

Making a Big Business Out of Haiku

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Abstract

This paper studies the product branding strategies of a multinational tea company headquartered in Tokyo which associates its brand with haiku. Literary analysis of winning haiku and interviews of the poets were conducted. In a follow-up study related to the marketing strategies of the Ito En company, a small group of participants were given free word association tests to reveal their thoughts concerning these three stimulus words: haiku, tea, and *washoku*. These stimulus words retrieved a cluster of associations that were analyzed and triangulated so that they could be classified according to predetermined criteria. The cue word haiku was quantitatively assessed to make inferences about branding strategies such as the *Oi Ocha* New Haiku contest for its internationally marketed products. It was discovered that haikuists who won prizes in the *Oi Ocha* New Haiku contest tended to use linguistic and literary examples of ellipsis [...] in unique ways and new styles notably different from the way novelists or traditional poets use the punctuation. It was also found that within a particular social group the same words evoked almost the same set of word associations.

Introduction

Product brand strategy is a long-term plan for the development of a successful brand to achieve specific goals (Carly, 2015). The Ito En Company Limited set out to develop a tea product brand that was associated with the words: *natural*, *healthy*, *safe*, *well-designed*, and *delicious*. The company launched its *Oi Ocha* brand in 1989, timed to coincide with the 300th anniversary celebration of Matsuo Basho's travel journal *Narrow Road to Deep North* and the release of poet Machi Tawara's hit anthology *Salad Anniversary*. Ito En succeeded in convincing Japanese consumers to drink this brand and it has been the industry leader for more than 30 years. One reason why Ito En has been able to distinguish itself from other tea brands is that its vision isn't just to sell tea, but rather it's to add elegance and health to people's daily lives (Ito En, 2021). Their brand is more than the product, logo, website, or name, it is also what feels intangible through an association with people's thoughts. By hosting an annual haiku contest with official sponsorship from the Ministry of Education, goodwill is an added asset (see Figure 1).

Associations are central to the way humans think. Personality is characterized by category and schema according to DeDyne et al. (2019), psycholinguists who mapped connections between word-use. They used word-association tests which connected the relations between ideas, concepts, or words which exist in the human mind. They suggested that the appearance of one entity entailed the appearance of another. Marketers who can influence consumers to associate certain words to a particular brand can demonstrate the

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effectiveness of brand strategy.

Systematic relations among words include synonymy, polysemy and hyponymy. These types of lexical associations are common in poetic text. A thesaurus links words with similar meanings. Synonymy is the language phenomenon that words that sound different have the same or identical meaning as another word or phrase. A polysemous word has two or more meanings. Hyponymy is a relation between two words in which the meaning of one of the words includes the meaning of the other word. For example, hyponyms for the verb cook include: roast, boil, fry, grill, bake.

Associative thinking is integral to the process of writing and reading poetry. Associations are essential for haikuists to construct haiku poetry. Haiku, by its very nature, relies on lexical associations because it is so short. The haiku poetic genre is characterized by heavy reliance on lexical associations. For example, Japanese spring is almost exclusively associated with the seasonal word *sakura* which means cherry blossoms. This word instantly connotes images of trees covered in pale pink or a breeze filling the air with fluttering cherry blossom petals that in turn creates the illusion of a spring snowfall, spring love and a long list of other associations.



Figure 1

A Photograph of the Grand Prize Winner of the 34th Ito En Haiku Contest Flanked by the Company President and the Minister of Education.

Notes: Daisuke Honjo has been Ito En President and CEO since May 1, 2019. Masahito Moriyama has been the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology since September 13, 2023.

Previous Studies

In a small-scale study that involved 23 first-year Japanese students over a 15-week period, Nugent (2019) discovered that journaling helped the majority of the participants discover several new things about their

environment and themselves. This researcher also claimed that the journaling project was successful and had provided a useful tool for self-realization as well as English language learning. The writing of haiku involves such daily observation. Haikuists who consciously look around themselves in a one-meter radius can find that daily life is full of change and wonder. In an online study conducted by Digregario (2017), however, the results showed that among the participants in her study, no one associated haiku with words like: wisdom, heartfelt or thoughtful.

A seminal study by Fitzpatrick (2007) found that “not only do [native speakers] vary in the actual words they produce, they also seem to vary in the types of association they make” p. 327. On the other hand, consistency was found by Fitzpatrick & Thwaites (2020) in the word association behavior of individuals, both diachronically in the L1 and also synchronically across two languages.

