<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>項目</th>
<th>内容</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>著者</td>
<td>佐藤 泰人</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>著者別名</td>
<td>ヤスハト・サトウ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>雑誌名</td>
<td>白山英純文学</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>号</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ページ</td>
<td>105-131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>発行年</td>
<td>2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URL</td>
<td><a href="http://id.nii.ac.jp/1060/00004442/">http://id.nii.ac.jp/1060/00004442/</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Creative Commons: Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 3.0 Japan
Ciaran Carson's *First Language*

Yasuhito SATO

**Introduction**

First Language, published in 1993, marked a new phase of Ciaran Carson’s poetics. One reviewer points out that the storytelling narrative of his previous volumes, *The Irish for No* (1987) and *Belfast Confetti* (1989), is now ‘assailed by the force of poetic concentration on form and linguistic resource’; and that, while the narrative is more elusive, the form is more ‘pronounced and imperious’ with many more chance connections of words by rhymes and puns (McDonald, 1994). Another also acknowledges a shift from features of folklore and oral tradition in the previous volumes to those of language, writing and translation. Babel is the symbol that marks this shift – the loss of a common language and a common speech (Horton, 1995). Although another reviewer still attributes Carson’s language play to oral traditions – that of a ballad-singer ‘bending an audience’s ear, stretching credibility to breaking-point’ (Dawe, 1993), his language in this volume certainly becomes much more difficult. An agreed point is that Carson’s peculiar use of language defamiliarises the reality of Northern Ireland, unsettling and going beyond monolithic ideologies.

Language is surely the main issue of *First Language*. Although language is such a broad concept with countless aspects, my main concern here is its relation to this collection’s background of the contemporary Northern Irish situation, more precisely, the situation where dialogue has been most needed. The book can be seen as a reflection and refraction of the political state where the Unionist monopoly collapsed with violent disagreement, and where, thereafter, the rebuilding of a somehow agreed government has been attempted through ‘talks’. Dialogue is not limited to the sphere of politics. Cultural dialogue has been a significant matter, especially since the institutionalisation of the Northern Ireland Community Relations Council in 1990 and its sub-committee, the Cultural Traditions Group. *First Language* can be read as an individual poet’s interesting challenge to this politico-cultural language climate.

This paper will discuss Carson’s activities as arts administrator in the late 1980s and...
1990s and coinciding cultural movement that promoted cultural diversity. This will be followed by a reading of First Language against this background.

Carson in the ACNI in the late 1980s and the 1990s: across boundaries

Carson, who joined the Arts Council of Northern Ireland (ACNI) as Traditional Arts Officer in 1975, continued his job through the 1980s and 90s, until his resignation in 1998. Though still a comparatively meagre portion, the budget for the section steadily went up in the late 1980s (£28,220 in 1984/85, £29,685 in 1985/86, £37,690 in 1986/87, £56,310 in 1987/88, and £58,428 in 1988/89). Then in the next fiscal year 1989/90 it jumped to £98,334, thanks to the 21% uplift of the ACNI’s grant from the government, which brought per capita funding in Northern Ireland into parity with that in Great Britain. With this budget uplift the British Government requested that ACNI should prepare a Corporate Plan that would make clear its policy and strategies. This was published as Objectives and Strategies 1990. The traditional arts section’s administrative activities can be summed up in the four objectives set up in this plan: 1) ‘the preservation and handing on of traditional art forms and styles’; 2) ‘to ensure the distribution of traditional arts across the Province’; 3) ‘to engage participation in the traditional arts’; and 4) ‘to contextualise traditional music internationally’ (ACNI, 1990, 18-19). For the first objective the ACNI planned or supported archival recordings; for the second it arranged tours and encouraged local festivals and events; it supported workshops and promoted traditional arts in schools and communities for the third objective; and, for the fourth objective, it organised or supported workshops and events exploring connections between the indigenous music and those of other regions.

One significant aspect of Carson’s attitude towards traditional arts in this period is his desire to transverse prejudiced borders. He indeed writes in an annual report: ‘This section of the annual report has been at pains to emphasise that traditional music is a shared heritage which draws on other influences beyond its ostensible boundaries’ (ACNI, 1995, 11). Commenting on one of the ACNI supported events, the Cushendun Festival of Traditional Music and Dance, he writes in the annual report:

The ethos of traditional music springs from the parish, from local twists and accents; yet the borders of that parish are in constant dispute; and the music forms a community of interest which extends far beyond the confines of any one geographical area. Thus, the Gaelic singing of the Outer Hebrides has parallels
with the sean-nós of Connemara though each retains its own integrity. [. . .] Scots Gaelic and Irish Gaelic are on the verge of mutual intelligibility; in this case, it would seem, singing spoke louder than words. (ACNI, 1989, 36)

A confluence of traditions is thus accentuated on many occasions. Hugh Shields's study of singing tradition *Shamrock, Rose and Thistle*, whose publication the ACNI supported, is a typical example. The Council supports, for another example, the Ulster branch of the Royal Scottish Pipe Band Association, of which Carson acknowledges: 'the structure of pipe band music is practically identical to that of the jigs, reels and hornpipes of the Irish tradition' (ACNI, 1994, 20). Another ACNI supported project, 'Different Drums', explored the congruence of the Lambeg drum and the bodhrán. Féile Ghaeil Alba agus Eireann is a promotion of 'the culture of the largely Presbyterian Scottish Highlands and Islands in conjunction with its Irish counterpart' (ACNI, 1995, 11). Also, events like the Appalachian and Bluegrass Festival and the Belfast Folk Music Festival explored traditional music in an international context. Irish music was by then internationally circulated music, so that, as Carson comments, "Irish" [. . .] is not so much a description of nationality as that of a genre' (ACNI, 1996, 12). Scoil Shliabh gCeillinn, supported by the ACNI, is a mix of academic lectures, workshops, poetry readings, and music and dance performances using the bilingual heritage of South Armagh. Carson comments the school is 'an example of how in recent years the tradition has been moving towards—or back to—a place where the arts are not in isolated pigeonholes, but are mutually inclusive: not unlike the ceili houses of old, where music, dancing, singing, conversation and storytelling followed a pattern in which everyone could participate, either as listeners or practitioners' (ACNI, 1992, 37).

