OIr *i*^{N} ‘when, since’: an almost forgotten conjunction

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Celtica 38 (2026), 34–51

DOI: 10.58480/SCS-v63v6-na6qp

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OIR *i*^{N} 'WHEN, SINCE': AN ALMOST FORGOTTEN CONJUNCTION

Abstract

The rare conjunction OIr *i*^{N} was identified in its causal meaning by Strachan (1904: 12) and was also mentioned by Thurneysen (*GOI* 559). In *DIL* and *eDIL*, some forms are listed under the heading of the copula (s.v. 1 *is*) combined with the preposition *i*^{N}, with a note 'in many exx. has the force of conjunction' and a reference to Strachan (1904). Temporal *i*^{N} 'when' seems to have been first recognised by Meyer in his edition and translation of the Old Irish poem *Song of Créde* (Meyer 1905). It is given a paragraph in *eDIL* in the section on the preposition *i*^{N} 'in' (*eDIL* s.v. *i* under II, *1), but without a cross-reference to the attestations of causal *i*^{N} mentioned under the copula.

Many editors and translators render the forms correctly, sometimes remarking on them in notes or a glossary. The aim of this article is to offer a comprehensive discussion of the conjunction OIr *i*^{N} in both its functions by presenting the evidence found in Strachan (1904) and *eDIL* and by offering some additional attestations.[1]

Introduction

In the very first volume of *Ériu*, John Strachan published a short note under the heading 'Indid, Innách' (Strachan 1904: 12). Starting from a passage in the first recension of the *Táin Bó Cuailnge* containing the form *innách* (cf. (18) below), he suggested to interpret this as 'since it is not', adding three attestations, all from the saga text *Togail Bruidne da Derga*, of the same element *in-* 'since' combined with an indicative present of the copula, but without a negative particle (3 sg. *inid, inad* and 2 sg. *inda*). The forms *indid* and *innách* are mentioned in a paragraph on causal conjunctions by Thurneysen (*GOI* 559, with a reference to Strachan), who adds 3 pl. *indat* attested in the Würzburg Glosses (cf. (13) below).

In *DIL*, these forms and some more attestations of 3 sg. *in(d)id* are mentioned under the heading of the copula combined with the preposition *i*^{N} 'in', with a note 'in many exx. has the force of conjunction' and a reference to Strachan (1904) (*DIL* I: 308.34–56 = *eDIL* s.v. 1 *is*). Similarly, the form attested

[1]This article resulted from the project 'Adjunct subordination in Old and Middle Irish' based at the University of Zurich and financed by the Swiss National Science Foundation. Thanks are due to my colleague Bernd Vath, who collated the database. – I am very grateful to the editors and to an anonymous reviewer for helpful comments and especially for drawing my attention to a number of additional attestations of *i*^{N}.

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https://doi.org/10.58480/SCS-v63v6-na6qp

in the Würzburg Glosses, *indat*, is mentioned in Kavanagh and Wodtko (2001: 587) as containing the 3 pl. *-dat* of the present indicative of the copula 'with prep. i^{N} and rel. used as causal conjn'. On the other hand, only the form is mentioned under the heading *i*^{N}, but not the special use it has in this instance.

It is more difficult to pinpoint who first recognised *i*^{N} in its temporal function, which is mentioned neither by Strachan nor by Thurneysen. The first scholar to translate *i*^{N} as temporal 'when' seems to have been Kuno Meyer in his edition of the poem *Song of Créde* (Meyer 1905), published a year later than Strachan's note. Both Murphy (*EIL* 279) and Carney (*Blathm.* 153) commented on *i*^{N} 'when', and further examples were adduced by Uhlich (2006: 41 with n. 58).[2] These seem to form the basis of an entry in *eDIL*, where a paragraph on temporal *i*^{N} is added in the section on the preposition *i*^{N} 'in' (*eDIL* s.v. *i* under II, *1), but without mentioning the term conjunction, merely listing '(With verb) when'. As a conjunction, *i*^{N} is not granted a separate entry in *eDIL*, and there is no cross-reference between the attestations mentioned under the copula and those under the preposition *i*^{N}.

Editors and translators of the texts in which the conjunction *i*^{N} is attested seem to be aware of its meaning and often translate it as a temporal or causal conjunction, sometimes even remarking on it in notes or a glossary, with or without an explicit reference to Strachan (1904). In some early translations, on the other hand, scholars were apparently baffled by it and translated the forms in various more literal ways. The aim of this article is to offer a comprehensive discussion of the conjunction *i*^{N} in both its functions by presenting the evidence found in Strachan (1904) and *eDIL* and by offering some additional attestations.

Attested forms and etymology

When standing on its own, the conjunction *i*^{N} has the form *i*, *hi* or *in* (before a vowel: *in·n-accatar*, cf. (11) below). In combination with an infixed pronoun 3 sg.f. we find *inde·* (*AM*), with 3 sg.n. *indid·* (*Gospel of Thomas*). Frequently, *i*^{N} occurs with a prosodically incorporated form of the copula as *in-*. The most common form is the combination with the 3 sg. pres. ind., which takes the shape *indid* (*Hail Brigit*, *AU*), more often *inid* (*LFC, TBC, Aided Óenfir Aífe, SCC, BDD; FM*: *inidh*) or *inad* (*BDD*). Of the indicative present we also find 2 sg. *inda* (*BDD*) and 3 pl. *indat* (*Wb.*). In addition, *im-* is attested before copula forms with initial *b-*, cf. *imbsa*, *imsa* and *imba* (*Tec. Corm.*; *imsa* also *Song of Créde*), all forms of the 1 sg. pret. with and without an added emphasising pronoun *-sa*, and 3 sg. pret. *imbu* (*Gospel of Thomas*). Similarly, a 2 sg. fut. *imbe* is found in *Verba Scáthaige*. Finally, the form *inraptar* 'when they were' (*TBC-I*^{2} 537, (12) below) shows an etymological spelling *in-* before *r-* (cf. Uhlich 2006: 41).

