GREEK (σ)ΤΕΓΟΣ ‘ROOF’, OLD IRISH TEG, 
CLARE IRISH [t’e’] TEAGH ‘HOUSE’:
A STRATIFIED REAPPRAISAL OF ‘HOUSE’ IN PAN-GAELIC

Preliminary

§1 Thanks to map 147 in volume 1 of Heinrich Wagner’s Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish dialects, we have a full cartographical set of returns for the 87 Gaelic dialects of Ireland surveyed, plus the Isle of Man not to mention skeletal returns for the 8 points surveyed in Gaelic-speaking Scotland. In addition to these sets of raw data relating to ‘house’ in LASID i and iv, Wagner went on to share many insightful observations with us in an in-depth analysis of these returns published a quarter of a century on from LASID i. In his summary of the data pertaining to the nominative singular of the word ‘house’, gleaned from LASID, Wagner (1982: §5) provided the following broad outline:

<table>
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<th>Term</th>
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<td>tigh</td>
<td>Munster (pts 1-24)</td>
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<td>teach</td>
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<td>toigh</td>
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<td>taigh</td>
<td>Rathlin (pt 67), Isle of Man (pt 88) and Scotland (pts a-g)</td>
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Table i the distribution of the terms ‘house’ in modern Gaelic dialects, based on LASID i Map 147 and iv 195.147, according to Wagner (1982: §5).


Wagner cited the parallels for Old Irish teg (< IE *(s)teg- ‘cover’), with Greek τεγος ‘roof’ being cited as the only direct parallel – where the meaning ‘house’ had occurred in Cretan στεγα ‘house’.5

1 I should like to thank Professors R. Ó Maolalaigh and S. Watson; and my colleagues at the University of Ulster, Drs N. Mac Cathmhaoil and G. Ó Domagáin, for reading drafts of this article and for their helpful suggestions and corrections. Any shortcomings remain my sole responsibility.

2 LASID i, map 147, pt 88.

3 LASID iv, 195.147.


IEW 1013 shows that the root *s*teg- is widely attested in many other branches of Indo-European in its broader sense of ‘cover’: Sanskrit sthanyayati ‘covers’, Lithuanain stōgas ‘roof’, Latin tegō ‘I cover’ > tēctum > French toit ‘roof’, German Dach, English thatch etc. Delamarre (2001: 51), like Wagner, also dealt with Gaulish attégia ‘cabane, hutte’, borrowed into Latin and occurring in French place-names such as: Athée (Côte-d’Or, Indre-et-Loire, Mayenne); in other names in Athis (Marne, Orne, Somme and Essone); plus Artbies (Seine-et-Oise) which Delamarre derives from *are-tegia. Given the widely established Indo-European pedigree behind the lexeme *tegos (and derivatives) in Celtic, it would be appropriate to accept Basque thegi ‘hut’ as a borrowing from this quarter, and although Wagner points out the difficulty in attributing the direct source of Basque thegi to Gaulish or Celt-Iberian,7 the extensive attestation of attégia and *aretegia in Gaulish, brought to our attention by Delamarre, seems tempting.

On a wider scale, however, and looking for a direct Continental forerunner to Old Irish teg ‘house’, one may reasonably presume (especially given the likelihood that the Gaelic language in Ireland in all probability arrived from the Iberian peninsula)8 that the predominance of the Old Irish nominative teg may, in turn, suggest that *tegos was a well established Celt-Iberian term for ‘house’. A similar conclusion, of course, may be made in regard to *tegos ‘house’ in P-Celtic, judging by Gaulish *tegoslōgos ‘household’ and the pre-British form *tegos preserved the Old Breton compound tegrann (§7).

§3 a reappraisal of LASID i, map 147 ‘house’ in pan-Gaelic

The findings from LASID i, 147 (as summed up by Wagner in Table i) by and large, hold fairly good, but they do, however, require some degree of moderation on several counts:
(i) the returns from Clare (points 22-4), the Galway/Clare border, point 26, and Goatenbridge, South Tipperary (point 4)9 all show a phonetic form resembling [t’e]10 or [t’e], and the magnitude of these forms (in relation to the old Common Celtic nominative *tegos) will be dealt with in §4 infra.
(ii) Wagner conceded that the lack of minute data for Scottish dialects was a cause of concern,11 but since his 1982 work, volume four of the Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland (SGDS) has provided us with returns for some 200+ Scottish dialects for the term ‘house’, and the ramifications of these data are also dealt with below (§§8 and 15c), particularly in the light of the occurrence of

6 It is significant that a connection between Irish teghitech and Latin tectum ‘roof’ is made in Cormac’s glossary: tech ab eo quod est tectum, Corm. 41.

7 ‘Whether Basque thegi is directly borrowed from Celt-Iberian or indirectly from Gallo-Romance, I am unable to say.’ Wagner (1982: 100).

8 In addition to the Iberian origin of the Gaels being suggested in the Míl Espáine legend in the early Irish pseudo-historical, mythological tradition; the more solid addition of the linguistic fact that inscriptive Celt-Iberian retains the old kʷ, or g-Celtic, nature of the velar-labial, as opposed to Gaulish and Brittonic p-, suggests to the current author that Celt-Iberian is squarely in the frame as a forerunner to Goedic in Ireland.

9 On a possible echo of Tipperary [t’e] in the work of Keating, a native of this same county, see §9 infra.

10 Wagner (LASID i: XXIV) states that the symbol ‘ ’ indicates a closure of the glottis before or at the end of a vowel. It represents a weaker variety of ‘ ’. In relation to [t’e] we might compare Ó Cuív’s 1944 transcription [t’eh] for te ‘hot’ in Muskerry. §5 infra.

11 ‘As the results of the Survey of Sc. Gaelic Dialects prepared by the Scottish School have not yet been published my new adventure could be described as premature.’ Wagner (1982: 96).
30+ Scottish returns resembling [te] or [tɛ] – although these latter forms were faintly hinted at by the form [te]\(^1\) from Arran attested among Wagner’s LASID iv materials.\(^1\)

As a consequence of the necessary revisions to Wagner (1982: §5, or Table 1 in §1 supra), Maps 1 and 2 are now presented in the current article to take account of the fresh interpretations of the data for LASID i and iv, Map 147 ‘house’ – albeit with symbols, rather than full phonetic data in LASID.

The data [t’e’], [t’e], [t’e], teh etc. for Clare

§4 The forms [t’e’], [t’e] as recorded for the whole of County Clare on LASID i, map 147, are also supported by LASID ii and other independent sources for the same county. In the vocabulary sections appended to the questionnaire returns in LASID ii, Wagner recorded the following materials from the Clare points 22 (Kilbaha, Loop Head) and 22a (Corbally, Kilkee), where the predominate nominative singular appears to have been [t’e’], [t’e] or [t’e]:

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\(^1\)LASID iv, 195.147, point (a), Arran.
Point 22: teach (tígh) → house, pl. t’i̇həna (also t’ēhəna); go d’i: an ’d’e so → to this house

Point 22a: t’e also t’e (or t’ɢ); on t’i: u:d → that house; t’ēh ɶr’u:nəx → a suitable house; t’e b’rə: → a fine house; t’n t’ar:nə → the public house; so t’ēh əkə → in their house; klun o ’t’i:, → the family of the house; ɶr fud’ o ’t’i: → throughout the house; ənə hi: Pe:n’ → from his own house

K[ilbaha], ənə t’e, → in the house; … go d’i ən d’e→ (he took) her to the house; t’ēhə pl.

From Fanore, west of Ballyvaughan, Co. Clare (point 24 in LASID ii) we find:

Point 24: teach (tígh) t’e (or t’ax)15 or t’eʰ or t’e) pl. t’ēhə (or t’ēhəna; t’axəna in Aran)16 → houses; (náč breach) on t’ēh e) → isn’t it a fine house! ,t’e ’nə: → a new house; t’e b’eg (ə) → a small house; ə ’t’i:x gen. sg., ’n’i: je ənəx ’dino ’re:r’ → he was in our house last night.17

Forms in [t’e] are corroborated by other Clare sources, outside of LASID, as may be seen from Holmer (1965) – although it must be stated that the emphasis is placed in the current article on the phonetic forms [t’e], [t’e’], [t’e] as they occur in the vernacular speech of Clare, rather than the orthographic forms in tígh, as used by Wagner and Holmer, as it will be shown in the course of this article (§§5 and 7) that tígh does not accurately represent Clare [t’e], [t’e’], [t’e].

South Clare

Do thaidsbrigh mise dá mbéinn ag tígh [əq’ t’e] Muirisín in Fóidre go bhfaighinn pota őir faoi an leac lasmuigh do’n doras.
‘I dreamt that if I were at the house of Muirisín in Fóidre that I would find a crock of gold under the flagstone.’18

Middle Clare19

[ɔ d’e] i dtígh ‘in a house’ sula d’fhaig mé an tígh [t’e] ‘before I left the house’20

North Clare

go dtí tígh an duine uasai(l) [go d’i. t’eʰ ə dən’us’sol] ‘to the gentleman’s house’21

13 On the possibility that ənə thígh fein ‘from his own house’ may be an inflected dative see §7 infra – although, it must also be said that the nominative form in this material (an tígh ʊd ‘that house’) seems to suggest a rare alternative neo-nominative in Clare based on the old dative/locative tígh.
14 Both sets of data in LASID ii, 273, s.v. teach.
15 See the discussion on the attestation of teach in the Clare/Galway border dialect in §13 infra.
16 This refers to Inisheer. Co. Galway (LASID pt 41), off the Clare coast.
17 LASID ii, 305, s.v. teach. On the possibility that inár dtígh-ne ‘in our house’ may represent an inflected dative see §7 infra. For the by-form teach in this border dialect, see §13.
18 Holmer (1965: 19b), plus [de] i dtígh ‘in a house’ 21d.
19 Holmer (1965: 210 ff). A further by-form [t’eg] from South Clare is dealt with §6 infra.
20 Holmer (1965: 41), note also form South Clare: go dtí an tígh mór [go d’in te’ mu’r] (57) insa tígh [ənsə t’e] (59) D’imthígh sé isteach go dtí an tígh [go d’in (n) t’eh] ‘He went into the house.’ (31).
In his collection of stories from Stiofán Ó hEalóire (1858-1944), a native of Baile Úí Choileáin, near Fisherstreet (LASID pt 23), Ó Duilearga consistently transcribes the Clare word for ‘house’ as teh:

Do choinnic sé teh i bhfad uaign 'He saw a house in the distance' 22

On the orthographical interpretations of Clare [t’e’], teh, teith, teigh etc.

§5 While most sources show phonetic forms [t’e’] or [t’e] for Clare they have been orthographically represented in a number of ways, such as teh by Ó Duilearga (1981), which seems instantly preferable to tigh. 23 In one further substantial source for 20th century Clare, Mac Clúin represents ‘house’ as teith 24 – and the suggestiveness of the dative form teigh from the tale Feis Tígh Chonáin Chill Shléibhe merits consideration:

do chuadhas lái dà teigh an oídhche sin25
‘I went with her to her house that night’

The provenance of this tale likewise deserves mention, in the current context, as the manuscript (in the hand of the northern scribe Nicholas O’Kearney)26 was copied from an exemplar by a Waterford scribe called Foran. The text deals with the province of Munster and Joynt (1936: iii) states: ‘O’Kearney locates Cean Sléibhe, the scene of the earlier part of the story, near Lake Inchiquin in County Clare.’ 27 If this, indeed, is the case then the dative minority variant teigh must surely arouse our interest in relation to Clare [t’e’], teh, teith. Notwithstanding, it will be argued, directly below, that the form [t’e’] or [t’eh] more than likely represents teagh < Old Irish teg rather than the dative teigh in Feis TC.

ea as [a] and occasional [e] in Clare

§5a Although Old Irish e > modern pan-Gaelic ea, generally speaking, leads to [e] in Scotland yet [a] in Ireland, 28 Wagner (1982: §1) shows [e], rather than the usual Irish result [a], for teach in Fanad and Tory (pts 69 and 75) and the phonetic realisation of the e-vowel of Old Irish teg as [e], as opposed to [a] in Clare, may be seen as a conservative feature in the word teagh.

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22 Ó Duilearga (1981: 21), plus teh an rí ‘the king’s house’ 22, a’ teh ‘the house’, dhon teh 25, ina teh 27, sa teh 31, go di an dheb 34 et pass.; pl. na tehanna (2), go dìos na tehanna ‘to the houses, (5) a’ dìos teann na ‘making houses’ (8).

23 As used by Holmer and Wagner, §§4 and 5b.

24 Mac Clúin (1940 s.v. teith).

25 Feis TC 197, we may note variant datives in this text: tigh (817) and toigh (749).

26 On Louth scribe Nicholas Kearney, or Nioclás Ó Cearnaigh (1804-65), see Ó Dufaigh & Ó Doibhlin (1989).

27 In her Notes (Joynt 1940: 63, l. 69) dismisses any of the two northern places named Cenn Sléibe listed in Onom. Goed. but, in addition to a location in Clare, she also suggests, via T.F. O’Rahilly, that Cenn Sléibe might also represent modern Slea Head, W. Kerry.

Further evidence for the occasional retention of *ea* as [e] in Clare is forthcoming on several fronts. Holmer (1962: §18), for example, notes (midway through his account of the vowel [a] in Clare dialects — the range of which he describes as ‘considerable’) how a front [a] occurs for *ea* in Clare, in keeping with most other Irish Gaelic dialects:

A front variant (like English short ‘a’ and approaching *e*) is frequently found after slender and palatal sounds, e.g. *ceathair* k’a’hɔː’, *lean mé* t’a’n m’s, *an measann tu?* m’ason tu...

