

KANKANAY GAMES :

A Lexicon

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INTRODUCTION

The Kankanay inhabit the central part of the Cordillera Mountains, in Northern Luzon, Philippines.

The games described in this paper were in vogue in the first quarter of this century.

In general it may be said that amusements are confined to children and adult men. Except for singing and occasional dancing, adult women are much too busy, with domestic chores and work in the fields, to indulge in such pastimes.

The e is pronounced as u in "but", except when it bears the accent in an open syllable, where it is pronounced as ö, in German, or as eu in French "feu".

Ng is pronounced as in "king".

I. AMUSEMENTS

Widdáwid: amusement, recreation, diversion, entertainment, play, sport.

Men-ayám, menkolibéy; to entertain is *ay-ayamén*; to toy or to play with (something or somebody) is *ay-ayamén, bungayén* or *degiáen*.

Ibengbéng: to amuse oneself, hewing, cutting or notching.

To romp: *men-ángo, men-galdík*; but romping by relatives of both sexes is *kóay*, unbecoming.

To romp in disorder: *men-gábo*; to romp teasing: *umneng*.

Men-galád: gamesome, rompish, playful, sportive, frolicsome.

Playmate: *iw-iwá*.

Toy: *ganggangsá*, anything that clinks when struck; a small *bánga*

(earthenware jar used for cooking), a jar in miniature: *ug-uggating*; the *pagpágey*, the fruits of the *Ageratum conysoides*. Linn., used as toys; they use the *gubágub*, the flattened, black seeds of the *lawwiláwan* (*Mucuna curanii*. Elm.) for marble taws.

Taktákaw: a toy consisting in a kind of woven thimble, which is hard to remove from the finger: it must be done very slowly.

Balíngeg: a cogged tablet; children attach a cord to it and whirl it around, to produce a shrill sound.

Tongtóng: a line traced on the ground, from where children start their play.

Mánok: I am or I will be the first (to play). Said, for instance, when playing at quoits.

Kankanay children often make use of numbers, mostly ten, sometimes twelve, that differ from the usual ones:

a) *esá kadi, duá kadi, tuló kadi, upát kadi, limá kadi, matintindi, ginálabda, kuandila, sapatláyo, sangapúlo.*

b) *esá kadi, duá kadi, matintindi, ginálabda, kuandila, sapatláyo, sangapúlo, mistolá, sinlibu, mistoló.*

c) *esáng, dásang, kalásing, dásing, pablád, mánong, koldóng, sinamáy, mukát, mattá.*

d) *eságan, duágan, tulógan, upáti, diádi, tulombád, badábad, tulompék, peképek, palaw-ék, báwek, tulbék.*

e) *pin-esá, pinduá, pintuló, mayáko, kuggáng, dulígang, bangkúd, kudúkud, besuáy, deguáy, túnay.*

f) *singgasínggakkéy, kaduá s' kadaddaókey, katló s' kaung-úngus, kap-át kalímmatámat, kalmá inad-adpá, kan-ém kadálem, kapitó s' kaing-íngus, kawáo galamóko, kasiám halámigam, maúput et magúlam.*

g) *sugák, dugák, latók, maát, dilám, agúd, yagúd, kamán, gipók, gawís.*

h) *siki, mugí, lasí, paká, milá, gamél, tupó, laó, salím, baó.*

Spinning top: *bawét*; *salingát* is its point.

The sound made by a spinning top: *men-alongáing* or *men-atúeg*; if it is very hard: *men-áwel*; when two spinning tops meet: *mentalíktik*; the sound of small spinning tops: *men-alongíng*.

The Kankanay know several varieties of spinning tops: *pandokéy*: a very tall top; *daláyap*: a small-headed top; *pusasé*: a big-bellied top, whose center is broader than the rest; *paúting*, *magítgitangan* and *nagít-engán*: tops whose center is narrower than the rest; *magístangayán*: a top whose shape is more or less that of an hourglass; *pinallapáng*: a top that is flattened in the middle, so that a cross section would show an oval; *sinalíngát*: a top with a point at both ends; *patlongáy*: a top that can be used in two ways, both ends being pointed.

