

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

BAG-AYAN, CAROL B. APRIL 2013. 'Ap-apat di Amam-a': Local Expressions among the People of Ampusongan and Poblacion, Bakun, Benguet. Benguet State University, La Trinidad, Benguet.

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## **ABSTRACT**

The study aimed to document the local expressions in Ampusongan and Poblacion, Bakun, Benguet. The specific objectives were to: collect local expressions; classify the local expressions; translate the local expressions into English; describe the situations or instances when these are used; and, determine the origin of the expressions.

The 40 informants of this study were chosen using the snowballing technique. They were interviewed using guide questions.

The study gathered 115 local expressions classified into riddles, figures of speech, idiomatic expressions, and sayings.

The study concluded that the people of Poblacion and Ampusongan, Bakun have local expressions that need to be documented and preserved; local expressions in the locality are being enriched by expressions from other places but they still imparted cultural knowledge and values of the local people; and, local expressions were very useful in getting messages across different circumstances.



The study recommends community validation for the local expressions; more documentation studies on local expressions from the other barangays of Bakun; and the production of information materials presenting the local expressions of Bakun, Benguet.



## INTRODUCTION

### Rationale

It is commonly observed that many migrant families from other parts of the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR), now residing in urban areas like Baguio City and La Trinidad, do not speak the language of their places of origin. They speak Filipino, English and/or the regional *lingua franca* Iloko, instead. This is not only true among children but also among high school and college students as well as their parents. They adopt the language commonly used in the area in order for them to be understood by other members of the community. Many have also gone to the extent of being ashamed of their origins that they deny their ethnic affiliations for fear of being discriminated upon.

However, in this effort to blend into their host communities, their native languages are being compromised. Since they do not speak these languages even at home, there is no venue for their children to learn them. How can these children teach and communicate indigenous knowledge to the coming generations if they themselves do not acquire enough knowledge about it?

Another negative effect of not knowing the language of one's ancestors is the difficulty of communicating with relatives especially the elders. This also increases the possibility that the child will be confused regarding his or her identity.

The consequences of not speaking their languages contribute to the decreasing number of speakers of such languages. This is alarming because as Davis (1999) stated, "as languages disappear, cultures die."

The importance of language to culture is explained by RacismNoWay (2010) with the statement that "language is intrinsic to the expression of culture. As a means of



communicating values, beliefs and customs, it has an important social function and fosters feelings of group identity and solidarity. It is the means by which culture and its traditions and shared values may be conveyed and preserved”. Reinforcing this explanation is a pronouncement of the Warradjan Aboriginal Cultural Center (nd) that language is fundamental to cultural identity for people everywhere. It is therefore important that people keep their own language alive.

The need to keep the language alive is common among indigenous peoples of the world. In the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR), the different ethnic groups or tribes are gifted with languages rich with unique expressions that people consider as their own. Such expressions are used not only in conveying messages but also in transmitting values that form part of their culture.

Barangay Ampusongan and Poblacion of Bakun, Benguet have lot of these expressions that need to be documented in order to help keep the language alive. The elders use these to avoid hurting feelings or conflicts especially if the message to be conveyed is somewhat sensitive. These also help in keeping people up during wakes, in entertaining people during occasions, and in transmitting knowledge. As one of the elders said, “*No panggep pay adi si makwani ay culture et wada pay lang sina tan ad- adu iman san insuro nan kapu-an ay mayat si pan- adalan*” (Indigenous culture is still very much alive because our ancestors have taught us a lot of good things to learn from).



### Statement of the Problem

There is a lack of written records on local expressions among the ‘Kankana-ey’ people of Bakun, Benguet. This research endeavoured to help fill in the information gap by answering the following questions:

1. What are the local expressions in Ampusongan and Poblacion, Bakun, Benguet?
2. What are the classifications of these local expressions?
3. What are the translations of these local expressions in English?
4. In what instances or situations are these used? and,
5. What are the origins of these expressions?

### Objectives of the Study

The study aimed to document the local expressions in Ampusongan and Poblacion, Bakun, Benguet. The specific objectives of the study were to:

1. collect local expressions being used by the people of Ampusongan and Poblacion;
2. classify the local expressions;
3. translate the local expressions into English;
4. describe the situations or instances when these are used; and,
5. determine the origin of the expressions.



### Importance of the Study

Local expressions in a community are considered gifts from ancestors. Documenting them is one way of preserving this indigenous knowledge. Results of this study can contribute to the growing records of indigenous knowledge in the region. It will also serve as an official document for the local government unit (LGU) of Bakun on local expressions in the community. Such records may be used as reference materials by students and researchers; by teachers for the mother tongue based curriculum; and by the people of Ampusongan and Poblacion, Bakun, especially the youth.

### Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study was limited to the collection of local expressions, the description of situation when they are used, the origin of the expression and their translation into English. Data were gathered from respondents who were identified by the local leaders in the community. Findings were presented to the other respondents and some of the barangay officials for validation.



## REVIEW OF LITERATURE

### The 'Kankana-eyes'

The 'Kankana-eyes' domain includes Western Mountain Province, Southeast Ilocos Sur, and Northwest Benguet. The 'Kankana-eyes' are part of the larger ethnic group known as the Igorots, who built the rice terraces as a sustainable upland agricultural system. Springs and waterfalls are the main source of water for irrigating the terraces. For the 'Kankana-ey', agricultural land is the main source of sustenance and an important form of wealth. The people also live on hunting and fishing status (Rocky Mountain Coffee Company, 2009).