While [a], [e] seem the more normal phonetic outcomes for orthographic *ea* in Clare, in his description of the *e* vowel Homer (1962: §18) notes ‘there are cases in which *e* and *a* seem difficult to distinguish, e.g. *sciathán leathair* [sk’iːha’n l’ɔːhɔr] (almost [l’t’eːhɔr’]).’

The above observation (coupled with the remarks on *teagh* and *ar feadh* in §6) indicate that [e] for *ea*, as opposed to the more usual [a], was certainly possible in, and a feature of, Clare dialects. The retention of older [e] in the particular instance of Clare [t’eg], [t’e] [t’e’] *teagh* need hardly surprise us. Indeed the retention of older [e], [e] in a key word like *teagh* might be compared to how English *great* has preserved the older *e*-vowel, both in Hiberno- and Standard English pronunciation, as opposed to Standard English *beat, cheat, cheap* etc. (all with a raised i-vowel), as opposed to the e-vowel of Old English still intact in Hiberno-English dialect *bate, chate, chape* etc.

If, then, we postulate OIr. *teg* [t’e] > [t’e] > [t’e’], following the loss of final [-ɣ], then this would see Early Modern *teagh* > Clare *te*. Although Holmer (1965) consistently represents Clare [t’e’], [t’e’h] as orthographic *tigh*, he does state (1962: §19):

\[
tigh [t’e] \text{ has a different form from } \text{mil } [m’s’l’] \text{ ‘honey’ and } fhir [ɔ’r’], \text{sileadh } [səl’s] \text{ ‘to drip’ and } file [fəl’s] \text{ ‘poet’}.
\]

The reason for the difference between [t’e’], on the one hand, and *mil, fhir, sileadh* etc., on the other, is simply due to the fact that the Clare forms [t’e’], [t’e’h] ‘house’ do not represent orthographic *tigh*. If we take [t’e’], [t’e’h] as orthographic *te’* < *teagh*, then we can see that this would lead to *te’* ‘house’ being pronounced like *te* ‘warm’ in Munster Irish. In this latter regard, it is also interesting (particularly in relation to Mac Clúin’s spelling *teith* ‘house’ in Clare), that Ó Cuív (1994: §49 i) spells [t’e’h] ‘hot’ both as *te* and *teith* in his description of the sounds of Muskerry, Co. Cork. This latter variance in spelling would help us interpret *teith* ‘house’ from the Clare materials amassed by Mac Clúin (1940) as *te’* (or *teh*, Ó Duilearga (< *teagh*), rather than *teigh* (Feis TC 197).

**Occasional Clare [t’eg]: a confirmation of Old Irish *teg***

While the forms to date cited from Clare have been of the nature [t’e’], [t’e], [t’e’] (or *teh* in Duilearga 1981 and *teith* in Mac Clúin 1940), it is highly significant that Holmer also listed occasional forms in [t’eg] from his ‘South Clare’ materials, as in the following:

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29. Not forgetting the crucial development Old Irish *teg* [t’e] > Clare by-form *teag* [t’eg] §6.
31. It is of further interest that Holmer (1962: §19) notes ‘te’ [t’e’h] ‘hot’ (pronounced like *tigh*), but we might rephrase this as ‘*te’* < *teagh* “house” pronounced like *te* [t’e’h], [t’e’] “hot.”
Holmer’s use of (sic) after the forms in [t’eg] serves to indicate: (i) that Holmer transcribed what he heard;33 and (ii) (but even more crucially) that the attestation of such lingering forms in [t’eg] would certainly seem to act as a strong endorsement that the Old Irish nominative singular teg survives in Clare as the phonetic form [t’eg] presumably represents teag, a delenited form of teagh < Old Irish teg [t’eγ]. The form teag might be viewed as an example of final non-palatal -agh > -ag in Munster (along the lines of the much more common delenition palatal -igh > ig)34 due to what O’Rahilly (1932: 53) described as ‘a reluctance’ to lose the distinctiveness of the ending. While examples of the delenition of final non-palatal -gh/-dh are not as plenteous in Clare as the palatal counterparts, Holmer, nevertheless, cites examples of ‘rare’ delenition (or ‘hardening’) of final non-palatal -dh in ar feadh ‘during’ and, more commonly, in the passive forms rugadh ‘was born’, tógadh ‘was lifted’ > rugag and tógag etc.35

Further, the attestation of the South Clare by-form [t’eg] alongside [ar f’e’g] ar feadh ‘for (a period of time)’ helps us clearly identify the more common Clare forms [t’e’], [t’e], teh etc. (§§4-5) as derivatives of teagh (with final delenition of -gh > -g absent in these latter cases). This being the case we can rule out Connacht, Donegal teach < Old Irish accusative tech as a forerunner to Clare [t’e’], [t’e], teh even though Holmer (1965: §141) notes how ‘x is often weakened to h’. The crucial attestation of the Clare by-form [t’eg], then, helps us conclude that forms such as [t’e n’o’] ‘a new house’39 [t’e b’r α: ’] ‘a fine house’ (§4)40 would have to be te[agh] nua, te[agh] breagh (as opposed to **te[ach] nua, te[agh] breagh).41

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32 Holmer (1965: 36-7).
33 One can only endorse the remarks made by Wagner (1982: 96) acknowledging the most valuable work conducted by Holmer in the field in areas such as Clare and Argyllshire, not forgetting Co. Antrim. Time has already shown Nils Holmer to be one of the far-sighted giants of Gaelic dialectology.
34 On -igh (-idh) > -ig in Munster genrally, see §7a, notes – plus the possibility that the form [a d’eg] can be taken as inflected dative singular in Clare, i.e i dig < i diugh.
36 [ar f’e’g] ar feadh (Ra 2, CO 1, Lu 9)’ Holmer (1962: §130).
37 On Old Irish ed, with later prosthetic f, see DIL s.v.
40 LASID pt 22a.
41 On the pronunciation of *teach in Clare we might note the form tháinig isteach [st’ax] ‘came in’ Holmer (1965: 16), a form which contains a compound fossilised form of OIr. accusative tech in Munster dialects (§12). We may even
Clare [t’e’], teb, the by-form [t’e’], Old Irish teg, Celtic *tegos, Greek τεγος

§7 Having established, then, a body of evidence for the occurrence of [t’e’], [t’e], teb etc. in Clare, it may now be concluded that the Clare and Tipperary forms on LASID i Map 147 are probably the most significant forms on this entire map. Previous to this, Wagner (1982: §1) pointed out the fossilisation of the Old Irish nominative teg in the widely attested modern Irish and Scottish Gaelic compound *teaghlach 'household, family' (< *tegoslōgos). In this new light, however, we can now safely conclude that the most revealing feature of the current reappraisal of LASID i Map 147 'house' is that the Clare/Tipperary forms [t’e’], [t’e] (reinforced by the crucial by-forms [t’eg], garnered by Holmer in South Clare) can now all safely be identified as direct survivals of Early Modern literary teagh < the Old Irish nominative teg 'house' < Celtic *tegos. As a direct cognate of Greek τεγος 'roof', the modern forms [t’e’], [t’e] and [t’eg] also represent survivals of an inherited archaic Indo-European term for 'covering, roof, house' and, as such, it can be seen how this old term Celtic *tegos > OIr. teg > modern te[a]gh was still sheltering the Gaelic-speaking communities of Counties Clare and Tipperary (as descendants of Neolithic Indo-Europeans, some four or five millennia removed) long into the twentieth century!

minority oblique tigh in Clare; neo-nominative tig v tigh in greater Munster

§7a Even though the Old Irish historical dative/locative tig *[t’i’y’] abounds as a neo-nominative for 'house' in the vast majority of remaining Munster dialects either as delenited tig, or historical tigh, it is important that the Clare/Tipperary forms in [t’e’], [t’e], [t’eg] are not confused with tig(h) or, for that matter, teach. The rest of Munster, then, (excluding Clare and Tipperary) clearly shows the old dative/locative forms tigh and tig as the neo-nominative. Map 1 above is of interest in its geographical representation of the spread of tig (a delenited form of tigh) in most of south and west Munster, as opposed to historic tigh in the east – and O’Rahilly (1932: 54) commented on the tendency for -ig not to appear in Waterford, East Munster, and up into Leinster. While te’ < teagh, or the by-form teag, are dominant as the nominative singular forms in Clare there are, nevertheless, some tigh-forms among the materials collected in the Clare points by Wagner.

note the Clare-Galway border by-forms such as teach from Fanore ($4) or Gort [t’ox] teach 'house' ($13, notes). On the further Clare variant nominative singular forms palatal [t’e’ha] and non-palatal [te’ha], see §8a infra.

42 On the link between Clare and Tipperary, see Wagner (1982: 105).
43 See now Delamarre (2001: s.x. sloug-) for Old Welsh telu, Cornish teilu 'family'.
44 The survival of the simplex teagh 'house' in bardic poetry (c.1200-1690) is dealt with below ($9).
45 While the dative is doubtless a major contender for neo-nominative forms such as tigh (Munster), toigh (East Ulster) and taigh (Scotland and the Isle of Man), the role of the old locative is also a distinct possibility. Wagner (1982: 102-4).
47 To consider Clare [t’e’], [t’e] as a 'lowering' of tigh would seem to be comfortably countered by South Clare [t’eg] < [t’e’y] ($6) – and on further ruling out the possibility of teach as a neo-nominative in Clare (in addition to above), see §§6 and 12.
48 Ua Súilleabháin (1994: 485). On Munster aghaig 'face' (as opposed to aghaidh elsewhere) helping to maintain a non-homonymic distribution of aghaig 'face' and ae 'liver' side by side in Munster, see §10 (notes).
in \textit{LASID} ii. Apart from the apparent nominative \textit{an tigh \text{"ud}} ‘that house’\footnote{Pt 22a \textit{LASID} ii (§4 supra).} the remainder of these forms could possibly be explained as historic inflected dative singular forms:

\textbf{Point 22a}: [oːnə hɪː fˈeːn΄] \textit{óna tighb féin} ‘from his own house’

\textbf{Point 24} [,vˈiː ʃe ənɑ:r ‘dinə ‘reːr΄] \textit{Bhí sé inár dtígh-ne}. ‘He was in our house last night.’\footnote{References to both forms §4 supra.}

If the above forms are to be recognised as historic inflected dative singular forms, they would, nevertheless, appear to be the exception rather than the rule,\footnote{For a rare pronunciation [‘təg΄] in Clare (which I would interpret as a delenited inflected dat.sg. \textit{tig < tigh}, cf. main text [go dán’s s’o d’i te’ rev Ps’ilə ənsa gun’əs] go daininigh sé go dtí tigh a raibh file insan gcuinne ‘til he came to a house in which there was a poet in the corner’ Holmer (1965: 192 §56, continuing to 194). Yet Holmer notes (p. 194.n. 1) ‘He said d’\text{"og}. For a further a possible \textit{dtígh}, see Homer (1965: 271, n. 1).} as most other forms from Clare show that the old nominative \textit{teagh} also functions as an uninflected dative, as the following from Duilearga (1981) show: \textit{i dteh beag} ‘in a little house’ (13), \textit{n-a theh} ‘in his house’ (39), \textit{tríd a’ dteh} ‘through the house’ (43).\footnote{On the main use of the nominative as the neo-dative in Clare for this word, see also \textit{Congress} 1962: §249b, §526b, §254c.}

\textbf{The general replacement of Common Celtic *tegos as nominative in Insular Celtic}

§7b With the further possible exception of a non-palatal-initial form of Old Irish \textit{teg}, as *t[a]e[gh], in some 30 or so Scottish dialects (§8), all other modern Gaelic dialects show that oblique cases have replaced the old nominative \textit{teg}: accusative \textit{teach} (< OIr. \textit{tech}) in modern Connaught, and West Ulster (or Greater Donegal); plus historic dative/locative \textit{tig(h)} in Munster;\footnote{The isogloss of Munster \textit{tig(h)} and \textit{te’} <\textit{teagh} versus \textit{teach} Connaught is dealt with in §13, and the attestation of Munster \textit{tigh} from the 15th century in §15d.} and the early non-palatal variants East Ulster \textit{toigh} and Scottish \textit{taigh}, Manx \textit{thie}.\footnote{Table i and Maps 1 and 2 above.} This large-scale replacement of the Common Celtic nominative *\textit{tegos} by an oblique case is also mirrored by similar developments in Brittonic, where Old Welsh \textit{tig} and Old Breton compound \textit{tegrann} ‘house-portion of land’,\footnote{Fleuriot (1964: 312).} have all been replaced by Modern Welsh \textit{ty} and Breton \textit{ti}.\footnote{Cf. \textit{LEIA} s.v. \textit{tech}, \textit{tegh}.}

§8 Majority \textit{taigh ‘house’ in Scotland, minority \textit{[te]} = \textit{t(a)eagh} < OIr. \textit{teg + taig}:}

The eight returns from \textit{LASID} for Gaelic Scotland seemed to indicate a majority of forms in \textit{taigh},\footnote{\textit{LASID} iv 195.147. Dwell (1920: 939) lists \textit{teagh ‘house} as obsolete (†) and cross-refers to \textit{taigh}, although he lists derivatives such as \textit{teaghas ‘small room, closet} and \textit{teaghlach ‘family, household}.} or an \textit{o}-based variant \textit{toigh} – although the form \textit{[te.h]} was returned for Arran. The Arran form \textit{[te.h]}, above all the seven others attested in \textit{LASID} iv, may yet prove to be the most significant form from Scotland recorded in the Wagner materials.
The welcome returns in *LASID* iv for Scottish Gaelic ‘house’ have since been extensively supplemented by the 200+ responses available in the *Survey of the Gaelic dialects of Scotland*. An examination of *SGDS* item 820 reveals that most dialects return the historic dative/locative form *taigh* as a neo-nominative for ‘house’, although (as with *LASID* iv 195.147) it is to be noted that *o*-based vowels are also discernable.

