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**A SIBERIAN WORD FOR ‘PIPE’  
AND ITS POSSIBLE INDO-EUROPEAN COGNATES\***

**1.**

The word in question is widely spread all over Siberia.<sup>1</sup> Neither its original source, nor its borrowing channels have so far been definitely settled. The aim of this paper is first of all to establish the main possible borrowing routes in Siberia, on the primary basis of the Russian Siberian dialectal forms gathered in Anikin (2000: 162, 176, 177), and on his assumption that the word could have been borrowed repeatedly. Moreover, another possibility of settling the original source will be suggested.

The slight semantic differences occurring in the diverse dialectal variants of the word in Russian can arguably be ignored as insignificant, especially in view of the linguistic quality of numerous sources from the region. Let us take a closer look at them.

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\* This is a slightly modified version of the paper originally delivered at the Fifth International Conference entitled “Świat Słowian w języku i kulturze” (‘The Slavs’ world in their language and culture’) organized by the University of Szczecin, 10-12 April 2003.

<sup>1</sup> Uralic forms: SelkN. *kōnsa*, SelkS. *kānza*, Tajg. *chansa*; – Yenis. forms: Yug *kānčá*, Ket *kānčá*, Kott *kanšá*; – Chuk.-Kam. forms: Itelm. *kansa*, Koryak *k’ančá*; – Mo. forms: Bur. *gansa*, BurW. *daaha(n)*, BurT. *daaha(n)*, *gaaha(n)*, WMo. *yan(g)sa(n)*, Xlx. *gaans(an)*; – Ma.-Tung. forms: Evk. *ganža*, *gansa*, *ganča* ~ *gančā*, Lam. *gamša*; – Tkc. forms: Alt. *kaŋza*, Khak. *xaŋza*, Dolg. *gaŋsa*, *ŋāŋsa*, Yak. *xamsa*, *gamsa*, *gaŋsa*, Koib. *kaŋza*, SUig. *ganza*, *qaŋza*, Shor *kanza*, TatW. *kaŋza*, Tof. *daŋza*, Tuv. *daŋza*, *taŋza*, Uig. *yaŋza*; – Russ. forms: see infra (Anikin 2000, ATS, Boldyrev 1994, Novgorodskij 1951, Rachimov 1970, Rassadin 1971, ŚS, SSTM, Werner 2002).

## 2.

**ганзы** (Minus., Verchneud.) – Both the phonetic shape (the auslaut high vowel) and the geographical occurrence of this form encourage us to assume a direct borrowing from Chin. *gangtzi*.<sup>2</sup>

**ганзá** (Amur., Irk., Kamč., Nerč., Nižneindig., Sib., YakR.; Tobol. **ганза**) – We believe, considering the auslaut vowel, that this variant could not have been borrowed directly from Chin. A Mongolian mediation seems most likely (Written Mo. *gan(g)sa(n)* ‘smoking pipe’ > Xlx. *гаанс(ан)*, Bur. *ганса* id.), but it does not seem to be the only mediation. With its initial accent and the long vowel in the first syllable, the Mo. form would have most probably yielded in Russ. an initial accent. We are therefore forced to suppose still another mediation. A perfect candidate for the role of the transmitter would be any of the Turkic languages, due to their final accent. However, it is the Yakut language, which until about the second half of the sixteenth century was used in the Baikal lake area, and now covers the vast territories of Eastern Siberia, that may be suspected to be the phonetic missing link between Mo. and Russ. (although we cannot, in individual cases, exclude the mediation of some other Tkc. language). Indeed, it has already been established that the word came into Yak. from Mo., even though it has not been possible to date the borrowing precisely (Kałużyński 1961: 122). The variety of forms in Yak. indicates that we are most likely dealing with a repeated borrowing, the oldest variant being *\*kamsa* with its modern reflex *xamsa*, whereas the *g*- variants must have been borrowed only after the Yakuts had become more familiar with voiced stops in the initial position. The Yak. form *gaŋsa* must have been used in Northern dialects of Yak., since we find *gaŋsa* ~ *ŋāŋsa* id. in Dolg. as well. The prototype word borrowed from Yak. into Russ. must have been *gaŋsa* or *gamsa*.