'Mutual inclusiveness' of the arts is suitable expression for Carson not only as a poet who successfully blended poetry and oral traditions in *The Irish for No*, but also as an arts administrator who additionally held the post of ACNI's Literature Officer ('securing maximum economy in administrative costs' as the chairman says (ACNI, 1991, 4)), succeeding Michael Longley after his retirement from the post in 1991. The outcome was the ACNI's direct promotion of a traditional arts tour 'Following a Pattern', with its mixture of poetry and traditional music, in November 1992. 2 Carson reports that 'it was gratifying to see the poetry buffs respond to the “diddly-dee”, and vice versa’, and that 'the received distinctions between “high” and “low” art became
irrelevant in the shared rhythms of speech and music' (ACNI, 1993, 37). The Council's similar original tour programme 'Footnotes' in November 1995 is another example of 'a multidisciplinary weave' of traditional arts 'in which words are never far from music' (ACNI, 1996, 12). It is, Carson adds, also an example of their 'capacity to transform private spaces into public ones' (ACNI, 1996, 12). Literature is thus incorporated into the public sphere that Carson has emphasised in traditional arts.

On a different level from Carson's recognition here, however, traditional art forms were involved in a public sphere in the late 1980s: the debate on 'cultural traditions'.

Cultural Traditions: breaking and making boundaries

In 1988 the Central Community Relations Unit, which was created in 1987 for the development of better cross-community relations, drew together a number of people in education, the arts and communications to set up the Cultural Traditions Group, which aimed 'to explore ways of promoting a better understanding of and a more constructive debate about, our different cultural traditions in Northern Ireland' (Crozier, 1990, vi). With an initial budget of £3,000,000 for three years from the government, the Group fostered debate about cultural diversity especially through conferences, such as 'Varieties of Irishness' in 1989 and 'Varieties of Britishness' in 1990. In 1990 it became a part of a newly set up Community Relations Council, a publicly funded, grant-giving limited company with charitable status.

As a cultural organisation, the ACNI was not independent of this movement. It was allocated a special grant of £190,000 for the year 1989/90 out of the above £3,000,000 for projects that explored cultural traditions and community relations, mainly in the fields of drama, dance, traditional arts and literature. The traditional arts section was allocated £38,335 for the year, and since then the Cultural Traditions fund has become an important financial part that occupies about one third of the traditional arts budget. This enabled the section to enlarge its support for mumming, storytelling and dance traditions. The fund also enabled it to set up a music in school programme using young local talents and coordinated by the uilleann piper Tom Clarke. The literature section on the other hand got £51,300 for the year 1989-90, although the allocations in the following years were not stable. The cultural traditions movement was beneficial to writing in Irish. With the ACNI's support, 1988 saw the establishment of a Writer-in-Residence in the Irish language in Queen's University and the University of Ulster. In the 1990s support for writing in Irish increased, which included grants for Irish
language magazines such as Cuisle na nGaeil and An tUltach. Carson stresses the importance of such support:

[...]

The traditional emphasis of the Literature budget on English writing has meant that Irish language writing has not been examined with any coherent strategy. For this, additional resources are needed; and it is to be noted that the Priestley Report has identified writing in Irish as one of the elements in the “new constituency”. Because of its relative weakness, Irish needs more attention than English: basic language acquisition needs to be reinforced by a comprehensive educational programme; aspiring writers need to meet and talk to other writers, to become part of a community of interest. (ACNI, 1993, 36)

'The Priestley Report' mentioned above was a major review of the ACNI's arts administration, conducted by the government appointee Clive Priestley, and delivered in 1992. Among a number of recommendations, the report emphasised more community-based arts activities, traditional arts, Irish language arts and so on. These recommendations were apparently in accordance with the Community Relations/Cultural Traditions policy. Before the report, the Cultural Traditions Group had already set up the ULTACII Trust in 1989 to promote Irish language throughout the entire community in Northern Ireland. The Irish language was now officially sanctioned, though, Irish language being deeply politicised, the official status was regarded with suspicion by many. 10

This cultural policy, especially embodied in the Cultural Traditions Group, has met with various kinds of criticism. After all, the convergence of cultural diversity into the two religio-political sides cannot be evaded. As Kirkland says, '[the Group] recognises the diversity of identities and yet in so doing seeks to limit the play of that identity within the strict Orange/Green framework it wishes (simultaneously) to subvert' (1999, 212). The simultaneity is unavoidable: the principal aim for which the government funds being a reconciliation between the two sides, the Group always has to take the ‘Orange/Green frameworks’ into consideration. Also unavoidable is the constitutional problem. This cultural policy, as Ruane and Todd (1996, 186-88) and Kirkland (1996, 116) argue, can be contextualised as a part of British government policy in the post-Stormont era. It basically aimed to achieve a level of mutual cultural tolerance and respect between Protestant and Catholic for political stability within the constitutional framework of Northern Ireland as a part of the UK. Therefore, for one,
their culture-based policy appears to be an example of de-politicisation that evades the issue of structural inequality of the state (Rolston, 1998). For another, that the state encourages equal legitimacy of the two traditions is nonsense because one of them is engaging in the war against the legitimacy of the state (English, 1994).

After the Anglo-Irish Agreement in 1985, however, the constitutional stability became theoretically questionable because the Agreement states that a constitutional change could take place with the consent of the majority of the people in Northern Ireland. Therefore, a criticism based on the argument that it is unthinkable for the British government to encourage cultural traditions which aspire to a United Ireland is unsustainable, theoretically at least. On the other hand the argument that questions the British model of cultural pluralism for its assumption of a constitutional stability is persuasive. Richard English for example says:

The conditions within which diversity can be relished rather than feared are either those in which the minority cultures do not exist in a hostile relation to the state or those in which they are simply not strong/numerous enough to pose a serious threat to the stability of that state. Neither of these conditions obtains in Northern Ireland (1994, 101).