More significantly (in the context of the Clare and Tipperary forms [t’e’] te’ < OIr. nominative singular *teg* ‘house’ §§5-7), it is to be observed that 31 Scottish points returned a form resembling [te], [te] while 4 others varied between [te] and the oblique case *taigh*. In his treatment of ‘Disappearance of *j*’ in the dialect of Arran Holmer (1957: 65, §140) states that this occurs in final position or before an *i* and he cites as examples ‘*tigh tō* “house” (for *tōj*) and *fa faigh* “get” (for *faaj*). While Holmer’s explanation might go some way as an explanation for the Scottish forms in [te] ‘house’, an alternative might be to explain Scottish [te] along the same lines as OIr. *teg > teagh > te’* in Clare – only with the non-palatal initial of the oblique cases, *taig* and *taige*, also spreading to the Old Irish nominative *teg* to provide, on Scottish soil, a portmanteau form *t[a]eg > *t[a]eagh > [te]* in *SGDS* 820, i.e. an admixture of old nominative *teg* with a non-palatal initial under the influence of the oblique forms in *taig(e)*.

**§8a** Following on from the previous remarks in relation to Gaelic Scotland (where it was proposed that the non-palatal initial *t*- of [te] ‘house’ might represent a possible portmanteau form of Old Irish *teg* and *taig*) we may further note that Holmer recorded yet another variant nominative form in the shape of [te’ha] ‘house’. These occasional by-forms with non-palatal initial [te] were recorded from Cloghaunsavan and Kilbaha as: [ən te so=/ləs’] and [te pə=/bəl’]. Holmer transcribes these forms as *tigh solais* and *tigh pobail*, although the current author would respectfully suggest that non-palatal [te] might be represented orthographically as: an *t[a]egh solais* ‘the lighthouse’ and *t[a]egh pobail* ‘chapel’.

In relation to the emergence of the Clare portmanteau forms in *t[a]egh*, Holmer proposed that we may be dealing with non-palatal forms stemming from the reinterpretation of lenited variant

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58 *SGDS* vol. v 820 *taigh* ‘house’.
59 On the difficulty these Scottish *o*-forms pose for regarding East Ulster *taigh* v Scottish *taigh* as a net ‘dictionary’ isogloss, see §15.
60 *SGDS* 820, points 31-33, 44, 55, 134-43, 146-7, 149-50, 151-3, 156, 159-166, 174-5.
61 *SGDS* 820, points 55-6, 148, 155 showed variance between *taigh* and [te].
63 On the issue of [fa], versus [faj], we might view these forms as non-palatal ending *fagh* versus *faigh*.
64 On the possible prehistory of Scottish, Manx *taigh* as *tagis(i)*, see §15 infra.
65 ‘In a few words final ‘slender’ -gh appears as -hə in Clare Irish, e.g. *tigh [tʼeʰə]*’ Holmer (1962:§137). This latest variant is to be added to other forms such as majority [t’e’], [t’e] in Clare §4, and occasional [t’eg], §§6-7.
66 Information on Clare speakers Cl 1 and Kb 2 are furnished in Holmer (1962: 11).
67 Holmer (1962; p. 71, n. 46) has, as a footnote to *tigh [tʼeʰə]* (§137): ‘Probably owing to the fact that the aspirated form [heʰə] may theoretically belong to a form [teʰə] as well as to [tʼeʰə], the former is occasionally used also (Cl 1, Kb 3 etc.), e.g. *an tigh solais* [ən te so=/loːs’] (Cl 1) and *tigh pobail* [te pə=/bal’] (Kb 3); an early Irish variant *taig* might well also explain the form with a “broad” initial.’
nominative [he/ha] theagh(a) as analogue non-palatal taegh-, alongside historical palatal teagh-. The generation of Clare by-forms in non-palatal taegh- (via a reinterpretation of [he/ha] theagh(a) to theagh) would seem plausible enough – hence Clare [yə ‘he] ‘two houses’ could yield: historic dhá the[agh] > te[agh]; or back-formed *dhá theagh > teagh. The above scenario could well explain the Clare by-form taegh, with non-palatal initial t- < historic teagh, in an Early Modern context. Notwithstanding, Holmer’s further suggestion, in relation to the non-palatal initial of Clare by-form [te] that ‘an early Irish variant taig might well also explain the form with a “broad” initial’ is probably in need of revision, at least for Clare. The reason for this is that the attested genitive singular in Clare (not to mention Munster and Connaught generally) has a palatal initial, i.e. tighe, with non-palatal taigh(e)/toigh(e) absent in Connaught and Munster. On the other hand, the widespread attestation of non-palatal genitive singular taighe in Scotland, however, would imply that the creation of a Scottish portmanteau nominative form in t[a]egh (under the influence of Old Irish, or early Gaelic, neo-nominative taig-) would be a distinct possibility.

The use of the distribution of forms on the modern dialect map (with Scottish gen. sg. taighe as opposed to Munster tighe) has been used here to form the basis of the argument that: (a) the influence of Old Irish taig(e) on Scottish t[a]egh is conceivable; while (b) the influence of Old Irish taig(e) in the case of t[a]egh in Clare is unlikely – due simply to the lack of solid testimony, on the ground, of a non-palatal initial gen. sg. toigh/taighe in Munster. These conclusions, drawn from the differing sets of circumstances pertaining in Scotland and Clare (in terms of synchronic and inferred diachronic linguistic geography), may be further compared to the reasoning (used in §13 infra) for:

(i) ruling out the presence of the historic accusative tech as a neo-nominative in Munster (as opposed to Connaught, Donegal teach), and
(ii) ruling out the presence of the Old Irish negative particles nicon (surviving as cha in greater modern Ulster, Scottish and Manx) due to the exclusive attestation, on the ground, of ni in Munster and Connaught (§13)

The implications of OIr. [θ'] and [θ] > Early Modern [h] for Scottish and Clare t[a]egh

§8b Some further points arise in the investigation of the emergence of non-palatal t[a]egh as possible back formations from a lenited theagh in Clare and Scotland. Such a back formation of taegh from lenited theagh would have, in all probability, to be viewed

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68 Cited in the previous note.
69 Holmer (1962: §258a).
70 Holmer (1962: p. 71, n. 46).
71 See Clare [ə rəˈdəʊ ə tː] ar fuaid an tighe Holmer (1965: 49), [pərə tːi] fear an tighe 291; klounə tːi; → the family of the house LASID ii, pt 22 (§4 supra) and fear tighe agus óite ‘a man of house and property’ Mac Clúin (1940: s.v. teith). These palatal forms tighe from Clare can be placed alongside the other forms of non-palatal genitive singular tighe in Munster and Connaught, cited in the notes to §9d infra.
72 SGDS iv, 822 – see this and similar non-palatal Manx and Ulster forms in the notes to §9d infra.
73 Due to the fact that only tig, tigh and teagh occur in the Munster points of LASID i, map 147 (Map 1, above) with teach absent in Munster – although for Clare/Galway border forms in teach, see LASID i Map 1, pt 26 (Map 1 above), and Holmer (1962: p. 110, n. 76), §13 notes.
as an Early Modern development, i.e. after the loss of the old voiceless alveo-palatal and dental voiceless fricatives [θˈ] and [θ] and their merger with the glottal voiceless fricative [h].

Thus while modern lenited the- and tha- would both yield initial [h] in all modern pan-Gaelic dialects, in the earlier language these would have featured as palatal theg *[θˈeγ] and non-palatal thaeq *[θeγ].

As the Old Irish non-palatal by-form taig(e) is not likely to have featured in Clare (for the reasons outlined in §8a), then it would seem that the generation of an t[a]egh solais ‘the lighthouse’ and t[a]egh pobail ‘chapel’ in Clare could not be due to the analogical influence of Old Irish non-palatal oblique taig-.

This being the case, Holmer’s view that Clare non-palatal initial an t[a]egh solais ‘the lighthouse’ and t[a]egh pobail ‘chapel’ could be explained from the reinterpretation of modern lenited variant nominative [heha] theagh(a) as analogical non-palatal teagh-, alongside historical palatal teagh- seems to fit the bill for the Clare non-palatal minority by-forms an t[a]egh solais ‘the lighthouse’ and t[a]egh pobail ‘chapel’.76

On the other hand, if the Scottish by-forms t[a]egh are to be dated to the period of Old Irish, and under the direct analogical influence of oblique Old Irish taig(e) (§8), then we are going back to a time in the early language where lenited palatal *theg and non-palatal thaeq were pronounced as [θˈeγ] and [θeγ].

This being the case, a back formation of Scottish non-palatal variant nominative taeg [təγ] from lenited OlIr. theg [θˈeγ] seems less likely than the (Early) Modern Clare scenario of lenited [heha] theagh(a) yielding the analogical non-palatal back formation teagh- (alongside the more widely attested historical palatal form teagh-).

To conclude this section, then, the set of proposals forwarded here (based on synchronic cartographical distribution projected diachronically into the manuscript tradition and the phonology of Old Irish) demonstrate that we can clearly distinguish between taegh in Clare and taegh in Scotland.

Although they may seem to be identical, if approached synchronically, when they are considered diachronically and geographically they can be identified as items stemming from different causes and eras.

(i) Clare taegh is a more recent back-formation from the (post-)Early Modern period where lenited [heha] theagh(a) gave us an analogical non-palatal back formation teagh-, alongside historical palatal teagh- (with the influence of Old Irish non-palatal oblique taig- being ruled out, pace Holmer, due to the occurrence of palatal oblique tigh- in Clare < Old Irish historic tig-, §8a).

(ii) Scottish taegh appears to be older in formation than Clare taegh, and we can view the

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74 As an example we might cite how Old Irish Mathgamain [mɑθγɑvənˈ], [mɑθxɑvənˈ] would be rendered Mahoun in 13th century sources. McManus (1994: 351).


76 Via the likes of [və he] ‘two houses’ (§8).

77 Cf. §8 supra and §15b infra.

78 As an t[a]egh solais ‘the lighthouse’ and t[a]egh pobail ‘chapel’.

79 We may note that a much more common feature in Irish dialects is the interchange of alveo-palatal [tˈ] and palato-velar [kˈ], and this is reflected in LASID i, map 147, points 61 and 63 where [kˈax] is returned for teach. For the interchange of [tˈ] and [kˈ] in Clare, cf. ‘Certain speakers in all parts of the county do not distinguish between tˈ and kˈ’ Holmer (1962: §54), and note [kˈen tu mˈ] ceagh an tabháirne ‘the ale house’ < teagh an tabháirne Holmer (1965: 220, n. 3).
generation of Scottish *taegh* as rooted in a portmanteau form consisting of a combination Old Irish historic nominative *teg* with Old Irish non-palatal oblique by-forms *taig*-. Furthermore, the more widespread occurrence of *taegh* in Scotland\(^{80}\) is also indicative of a term that is of longstanding.\(^{81}\)

**bardic poetry *teaght*/*teach*, *tigh*/*toigh*: the socio-linguistic import**

\(\S 9\) In his appraisal of the major and much-needed post-Old Irish linguistic reforms conducted among the Gaelic *literati* in Early Modern Gaeldom (when, finally, the dramatic change from the language of Old to Modern Gaelic was finally being legislated for at an academy level),\(^{82}\) Ó Cuív (1983: 20) discusses the permissible use of dialect variants in the corpus of bardic poetry such as *cridhe*/*croidhe* ‘heart’, *cloch*/*clach* ‘stone’ etc. Many of these permissible variants in *IGT* are rooted in isoglosses between Irish and Scottish Gaelic with *croidhe* ‘heart’ and *cloch* ‘stone’ dominating in Irish as opposed to *cridhe* and *clach* in Scotland.\(^{83}\)

