

Ethnomedical documentation of selected Philippine ethnolinguistic groups: the Pala'wans of Quezon and Sofronio Española, Palawan, Philippines

A collaborative project of

Traditional Medicine Unit, Department of Health, Sta Cruz, Manila

University of the Philippines Manila, Ermita, Manila

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The staff of Haribon-Palawan;

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The study is an ethnomedical documentation of the Pala'wan people of Domadoway Mountain in the municipalities of Quezon and Sofronio Española in the province of Palawan conducted from August to November 1997 and April to May 1998. It aimed to document the plants and other natural products being used as medicinal agents by this cultural group, their beliefs and practices on health, disease and healing, give culturally acceptable education regarding identified major health problems in the areas, and assist in the advocacy to preserve the Pala'wan people's ancestral homelands, as well as the biodiversity of the ecosystem.

Eleven *sitios* make up Domadoway Mountain but only four were covered due to time constraints. These were Sitios Katbagan, Pamuaran, Soked and Malangsi. Data collection was carried out by participant observation and interview using a set of guide questions for traditional healers, elders and family caregivers. A total of 31 key informants were interviewed: 4 traditional healers and 27 elders and caregivers.

The study was able to document 78 plants, 3 animal products, and three other natural products. They are used for a total of 47 indications, the most common being *sakit it beteng* (abdominal pain, often with diarrhea and vomiting) and *sakit it ulo/agnaw* (headache with chills).

The plant used for the most number of indications is *kelilibon*. It is used to treat *sakit it ulo/agnaw*, *sakit it beteng*, *linog* (dizziness), nosebleed and as *pang urew* (abortifacient).

The most frequently used plant parts are the leaves and roots, while the most common preparations are the decoction and poultice.

The duration of use is specified only for some plants. In most cases, plant preparations are used until the patient gets well.

INTRODUCTION

A Pala'wan story*

A long, long time ago, a man called all the peoples of the world to a meeting. He said: "Be at this place very early tomorrow."

It was still dark when the Americans came, the next day. The man who called the meeting gave them a pencil and a piece of paper.

The sun was about to rise when the Filipinos came. Likewise, the man gave them a pencil and a piece of paper.

The sun was already up when the Muslims arrived at the meeting place. The man gave them different kinds of knowledge and abilities.

It was almost noon and the Pala'wans, wearing nothing but their *baags* (loincloth), were still making themselves warm around a fire. *Na itong ramig a!* ("It is cold...!"), they said among themselves. And then they decided to come to the meeting place. The man who called the meeting was just about to leave when the Pala'wans arrived, and he said to them: "You Pala'wans . . . didn't I tell you to be here very early? I am *Empo* (God), and I am never coming back again."

And so, *Empo* gave the Pala'wans what He had left – a *tukew* (bolo), a *tabig* basket) and a *bugtong* (spear).

Today, the Americans fly airplanes and operate machines such as guns and bulldozers, because they have much education. The Filipinos also have much education, and they go to offices to work. The Muslims still practice their knowledge and abilities, such as being struck by a bolo and not sustaining a wound. The Pala'wans, well, use their *tukew* to till the soil, the *tabig* in which they place harvested rice, and the *bugtong* to hunt wild pigs.

To this day, the Pala'wans feel inferior to every other "nation". Having had no education, they do not know any other way by which to live except by tilling the soil.

All because they came late on that fateful day.

*Narrated by Tito Mata, Pala'wan chieftain, 1997

OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the study were:

1. To determine the plants and other natural products being used as medicinal agents by the Pala'wan people of the province of Palawan;
2. To document their beliefs and practices on health, disease and healing;
3. To prepare culturally acceptable basic health education materials for the Pala'wan people; and
4. To help in the advocacy to preserve the Pala'wan people's ancestral homelands, as well as the biodiversity of the ecosystem.

METHODOLOGY

SITE SELECTION

The selection of the area was based on the following criteria:

1. The community has reputation for indigenous medical practices, ie, presence of actively practicing indigenous healers.
2. Community is living at or near the forest.
3. Community is known to have continually practiced its indigenous traditions.
4. Community has stable peace and order situation.
5. Community can be accessed using available means of transportation within a reasonable period of time.

ENTRY

The researcher left Manila on August 11, 1997 for Puerto Princesa City, Palawan. At the airport, the senior researcher, who had made a previous visit to the area, called Haribon Foundation, Inc and was informed that Tito Mata and his wife were there for a meeting. They were to be the researcher's foster parents, as Tito Mata was the Domadoway Foundation chairman and was held in high regard by the staff of Haribon because of his leadership skills. It was also an advantage that he spoke Tagalog fluently.

After leaving our things in a colleague's relatives' house, we proceeded to the Haribon office. Haribon is the primary NGO with which the senior researcher collaborated to identify areas that met the above-mentioned criteria. We were introduced to the staff: Atty Joselito Alisuag (president) and wife Purita, Inocencio "Boy" Magallanes (vice-president) and wife Rose (treasurer), Dina Balofinos (secretary), and Cefereno "Botbot" Lacambra (liaison officer and office caretaker) and wife Glenda. The vice-president gave us an orientation on the area, with Tito Mata and his wife present. A bit of the history of Domadoway (Pala'wan area) was given as well as the names of the *sitios* and the corresponding chieftains. He also gave the researcher a copy of the map of Domadoway (refer to Appendix 1), which was drawn by the natives themselves, and a resource assessment sheet (refer to Appendix 2) that showed the agricultural products present within the Domadoway Ancestral Domain Claim area (a total of 2,530.66 hectares). These were done to assist the Pala'wans in their fight against a Canadian cement firm planning to operate in the area.