**гамзá** (Amur., Nižneindig.) – Since this form does not occur but in the Yak. language, Amur. and Nižneindig. Russ. dialects, it seems fairly certain that it must be an innovation produced in one of the two languages (the Yakut genesis being the more plausible one) or in both, independently; with the restriction that it had never penetrated further northwards as it is absent from Dolg., or that it has only been developed after the middle of the seventeenth century, i.e. after the Dolgans’ detachment.

<sup>2</sup> There is no consensus on the exact sounding of the Chin. source word, cf. Anikin 2000: 162; Joki 1952: 158f.; Lessing 1960: 349; Novgorodskij 1951: 82; Ramstedt 1935: 143; Rachimov 1970: 230. Generally, its form is to be pronounced approximately as *gangtzi* or alike.

*гонзá, гомзá* (Amur.) – The *-o-* form occurs only in SelkN. and Amur., and therefore a mutual influence is hardly probable for geographical reasons. Both forms should supposedly be explained as hypercorrect graphic variants of *ганзá, гамзá*, cf. Engl. *cozzack*,<sup>3</sup> Pol. *kozak* id. and the like < Ukr. *козák* id. or Russ. dial. *козák* (Černych 1993: 367) (~ lit. *казák* id.) < Tkc. *qazaq* ‘свободный независимый человек, искатель приключений, бродяга’ >> Engl. *Kazakh*, Pol. *Kazach* id.

*дага, данзá* (BurR.; TuvR.) – These forms are late borrowings from BurW.<sup>4</sup> and Tuv.<sup>5</sup> respectively (Anikin 2000: 176; 177).<sup>6</sup>

### 3.

As far as the ultimate origin of the word is concerned, Ramstedt (1935: 143) was the first to claim that the origin was the Tib. word *gañ-zag* ‘Tabaks-pfeife’, but he seems to have changed his mind after some time, as he later traced its etymology from Chin. (Ramstedt 1949: 93).<sup>7</sup> It is the latter opinion that is shared by other scholars (Anikin 2000: 162, 2003: 10; Joki 1952: 158f.; Mostaert<sup>8</sup>; Werner 2002: 409).<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, we would like to point out an

<sup>3</sup> What one can find about this word in etymological dictionaries is not quite clear. The confusion results from a failure to notice that there is no reason for Russ. and Tkc. *-a-* in the first syllable to yield *-o-* in Pol., Engl., Fr. and so on. A Ukr. mediation is only mentioned in Bańkowski 2000, Duden 2001, TESz and EWU, Machek 1968 and SEJP but (except for Duden 2001) it is not related to Western European languages. Brückner 1989 even proposes a direct borrowing Tat. > Pol. Nevertheless, what is suggested for the etymon of the Western European reflex of this word in numerous serious and most often consulted etymological dictionaries in Europe is the Russ. variant *казák*, see e.g. Dauzat 1938, Onions 1966, SEJP, TESz (not corrected in EWU). Interestingly, even Opelbaum (1971: s.v.) thinks that the oldest German attestation of this word, dating from the fifteenth century and made by a German officer in the Polish army, was borrowed directly from Ukr., ignoring totally the fact that under these circumstances, it was the Pol. word *kozak* which was known to the author of the document. We should also add that Tkc. *quzzāq* given by Onions 1966 as the ultimate etymon, is a rather phantom word, probably resulting from a false reading of the rendering of the Tkc. word in the Ar. script.

<sup>4</sup> *дага* ‘smoking pipe’ (...) < Western Bur. dialects *ḍaaha(n)*, the Tunkinian Bur. dialect *ḍaaha(n) ~ zaaha(n)* id. (...), cf. also Written Mo. *γangsa(n)* id.

<sup>5</sup> *данзá* ‘smoking pipe’ (...) < Tuv. *daŋza, taŋza* id., cf. Tof. *daŋza*, Khak. *xaŋza*, Western Siberian Tartars’ dialects *qaŋza* < Mo., cf. Written Mo. *γaŋsa* id. (...).

<sup>6</sup> On *g-* (*k-*) > *d-* (*t-*) shift cf. Chelimskij 1986: 138 (§ 38).

<sup>7</sup> “(...) tib. *gañza* id. This word started from the Chinese and with the sale of Chinese pipes.”