In relation to the actual specific employment of such variation attestable in the compositions of bardic practitioners, one may examine the *oeuvre* of the Sligo-based poet Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn (+ 1591), where it will be seen that the alternatives *cridhe* and *croidhe* are employed within a single line (with *cridhe* making perfect internal rhyme with *bile*, and *croidhe* making *rinn: airdrinn* end-rhyme with *Bhóroimbe*):

```plaintext
Fuaigh an *cridhe* red *croidhe*  
A *b bile* bhruaigh Bhóroimbe\(^{84}\)  
‘Knit the heart to thine  
Thou forest tree of Boróimhe’s shore’
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If the employment of the variants for ‘house’ in bardic poetry is explored in detail it will emerge that much can be gleaned, on a number of fronts, from the status afforded to the variants used in the attested cases of the singular:

(i) old nominative *teagb* (< OIr. *teg*) and the by-form *teach* (based on the old accusative *tech* as neo-nominative)

(ii) palatal dative *tigb* and genitive *tighe* (inherited historic forms < OIr. *tig(e)*), and their non-palatal-initial variants *toigb* and *toighe*, plus lesser used *taigh* and *taighe*\(^{85}\)

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\(^{80}\) Around 16% of Scottish dialects of the 200+ dialects surveyed in *SGDS* 820 ‘house’ return a form resembling [te].

\(^{81}\) On a possible trigger for the emergence of *t(a)eg < teg* in Scotland, see \(\S 15c\).

\(^{82}\) On the lapse of time, spanning over many centuries, it took the Gaelic *literati* to finally legislate for the change from Old Irish to Modern Gaelic (as opposed to the rapid change between the two at the vernacular level) see \(\S 9e\).

\(^{83}\) Elsie (1986: 93) shows a net distinction between *croí* for the 9 Irish points surveyed and *cridhe* in Scotland – although *SGDS* 244 *cridhe* ‘heart’ shows a mixture of *cridhe* and *croidhe* in Scotland. As regards *cloch* v *clach*, we may note the occurrence of *clach* on the tombstone of a late 15\(^{th}\)/early 16\(^{th}\) century Scottish Gallowglass, now in the graveyard of Cloncha, near Culdaff, Inishowen Co. Donegal. This slab was item 55 of Fintan O’Toole’s eBook *100 great objects of Irish history*.

\(^{84}\) *TD* 30.1cd.

\(^{85}\) On which see \(\S\S 9a\) and 15b.
teagh versus teach

§9a It is noteworthy that teagh (< OIr. teg) seems to be preferred by Ó hUiginn as a nominative singular (as witnessed, for example, by his use of teagh to rhyme with treabh, or the rinn: airdrinn rhyme teagh: choinnmheadh). Nevertheless we see adhnáidh teach don toigh re a thaoibh ‘a house takes fire from the one beside it’, and although no rhyme is required in the latter, we may note the rhyme: teach : breath in the work of Á. Ó Dálaigh, or, elsewhere, the rinn: airdrinn rhyme teach : cláirsceach. The variant rhymes teagh : treabh and teach : breath clearly show the metrical benefits in bardic poetry to be gained by the employment of either the old nominative teagh or its acceptable alternative teach. Even so, the basis for the sanctioning of both archaic teagh and later neo-nominative teach is hardly surprising given: (a) the widespread attestation of the old accusative tech in place of the old nominative teg in Connaught and West Ulster (Map 1); and, but more importantly, (b) the orthographic footprint of neo-nominative tech as early as the 8th and 9th century Glosses and later texts such as Saltair na Rann (988) and the great 12th century compilations LU and LL.

Keating’s use of teagh – formal teaching or fireside Tipperary?

§9b The work of the renowned 17th century author Geoffrey Keating is particularly interesting in regard to teagh or teach. The variation between teagh and teach, evident in the prose of this scholar, might be taken as a simple open-and-shut case of his use of the old nominative teagh due to his bardic training, where both teagh and teach were used as permissible variants for the nominative. It should also be borne in mind, however, that the Classical form teagh would certainly have been a comfortable variant for Keating given that he, in all likelihood, would have used the ‘prestige’ form teagh colloquially from childhood in his native Tipperary in the early 1600s – as may be deduced from the form [t’e] te’ < teagh recorded by Wagner in Goatenbridge, South Tipperary some four centuries later.

tigh(e) versus toigh(e)

§9c In relation to the oblique cases of ‘house’, Ó hUiginn uses the variant palatal and non-palatal varieties of the dative and genitive, as in: tigh (: bhfír) and toigh (rinn: airdrinn) rhyme :
Eoghain);\(^{95}\) plus the genitive forms: palatal \textit{tighe} (: \textit{file})\(^{96}\) yet non-palatal \textit{toighe} (\textit{rinn}: \textit{airdrinn rhyme} : \textit{iorgbaile}).\(^{97}\) Although the oblique forms \textit{taig} and \textit{taige} abound in the literary texts of Old Irish (§§\textit{9a} and 15), these forms do not seem as abundant in the corpus of bardic poetry as \textit{tighe/toighe} or \textit{toighe/toigh}. Nevertheless, the \textit{a}-forms\(^{98}\) make an appearance, as in \textit{sair : thaigh}, or \textit{thaigh : saigh}.\(^{99}\)

\textit{IGT: out with some of the old with the old, in with some of the new}

§9d The authorisation of these variants for the various cases of ‘house’ is of immense socio-linguistic import, for despite its seemingly lax, all-inclusive or \textit{laissez aller} attitude, it should not to be misconstrued that \textit{IGT} afforded a total \textit{carte blanche} to linguistic diversity and innovation, as many later dialect forms, doubtless commonplace, in Early Modern Gaelic vernacular, were proscribed as \textit{lochtach}, or ‘faulty’. One striking case in point is the proscription of the elided form \textit{d’iarr ‘asked’} as opposed to recommended literary, non-elided \textit{do iarr} – despite the fact that virtually all Irish and all Scottish and Manx dialects return elided \textit{d’iarr, d’iarr}.\(^{100}\) To this ‘blacklist’ we may add: \textit{bionn ‘is’}, common now in most modern Irish dialects as independent \textit{bionn} (as opposed to Early Modern independent, non-hiatus \textit{biddh}).\(^{101}\) Similarly the castigation of vernacular forms in \textit{do thug ‘gave’} or \textit{do tháinig ‘came’} and the insistence upon literary non-lenited \textit{tug} or \textit{táinig} is an embargo which proved particularly resolute and ubiquitous in the suppression of the common vernacular in \textit{IGT} given the fact: (i) that the forms \textit{tug} and \textit{táinig} were almost certainly orally defunct by this stage! and (ii) that the forms \textit{do thug ‘gave’} and \textit{do tháinig ‘came’} not only subsist in Munster dialects to the current day but they can also be shown to have been formerly much more widespread in the Early Modern sources for Gaelic Ireland and Scotland.\(^{102}\)

While a full analysis of \textit{cóir ‘acceptable’} and \textit{lochtach ‘proscribed’} in \textit{IGT} cannot be entered into here, it is interesting that some long-established dialect variants (attestable prior to the compilation of \textit{IGT}) seem to have been afforded the \textit{imprimatur} of official recognition more readily than those perceived to be of more recent coinage. Consequently, the official approval of the non-palatal-initial variants \textit{toighe/toigh(e)}, common in

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\(^{95}\) \textit{don \textit{toigh} (: Eoghain) ‘of the house’ TD 20.56a.}

\(^{96}\) \textit{ar bhru an \textit{tighe} ‘in front of the house’ (: \textit{file}) TD 8.11c, plus: géag shaoracla \textit{Tighe an trír ‘noble scion of the house of the three’ (: \textit{bile}) TD 9.48c.}

\(^{97}\) Cf. \textit{lucht \textit{toighe} ‘household’ (: \textit{iorgbaile}) TD 20.54a.}

\(^{98}\) On the difference between the net isogloss between Sc.g. and Manx \textit{taigh} v E. Ulster \textit{toigh} suggested by the dictionary, as opposed to the more blurred linguistic geographical reality, see §15.

\(^{99}\) \textit{Aithd. Dána} 61.17 and \textit{Magauran} 1.8 respectively. I am indebted to Prof. P. Ó Machain for these references.

\(^{100}\) Hughes (2013: 207-8) deals with the prohibition of \textit{d’iarr} in \textit{IGT} (despite \textit{dimdhigh ‘left’} from \textit{Leabhar Breac} plus \textit{daggis, daggimir} from \textit{Scottish Book of the Dean of Lismore} (c. 1520) \textit{dhanadur ‘they remained’ Scottish MS 1467}, and \textit{d’ordaigh ‘ordered’} from an Irish letter in 17th century). Conversely, for occasional preservations of old non-elided forms resembling \textit{d’iarr} in modern Munster, see Hughes (2013: 189).

\(^{101}\) \textit{Ibid.} 208-12. We find independent \textit{bithidh} in Scotland (SGDS maps 102/3 < OIr, hiatus \textit{bith}, \textit{biid}, Wb. 29a26 and 4d33), non-hiatus \textit{bee} in Manx (Broderick 1984: 78) as opposed to independent \textit{bionn} in most of Ireland. \textit{Bionn}, of course, was originally only a later variant independent stem to Early Modern -\textit{bi}, although it is interesting that (in addition to formal indep. \textit{biddh}, dep. -\textit{bi}) the proscribed form \textit{bionn} is also used in a loose \textit{brúilingeacht} composition by Tadhg Dall!

\(^{102}\) \textit{Ibid.} Chapter 9.
Ulster, Scottish and Manx Gaelic – side by side with the older historical palatal oblique forms *tigh(e)*, still dominant in modern Munster and Connaught – is indicative that this dichotomy not only cleaved the Gaelic world in two, isoglossically, but also that the literary endorsement of this same deviation, as *cór* ‘acceptable’, sat comfortably on the shoulders of those in the Gaelic academy, in the later medieval period, when it came to deciding which variants were acceptable, or unacceptable – aided, no doubt, by the longstanding pedigree of *taig(e)* from Old Irish sources (§9a).

‘house’ in *IGT* as an indication of a unique European region-centered standard

§9e One final important point to remember, in regard to the permissible variant forms *teagh*/teach, *tigh(e)/toigh(e)* etc. in *IGT* (which can all be shown to have been based on regional forms, and used in older literature), is that these same forms constitute prime examples of the uniquely non-centralised, pragmatic linguistic flexibility that made up the psyché of those ‘language planners’ among the Gaelic literati in the medieval period. In many ways, the linguistic construct that is the *Irish Grammatical Tracts* was a most remarkable linguistic exercise (by any ‘standards’) and, as such, it is quite a unique phenomenon in a European historical context, in terms of aims and structure. Most European linguistic edicts and established standards, over many centuries, if not millennia, were of a centralising nature.

The medieval Gaelic bardic tracts, on the other hand, seem to legislate not only for a marriage between the old and the new (or the out-dated and antiquated, on the one hand, and some of the up-and-coming contemporary, on the other), but also for an accommodation of the salient dialect features of an interconnected yet diverse series of Gaelic lordships. These tracts, in many ways, may be said to reflect the very nature of the structure and fabric of medieval Gaelic society itself: disparate, rural, regional and only loosely interconnected.

As such, *IGT* may be said to run counter to the more usual centralising standardisations in Europe, old and, especially, modern, which all seem to be based on the historic Empire- or modern Nation State-model of the ‘capital’. This capital-centred uniform language ideal may be seen, for example, in the case of Paris and how it imposed strict administrative and social control over ‘France’ (and its ‘territories’), not to mention Franco’s Madrid-based, iron-fisted, strict suppression of any

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103 For Ulster gen. sg. *toighe* see Hughes (2013: 36), Sc.G. gen sg. *taighe* *SGDS* iv, 822, and Manx [kûl ø ta:i] ‘the back of the house’ *LASID* iv, 180 s.v. *house*. For the importance of Scottish *taighe* in generating the by-form nominative *t[æ]egh*, as opposed to *tighe* in Clare, see §§8 and 8a supra.

104 For Munster: Waterford [b‘an ø t‘i:] *bean an tighe* ‘the woman of the house’ Bretnach (1947: 97), Clare [ar f‘a:d ø t‘i:] *ar fsaid an tighe* Holmer (1965: 49), [b‘an ø t‘i:]; Connaught: Galway [f‘ær ø t‘i:] *fear an tighe* ‘the man of the house’ de Bhaldraithe (1953: §200, 3); Mayo: *bean an tighe* de Búrca (1958: §406, 2). On the likelihood that oblique *tighe* was the sole form in Munster and Connaught (as opposed to Northern and Eastern *toig(e)/taig(e)* see §8a supra.

105 For the possibility of *taig(e)* going back many centuries before Würzburg, see §15.

106 Valerius Maximus, who wrote during the reign of Tiberius (14-37 AD) drew up the strict rule that Roman magistrates should only reply in Latin to foreign ambassadors in the Senate or outside of Rome, Rochette (2011: 550).

107 One might, in an agent provocateur rôle, revisit the French Nation State attitude exemplified by outrageous edicts such as: *interdit de cracher par terre et de parler Breton* ‘forbidden to spit on the ground or speak Breton’ – also applied, it might be added, to the various Romance-based *patois*, notably *Occitan*. These slogans, and ‘reasoning’ serve as prime examples of the mind-set of the typical ‘centralised’ historical European ‘standard’. The French examples cited here stem from Abbé Grégoire’s 1794 *Report on the necessity and means to annihilate the patois and to universalise the use of*
other language, or sub-dialect, apart from *castellano* in that part of the Iberian peninsula claimed by the modern Nation State of Spain. The idea of a standard language as a tool in asserting and maintaining and central power is summed up by posters pasted on the walls in Catalunya in the 1940s: *Si eres Español, habla, Español*108 ‘If you are Spanish, speak Spanish’.