During the orientation, Tito Mata confessed that there was a shortage of rice in the area in those days because harvest time was still about several weeks away and last year's harvest had already run out. He assured the researcher, however, that this would be the only problem and guaranteed her safety and security.

The following day, the researchers bought supplies such as food and medicine (for personal use) to be brought to the area. We boarded a Jac Pat bus going to Brooke's Point. The bus left Puerto Princesa City at 1:00 PM. During the ride, Tito Mata gave the researcher a sheet of paper on which he had written important Tagalog words and phrases and their Pala'wan translation. Apparently, he anticipated that the trek would be difficult for the researcher, so he included the statements "*Pag god na ako*" and "*Pa ing nga mona ako*" (refer to Appendix 3). His wife seemed nauseous all the way because she was not used to riding air-conditioned buses and would occasionally rest her head on her husband's lap.

We alighted in Panitian, Sofronio Espanola (there is a Panitian, Quezon) and took a 10 to 15-minute tricycle ride to the house of a man called Maestro. His real name was Gaspar Lucero, a Kuyonin (another group of indigenous people in Palawan) who taught in the Panitian Elementary School. Tito Mata volunteered to carry the researcher's huge backpack as well as other things. From there we started what seemed like an endless climb. It was the rainy season, and the mud and the weight of our things compounded the difficulty. It was already dark when we reached Sitio Katbagan. That night, we met the rest of Tito Mata's family – his children and grandchildren.

The following day was Wednesday and the people would be going to the *taboan* (marketplace) in Labog to sell products like onions and tobacco. We left with them early in the morning to give Mayor Iber Chou (Sofronio Espanola municipality) a courtesy call. We were at the Mayor's office at around 9:30 AM. He mentioned about the conflict of interest between the municipality and the Pala'wans regarding the cement company, but we opted not to dwell on the issue. There was a heavy rain that noon, which made the climb more difficult.

The senior researcher stayed in the area for another day and left for Puerto Princesa City. A couple of men, who would be bringing their handicrafts to the city, decided to go with her.

The first couple of weeks in the area were the most difficult. The fact that they spoke a different language was a great barrier to effective communication. The key informants, usually elders in the community, had a very limited Tagalog vocabulary. Although middle-aged men and women understood and spoke Tagalog, they appreciated efforts on the part of a visitor to learn to speak Pala'wan. During this time, the researcher was lent an English-Tagalog-Pala'wan dictionary (compiled by US Peace Corps volunteers in the late 1980s). The first days were spent in casual conversations with the people who eagerly taught the researcher the Pala'wan language. Even the children who went to school would correct mistakes in the researcher's Pala'wan grammar. The dictionary was later given to her.

The researcher participated in activities such as harvesting onions and rice and selling crops in the *taboans*. The people were very appreciative of these gestures, and would talk among themselves about the *Bisaya* (a term referring to anyone who is neither a foreigner nor a native). There was, generally, a warm acceptance by the people; although some worried that the researcher might be from the cement firm. There were others who were in favor of the cement firm, and expressed doubts on why they

should accept an outsider, when they were previously warned not to. Others, on the other hand, thought that the researcher was a religious missionary.

The researcher was given her own place, ie, the house of Tito Mata's youngest son. For the duration of the researcher's stay in the area, the young man stayed with his elder brother and his family.

The men of Sitio Katbagan also made a toilet for her, within the first week of her stay in the area.

DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

Participant observation and interview were the two primary techniques utilized to gather data from the study site. Participant observation allowed the researcher to participate in the lives of the Pala'wans and at the same time provided the opportunity to maintain professional distance for adequate observation and recording of data. The researcher immersed in the culture of the Pala'wans by living with them for a period of more than four months, learning the language and observing patterns of behavior of the group over a period of time enough to allow selected events to happen.

Interview of key informants like elders, traditional healers and caregivers (parents, grandparents, older siblings) were conducted to gather a more in-depth explanation of the behaviors seen and observed by the researcher. A total of 31 key informants were interviewed, ie, 4 traditional healers and 27 caregivers (refer to Appendix 4).

Ocular survey was also conducted to identify, together with key informants, the different plants with medicinal use present in the area and are being utilized by the Pala'wans.

RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

A guide questionnaire was developed specifically for this study that defined the variables that have to be included in the study. However, the researcher did not allow the presence of this guide questionnaire to limit her observation and inquiry. Relevant topics/issues that were observed and heard during the immersion were included in the data gathering.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

PHYSICAL ASPECT

Location/access

Domadoway is located in southwest Palawan. It is about 3 ½ hours away by bus from Puerto Princesa City, the provincial capital, towards Brooke's Point. Buses have four or more trips from Puerto Princesa to Brooke's Point (*Bonbon* to Pala'wans) per day. There are usually two trips in the morning and two in the afternoon. Other modes of transportation include jeepneys and air-conditioned vans. Fare ranges from P60.00 to P80.00. Terminals are mostly located around the market area.