From the perspective of the Cultural Traditions Group, however, it is precisely because the situation is up to the people themselves that Northern Irish people need to cultivate a tolerant, understanding mind. The constitutional issue is an utterly monolithic, zero-sum game, with either a United Ireland or the United Kingdom as winner. A mind whose whole pride depends on national identity has to be either a winner or a loser. The Group seems to aim to cultivate a mind whose cultural pride is ultimately undisturbed by the constitutional issue, as Roy Foster says in the inaugural lecture for the ‘Varieties of Irishness’ conference:

Cultural self-confidence can exist without being yoked to a determinist and ideologically redundant notion of unilaterally-declared nation-statehood; political and cultural credentials have for too long been identified together. (Crozier, 1989, 20)

This is not a simple de-politicisation. It is a politics that promotes de-politicisation.
Finlayson defines the politics of the Group as 'liberal multiculturalism' or 'civic nationalism' that lays emphasis on Ulsterness, which competes with Unionism=Britishness and Nationalism=Irishness: 'The conflict is not so much one of cultural identities as of competing cultural sovereignties that have been unable to constitute themselves as fully objective' (2001, 96). Or in the Group's member Michael Longley's words, its aim is 'to lift the community into consciousness and self-consciousness - the forming of a new intelligentsia' and 'to replace political belligerence with cultural pride' (qtd in Cultural Traditions Group 39).

Beside its formation and promotion of the above ideology, the Group is also political in a way it encourages the grouping, representation, articulation or institutionalisation of a tradition. A culture or a tradition is encouraged to articulate, define and represent its communal characteristics: 'giving voices' in their words. As Edna Longley says in the 'Varieties of British' conference, 'very many people in Northern Ireland lead a very unconscious, unreflective existence in which they are accepting a whole load of conditioning which they have never actually examined' (Crozier, 1990, 54). The Group's task is to encourage articulation of this unconscious grey area and to circulate thus articulated cultural identities among people. Articulation of identity, however, is difficult and sometimes dangerous. While the Group works hard to destabilise political or prejudiced boundaries, articulation is an act of making a boundary. If, for instance, a boundary is set as 'Ulsterness', it will be problematic for the term's ambiguity (six counties or nine counties?) and political connotation, and for the region containing localities too different and disagreeing to hold a wholeness (O Seaghdha, 1990; Ó Tuathaigh, 1992). Use of language in articulation is thus challenging. While the cultural traditions movement has succeeded in the circulation of terms such as 'diversity', 'tolerance', 'difference', 'integration', 'identity', 'culture' and 'tradition', those terms are in turn sometimes used (or abused) for maintenance of the two obstinate traditions, thus promoted plurality and diversity ironically becoming a recipe for monocultural affirmations (Rolston, 1998, 253-54).

Considering the difficulty of language it is interesting that the Group's chairman (James Hawthorn) mentions poetry in terms of the Group's mission: 'We belong more to the poets who [...] see it as their job to mend and reconnect and less to those whose function it[sic] is to mediate through the political process the arrangements conducive to normal living'; and he cites Heaney's words: 'in this country, for a long while to come, a refinement of feelings will be more urgent than a reframing of policies and
constitutions’ (Crozier, 1989, 29). Implicit in his reference to poetry is his belief in poetry’s use of language that opens a new space in people’s sensitivity. There are, however, two problems observable in the relation between poetry and the Cultural Traditions ideology.

The first is the matter of audience: how far is the reach of poetic sensitivity? The chairman also states the Group’s efficiency is in ‘achieving critical mass and permeating the whole society, not being confined to those already related in an informed and mature way to our cultural traditions’ (Crozier, 1989, 31). Scepticism about the reach of language is inevitable. One reviewer (a poet, incidentally) of the Group’s conferences writes:

It is unlikely that any variety of Irishness (within or beside Britishness) will be acceptable now as a self-definition for strident new generations of Protestants reared on funerals and unemployment – any more than Good Nationalists (even if they wanted to) will be able to smuggle varieties of Britishness into the hearts and minds of Bad Nationalists reared on Long Kesh hankies and unemployment [. . .]. There is also the sense [. . .] that this talking is not real ‘talk’ [. . .]. Real talk might only happen when there is a gun on the table – and the intellectuals have no military wing. (Smyth, 1993, 51)

The challenge is how the Group’s language of poetic sensitivity gets over the borderline and engages in the ‘real’ language of ‘real’ people.

The second problem is of the ‘reality’ of poems. Peter McDonald, insisting on the importance of form in poetry, says ‘poetry cannot work to extra-poetic agendas’: ‘poems’ workings, negotiations with language and each other, and economies of meaning, image, and expression’ are too complex to be absorbed into cultural agendas (2002, 15). Although McDonald’s attack is not directed to the Northern Irish cultural issue but to the current tendency toward populism in the discourse on British poetry, his point is pertinent here too. Poets, especially Northern Irish poets, are often mentioned in Cultural Traditions discussions – Heaney, Mahon, Longley, himself one of the organisers, and Hewitt – as models of regional pride. I do not deny a certain validity of poetry for the project as a countering force against homogeneity. However, pieces of poetic wisdom and their uses are not necessarily the same thing as poems themselves. Also, we should be reminded that poetry, both as individual poems and as a cultural
The first and the second languages in *First Language*

Taking this politico-cultural background into consideration, let us now proceed into the 'real' language of poetry. The first poem of *First Language*, 'La Je-Ne-Sais-Quoi', is a poem about what cannot be explained in language, the moment of a kiss in this case. It features mouths (béal), reminding us of the orality much focused on in *The Irish for No* and *Belfast Confetti*. The mouth here, however, does not speak:

Mé i mo thost anois,
Dlaoithe chasta do chainte
Ina lúi go dlúth ar urlár snasta,
Mé á scuabadh, mé á scaipeadh
Go béal an dorais,
Séideán beag amuigh. (Carson, 1993, 9)
(I'm silent now, / Twisted wisps of speech / Lying tightly on a polished floor, / Swept and scattered / To the mouth of the door, / A small drought outside.)

The quietude and lyricism here come close to the poems of Carson's first book *The New Estate* (1976), where Carson was greatly influenced by Early Irish lyrics. The considerable difference is the way of presentation: this poem is titled in French; written in Irish, which is Carson’s first language, without translation as the first poem of the book titled ‘First Language’; and followed by the English poem titled ‘Second Language’. So this poem is not merely a lyric poem content in its autonomy within one page neatly framed with white margins, but it functions as a preface to the book, which questions wider issues on language in Northern Ireland. For readers who do not have Irish, this is an annoyingly exclusive piece. It is a signal of a breach between languages, a reminder of the Babel image on the front cover, which recurs in the following pages. It may defamiliarise an English poem without translation as equally exclusive, as it indeed is for most people in the world. The title on the other hand denies essentialist ideas of pure Irish, both by its being French and by the fact that the phrase has been familiarised in the English language. This mixture of languages also signals Carson’s interest in translation from other languages in the volume. It is an interesting case of how the
meaning of a poem and its presentation work in opposite ways, one contemplating on quietude, the other raising argumentative issues.