McMurray and Kawamura (2017) examined how students associated traditional words that are representative of intangible heritage such as: *haiku*, *tanka*, *waka*, *washoku*, *yatai*, *noh*, and *washi*. It was found that these increasingly used borrowed terms appear in English conversations. These findings supported a Nugent (2019) study on a social group of similar participants.

McMurray (2021) investigated the current use of ellipsis abbreviations in English haiku. In the linguistics field, ellipsis means the practice of omitting words from sentences. The ellipsis indicates abbreviation of a missing statement, especially a complex syntactic simplification. In the literary field, ellipsis can refer to [...] punctuation marks. Poets use ellipsis in different ways than writers to create prose in English. The rhythm of English poetry can be paused with punctuation marks such as commas, semicolons, hyphens, exclamation marks and dots. The Japanese use of cutting words can be emulated in English haiku using ... (dots) at the end of the first or second lines.

Methodology

This study was conducted in two parts. First, a literary analysis was conducted by closely studying contest winning haiku, and interviewing the contest judges about why they made certain word choices. The judges and contest winning authors were interviewed at the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo during a conference following an award ceremony. Second, a principled method for collecting, scoring, and analyzing word association responses was designed to study why the Ito En company brand's relationship with haiku seemed to be working well in strategies to market tea and traditional food. This methodology was devised to test whether the image of haiku was compatible or at least comparable with images that consumers had of these products.

Participants

The first part of the study began from January to March, 2023, with the review of 29,991 English haiku entries received from 64 countries. More than 90% of the entries came from schools which use previous contest-winning haiku as teaching materials for English classes and as assignments during winter vacations (see Figure 2). The short-listed haiku were written by contestants of various ages—from 8-year-old elementary school students to seniors 90 years of age. A short-list of 300 haiku with the potential to win the contest were selected and submitted to a final panel of judges. In October when the final winners were announced I traveled

to Tokyo to meet and interview the final judges and winning haikuists (see Figure 3).

The second part of the study was conducted at a private university situated in Kagoshima. A total of 40 undergraduate male and female students aged from 18 to 22 who major in intercultural studies completed questionnaires and took word association tests. University seminar students (n=40) were asked to maintain daily journals in English about anything new they observe in their classrooms, school life, and the world around them. Some students pointed out that their daily lives are empty and they have nothing special to write about in their daily journals. Some students pointed out that they can't easily sense any day-to-day changes in their own lives, let alone what is going on in the rest of Japan and the world. For other students the reality is that it seems like they're looking, but they're not really seeing anything. To avoid systematic differences in the word association behavior of different ages and different language abilities of cohorts, this study focused on one age group and used retesting techniques in English and Japanese languages.



Figure 2

Minister of Education Awarding a 500,000 Yen Prize to an Elementary School Student

Research Instruments

The first part of the study included contestants who were given application forms allowing up to 6 haiku to be written in English. There were no topics, nor rules regarding form and punctuation, however participants were encouraged to read previous-year winning haiku. For example, this haiku by 16-year old Minagi Tsukuda in Japan, which won the 31st contest, can be found online and in promotional pamphlets provided by the company. Note the use of an ellipsis at the end of the first line.

once a month...
 I dye my mother's hair
 in the living room

As another example of a recommended haiku, note the incompleteness of this rhetorical question in this haiku with an [...] ellipsis punctuation by Russian writer Natalia Kuznetsova. She chose not to end her haiku with a question mark. She rose to the top of 33,940 entries to the Itoen 2020 haiku in English contest to win recognition from judges at the Haiku International Association.

Fireflies ...
 where have you all gone
 my childhood friends



Figure 3
 The Contest Winners and Judges on Stage at the Imperial Hotel, Tokyo.
 Note: Interviews with the 33rd contest-winning haikuists were conducted orally and photographs were taken with permission.

In the second part of the study, respondents were given word association tests with a collection of cue words and a set of free associations gleaned from the winning haiku (DeDyne et al., 2019). The research instruments were applied by following the four steps below.

Step 1.

Each participant was asked to respond with the first word that came into mind when they were given a

prompt, known as a seed word or cue: haiku, green tea, *washoku*. Test administrators collected the immediate responses of the first word that came to mind in a classroom setting.

Step 2.