In some ways the standardisation of ‘Irish’ conducted in the first half of the twentieth century, culminating in the Irish Government’s Official Standard *An Caighdeán Oifigiúil*, 1958) may be said to fall into line more with the latter, contemporary centralised European administrative standards – although the model of Ireland’s near neighbour Britain (which had a uniform and unified written standard for English, along with its ‘Received Pronunciation’) was certainly the more major influence on the aims and objectives that the designers of the ‘Official Standard’ in the Irish civil service set themselves in the 1950s. In short, the Middle Class intelligentsia, for the most part clustered in the capital city of Dublin, attempted to set out the constitutional and linguistic credentials of the recently declared Republic of Ireland (1948) as a European Nation State, by designing the ‘official’ or ‘national’ language in parallel with other countries.

This 1958 ‘Irish standard’ did not link Irish Gaelic in with Scotland.109 Furthermore, it (unwittingly) set about marginalising and, to a degree, alienating the *Gaeltacht* areas of twentieth-century Ireland – areas where (very much in keeping with old medieval Ireland), the local region was the prime marker of identity rather than the urban concept of Nation State. Some extent of the widespread emotive frustration felt by many regional *Gaeltacht* authors towards *An Caighdeán Oifigiúil* is touched upon by Hughes (2008: 9 ff.), while de Brún (2015) documents the heated spat on dialect versus national language between Galway author Máirtín Ó Cadhain and the Cork-born, Belfast-based Muiris Ó Droighneáin. Ó Droighneáin was described by de Brún (232) as ‘an exceptionally zealous advocate of Standard Irish’, and he cites other titles bestowed on Ó Droighneáin such as ‘watchman of the Standard’, or T. de Bhaldraithe’s description of him as ‘Ireland’s chief corrector of Irish’.

As the (albeit dislocated and distant) successor to *IGT*, then, we can see that *An Caighdeán Oifigiúil*, as a codification of the Gaelic language in Ireland in the 1950s, took place under very changed circumstances, goals and mind-sets. It contrasts starkly with *IGT*, which was composed to reach the wider Gaelic-speaking regions of Ireland, Scotland and the Isle of Man some seven or so centuries earlier. The two works were very much different standards for different times. *An Caighdeán Oifigiúil* is a classic product of the Nation State, and, in this regard, apes the edicts of the larger European Nation States. As such, it offers little new in that it complies very much with the paradigm of many of the other modern, run-of-the-mill European linguistic standardisations. *IGT*, on the other hand is a remarkable codification for the Europe of its day. In *IGT*, the authors negotiated, relatively successfully and fairly flexibly, a compromise between the old and the new, while at the same time, managing to meander their way throughout an interlinked series of petty kingdoms that made up the *Gaedhaltacht* which stretched from Kerry to the Isle of Lewis, with no tangible ‘capital’ (nor centralised, constitutional civil service at the helm) and where the Gael’s castle was his *teagh* or *teach* and within the walls of which he, as ‘master’, was either *fear an tighe*, *fear an toighe* or, indeed, *fear an taighe*.

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108 On Franco and the insistence upon *castellano* as the only ‘national’ language, see Balfour (2000).

109 In *IGT*, in the medieval era, of course, the *literati* took Gaelic-speaking Ireland and Scotland as a quaisuinified linguistic entity, of what was, to a large degree, *An Ghaedhaltacht*. 
To counter the risk of canonising the authors of *IGT*, it must be pointed out that their preoccupation was primarily with the language and circles of the literary and social elite (and, of course, metrics). It should be further pointed out that the Gaelic literary academy demonstrated a massive conservative and obstinate side towards many aspects of the common vernacular, taking an inordinate amount of time after the demise of Old Irish, c. 900,\textsuperscript{110} before, finally, bowing to the groundswell of the rampant vernacular (which had emerged directly following Old Irish).\textsuperscript{111} The accommodation of the post-Old Irish ‘Early Modern’, then, only emerged after a gap spanning many centuries, and passing through the literary canon of manuscript, backward-looking, traditionalist ‘Middle Irish’ which, it might be claimed, sought desperately to build a dam against the unstoppable forces of the flowing vernacular before the banks finally burst in the Early Modern period.

Benignly catering for a vernacular, farm-labouring Munster *tígh*, Scottish *taigh* or Manx *thie* would certainly not have been high on the list of priorities of the *ollamhain* behind *IGT*, although (when it suited them) their exploitation of dialect variation in the various cases of the word ‘house’ for the purposes of the metrical requirements of *dán díreach*, or ‘strict- metre poetry’,\textsuperscript{112} was mischievously exquisite not to mention pragmatically ingenious. One surely has to acknowledge *IGT*, warts and all, as an enigmatic linguistic triumph.

In summing up its eventual, if not long overdue emergence, with its partial concessions to modernity and to, some aspects of dialect, we might (given the particular lexeme at hand) borrow a gloss from Würzburg and recast it afresh in the context of the emerging and long overdue Early Modern linguistic standard – a substantial part of which stemmed from the grassroots upwards to reach the higher echelons:

\[
\text{rofess \textit{cid i taig rig amal rofess i taig c	extaccentuml{a}{i}ch,}}
\]

‘it is known even in the king’s house as it is in everyone’s house’ *Wb*. 23b9

\textbf{§10 OIr. neuter *a teg* > masc. \textit{in tech} and the homonymic clash \textit{in tech} ‘the house’ \textit{int ech} ‘the horse’}

Although the Old Irish neuter nominative *a teg* ‘the house’ is found in the eighth-century Würzburg Glosses,\textsuperscript{113} the innovatory neo-nominative neuter *a tech* ‘the house’ (< accusative) also occurs in the same source.\textsuperscript{114}

In his ‘general remarks on declension in Old Irish’ Thurneysen (\textit{GOI} §245) states that ‘the three Indo-European grammatical genders, masculine, feminine, and neuter are still distinguished in our

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{110}] While the traditional date for Early Modern Irish is normally cited as c. 1200, Hughes (2013: 8) proposes c. 1000 as a more accurate date, although this date could probably be pushed back even earlier (at a vernacular level). The evidence for the defining end of Old Irish (as I shall argue in a future paper) is the commencement of the remodeling of Old Irish regular compound verbs as new simple verbs. This process is faintly, yet significantly, discernable in the Milan Glosses (c. 850) and is ever-increasing by the time of *Saltair na Rann* (988). Technically speaking, this feature makes these latter two texts ‘our earliest sources of modern Irish’ (building even further upon McCone 1985 who elucidated the ‘Middle Irish’ features in the Glosses).
\item[\textsuperscript{111}] McCone (1987: 139) quite rightly speaks of ‘a shift from an Old to a Modern Irish verbal system.’
\item[\textsuperscript{112}] As seen, for example, in the work of Tadhg Dall and others, §9 supra.
\item[\textsuperscript{113}] *arnipadóir ateg noígedsin in spirit* ‘for that guesthouse of the spirit will not be base’ *Wb*. 4a7.
\item[\textsuperscript{114}] See discussion in §11 infra.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
As a substantiation of the loss of the neuter article *a*, as a functioning grammatical category, we see that the journey from Old Irish neuter nominative *a teg* ‘the house’ (*Wb. 4a7*) > Old Irish neuter neo-nominative *a tech* ‘the house’ (*Wb. 33a2*) > literary Middle Irish *in tech* (*SM. 2* 6.8) can be witnessed, mid-stream, within the *Vita Tripartita* of St Patrick:

neut. *connaici a tech núc* ‘he saw the new house’
masc. *Dórnath iarsín in tech* ‘the house was made after that’

The development of the old neuter nominative *a teg* to an innovatory neuter neo-nominative *a tech* in Old Irish (< original accusative *tech*) was the final phase needed before the inevitable evolution of a later innovatory, masculinised nominative singular *in tech* ‘the house’ – following the demise of the neuter gender. Once this neo-nominative masculine form *in tech* came into being (the late Old-Middle Irish forbear of widespread modern Connaught and Donegal *an teach* ‘the house’) then the stage was set for a large-scale ‘homonymic clash’ to unfold between *tech* ‘house’ and *ech* ‘horse’.

The theory of incompatible homonymy was first muted in Romance linguists, by scholars such as Gilliéron and Dauzat. Using the data revealed in *Atlas Linguistique de la France* in the historic context of Old French and Latin sources, a series of homonymic clashes were revealed. Gilliéron (1918) traced the reduction of Latin *apis* ‘bee’ to [e] in French and saw (in the overwhelming majority of French dialects) the introduction of a number of replacement measures such as *mouche à miel* ‘honey fly’, or Latin pseudo-diminutive *apicula* (lit. ‘little bee’) to assume the ordinary meaning ‘bee’ (> French *abeille*) in place of the susceptible monosyllable [e] < *apis*. In Gascoigne, Latin *cattus* ‘cat’ and *gallus* ‘cock’ would have merged as *gat* – an incompatible homonymic clash which was resolved by the introduction in these dialects of substitute terms such as *faisan* and *vicaire* for ‘cock’ – or as Dauzat admirably summed up the situation: *Le chat a tué le coq*.

The theory of incompatible homonymy, as a feature in word attrition in modern dialect (so successfully exploited by the Romance School), was brought to bear on pan-Gaelic dialects in their journey from Old Irish to modern Gaelic dialects in the particular instance of ‘the house’ and ‘the horse’ by Hughes (1992). Admittedly, the homonymic class between *ech* ‘horse’ and neo-nominative masculinised *tech* ‘house’ may not seem like an immediate one, but when both forms are

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115 The fact that the neuter can be seen ceding its ground to the masculine and/or feminine gender in the literary canon of the tenth century, is suggestive, of course, that the same change was a phenomenon happening much earlier in ordinary vernacular Gaelic. On this frequent chasm existing between the oral and the written, see Hughes (2013: 34-5).

116 Both examples found in *Trip.* 263 and *Trip.* 601.

117 *Map 1* above and §11 below.

118 Gilliéron et Edmont (1900-12).

119 Dauzat (1922: 74), see further Hughes (1992: 240-2). We might also cite Latin *molere* ‘to grind’ and *mulgere* ‘to milk’ both giving French *moudre*, only with *moudre* retaining the sense ‘to grind’ and Latin *trahere* ‘to pull’ pressed into service to provide French *traire* ‘to milk’.

120 See also Hughes (1996) for the treatment of ‘liver’ and ‘face’ in Gaelic dialects – with no dialect having *ae* ‘liver’ and *aghaidh* ‘face’ side by side, except for Munster *ae* and *aghairg* (where delenited final -idh/-igh in Munster dialects, §7a supra) saved the day!
used with the definite article in the nominative singular (at a point following: (i) the substitution of accusative \textit{tech} for the old nominative \textit{teg}; and (ii) the loss of the neuter – and the change OIr. neut. \textit{a tech} > masc. \textit{in tech} ‘the house’) then we see that a post-Old Irish homonymic clash emerges between: \textit{in tech} ‘the house’ and \textit{in tech} ‘the horse’ (modern \textit{an teach} and \textit{an t-each}):

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{‘the house’}
  \item \textbf{‘the horse}
  \item pre-apochope \vspace{1pt} \textit{*sin tegos}
  \item Old Irish \textit{a teg > a tech}
  \item post-neuter \textit{in tech}
  \item \textit{int ech}
\end{itemize}

\begin{table}
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
pre-apochope & \textit{*sin tegos} \\
Old Irish & \textit{a teg > a tech} \\
post-neuter & \textit{in tech} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{The lead up, pre-Old Irish, to the post-neuter homonymic clash \textit{in tech} ‘the house’ with \textit{int ech} ‘the horse’.}
\end{table}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{map3.png}
\caption{Map 3: The modern Irish Gaelic returns for ‘the horse’ and ‘the house’ reconstructed on available responses to \textit{LASID} i, map 52 ‘horse’ map 147 ‘house’.}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{map4.png}
\caption{Map 4: The modern Gaelic returns for ‘the horse’ and ‘the house’ from Scotland and Isle of Man reconstructed on available responses to \textit{LASID} i, map 52 ‘horse’ map 147 ‘house’ and \textit{LASID} iv 191.52 and 195.147.}
\end{figure}

The main reason for suspecting this homonymic clash as a valid reason for the avoidance of derivatives of \textit{int ech} ‘the horse’ and \textit{in tech} ‘the house’, side by side, in any modern dialect resulted from a recording made in 1978 in Rannafast, Co. Donegal (\textit{LASID} pt 78). In this Gaelic-speaking dialect the word \textit{an teach} is the norm for ‘the house’ and \textit{an beathadhach} for ‘the horse’\textsuperscript{121} – although

\textsuperscript{121} \textit{LASID} i 52 and 147, point 78.
each ‘steed’ is known in the oral literature. Neilí Ní Dhomhnaill recited to me the folktale *Mac Rí na hÉireanna* ‘The King of Ireland’s Son’ and in this tale, the speaker used the word *each*, after the vocative particle *a* and in the 3 sg. possessive (*ar a each* ‘on his horse’) but when she tried to use the word after the definite article in the nominative singular (*an each*),122 she changed the initial of *an* to a non-palatal [t] (i.e. [ə tɑχ] = *an t-ach*) but, no sooner had she done than it dawned in the mind of the speaker that this adjustment broke the normal sound laws for the dialect, causing her to attempt to restore the pronunciation to *an t-each* [ə t’ɑχ] ‘the horse’ but this adjustment, from the psycho-linguistic point of view, sounded too much like *tháinig an teach* ‘the house came’, rather than her intended *tháinig an t-each* ‘the horse came’, so she felt it necessary to change back to *an t-each* [ə tɑχ] ‘the horse’ but then laughed and abandoned her attempt at distinguishing phonetically between *an teach* ‘the house’ and *an t-each* ‘the horse’ and just continued on with the story regardless:

*Bhí siad ag troid leo agus scairt Mac Rí na hÉireanna:*

*A each caol dubh a b’fearr a bhí ag aon-duine ariamh, tar mur ndeanthá ach i a spágáil.

Tháinig an t-each [tɑχ] agus thois...*123 Tháinig an t-each [tɑχ] ...[tɑχ] [laughter] agus thoisigh sé a spágáil na caillighe.

‘They were engaged in combat and the King of Ireland’s son cried out:

‘Oh slender, black horse, as fine as any ever possessed, come should it only be to kick her.’

The horse (*an t-each*) came and it beg[an] … The horse (*an t-each* … *an t-aich*) came {speaker laughs} and began kicking the hag.’124

There can be little doubt that the phonetic adjustment, in Donegal, of *an t-each* ‘the horse’ to *an t-aich* and a further, ultimately abandoned, attempt to restore *an t-aich*, represented an effort (by a speaker in an area where *an teach* dominates as the term for ‘the house’) to avoid the homonymic clash of *an t-each* ‘the horse’ and *an teach* ‘the house’.125 Maps 3 and 4 in the current work show that no modern Gaelic dialect tolerates, side by side, *an t-each* ‘the horse’ and *an teach* ‘the house’ as the normal, everyday terms. Hence *an t-each* ‘the horse’ survives in Scotland due to the absence of *an teach* ‘the house’ – as *an taigh* (and *an t(a)egh?*) survive there.126 In Ireland, on the other hand, *an teach* ‘the house’ survives throughout Connaught and Donegal alongside the replacement terms for *an t-each* ‘the horse’, such as *an capall* ‘the work horse’, *an gearrán* ‘the gelding’ or *an beathadhach* ‘the beast’.127

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122 Or Old Irish *in, int* (before vowels), *GOI* §294; and for Scotland Watson (1994: 675).

123 Speaker feels a need to pronounce *an t-each* as [tɑχ] *t-each* rather than [tɑχ] *t-ach*.


125 In the Gaelic literature of 20th century Donegal the convention of hyphenating ‘the horse’ as *an t-each* avoided (on paper, at least) a clash with *an teach* ‘the house’, as indicated by the following: *thug sí an t-each an t-each donn* Conn O Dhomhail she brought the horse over to CÓD’ Mac Grianna (1929: 123); *Do cheangail Mac an Bhaird an t-each* do chann Mac an Bhaird tied the horse to the tree’ Ac Meanman (1922: 17).

126 On the possibility that the homonymic class between *in tech* ‘the house’ and *in tech* ‘the horse’ might not have been an issue for Gaelic Scotland, see §15b. For the possibility that the development of post-neuter *in teg* ‘the house’ > *in t[a]eg* was a contra-homonymic development in Scotland (along with oblique neo-nominative in *taigh* for newly masculinised *in teg*) see §15c.

127 On my last visit to my dear friend Heinrich Wagner on his sick bed at his home in Dublin, I mentioned these
The historico-geographical distribution of neo-nominative \textit{tech}

\textbf{accusative \textit{tech} as neo-nominative in the Glos\textit{s}}

\textit{§11} There can be little doubt that the introduction of the Old Irish accusative singular \textit{tech} as a neo-nominative was a fairly early development, going on the evidence of Würzburg and Milan. Würzburg shows \textit{teg} as a historical nominative singular,\textsuperscript{128} and \textit{tech} occurs as a historical accusative in Milan.\textsuperscript{129} Nevertheless, it is also apparent that \textit{tech} makes its appearance as a neo-nominative in both sets of Glos\textit{s}:

\begin{align*}
  \textit{leissom a tech} & \quad \text{‘his is the house’} \quad \textit{Wb. 33a2}\textsuperscript{130} \\
  \textit{is tech ndagfir} & \quad \text{‘it is a house of a good man’} \quad \textit{Ml.}\textsuperscript{131}
\end{align*}

Given the early attestation of \textit{tech} as a neo-nominative in Old Irish, one must now attempt to trace just how widespread the form \textit{teach} ‘house’ is, and was, in modern Gaelic dialects.

The first question (as to how widespread the neo-nominative \textit{teach} currently \textit{is} in Gaelic dialects) is by far the easier one to the two to answer – as \textit{Map 1} above shows \textit{teach} in West Ulster (or Co. Donegal) plus Connaught.

The second question (as to how widespread the neo-nominative form \textit{tech} \textit{was} throughout the entire Gaelic-speaking area) is, on the other hand, a much more intriguing and difficult question. Nevertheless, some answers to this latter question may now be attempted, based on available evidence.

\textbf{Old Irish accusative -\textit{tech} fossilized in the adverb \textit{istech} in pan-Gaelic}

\textit{§12} It can certainly be seen that a compound form of the old accusative -\textit{tech} subsists in all modern Gaelic dialects in the survivals of the Old Irish adverb \textit{istech} ‘in, into’, a contracted form of \textit{isa tech} ‘into the house’, with the inflected accusative case used following verbs of motion, in a similar way to Latin. The following examples indicate that Old Irish \textit{istech} is preserved universally throughout the Gaelic world:\textsuperscript{132}

\begin{quote}
  \textit{Water-} \quad \textit{Chuaidh sé \textit{isteach} faoi bhun an choca ford} \quad \text{‘He went in under the haystack’}\textsuperscript{133}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{128} Cf. \textit{ateg noigedsin} ‘that guesthouse’ \textit{Wb. 4a7 (§10 above), plus the compounds rigteg ‘palace, king-house’, 32b8 (a prima manu) and fletre \textit{banqueting house}, 11d16 < \textit{fled} + \textit{teg}.}

\textsuperscript{129} \textit{De núas dotiagar hisa tech} \quad \textit{Thes. ii 291.12 (poems in Milan).}

\textsuperscript{130} Cf. further \textit{tech inna fera flechod} ‘a house wherein wet rain pours not’ \textit{Thes. ii 294.15 (Poems in the Codex S. Pauli).}

\textsuperscript{131} \textit{Thes. ii 292.18 (Poems in the Milan Codex). Stokes and Strachan \textit{(Thes. ii 292) have ‘of good men’ but R. Ó Maolalaigh rightly questions this.}

\textsuperscript{132} The citation of \textit{istech} from four counties in Munster (Waterford, Cork, Kerry and Clare) will be relevant to the discussion on the possible absence of the simplex \textit{teach} in this province, \textit{§13 infra.}

\textsuperscript{133} \textit{Breatnach (1947: 99).}
Kerry cuirtear isteach i ngóirt féir iad ‘they are put into grass fields’

Cork bheidís ag caolú isteach ‘they used to narrow in’

Clare Thug sé isteach an práca. ‘He brought the cauldron in.’

Galway Téim i bhfolach isteach faoi chloch mhór
‘I go and hide under a big stone’

Donegal Diomair sí isteach ar a’ tanálacht
‘She rowed into the shallows’

Tyrone fuaidh sé isteach ‘uige toigh mór a bhi ionn
‘he went into a big house that was there’

Sc.G. Thàinig seann duine liath a stear an próca
An old grey-haired man came into the room

Manx [vel ad t’et [t’ax] ‘are they coming in?’

Although the attestation of the simplex form *teach* as a neo-nominative is apparent in modern Donegal and Connaught, a number of issues present themselves in relation to the other Gaelic-speaking regions as regards the replacement of the Old Irish nominative *teg* with the various oblique cases *teach*, *tigh*, *toigh* and *taigh*. Indeed, the whole question of the attestation of *teach* as a neo-nominative anywhere else in the Gaelic world outside of Donegal and Connaught merits exploration.

Munster *teagh* and *tigh* v Connaught *teach* – historic Irish isogloss?

§13 Given the attestation of [t’e’] in Clare and Tipperary in Munster (and the dominance of *tig*/*tigh* in the remainder of that province), the question must now arise as to the existence of the simplex of the Old Irish accusative *tech* in Munster as a neo-nominative, as opposed to (i) Old Irish nominative *teg* or (ii) Old Irish dative/locative *tig/tigh*.

As regards the Galway/Clare interface, Wagner, in his material from Fanore, west of Ballyvaughan, Co. Clare (point 24 in *LASID*) noted the by-form *teach* here, and Wagner also recorded both *teach* and [t’e’] at Point 26 on the Galway/Clare border. Nevertheless, it seems safe to say that the isogloss between Clare [t’e’] and Galway *teach* seems to be, on the whole, a solid one. Indeed, Holmer in his treatment of Clare Irish, dealt with some differences between the Clare and Connemara varieties of Irish, and *te* versus *teach* was cited as a key isogloss. In his ‘Specimen of Connemara talk’ Holmer has:

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134 Ó Déalaigh (1933: 7).
136 Holmer (1965: 16), cf. tháinig isteach [st’dax] ‘he came in’ 31; and on its use as an argument against *teach* representing [t’e’] in Clare, §7 supra.
137 Ó Direáin (1961: 8).
138 Ó Tuathail (1933: 2).
139 *Am Measg* 17. It is also to be noticed that some Scottish Gaelic dialects may also use a staigh with verbs of motion.
141 Details in §4 supra. In this area the plural forms [t’e’jno or t’e’jno] (*tehanna*, *teaghanna*) were regarded as pertaining to Clare Irish, while the variant plural form ([t’axno] *teachanna* was ascribed to Aran, or Inisheer, Co. Galway
142 Pt 26 Carreenny near Tubber … The area is on the Galway/Clare border.’ *LASID* i, XV.
Go seolaidh Dia isteach san teach seo mé. [sə tˈaːx]\(^{143}\)
‘May God guide me into this house.’

In contradistinction to the Connemara rendition, Holmer (1965: 320) cited the Clare example as:

Tháinigh mé isteach insan tighb or aig an tighb seo
[hanˈə mˈeː stˈəːx an təʃˈ or egˈ an təʃˈ səo]  
‘I came into this house’

This citation by Holmer of Clare [tˈeː] versus Connemara teach was most instructive as it appears, generally speaking, to clearly divide counties Galway and Clare in this regard – although, Holmer (like Wagner) also recorded some occasional Galway ‘seepage’ of teach into some of Clare dialects bordering Galway, such as [tˈuːx nˈə] teach nua ‘a new house’ from Patrick Waters, a speaker who hailed from near Gort, in NE Clare.\(^{144}\)

Looking afresh, however, at LASID i, map 147 (or Map 1 above), it would appear, all things considered, that we might go even further and suggest a more far-reaching isogloss between the provinces of Munster and Connaught. Although teach predominates in Connaught it is not attested in wider Munster, and the forms resembling [tˈeː], [tˈeː] on LASID i, map 147 occurring in Clare (the gateway into Munster), the Galway/Clare border (pt 26) and Tipperary (pt 4),\(^{145}\) might even suggest the following more wide-reaching conclusions:

(i) in the remainder of Munster dialects the change from Old Irish teg to neo-nominative tig(h) was a direct one, with Old Irish accusative > neo-nominative teach apparently absent\(^ {146}\)

(ii) in Connaught dialects the change from Old Irish teg\(^ {147}\) to accusative, as neo-nominative, tech was also a direct one with oblique dative/locative tig presumably absent in a nominative singular role in Connaught\(^ {148}\)

\(^{143}\) Holmer (1965: 303).

\(^{144}\) Holmer (1962: p. 100, n. 76). For Patrick Waters, see ibid. Au 1, p. 17.

\(^{145}\) The possible combination of classical training and Tipperary dialect feature behind the form teagh in the work of Keating is discussed in §9b; while the varying possibilities of non-palatal by-forms occurring as t[a]egb in Scotland and Clare are dealt with in §§8, 8a and 15.

\(^{146}\) In regards to the popularity of the Old Irish accusative tech as a neo-nominative in Connaught and Donegal teach (as opposed to the presumed dominance of old nominative teg (before tig/tigh) in greater Munster), we might also compare the modern survival of abha ‘river’ (< the Old Irish nominative ab, aub, ob) in parts of Munster (LASID i 280 ‘river’) as opposed to the old accusative/dative abhainn in other parts of Munster and all of Connaught, Ulster and the Isle of Man (loc. cit.) plus Scotland (SGDS ii 2 and 3). On the inflected accusative/dative in Old Irish cf. fri abinn, Thes. ii 242.3, isin n-abuind, dind abainn, Trip. 2 1635 and 1723.

\(^{147}\) It may also be of interest that Hogan (Onom. Goed. s.v. tech) lists a form Tagheen (a parish in the barony of Clanmorris, Mayo), and Tagheen might be an indication of the presence of Old Irish nom. sg. teg in Connaught, provided, of course, Tagheen contains the elements Teagh Caoin ‘Fair House’, rather than Teach Caoin.

\(^{148}\) The locative would be heard in Galway as tigh: [vˈtː nˈεː h̥ar t̥iː: ʃaːdˈiː:nˈ əˈɾeːɾ] Bhí mé thiar tigh Pháidín ar eir. ‘I was over in Páidín’s house last night.’ De Bláithraidh (1953: 56, n. 5).
in Clare (and Tipperary) Gaelic dialects, the Old Irish nominative singular teg survives, uninterrupted, as the nominative singular te[agh]

the old historic inflected dative tigh (now the neo-nominative for greater Munster, Map 1) only survives consistently in Clare in the compound adverb istig,149 and in occasional uses of tigh in its old historic role as active inflected dative singular, even though the nominative teh is now by far the more usual neo-dative form150

The methodology of using the absence of the neo-nominative teach in Munster is fundamentally based on the evidence available from the modern dialect map (and monographs) in that province where: tig, tigh abound in greater Munster, and with teagh151 in Clare and Tipperary This latter state of affairs could also be likened to the similar reasoning used to exclude the possibility of the influence of Old Irish taig in the Clare by-forms t[a]egh (§8a) – due to the occurrence of gen. sg. tige in modern Clare (§9d). Conversely, the direct influence of OIr. taig is invoked as a distinct possibility in the case of the Scottish by-forms t[a]egh due to the occurrence of gen. sg. taighe in modern Scotland (§§8 and 15).

All of the above observations are based, in turn, on the similar, simple, logical reasoning employed by the late Heinrich Wagner to conclude that the negative particle cha (< Old Irish nicon) was probably never employed in Munster or Connaught,152 a viewpoint supported by Ahlqvist (1988: 27) and cartographically endorsed by Hughes (1997: 241, Map 1) which shows that attestations for cha in Ireland do not go over the old Ulster border ó Drobais co Bóind ‘from [the rivers] Drowse to Boyne’.