The second, English poem ‘Second Language’ starts with the word ‘English’:

English not being yet a language, I wrapped my lubber-lips around my thumb;

Brain-deaf as an embryo, I was snuggled in my comfort-blanket dumb.

(Carson, 1993, 10)

The infant protagonist in bed is exposed to sounds surrounding him. Adult speech sounds to him like ‘carillons of bronze / Sienna consonants embedded with the vowels alexandrite, emerald and topaz’, ‘Wordy whorls and braids and skeins and spiral helices’ or ‘Alexandrine tropes’ ‘gowling out like beagles’; and he hears from the eastern shipbuilding sites ‘Six-County hexametric / Brackets, bulkheads, girders, beams, and stanchions’ and ‘S-twists’ and ‘Z-twists’ of rope that ‘all had their say’. The Catholic church bell rings ‘in Latin / Conjugations’ and its pulpit ‘[speaks] to me in fleurs-de-lys of Purgatory’. Language, in this way, is almost chaotic. Each phenomenon has its own language, which the child feels through all his senses. Language here is rather sound, shape, colour or smell.

Then, he learns a single language – English. He wakes up one morning ‘verbed and tensed with speaking English’ and ‘lisp[s] the words so knowingly’. English is tangentially described as the structure of a pyramid, or a kind of the Babel that is the recurrent motif in First Language (the Babel is thought to have been one of Babylonian ziggurats of pyramid form). The balsa-wood aeroplane the child assembles while sniffing ‘Pharaonic unguents of dope and glue’ seems a metaphor of himself. Like him, it ‘whirrs into the realm of things’:

Things are kinks that came in tubes; like glue or paint extruded, that became
A hieroglyphic alphabet. Incestuous in pyramids, Egyptians were becalmed.

I climbed into it, delved its passageways, its sepulchral interior, its things of kings
Embalm[ed] [. . .].

(Carson, 1993, 12)

After this glue-sniffing trip into the structure, the child wakes up and starts
speaking English. The almost chaotic diversity and coexistence of languages in unconsciousness becomes linear in consciousness – a shift from the first language to the second one. Language is now like a thread that is spun along time into textile:

I feel its warp and weft. Bobbins pirn and shuttle in Imperial Typewriterspeak. I hit the keys. The ribbon-black clunks out the words in serial.

What comes next is next, and no one knows the che sera of it, but must allow The Tipp-Ex present at the fingertips. Listen now: an angel whispers of the here-and-now.

The future looms into the mouth incessantly, gulped-at and unspoken [...].

(Carson, 1993, 13)

Writing here is not described as a text that stays still to be read or analysed, but a present moment in process like speech, hence ‘Typewriterspeak’. This recognition of time and speech as an ever-changing ‘here-and-now’ present moment is the same as in Carson’s previous volumes, ‘Hamlet’ in particular. The difference, however, is a keener sense of language in this poem. The reader will realise that the birth of the second language, English, makes it possible to go back to describe the multi-lingual chaos in the unconscious state; and that it also fixes the flow of time/speech into a text to be read.

The reader will also notice that the child speaks Irish before English:

I inhaled amo, amas, amat in quids of pros and versus and Introibos Ad altare Dei; incomprehensibly to others, spoke in Irish. I slept through the Introit.

(Carson, 1993, 11)

Although the poem does not have such a contentious dialogue between Irish and English as in, for instance, ‘The Irish for No’, the incomprehensibility reminds us of the Babel motif and its language issue. Latin, the European common language of the past but now mysterious incantation at the Catholic Mass, and Irish, the past vernacular, seem to belong to the unconscious sphere of sleep, which is now clearly written in print in English, the current, globalising (or Imperial, as the name of the typewriter maker
suggests) language. The poem thus shows the multilayered-ness of languages and yet singularity of one language, English in this case, which makes contrast to other languages that include Irish.

Catestants and Protholics

The first two poems in Irish and English thus bring into the subject the diversity and duality of languages, and the ambiguity of the duality. This leads to the issues of Northern Irish cultures explored in the volume. The volume has on the one hand a clear acknowledgement of the Catholic/Protestant opposition, but on the other the duality is made ambiguous. In Carson's version of Ovid, 'Ovid: Metamorphoses, XIII, 576-619' he parodies the story of the violent commemoration of dead Memnon, where birds born out of his ash 'split / In two like Prods and Taigs' and fight each other:

And every year from then to this, the Remember Memnon birds come back to re-enact
Their civil war. They revel in it, burning out each other. And that's a fact.

(Carson, 1993, 59)

In spite of its poetic formality (a sonnet rhyming abab cdcd efef gg) it has a casual, colloquial, even storytelling-like flow. Yet its tone of dead-pan matter-of-factness (especially in the concluding 'And that's a fact') renders a sense of reality. In the last poem of the volume 'The Ballad of HMS Belfast' (FL, 71-74) the duality is put as 'Catestants and Protholics'14 who '[love] each other'. They enjoy drinking, smoking, and singing, playing and dancing to traditional music during the world-wide sailing 'beneath the White Ensign' of the Royal Navy. This can be read as an allegory of the situation where both communities enjoy ceili-like merry-making regardless of their religions though constitutionally they belong to the UK – a desirable condition for the Cultural Traditions Group's and the Arts Council's aim. The sailing, however, turns out to be a dream:

I lay bound in iron chains, alone, my aisling gone, my sentence passed.
Grey Belfast dawn illuminated me, on board the prison ship Belfast.

(Carson, 1993, 74)

The first version of the poem that appeared in the Times Literary Supplement (27
August 1993) had accent marks in the last line as 'Bélfast' and 'Belfáist'. In this version, therefore, the protagonist wakes up in the reality where English ('Bélfast') and Irish ('Belfáist'), or implicitly Protestant and Catholic, are sharply separated and Irish language and ceili culture are forcefully segregated. The accent marks having gone in the book version, the dual differentiation may not be as sharp. Yet, with its unchanged metric scheme (nine iambuses in each line, thus stressed as 'Bélfast' and 'Belfáist'), the revision does not alter the sense of bitter awakening from a dreamy non-sectarian moment.