The 11 sitios that make up Domadoway are:

- Sitio Abukayan
- Sitio Kaborayan – named so because there used to be a large crop of beans (*burey*) in the area
- Sitio Kanangkaan – named so because there used to be a lot of jack fruit (*nangka*) trees in the area
- Sitio Katbagan – named so because of the *tebeg* trees. A woman who has just given birth and has very little or no breast milk may “buy” from the *tebeg* tree, which is very sappy.
- Sitio Magangok
- Sitio Malangsi – named so because a body of water located in the area has a fishy (*malangsi*) taste. This is so because, according to a legend, there was once a rich Pala'wan who had much rice, animals, owned *babandils* and a wild pig with fangs. One day, Muslims planned to steal the Pala'wan's possessions, but the wild pig attacked and killed 4 or 5 of them. Their intestines were hurled up to the tree branches and their blood was poured on the water. To this day, the water has retained the fishy taste of the Muslims' blood.
- Sitio Olisiao
- Sitio Pamuaran – According to their elders, there was a great tree in the area that was tumbled (*na-puar*) by a flood and became a watercourse (*ruran*), thus the name.
- Sitio Sinolay
- Sitio Soked
- Sitio Tagdao

Sitios Abukayan and Pamuaran are part of Barangay Panitian, municipality of Sofronio Espanola. Sitios Kaborayan and Kanangkaan are part of Barangay Pinaglabanan, municipality of Quezon, while Sitios Katbagan, Magangok, Malangsi, Olisiao, Sinolay, Soked and Tagdao are part of Barangay Abo-abo, municipality of Quezon.

Infrastructure

There is a three-room elementary school located in Sitio Soked (considered the center of Domadoway), which was built in 1987 through the collaborative efforts of the municipality of Brooke's Point (Española was then a part of Brooke's Point) and US Peace Corps Volunteers Ken Munis and Ann Koontz-Munis. Patinti Sapit, the oldest living chieftain, claimed that the Peace Corps couple asked him what he thought Domadoway lacked and he said *iskulan* (school). The land on which it was built was donated by Patinti's daughter-in-law, Ramia Patinti, and since the school is located in Sitio Soked, it is Patinti's responsibility to watch over it, keeping children from destroying the windows and doors and from writing on the walls. After more than a decade, the school building is in a state of disrepair.

Another schoolroom was built a few years ago through the efforts of a certain Erning Casuagan, an ex-military man living in Tumarbong, a place near Sitio Malangsi.

Patinti Sapit also planned to build in Sitio Soked a "tribal hall" and had asked support from Congressman Alfredo "Amor" Abueg. In the latter part of 1997, Congressman Abueg sent sand and hollow blocks to the *sitio*. The wood was to be provided by the Pala'wans. It was agreed upon by the people that they would not cut any large trees but would make use of salvaged ones. In October 1997, however, a paid chain saw operator was caught in the act of cutting several trees by PENRO, CENRO and Haribon representatives (who were then conducting rapid cave assessments). The incident put the project on hold.

TOPOGRAPHY AND GEOGRAPHY

Weather

Pala'wans call the dry season *mesgit* (sunny) and the wet season, *medlek* (rainy). They could not say, in particular, on what months and for how long these weather conditions occur. They do expect the rain to come in April or May, when they are supposed to start planting rice. Some of them note, however, that this cycle seems to have changed over the past few years, especially this year.

Local terms related to weather:

| | | |
|----------|---|----------------------------|
| Tag-araw | - | <i>mesgit</i> (sunny) |
| Tagtuyot | - | <i>lekag</i> (drought) |
| Tag-ulan | - | <i>medlek</i> (rainy) |
| Ambon | - | <i>dodlog</i> (rainshower) |
| Ulan | - | <i>delek</i> (rain) |
| Baha | - | <i>liyod</i> (flood) |
| Kidlat | - | <i>kilat</i> (lightning) |
| Kulog | - | <i>doldog</i> (thunder) |

Bodies of water

There are several small bodies of water in each *sitio*, and most of them have a corresponding story as to why they are named the way they are.

Sitio Katbagan

Embulungan. The largest among the three streams in the *sitio*, people come here everyday to fetch drinking water, take a bath, and wash soiled clothes and cooking pots. Several meters from the *pansor* (bamboo pipe) where the people take a bath, the carabaos are led to drink and immerse themselves in the mud.

Once there was a great *lekag* (drought) in the land. Its extent was so great that the fish in the sea died and the stench reached the mountains. In the mountains, this particular stream was reduced to a very small diameter and even the animals competed with the people for a drink. The people placed a *bulung* (bamboo cover) over it so as to keep the animals from drinking and completely drying up the stream now known as Embulungan.

Megigat. This means inaudible. Megigat flows inaudibly even when its water level rises during rainy days. It is much smaller than the Embulungan, although the water from this stream is also used for drinking and cooking purposes.

Pasi. It is a very small and notably shallow stream, but people still use the water for drinking and cooking. It is named after a large *pasi* tree that grew beside the stream. *Pasi* trees bear fruit that are the diameter of the little finger and less than an inch long. It is red and edible when ripe. It is green and sour when unripe, but may already be picked and stored in a *kukuluan* (small basket) to ripen. One should not swallow more than three *pasi* seeds as it is believed he will not be able to pass stool and then die.

These bodies of water create a boundary between the settlement patterns among residents of *Katbagan*. When one is asked where he lives, he answers *Pasi* or *Megigat* instead of *Katbagan*.

Sitio Pamuaran

Pamuaran. The largest stream in Sitio Pamuaran, it is where the sitio got its name. Like the Embulungan, people come here to fetch drinking water, take a bath and at a distance from the main source, allow the carabaos to drink and immerse themselves in mud.

According to their elders, there was a great tree in the area that was tumbled (*na-puar*) by a flood and became a watercourse (*ruran*).