The combination with a negative particle and the 3 sg. of the copula is found as *innách* (*TBC-I*). The saga text *Togail Bruidne da Derga* offers an

[2]Two of his examples (see (11) and (12) below) were listed under the heading 6 *a* in *DIL* (conjunction *a*^{N} 'when'); they were taken out in the respective section of *eDIL* (s.v. 6 *a*).

example of *i*^{N} amalgamated with the negative particle alone to give *innád,* whereas the variant *innach* is found in *Tenga Bithnua.*

As already observed by Strachan (1904: 12) and Thurneysen (*GOI* 559), there can be little doubt that the element *i*^{N} contained in all these forms is identical in origin with the relative form of the preposition *i*^{N} 'in'. This preposition is special in that it does not combine with the usual particle *-(s)a*^{N} to form relative clauses, but is used in relative function in the same form *i*^{N} (cf. *GOI* 312; 521). The original meaning of the conjunction *i*^{N}, then, must have been 'in which, wherein' (cf. Strachan 1904: 12; *GOI* 559). A close typological parallel is German *indem*, literally 'in which', used as an instrumental or modal conjunction 'by which'.

The oldest use of *i*^{N} as a conjunction was probably temporal 'in the time when' → 'when'. Most likely, the conjunction developed from relative clauses relating to an expression of time, as Uhlich (2006: 41, n. 58) suggested: 'The transition from "in which" to temporal "when" is best illustrated by *ind am*[*sir*?] *i tochumlat* "at the time when they are swarming", *Bechbretha* §27, where after the temporal antecedent a more literal rendering "in which" would be equally possible'. An example from the glosses for such a context would be *ind aimser hiro·gabad in salm* (*Ml.* 24d14) 'the time in which/when the psalm was sung' (Ó hUiginn, p.c.).

The causal use of *i*^{N} could have developed secondarily out of the temporal one as happened with Engl. *since* or German *weil* and *da.* On the other hand, a direct development from relative 'in which' to 'because' is not impossible either, since the preposition *i*^{N} 'in' is sometimes used in a way that could be interpreted as causal, as already observed by Strachan (1904: 12). He adduces two examples from the *Milan Glosses*: *is follus rund·gabsat t'ērchoilti-siu indium-sa · isindí arndam·roichlisse hua bás* (*Ml.* 74d7) 'it is clear that Thy determinations are in me, in that Thou hast guarded me from death' (*Thes* i, 255) and *im·folŋgi molad dait-siu ón isindí rondann-ícais-ni dind erchoiniud hī sin* (*Ml.* 89a6) 'that causes praise to Thee, in that Thou hast saved us from that despair' (*Thes* i, 298). Perhaps a translation 'because Thou hast guarded me' and 'because Thou hast saved us' respectively would render the meaning of those two glosses equally well. The direct development from local 'in which' to causal 'because' has a parallel in Modern Irish, where *áit* 'place' can be used in such a way, cf. *an áit nár labhair sé liom* 'because he did not speak to me' (Ó Dónaill 1977 s.v. *áit*).[3]

There are three other conjunctions in Old Irish that etymologically go back to prepositional relatives, namely *ara*^{N} 'that, so that, in order that' from *ar* 'for, before' + relative particle *-(s)a*^{N}, *dia*^{N} 'when, if' from *di* 'from' + relative particle *-(s)a*^{N} (cf. *GOI* 552), and *co*^{N} 'that, so that, in order that'. The latter is said by Thurneysen (*GOI* 299) to contain the particle *-(s)a*^{N} as well. However, phonologically this is difficult to justify. If the underlying preposition is *co*^{H} 'to, until', as Thurneysen seems to assume (*GOI* 554), the expected outcome would be *cossa,* a form that is indeed attested as relative form of *co*^{H} 'to, until'

[3]This was pointed out to me by Ó hUiginn (p.c.).

(*GOI* 502). It seems thus preferable to connect the conjunction *co*^{N} with the preposition *co*^{N} 'with', as Hamp (1973: 243) and Ó hUiginn (1989: 429–31) suggested, and interpret it as the preposition used in relative function, just as in the case of *i*^{N}.[4] In fact, relative forms of *co*^{N} 'with' are not attested in Old Irish, but only in very late texts, where they can be secondary (cf. *eDIL* s.v. 2 *co*).

OIr *dia*^{N}, *ara*^{N}, and *co*^{N} share a number of traits: they function as conjunct particles and thus combine with dependent, i.e. conjunct or prototonic verb forms (cf. *GOI* 28). This is consistent with their etymology as prepositional relatives, since the latter also show the same syntactic behaviour (cf. *GOI* 28). In addition, the type of negative particle employed after these three conjunctions and prepositional relatives is identical, both groups using *ná* (cf. *GOI* 539).

Furthermore, the three conjunctions *dia*^{N}, *ara*^{N}, and *co*^{N} can be amalgamated with further elements to form a single proclitic unit. Thus, *co*^{N} and *ara*^{N} combine with the negative particle into *conna* and *arna* respectively. For *dia*^{N}, *dena* and *dina* are attested in old sources, while later it is replaced by *mani* belonging to *má*^{L} 'if' (cf. *eDIL* s.v. 1 *día n-*). All three conjunctions can combine with conjunct forms of the copula into a single proclitic unit (cf. *GOI* 485; Strachan 1949: 72), the 3 sg. of the present indicative appearing as *condid*/*conid*, *arndid*/*arnid* and *diandid* respectively (*GOI* 485). With *co*^{N} we also find 2 sg. *conda* and 3 pl. *condat* (cf. ibid.).