Bagsúlen: to throw or spin (a top); to do this by giving a pull inward: *inagámid*.

Isagábi: to spin a top in such a way as to hit something sideways or behind.

Ibalaguét: to spin a top along the ground.

Ngípap: a mark or impression left on the ground by a spinning top, a more or less large dot.

Menbagél: when the top rolls over the ground, but does not spin.

Kiéy! an interjection used when spinning a top; if the boy says *langkáng* or *langilang*, which means some thing like: it does not count, he wants to repeat his action.

Men-aynók: when a top turns a long while; to whirl sideways is *menpaliwetwét*.

Ikaém: to fix a top in the ground.

Mapappapiáaw: to throw a top, when the cord is too short.

Menpakpakattá: when the top staggers or totters, but does not whirl as it should; but when the top hops or skips in that way, it is *mentagtagá*, or *mentagallók*.

Lumam-ós: when the top becomes slippery through use.

Ipas-ád: to direct a top into a groove, so that it enters a hole in the ground on whose brink a gap has been made.

Menkulidawdáv: when the top turns in a circle, when it enters a depression of the ground.

Kepapén: to lay a hand on a spinning top, to stop it.

Beltáken: to hit a spinning top with another one; *isegták*: when two spinning tops knock against each other.

Pulki: when a player spins his top in such a way as to hit the top, which his playmate had placed on the ground.

Menpangnáan: to play a top at the brink of a hollow, which another top has to thrust in.

Nakná: a top hit by that of an opponent; *taágen*: to miss hitting another top, although close by.

Itanéng: to lay down (a top), so that his playmates may hit it; and when the top is hit, it is *nakitúpam*.

Pinaliwéd: to hide a top behind an obstacle, so that another top that is spun from some distance, may hit it; the trace left by this last top is, of course, more or less curved.

Kinapkapángis or *kinapangsi*: when a top hits successively two tops that lie on the ground: the carom of billiards.

To pop corn: *ibánag*.

Men-ap-ápat: several children sit around a fire, each of them with its own heap of popped seeds; the child to whose side a popped

seed drops down, picks it up and adds it to its own heap.

Men-gawwáng: A child divides the tip of a haulm into four parts and four other children have to catch them.

Menpikpiko: A child presents the open palm of his hand and the others pat it with one finger, until one of those fingers is caught by the hand.

A child twirls a blade of grass that is crooked or something similar between the fingers and says: *bongbongtót sino san inumtut*, let us see who broke wind.

When a child pulls the ears of a companion, it says *pailút* (from the Iloko *irut*, tight), and when it lets them go, it says *palukáy* (from the Iloko *lukáy*, loose).

Tinubúbong: A child braids a rope between the fingers of both hands; when the figure that is reproduced takes the shape of what they call a tapis, it is *inpag-itáp*.

Kiniwkiwi: A child joins both hands with the fingers pointing in opposite directions, but keeping one long finger erect and moving it to and fro.

Menkullúb: A child joins both hands in such a way as to take the shape of a cup.

Menkingking: To nip the skin of the back of someone's hand and keep it for some time.

Menninnin: To balance and keep a cane, etc. erect on the tip of one's finger.

Atimbayaén: To catch something that has been thrown up; but to catch a piece of wood that has been thrown up, alternately on the back and on the palm of the hand is *men-galdó*.

Menpokgáok: When one turns round on one leg, holding up the other leg with both hands, which one clasps during the proceeding.

Mentug-áli: Two men stand back to back holding one another by the arms, and alternately stoop down, the *aguáli*, and lie on the back of their mate in an opposite posture.

Menballága: Two men stand face to face, stretching out their arms and rubbing their palms; their aim is to catch their companion by the arms.