Getab. The Pamuaran is too far from Getab, the place that separates Sitio Pamuaran and Sitio Abukayan. The place is called so because of the stream with the same name. Their elders said that long ago, part of the land caved in (*rumintab*) and water

just sprang from it. Residents of Getab use the water from this stream for drinking, cooking and bathing.

Lanipga. It is named after a large *lanipga* tree that grew beside the stream. *Lanipga* wood is light, smooth and reddish. This stream is smaller than the Pamuaran, but the water from it may also be used for drinking and cooking.

Mangkopa (*makopa*). Named after a large *mangkopa* tree that grew beside the stream, it is the smallest among all the streams in Pamuaran, but the water is still used for drinking and cooking.

Like the bodies of water in Sitio Katbagan, the ones in Sitio Pamuaran also form boundaries among groups of families.

Sitio Malangsi

Malangsi. How the Sitio got its name is recalled in this folk tale. A legend tells of a rich (*mentiri*) Pala'wan who had much rice and animals, and owned *babandils* (gongs) and a wild pig with fangs. One day, Muslims planned to steal the Pala'wan's possessions, but the wild pig attacked them and killed 4 or 5 of them. Their intestines were hurled up to the tree branches and their blood was poured on the water. To this day, the water has retained the fishy (*malangsi*) taste of the Muslims' blood.

Despite the taste of the water, which others describe as rusty, water from the Malangsi stream is still used for drinking and other purposes such as cooking and bathing.

Liang. This river is found in the distant end of Sitio Malangsi. The people could not explain why it is named so. They can only say that it was the name handed to them by their forefathers.

It is believed that the Malangsi streams from the Liang. Being the largest body of water in Domadoway, people from different sitios like Katbagan, Soked, Pamuaran and even from the far-off Sitio Kanangkaan come here especially in the summer to swim. Even non-Pala'wans visit this place, considering that the road is just about a 30-minute walk from the Liang. The people describe the water as "icy cold" in the middle, which must have been 10 feet deep before the El Niño phenomenon occurred. There is a part of the Liang that is good for drinking and is separated from the swimming area by a row of rocks.

There were much unwanted growths around the Liang, so men from different sitios decided to clear its surroundings. They worked every Tuesday from March to the first week of April making bamboo benches and tables. They are also planning to make small cottages around the area.

MATERIAL CULTURE

Settlement patterns

Families usually cluster together. The only time a child leaves his parents is when he gets married (except for a few young men who prefer to build their own *kubo* and live by themselves). When a man gets married, he leaves his own family to live with his in-laws. The woman is never taken away from her family. This practice, however, is not as unanimously observed today as it was before. There are those who say that couples are now given the freedom to choose where they want to settle.

Very old couples still live by and fend for themselves. When a partner dies, however, the widow/widower is taken by one of his children to live with him and his family.

There is one case where a woman lost her mind. Her husband sought to separate from her (*butas*), and was allowed to do so by relatives of the woman and elders of the community. The woman now lives with her daughter, who now has her own family.

Houses

Like in most cultures, it is the men who build the house. They proudly claim that all they need to buy when building a house are the *ransang* (nails), whereas the *Bisayas* buy all needed materials. Others still use *uwey* for tying materials together, eliminating the need for nails.

They gather building materials such as wood and bamboo from the forest, but they never cut down large trees. The roofing materials are either *nipa* or coconut leaves (usually two layers to protect from the rain), flattened bamboo (*paspasan*), and in several cases, galvanized iron sheets. The posts are small diameter trees, the flooring, bamboo, and the walls, *sawali*. The houses are usually elevated by several feet from the ground and usually are not enclosed by a fence.

There is no specific time for house building. A visitor who announces his intention to live in the area for a long period of time (a year or more) may be built his own house if he says so a month or so before he actually comes to the area.

Typical structure and materials used

The structure of houses varies from one big space where everything is done (cooking, making handicrafts, receiving visitors, sleeping) to those that have a separate bedroom, receiving room and cooking area. The cooking area is usually found adjacent to the house or within the house itself to keep from having to go out at night when it is dark and they have no light.

In the kitchen are found several metal pots which they buy in the *taboans*, ladles (*luwag*) made of wood and coconut shell bound together by *langking* (nylon) or rolled *kulit it bago* (skin of *bago* stem). Plastic gallons and containers are also popularly used for storing water for drinking and cooking purposes. These gallons are cleansed

once or twice a week by filling them with sand and pebbles and shaking them vigorously.

Typical furnishings

Houses are usually without furniture or fitment except for, in some cases, a table, which is not used for eating meals but as a place for different things such as gallons of water, children's toys, salt, coffee, etc. They have plastic or ceramic plates and some have thermos bottles.

Food

Rice

Rice is the staple food of the Pala'wans. It is planted once a year (late April to early May) and harvested four months after. If an average-size family (four to five members) harvests 10 to 12 sacks of rice, this may last until the next harvest. Pala'wans eat rice three times a day – in the morning, at noon, and at night. If they run out of it before the next harvest time, they buy rice from the *taboan* during market days (Mondays in Quezon, Wednesdays in Labog and Saturdays in Panitian).

Before rice is steamed, they use a *nigo* (*bilao*) with which they toss the rice in the air to rid it of chaff and other powdered particles otherwise, the cooked rice will have an unpleasant taste. They wash the rice once before it is cooked. They estimate (correctly all the time) the amount of *doro* (broth). When the broth comes to a boil (*susa*), the fire is lowered by removing excess firewood.