OIr *i*^{N}, already associated with this small group of conjunctions on the basis of their common etymological background as prepositional relatives, fits this syntactic pattern. The forms containing the indicative present of the copula, 2 sg. *inda*, 3 sg. *indid*, *inid*, and 3 pl. *indat*, are exactly parallel to those given above for *dia*^{N}, *ara*^{N}, and *co*^{N}. *innách* with negative particle and 3 sg. pres. ind. of the copula corresponds to the equivalent form of *co*^{N}, which is *connách* (cf. *GOI* 486).

As negated form of *i*^{N} without copula we would strictly speaking expect **inna*, parallel to *conna*, *arna* and *dena*/*dina*.[5] Actually attested are *innád* (*BDD*, varia lectio *innat*) and *innach* (*Tenga bithnua*). The first variant contains the negative particle *nád* usually found in nasalising relative clauses and after conjunctions that are constructed with the latter. However, *ná* and *nád* seem to have been confused sometimes as early as the Old Irish glosses, with *ná* also being found in nasalising relative clauses, where *nád* would be expected (cf. Ó hUiginn 1987: 179). The opposite, *nád* for *ná*, does not seem to occur in Old Irish, but is occasionally found with *co*^{N} in later texts, cf. *conat coimgeonadh*

[4] García-Castillero (2020: 160) also sees a parallel between *i*^{N} used relatively and the conjunction *co*^{N}. However, I cannot follow his suggestion that they have 'elided the form of this conjunct particle' (i.e. *-(s)a*^{N}). This seems to imply a phonological process, which is hard to justify. In his latest publication, García-Castillero adopts Thurneysen's explanation of the conjunction *co*^{N} (García-Castillero 2026: 206–9 and 274–8) and again touches on 'the idea that *i*^{N}- "in which" is a sort of simplification of the combination of this preposition with the conjunct particle *-s(a)*^{N}' (ibid., 275). – For a more detailed study on *co*^{N} cf. Stüber, forthcoming.

[5] *inna* is actually attested as the combination of the prepositional relative *i*^{N} 'in which' + negative particle, cf. *tech inna fera flechod* (*Thes* ii, 294.15) 'a house wherein wet rain pours not' (*Thes* ii, 294.22), as pointed out to me by Ó hUiginn (p.c.; cf. also Ó hUiginn 2004: 114).

nech 'so that no one knew' (*CCath.* 4800f., with a varia lectio *cona*). The form *innád* is probably to be explained along the same lines. Alternatively, it might have been influenced by the homophonous negated interrogative particle *innád*, as suggested to me by Ó hUiginn (p.c.; on the form cf. Ó hUiginn 2004: 116).

The variant *nach* of the negative particle is regular before infixed pronouns. It is occasionally found instead of *nád* in nasalising relative clauses, even when no infixed pronoun is present (cf. Ó hUiginn 1987: 181; Ó hUiginn 2004: 117). In Middle Irish, *nach* spreads further, cf. *ó nách damhthur* 'since it is not granted' (*CCath* 609) with *nách* instead of expected *ní*. Thus *innach·dortai* in the early Middle Irish text *Tenga bithnua* (cf. (26) below) could either simply stand for expected *inna·*, or could be interpreted as containing a proleptic infixed pronoun 3 sg.m.

With regard to etymology as well as syntactical behaviour, then, i^N 'when, since' can be grouped with three well known Old Irish conjunctions, dia^N, ara^N, and co^N, to form a coherent set, which was named 'type 2 conjunctions' by Stüber (2023) and which introduces clauses called type IIIc by García-Castillero (2020: 160–2). This group of four conjunctions contrasts on the one hand with conjunctions combining with absolute or deuterotonic forms and negated by *ní*, like $ó^L$ 'since', $má^L$ 'if', etc., and on the other hand with those that are followed by a nasalising relative clause like a^N 'when', *amal* 'as', etc.

Evidence: temporal i^N

Temporal i^N is not attested in the Old Irish glosses, but it is found in some early poetic texts. Thus, the well-known poem on the scholar and his cat, dating from the early ninth century and found in a contemporary manuscript (Codex S. Pauli), offers two examples in the same stanza.

(1) *faelid-sem cu ndēne dul* | ***hi·nglen*** *luch ínna gērchrub* | ***hi·tucu*** *cheist ndoraid ndil* | *os mē chēne am faelid.* (*Thes* ii, 293.24f.)

'He [scil. Pangur the cat] rejoices with swiftness in movement when a mouse sticks to his sharp claw; when I understand a difficult, dear question, as far as I myself am concerned, I am joyful.'[6]

Lines 1 and 2 of the stanza are parallel to lines 3 and 4, the two pairs being arranged in the form of a chiasmus, so that in the first instance the subordinate clause follows the matrix clause while in the second instance it precedes the latter. The authors of *Thes* ii, which was first published in 1903, translate *hi·* here more literally as 'where': 'He is joyous with speedy going where a mouse sticks in his sharp claw: I too am joyous, where I understand a difficult dear question.' Murphy, on the other hand, in his collection of early poetry, translates 'when' (*EIL* 3 §6) and lists both attestations in the vocabulary under the heading '**i**$^{\mathbf{n}}$ "in", "in which", sometimes means "when" '.

[6]Here and in the following translations are the author's, unless otherwise stated.

Murphy was not the first, however, to translate *i*^{N} with 'when'. In his vocabulary, he lists another example found in his collection, this one from the *Song of Créde*, also dated to the early ninth century (cf. *EIL* 212). In this instance, *i*^{N} is combined with the 1 sg. pret. of the copula to give *imsa.*

(2) ***imsa*** *naídiu robsa náir* (*EIL* 86 §5)
'when I was a child I was modest' (trans. Murphy, *EIL* 87)

This text was first edited by Kuno Meyer in 1905, and he already translates the form *imsa* as containing a temporal conjunction: 'When I was a child, I was bashful' (Meyer 1905: 17). This seems to be the first time the temporal conjunction *i*^{N} was translated as such.