In a follow-up retest, each participant was given a response paper with 30 suggested English words. This word association task was presented in written rather than spoken mode for three reasons. First, it was not feasible to collect both written and spoken responses from the same informants. The written mode was preferable because teaching assistants were involved in data collection, and it would not be possible to guarantee the consistency of delivery of spoken cues. The majority of word association studies in applied linguistics use written data, therefore using that same elicitation method maximized the relevance of our study to others. Students circled as many words as they wished for each prompt. The following 30 English words were gleaned from winning haiku: healthy, seasonable, artificial, masculine, expensive, young, traditional, poor, safe, domestic, well-designed, bored, unique, natural, unfit, feminine, dangerous, awful, specialized, cheap, old, exotic, New Year, amusing, global, uncomfortable, distinctive, delicious, popular, and dizzy. To check the validity of the tests and to show whether participants were able to understand the English words, the participants were also given the same test in Japanese. For these students of English as a foreign language much effort is needed to memorize words. Translation methodology requires that a particular word in their native Japanese language be matched to the corresponding word in a foreign language such as English, and vice versa. This process of learning, naming the words in a pair one after another is based on the mechanism that human memory is based on associations.

Step 3.

The results were compared to an online word association test which measured whether students in Japan associated the word haiku with words that students in other countries came up with. Digregario (2017) received fifty-four responses from writing students on her blog to an inquiry about the first word that comes to mind in thinking about haiku. The words generated during the international study included: evocative, mutable, essence, evolutionary, focus, introspective, insight, imagination, home, succinct, condensed, contemplative, intimate, natural, moment, imagistic, awareness, flow, freshness, epiphany, light, sharing, and every day.

Step 4.

Participants were interviewed on their opinions about the winning haiku and their personal images of haiku, green tea, and *washoku*.

Findings

This haiku penned by Ann Goto, a 16-year-old high school student in Saitama Prefecture was shown on a large screen and the haikuist was called to take the stage for the top prize for English haiku (see Figure 4).

* * *

cold night

flood light

vending machine



Figure 4
Photograph of the Winning Haikuists Taking the Stage with their Haiku Shown on Screen

According to the final judge Arthur Binard (Ito En, 2023),

It's pretty difficult to try and depict a scene that doesn't have anyone in it. Even if an author tries to keep it empty, they themselves tend to sneak in there somewhere, as though reflected in a mirror. This prize winner, depicting a vending machine illuminated alone on a cold winter night, is comprised of the absolute minimum required nouns, completely removing any human presence.

As an interesting anecdote to this work that I learned by interviewing the writer, it seems that at the time it was written the haikuist tried to buy a hot drink from a vending machine, but she didn't have any coins. Inevitably, she couldn't buy a bottle of tea. Using rhymes is rare in haiku, but the rhyming pair "cold night, flood light," caught the ear of the judges. The entry was deemed a new-style of haiku. Its unique form is composed of only a minimum of nouns, making it possible to explain it concisely. By visibly splitting a compound word such as floodlight, spotlight, or flashlight into two words, which English language learners often do, made its syllables stand-out and easier to hear. The judge claimed that he associated this haiku with the same kind of atmosphere as the cool vistas painted by American artist Edward Hopper noting that everything it projects feels cold, right down to the drinks on sale from the vending machine.

Environmental considerations are paramount for the image of a company selling its product in vending machines. Ito En machines are associated with safety as well as an easy sales channel that customers require. The company therefore places emphasis on three key characteristics of these machines: wellness, cashless (contactless payments) and cleanliness. These word associations sets them apart from their competitors.

Although vending machines sales activities are aimed at generating profits, the Ito En company wants their customers to stay healthy. For example, there are new measures such as cashless, touchless and sterilized vending machines to protect customers from infections when making a purchase.



Figure 5

Photograph of the Winning Haikuist and Her Teacher

Note: Mr. Hosokiro, an English teacher at Waseda University Honjo High School (left), and Ms. Ann Goto (right).

English-language haikuists quibble over how to render the pivotal cut (in Japanese language *kireji*) to separate and juxtapose two parts of a haiku. A caesura is a pause in the middle of a line of poetry. It usually comes in the form of punctuation, and the most common ones are full stops and commas. The following young writer indicated this with a bold exclamation mark mid-line.