The 'Kankana-ey' women are skillful in back loom weaving and produce woven blankets, garments, such as the wrap for women known as the 'tapis', and baskets. The men weave bamboo baskets and engage in woodcraft, pottery and furniture making. The houses of the 'Kankana-ey' are designed like the typical Igorot house and are a reflection of their social status. In the 2000 census, there were 141,434 residents of 'Kankana-ey' ethnicity in Benguet. They are the dominant ethnic group in the province in terms of numbers: they compose 43% of the total Benguet population. Like the Ibaloi, the 'Kankana-ey' has integrated in the mainstream modern Philippine society. Both indigenous groups are known for their high literacy rate and their exceptional educational achievements (Rocky Mountain Coffee Company, 2009).

### Roles of Language in Culture

Language makes us uniquely human. While some species have the capacity to communicate using sounds and gestures. Others can acquire certain aspects of human



language wherein no other species are comparable to humans with respect to the creativity and complexity of the systems than humans. Language is being use to express thoughts and to communicate (Tserdanelis and Wong, 2004).

Culture is a defining feature of a person's identity, contributing to how they see themselves and the groups with which they identify. Culture may be broadly defined as the sum total of ways of living built up by a group of human beings, which is transmitted from one generation to another. Every community, cultural group or ethnic group has its own values, beliefs and ways of living. The observable aspects of culture such as food, clothing, celebrations, religion and language are only part of a person's cultural heritage. The shared values, customs and histories characteristic of culture shape the way a person thinks, behaves and views the world. A shared cultural heritage bonds the members of the group together and creates a sense of belonging through community acceptance (Racismnoway, 2010).

Language is the fundamental and key to the expression of culture. It is the means of communicating values, beliefs and customs; it has an important social function and fosters feelings of group identity and solidarity. It is the means by which culture and its traditions and shared values may be conveyed and preserved. Language is fundamental to cultural identity. This is so for people everywhere (Tserdanelis and Wong, 2004).

The use of language, like most other forms of social behaviour, is governed by social rules. Some rules are designed to protect people's feelings by showing respect. Rather more important are rules designed to protect the integrity of our language. It is reasonably clear that if people decides to lies in some random way, so that listeners would





have no way of determining when speakers were lying and when they are telling the truth, language would cease to be any value to us (Cipollone, Keiser, and Vasishth, 1998).

The use of community languages is important both for individual and group identity and for communication across generations. In an increasingly globalised world, linguistic skills strengthen international ties and foster cultural exchange (Racismnoway, 2010).

According to Scarcella (1990), the rules for appropriate language may vary from culture to culture; they are usually sensitive across languages to many of the same factors including the context and topic of discourse and the sex, age, and status of the people speaking.

### The Language Expressions

Euphemism. It is a substitution of a delicate or inoffensive term or phrase for one that has coarse, sordid, or otherwise unpleasant associations, as in the use of “lavatory” or “rest room” for “toilet,” and “pass away” for “die”. It is the substitution of an agreeable or inoffensive expression for one that may offend or suggest something unpleasant.

Riddles. It belongs to the large class of mysterious and puzzling questions that one person poses to another during puzzling session (Eugenio, 2005). According to Bangan (1976) as cited by Eugenio (2005), riddling does not monopolize the whole period of relaxation. It is always accompanied by other activities like light work, idle talk and storytelling. The mode is generally for enjoyment.

Sayings. It is a proverbial expression that frequently offered piece of advice or information or a reflection (Microsoft Encarta, 2009). A saying is a short, clever expression that usually contains advice or expresses some obvious truth. Many traditional sayings are



still in general use today. Most of the sayings in this section are well known in English, though some of them come from other languages. The meaning or interpretation shown for each saying is believed to be the generally accepted interpretation of the saying, though for some sayings the interpretation may be more subjective than for others.

Idioms. It is an expression whose meanings cannot be inferred from the meanings of the words that make it up.

An idiom is an expression, word, or phrase that has a figurative meaning conventionally understood by native speakers. This meaning is different from the literal meaning of the idiom's individual elements. In other words, idioms don't mean exactly what the words say. They have, however, hidden meaning.

Figure of speech. It is a no literal expression or use of language in order to achieve a particular effect.

Common figures of speech include simile, metaphor, personification, hyperbole, irony, alliteration, climax, metonymy, paradox, antithesis, apostrophe, anticlimax, conceit, rhetorical question, litotes, onomatopoeia, and synecdoche.

Irony. It is the dryly humorous or lightly sarcastic mode of speech, in which words are used to convey a meaning contrary to their literal sense. An instance of irony is the suggestion, put forward with apparent seriousness by the English satirist Jonathan Swift in his “A Modest Proposal” that the poor people of Ireland should rid themselves of poverty by selling their children to the rich to eat.

Metaphor. It is the use of a word or phrase denoting one kind of idea or object in place of another word or phrase for the purpose of suggesting a likeness between the two. Thus, in the biblical Book of Psalms, the writer speaks of God's law as “a light to his feet



and a lamp to his path.” Other instances of metaphor are contained in the sentences “He uttered a volley of oaths” and “The man tore through the building”

Personification. It is the representation of inanimate objects or abstract ideas as living beings, as in the sentences “Necessity is the mother of invention” and “Night enfolded the town in its ebon wings.”

Simile. It is the specific comparison by means of the words “like” or “as” between two kinds of ideas or objects. Examples of the simile are contained in the sentence “Christianity shone like a beacon in the black night of paganism” and in the line by the English poet William Wordsworth: “But, like a thirsty wind, to roam about”.

### Filipino Values

Values can be inculcated but are more enduring when caught. Values formation which is vital to the socialization skills of an individual can be developed and nurtured in the family, school and environment. Values may include obtaining knowledge, wisdom and necessary skills, using them in your home and living out the values you acquired within the family. The Filipino family has values that have been treasured and passed on for many generations already. These values are believed to be beneficial as it fulfil some of the basic needs of people (Hubpages, 2013).

