

-KÀND- or -KÁND-

Study of the near homophonous pair **-kànd-* ‘press, knead, plaster, massage, foment wound’ (BLR3 1703) and **-kánd-* ‘strike, punish’ (BLR3 8584) can be difficult because the pair are nearly or actually homophonous with a series of other roots. In some cases, it is easy to distinguish durable roots across time and space. The root **-kàndá* ‘skin, letter, cloth, strap, belt’ (BLR3 1706-8; related to BLR3 8585 ‘bind’?) serves as one example; likewise, the central and eastern Bantu term for bundle or load, **-gànda* (BLR3 1320) is the likely underlying root for a lexicon of boarding, loading, and embarking in Kongolese languages (**g>k*). In many cases, convergence has been a powerful force. For example, the regional central African form **-kànd-* ‘to bind’ (BLR3 8585) shares its form with the more widespread **-kànd-* in some languages and **-kánd-* in others; often, attestations entirely converge, appearing as a single word carrying both meanings in a language (consider attestations in Kituba or Geviya, for example). Further, in Kongolese languages, the Bantu roots **-gànd-* ‘house, clan, village, camp’ or ‘bundle, load’; **-gánd-* ‘coagulate, dry, harden’; **-dànja* ‘palm, hand’; and their variants and derivatives (BLR3 1321-4, 1319, 1329-30) follow sound shifts that yield *-kànd-* and *-kánd-* or likenesses (most of which have been culled from this assembly, with some left for comparative purposes [e.g. Civili]). Many of these likenesses result from poor language documentation, particularly unmarked tone or vowel length and some attestations include annotations about the degree of certainty. Shifts in tonal patterns, intensive trade, and violent contact across the wider region produced convergences that obscure the ultimate source of important concepts and meanings to the researcher but offered speakers a rich pool of metonymically related names for concepts and actions that further accelerated the process of semantic and phonological convergence reflected in the attestations assembled below.

Of particular interest for the history of Makandal are two bundles of Kongolese meanings that often—but not always—appear in forms convergent with *-kànd-* and *-kánd-*. One set coheres around ideas of ‘conjuring’, protecting, forbidding, preventing or avoiding (rain), exorcising, and begging, predominantly in areas most involved in trade and metaphysical empowering in Ruund (L53). The other bundle similarly coheres around notions of protection and avoidance but with a clearer reference to defense, impassioned speeches and curses, punishment, refusal, and, perhaps, forbidding. Although these bundles of meanings—one more clearly tied to the world of metaphysical intervention and the other the word of physical violence, warfare, and defense, and governance—suggest distinct spheres of action, these spheres were intimately connected in practice. Such practical connections sometimes facilitated the convergence of near homophones with common conceptual cores referencing defense, protection, and interdiction across minute phonological distinctions (compare Cilaadi and Kituba attestations’ homophony). At other times, the distinctions between these roots persisted, though it is difficult to identify their ultimate roots and subsequent diffusion in the absence of detailed fieldwork in poorly documented west central African dialects and languages. With the limited data at hand, I suspect the first conceptual bundle emerged from **-kànd-* ‘to bind’ (BLR3 8585; consider Luban attestations) or **-kànd-* ‘press, knead, etc.’ (consider Geviya attestations), but that in the Kongolese areas most involved with trade (and in contact with Ruund-speakers), the changing politics of clans, clan charms, battlefield medicine and the violence and uncertainty of the slave trade certainly facilitated convergence with homophones ultimately derived from both those roots and perhaps **-gànda*. The second bundle probably derives from **-kánd-* ‘strike, punish,’ often with the addition of the neuter affix *-ik-* or its homophonous impositive (also *-ik-*). The former is usually associated with verbs describing destruction and foregrounds the experience of the action of the verb as central

to the meaning of the derivative produced by adding the neuter affix (e.g. to experience being ‘struck [by another]’ is to ‘defend’ or ‘speak out against’ or ‘forbid’). The impositive connotes putting into position in order to cause (e.g. to ‘defend’ or ‘forbid’ or ‘curse’ is to [have been] put into the position to cause the act of striking, punishing, or speaking passionately).

ATTESTATIONS

KONGO LANGUAGE CLUSTER

North Kongo

H16F CHILAADI

Jacquot 1982: *kà`ndiká* defender, interdire; *kà`ndú* interdisant, interdit; *massant, massé; kà`ndá masser* [loanwords?]; (216). See also: *kàndàlálá s`étendre; kàndiliká* assommer, étendre (cadaver, personne évanouie) (216)

West Kongo Languages

H12 CIVILI SOUTH

Marichelle 1902: *kandula repasser* (70); *kanda arrêter, empêcher; kandimina prohiber, defender* (69)

