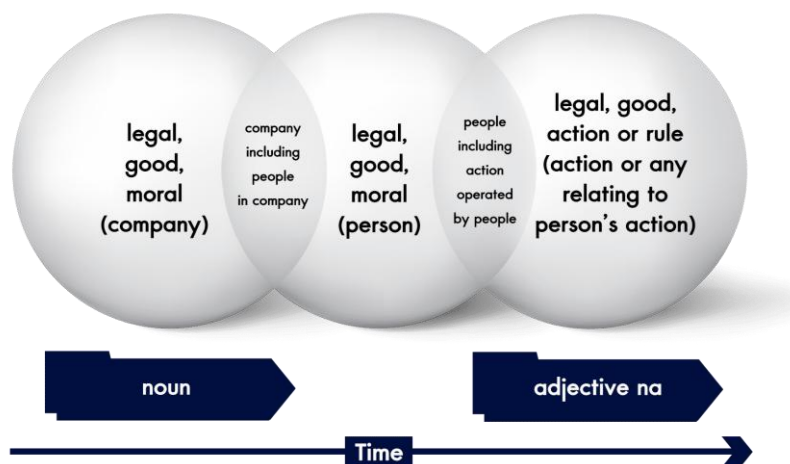


Figure 4 Metonymic and Grammatical Shifts Undergone by WHITE in Japanese

The phenomena of Figure 1-4 can be explained by more than one type of semantic changes, as mentioned in Willem (2009). In the case of burakku (black) and howaito (white) in Japanese, they covered both metaphorical and metonymic shift.

## VI. CONCLUSION

Burakku (black), in Japanese usage, is one phenomenon of semantic changes which includes metaphorical and metonymic aspects. It is rarely used to mean a color as a single word in Japanese. Its main function is to combine with words to create new words. The metaphorical meanings, *immoral*, *evil*, and *wicked*, found in English, are expanded to describe companies that abuse employees under illegal or poor working conditions, as in the phrases burakku kigyō (black company) and burakku kaisha (black company). This is not found in English based on the COCA results. The grammatical shifts were also observed with burakku. Most are used as compound words and developed into a single word used to depict people, actions, or things that are *immoral*, *evil*, and *wicked*. The semantic changes of burakku in Japanese found on Twitter were operated by metaphorical and metonymic processes. Howaito (white) also undergoes a similar phenomenon as black. Its metaphorical and metonymic changes were encouraged by an antonymous relationship with black to express the meaning *legal*, *good*, and *moral*. Howaito, as found in a Japanese context, is also not found in the English context, and the compound word howaito kigyō (white company), or white with the meanings *legal*, *good*, and *moral* are also not perceived as general usages because they are not found in dictionaries, but are found on Twitter, a real-time and generational communicating platform.

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