Respect. Filipinos are accustomed to using the words “po,” “opo,” and “ho” when they are conversing with older people or sometimes to people with higher position or status in the society. Using these words is customary in the Philippines and it shows sign of respect. *Paggalang* can also be given to the elders by virtue of kissing their hands before



leaving and upon arrival. Younger member of the family gives due respect to older siblings by calling them *kuya* (older brother) or *ate* (older sister).

Pakikisama or Getting along well with people. The yearning of the Filipinos to be accepted and well liked by his friends, colleagues, boss and even relatives steers them perform pakikisama. The word pakikisama means helping others. This trait usually fosters cooperation and doing good deeds which are favorable to other people.

Utang na Loob or Debt of Gratitude. Usually a system of obligation, when applied it gives duty and responsibility on the part of the young siblings to serve and repay the favors done to them sooner or later.

Pagpapahalaga sa Pamilya or putting importance to family. This implies that a person will put a high regards and concerns over the family before anything else. This is one of the reasons why a father or a mother in a Filipino family will seek employment abroad just to earn decent earnings for their family, to meet the family's basic needs and want.

Hiya or Shame. This controls the social behaviour of Filipino. It is a value that makes a Filipino be obedient and be respectful to parents, older siblings and authorities. It is also a key ingredient to the loyalty of one's family.



## Definition of Terms

*Amam-a.* It is a generic term use to address a group of elders.

*Kankana-ey.* It is a dialect use by some of the some ethnic groups in Cordillera particularly in Benguet and Mountain Province.

*Ap-apat di amam-a.* It is a local term for local expressions uttered by elders in a certain community specifically in Bakun and some ‘Kankana-ey’ areas of Benguet.

*Figure of speech.* It is the mode of expression in which words are used out of their literal meaning or out of their ordinary use in order to add beauty or emotional intensity or to transfer the poet's sense impressions by comparing or identifying one thing with another that has a meaning familiar to the reader.

*Idiomatic expression.* These were the expressions that not included and classified in the figure of speech.

*Homegrown.* These were the expressions that originally composed and heard by the people of Bakun from the elders in their community.

*Adopted.* Local expressions that derived from other languages, heard from other people from other places, and learned from readings.



## METHODOLOGY

### Locale and Time of the Study

The study was conducted in two selected barangays of the Municipality of Bakun: Ampusongan and Poblacion. Poblacion is the capital of the municipality but the Municipal Hall is located in Ampusongan. These barangays are at the center of the municipality.

Bakun is one of the thirteen municipalities of Benguet Province (Figure 1). It has a land area of 30, 883.3521 hectares and a population of 14, 897 as of 2007. Aside from Ampusongan and Poblacion, the other barangays in Bakun are Sinacbat, Bagu, Kayapa, Gambang, Bagtangan, and Dalipey (Figure 2). Bakun is bounded on the north by the municipalities of Cervantes, Ilocos Sur and Mankayan; on the south by the municipality of Kibungan; on the east by the municipalities of Buguias and Mankayan; and on the west, by the municipalities of Sugpon and Alilem of the province of Ilocos Sur. Ampusongan and Poblacion are four to six hours ride from La Trinidad via bus.

The study was conducted from December 2012 to February 2013.





Figure 1. Map of Benguet showing the locale of the study

### Respondents of the Study

The informants of this study were chosen from the people of barangay Poblacion and Ampusongan in Bakun who have knowledge on local expressions. In identifying the informants, the snowballing technique was used. The barangay officials were asked to refer individuals who could help accomplish the objectives of the study. These individuals in

turn identified others. Some of the referred individuals had nothing to share so they referred others instead.

Among the 40 informants, thirty were from Poblacion and ten were from Ampusongan. The youngest was aged 35 while the oldest was 79 years old. Twenty-four informants were elders, aged 50 to 79, who were also members of the Barangay Lupon. The Barangay Lupon is the Philippine response to the continuing global search for indigenous mediation structures capable of resolving disputes within a community and beyond the formal courts of justice.

### Data Collection

Data collection was done through face-to-face interviews using guide questions. Both individual and group interviews were applied. During the gathering, giving examples for the different classifications of local expressions was done to ensure that the informants know what to share. The language used during the interviews was 'Kankana-ey'.

### Data Gathered

The data gathered were local expressions used by the people of Ampusongan and Poblacion, Bakun. These include riddles, sayings, idiomatic expressions, and figures of speech. Also gathered were their origin as perceived by the informants and the different situations where such expressions are used.





## Data Analysis

The data gathered were consolidated, classified and presented in a narrative form. Descriptive statistics using frequency counts and percentages were used in presenting the distribution of local expressions according to certain categories.

Not all the local expressions gathered in this study are presented in this manuscript. Some had to be screened out for being nonsense, vulgar or demeaning to actual persons in the community, whether dead or alive.

The local expressions were classified into riddles, idiomatic expressions, figures of speech, and sayings. These were translated into English to show their literal and contextual meanings. Riddles, however, were translated literally only as the contextual translation is already the answer. Classification and translation were done by the researcher based on her knowledge of expressions as studied in English and on her knowledge of the ‘Kankana-ey’ language.

The origin of the local expressions as perceived by respondents is either homegrown or adopted. Homegrown expressions are those that are expressed in words that are related to cultural practices or activities in Bakun. This also applies to those which informants claimed they have originally composed or heard from the native folks. On the other hand, expressions are considered ‘adopted’ if these were heard from people outside the community or read and shared to the community. Through intermarriages, other expressions brought into the place were adopted.



## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Local Expressions in Bakun

Table 1. Distribution of local riddles according to category

CATEGORY	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE (%)
Riddles	74	63.24
Figure of speech	23	19.65
Idiomatic expressions	13	11.11
Sayings	07	05.98
Total	117	100

This study gathered 117 local expressions from Poblacion and Ampusongan, Bakun, Benguet. As shown in Table 1, these were classified into riddles (63.24%), figures of speech (19.65%), idiomatic expressions (11.11%), and sayings (05.98%).