Murphy's observation on temporal *i*^{N} was taken up by James Carney in his edition and translation of the *Gospel of Thomas*, probably composed around 700 AD (cf. Carney, *Blathm.* xix). It contains two more attestations of temporal *i*^{N}, one in combination with the 3 sg. pret. of the copula (*imbu*), the other with a 3 sg.n. infixed pronoun.

(3) ***imbu*** *macán cóic bliadnae | Ísu mac Dé bí | sénais da huiscén deac.* (*Blathm.* 90, § 1a-c)
'When Jesus, son of the living God, was a small boy, five years of age, he blessed twelve small pools.' (trans. Carney, *Blathm.* 91)

(4) ***indid·acatar*** *int sluaig | gatsait láma de.* (*Blathm.* 104 § 44cd)
'When the crowd saw it they released him.'
(trans. Carney, *Blathm.* 105)

In his notes, Carney remarks on *imbu*: '*I* is best taken as the preposition *i* used as a temporal conjunction (see Murphy, *EIL*, Glossary, s.v. *i*). Similarly in *indid accatar* §44^{c}.'

Two instances of temporal *i*^{N} are also found in *Fiacc's Hymn* from the *Liber Hymnorum*, edited in *Thes* ii.

(5) *Succat a ainm* ***i·tubrad.*** (*Thes* ii, 308.18)
'Succat was his name when he was carried off.'

(6) *ba sén gaire* ***i·ngénair.*** (*Thes* ii, 321.3)
'It was a blessing of piety when he [scil. Patrick] was born.'

It was Jürgen Uhlich who suggested to understand *i·* as a temporal conjunction 'when' in these two passages (Uhlich 2006: 41 n. 58). The editors of *Thes* ii translated more literally as 'Succat (was) his name in which he was carried off' (*Thes* ii, 308.21) and ' 'twas a pious hap wherein he was born' (*Thes* ii, 321.7f.) respectively.

Besides poetry, gnomic texts are another genre that makes use of temporal *i*^{N}. Uhlich (2006: 41 n. 58) mentions two parallel instances found in *Audacht Morann* 'The Testament of Morann', which is dated by Kelly (*AM* xxix) to around 700 AD. In both cases *i*^{N} is combined with an infixed pronoun 3 sg. f. to give *inde·*.

(7) *fris·tibi fírinni* ***inde·cluinethar****, coten·ocaib* ***inde·n-aici***
(*AM* 18 §59)

'he [scil. the true ruler] smiles on the truth when he hears it, he exalts it when he sees it' (trans. Kelly, *AM* 19)

Kelly (*AM* 79) has a remark on this section in his vocabulary under the heading of the preposition *i*, noting that the latter is used as a conjunction 'when' here.

Two more attestations in gnomic texts can be added to that. In a passage from *Tecosca Cormaic* 'The instructions of Cormaic', dated by Meyer (*Tec. Corm.* xi) to the first half of the ninth century, *i*^{N} is found five times in combination with the 1 sg. pret. of the copula. This attestation is not mentioned by Uhlich, nor has it made its way into *eDIL*.[7] It is referred to, however, by Dillon (*SCC*^{2} p. 31) in his notes on *inid* in the passage from *Serglige Con Culainn* quoted as (24) below.

(8) *no·gonainn muic, no·lenainn lorc* ***imba*** *m'oénur,* | *no·cinginn ar chuire cóicir* ***imba*** *cóicer* | *ba-sa oirgnech* ***imbsa***[8] *dechenborach,* | *ba-sa indredach* ***imbsa*** *fichtech,* | *ba-sa cathach* ***imbsa*** *cétach.*
(*Tec. Corm.* §8.4–8)

'I used to slay a boar, I used to follow a track when I was on my own, I used to march against a company of five when I was one of five, I was ready to slaughter when I was one of ten, I was ready to go raiding when I was one of twenty, I was ready to do battle when I was one of a hundred.'

The first instance of *imba* 'when I was' offers two manuscript variants (cf. *Tec. Corm.* 18, note 2), the *Book of Leinster* reading *i mbiind* (*LL* 45917), the *Book of Ballymote i mbeind* (*BB* 63a27). In both cases the substantive verb is used instead of the copula, in the first instance a 1 sg. impf., in the second a 1 sg. past subj. The reason for these textual variants might be that the form *-ba* is very unusual as 1 sg. pret. of the copula.[9] The common form is *-bsa*, containing the emphatic pronoun *-sa* (cf. Strachan 1949: 72; *GOI* 490), so that *imbsa* or *imsa* as in (2) is the expected outcome of the combination with *i*^{N}. *-ba* is listed as a variant in *eDIL* (s.v. 1 *is*), but no examples are given.

Perhaps the very oldest attestation of temporal *i*^{N}, also not found in *eDIL*, is from *Verba Scáthaige* 'The words of Scáthach', a short gnomic text adressed to *Cú Chulainn* that formed part of the early Old Irish collection *Cín Dromma Snechta*.[10]

(9) ***imbe*** *eir hengaile* | *arat·ossa ollgabud*
(Thurneysen 1913: 487, lines 1–2)

[7] In fact, *imbsa* from (8) as well as *imsa* from the *Song of Créde* (cf. (2) above) are found in *eDIL* as forms of the 1 sg. pret. of the copula, but without any reference to the nature of the element *im-*.

[8] LL has the reading *imsa*.

[9] I owe this observation to an anonymous reviewer.

[10] I am grateful to Ruairí Ó hUiginn for drawing my attention to this attestation.

'when you will be a warrior of single combat, great peril awaits you'

There are three more instances of temporal i^N mentioned by Uhlich (2006: 41 n. 58), found in various genres. (10) is from the Old Irish law tract *Córus Béscnai*, (11) from the *Laud Genealogies and Tribal Histories* edited by Meyer in 1912.

(10) *dliged tuaithe i n-eclais* ***i·mbi*** *ina coir cuindligiud cuingid urtechta ō eclais…* (*CIH* ii, 529.20f.)