The hybridity of 'Cathestants and Protholics' is a far cry from the Protestant state of 'The Brain of Edward Carson' (Carson, 1993, 30). The brain here is likened to a Byzantine trireme or the Titanic, a symbol of Ulster Protestantism, with slaves in chains in 'legal depositions of the cells'. This Unionist brain is made up of hard, metal materials: chains, shackles, locks, rivets, screws, nails etc. Then it overlaps with Ulster:

The map of Ulster opened up, hexagonal and intricate, tectonic:
Its shifting plates were clunked and welded into place by laws Masonic.
The ladder and the rope. The codicils. The compasses by which they sail
Uncharted futures. The outstretched hand. The crown. The sash. The secret nail.
And then disintegration intervened, the brain eluded them: Sphinxlike, catatonic.

(Carson, 1993, 30)

Thus even if the brain dies organically to 'elude' the laws, they stay afterwards. Or the dead, 'sphinxlike' brain itself is now an embodiment of the laws. Ulster Unionism here is 'catatonic' and 'cataleptic', and the Orange institutions hard as metal or stone, a Babel with their masonic laws, as if represented in the firm poetic form (iambus x 9; aabba x 3) and sound (hard consonants).

Donald H. Akenson's definition of the Ulster-Scots psyche as 'covenantal mind-set' is relevant here. It is a cultural identity of the Ulster Presbyterianism that entertains a belief in a direct covenant with an all-powerful God. This contract is simply a hard and clear, unambiguous bargain between Yahweh and his people. The covenantal mind-set puts emphasis on social law enforced through religious congregations rather than by civil jurisdictions; it draws a clear line between the chosen people and their enemies; it cherishes the concept of group purity; and it cannot survive without its sense
of the past because God's covenant with a Chosen People is defined in certain specific historical moments. So a society of this mind-set is 'uncompromising, adamantine, self-contained' (Akenson 42). A culminating example is Ulster's Solemn League and Covenant, signed on Ulster Day, 28 September 1912. This document, modelled on a Scottish Presbyterian original of the late sixteenth century that is founded on the Hebrew scriptures (rather than on the New Testament), was delivered by Edward Carson. This declaration to use 'all means' to defeat the home rule movement was signed by virtually the entire adult male Protestant population of Ulster, and about three thousand more women signed a separate but similar 'Declaration': 471, 414 signatures in all (Akenson 4, 111-15, 186; Bardon 437-38). This was the moment when the Ulster Presbyterian cultural values diffused through the larger Protestant population, so that Ulster Protestants became an uncompromising monolith.

The reference to 'Laws Masonic' also has its points of interest. Freemasonry is officially non-political and non-sectarian, although it has a history of various kinds of political involvement. The Orange Order, however, borrowed some of the Masonic structures, rituals, symbols and so on, so that for many people's minds Freemasonry is identified with the Orange Order (White 52). (Edward Carson himself met with Asquith and Birkenhead in the Grand Masonic Lodge in England, where they drank to the success of Masonry (White 56).) Detailed facts aside, in this poem the 'tectonic' ethos of masonry/Masonry is identical with the Protestant pride of shipbuilding. The poem may suggest that the building of a monolithic Protestant state, like building the Titanic or Babel, is doomed to fail.

The antithesis to Edward Carson in the volume seems to be St Jerome, whose Vulgate Bible used to be the standard bible of Roman Catholicism. He appears in the second part of a three-part poem 'Opus Operandi' (Carson, 1993, 60-63) with the Babel. He imagines the Babel as a box of device with 'clamps, vices, pincers, tongs' and 'cogs and helices', and also as 'an Ark or quinquereme', almost the same image as for Edward Carson's brain. St Jerome gives a lecture to the oarsmen in this miniature ship:

They looked somewhat surprised as he began the seminar

On hieroglyphs, using them as prime examples. They began to strain
Against the shackles of his language, his sentences, his full-stop and his chain.

(Carson, 1993, 61)
Then Jerome upturns this miniature ship, which becomes a typewriter ‘Full of alphabetical intentions’:

Typecast letters seethed on the carpet, trying to adopt its garbled Turkish Convolutions. They were baffled by the script’s auctoritas.

Bug-like, they attached themselves to the underside of the rug and hung there
Bat-like, colonised in non-pareils and minions, hugger-mugger.

(Carson, 1993, 61)

We can read here a tension between the authority, its language that is supposed to be common (or ‘vulgate’), and ordinary people as typecasts or alphabets. They are also ‘common’ people, yet each of them is different from each other. They struggle against the authoritarian, institutional language. It is a moment of deconstruction by each of the particles which form the construction, just like the monolithic ziggurat of a single language crumbles into the chaos of the plural. It can be read as a tension between the public and the private. The individuals, however, have not yet had their languages to come up to the surface to vie with the authorities (though their languages were to be developed into the ‘alphabetical intentions’ in Carson’s later volume Opera Et Cetra).

The first part of the poem has another local seminar, one on the ‘empathy belly’. There, ‘expectant fathers’, of whom some are ‘Paddy’ and some ‘Billy’, have a lesson on ‘the concept “Orange”’ – an apparent insinuation about the Cultural Traditions Group project. ‘Orange’ is disintegrated to be examined. The participants ‘parsed it into segments: some were kith, / And some were kin. They spat out the pips and learned to peel the pith’ (Carson, 1993, 60), as the narrator of Louis MacNeice’s ‘Snow’ does to learn what appears to be simple is complex:

World is crazier and more of it than we think,
Incorrigibly plural. I peel and portion
A tangerine and spit the pips and feel
The drunkenness of things being various. (MacNeice, 1979, 30)

Then they learn ‘the deep grammar of the handshake’ and ‘the shibboleths of aitch and haitch’. The seminar makes them learn how one side is actually confluenced with the
other, like Paul Muldoon’s mules, which are ‘neither one thing or the other’ (Muldoon, 1977, 52). As the Cultural Traditions Group did, the seminar thus employs poetic discourse. Yet the participants do not seem happy with what they have learnt:

It seems the gene-pool got contaminated. Everything was neither one thing nor the other;
So now they’re trying to agree on a formula for a petition to the Author.
He’s working overtime just now, dismembering a goose for goose-quills.
Tomorrow will be calfskin parchment, then the limitation clauses and the codicils.