### Riddles in Bakun

Table 2 shows that among the 74 riddles, almost 74 percent were homegrown. The rest were adopted.

The riddles were sub-categorized according to their answers into plant, animal, parts of the body, man and his situation, nature, and man-made things.

Riddles are shared when there is a need to entertain in different occasions. During wakes, the people look for activities that will make them awake so aside from 'day-eng', the people do riddling. According to Lakay Napoleon, an Ampusongan elder, riddling is an interesting activity because an individual will apply critical thinking in order to answer



Table 2. Distribution of local riddles according to answer category and their origin

CATEGORY	HOMEGROWN		ADOPTED		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Plant	16	84.21	03	15.78	19	100.00
Animal	08	66.66	04	33.33	12	100.00
Parts of the body	10	100.00	00	00.00	10	100.00
Man and his situation	02	33.33	04	66.66	06	100.00
Nature	07	100.00	00	00.00	07	100.00
Man- made things	12	60.00	08	40.00	20	100.00
	55	74.32	19	25.67	74	100.00

\*Row percentages

a riddle. Riddles serve as an alternative for ‘day-eng’ wherein the people who do not know how to do ‘day-eng’ are given the opportunity to participate in the socialization and therefore have the feeling of belongingness in the community.

The riddles also teach or remind the listeners of the locality’s indigenous knowledge which include indigenous flora and fauna and cultural activities.

*Plant riddles.* The answers of these riddles are related to plants like vegetables and fruits that are in the community (Table 3). The table shows that among the 19 riddles, 16 were homegrown and three were adopted.

The riddles were constructed based on what the people observed in their surroundings. They used artistic words so that the people will be hard up in answering. The riddle about rice is one of the good examples for plant riddles since this is one of their main crops aside from the fact that rice is a staple food for Filipinos. For example, ‘Sin kabalo



na tangadena ed daya, ngem idi makay neyeng-awana din baybay'. The rice was humanized in the sense that it was made to do a human action (i.e. looking up to heaven).

Table 3. Plant riddles in Bakun, Benguet

KANKANAHEY	ENGLISH TRANSLATION	ORIGIN
Sin kabalo na tangadena ed daya ngem idi nakay neyeng-awana din baybay. (Pagey)	When he was younger, he looked up the sky. When he got older, he looked down at the sea. (Rice plant)	Homegrown
Idi enmeyak nanbaonak si man-at-atong, idi dinmatengak adi nanbaliw atong na.(Sili)	When I go I brought some food that is hot when I got there it was still hot. What is it? (Chili)	Homegrown
Wada di inabat ko ay nakay ginidok et natey. (Bain-bain)	There's an old man I met. I touched him, he died. (Mimosa plant)	Homegrown
Nan-anak si Aglipina, maek-ekgas lampina. (Ugso)	When Aglipina gave birth, her baby's diapers keep falling. (Banana blossom)	Homegrown
Tamtamangek ed demang waday kaindaindadang. (Ugso)	I'm viewing it from afar, it always swinging. (Banana blossom)	Homegrown
No ilaem adi kan alaen ngem no adi kan ilaen, maalam. (Pulot)	If you see, you don't get but if you don't see, you get. (Amor seco)	Homegrown
Sino di nanatey ay nananggen si matmatago? (Kalatkatan)	What is dead that holds something alive? (Trellis)	Homegrown
No bemela nabok-ong ngem no sumaamabkas. (Pagey ay maani)	When it goes out it is bent but when it goes home it is straight. (Harvested palay)	Homegrown
No matey si Obanan Ilaos da si kaagawan. (Pagey)	When Obanan dies, they will pass by carrying him daylight. (Rice)	Homegrown



Table 3. Continued. . .

KANKANAEY	ENGLISH TRANSLATION	ORIGIN
Idi enmeyak ed Kapangan wada di naelak ay nankakay yan maga polos di bado da ngem idi elaek pay din anak et nantenak-ep di bado da. (Kawayan)	When I went to Kapangan I saw the old ones naked but the children have layers of clothes. (Bamboo)	Homegrown
Wada di sin asawa ay nakay ya nabakes. Idi enemy da ed be-ey di anak da nalaydan din nay ay anak isunga pinalti na et din baboy na. Din nay anak kapoto sin awak di baboy ngem binay-ana din toktok na. Inmula na din toktok et siya et di binmaknangana. (Gamey)	An elderly couple visited their child. When they arrived the son was very happy so he butchered his pig. He cut the pig's body but he left the head. The child planted the head and made him rich. (Taro/Gabi)	Homegrown
Wada di esa ay balasang mail-ila din bago na. (Mais)	There is a lady, her pubic hair is showing. (Corn)	Homegrown
Beey ko ay andu- andu, nakuarto- kuarto. (Kawayan)	My long, long house has many rooms. (Bamboo)	Homegrown
Beey apo, napnus bato. (Bayabas)	The house of grandpa is full of stones. (Guava)	Homegrown
Isa kan luta ta tumad-o ak ed deya. (Sayote)	You stay on the ground for I will go out. (Chayote plant or vine)	Homegrown
Waday minatay ko et si lalabos ay inkaot ko ngem idi nabudal pay yan naikong.(Mani)	It is nude when I buried it, it was in a coffin when I dug it. (Peanut)	Homegrown
Sisya di nasugat ngem sak-en di nan-uga. (Sibuyas)	It's the one being hurt but I was the one who cried. (Onion bulb)	Adopted
Wada di sakdo-ak ed demang adi kaeb-ebakan (Niyog/ soso)	There is a spring far away. It does not get dirty. (Coconut/ breast)	Adopted
Kanek di ad-adu, itep-ak di es-esa. (Tigi)	I'll eat many, I will throw away one. (Corn)	Adopted



*Animal riddles.* Answers to these riddles are animals. Table 4 shows that eight were homegrown and four were adopted.