'The claims of State upon Church, when it is in its propriety and fair entitlement, (are) the request for rights from the Church…' (trans. McCone 1990: 26)

(11) ***in·n-accatar*** *ba hamræ a n-indbas ar·foitea hi tír.* (Meyer 1912: 312.18f.)

'When they [scil. the men of Ireland] saw that their treasure was wonderful, they were let into the land.'

In the saga texts, where we find a number of examples for causal i^N (cf. the following section), temporal i^N is not common. There is a single instance found in the first recension of *TBC*, mentioned by Uhlich (2006: 41). It shows a combination of i^N with an augmented preterite of the copula in the 3 pl.

(12) *fer do·rigni inna gníma-sin* ***inraptar*** *lána a chóic blíadna* (*TBC-I*^{2} 537)

'a man who did those deeds when his five years were full'

O'Rahilly translates *i·* as conjunction 'when' here (*TBC-I*^{2} p. 140), but does not comment on it in her notes.

In summary, it can be stated that temporal *i* is essentially confined to texts from the Old Irish period, with the exception of (11) and (12). It principally occurs in poetry and in gnomic literature.

Evidence: causal i^N

The earliest attestation of causal i^N, combined with the 3 pl. ind. pres. of the copula to give *indat*, is found in the *Würzburg Glosses*:

(13) .i. ***indat*** Iudei *itir·roscar(sat) fri hiris n-Abarche* (*Wb.* 5b34)

'i.e. since it is the Jews who have separated from Abraham's faith'

The gloss consists only of the subordinate clause. It seeks to clarify the Latin sentence *si enim deus naturalibus ramis non pepercit* 'if, then, God did not spare the natural branches'. The expression *naturalibus ramis* 'natural branches' is explained in the gloss as meaning the Jews, and the reason that God did not spare them is that they separated from their inherited faith.

It was apparently Thurneysen in his *Grammar of Old Irish*, published in 1946,[11] who first identified the element *in-* of *indat* with the one described by Strachan (*GOI* 559). In the first volume of the *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus,* originally published in 1901 and thus before Strachan's article, the translation tentatively given is 'i.e. who are (?) *Iudaei*', with a reference to Pedersen (1899) (*Thes* ii, 528). Pedersen (1899: 380) understands *indat* as preposition *i*^{N} 'in' + copula and translates 'welche (Prädikatsnomen) die Juden (Subjekt) sind',[12] comparing the Modern Irish construction *tá sé 'n-a rígh* 'he is king' (literally 'he is in his king'; ibid., 377). In view of the forms found in later texts, Thurneysen's solution is certainly to be preferred, and it is also adopted in Kavanagh and Wodtko (2001: 587; 600).

The majority of attestations of causal *i*^{N} are found in early saga texts, especially in *Togail Bruidne da Derga*, where it occurs four times. Three of those occurrences are already mentioned by Strachan (1904: 112), though he cites the manuscripts (*LU* and *YBL*) without mentioning that the references all belong to the same text. We find two instances of *i*^{N} combined with the 3 sg. ind. pres. of the copula, appearing as *inid* and *inad*:

(14) *atar lind is coll ro·coillead ar tarbḟeis* ⁊ *ar n-ór fírindi* ***inad*** *gilla óc amulchach tarfás dúnn and.* (*BDD*^{2} 160f.)

'It seems to us that our bullfeast and our spell of truth are a failure, since it is a young, beardless lad that has appeared to us here.'

(15) *nī fil nád·ró dam-sa, ol Ingchel,* ***inid*** *mo māthair* ⁊ *mo athair* ⁊ *mo .uii. nderbrāthir ortabair-si lim-sa.* (*BDD*^{2} 737–9)

'There is nothing that will come to me, said Ingchel, since it is my mother and my father and my seven brothers you have slain with me.'

Strachan (1904: 12) also offers an instance of the 2 sg. *inda* from the same text:

(16) *cid at·chí dūnd* ***inda*** *fisid.* (*BDD*^{2} 545)

'What do you see for us, since you are a wizard?'

There is a fourth attestation of *i*^{N} from *Togail Bruidne da Derga*, one that is not mentioned by Strachan. Negated *innád* is found in combination not with the copula, but with the augmented preterite of the substantive verb, which is part of a progressive construction in the following passage:

(17) *ro·cirred ocus ro·hathcummad ocus ro·créchtnaiged ocus ro·criathrad …,* ***innád·rabae***[13] *in sciath* ***oca imdegail****.* (*BDD*^{3} 536–8; cf. *BDD*^{2} 1531–4)

'It [scil. the right arm] was mangled and struck and wounded and pierced …, since the shield had not been protecting it.'

[11] The conjunction is not yet mentioned in the corresponding paragraph of his *Handbuch des Alt-Irischen*, cf. Thurneysen (1909: 509).

[12] 'who (predicate) the Jews (subject) are'

[13] *BDD* and *BDD*^{2} have the varia lectio *innát; innád* is the variant found in *LU.*

Stokes's edition and translation (*BDD*) were published in 1902 and thus before Strachan's article. Nevertheless, in the passage quoted as (17), Stokes translates *innád* as a negated causal conjunction: 'since the shield had not been guarding it'. On the other hand, (15) is rendered more literally as 'There is nothing that will come to me […] in place of my mother and my father […]'. The other two instances of i^N are translated by Stokes as conditional clauses, (14) as 'if it be only a young, beardless lad […]' and (16) as 'if thou art a wizard'.

In her edition of 1936 (*BDD²*), on the other hand, Eleanor Knott was clearly aware of Strachan's contribution. In her notes on *inad* in (14) we find the remark: 'O. Ir. *indid* "since it is". See *Ériu* 1, 12.' (*BDD²* p. 75). This note is referred to also when remarking on *inda* in (16), translated as 'since thou art' (*BDD²*, p. 82). The passage in (17) is translated in the notes as 'since the shield was not protecting it' (*BDD²* p. 95), perhaps following Stokes in *BDD*, and *innát*, Knott's reading for *innád*, is given its own entry in the vocabulary as 'since … not' (*BDD²* p. 132). However, there is no cross-reference to *inad* or *inda.*

Similarly Meid, in his shortened edition from 2021 (*BDD³*), has an entry *innád·* 'Konjunktion *da nicht*'[14] in his vocabulary, but without further references. It seems thus that the connection between the forms mentioned by Strachan (1904: 12), containing the copula, and *innád*, the combination of i^N with the negative particle, has not heretofore been made, at least not explicitly.