(Carson, 1993, 60)

‘The Author’, a Dr Moreau-like creator of ‘chimeras’, ‘minotaurs’, ‘Anthropomorphic goats’ and ‘demi-sheep’, modifies nature with his technology and science. Through a similar process to the case of orange, he makes pens out of a goose and paper out of a calf. ‘Paddies’ and ‘Billies’ disagree with the way. ‘Orange’ for them is a natural and simple thing, and ‘Paddy’ should be ‘Paddy’ that is different from ‘Billy’. They agree to disagree. The first part of the poem thus suggests a disagreement between the level of an authoritarian programme, with poetic discourse employed, and the level of ordinary individuals, as the second part does in a different way.

However, the third part of the poem is so elusive that the above reading cannot be sustained at this stage. Although it is scattered with the gene-contamination imagery of the first part – Dr Moreau, ‘the Doormouse’, bat-man, airman and amphibian – it seems impossible to make an argument on public/private, institution/individual issues. But this mysterious allusion is an important factor that makes the poem a ‘poem’, which is not written in an institutional language. It seems to be almost saying poetry belongs to ‘the other side’ where man flies ‘fuelled by iambics, alcohol, and dactyls’ (Carson, 1993, 62). With calculated poetic mechanism and almost-drunken vision, poetry resists the reason not only of institutional programmes but also of a reader’s interpretation.

The ark of ‘Ark of the Covenant’ is another version of the Babel. It takes the shape of the recurrent image of a box-like device: ‘a strange device, concocted from the inner workings / Of a fertilizer bag and someone’s fertile brain – gyres and gimbals, wires and moans’ (Carson, 1993, 55). It is like a crude home-made bomb or like another Edward Carson’s brain. Again the whole picture is mystified in this four-section poem where each section seems to tell its version of the same story, so the ark transforms
accordingly. Although in the second section it is described as ‘a palpable device to suit nomothetic military, / Their sotto voce blacks and tans’ (56), which almost reminds us of Edward Carson’s Unionist regime, the device is not solely Protestant because its other form is the Vulgate, Roman Catholicism’s standard bible, rather than the King James Version. The main issue of this poem is not religious sectarianism as such but language, or manipulation of it.

The Vulgate is the language of authority: ‘words which spoke with high authority of semaphore / And palms’ (56); it is a Covenant, or ‘the nomothetic tablature’; it is language of legal force, or ‘barbs and verbs’; it is a ‘dead’, ‘barbed and gothic’ ‘Proclamation’. The Vulgate is also ‘vulgate’ or a common, demotic language, but it does not necessarily mean an honest voice of the people:

A vulgate apologia was on the cards already, the orchestra of palms upturned and weighed. It would be interpreted, dismantled, in iodine ablutions of The News Which comes before The Weather [. . .]  
(Carson, 1993, 55)

Being ‘interpreted’, by ‘construe’ and ‘second-guess’, or through ‘match[ing] the pro quos to the quids’, the witnessing of raw experience is defused and changed into something rather predictable and formal:

Scrawled hieroglyphs elaborate the black slick of the road. Witnesses Are called upon, but the ink has lightened into amethyst, and soon its blue will be Invisible, as new ideas dawn across the moss. A great Panjandrum will construe their Whatnesses.  
(Carson, 1993, 55)

One dog was witness, moaning through the scattered codices and hieroglyphs. The alphabet of troops was learned by rote and entombed in the black aplomb Of a police notebook: an abecedary sans eyes, sans teeth, sans everything, and sans serifs.  
(Carson, 1993, 58)

The dog and the abecedary do not have their language or articulation, like an infant
or an old man in the last stage of the life, ‘second childishness and mere oblivion’, in respect to Shakespeare alluded to here (As You Like It, 2. 8.). The only language available here is prosaic, or Covenantal, laws of ‘police’ and ‘troops’ under the state authority.

The problem of articulation is foregrounded in the poem ‘Contract’ (another Covenant), which again features the Babel: ‘Brueghel’s Babel, Lego-kit-like Pharaonic phasia- / Bricks’ (Carson, 1993, 49). In this Babel, the politician/orator (‘Demosthenes’), the worker (‘Sparks and plumbers, carpenters and glaziers’) and the religionist (‘Priests’) speak their languages, which are placed in parallel to each other, each of which is unclear as to its meaning. Lack of communication is not from national or racial language divides but from social divides. Then, rather mysteriously, a ‘contract’ is made between God and Plato when he is still an infant whose ‘unstung tongue [is] clammed with gummed up syllables / Of forceps’, speaking as nonsense as the others’ languages above.

Then Principalities of angels glided in on wings of myth and moth,
Their pockets filled with pebbles; they put the thumby, stumbling bees in Plato’s mouth.

(Carson, 1993, 49)

Plato, through this superstitious procedure, gains eloquence that articulates his ideology, which is to be considered as the origin of European thoughts. This seems to be a moment when the incommunicable language disorder is gaining a language of a communal order. The poet is absent in this poem as in Plato’s republic. The mention of Demosthenes, who overcame his stammer by speaking with pebbles in his mouth, reminds us of Carson himself, who has a stammer. The language of poetry is not that of public oratory.

Disintegrating sonnets

The language of poetry in First Language sometimes takes risks when its difficulty threatens the integrity of a poem. Some of his sonnets are the examples. While the sonnets of ‘From the Welsh’ and ‘Ovid, Metamorphoses, XIII, 576-619’ have a well structured consistency and a sense of order, the other three sonnets (or modified sonnets) – ‘Four Sonnets’, ‘Opus 14’ and ‘Sonnet’ – are disintegration. For example,
Horton interprets 'Sonnet' as a Babel, where the sonnet form, 'one of the most coherent and structured of poetic forms and commonly used as a vehicle for English nationalist sentiments', is in its breaking point, sustaining no unified meaning anymore (Horton, 1995, 86). The fourteen lines are separated from each other, having no apparent connection in terms of meaning or rhyming. It does, however, have a kind of structure, where the last two lines function as a climax and a conclusion:

The bicycle shop exploded in a shower of cleats, straps, sprockets, spindles, cranks, ratchets, leavers.

Not to mention the yellow fingers. I prefer the semi-skimmed myself.

(Carson, 1993, 45)

The last lines connect to milk splashed on the wrist and fried fish fingers appeared early in the poem. The poem thus shows an eerie parallel of a daily life and political violence in such a dry, grotesque juxtaposition (bicycle/bomb, fish fingers/human fingers, and probably, milk/blood).