These examples of historic isoglosses must surely serve to indicate that the modern dialect maps in LASID and SGDS have a lot to offer us in terms of understanding the journey from Old Irish to modern pan-Gaelic dialects. Taking this point even further, the view has recently been expressed that the Old Irish variant negative particle nicon (alongside historical ni) as it occurs in the Glosses, and persists as modern Ulster, Scottish and Manx cha might well imply that the forbear of this same variant negative particle nicon might have been in existence as early as the time of the Gaelic expansions into Scotland and the Isle of Man,153 and the oblique cases of taig- are discussed in this context in §15 infra.

149 Cf. Do chas a’ teachtaire isteach agus d’inis sé an scéal istig don sean-laoch a bhí istig ar a leabain. ‘The messenger called in and told the story within to the old warrior who was in bed.’ Ó Duilearga (1981: 40). We may note occasional tigh-forms in the Clare material cited in §4 supra.

We might expect tigh to turn up as an occasional locative in Clare, but my only example, to date, is the nominative teh used in a locative sense: Bhuail sé isteach teh abhair Chonaill agus ni raibh éinne ann... ‘He called into Conall’s house agus there was no-one there...’ Ó Duilearga (1981: 51, although cf. inflected locative istig cois na tine ‘in by the firside’ 43).

150 See examples and discussion in §§4 and 7 supra.

151 In its various manifestations of te’, teh, teith, teg, taegh etc.

152 De réir mo thuairme féin tá sean ann fosta nach raibh nicon coitianta riamh insna canúintí ó dheas. Ós rud é go mbaineann an chuid is mó de scríbhneoireacht na Sean- agus na Meán-Ghaeilge leis an Tuaisceart is féidir ní raibh mbaintí úsáid as nicon riamh i gnáthchaint Ghaeilge an Deisceirt. ‘Wagner (1986: 1).

153 ‘Indeed, one might even argue that the virtual exclusive dominance of cha in the modern dialects of Eastern Gaelic, suggests that not only did we have nicon in eighth- and ninth-century Ulster texts (such as Würzburg, Blathmac and Milan), but that one might even go a step further and conjecture that nicon was sufficiently established (in place of the historic negative ni) in East Ulster by the time of the Gaelic expansions into Scotland and the Isle of Man that it was the foremost vernacular negative form at that time, with ni being much reduced, if not absent, from everyday speech,’ Hughes (2013: 40).
§14 As revealed in Maps 1 and 2, the predominant form for West Ulster is *teach*, while in East Ulster *toigh* dominates, as does *taigh* in Eastern Gaelic. The occurrence of *tech* as a neo-nominative in the Glosses (§11) can certainly be interpreted as direct precursors to Donegal and Connaught *teach*. This straightforward scenario of nominative *teg > accusative neo-nominative *teach* is markedly different from East Ulster, Scottish Gaelic and Manx.

Ó Tuathail shows *teach* is absent in Tyrone as a neo-nominative while *toigh* is used in these East Ulster materials as: (a) the neo-nominative; (b) the uninflected dative; and (c) the locative:

(a) Tá *toigh* óil innsin
   ‘There is a pub there’
(b) bhí siad *ina toigh bheag*
   ‘they were in a little house’154
(c) Chruinnigh siad uilig isteach *toigh* Liam tráinóna
   ‘They gathered at Liam’s house in the afternoon’155

Despite the lack of *teach* as a simplex in Tyrone, a compounded -*teach* appears in the East Ulster form *cúil-teach* ‘back house’,156 in addition to the pan-Gaelic adverb *isteach* ‘in’ (§12). The modern East Ulster form *cúil-teach* (coupled with Würzburg and Milan neo-nominative *tech*, §11) suggests that *te(a)ch* could be expected in East Ulster but our data for this region shows the dative/locative form *toigh* to be by far the dominant, if not the exclusive, nominative form. Consequently, a change from Old Irish *teg > toigh* in East Ulster might just well be an isogloss which divides this region from Donegal where (like Connaught) the change seems to have been Old Irish *teg > tech*.

Scottish Gaelic, Manx *taigh* < Old Irish neo-nominative *taig* < older dative *tagis(i)?

§15 The observation has been made frequently in the past, that the distribution of Ulster and Eastern *toigh(e)*, *taigh(e)*, as opposed to Munster and Connaught *tigh(e)* are probably one of the indications as to the northern origin of the Würzburg and Milan glosses.157 It is widely observed, however, that an interlude often exists between the emergence of dialect features in the spoken language, as opposed to their emergence, later on, in the literary, arena.158 In addition, then, to identifying North-East Ulster as the region of origin of the Old Irish Glosses (owing to the presence of ‘northern’ non-palatal initial oblique cases *taig(e)*) one might well further ask how long such variants had been in existence before the eighth- and ninth-century dates of their earliest orthographical attestations?159

154 Examples of inflected dative *toigh* + adjective are rare in Donegal, and I can only note a lenited uninflected adjective in: *amuigh i dtoigh bheag a mbíodh an mhóin ann* ‘in a little (out)house where turf used to be kept’. Ac Meanman (1954: 62). Historically, we might expect an inflected dative adjective *i dtoigh bhig – for which cf. do mhnaoi bhig is mór mo ghean* ‘my affection for a little woman is great’ Dánta Gr. 5.22.

155 All examples from Ó Tuathail (1933, 75, 88 and 18).
156 Cf. *an deór a bhí i gcónuí sa chúil-teach* ‘the leak there always was in the back-house’ Ó Tuathail (1933: 30).
159 The potential antiquity, at a vernacular level, of oblique *toigh/taig* as neo-nominative in East Ulster, Scotland and the Isle of Man is explored in §15b infra; and for the relatively rare appearance of *taigh(e)* in bardic poetry (as opposed
It has been shown that the oblique forms with non-palatal initial are confined to the more northerly regions of the Gaelic world – *toigh(e) Ulster, and *taigh(e) Scotland and *[ta:i] the Isle of Man. Thurneysen (GOI §338) suggested that change from historic *tig(e) to non-palatal *taig(e) was probably due to analogy with *mag ‘plain’ – due to the connection between the two words *mag ‘plain’ and *teg ‘house’ in expressing the notion of ‘in’ and ‘out’ with *i ‘in’ + dative (non motion) accusative (motion): Modern Irish *amuigh and *istigh/istuigh and amach/isteach, Sc.G. *a muigh/a st(a)igh and a mach/a steach.160

As regards Eastern Gaelic, we see that *[ta:i], *[tɑ:i] is the dominant form in Manx,161 and *taigh is in the majority position in Gaelic Scotland – although SGDS map 820 *taigh ‘house’ shows, in addition to plenteous evidence for *taig, the occurrence of forms in *toigh – hence making it difficult to draw a net isogloss between East Ulster *toigh and Scottish *taigh.162

While it may be difficult to divide East Ulster and Scotland along the lines of *toigh versus *taigh, it is, nevertheless certain that the modern Scottish and Manx forms with an a-vowel (i.e. *taigh) are widely attested in Old Irish sources. Copious examples of oblique case *taig(e) forms in the Glosses and later texts:

rofess cid *i *taig *rig amal rofess *i *taig cáich,

‘it is known even in the king’s house as it is in everyone’s house’ Wb 23b9
docuatar imsáin *dia *taig

‘they went safely to their abode’ Trip.2 166.163

The Modern Munster and Connaught genitive forms *tighe and dative/locative *tigh are derived quite simply from the expected historical palatal-initial genitive forms *tegisos and dative *tegis(i).164 Might it just be possible, however, that in Ulster, several centuries before the above-mentioned substantial literary attestation of *taig(e) in the Old Irish Glosses that non-palatal initial oblique variants *taig(e)165 were in common use at the time of the earlier Ulster Gaelic-speaking colonisation of Scotland? This newly proposed antiquity for Old (Ulster) Irish oblique *taig and Scottish, Manx *taigh, could be added to the view (proposed in §13 supra) that nícon might well have been in use in Ulster at the time of the Gaelic expansions from Ulster into Scotland and the Isle of Man. Both these matters, of course, have potentially massive implications in relation to our thinking on Ulster, Scottish and Manx varieties of Gaelic in antiquity.

Leaving aside the issue of pre-apocope dative *tegis(i), and a possible by-form *tagis(i), it can be very firmly established (i) that a dative singular with non-palatal initial in *taig was in use in

160 For Holmer’s suggestion that a lenited th- (as [h]) might influence a change from palatal to non-palatal t-, see §8a supra.

161 LASID iv, 180 s.v. house.

162 The possibility that a non-palatal variety of Old Irish nominative teg surviving in 30+ areas of Scotland as [te], [te] etc. is discussed above (§§8 and 15c).

163 Cf. further rancatar *dia *taig ‘they reached their house’ SR 3518 (& do *bar *taig ‘to your house’ 4289), *i* *taig and *i* *taig ‘in the house’ LU 11048 and LU 273b37.

164 On the s-stems in Old Irish, and before, see McConie (1994: 103).

165 Or even pre-apocope non-palatal-initial variants in genitive *tagisos and dative *tagis(i) instead of *tegisos, *tegis(i) by analogy with magos ‘plain’ – genitive ‘magisos, and dative magis(i)?

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175
An old Irish dative/locative form of ‘house’, now dominant as the neo-nominative in Eastern Gaelic, is suggested, perhaps, that modern Scottish ‘taigh’ was an ancient import from Ulster. The separate question now arises as to just how early the dative/locative form of ‘house’ assumed the role of neo-nominative in vernacular Eastern Gaelic?

**Accusative *teach* in Scottish Gaelic set phrases**

§15a Before attempting to date the occurrence of Old Irish dative/locative *taig* as a neo-nominative in Scotland (§15b) and *tig* in Munster (§15d), we will first examine, in this section, the remnants of the Old Irish accusative *tech* in Scotland.

We have seen how the accusative singular *tech* alternates with Old Irish *teg* as early as the Würzburg Glosses (§11) and that this replacement is substantiated by the returns for ‘house’ in Donegal and Connaught dialects as shown in *Lasid*.166 The possibility has further been raised that the spread of *teach*, as a neo-nominative, to Munster dialects never took place, with Old Irish nom. *teg* (still heard as *te’* (even *[t’eg]*) in Clare and Tipperary) yielding its ground, in the rest of Munster to neo-nominative *tigh/tig* < Old Irish dative/locative *tig*.167

The attestation of *teach* in East Ulster seems minimal (§14) and the same conclusion, in relation to neo-nominative *teach* might be drawn for Scotland, in that none of the 200+ dialects in *SGDS* 820 return *teach*.168

Notwithstanding, evidence for the use of minority, or ‘occasional’ *teach* in Gaelic Scotland may be instanced from set phrases. One such set phrase is *tighinn fo teach* ‘to come in true’.169 This phrase is yet another indication of the conservative nature of Scottish Gaelic as it preserves: (i) the Old Irish preposition *fo* ‘under’, as modern *fo*170 (as opposed to Modern Irish Gaelic faoi, fé);171 and (ii) the old accusative case after *fo* from Old Irish172 – although we also note the dative, elsewhere, in the phrase *thugadh fo thighe* ‘it was brought into the house’.173 Campbell (1996) looked at a collection of proverbs collected by Rev. Dr Kenneth MacLeod (1871-1955), a native of Eigg. Item no. 42 had the set expression *mo theach-sa*, translated, by Campbell, as ‘by my house’. The retention of the old accusative in this example may well be due to the fact that the phrase, as recorded by MacLeod, represents a contraction of earlier *dar mo theachsa* ‘by my house’, with the Old Irish preposition *tar, dar* ‘across, over’ taking the accusative.174 We may note Dwelly’s single entry: ‘*na teach diamhair* ‘in her lonely dwelling’, and Mac Phaidèin (53) has: *a tighinn do mo teach* ‘coming to my house’, where it would appear that the preposition *do*, normally associated with the dative in Old Irish,175

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166 *Lasid* i 147 (or *Map 1* above).
167 Cf. §§13 and 15 – noting occasional *teach* ‘house’ on the Clare/Galway border.
168 The occurrence of *t[a]eagh*, possibly a non-palatal-initial variant of OIr. nom. sg. *teg* (under the influence of oblique *taig(e)*) in certain Scottish dialects is discussed in §§8, 15 and 15b.
169 Caimbeul (1973: 279). I am indebted to Professor S. Watson for this reference.
172 *GoI* §§249.6 and 251.4) indicates that *fo* could be followed either by the accusative or the dative case.
173 *Am Measg* 92.
174 *GoI* §854.
175 *GoI* §251.4.
has, in this instance, a fossilised accusative inflection due to the verb of motion \textit{ag tighinn}.\textsuperscript{176}

Having looked, then, at the survivals of \textit{teach} in Scottish ornate or occasional speech, we will now shift our attentions in an attempt to date the occurrences of the historic dative/locative forms \textit{taig} and \textit{tigh} as neo-nominatives in Scotland and Munster.

Did pre-neuter neo-nominative \(^a\)\textit{taig} avoid: \textit{in tech} ‘the horse’ \textit{an tech} ‘the house’ in Scotland?

\textsection{15b} The greater body of evidence shows that common dictionary form \textit{taigh} is dominant in Scotland – although \textit{SGDS 820} shows variant forms in \textit{toig}, and the even more notable forms in \textit{t[a]egh} (30+ variants).\textsuperscript{177}

It is also significant that the Old Irish accusative \textit{tech} is absent from \textit{SGDS 820} – although Scottish Gaelic oral literature shows that \textit{teach} was known and retained in stock phrases (\textsection{15a}). In the clear absence, then, of \textit{teach} as an everyday neo-nominative in Scotland, one wonders if the occurrence of dative/locative \textit{taig} as a neo-nominative, at a vernacular level here, was as early as the occurrence of the accusative in the same neo-nominative position in modern Donegal and Connaught?\textsuperscript{178}

It has been seen above\textsuperscript{179} how the widespread adoption of newly coined post-neuter masculinised form \textit{in tech} ‘the house’ (< \textit{a dtech}) as the neo-nominative in Donegal and Connaught dialects gave rise, post-neuter, to a homonymic clash in these areas between: \textit{in tech} ‘the house’ and \textit{int ech} ‘the horse’ as everyday terms in these dialects. The major upshot in Connaught and Donegal was the retention of \textit{an teach} ‘the house’ and the loss of \textit{an t-each} ‘the horse’ (\textsection{Map 3}).