This is all the more surprising as Strachan (1904: 12) already mentioned the form *innách*, containing both a negative particle and the 3 sg. of the copula. It occurs in the first recension of the *Táin Bó Cuailnge*:

(18) *cid do·géntar fríu, ol Ailil,* ***innách*** *maith a n-anad nách a techt.*
(*TBC-I²* 160f. = *LU* 4634f.)

'What should be done to them, asked Ailil, since neither their staying nor their going is appropriate?'

It is the only occurrence of causal i^N in this text and is translated by O'Rahilly (*TBC-I²* p. 129) as a causal conjunction ('since neither their staying nor their going pleases you'), but not commented on in the notes.

Another example of causal i^N that was recognised early on is found in an Old Irish poem transmitted in the *Book of Leinster* and edited by Kuno Meyer in 1912 (*Hail Brigit*).

(19) *is bréc uile iarna thur* | ***indid*** *Alend is dún fás.*
(*Hail Brigit* § 14 = *LL* 7203f.)

'Everything is a falsehood after having been investigated, since it is Alenn that is a deserted fort.'

In his notes, Meyer (*Hail Brigit* p. 22) explains the Old Irish form *indid* as 'literally "in which is" […], generally used in the sense of "when, since".' He then refers to Strachan (1904: 12) for further examples and adds an additional

[14] 'conjunction *since not*'

one, found in the saga text *Aided Óenfir Aífe*, first edited by himself in the same issue of *Ériu* that also contains Strachan's article (Meyer 1904). The passage runs as follows:

(20) ***inid*** *ed so file and, inchoisc dom-sa na firu amrai fil isin bailiu, corom·chelebra dóib.* (*Comp. CC* 15 §12 = Meyer 1904: 120 §12)

'Since that is what is there, point out to me the famous men that are in the village, so that I may take leave of them.'

Already in his own translation, Meyer (1904: 121) renders *inid* as a causal conjunction: 'since it is as it is'. Van Hamel in his edition from 1933 has an entry *inid* in the vocabulary, defining it as a conjunction 'since' and explaining its origin (*Comp. CC* p. 191). The attestation quoted as (20) is significant in showing that a causal clause introduced by *i*^{N} does not necessarily have to follow the matrix clause, but may also precede it.

There is one more instance of *i*^{N} as a causal conjunction cited in *eDIL* (s.v. 1 *is*), occurring in a metrical passage in the *Annals of Ulster* and showing the Old Irish form *indid* with the 3 sg. of the copula.

(21a) *caiti māil iarthair betha, | caiti grāin cech airm-ghretha |* ***indid*** *Niall crōdha Cnucha | ro·malart a mōr-thriucha.* (*AU*^{2} s.a. 919.3)

'Where are the princes of the west of the world, where is the horror of every clang of arms, since it is brave Niall of Cnucha who has ruined his great cantred?'

The verses belong to a short poem lamenting the death of Niall, a king, which as a whole is placed in the upper margin of the manuscript (cf. *AU*^{2} p. 370, n. 919, k) and thus probably does not belong to the original text. The poem has a parallel in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, and some missing parts, including the beginning of the quatrain cited as (21a) (up to *grāin*), are actually supplied in the editions of the *Annals of Ulster* from that text (cf. *AU*^{2} p. 370, n. 919, k). The parallel version runs as follows:

(21b) *caiti māil iarthair betha | caiti grāin cech airm-greatha |* ***inad*** *Niall crōdha Cnucha | ro·malairt a mór-trucha.* (*FM* s.a. 917.7)

'Where are the princes of the west of the world, where is the horror of every clang of arms, since it is brave Niall of Cnucha who has ruined his great cantred?'

The relevant form here is *inad*, a later variant of OIr *indid* as found in the *Annals of Ulster*. The earliest translation of the passage is O'Donovan's in his edition of the *Annals of the Four Masters* from 1856. He apparently understood *inad* as the neuter noun *inad* 'place' and translated verses 3 and 4 as a main clause: 'The place of great Niall of Cnucha | Has been changed ye great wretches!' (*FM* ii, p. 597).

Hennessy, likewise, published his edition of the *Annals of Ulster* years before Strachan's article, in 1887, and thus was probably not aware of the

existence of a causal conjunction *i*^{n}. He helped himself by interpreting the element *in-* as the interrogative particle and translating: 'Is it the great Niall of Cnucha' (*AU* i, p. 439). It is only Mac Airt and Mac Niocall, in their edition from 1983, who render the passage as a causal clause: 'Since valiant Niall of Cnucha | Has brought desolation to his great cantred' (*AU*^{2} p. 371).

There are two other poems to be found in the *Annals of Ulster* that show a great resemblance to this one. In (22a), the death of an abbot is lamented in a quatrain using similar words:

(22a) *cudú andud indbais huaigh,* | *cudu allud ēiges lōir* | ***indid*** *Flathbertach finn fial* | *ro·scar fri miadh Cluana Moir.* (*AU*^{2} s.a. 921.10)

'Where is the grave of the inspiration of wealth, where is the repute of a great scholar, since it is fair, generous Flaithbertach who has parted with the preferment of Clúain Mór?'

These verses are not added in the margin and thus seem to be in their original place. They, too, have a parallel in the *Annals of the Four Masters*:

(22b) *caitte annadh innmais uaigh,* | *caitte alladh ēcces lóir,* | ***inidh*** *Flaithbheartach find Fáil* | *ro·scar fri miadh Cluana Móir.* (*FM* s.a. 919.10)

'Where is the grave of the inspiration of wealth, where is the repute of a great scholar, since it is Flaithbertach, the fair one of Fál, who has parted with the preferment of Clúain Mór?'