To wrestle: *mendamá*, *menpúged* or *men-awét*; but to wrestle while holding with one's finger the finger of their opponent: *mentulsi*.

Tug-of-war: *mentibalbál*. But instead of holding a rope, the Kankanay clasp each other around the waist.

Pitch penny: *mentanggá*.

Mendadáng: to swing, to rock; but when there are two persons on the swing, it is called *men-apil*.

To strike or knock wood: *pakipáken, tugitúgen, takitóken, tagitágen* or *menpakgolóng*.

Quoits: *památo*.

Stilt: *akkád*; its prong is *dappatán*, but when the prong ascends and forms an acute angle with the stock, it is called *nasad-áng*.

Agubatbatien: the play of a rope dancer.

Ulláv: a kite made of paper.

Mensultip: to whistle; to blow on leaves is *menkúguy*.

To blow on a haulm, etc., producing a shrill sound: *mentongáli*, but the sound is called *apiip*.

Itakém: when a person is in possession of a present, he enters a group of people and says "takém", and the first person who repeats that same word after him, receives the present.

Riddle: *buntia*.

Menkitkit-úg: a person presents his two closed fists, one of which contains something, and another person must guess which of the two fists is the container.

Kalapá: a kind of jargon or cant: a P is pronounced before every vowel of a word, for instance: *ayká* becomes *apaykapá*, *umálika* becomes *upumapálipikapa*.

To tell a story: *mensudsúd* or *mensápit*; to do so a second time is *pap-esén*.

II. GAMBLING

Here we meet with many Spanish-terms (Sp.).

Money, cash, coin: *sípíng, pilák, anak di kónan* (offspring of cattle).

1/2 centavo: *pít-ík*.

1 centavo: *esáy-sípíng*.

2¹/₂ centavos: *malabáto*. Used only by gamblers.

5 centavos: *nikel* (from the Sp. *niquel*, nickle).

6 centavos: *kawaló*.

10 centavos: *seis* (from the Sp. *diez y seis cuartos*, sixteen cuartos).

12 1/2 centavos: *sikápat*.

20 centavos: *pesétas* (Sp. *peseta*) or *alintadós* (from the Sp.: *treinta dos*, thirty-two cuartos).

25 centavos: *bintín*.

30 centavos: *talombági*.

50 centavos: *salapí*. Also: *pakdá*, which is antiquated.

60 centavos: *kaduá s' seis*.

One peso: *pisos* (Sp. *peso*).

One peso and ten centavos: *katló s' seis*.

Two pesos and 50 centavos: *seláy*. Antiquated.

5 pesos: *sibúg*. Antiquated.

To get into partnership with somebody, forming a pool: *men-sugpún*, *men-abág*; to increase the amount: *sumángi*.

Inveterate gambler: *nangemákem*, *dangpúlas*; to go to another town to gamble: *umalúg*.

Stake: *págo* (Sp.: payment). To stake all one has: *itustús*, *ikópo*; to stake it partially: *pikikan*; to increase a small stake: *guming-ging*.

To bet, to give money to a gambler with the agreement to receive back twice as much or nothing: *sumúlut*, *makitapák*; to lose, when betting: *maisawsáw*.

Ready cash or quits: *Kasádo* (Sp.: *casado*, nullified).

Quits: *amáno* (From the Sp.: *jugar mano a mano*, to play even) or *pagádo* (Sp.; paid).

Delkák: when both gamblers do the same thing.

To win: *mangábak*, *manúdas*; to win much: *mangalimbugábug*; to win in turn: *mentongkádo* (from Sp.: perhaps from *tornear*, *trabajar al torno* or from *tornar*, to return, to repeat).

Binis: a share given by the winner to the lender of the tools: cards, etc.

Baláto (from the Sp.: *de barato*, gratis): a share given by the winner to a companion; to ask for such a share before the game is finished: *mendítwit*.