ILALOK 2008: *kand` (ku): réchauffer la peau d`un tam tam pour la tendre, en vue d`un meilleur ton* (73); *kand` (ku) frapper violemment, donner une bonne volée de coups* (73). See also: *känd` (ku): conjurer un mauvais sort ou un mauvais presage par des prières ou par des pratiques magiques* (73); *känd` (tshi): la période de sécheresse consecutive à un arrêt momentané des pluies* (74); *kandik` (ku) embarquer, faire monter* (74); *kandikil` (ku): Protéger par des pratiques magiques* (74)

H16b KIYOMBE

Bittremieux 1922: *bikandu* (vvg. Bi-) mv. Nw. *vervloeking, verwensching*. Fr. *Malediction* (55); *kandubuka* as a syn for *bundumuka*: ww. *Omvallen, omgerukt worden* fr. *se renverser* (81-82); *kandubula* listed as a syn. For *bundumuna* ww. *Doen omvallen, amhakken*. Fr. *abattre; kanda* ww. *Gooten, kletsen; uitdoen, uitroeien*. Fr. *lancer...*; *kandubuka* ww. *neergeveld, omgehaald worden, omvallen; fr. S'abattre* (192); *kandubula* ww. *neervellen, omhakken, omrukken, omwerpen*. Fr. *Abattre*. See also: *kanda* ww. *Tegenhouden, beletten, bezweren* (190); *kandama* ww. *Belet worden, verboden ziji, niet meer voort kunnen (of mogen)*. Fr. *être prohibé* (191); *kandika* ww. *Beletten, verbieden, verbod leggen op*. fr. *defender* (191); *Kanda mvula: den regen bezweren* (430).

De Grauwe 2009: *káándá frapper qn. de qch., abattre qch; káándika interdire par la parole ou par un signe* (40)

H16 KAKONGO (later KIZOBE)

Anonymous 1890: *kandikila: hair* [possible] (77-78). See also: *Défense: lu kandiminu, empêcher; Kandimina p. mini—Empêcher de prendre ou de passer par le moyen d`un fétiche; illicite, chose qui est défendue: kina ki kandimina* (81)

South Kongo Languages

H16a KISOLONGO

Visseq 1890: *kandamena: defender, interdire, prohiber; kandameno: defense, action de defender; kandami: défendeur, celui qui defend, qui potège, qui soutient* [likely] (67)

H16a KISIKONGO

Van Gheel 1652 [cited from the BantUGent transcription]: *fax facis, hacha: ncardia eanéne* [striking tool] (46); *excomunico: ...cúcandila. pr. ncardiri* (43-4); *maledictum,*

maledíctio, injuria de palabras: quícandú [likely; see impassioned speech in Laman] (68). See also: benedico, bendizir: cucanduila, pr. nandulúiri; benedictio: lucanduilu; benedictus, bendito: qácandúilua (19)

Bentley 1887: kanda e ezulu (8), v., to stop rain (prevent it from falling) (288); kandalala, v., to be grieved, distressed (288); kandika, v. to forbid (definitely and finally), to stop, to warn against, refuse ever to allow, prohibit, interdict, refuse admittance (288-289); kandu, 6, n. refusal (final and definite); dia e kandu, v. refuse ever to do

Central Kongo Contact Zone

H16 KIMANYANA

Laman 1964 [1936]: **Kànda: allonger, tendre, étendre, étirer (une corde); redresser, deployer; masser; ~ mwindu, frotter des saletés (sur sa propre peau) comme signe que l'on répond pour; se rendre caution de, etc.; ~ mooko (E), s'étirer les bras; kánnda, de ká: batter, frapper; abattre, jeter bas, lancer; renverser à terre; parler avec force, avec ardeur; ~ ~nti, asséner un coup (frapper) avec un baton; ~ `nzongo, tirer un coup de fusil; ~ tadi, jeter la pierre sur. Kánnda ê. Tortu, de petite taille (211). Kandakana (S) ê. Flexible, souple (212).** See also: kanda supplier, exorciser pour empêcher la pluie de tomber au moyen d'un nkisi; ~ mvula ou zulu, empêcher la pluie de tomber (211); Kandalala de kánnda, ê. Aéré, exposé, mis à l'air; ê. Suspendu; ê. Étalé pour sécher (se dit également d'un cadavre); être, devenir sec, desséché, ratatiné, recroquevillé; ê. Mort, étendu (d'un cadavre); `tima ~ ê. Triste, affligé; travailler durement (avec ardeur); endure, persister (212); Kánnda resserrer, rétrécir, sécher (212)

Kongo Kituba (Late Vehicular)

Swartenbroeckx 1973: kanda resserrer, rétrécir, retenir, empêcher, fermer. / **Allonger, étirer, deployer, masser, frotter; kánda battre, frapper, jeter bas, renverser, parler véhémentement, jeter ou tirer;** conjurer, exorciser, empêcher (-mvúla) (117). See also: kandalála ê. Étiré, étendu, suspend, recroquevillé, mort, exposé ou étalé (pour sécher, se momifier) [convergence of *-kând- 'bind' with *-kând- 'press, knead, etc.?'] (117).