Since the transmitted form here is *inidh*, not *inad*, O'Donovan provides a different interpretation in this case. He again takes verses 3 and 4 as a separate main clause: 'Behold Flaithbheartach, the fair of Fail, | has separated from the honours of Cluain-mor.' (*FM* ii, p. 603). He is followed by Hennessy in his translation of the parallel from the *Annals of Ulster* given as (22a): 'Behold, Flaithbertach the fair, generous, | Has separated […]' (*AU* i, p. 443), while Mac Airt and Mac Niocall again opt for causal 'since fair hospitable Flaithbertach | Has parted […]' (*AU*^{2} p. 374). There can be little doubt that here, too, *indid*/*inidh* is to be interpreted as causal *i*^{N} and the 3 sg. of the copula.

Finally, a similar lament on another king's death is found in an earlier part of the *Annals of Ulster*:

(23) *cedu rīghe, cedu recht* | *ce(du) nert for rīghradha,* | ***inid*** *Colman Rīmidh rī* | *ro·mbī Lochan Dithnadha.* (*AU*^{2} s.a. 604.1)

'Where is kingship, where is law, where is power over princes, since it is king Colmán Rímid whom Lochan Dithnada has slain?'

This quatrain, like the one quoted as (21a), is also written in the margin, this time below the main text (cf. *AU*^{2} p. 100, n. 604, e). Here, too, Hennessy rendered the last two verses as a main clause: 'Behold! Colman Rimid, a king – | Locan Dithnada slew him!' (*AU* i, p. 81). Mac Airt and Mac Niocall, on the other hand, translate the causal clause as 'Since it is king Colmán […]' (*AU*^{2} p. 102).

The three quatrains quoted as (21a/b), (22a/b), and (23) are so similar that they can hardly be independent of each other. They seem to stem from a poetic tradition of death laments in which the conjunction *i*^{N} in its causal meaning had a fixed place.

Further search reveals some more examples of causal *i*^{N} not mentioned in *eDIL*. The first is from a passage in the saga text *Serglige Con Culainn*:

(24) ***inid*** *i lobrai* 7 *i n-ingás dano atá, is móo de as chomairche airthiu.* (*SCC*^{2} 94f.)

'Since he is in weakness and sickness, then, he is an even greater protection for them.'

Again, like in example (20), the subordinate clause here precedes the matrix clause. In his notes, Dillon (*SCC*^{2} p. 31) translates *inid* as 'when it is' and refers to Strachan (1904).

A further instance of *inid* is found in the second of the two *Lough Foyle Colloquy Texts*. It is a conversation between Bran's druid and Febul's prophetess, written in verse, and dated by Carey to the Old Irish period (cf. *LFC* p. 53).

(25) *mad fri gnáthu na·choíni | ara tesstis ar ndoíni |* ***inid*** *glassfairrce chlochach | Mag Febuil, a findscothach.* (*LFC* 76 §7)

'If it be to companions that you lament it, that our people fled, since Mag Febuil of the white flowers is a stony grey sea.' (trans. Carey, *LFC* p. 77)

In his edition from 2002, Carey translates the clause as causal. There is, however, no reference to the form in the notes.

One of only two examples of causal *i*^{N} in combination with a verb other than the copula (for the other cf. (17) above) is the following passage from the cosmological treatise *In Tenga Bithnua* 'The evernew tongue', which is dated by Stokes to the tenth or eleventh century, 'when Old Irish was merging into the Early-Middle Irish of the Book of the Dun and the Book of Leinster' (Stokes 1905: 97).[15]

(26) *ainmnetach rēt, ol se, cride co rād rīg nime* ***innach·dortai*** *in doman ar mod cacha huairi i fudomnuibh pian.* (Stokes 1905: 118, §56)

'A patient thing, said he, is the heart full of grace of the king of heaven, since he does not pour the world into the depths of torments for the work of every hour.'

Stokes himself translated the form *innach·* more literally as 'in that He doth not spill', but a causal reading seems preferable.

In summary, then, it can be stated that the causal conjunction *i*^{N} is found in Old and early Middle Irish texts and chiefly occurs in two genres. On the one hand, we find it in saga texts, notably four times in *Togail Bruidne da*

[15] I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for drawing my attention to this attestation.

Derga, but also once each in the first recension of *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, in *Aided Óenfir Aífe*, and in *Serglige Con Culainn*. On the other hand, it seems to be part of a poetic tradition found in the Old Irish poem *Hail Brigit*, in the second of the *Lough Foyle Colloquy Texts*, and in three laments in the annals, where it appears to be formulaic.

Meaning and syntax

The conjunction *i*^{N} occurs in two meanings, temporal 'when' and causal 'since, because' that will be discussed separately. Temporal *i*^{N} seems to be used more freely: it is found with various verbs, including the copula and the substantive verb, and thus found several times in the form *(h)i·* without any added proclitic element. In two thirds of cases (12 examples), the subordinate clause is following the matrix clause, but preposed subordinate clauses are by no means uncommon (6 examples). With causal *i*^{N}, on the other hand, preposed subordinate clauses are rare (2 out of a total of 14 examples). Moreover, in a causal meaning, the conjunction *i*^{N} occurs almost exclusively with the copula, the only exceptions being the two passages quoted as (17) and (26) above.

Just as the preposition *i*^{N}, used with nouns of time, expresses a point in time (*i tossuch* 'in the beginning' *Wb.* 5c16), repeated points in time (*hi cach láo* 'every day' *Wb.* 4b21) or a span of time (*isin bliathain* 'within the year' *Fél. Prol.* 281; for the examples cf. *eDIL* s.v. *i*), a subordinate clause headed by the temporal conjunction *i*^{N} may contain a punctiliar, a repeated punctiliar or a continuous state of affairs. What all three clause types have in common is that they show simultaneousness or temporal overlap with the matrix clause (for the term cf. Kortmann 1998: 464; Longacre 2007: 379f.).