To lose: *maábak*; when a gambler has lost his clothes: *napoklisan*; *bumáin*: when a loser gets excited and continues to play, even raising the stake.

Ipakís: to pay what one has lost.

Sagutsúten: to continue the same luck.

To cheat: *sapetéwen*; cheating: *nasultik*, *nasapóti*.

Cards: *nípes* (from the Sp.: *naipes*).

The two red suits are: *kópas* (Sp.: *copa*, cup) and *óros* (Sp.: *oro*, gold); the two black suits are: *bástos* (Sp.) and *espádas* (Sp.: swords).

The thirteen denominations are: *as* (Sp.: ace), *rey* (Sp.: king), *kabáyo* (from the Sp.: *caballo*, horse), *sóta* (Sp.: helper or substitute) and nine Spanish numbers from *diez* (ten) to *dos* (two).

Seksekén: to shuffle (the cards).

To play a card: *menbanták*, *men-ibbét*.

To pick a card from the pile: *pugúten*, *bumúten*, *pakáten*; to look at the cards in the pile: *menbokítkit*.

Kalatkát: a single card. For instance a king without ace or queen. Sometimes called *kalatúkat*.

Indis: A card that is not alone, but has one or more companions. For instance: a queen attended by a jack or a king; or two, three or four queens.

Menpakito (probably from the Sp.: *paquete*, pack): A card game with three or four participants, having each ten cards; when they are exhausted, they pick out cards from the pile. Whenever (either at the beginning or in the course of the game) they have three or more cards of the same denomination (e.g. three jacks) or three or more cards of the same suit that follow one another (e.g. jack, ten and nine), they expose them on the table in front of them. The winner is the player who is the first to get rid of all his cards, provided the last card he puts down belongs to his own exposed series.

Sewáden: to pick up a card deposited by one's predecessor.

Kibláen: to add a fourth card to the three a playmate has exposed, to give him a chance.

Menpalpális (from the Sp.: *pares*, alike): a card game with two or more participants, who have each five cards. The rules are the same as in the *menpakito*, but only the cards of the same denomination are of value, and the pile is not always exhausted.

Mensinsinas: a card game with the same rules as the preceding.

Mensungkiang or *men-ungkiang*: a card game like the *menpakito*, but there are only two participants.

When playing at head-or-tail: head is *lúpa* (from the Iloko *rupa*, face; and tail is *kulús* (from the Sp.: *cruz*, cross).

Menbangking: To play at head-or-tail: a person shakes two coins in a cup or something similar and then reverses it: if after examination the coins show a different side (*bangking*), he is the loser.

To play at head-or-tail by twirling two coins on a flat surface: *menpatayyéek* (probably from the identical Iloko term, stem *tayyéek*, whirling), or *menpaikut*, or *mengiek*; to do the same by placing two coins on one's finger and tossing them up: *mentayyá*.

Pális (Sp.: *pares*, alike): when both coins show the same side.

Ikaléb: to cover or hide (the coins).

Menngilngilaw (from the Iloko *ngilaw*, fly): several persons spit on a coin, then they put them down together; the owner of the coin, that is the first to be visited by a fly, is the winner.

Menpaltát: A person throws a coin at a certain distance, then his opponent does the same; if he can touch both coins with his outstretched hand, he is the winner; then he in turn throws a coin, and so on, alternately.

Bútik: a cork or anything else at which coins are thrown.

Pallót: cockfight; gamecock; to set (two roosters) fighting: *yáyat*.

III. DANCING

To dance: *mendakingking*, *mentalád*.

In the most popular kind of dance there are four participants: one woman, who is often replaced and three men who are constant, besides a drummer who stays where he is. The woman erects her forearms and stretches out her hands, the palms turned forward, while she trips lightly, barely moving from her place. The three men follow one another stepping briskly and turn in a kind of circle around the woman: the first man, the *mangangsá* or *manúnub*, beats a gong and contorts his body in all possible ways, the second man, the *maminsán*, merely beats a gong, a plate or something similar; the third man, *manakik*, beats together a stone and a bit of iron or something similar.