If, however, in Eastern Gaelic, the dative/locative \textit{taig} occurred as an early neuter neo-nominative \(^a\)\textit{taig} (i.e. before the neuter was lost) then, when the neuter gender fell into disuse, we would see the emergence of a post-neuter neo-nominative Eastern Gaelic \textit{in taig} (the forerunner of today’s form \textit{an taigh} ‘the house’). If this was the case, then this would lead one to conclude that the post-neuter homonymic clash of masculinised \textit{in tech} ‘the house’ and historical \textit{int ech} ‘the horse’ (which proved, as we have seen, a troublesome homonymic clash in Connaught and Donegal dialects) was not a linguistic issue to be overcome in Eastern Gaelic, as it may well have been the case that \textit{int ech} ‘the horse’ could happily co-exist (as it still does to this day) alongside the newly emerged neo-nominative masculinsed form \textit{in taig} ‘the house’.\textsuperscript{180}

\textsuperscript{176} \textit{Ó Maolalaigh} (2003: 308-9) cites further instances of Scottish Gaelic \textit{teach} in the proverb: \textit{It fluraid a chur a-mach, fear gun an teach aige fhéin}, ‘Tis easy to put out a man whose own the house is not’ Translated by Nicolson in his \textit{Gaelic proverbs} (1996 [1881]: 282). In correspondence R. \textit{Ó Maolalaigh} further draws attention to many entries of \textit{teach} in \textit{Corpus na Gàidhlig}, http://www.dasg.ac.uk/corpus/.

\textsuperscript{177} \textsection{8 supra and \textsection{15c infra}.

\textsuperscript{178} As witnessed by \textit{leisson a tech} ‘his is the house’ ‘the house’ \textit{Wb. 33a2 > modern masculinised vernacular \textit{*leis-sean an teach} in Connaught and Donegal}).

\textsuperscript{179} \textsection{10} and \textsection{Map 3}.

\textsuperscript{180} See majority \textit{an t-each} ‘the house’ and \textit{an taigh} in Scotland, \textsection{Map 4}. For microscopic coverage, see \textit{SGDS iii 365} ‘horse’ and \textit{ibid. v 820} \textit{taigh} ‘house’. See, also the next section for the alternative possibility that the Scottish dative/locative \textit{taig} was adopted as a neo-nominative following the change OIr. neut. \textit{a teg} ‘the house’ > masc. \textit{in teg}.
Was Scottish teg > t[ae]g a post-neuter contra-homonymic development?

§15c We have seen in §8a how the non-palatal initial occasional by-form t[ae]gh [te] occurs in Clare – but the possibility of the influence of Old Irish non-palatal initial t[ae]gh [te] has been ruled out owing to the dominance of historic palatal-initial genitive tighe, and inflected dative tigh in Clare (and Munster and Connaught as a whole). On this basis, it was proposed that the Clare by-form t[ae]gh [te] is more likely to have arisen at a point in the post-Old Irish period, when [θʹ] and [θ] both became [h] in Pan-Gaelic after which point Clare [gʰe] ‘two houses’ could be construed both as historical dbá theagh and *dbá th[ae]gh > a back-formation variant nominative t[ae]gh [te].

In Scotland, on the other hand, the influence of Old Irish/Early Gaelic oblique toig(e)/taig(e) (in East Ulster, Scotland and the Isle of Man) has been cited as a possible direct influence on the generation of non-palatal initial form t[ae]gh [te] in modern Scottish dialects (§8).

One possible avenue of dating the Scottish change teg > t[ae]g as one which happened in the Old Irish period may be to look at the status of the Old Irish nominative teg in Gaelic Scotland once the neuter gender had been lost. SGDS 820 shows a form resembling [te] occurs in 30+ dialects. This distribution could suggest to us that we may also have had, in some Scottish dialects a pre-neuter distribution of a teg ‘the house’ and int ech ‘the horse’ > post-neuter in teg ‘the house’ and int ech ‘the horse’.

We have already seen (§10) how a modern speaker from a Donegal dialect, attempted to adjust the pronunciation of an t-each ‘the horse’ to an t-ach [ə təχ], rather than [ə tʰəχ], as an attempt to avoid [ə tʰəχ] an t-each ‘the horse’ sounding identical to [ə tʰəχ] an teach ‘the house’. Could it be that when the neuter was being lost in Scotland (and around the ninth century) that the form [ə tʰəχ], then adopted a non-palatal initial [ə teɣ] in t[æ]g (> modern [ə te] in 30+ points in SGDS 820) as a contra-homonymic device in order to put clear water between post-neuter [ə tʰəχ] in teg ‘the house’ and in tech [ə teχ] ‘the horse’? This scenario is suggested by modern Scottish an t[æ]gh versus an t-each, as per SGDS 365 and 820. This proposal of Old Irish a teg ‘the house’ > Scottish vernacular in t[æ]g, post-neuter, might even call into question the occurrence of a neuter neo-nominative *a t[æ]g in Eastern Gaelic before the neuter was lost (§15b) and steer us, instead, to a double scenario:

(i) 16% of Scottish dialects chose to transform in teg > in t[æ]g when Old Irish neuter a teg ‘the house’ became masculinised as in teg
(ii) 84% of Scottish dialects abandoned the possibility of masculinised in teg (as the successor to neuter a teg) and used, instead, the dative/locative in taig as a neo-nominative

At any rate, whether or not taig occurred in Eastern Gaelic as a neo-nominative before or just after the loss of the neuter gender, we can be clear (from the dominance of taigh/toigh in SGDS 820 and thie in Manx) that the in taig was an early neo-nominative in Eastern Gaelic – in

181 As muted by Holmer (1962: p. 71, n. 46).
182 As opposed to Old Irish [ye: 0ʰeɣ].
183 As opposed to Clare post-Old Irish/Early Modern t[ae]gh.
184 i.e. a newly masculinised Scottish in teg (< neuter a teg in Wb. 4a7).
a similar fashion to Munster ($15d$), not forgetting the dominance of the old accusative *an teach* in Connaught and Ulster (*LASID i*, 147), as reflected by similar neo-nominative forms in *teach* in the Old Irish Glosses ($11$).

As regards the differences between modern Scottish and Clare forms of *t[a]egh*, it is also significant that while Clare [te] *t[a]egh* is merely sporadic or occasional ($8b$), the occurrence of [te] *t[a]egh* in Scotland, on the other hand, is consistent and it occurs as such in the 30+ dialects which record this form for ‘house’. This may be suggestive of a uniform development in Scotland - and an event like old neuter *a teg* yielding masculine *in teg* may have been the trigger for the consistent development of *teg > t[a]eg* in Scotland, post-neuter.

### Munster neo-nominative *tigh* in the 15th century

$15d$ If, as has been shown, the historical accusative *tech* was adopted as a nominative as early as the Würzburg and Milan Glosses ($11$), then it must surely not be beyond the bounds of possibility that dative/locative *toig/taig* occurred at an equally early date as a neo-nominative in East Ulster and Eastern Gaelic – not to mention *tigh* in greater Munster. Although the dative/locative may not have been as successful at making into the literary register as neo-nominative *tech*, we do have an example of Munster *tigh* as a neo-nominative in the, mainly, 15th century Fermoy manuscript$^{185}$ (from Cork), where we note:

*Tigh fiala furglide ar lar na hindsi*

‘A house hospitable and noble in the midst of the island’$^{186}$

Literary attestation aside, the dominance of Old Irish oblique *toig/taig* in the nominative singular in East Ulster, Scottish Gaelic and Manx (plus the virtual dominance of Old Irish *tig* as *tig(h)* in greater Munster), would suggest that the dative/locative *toig/taig*, or *tig*, as a neo-nominative could be as old in these regions as neo-nominative *tech* (< accusative *tech*) in Donegal and Connaught – although for the moment, in terms of physical attestations, we must be content to trace Munster neo-nominative *tigh* back to circa 600 years ago, while neo-nominative *teach* (dominant in Ulster and Connaught) can be traced back over 1200 years to Würzburg *tech* ($11$).

### Conclusion

$16$ This examination of the returns from Gaelic Ireland and the Isle of Man (*LASID i* map 147) plus Scotland (*SGDS* v 820) has focused on the stratification of the term ‘house’ in Gaelic dialects from its Continental Celtic origins *tegos* (a direct cognate of Greek *τεγος* ‘roof’, $2$) though to manuscript Old Irish nominative singular *teg* and onwards, from there, to the various oblique cases of the singular in modern Gaelic dialects, both on map and in monograph.

$^{185}$ Best (1907: 149).

$^{186}$ *Eriu* 3, 164 = Best (1907: 164).
The most salient finding was the identification of the Old Irish nominative singular teg in the dialects of Clare and Tipperary (§4-7). The possible occurrence of teg as secondary by-forms t[a]egh (i.e. with non-palatal initial) is fairly widespread and consistent in 30+ dialects in Scotland and rarer in Clare – forms discussed in §§8, 8a and 15c.

It has also been established that the replacement of the old nominative by the accusative singular tech (Donegal and Connaught) is one which has been in place as early as the period of late Old Irish itself, as exemplified by: leisson a tech ‘his is the house’ Wb. 33a2 (§11). This latter finding may be said to constitute a prime example of the successful merger of procurable evidence available from map and manuscript spanning some twelve centuries from Würzburg to LASID.

Furthermore, the well-documented development of original Old Irish accusative tech to assume the role of neo-nominative tech may have further inferential implications for the widespread attestation of the dative/locative forms as nominative: tigh in Munster, toigh in East Ulster (and parts of Scotland) plus taigh in greater Scotland and the Isle of Man. The development of dative/locative toig/taig > neo-nominative toig/taig may, in theory, be of equally long standing as the Donegal, Connaught development the Old Irish accusative tech > modern neo-nominative teach.

This latter supposition is greatly assisted by the concrete attestation of neo-nominative tech ‘house’ in Fermoy, a Munster manuscript from the 15th century (§15d) – plus a presumption that the reason why ech/each ‘horse’ survives so widely in Scotland was because the word tech/teach ‘house’ did not feature significantly as a nominative form in Eastern Gaelic in the Old Irish (or Old Gaelic) period.

One theory (§15b) assumes that, before the loss of neuter (c. 850-900?), we may have had, in Eastern Gaelic, a distribution the old dative/locative as neo-nominitive a ‘taig ‘the house’ and int ech ‘the horse’ – hence producing in Scotland, post-neuter, the compatible dichotomy in taig ‘the house’ and int ech ‘the horse’, a situation we see in operation to the current day for 84% of Scottish dialects – based on SGDS 365 each ‘horse’ and 820 taigh ‘house’.

An alternative theory (§15c) proposes that distribution in taig ‘the house’ and int ech ‘the horse’, only arose in an immediate post-neuter context in 84% of Scottish dialects (in preference to recently masculinised in teg ‘the house’). In the remaining 16% of dialects, recently masculinised in teg ‘the house’ and int ech ‘the horse’ was amended to: in t[a]eg ‘the house’ and int ech ‘the horse’.

At any rate, the Scottish occurrence of neo-nominative in taig ‘the house’ appears to be early.

In Ireland, post-neuter, however, the newly emerged masculinised form in tech ‘the house’ gave rise to homonymic incompatibility with its pre-existent phonetic doppelgänger int ech ‘the horse’. This saw the survival of the old accusative as neo-nominative an teach ‘the house’ in Connaught and Donegal and an t-each was put out to grass in these dialects as the everyday word for ‘the horse’,

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187 On the issue of older forms subsisting, often relatively undetected, in dialect, Ó Maolalaigh (2013: 83-4) affirms that 20th century collocation a h-uile h-oidhche ‘every night’ was a fossilised genitive of time in modern Scottish Gaelic dialects that can be traced back to the Old Gaelic period (< OIr. cecha, GOI §241.1) and he cites this as a ‘conservative linguistic feature which flew below the radar of linguistic attestation until the modern period.’ We might also mention the Manx superlatives saa ‘youngest’ and shlea ‘broadest’ which go back to Old Irish oa and leitha, Williams (1996: 718), Mc Cone (1994: 124) – as opposed to Sc.G. and Ir. òige/leithne e.g. Calder (1923: 113), Hughes (1994: 637) – plus òige/leithne (and yet occasional ò) in Early Modern poetry (McManus 1994: 388-9).

188 We might also take into account the situation in Brittonic where the oblique cases ty and ti are now used as neo-nominatives in Welsh and Breton – as opposed to Old Welsh tig and Old Breton compound tegann ‘house-division of land’ (§7b).
being replaced by *an capall* ‘the workhorse’, *an gearrán* ‘the gelding’ and *an beathadhach* ‘the beast’ (*Map 3*).

Much more remains to be written about ‘house’ in Goedelic in terms, for example of the role of *tigh, toigh, taigh* as a vital contribution to a study of the locative case as a grammatical category in Gaelic as a whole (§7, notes); or the analogical nasalisation of the neuter noun and the *s*-stem declension in Old Irish, e.g. *teg n-oiged* ‘guesthouse’ *Wb. 4a7*. Such matters, however, must await another occasion.

It is hoped, nevertheless, that the synchronous and diachronic presentations in the current article (on the stratification, attestation and regional isoglossic distribution of the various forms of ‘house’ for all grammatical cases of the singular) are sufficient to pay tribute to our esteemed honourand, and my dear friend, Pierre-Yves Lambert – a scholar and gentleman in every sense of the term. His knowledge of inscriptive Continental Celtic, the early manuscript traditions of Ireland, Wales and Brittany plus their modern vernaculars is virtually unrivalled and these same attributes mark him out as one of the most rounded and accomplished Celtic scholars of his generation.

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189 Je voudrais remercier toute la famille Lambert (Pierre-Yves, son épouse Françoise et leurs enfants Jérome, Marie et Tanguy) pour leur accueil chaleureux aux nombreux joyeux repas familiaux que j’ai beaucoup appréciés dans le temps chez eux dans la Rue de Vaugirard – « On a bien fait de venir ! ». 
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