<sup>8</sup> Mostaert, A.: *Dictionnaire ordos*, Peking 1941-44: 292 b; cit. after Joki 1952: 158.

<sup>9</sup> Werner loc. cit. believes Tib. *gañza* ‘(Tabaks-) Pfeife’ to be of Chin. origin. Laufer 1916 does not mention the word.

overlooked Skr. word *gañjā* ‘1. a tavern; a drinking vessel (esp. one for intoxicating liquors); 2. hemp; (...)’, which, by the way, was later borrowed into Engl. in the meaning of ‘marijuana’ and from there spread all over the world.<sup>10</sup> If the two words turned out to be etymologically identical, it would let us unite the following two word families: 1) Tib., Chin. > Mo. > Yak. > Russ. and so on, and 2) Engl. < Skr. > Cambodian, Laotian, Thai and so on<sup>11</sup>; for our proposal in this respect see the scheme below. We would also like to suggest a possible kinship with the enigmatic word for ‘hemp’, present in very many languages of the world,<sup>12</sup> the etymology of which is still obscure – the current status was aptly summarized by Miller 1998: 269: “Reading the literature on the word for ‘*Cannabis*’ in the languages of Eurasia soon puts one in mind of what one is told frequently happens when the authorities conduct a raid to confiscate *Cannabis* and attempt to identify to whom it belongs: everyone involved says it belongs to someone else, generally someone conveniently not present at the moment.” A comprehensive bibliography on the word is presented in Marszewski 1996; for our purposes cf. especially Bailey 1979, Mayrhofer 1976 s.v. *śaṇaḥ*, moreover Bailey 1952. Unfortunately, a more precise analysis of the possible relationship between the Skr., Tib., Chin., Mo. and other forms is beyond the scope of our inquiry.

#### 4.

Supposedly a very important role in transmitting the word for “pipe” has been played by Russ. peasants roaming all over Siberia in all possible directions. Unfortunately, their routes are only partially reconstructable nowadays.<sup>13</sup> We also must not forget about wandering merchants, especially about Tartars, the holders of special trade privileges in Siberia.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> The Engl. word was, among others, borrowed into Pol., where it yielded *gąndzia* (slang) id., and also into Est., where it resulted in *ganja* id., the latter being pronounced with [-j-], which suggests that the word is a graphic loan, which would be quite an unusual phenomenon for a slang word. On other words for ‘hemp’ in Finnic languages, see Oja 2002.

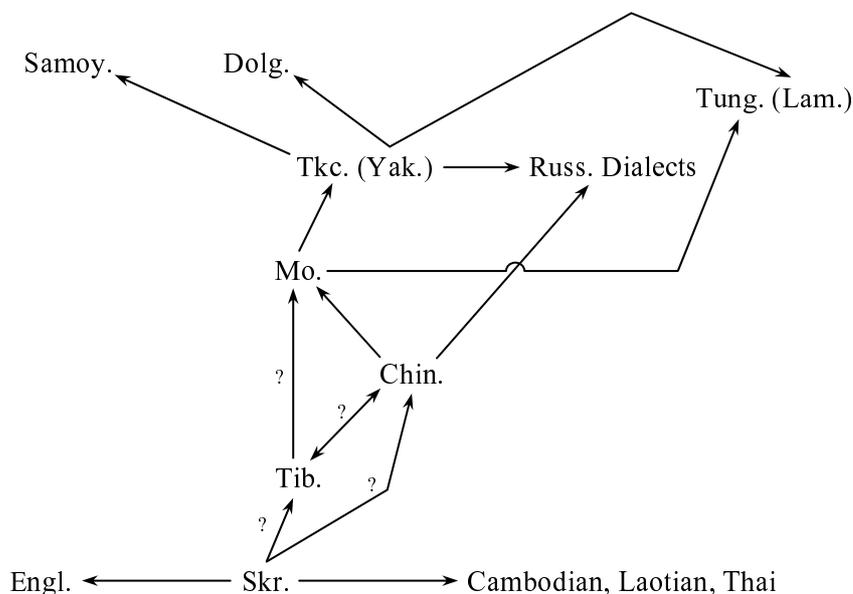
<sup>11</sup> M. A. Martin, Ethnobotanical Aspects of Cannabis in Southeast Asia, in: Rubin, V. [ed.]: *Cannabis and Culture*, The Hague – Paris 1975: 64, 65; cit. after Marszewski 1996: 43.