* * *

a shark in a tank

a shark in a school

Oh no! a shark ate a fish

–Taira Bowen (Australia)

Note the placement of “noun + [...] ellipsis” first lines of these three haiku. The “train station tea ...” haiku expresses the tranquility of nature and the calm afforded by a sip of tea. In this case, the ellipsis indicated contemplation in addition to the passing of time.

* * *

train station tea ...

each sip

takes me closer home

–Baisali Chatterjee Dutt (India)

* * *

visiting relatives ...

the strangers in our photo album

have voices now

–Kyla Gruta (Philippines)

* * *

receding cold ...

a letter from Japan

with blossom stamps

–Kanchan Chatterjee (India)

In the following haiku the ellipsis trails off in an intriguing manner ... These three dots indicated a mysterious or unfinished thought, a leading sentence, or perhaps a pause or silence from the student sick in bed.

* * *

being positive

coughing in bed

hoping to see my friends ...

–Anji Fujimaki (Japan)

Note the use of a question mark as a well-placed *kireji* at the end of the second line of this haiku.

* * *

How thick

is the pancake?

I'm waiting for spring

–Akiko Ogata (Japan)

Note the use of a question mark at the very end of these two haiku. This is a new style, rarely used in traditional haiku. The final haiku was selected by directors at the Haiku International Association (HIA) headquartered in Tokyo.

* * *

Winter

rice cake puffed up

are you angry?

–Iroha Watanabe (Japan)

* * *

If there are no gardeners
why are mountains
so beautiful?
–Hana Takahashi (Japan)

Findings from the second part of this study included the observation that most participants wanted to use a computerized thesaurus to link the cue haiku to words with similar meanings such as: poetry, prose, poem, verse, and literature. Computerized searches in the classroom allow students to hunt for adjectives and collocations related to haiku such as: traditional, aesthetic, Buddhist, contemporary, modern, famous, essential, short, poetic, Japanese, topical, and seasonal. But this study focused on what a consumer, in particular a Japanese university student might think of haiku when they are thirsty for a drink or hungry to eat. Students were asked to use their existing knowledge rather than resort to a computer. In response to the prompt haiku, students (N= 40) self-generated these words: international, culture, difficult, fantastic, traditional, simple, words, and Kyoto. In response to the prompt green tea, students (N=40) self-generated these words: warm, relax, green, every day, important drink, tastefully, calm, life relief, like, bitter drink, drink, tasty, health, hot, safe. In response to the prompt *washoku* students (N=40) self-generated these words: UNESCO, traditional, beautiful, culture, kind, oden, happy, art, quality, delicious, rice, good, healthy, tasty, and life.

A triangulation map (Figure 6) of the responses was constructed to assist in the matching analysis of the associations between cue words. The word that the students' chose were arranged as a triangulation diagram that places related words close together; words with a weaker association are mapped further apart. These word associations can help us to understand ways consumers draw relationships between tea, haiku, and *washoku*. The following words were associated to each of three cues: seasonable, healthy, traditional, well-designed, unique, Japan, global, popular, old, domestic, popular, delicious, natural, amusing, and seasonal.

The new concept of poetic ellipsis was illustrated by analyzing literary texts from examples of haiku collected from contests and from participants in this study. The ellipsis is a form of punctuation that can be used when composing English haiku to show an omission, to show a pause, to create suspense, or to show a break in thought. When words are omitted, but not marked with an [...] ellipsis punctuation it can be difficult for the reader to guess them without the help of context from the other lines. Haiku is the literature of ellipsis and the essential value of this literature form is its shortness.

A validity check of the tests used in this study showed that participants were able to understand the English words because they gave the same test results in the Japanese language. The findings concerning word associations in this current study are aligned with previous studies (e.g. McMurray & Kawamura, 2017) that examined how students associated traditional words. Within a particular social group the same words can evoke almost the same set of word associations as we suggested happened in Steps 1 and 2 of the methodology. Surprisingly, in Step 3 of this study the Japanese students and non-Japanese writers of haiku in English mutually shared the association that haiku are: evocative, an epiphany, Japanese, poem, evolutionary, imagination, imagistic, imagery, everyday, home, essential, short, succinct, moment, snapshot, pithy, natural,