A modified sonnet, 'Opus 14', consists of fourteen sets of a rhymed couplet, and every couplet but the first one has an idea of numbers (various from doubleness to mathematical problems). While a few couplets mention the ambivalent duality of Northern Ireland – Londonderry/Derry (with the Foyle crossed not by a ferry but by a double-decker bridge) and English/Irish ('Gaolainn' [i.e. Gaelic] and 'Dingle' as anagrams of 'England') – this does not make a consistent theme of the poem. More consistent is an unreliability of numeracy, especially exemplified in army/police operation\(^{19}\): 'The Security Forces were specifically looking for terrorists but spectacularly failed to catch them' (Carson, 1993, 31) just as 'The googolplex security net had been full of innumerable holes held together by string' (Carson, 1993, 33). The poem suggests that a calculated structure is doomed to fail like the Babel.

Horton's comment above is more suitable for 'Four Sonnets', where an apparently stable construction of four sets of fourteen lines turns out to be a cluster of fragments hardly sustaining any constructed meaning. Some lines are as independent as haiku, achieving the same quality of dry lyricism of a one-line poem\(^{20}\), but, unlike *rengea* (linked verse), fail to link with neighbouring lines. Significantly, the recurrent, though not consistent, image is the dismembered or disjointed. Dismemberment may
be a reference to political violence to some extent, but not the whole story. Implicit in Horton’s comment is that while the poem may be a destruction of Britishness its fragmentation hardly sustains itself as an anti-English or anti-nationalism poem either. The sonnet here does not have to be (anti-)nationalism because the sonnet form has been used for more than the expression of English nationalist sentiments in the first place. However, it is unclear what kind of consistent sentiment this sonnet of Carson’s expresses. The fragments are like snippets from everyday discourse that Carson came across. They are reflection of a diversity of everyday life, which is not a ‘cultural diversity’. In this sense the poem becomes, whatever Carson’s intention, a strong resistance to the politico-cultural climate which seeks for articulation, that is, to set a framework and sense of consistency within it, of various cultural traditions. Rather, the poem defamiliarises everyday discourses by disintegrating them into fragments for us to stop wondering about.

Conclusion

This paper has followed Carson’s involvement in culture in two ways: one in Northern Irish cultural policy through his arts administration and the other through his poetry. One pursues communal interests and the other private. When set against the background of sectarianism in Northern Ireland, we can perceive that they take a common direction toward diversity and pluralism that destabilise the monolith of the two ideologies. However, the difference is clear: one aims for articulation of complexity, while the other goes toward ambiguity and even mystery. It is interesting to see how Carson’s language moves toward difficulty in First Language, when the cultural policy aims for more accessibility to the community. To conclude the paper I would like to read ‘Two to Tango’ as an example that shows a subtle relation between the communal and the private in poetry.

‘Two to Tango’ is a monologue that sounds like that of an undercover agent when the protagonist says for example:

They make the place secure for you. It’s like a Twilight Zone where they exert their Special Powers.

And you make sure you don’t repeat yourself. Change the routine ever
The relation between ‘they’ and ‘you’ (or ‘I’), however, can be analogically read as that of the collective and the individual, or the public and the private. The poem starts with these lines:

Whether you want to change your face or not’s up to yourself. But the bunk of history
They’ll make up for you. Someone else’s shoes. They can put you anywhere. Where’s a mystery.

Aromas, sounds, the texture of the roads, the heaviness or lightness of the air –
All these contribute to the sense of place. These things are what we are,

Though mitigated by ourselves.

The collective ‘history’ is a sort of abstraction that lies on a different level from the everyday, minute details of the individual. And when the narrator of the poem says that ‘to mention Africa, the Middle East or Russia is anathema’ because ‘Belfast isn’t like Beirut [. . .]. It’s what it is’, it reminds us of Carson’s poetics of realism since his early years (Sato, 2001). The ‘sense of place’ above is close to the one that Heaney classified in his lecture ‘The Sense of Place’ as ‘lived, illiterate and unconscious’ compared to the other that is ‘learned, literate and conscious’, both of which affect one’s identity (Heaney, 1980, 131). It is, as Heaney argues, Patrick Kavanagh’s sense: ‘His sensibility is acutely of its own time and place, and his region is as deep not as its history but as his own life in it’ (Heaney, 1980, 142). The ‘illiterate’ experience of the individual, however, can be at the expense of the ‘literate’ collective agenda: ‘I fill the blanks they know already. I’m the jammy centre in the doughnut’ (Carson, 1993, 18). The word ‘already’ is important. Peter McDonald points out the tendency in which the identity of an individual is in fact collective and it is already-known frameworks that are employed in the formation of identity:

A sense of identity might seem to point up the sheer individuality of experience, its unrepeatable particularity; in fact, the idea of identity is employed almost always to emphasize the common nature of experiences, and to provide these
experiences with a significance and meaning already mapped out in cultural or historical terms. (McDonald, 1997, 7)

Likewise, the protagonist of the poem forms his identity by use of ‘slang’, ‘buzzwords’ and ‘body language tags’ (Carson, 1993, 19) – a common language within a certain community – and by repetition that ‘develop[s] mannerisms’ (20). This identity formation, however, is for him ‘just a game’. The identity thus built up is a ‘pseudo’ one which he can replace with another. He does not have an attachment to those frameworks. He is ‘very’ ‘alone’. The poem ends with this solitary image:

One side says this, the other that. You work it out yourself and walk between the story lines.
What’s true is what you do. Keep your head down. Know yourself. Ignore the starry skies.
(Carson, 1993, 20)

This discipline of an undercover agent also sounds like what some poets profess as a poet’s solitude. Kavanagh’s sensitivity that Heaney discusses in the same lecture is relevant again. Kavanagh detaches himself not only from the political or cultural abstraction but also from the communal life: ‘A poet is never one of the people. He is detached, remote, and the life of small-time dances and talk about football would not be for him. He might take part but could not belong.’ (Heaney, 1980, 144; Kavanagh, 1967, 15). Or Paul Muldoon’s comment in a 1987 interview that the writer should be ‘an outsider [belonging to] no groups, no tribes, no clubs’ or be ‘a free agent’ (Muldoon 1987, 36). Carson’s poem can be read in line with this independent attitude: although he is involved with cultural and political agenda through his Arts Council job, he as a poet is detached from them.