<sup>12</sup> Gr. *κάνναβις*; Lat. *cannabis*; Lit. *kanāpės*; Arm. *k’anap*; Georg. *k’anapi*; Pers. *kanab*, *kana*; NPers. *šan*; Assy. *qunnabu*, *qunubu*; Čer. *keñe*, *kiñe*; Skr. *śaṇaḥ*; Khotan. *kañha*, *śāmvāñ*; and so on (Abaev 1958; Bailey 1952, 1979; Mayrhofer 1976).

<sup>13</sup> It would be extremely helpful to determine – if at all possible – a comprehensive migration scheme, similar to the ones in Dolgich 1952 or Janhunen 1985.

<sup>14</sup> Moreover, in Bulg., there exists *гáмза*, *гъмзá* ‘1. a species of grape-vine; 2. a wine prepared from the species’. In connection with the fact that grape-vine wood is often

We believe that a general sketch of the word's borrowing routes is as follows:



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### L a n g u a g e s

**Alt.** = Altai (= Oiro); **Amur.** = Russian dialects of Amur; **Ar.** = Arabic; **Arm.** = Armenian; **Assyr.** = Assyrian; **Bulg.** = Bulgarian; **Bur.** = Buryat; **BurR.** = Russian dialects of Buryatia; **BurT.** = Buryat dialect of Tunkinsk; **BurW.** = Western dialects of Buryat; **Čer.** = Cheremis; **Chin.** = Chinese; **Chuk.-Kam.** = Chukchi-Kamchadal; **Dolg.** = Dolgan; **Engl.** = English; **Est.** = Estonian; **Evk.** = Evenki; **Fr.** = French; **Georg.** = Georgian; **Germ.** = German; **Gr.** = Greek; **Irk.** = Russian dialects of Irkutsk; **Itelm.** = Itelmen; **Kamč.** = Russian dialects of

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used as the material for producing small items, including pipes, perhaps it would be possible to establish some sort of relationship between the Bulg. word and ours. Could the Tartars have played some role in its possible transmitting? However, on the semantic aspects cf. also Osset. *san* 'wine' = Skr. *śaṇḥ* 'a species of hemp (*Cannabis sativa* or *Crotolavia juncea*)' = Khotan. *kam̄ha* id. and so on.

Kamchatka; **Ket** = Ket; **Khak.** = Khakas; **Khotan.** = Khotan-Saka; **Koib.** = Koibal; **Koryak** = Koryak; **Kott** = Kott; **Lam.** = Lamut; **Lat.** = Latin; **Lit.** = Lithuanian; **Ma.-Tung.** = Manchu-Tungusic; **Minus.** = Russian dialects of Minusinsk; **Mo.** = Mongolian; **Nerč.** = Russian dialects of Nerchinsk; **Nižneindig.** = Russian dialects of Nizhneindigirsk; **NPers.** = New Persian; **Osset.** = Ossetian; **Pers.** = Persian; **Pol.** = Polish; **Russ.** = Russian; **Samoy.** = Samoyedic; **SelkN.** = Northern Selkup; **SelkS.** = Southern Selkup; **Shor** = Shor; **Sib.** = Russian dialects of Siberia; **Skr.** = Sanskrit; **SUig.** = Saryg-Uighur; **Tajg.** = Tajgi; **Tat.** = Tatar; **TatW.** = Western Tatar dialects; **Tib.** = Tibetan; **Tkc.** = Turkic; **Tobol.** = Russian dialects of Tobolsk; **Tof.** = Tofa(larian); **Tuv.** = Tuvian; **TuvR.** = Russian dialects of Tuva; **Uig.** = Uighur; **Ukr.** = Ukrainian; **Ural.** = Uralic; **Verchneud.** = Russian dialects of Verhneudinsk; **WMo.** = Written Mongolian; **Xlx.** = Khalkha; **Yak.** = Yakut; **YakR.** = Russian dialects of Yakutia; **Yenis.** = Yeniseian; **Yug** = Yug (= Sym-Ket)

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