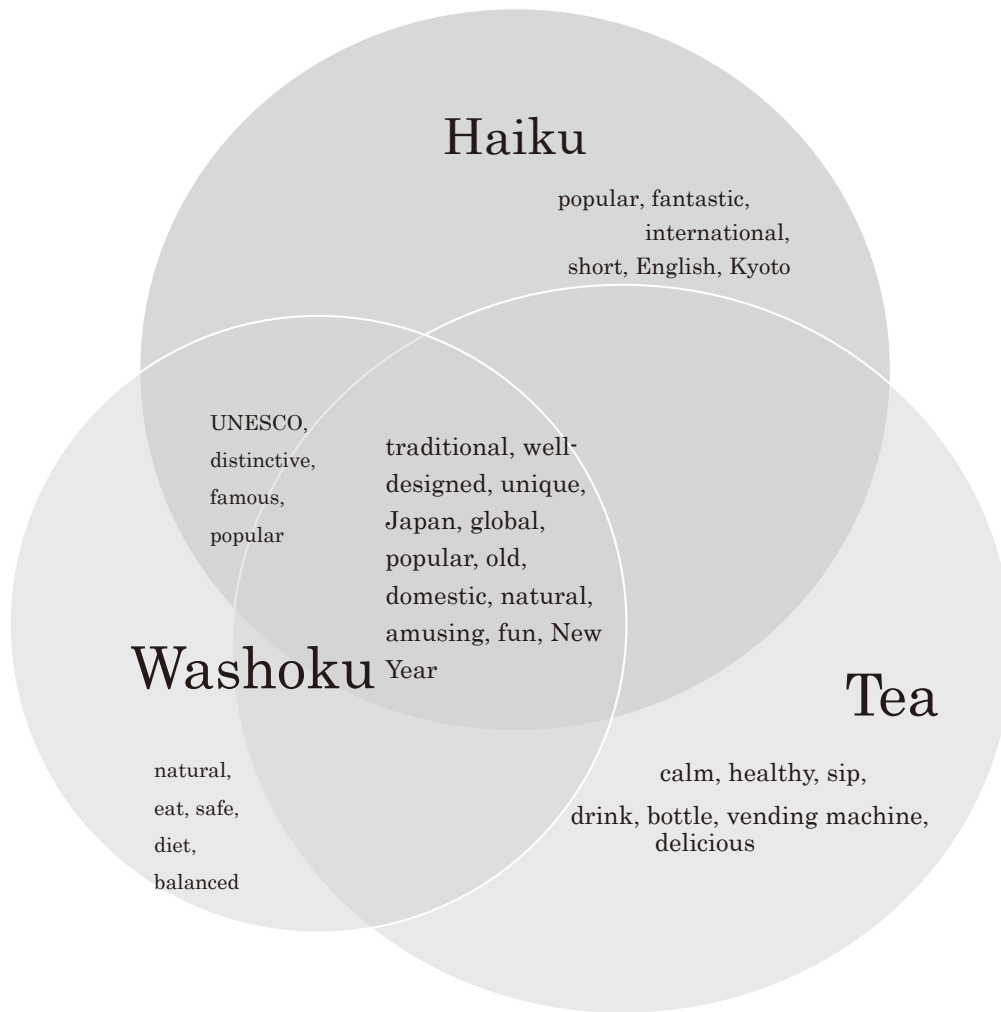


Figure 6
 A Triangulation Map of Word Associations for Haiku, Washoku, Tea

elegant, breathing, natural, flow, light, illumination, reflection, window, awareness, truth, share, sharing, and universal.

Haiku is Used in Big Business

Qing and Donze (2022) chronicled the transformation of the Ito En tea company from a small wholesaler in the 1960s to a large enterprise with international markets in 2022 with net sales of 446,281 million yen. In post-World War II Japan, the production and consumption of traditional kimono, *geta* clogs, *washoku* paper, wood sculptures and drinks such as *sake* and tea entered a 40-year phase of decline. The invention of the plastic bottle and a new brewing process to preserve the flavor of tea proved to be a valuable marketing development that allowed the traditional tea industry to disrupt downward trends and enter a period of growth in the 1990s based on the consumption of bottled tea. Concomitantly, the marketers realized that creating a revitalized brand image based on an aspect of traditional culture such as haiku would further their

transformation from a small tea wholesaler to become a large company with international sales with sustainable growth.