Rootcrops, fruits

When the people have no money to buy rice, they eat rootcrops such as sweet potato (*sanglay*), cassava (*sanglay-kayo*), *ubi*, *apari* (*gabi*-like rootcrop) and *punti* (bananas). These are usually boiled. Salt is never added while cooking because they say that they do not know how to approximate the right amount. Those who will eat add salt individually. Cassava and bananas may also be pounded and mixed with coconut meat.

When one runs out of mature bananas, he can just ask others who have and he will be free to take as much as he wants. They only take reasonable amounts, though.

Vegetables

Different types of *inggley* (vegetables), such as *sapwa't batbat* (core of *batbat*), *tumbu't bago* (young leaves of *bago*) and *kulat* (mushroom, around 30 edible types). It is the older people who go to the forest to gather these. In some nearby areas there are *patitit* (bitter young leaves), *tumbu't sanglay* (young leaves of sweet potato), *antak* (string beans), *kepayas* (papaya), *rabong* (core of bamboo) and less frequently,

sapwa't niog (core of coconut trees) because it is considered bad to cut coconut trees. Children often come with their parents when gathering these. Vegetables are usually steamed or cooked in coconut milk without any spices. Salt is added during mealtime. Others are already using MSG.

Marine products

During market days, Pala'wans go to the marketplace to sell their harvest of *sigop* (tobacco), *bawang* (onions) and *punti* (bananas). With the money they make, they buy *sada* (fish) and other marine products such as *balong* (jellyfish), *pagi* (stingray), *begisan* (shark) and seaweed. The seaweed and jellyfish are usually washed once with water and are ready to eat. Sometimes they don't even wash the seaweed and begin eating it on the way back to the mountains. The shark is steamed while the stingray may be boiled, roasted, or smoked and allowed to dry under the sun. The stingray, when smoked or dried has a very unpleasant smell and taste, but the people prefer to prepare it this way to make it last for a couple of days.

Meat

When someone in the neighborhood kills a *baboy-talon* (wild pig), he shares it with his relatives and other neighbors. The pig is held over fire. After this they scrape the skin to remove the hair. The internal organs are usually thrown away, except for the liver, which they believe to be nutritious. The meat may be placed in a bamboo shoot and cooked over fire, or boiled in a pot or roasted.

They also raise a small number of chickens per household and eat them when they really have no other choice and during special occasions such as *bakasyon* (last day of school). Chicken is usually roasted, but some households know how to cook it with papaya and ginger.

At times, the people, including children, are also able to catch small birds. A living bird is placed over fire and turned occasionally until it dies. When it dies, its feathers are removed and it is cut in half to expose all the internal organs. These are thrown away and fed to the dogs or cats. The bird is then thoroughly roasted.

Bread, coffee

Bread is bought in the *taboan* and is not usually part of the regular meal. They like to buy the colorful ones. The children do not appreciate bread very much when it doesn't have a pink or violet color filling. Bread is eaten as snack in the morning or afternoon with coffee (Nescafe or Blend 45), when it is available.

Junk food

Junk food is also popular among the natives. When parents go to the *taboan* to sell their products, they usually bring home some brightly colored crackers, candy and

bubble gum for the children. It does not matter whether they were able to make only P30 or so. They have to bring something home or the children would be very disappointed.

When they make a considerably large amount of money, say, P80 to P100 or more, they are able to buy soft drinks at P9 per bottle. They also like to eat ice candy to relieve themselves of heat.

Special food

Rapat

A wedding (*rapat*) is considered by the Pala'wans to be a major occasion. In early days, the families of both the man and woman prepared *tabad* (rice wine) as early as four to six weeks before the *rapat*. They also made *panyaram* and *minelmel* (Pala'wan bread), and cooked *pinuso-puso* (sticky rice placed in shaped coconut leaves and cooked in coconut milk) and *nilutlot* (sticky rice placed in bamboo shoots and cooked in coconut milk).

Today, *rapat* food is more costly in that pork and chicken are usually served and it is only the man's family who shoulders the expenses. The amount of pork and chicken prepared for the affair is the object of much talk among the people. This is because families who can afford to provide one or two pigs are considered affluent. A large amount of rice is prepared (two or more sacks) because a great number of people are expected to come, in this instance, because of the meat. Everybody who comes is served and may eat as much as he wants.

Pulawon

Its equivalent in the Tagalog culture is the wake or vigil. During this time, the family and friends of the deceased gather in his house and tell stories, eat and keep vigil. The only difference is that in the Pala'wan culture, it is done on the fourth and seventh nights after the dead is buried.

When it is the spouse who dies, the *pulawon* on the seventh day after he is buried is also the day that the husband and wife separates (*pagbutas*). On that day, the family of the deceased prepares rice, meat (in this case, chicken, because the occasion is not as big a deal as a wedding), vegetables such as coconut core and papaya – all cooked in coconut milk. Before anybody is served, it is the widow/widower who first eats. A relative places a little of each of the mentioned foods on a banana leaf, divided in the middle by a wooden ladle (*luwag*) – the left side being the woman's and the right being the man's – and adds a small amount of sugar. An elderly relative of the deceased calls him (the deceased) to come and eat with his spouse for the last time. The living spouse eats her share. After she has consumed everything, the banana leaf is torn, separating the left from the right side. The untouched food is folded into the banana leaf. The elder holds the banana leaf and bids the deceased not to come near his wife again, as they now have different lives to live and have been separated by death, and that he must come with *Empo* (God). After this, the guests are served the

same foods, without the sugar.