Indeed, the poem detaches itself from the collective, plain cultural policies not by its statement but by its ambiguity. The poem, as its title represents, has a recurrent image of attachment that opposes the solitude the protagonist professes, as seen in these lines for example:

She watched the way the hair on his wrist curled round the band of his wristwatch:

This is an example of ‘initial entanglement’, from which it’s difficult to wrench
Also, the word ‘dialogue’ appears three times: ‘That bit of dialogue, recalled, might prove to be the clue that solves the crime’ (18); ‘Dialogue can act as transition bridge: for example, I’ve been meaning to talk to you, / He said, I hear you’ve got the job. . . that you’ll have to move to Tokyo. . . ’ (18); and ‘And contrast is important, between male and female dialogue’ (20). The word takes on a particular significance in the Northern Irish context where a dialogue between the two sides is most needed and cried for. But in this poem it is used in a much subtler way. Here, Carson is again amused by the function of language. Dialogue here is not only a conversation between two parties as the word usually means, but it also often unintentionally connects one thing to another, as, in the first case for example, a piece of dialogue leads to a solution of the problem. This function of language infiltrates the protagonist’s solitude. He regards his way – changing and building of identity – as ‘a sentence crammed with grammar, phrases, ages, hyphens, stops’, or a story making:

Is this a faction or a roman fleuve (more commonly called generational
Or saga)? Decide before you start, work out your plot, then go for it. Be inspirational.

(Carson, 1993, 20)

This may sound like the professed solitude of the writer. But the ‘inspirational’ moment is the moment of non-self-consciousness when others intervene, just as the above imperative sentence in italics itself suggests it is someone else’s voice. That he does not belong to one side or the other does not mean he is ‘alone’. Language would not let it be so. The poem thus brings out the strangeness of language where distinctions between the collective and the individual, or the public and the private become ambiguous.

Notes
1 See Sato (2001) for the establishment of the Traditional Arts section in ACNI and Carson’s involvement in it, which deeply influenced his poetics.
2 Performers were the poet Paula Meehan and traditional musicians Cathal McConnell and John and Valerie McManus.
3 Performers included the singer Len Graham, storyteller John Campbell, Scottish
poet Don Paterson, prose-writer Bernard MacLaverty, local musicians James McElheran and Dennis Sweeney, and a trio of traditional musicians from Montreal (David Papazian, Sylvain Rondeau and Mario Côté).

4 This is according to the director’s forward in the 1988/89 annual report (ACNI, 1989, 10). ‘Summary of accounts’ in the 1989/90 annual report, however, records £128,000 as the Cultural Traditions Funding (ACNI, 1990, 15). The allocation of the following years are: £235,485 (1990/91), £250,000 (1991/92), £277,500 (1992/93), £249,821 (1993/94), £250,000 (1994/95), £300,000 (1995/96). The ACNI still receives the grant (£250,000 in 2001/02).

5 Items are: £3,000 for monographs on traditional arts, £10,845 for traditional music in schools, £17,500 for mumming tradition, £500 for storytelling, £64,900 for set dancing. The expenditure for traditional arts in 1990s was as follows: £105,100+Cultural Traditions allocation £52,789 (1990/91); £122,401+£60,000 (91/92); £121,066+£60,000 (92/93); £101,973+£59,843 (93/94); £107,573+£63,280 (94/95); £107,347+£60,000 (95/96); £110,613+ not recorded(96/97); £107,602+£50,000 (97/98); £108,895+£50,000 (98/99).

6 In the year 1995/96 Tom Clarke successfully got EU funding to develop this scheme further (ACNI, 1996, 13).

7 The items in the year 1989/90 are: £15,500 for a project named ‘Poetry from Northern Ireland’, £15,500 for ‘Prose from Northern Ireland’, £200 for ‘Northern Ireland by her writers’, £20,000 ‘Literature in Irish’. In the following years Literature section got: £22,600 (1990/91), £6,000 (1991/92), not recorded from 1992/93.

8 The first holder of the post was Seamus MacAnnaidh (1988-92). The residency was alternated between Queen’s University and the University of Ulster. The second holder was Cathal O Searcaigh (1992-96).

9 Before then there were few example of support for Irish language publishing: Eigse Oirialla (1985/86, 87/88) and Cúisile Na nGail (1988/89).

10 On the ULTACH Trust and Irish language debate, see O’Reilly (1999), especially pp. 107-114.

11 ‘Giving Voices’ is the title of the video on cultural traditions published by the Group in 1993, and is also the title of the review of the Group’s activities they published in 1995.

12 The Heaney quotation is from the forward of Soundings, which Heaney edited in
1972.

13 For example, 'Drunk Boat' (after Rimbaud), 'The Albatross' (after Baudelaire), and 'From the Welsh'.

14 Michael Foley reports that Brendan Kennelly used these denominations at the annual Kavanagh Weekend in 1986. It is interesting that Foley too caricatures the sectarian schism revealing itself in a non-sectarian, liberal gathering (1987, 24).

15 The poem may suggest how a southern unionist from Cork became a symbol of Ulster Protestantism, how he became a bronze statue of a solid stereotype. And the poem itself encourages solidifying the stereotype.

16 According to Connolly, a majority of Irish masons in the late 18th century was Catholic despite Papal condemnations, although by now the members are almost exclusively Protestant. Also, in the 1790s masons and United Irishmen had close connections (1998: 207). Leighton on the other hand cites records that show the Co. Antrim lodges declared their loyalty to the King and Constitution (25-28). Meanwhile there were some troubles between Freemasons and Orangemen, a riot between them in Derry in 1802 that resulted in five deaths for example (White 53).

17 Carson refers on another occasion to this superstition about bees in the mouth, when he mentions a saint: 'St Vincent Ferrer, whose conversion was occasioned by a false accusation of theft, and whose subsequent eloquence in the pulpit led to a rumour that bees had swarmed into his mouth when he was a baby' (2001, 230).

18 This may also remind us of another stammering Irish poet, John Montague. But I do not think their stammer reduces the power of their public readings at all.

19 As in 'Army' (Carson, 1987, 38). Another example of miscalculation is '58' (Carson, 1993, 54).

20 For an instance, 'The crushed carapaces of watches ticked on the pavement. Passers-by ignored them' (Carson, 1993, 22). Haiku are usually written or printed in one line in Japanese, not in three lines as English haiku always are.

References


The Arts Council of Northern Ireland.