A punctiliar state of affairs in the past is expressed by a preterite as in (4), (5), (6), and (11). While in the case of (4) and (11), the matrix clause is also punctiliar, in (5) and (6) it is continuous. Repeated punctiliar states of affairs are found in general statements in the present as in (1) (twice) and (7) (twice). In all remaining examples, the subordinate state of affairs is continuous and contains either a form of the copula as in (2), (3), (8) (5 times), (9), and (12), or one of the substantive verb as in (10). This continuous state of affairs can be the background of a punctiliar matrix state of affairs as in (3) and (12), both set in the past. In (2), (8), (9), and (10) on the other hand, the matrix clause denotes a temporally overlapping continuous state of affairs.

In a causal sense, the conjunction *i*^{N} occurs almost exclusively with the copula, more precisely with a present indicative of the copula. Since the copula is used to describe a permanent property of the subject, the subordinate state usually shows temporal overlap with the matrix state of affairs. The cause is presented as a state that starts before the matrix state of affairs and continues during and sometimes also after the latter. In this way, the present of the copula can be combined with a matrix state of affairs in the present as in (16), but also with one in the past as in (25) or even in the future as in (18).

An important and very frequent use of the copula in Irish is to introduce a cleft sentence in order to put part of a sentence in focus. This is also the case

in the majority of clauses (9 out of 12) introduced by the causal conjunction *i*^{N} and containing a form of the copula, i.e. in (13), (14), (15), (19), (20), (21), (22), (23), and (24). As a rule, the 3 sg. *in(d)id* is found in these examples, with the exception of 3 pl. *indat* in (13) from *Wb.* Where the cleft construction also denotes a state expressed by an indicative of the present, we find the same temporal overlap as with direct copular clauses. This is the case in examples (19), (20) and (24).[16]

In other examples, the clause following the fronted copula clause contains an augmented preterite. It thus refers to an action in the past, and the entire cleft construction denotes an attained state as a consequence of this action, which is given as the cause of the matrix state of affairs. We find this in the example from the *Würzburg Glosses*, (13), in two attestations from *Togail Bruidne da Derga*, (14) and (15), and in all cases found in the annals, (21)–(23).

There are only two examples of causal *i*^{N} used with verbs other than the copula, the passages quoted as (17) and (26) above. In the case of (26), the predicate of the subordinate clause is *·dortai*, the prototonic form of *do·fortai* 'destroys'. Although 'destroy' would usually be a punctiliar action, the fact that the clause is negated turns the subordinate state of affairs into a continuous state. Matrix clause and subordinate clause are both continuous and show temporal overlap.

(17) contains an augmented preterite of the substantive verb that is part of a periphrastic progressive with *oc* and the verbal noun (on the construction cf. Stüber 2013). The subordinate clause thus expresses a continuous state of affairs in this case as well. However, this attestation of causal *i*^{N} differs from all others in that the subordinate state of affairs is anterior to the matrix state of affairs. The relationship of the two clauses is classically causal in that the subordinate state of affairs (the shield not protecting the arm) is presented as the reason for the matrix state of affairs (the arm being mangled). However, the two states of affairs show no temporal overlap, but temporal succession. This is all the more noteworthy since temporal *i*^{N} is used exclusively with clauses that show temporal overlap.

Conclusion

This article has tried to show that while *i*^{N} 'when, since' no doubt originated from the prepositional relative *i*^{N} 'in which', as a temporal and causal conjunction it has its own lexical identity. It thus joins the ranks of a small group of conjunctions also going back to prepositional relatives, namely *ara*^{N} 'that, in order that, so that', *co*^{N} 'that, in order that, so that', and *dia*^{N} 'when; if', with which it also shares syntactical properties. All four conjunctions have in common that they serve as conjunct particles, being followed by conjunct or prototonic verb forms, and that they combine with forms of the copula or with negative particles to form a single proclitic unit.

[16] In the case of (24), Dillon (*SCC*^{2} p. 31) translates *inid* as 'when it is', assuming a temporal relationship. However, a causal interpretation seems preferable.

The conjunction *i*^{N} has two distinct uses, a temporal one expressing temporal overlap and a causal one. In temporal meaning, *i*^{N} is used freely: While postposed subordinate clauses are more frequent, preposed ones are also well attested. Temporal *i*^{N} is combined with a variety of verbs and thus can head punctiliar as well as continuous clauses. On the other hand, causal *i*^{N} is so far only attested as denoting continuous states of affair, and moreover is largely confined to copular clauses. Many of them are introducing cleft sentences, and indeed the combination with the 3 sg. pres. ind., *in(d)id*, seems to become formulaic. The only example of *inid* used outside a cleft sentence is (25) from the *Lough Foyle Colloquy Texts*. With causal *i*^{N}, preposed subordinate clauses are only found twice (cf. (20) and (24) above).

The occurrence of the conjunction *i*^{N} is largely confined to texts that date from the Old Irish period and seems to have gone out of use during Middle Irish. While the Old Irish glosses offer only a single attestation, *i*^{N} seems to have had a place in the poetic tradition, in gnomic texts and in sagas. As shown in previous sections, the distributions of temporal and causal *i*^{N} respectively are not identical. Both are found in poetic texts, temporal *i*^{N} only occurring in poetry from the Old Irish period. In narrative texts, there are only two instances of temporal *i*^{N} (cf. (11) and (12)), while causal *i*^{N} is more widespread in the sagas. On the other hand, only temporal *i*^{N} is found in gnomic literature.

The article gives an overview of all attestations of *i*^{N} that have come to the notice of the author. However, it is by no means impossible and indeed to be hoped that other scholars will eventually add to the material collected here.

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