For example, the rooster serves as their clock, thus the riddle, ‘Kabogabogaw ya kasenyasenyas ngem pag met eman osto sin oras’ (It always shouts and signals but always right on time). This is derived from the observed characteristics of the rooster.

The riddles were based on real observations in their surroundings.

Table 4. Animal riddles in Bakun, Benguet

KANKANAËY	ENGLISH TRANSLATION IN	ORIGIN
Kabogabogaw ya kasenyasenyas ngem pag met eman osto sin oras. (Kawitan)	It always shouts and signals but it is always right on time. (Rooster)	Homegrown
Sino di natago ay no dumakdake yan makulangan din awak na? (Godak)	What creatures will loss a part when it grows big? (Frog)	Homegrown
Un-unodem saken yan no detngem saken pemse ka. (Koto)	You’re following me and when you found me, you will kill me. (Lice)	Homegrown
Inmeyak ed wanga namayabaya-ong da. (Baday)	I went to the river, they were all in mourning clothes. (Tadpole)	Homegrown
Sino di parsua ay pag man-aagto si dapengan. (Nowang)	What creature always carries ashes? (Carabao)	Homegrown
Naabat ko si Pitpito, nan-a agto si patpatok. (Kawitan)	I met Pitpito carrying meat on his head. (Rooster)	Homegrown
No emeyak ed beey yo yumamyayamyam kayo. (Aso)	When I go to your house, you always scold me. (Dog)	Homegrown



Table 4. Continued. . .

KANKANAHEY	ENGLISH TRANSLATION IN	ORIGIN
Baken met bulag ngem adi makaila si lawag. (Kop)	It is not blind but it can't see light. (Owl)	Homegrown
Ungo-am asi kan kanen (Bisokol)	Kiss before you eat (Golden apple snail)	Adopted
Naaptek no nakapika, ando no nakatokdo. (Aso)	Short when standing, tall when sitting. (Dog)	Adopted
Maseyep no kaagawan, bumangon no kalabi-an (Paniki)	It sleeps at daytime awake at night (Bat)	Adopted
Din makedse ay si Hudas dila na ena isinilas. (Bisokol)	The naughty Hudas wear his tongue as slippers. (Golden apple snail)	Adopted

*Parts of the body riddles.* These riddles are mostly about external parts of the body like hands, eyes, nose, forehead and others. There were 10 riddles in this category, all homegrown.

The riddles are used also to educate children about the different parts of the body in a creative way. For example, they say ‘binetbet Kabunyan adi kapey-an’ (cut by the Almighty that never heals) instead of saying which body part is used for eating. The answer of the riddle is mouth.

Among this category is an example of a riddle whose meaning gets lost in translation. “No wada di am-amagem ay beey, sino di umuna ay ikapet mo?” will keep the guesser thinking of a part of the house that is attached first to the structure being built. Literally it is translated to “when you build a house, what would you attach first?”. The



answer, however, tells us it is not a part of the house the riddle was asking for. It asked for the part of the body with which one will hold on to things when building a house.

Table 5. Parts of the body riddles in Bakun

KANKANAHEY	TRANSLATION IN ENGLISH	ORIGIN
Binetbet Kabunian adi kapey-an. (Tepek)	Cut by ‘Kabunian’, it never heals. (Mouth)	Homegrown
Wada di lima ay sin-agi, nan-ana-anaaga da. (Galumot)	There five siblings wearing capes (Fingers)	Homegrown
Duwa ay tubong nan-uusong. (Eng)	Two pipes facing downward. (Nose)	Homegrown
Lima ay kaiw di niyog, es-esa lang di natayag. (Galumot)	Five coconut trees, only one is tall. (Fingers)	Homegrown
Wada laeng sin ngatok, adi ak paylaeng maila. (Kitong)	It is just above me but I couldn’t see it. (Forehead)	Homegrown
No wada di am-amagem ay beey, Sino di umuna ay ikapet mo? (Takay)	When you build a house, what is the first thing you attach? (Hands)	Homegrown
Beey ko ay dindiningding napnus ingit di kiling. (Bab-a)	My house that made of wood is full of bird’s bone. (Teeth)	Homegrown
Wada di lima ay manbabarkada ay nan- eegen si kaman maleta, yan no bukatan da siyat wada di lima ay mankadwa sin manbabarkada asi malukatan. Sino din kaman maleta ya din manbabarkada (Libro ya galumot)	There were five friends holding a box. When they will open it they need five more. What is the box? What are those five and the other five? (Book and the fingers)	Homegrown
Sin awak mo,wada di adikan ammo tan din maestro adi na initdo. (Bilang di bo-ok)	In your body, there is something you don’t know because your teacher didn’t teach it. (Number of hair)	Homegrown
Idi nalabas din gayang katae sin toktok di esa ay ipogaw (Oban)	When the hawk passed by it poeed on the head of a man. (White hair)	Homegrown





*Man and his situation.* The answers of these riddles are persons or conditions of a person, like being pregnant. Among the six riddles in this category, two were homegrown and four were adopted (Table 6).

The riddles show some of the activities they are doing and the conditions they have seen. For example, ‘ammom ngem adim ammo’, this is the condition of a pregnant whether person or animals. It describes a pregnant mother.