Pagbangunan

This term refers to the day when a woman who has given birth has already regained strength. A chicken will be roasted for her – an *upa* (hen) if she gave birth to a girl or a *lumbo* (rooster) if she gave birth to a boy. The mother must consume the whole chicken. The people cannot explain why this is done and could only say that this is how it has been with their forefathers.

Pasalamat

Pasalamat (thanksgiving) is a Protestant influence on the Pala'wans. Whenever they have something to thank God for, such as having given birth safely, having been spared from an accident or having been healed from an illness, the involved family voluntarily brings food for the entire congregation. They usually bring a large amount of bread (bought the day before in the *taboan*) and orange juice (placed in wash basins and pails) and a pack or two of candy. After the Sunday church service, a member of the family giving thanks speaks a few words and explains what they are thanking God for, or utters a short prayer of thanksgiving. After this, everybody is given an equal share of bread, juice and candy.

Thanksgiving days for the harvest of rice are scheduled by the people themselves.

During the early harvest days, the people gather in church for the annual *Pasalamat it Ilew (pinipig)*. Every family brings to church a generous amount of *pinipig* prepared in different ways – plain and dry, dry with sugar, dry with sugar and shredded coconut meat, or with sugar and coconut milk.

In the latter parts of the harvest is the *Pasalamat it Emey* (rice). The people bring rice and viand to church and eat with the rest of the congregation after the Sunday church service.

Clothing and ornaments

Men

In the early days, men used to wear *baags* (loincloth) and a *badong* and *karis* (bolos) on each side of the waist. Today, no more than a couple of men still wear *baags*. According to them, this is so because whenever they go down to the barrio to sell their crops, people talk among themselves and are often overheard saying “I've seen a monkey.” Sensing that it is them that the lowlanders are referring to, the Pala'wans felt ashamed and began dressing themselves the way the lowlanders did.

There also was a time when the men used the *kantiyu* – a black pair of long sleeves and pants with a red sash and a *bakes* (belt). This attire was especially used during the *turon* (Pala'wan way of calling on the *diwatas*). Today, both the use of the

kantiyu and the practice of *turon* have greatly diminished.

Women

Then, women used the *biru* – a blue, long-sleeved blouse with *anteras* (sequins) at the neckline and a *malong* especially during occasions such as weddings, with elaborate *manas* (necklace made of beads) and *galang* (shell bracelet). Today, the *biru* is less frequently worn. Only the elderly women still wear them to church and to weddings. Others even use it as scarecrow. The young and middle-aged women prefer the skirt and shirt, and the *malong*. The younger women also would not wear *manas*, and instead prefer gold plated necklaces and earrings bought in the *taboan*. Those who knew how to make the *galang*, on the other hand, have already passed away and the remaining *galangs* are family heirlooms.

HISTORY OF THE COMMUNITY

First settlers

The people say that according to their forefathers, they have been living in *Domadoway* for as long as they can remember. Today the elders claim that they have been born where they are now, and that they did not come from farther up or down the mountain.

Name of the place

The people have different stories to tell about why the place is named Domadoway: Because then the men were allowed to have more than one wife, because there was a great mountain and a man who had two wives lived on top of it, because the great mountain then separated and formed two: Bundok Domadoway and Bundok Tawis. *Dowa* means two, and because there was a great mountain and the elders found it difficult to go to places beyond that mountain, so they struck the top of it by a *tukew* (bolo) and it was divided into two: Bundok Domadoway and Bundok Tawis.

Significant events

The early Pala'wans used to live in caves and took shelter from the rain by hiding under large rocks. One day, a man who was out of his mind was seen building what was to be the first *kubo* (*nipa* hut). The others laughed at him and said: "You really are crazy!" But the crazy man responded, "Let's see who gets wet when it rains." Sure enough, the crazy man was right. And so the others started to build their own *kubos*.

An informant claims that it was the Americans who, by distributing tents and clothes during what he believed was the war, greatly influenced and practically changed their manner of clothing.

It was in the early 1980s when the New Tribes missionaries reached the area. A certain Gertrudes Saus actually lived in Domadoway for five to eight years in the area while a companion was assigned to stay with her for one or two years. Because of this, the people, who then had no religion and commonly practiced *turon*, were converted to Protestantism. The extent of this influence was such that there are currently 10 churches out of the 11 sitios of Domadoway. Up to now, the people actively hold church services on Wednesday afternoons (*Tengan*) and Sundays (*Lingguan*) and all but a few *balyans* (traditional healers) have stopped practicing *turon*.

It was also the missionaries who helped establish the Domadoway Foundation, Incorporated, organizing the Pala'wans in Domadoway by electing a chairman and by making the chieftain of each sitio a member of the Board of Trustees.

It was in the late 1980s when US Peace Corps couple, Ken Munis and Ann Koontz-Munis, lived in the area (Sitio Suked). During their stay in Domadoway, which the people say could have been two or three years, the elementary school in Sitio Suked was built (March to May 1987) and the Foundation was strengthened by bringing the leaders to attend seminars and other gatherings in different parts of the Philippines.

An American by the name of Lauren also lived in the area (Sitio Katbagan) for one or two years (early 1990s). She taught the people things about agriculture and is especially remembered for the different trees she had planted while she was still there, such as jackfruit and citrus trees.