Manáyaw or *manadék*: A kind of dance with two participants: a man who stretches out his arms, over which blankets are hung, and a woman who assumes the same posture as in the preceding.

When man and woman meet in dancing: *saydéngan* or *mensádeg*; when the woman meets the man: *awángan*; when the woman turns around the man: *mensalidsid*.

Men-alingkadákad: to step (dancing).

Manalibi: to dance. A woman only.

To dance gracefully: *dumusádus*, *madipdip* or *mengitek*.

IV. SINGING

Daing: A kind of song and dance performed on the occasion of a solemn feast. Men and women line up in the form of a double ring, or rather a double crescent, the men in the front line, the women behind them. Each man puts his arms about the neck of his immediate neighbors, and the women do likewise. The man at the extreme right and the woman immediately behind him hold in their right hands a piece of wood (*sekáag* or *pangó*), the two *mamangó*; they raise that piece and lower it in time with the rhythm of the song. The movements of the dance are very few and slow, and there is no moving from place to place. One of the group, a solo singer, begins the singing (*nekásen*) and the entire group, the chorus, repeats the words, at least in part. If a woman sings the first solo all the women repeat it after her, then a man answers with a solo repeated by all the men, and so on back and forth. The melody of the solo is rather harmonious but not so that of the chorus: It consists simply in a monotonous succession of short utterances alternating with brief pauses and coming down the scale about one octave. Some four notes are sounded, each about four times, except for the last note which is merely a short groan.

Ayuggá: A kind of daing song and dance whose melody is not

so drawling as that of the ordinary daíng.

Dayyákus: a kind of daíng song and dance that is used only at the celebration of a typical sacrifice of successful headhunters.

To sing: *menlugamít*.

To participate in singing: *makidas-án, makiduyas-án*.

To sing agreeably: *nalenggé*; in the daíng: *madaklás*.

To begin singing: *busaysáyan, wayaw-áan, anawángan*.

To sing a solo: *menngayóngey*.

Salagubbán: a transition between the daíng and the day-éng, when the former fails.

To introduce the daíng with a short song: *mendaklás, mendamgás, dumekadeká mendokláng*; to begin this introduction: *amaáman, menbékas*; to continue singing after the introduction: *yendalás, umpá*.

Mensúlin: this is sung in the morning and in the evening, beginning and concluding the daíng.

Dinggáyus: this is sung by at least ten men on the occasion of a typical sacrifice of successful headhunters.

Besayén: to begin singing the ayyéng, which is sung in the evening before several sacrifices; it is sung by men, a solo and a chorus, and consists in mere loud shouts.

Menduy-ús: to sing at a pális sacrifice, which takes place in the evening, at which a dog is killed.

Menbayyúg: to sing at an epas-sacrifice, when two pigs are killed.

Menlakúgey: this is sung by men when they are out of town and on their way to the forest, to fetch fire wood. It may not be sung inside the town lest they become lame.

Men-log: this is sung by a whole group of people in a very monotonous way, after an old man has blessed a jar of rice wine, and before they start drinking.

Swinging songs: their melody is more harmonious than any other Kankanay song. There is an enormous variety of these songs. Some are dialogues between a girl on a swing and a boy nearby, in which case they are continued until one or the other gives up. If the girl is the loser the boy may propose to her, but this happens rather rarely as the girls, at least those that take such a risk, are generally good singers. Some swinging songs are long monologues, but most of them are short, often consisting of only one or two verses.

Dadáy: this song is used on the occasion of the arrival of the bride at the town of the bridegroom, where the wedding is to take place. Several girls of the town go to meet the stranger at one of the houses in the town, where she is temporarily staying, and there begin singing their dadáy song, the girls alternating with the bride.