Table 6. Man and his situation himself riddles in Bakun

KANKANA EY	TRANSLATION IN ENGLISH	ORIGIN
Ammom ngem adim ammo. (Masikog)	You know but you do not know (Pregnant)	Homegrown
Apoy sin babak, danum sin ngatok (Maut-oto ay inapoy)	It’s fire under me and water above me. (Rice being cooked)	Homegrown
Sino di kaando-an ay senggep si samba-an? (Bok-ong)	Who is the tallest person that enters the church? (Hunchback- he has to stoop down)	Adopted
Wada di duwa ay umal-ali idi dinmateng da adi ka ammo no lalaki unu babae din kadwa na. Apay ngata? (Gapu ta adi paylang nan-anak din ina ay maliton masikog)	There are two people coming when they arrived you don’t know if the other is boy or a girl. Why is it? (Pregnant)	Adopted
Sino di maidawat di lalaki ay adi maidawat di babae (Ngadan)	What can a man can give that a woman cannot? (Surname)	Adopted
No sin agsapa et duwa, no sin alasdose et tolo ngem no sin masdem et manbalin ay upat. (Ipogaw)	In the morning there are two, at noon there are three and in the evening there are four. (Person growing old until he dies)	Adopted



*Nature riddles.* The answers of these riddles were related to the nature. All of the seven riddles in this category were homegrown (Table 7). Some of the answers were like river, sky, land, and others.

Table 7. Nature riddles of Bakun

KANKANAHEY	TRANSLATION IN ENGLISH	ORIGIN
Magay sardeng na ay mandan si labi ya kaagawan. (Ginawang)	It doesn't stop walking day and night. (River)	Homegrown
Wada di duwa ay bulong, napno si sabsabong. (Daga ya daya)	There are two leaves full of flowers. (Land and the sky)	Homegrown
Bontiya. Kinwani na, tinomba tinomba tinomba. Sino di ngay? (Tombaga)	He talked then someone replied, replied, replied. What is it? (Echo)	Homegrown
Wada di parsua, mansoso din kaong sin anak na. (Ginawang ya singi)	For this creature, it is the child that breastfeeds on the mother. (River and its tributaries)	Homegrown
Wada di bayabas ko ed demang adi kapelpel-asan. (Talaw)	I have a guava faraway it never falls. (Star)	Homegrown
Sino di pangalaan di silaw si lawag na? (Bulinget)	Where does the light get its brightness? (Darkness)	Homegrown
Balacak ed demang p inaod di Kabunian. (Badkong)	Stick from afar, arched by 'Kabunian'. (Rainbow)	Homegrown



*Manmade-thing riddles.* Among the 26 manmade-thing riddles, 18 were homegrown and 8 were adopted (Table 8).

The answers of the riddles in this category are about the things created or made by people that includes infrastructure. These are the things that can be found inside and outside the house. These are the things that people used at home and in their fields on a regular basis. An example for this is the riddle “Egnan daka, egnam sisya” (it carries you, you carry it) referring to shoes.

There are riddles in this category that tell of indigenous materials and practices like ‘tamtampikem toktok na, bumug-bugaw tili na’ (while tapping the head, the butt is shouting). The answer of this riddle is ‘solibao’, an indigenous drum used during community festivities where they perform their traditional dances. Another is “wada’y timpo na asi mangan” (it has a season for eating) referring to a tool used in harvesting rice. There is no exact translation as this tool is not used in the English world. It is a knife-like tool with its handle attached to the middle section of the blade.

Table 8. Man- made things riddles of Bakun

KANKANAHEY	TRANSLATION IN ENGLISH	ORIGIN
Egnan da ka, egnam sisya. (Sapatos)	It carries you, you carry it. (Shoes)	Adopted
Obet Makasling napukitan si uling. (Paltog)	Buttocks of Makasling puttied with charcoal. (Air gun)	Homegrown
Tamtampikem toktok na, bumug-bugaw tili na. (Solibao)	While tapping the head the butt is shouting. (Indigenous drum)	Homegrown



Table 8. Continued. . .

KANKANA EY	TRANSLATION IN ENGLISH	ORIGIN
Mangan sin toktok, mantatae sin toktok. (Koli)	It eats using the head; it defecates using its head. (Jar for 'tapey' or rice wine)	Homegrown
Paando-em asi kan usaren. (Lansita)	Make it long before using. (Lancet)	Homegrown
Wada'y timpo na asi mangan. (Lakem)	It has a season for eating. (no exact translation as this tool is not used in the English world; it is a knife-like tool used in harvesting rice; its handle is attached to the middle section of the blade)	Homegrown
Kapipisit ka sin siket na, nabitag mata na. (Linti)	When you pressed her waist, her eyes widely opened. (Flashlight)	Homegrown
No masdem manbalin ay bulong ngem no agsapa manbalin ay longlong. (Kamen)	In the evening it becomes a leaf, but in the morning it will roll. (Mat)	Homegrown
Wada di simpo ya duwa ay barangay, kanayon ay paspasyaren di tolo ay opisyal. (Orasan)	There are 12 barangays that are always visited by three officials. (Clock)	Homegrown
No goyodem emey, no ewak mo omali. (Bandila)	If you pull it goes, but if you let go it comes. (Flag)	Homegrown
Wada di puyong na magay peweg na, wada di bab-a na ,magay subil na. (Gadgadan di niyog)	It has a thigh but doesn't have a knee; it has teeth but doesn't have lips. (Grater for coconut)	Homegrown
Wada di enem ay mankakabsat mangan da si lasag (Longon ya din epogaw ay natey)	There are six siblings they eat flesh. (Coffin and the dead person)	Homegrown



Table 8. Continued. . .