OTHER BANTU

B301 GEVIYA

Van der Veen and Bodinga-bwa-Bodinga 2002: **kánda tanner (peau d'animal), tendre, exposer au feu (peau de tam-tam)... soigner par des médicaments chauds, désinfecter...équiper de fétiches de protection, 'redynamiser'... donner le dernier coup de hache (arbe)** (191). See also: kanda obstination, entêtement, refus d'obéir aux ordres de quelqu'un... (par ext.) mauvaise volonté ou intention, malveillance; kanda+kanda grand désobéissance, refus catégorique (191).

C61 MONGO

Hulstaert 1957: kanda retenir (945); kanda apprehender, capturer, arrêter, (sur)prendre (945)

F21 SUKUMA

Mann 1967: **-kand- feel with fingers when examining e.g. fruit, patient; -kând- apply mud-plaster to a wall, fill hole / crack in pot, etc. (intensive infix?)** (46)

G22 PARE

Kagaya 1989: **kukanda to foment** (75)

G40 SWAHILI & SABAKI

Nurse and Hinnebusch 1993: ***-kand- knead (6 languages); *-kandik- plaster (5 languages)** (591)

J53 SHI

Polak-Bynon 1978: óokukaánda écraser, presser (43)

J62 RUNDI

Rodegem 1970: ikanda 5/6 trace, empreinte de pied, de patte; gukanda appuyer sur, presser, frictionner, masser; percer un abcès, débrider une plaie; gukandakanda tâter, examiner avec les doights, palper, manipuler (211).

K11 COKWE

Barbosa 1989: -kànda comprimir, massajar, apertar, espremer, ordenhar. Nestas acepções é Luena e Umbundu. Veja-se, no entanto, -kandumuka et -kandumuna. -kandumuka ser, estar ou torner-se espresso, concentrado, massudo, compacto (pirão ou qualquer massa) (157); -kandumuna fazer ou tornar espresso, concentrado, massudo, compacto (158)

K21 LOZI

Jalla 1936: kandula to push aside vigorously; kandula mukolo kwa ngala, to knock a rival to the ground (wrestling) (87)

L11 PENDE

Gusimana 1972: kanda vt apaiser, conseiller de cesser la querelle, intervenir pour mettre fin à une palabra (66)

L31 LUBA

Declercq 1903: -kânda lier, retenir (219); -kândila forme appl. De -kânda, attacher pour qqn. Retenir pour, chez (220); -kândika reprendre qqn., réprimander, avertir (200) [tone shift & convergence with *-kând- 'bind'?]

L31a TSHILIBA

De Clercq 1936/1960: -kànda refuser l'autorisation, defender, prohiber, interdire; kànda lier, retenir; -kândika vt defender qq ch à qqn; empêcher; kândikija f. caus. Faire defender; dire de defender; d'empêcher; -kândila vt. App. De -kànda; empêcher, defender pour, par, au moyen de, etc.; -kândila vt. Appl. De -kànda attacher pour qqn, au moyen de; retenir pour, chez (99)

L31b BULUBA

Morrison 1906: kanda vt to refuse permission, forbid, prohibit, restrain, command, or order not to do, disapprove (348)

L41 KAONDE

Woods 1924: kanda knead, massage (62)

L53 RUUND

Nash 1991: diikându adze [striking instrument; tone?]; diikând power or strength obtained from a healer; drink administered by a healer providing magical strength or power (49); See also: -kand- to advise; kwiikand- to repent, repudiate (26).

M42 BEMBA

Hoch 1998: -kanda knead, thrash (42)

M63 ILA

Fowler 2000: kanda-kanda, ku. v. t. to cleanse (of a wound); kandaula, ku. to beat, batter (275); kandisya, ku to knead at intensively (of clay); kandizya, ku to mix, blend; kandula to beat, thrash (276)

M64 TONGA

Mukanzubo 2011: -kanda trample as clay, knead as dough, bathe with hot water as a wound; kandaula beat repeatedly with a cane (224; see also Torrend 1931)

N31 NYANJA

Scott and Hetherwick 1965: kanda, ku to knead dough, also earth... to mix together... also to scratch, rub, as in softening a skin...; kandabsya to dabble with mud, work mud for a house; perhaps also dough (178)

R21 KWANYAMA

Tobias and Turvey 1962: handjela(e) foment (to steam) (71); -kangula(a) iron out smooth (97)

Turvey 1977: -kanda(e) milk out (40); -kandeka(e) strike out or lurch at s.o. in play; -kanduka slew around, change direction, deviate -kandula(a) avert, turn aside, ward off attack, parry blow...; -kandula nongolo elbow one's way through. Push, thrust (40); onghandeko a sort of playful boxing or sparring, but using palms of hands to hit each other with (106)

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(for all four rootwords)

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