LOCAL PERSONALITIES

Tito Mata

The most well known person today would be Domadoway Foundation Chairman Tito Mata. Majority of the people acknowledge him as the bold and courageous leader who kept the cement company from claiming their land. He says that although he has had no formal education, he went to seek the help of government officials and NGOs, spoke on radio programs and held meetings to convince his fellowmen to cherish their land for the sake of the future generations of Pala'wans. It is, without a doubt, through his efforts and wisdom that they are still free to live in and make use of the land that rightfully belongs to them and their ancestors, and the people recognize his worth.

Bales Isim

Bales is known to be the man who goes to Manila every month to deliver handicrafts and the man who has an electric generator. Bales started his business by making handicrafts himself. He delivered his products to a store within the vicinity of the airport and befriended a businessman. This businessman expressed interest in bringing handicrafts to Manila. The first time Bales went to Manila, he was accompanied by his friend. Later on, he learned how to travel by plane or ship all by himself.

SOCIO-CULTURAL

Family and kinship system

Male-female relationships

It is alright for groups of unmarried men and women to be seen together (walking from one place to another, conversing) as long as they are within a group. What is impolite is for a married person to be seen conversing or walking alone with another person, whether single or married. There are also few instances when a single girl converses or walks alone with a single man. This would give those who see them the impression that they are *deydey* (boyfriend-girlfriend) or even *tunang* (engaged).

A girl who gets pregnant out of wedlock is considered *matarikada* or *makreg* or flirtatious, ie being alone with one or several men while the man who got the girl pregnant is called a *biras*. Both instances are regarded *kelelew* (shameful) by the natives and this impression is marked on the couple for the rest of their lives.

Tunang: the arranged engagement

Tunang was widely practiced by the early Pala'wans. When two women are pregnant at the same time, they may decide to betroth their children, provided one will be a boy and the other, a girl. (If they turn out to be of the same gender, they will treat each other as brothers or sisters.) The two women bring their bellies into contact as a symbol of the arrangement they have made, with the knowledge and consent of their husbands. After they both give birth and while the children are still very small, their relatives would often tell them "This is your husband" or "This is your wife." Even during this time, the families treat each other as if they were in-laws already and there are exchanges of food (chicken, bread) and services (helping the other family with planting or harvesting rice) between the two families. In most cases, the children get so much used to the idea of marrying each other when they grow up that they do not hesitate or express any complaint at all. In some instances, however, either or both the children do not want to marry the other. In cases like this, they cannot be forced to do as their parents wish and in the end; it is their decision that prevails. This means that all the food and services given to the other family was wasted. Because of this flaw in the custom, *tunang* is not as popular today as it was then.

Deydey: boyfriend-girlfriend

Deydey is a short period of time (the longest being a year) that means a boy and a girl are definitely going to get married. During this time, they can go to other places together, even without the company of other people. Some even live together in the girl's parents' house, although the elders emphasize that they sleep separately.

Bityara: the discussion

Before the *rapat* is performed, grudges between the man's and woman's families are first settled through the *bityara*. *Bityara* is a generic term for discussion, whether settling other problems in the community or coming up with a decision, as is *urungan*. Members of the girl's family (up to the second or third degree of consanguinity) bring up problems (*tulak*) they have had with the members (up to the same mentioned degree of consanguinity) of the boy's family. Problems such as "Your son threw a stone at my son two years ago" or "Your uncle falsely accused me of stealing a chicken." The boy's family pays for each offense. The elders, who may or may not be relatives of either family, determine the amounts. When the *bityara* is done, the *rapat* is carried out.

Rapat: the Pala'wan wedding

For the *rapat*, the boy's family provides the girl's clothes and the girl's family provides the boy's clothes. The men used to wear long pants and a polo shirt and the women their native *biru*. Times have changed, however, and the women now use a shirt and a skirt, instead. Several *malongs* are placed over the woman's clothes, and a couple over the man's.

The main thing in the *rapat* is the joining of several strands of hair of the boy and girl by using a small amount of *saleng* (tree sap) and coconut oil, symbolizing a union that is meant to last until the rest of the couple's lives. An elder in the community, who may or may not be a relative of either family, performs this task. In earlier times, after their heads are joined, they are covered with any kind of cloth, but this is rarely practiced today. The community elder, lays his hands on their heads, and prays for *Empo* to bless their marriage.

After this, the boy holds *maman* (*nganga*) components by his right hand and the girl holds a cigarette stick, also by her right hand. They carefully exchange these articles with their right hands and try not to drop anything, as this is considered a bad premonition.

The couple must live with the girl's parents for a year or so before they can live on their own. It is the boy who leaves the place of his parents. A girl is never taken to live away from her family.

Anybody who wants to come and watch the *rapat* may do so. The *bityara* is normally a very short process and the *rapat* immediately follows. It may be done any time of the day.

In this particular case, however, the woman was very sickly when she was little. Her parents made a promise to deliberately prolong the *bityara* when the girl gets married. This *bityara* started at 11:00 PM and ended at 6:30 AM.

In *rapats* with short *bityaras*, food is served only once. In cases where the *bityara* and the *rapat* are done at different times of the day, food is served twice. Some people go home after eating and may or may not return to watch the *rapat* itself. On

the other hand, some people stay and sleep in a big *kubo* with bamboo benches made especially for the occasion. The relatives of both parties stay and participate in the preparation of food for the following day and other tasks such as fetching large amounts of water.