Ito En's *Oi Ocha* Tea and Haiku

Ito En's predecessor, Frontier Tea Corporation, was established in August, 1966 and headquartered in Shizuoka. In May, 1969, the company's name was changed to Ito En, Co. Ltd. The revitalization of Ito En began 20 years later in 1989 when it began to distribute its green tea product in plastic bottles for sale to the Japanese market. At that time, Coca Cola and other companies were selling sweet drinks but no other company was selling bottled tea. Ito En set out to develop a product brand that was associated with the words: *natural, healthy, safe, well-designed, and delicious*. Ito En succeeded in convincing Japanese consumers to drink this brand and it has been the industry leader for 35 years. The *Oi Ocha* beverage is the most familiar tea brand in Japan, accounting for a 40% share based on annual sales volume (Kajihara, 2012). Once *Oi Ocha* hit the market, Ito En maintained its position as the obvious choice in consumer mindset by developing effective brand strategies. To keep strengthening the brand, for instance, they introduced a sense of Japan's unique seasons and freshness by printing cherry blossoms on the bottles in the spring and maple leaves in the autumn. These innovations garnered the Good Design Long Life Award from the Japan Institute of Design Promotion. *Always putting the customer first* is the group's management motto and its long-term vision is to become a global tea company.

When the *Oi Ocha* product was launched in 1989, Itoen concomitantly began the *Oi Ocha* New Haiku Contest. By running contests for haiku in English and printing the winner's English haiku on their products, Itoen has successfully expanded international demand for their product. Marketers dreamed up the idea of using *Oi Ocha* product packaging as a medium for publishing haiku. Auspiciously, the 300th anniversary of Matsuo Basho's *Okuno Hosomichi Narrow Road to the Deep North* travel journal was to be celebrated. Surprisingly, when Machi Tawara an unknown high school teacher released an endearing collection of tanka poems *Salad Anniversary*, her anthology quickly sold 2.6 million copies. These events created great interest in short forms Japanese poetry. People were even becoming excited about writing their own poems. However, most people were novices. Before the Internet there were few opportunities to publish and would-be poets needed a venue. Ito En jumped through this window of opportunity and provided their customers with an opportunity to feel like they're part of a community where they could read their own literary works.

The Ito En *Oi Ocha* New Haiku Contest started with the release of *Oi Ocha* in 1989, and is the largest open call for creative competition in Japan. New Haiku is not bound by the traditional rules of haiku, such as "must incorporate seasonal words." With new haiku it does not matter what you feel or think as long as it has a 5-7-5 rhythm. You can put it on and express it freely. The biggest feature is to publish the award-winning works on the packages of *Oi Ocha*. Approximately 90% of the submissions are from the educational field, and through new haiku, we face our daily lives with the power of tea and language, contributing to the succession of Japanese culture and educational opportunities

When the company introduced the *Oi Ocha* New Haiku contest it announced it would give prizes to the



Figure 7

The consumer's haiku are printed on product packaging in English and Japanese

winners. For its debut there were 41,373 applicants. People of all ages from elementary school students to retired people sent in Japanese haiku. Starting from the second contest, Ito En launched an English-language section. The organizers of the *Oi Ocha* New Haiku in English Contest decided to allow consumers to express their feelings in haiku form, without needing to conform to conventional seasonal themes or the 5-7-5 syllable format. This enabled entrants from around the world to compose and submit their poems. Unexpectedly junior and senior high school students in Japan also took up the challenge to write haiku in English. Ito En therefore began cooperating with the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) from the fifth contest. The *Oi Ocha* New Haiku contest English category (see Figure 3) has now become a regular part of the curriculum education in many schools and shown to develop the powers of expression of students.

This annual contest is a creative marketing campaign that generates a lot of positive public relations. The company provides 2,000 contest winners with bottles of tea, certificates, calligraphy, and prize money that ranges from 5,000 yen to 500,000 yen. By the 32nd *Oi Ocha* New Haiku contest, 2,057,963 entries in Japanese and 39,993 haiku in English were received (Ito En, 2023). The total cumulative number of entries received over the history of the contest has reached 39,700,000 from 98 countries. MEXT awards one winner from the Japanese division 500,000 yen in prize money, a framed copy of the winning haiku, a set of *Oi Ocha* products with the winning poem on the package, inclusion in an anthology of the winning poems, and an award certificate. An Excellent School Award is given to a school from which 5 or more students win a prize and group awards are given to haiku groups achieving excellent results.