KANKANAHEY	TRANSLATION IN ENGLISH	ORIGIN
Lugan di padi, katautauli. (Dayog)	The priest's vehicle comes and goes. (Swing)	Adopted
Sarming di nantee-ak, no labsem di manlayad sik-a et di manparigat. (Alak)	I live in a glass but loving me so much will make your life miserable. (Liquor)	Adopted
Maga di anges na ngem wada di biag na, maga di siki na ngem wada di takay na, din rupa na yan wada di bilang na. (Orasan)	It has no breath but it has life, it has no feet but has hands, its face has numbers. (Clock)	Adopted
No masdem pobre no agsapa baknang. (Bilagan)	It is poor in the afternoon but rich in the morning. (Clothesline)	Adopted
Pakanem si mamingsan, busog na si uwa-uway. (Pungan)	Feed it once, it will be full forever. (Pillow)	Adopted
Opat ay ipogaw es-esay kalogong da. (Lamisaan)	Four people wearing only one hat. (Table)	Adopted
No ngomato es-esa ngem no bumaba duduwa. (Siper)	If it goes up it is alone but when it goes down it becomes two. (Zipper)	Adopted

### Idiomatic Expressions

Thirteen idiomatic expressions were recalled by the informants (Table 9). The literal and contextual translations are included in the table to show differences when they are taken literally. According to the informants, these idiomatic expressions were passed on by their ancestors, thus they are considered homegrown.



The elders of Bakun used these local expressions to make their language more colorful and to deliver what they want to say indirectly. For example, the expression ‘into pay di ameyam’ (where will you go) is a way of saying hello. This expression is used when you meet someone along the way. The person who asks is not really interested to know where you are going; instead this is his way of saying hello or good morning.

These idiomatic expressions are used when there is a need to warn or remind, to inspire, and to admire.

The expression ‘wada di adi kaila ay mangil-ila en sik-a’ (there is an unseen who sees you) is used to remind someone to feel safe because he is always in the care of the Great Unseen. It is also used as a warning for someone to be good because if he does something bad, he will not be able to run away from it.

Table 9. Idiomatic expressions in Bakun, Benguet

KANKANA-EY	LITERAL TRANSLATION IN ENGLISH	TRANSLATION OF CONTEXTUAL MEANING IN ENGLISH
Into pay di ameyam?	Where will you go?	It is a way of saying hello
Wada di adi kaila ay mangil-ila en sik-a.	There is unseen that sees you.	God
Tab-okam si dap-o.	Cover it with ashes.	Put yeast.
Enka kod tago-en apoy.	Go and make a fire.	Make love.
Binay-an di bain.	Left by shame.	Left- over.
Artin di biag.	Decoration of life.	Problems.
Koto di dontog.	Lice of the mountain.	Animal herds in the mountain.



Table 9. Continued. . .

Man-ila kayo si dakdake di tae na.	Look for something that has big stool.	Cow
Man-ila kayo si nakesnab di dotdot na.	Look for something that has a wide-ranging feather.	Chicken
Nan-ala si pito ay amkes	He got seven wild cats.	Butchered seven pigs.
Dakdake di toktok na.	He has a big head.	High ranking officials.
Wada di inpatayaw na.	He let someone fly.	Has a son or daughter work abroad.
Na-epket mata na en sik-a.	His eyes were pasted in you.	Admire someone.

### Sayings

There were seven sayings recalled by the informants, all of which are homegrown. These sayings are used when there is a need to warn, to inspire, and to advice.

*When there is a need to advice.* Local expressions are used by the elders to deliver pieces of advice especially to the young people in the community. For example, an elder or parent will say to a child, ‘Adi ka mangak- akew tan lawa di, maputoan takay mo no alaem di baken mo uka’ (do not steal because if you do, your hand will be cut). Another one is, ‘Sik-a ay babae, bantayam din losongam ta adim ibulbulod si odom’ (Woman, careful with your mortar, do not lend to anyone). This is commonly used by elders giving advice to the newly wed. This is a reminder that loyalty is very important in marriage.

*When there is a need to warn and to inspire.* The saying ‘wadan to di mayat ay danan para en sik-a’ (there will be a better path for you) it meant to inspire. It means that one should not wallow in self-pity or in sadness, for there will be better times.



Also, there were values learned from the expressions such as obedience, humble, respect, faithful, loyal, acceptance, honest.

Values integrated in these expressions are respect, obedience, loyalty, among others.

Table 10. Sayings in Bakun, Benguet

KANKANA-EY	LITERAL TRANSLATION IN ENGLISH	TRANSLATION OF CONTEXTUAL MEANING IN ENGLISH
Adi ka mangak- akew tan lawa di, maputoan takay mo no alaem di baken mo uka	Do not steal because if you do, your hand will be cut	Stealing is bad
Wadan to di maymayat ay danan para en sik-a.	There will be a better path for you.	There is something better in store for you.
Patulineken tako, adi tako papudoten.	Make it cold not hot.	Do not make the situation worst instead talk about it in a peaceful manner.
No sik-a ay lalaki adam ibulbulod al-om si odom.	Man, do not lend your pestle to others.	Do not commit adultery.
Esten yo din apoy,adi yo ed-edpen.	Take care of the fire do not put off.	The couple must not have any intercourse to each other for at least four days so that the ritual done called 'ngilin' will be successful.
Lindek ko et siged di panglanglangoy ko kanak et no pag siged duwanak langoy ay langoy yan gapu et sin panagganganas ko adak nasiputan din nasikdong ko ay asi-asi sin uneg di ban-aw ay inmanay ay nanrugit en sak-en.	I dove and swam to my heart's content I thought it would always be good I didn't notice the dirt deep down that was enough to make me filthy.	Do only what is right to others. Beware with your actions.
Ingoyod ko, ingoyod mo, tan mo et ya masokpot.	I pulled it, you pulled too then it split.	Forgive each other.





## Figures of Speech

All 23 figures of speech recalled by the informants are homegrown. These expressions were grouped into figures of speech as studied in English: euphemism, simile, and irony.

*Euphemisms.* Table 11 shows the 13 euphemisms collected in Bakun. These expressions were used to give some advice or to criticize but in a nice way so that the person will not be hurt. They lessen the intensity of harsh comments. For example, ‘ando di takay na’ is an expression which means thief. Through this figure of speech, a person having to say this will at least sound polite.