Day-éng: these songs are used universally by men and women, old and young, rich and poor, alone or in groups, by day or night, at work or at play, to praise a hero or to relate an ordinary story, to court a girl or to rock a child to sleep. They are sung according to all kinds of melodies, which are ordinarily more drawling than those of the *daíng* songs, but less monotonous than those of the *sóso* songs (lamentations).

Menlayóeng: a kind of monotonous song performed by Bontok Igorot.

Dásay: a lamentation that is sung when an adult person is at the point of death.

To sing a lamentation at the death or the burial of an adult person: *sosoán, daguán, mengáuy, menting-ó, menngayong-ó, mendokastí*.

Membayáw: to sing a lamentation when the dead body is brought out of the house for burial.

To debate, to altercate singing: several men: *menliwá, makigulíw-án, makigaliw-án, mendaykó, makisungáni, mensumpáli*; a man and a woman: *mensugál*.

To alternate singing: usually a man and a woman, both agreeing: *mensalbét*.

To tell a story singing: *mensudsúd, idangies*.

V. MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Drum: *solibaw, tebéb, gébal*; the drum head or vellum is *kátat*.

Two kinds of drum: *ambátang* and *gumtáng*.

Tagoktóken: to beat (a drum); to do so continually: *mentayedtéd*.

Men-abangkáw: to beat a drum, mostly to accompany the main drummer: alternately one long with two short and four long beats.

Mentagám: to assist the main drummer: one beat at a time, at regular intervals.

Menballáak: to beat a shield, using it as a drum.

Gong: *gangsá, dengpáyan; daklíg*: the perpendicular parts of the brim.

There are many kinds of gong: *lingéan, nalibaw, lodpák*. Large: *lognót, gubbagúb, gongógong, gadágad, budbúd, kálus* or *patpat-íng, yongayóngan, intúned, galanggángan, dápey, pinusgán, móken, gimpayán, nganawngáwan, inalípuspús*. Middle-sized: *kokiúb*. Small: *dumáan, palísa, payangkák, adangsúy*. With a low rim: *dadáan*. With a notched rim: *nagótong*.

Menbálin: to deal in gongs.

To beat the gong: *pumápa*; in a regular way: *menginnáang, manallibeng*; isolated beats between the prayers during some sacrifices: *menguáng*; slowly, while the old man finished praying over the rice

wine during some sacrifices: *menkayabká*.

Jew's harp: *abistúng, abilláw, dawwiling*.

Dikkuykúy: a kind of call addressed by a young man to a girl, through a Jew's harp.

Awwiding: an instrument resembling the Jew's harp.

Nose flute: *kulalléng, kalalléng*.

Mentaluttút: to blow an instrument.

Diw-ás: mouth organ; pandean pipes; syrx. An instrument made of bamboo and consisting of five pipes fixed together side by side, the second one shorter than the first and so on.

Gabil: an instrument resembling a violin: it is made of bamboo and horse hair.

Galdáng: an instrument taking the place of a guitar: it is made of bamboo; as a substitute of the strings the bark of the bamboo is detached, cut lengthwise several times and lifted up with a short piece of wood used for a bridge.

Sikuit: a small piece of reed used to play: it is mandolin-shaped.

Bagengbeng: two holes are dug into the ground in such a way as to meet underneath and one of them is covered with a piece of bark; then a short stick, the bridge (*sulikag*), is planted into the ground between the holes and a string is stretched over the whole contrivance. To play this, the string is pinched above the covered hole.

Koltóngen: to pinch the string of a violin, etc.

Ábiw: an instrument consisting of a piece of ánes-bamboo (much used in basket work), split at one side. By beating the hand with it, a thrilling sound is produced; used very much when walking or killing time.

Tallupák: a piece of the petiole of a banana leaf, two longitudinal sections having been detached partially at each side; used to produce a sound by flapping the detached pieces against the central piece.