Haiku in English has become a value-added feature for *Oi Ocha* products and attracted loyal fans inside and outside of Japan. Consumers around the world are provided with an opportunity to become familiar with haiku culture and possibly publish their own work. The New Haiku in English Contests are helping to spread the traditional cultures of Japan to world markets. The contest has seen its popularity spread overseas as people from many countries develop an interest in Japanese literary works and food culture.

Haiku, Tea and *Washoku*

The global Japanese food boom started in the U.S. and Canada during the 1970s and subsequently spread to Europe and the rest of the world. The appeal of Japanese food culture (*washoku*) is that it is considered to be balanced and healthy (Stapleton, 2016). In response to hoteliers, the Japanese government re-focused its strategy to promote the Japanese food culture defined as *washoku* (Japan Education Center for the Hotel Industry, 2015). This traditional Japanese cuisine was added to UNESCO Heritage list of intangible culture in 2013. However, there is still a gap between how *washoku* actually is defined and what the Japanese and the world understand it to be. Ito En has expanded the Japanese tea market overseas by making more people aware of the aroma, *umami* and vivid color of high-quality Japanese tea, and by taking advantage of the opportunities presented by the increased health consciousness among people worldwide Ito En has participates in the Washoku Association of Japan to enhance cooperation between customers, manufacturers, distributors, restaurant operators, researchers and organizations. The association members propose and promote drinking and eating habits that match the season and new ways of enjoying green tea and also emphasize the good match between *Oi Ocha* and *washoku*.

To create and expand opportunities for people around the world to become familiar with *washoku* culture, several Japanese style dining restaurants have associated themselves with haiku in both name and with the poetry. Another educational program to foster a link between tea, haiku and *washoku* can be found in classes for children that are held at various locations and led by people from Washoku Japan member companies. Students learn about the importance of Japanese tea as one category of *washoku* culture food and its central role in the types of food generally preferred in Japan. The goal is to pass on to the next generation knowledge about tea as a vital element of the *washoku* culture. Activities involving this culture also include scientific studies concerning why green tea goes well with Japanese cuisine, such as due to the *umami* (or savoury) taste of tea. This information provides a basis for promoting green tea and *washoku* in Japan and other countries and creating new ideas for enjoying green tea.

Conclusion

In the first part of this study, it was discovered that diction is primarily the poet's choice of words. Since poetry and in particular haiku uses the least number of words to accomplish its task, each word is important and must be chosen as the exact word. The fundamental difference between the use of metaphor in haiku and that in other poetry is that in haiku it tends to be extremely subtle and indirect, to the point of not being readily apparent. The metaphor in good haiku is often buried deep within the poem.

In this paper it was shown that nuance, suggestive language and associations can also be chosen. A definitive answer lies perhaps in the use of *kigo*, meaning a seasonal word, which is a word in the haiku that anchors it in a particular season of the year. *Kigo* are triggers that set off a seasonal association in the mind of the reader, sometimes with complex cultural and historical overtones that are absent when transplanted into another language or culture. Season words are metonymic or associative in all cultures—we each have our memories about the seasons and the activities performed within them. Inclusion of a *kigo* is important to haiku not just for subtly but for its richness of associations. Inclusion of *kireji*, a cutting word or punctuation such as an

ellipsis [...] is equally important for its ability to suggest a new idea to the reader. The new concept of poetic ellipsis was illustrated by analyzing literary texts from examples of haiku collected from contests and from interviewing participants in this study.

To summarize the second part of this study which relied on words from the winning haiku, word associations were found to be an important element of linguistic creativity. Word association links words whose underlying concepts are related. The words leaf and tree, for example, are strongly related but do not have similar meaning. Being able to come up with related words, or by using the results of word association tests can help students in writing an essay and finding inspiration for a brainstorm of ideas about what to write about.

The study of word associations for haiku, tea, and *washoku* revealed that university-aged participants from Japan suggested there were similar connections between haiku, tea and *washoku*. The participants proposed these associations: seasonable, healthy, traditional, well-designed, unique, global, popular, old, domestic, delicious, natural, amusing, and represent Japan as well as the New Year. The Japanese students and non-Japanese writers of haiku in English shared in the association that haiku are: evocative, an epiphany, Japanese, poem, evolutionary, imagination, imagistic, imagery, every day, home, essential, short, succinct, moment, snapshot, pithy, natural, elegant, breathing, refreshing, natural, flow, light, illumination, reflection, window, awareness, truth, share, sharing, and universal.

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