According to informant Lakay Napoleon, indirect statements uttered are called ‘koliba’.

Table 11. Euphemism

KANKANA-EY	LITERAL TRANSLATION IN ENGLISH	TRANSLATION OF CONTEXTUAL MEANING IN ENGLISH
Ando di takay na	Long- handed	Thief
Naidakep si las-igan	Procreated outside the house	Illegitimate child
Inbabakget na san niyak	Belted with flesh	Big belly
Enggay nal-o	He went already	Departed / Dead
Napuskol di rupa na	Thick- skinned face	Shameless
Ando di dila na	Long tongue	Gossip
Enggay et enemy	Went already	Died
Sumagilip di agew	Almost sunset	Death is nearing



Table 11. Continued. . .

KANKANA-EY	LITERAL TRANSLATION IN ENGLISH	TRANSLATION OF CONTEXTUAL MEANING IN ENGLISH
Nasdem di tiempo	Late afternoon	Death is nearing
No malingban kami	When we will be covered	When we die
No mankali yan nasasayaw	He talks tasteless	Talks nonsense
Nan-aagto si libo-o	Carrying clouds	White hair
Naa-a-sukalan di kali na	His words have sugar	Convincing

*Simile and hyperbole.* Table 12 shows four similes and two hyperboles. Simile is used to express appreciation or criticism. It compares somebody or a thing to someone or another thing that shared the same characteristics or behavior. ‘Kaman talaw’ (like a start) is used to appreciate one’s beauty, while “san eng mo kaman digway’ (your nose is like ‘digway’) criticizes one for having a flat nose. ‘Digway’ is a wild fruit found in most parts of Bakun. The shape of the fruit is round and flat.

Hyperbole is an exaggeration used to evoke strong feelings or to create a strong impression, but is not meant to be taken literally. This is done for emphasis or for some intense effect. ”Din kalim, kaman kido” literally means “your voice is like thunder” but it simply means “you have a loud voice”.



Table 12. Simile and hyperbole

KANKANA-EY	LITERAL TRANSLATION IN ENGLISH	TRANSLATION OF CONTEXTUAL MEANING
San eng mo kaman 'digway'	Your nose is like 'digway'	Flat nose
Din kalim kaman kido	Your voice is like a thunder	Loud voice
Kaman talaw	Like star	Beautiful
Kaman seyep di manok	It is like a sleep of chicken	Easily awake
Kaman muyang	Like a baby	Childish
San aping mo kaman bomtak	Your cheeks seem to explode	Chubby cheeks

*Irony.* There were three ironies collected. From the expressions presented, two were used in appreciating an individual for his or her position in the government and the other one was used to remind the person what he or she is supposed to do in contrast (Table 13).

Table 13. Irony or contrast

KANKANA-EY	LITERAL TRANSLATION IN ENGLISH	TRANSLATION OF CONTEXTUAL MEANING IN ENGLISH
Ading ay asi manong.	Younger brother but at the same time an older one.	Well- respected young official.
Peslen yo san apoy adi kauto di dinengdeng.	Kill the fire so that the food will not be cooked.	Watch the fire so that the food will be cooked.
An- anak ka ngem nakay ka.	Young but old.	Matured



## SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### Summary

The study aimed to document the local expressions in Ampusongan and Poblacion, Bakun, Benguet. The specific objectives of the study were to: collect local expressions being used by the people of Ampusongan and Poblacion; classify the local expressions; translate the local expressions into English; describe the situations or instances when these are used; and, determine the origin of the expressions.

The informants of this study were chosen from the people of barangay Poblacion and Ampusongan in Bakun who have knowledge on local expressions. In identifying the informants, the snowballing technique was used. Among the 40 informants, thirty were from Poblacion and ten were from Ampusongan. The youngest was aged 35 while the oldest was 79 years old.

The local expressions were classified into riddles, idiomatic expressions, figures of speech, and sayings. These were translated into English to show their literal and contextual meanings. Riddles, however, were translated literally only as the contextual translation is already the answer. Classification and translation were done by the researcher based on her knowledge of expressions as studied in English and on her knowledge of the 'Kankana-ey' language. Also gathered were their origin as perceived by the informants and the different situations where such expressions are used.

This study gathered 115 local expressions from Poblacion and Ampusongan, Bakun, Benguet. These were classified into riddles (63.24%), figures of speech (19.65%), idiomatic expressions (11.11%), and sayings (5.98%).



Among the 73 riddles, almost 74 percent were homegrown. The rest were adopted. The riddles were sub-categorized according to their answers into plant, animal, parts of the body, man and his situation, nature, and man-made things. Riddles are shared when there is a need to entertain in different occasions. The riddles also teach or remind the listeners of the locality's indigenous knowledge which include indigenous flora and fauna and cultural activities.

Fourteen idiomatic expressions were recalled by the informants. The literal and contextual translations are included in the table to show differences when they are taken literally. These idiomatic expressions are used when there is a need to warn or remind, to inspire, and to admire.

There were eight sayings recalled by the informants, all of which are homegrown. These sayings are used when there is a need to warn, to inspire, and to advice.

All 23 figures of speech recalled by the informants are homegrown. These expressions were grouped into figures of speech as studied in English: euphemism, simile, hyperbole, and irony

### Conclusions

Based on the results of the study, the following conclusions were drawn:

1. The people of Poblacion and Ampusongan, Bakun have local expressions that need to be documented and preserved.
2. Local expressions in the locality are being enriched by expressions from other places but they still impart cultural knowledge and values of the local people.



3. Local expressions are very useful in getting messages across in different circumstances.

### Recommendations

The following recommendations are forwarded:

1. Community validation for the local expressions.
2. More documentation studies on local expressions from the other barangays of Bakun.
3. Production of information materials presenting the local expressions of Bakun, Benguet.



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