Pagbutas, both partners living: the Pala'wan way of separation/divorce

If, at any time during the marriage, either of the couple finds a serious fault in his/her partner which cannot be worked out or forgiven, the marriage may be terminated. An example of this is when the man or woman was proven to have committed adultery. The matter is brought to the attention of the elders of both families. The elders of both families and the leaders in the community, along with the couple, try to work things out by holding a series of *bityaras* (discussions). The offended party will be asked whether he/she can forgive the trespass or not. If he/she can forgive the offender, they resume living together as man and wife, but with a lot of counsel and warning from the elders not to do the same thing again. If he/she cannot forgive the one at fault, the marriage is brought to an end (*pagbutas*) and the offender even pays the offended party an amount which is determined by the *hukom* (group of elders).

Pala'wan couples, however, may not just decide to separate from each other without a valid reason. If it is proven that a man wants to be separated from his wife because of the involvement of a third party, he pays the woman a substantial amount of money (determined by the elders) and he gets none of their conjugal property because he caused the woman humiliation. If it is the woman who wants to be separated from her husband because of another man, that man pays (*banda*) the husband a substantial amount of money and the woman gets none of their conjugal property, again because of the humiliation. As an informant puts it, the only things an offender gets are the clothes that he/she is wearing.

Pagbutas due to the death of a spouse

The day a spouse dies is not the day of separation of the man and woman as husband and wife, but seven days after the spouse is buried.

Within seven days after a man, for example, dies, his *kurudwa* (soul) goes to every place he has gone to while he was still alive— be it Manila or Puerto Princesa, or just nearby sitios. On the fourth day after he dies, his soul is believed to come back to his own house. That is why all his friends and all the members of his family gather in his house – to “welcome” him. The people tell stories and eat fatty foods prepared by the family members of the deceased. Some stay overnight; others go home.

On the seventh day after his death, they believe that the man's soul will permanently go away. As to where he is going, the people do not know. Still others believe that he crosses the *buluntong* (rainbow) but they are not sure where it leads. In any case, though, he has been separated by death from his wife.

Pagbaluan: the widow remarries

About a year after a woman is widowed, she may remarry. A man who wants to marry her comes to her brothers and cousins and asks permission to do so. He brings a *salapa* (small metal box) with him and asks the woman's second and third cousins "Is any one taking her to be your wife?" If everybody answers no, the man tells of his intentions. The woman's brothers and cousins come to her and tell her that this man intends to marry her. If the woman says yes, the *salapa* is accepted by the woman's brother, or, in his absence, a cousin. The process and the *salapa* are both called *pagbaluan*. The *salapa* is to be kept for always. One may not step over it or sell it, or the person who does so will suffer from a condition they call *busong* – the stomach will enlarge, excrete a white fluid which is actually the milk one sucked while he was still an infant, and burst.

Gender

The people claim that in Domadoway, there is no difference between a man's and a woman's roles. They share responsibilities such as cooking, fetching water, and taking care of children. They both carry out economic roles such as planting rice, onions and tobacco, harvesting them, and making handicrafts. They both have roles in community management such as attending meetings and having one's opinions heard.

But through participant observation, one can delineate a Pala'wan man's roles from a Pala'wan woman's.

Home

It is more often the woman who cooks for the entire family, fetches water and cleanses cooking pots. She takes care of the young child – feeding, bathing and putting him to sleep. On the other hand, both men and women go to the forest to gather firewood. They both put the carabao in places where it should be throughout the day: in grassy areas in the morning, in the water at noon, and back to the grassy area in the afternoon. Men are the ones who repair parts of the house which are in bad shape.

Economics

Planting and harvesting

Whether planting rice, onions or tobacco, it is the man who prepares the area by clearing it (*ririk*) of unwanted growths. Both men and women take part in planting and harvesting. The woman performs more of the harvesting part, though, because it is not considered to be a very difficult task. Often, during the harvest season, men are left at home to take care of a young child while the woman goes to the field to harvest rice.

Making handicrafts

Men carve handicrafts such as plates, *inlams* (containers) and different animals such as birds and fish. They make use of the *kamelet*, *ipil* and *sambulawan* trees. They also make musical instruments made of bamboo like the *suling* (flute) and the *tuganggang*. These instruments are usually designed by placing a coconut shell over fire. The lighted coal is then used to draw different designs, the most popular of which is the Pala'wan alphabet.

Women weave *tampipis* (wallets) and containers for glasses made of dried *buri* leaves. Sometimes these leaves are dipped in coloring and dried to achieve color variations. They also weave *tabigs* (baskets) by using bamboo strips and *uwey*.

These handicrafts are brought to Puerto Princesa, usually by the men, once or twice a month. Most of them have regular buyers in the vicinity of the airport, the market, and NGOs. If the products they deliver are previous orders, they are paid in cash. If not, they are paid the next time they deliver products.

Another way of selling these handicrafts is by sending them to Manila through Bales Isim of Sitio Suked. He has a regular buyer in Pasig and he delivers 29 to 30 medium size boxes of handicrafts once in every one or two months. He pays his fellows once he gets back to Domadoway, which is about four to seven days from the day he left.

Fishing

Men sometimes go to the sea in the Isumbo and Panitian areas to catch fish. They go in groups of 5 to 10. They leave the area during nighttime and come back early the following day. An individual is able to catch different kinds of fish which are for the family's consumption only. They also give one or two to their in-laws.

Women and children, on the other hand, go to the sea during low tides (*atian*). They feel for the presence of small crabs (*kerepey*), shrimps (*udang*) and shellfish (*bakalan*) under quickly moving feet.

Community management

Both men and women have the freedom to attend meetings to hear information on different matters and participate in decision-making, when needed. An example of this is when a problem arises in a couple's marriage. All of the elderly relatives of the man and woman gather to offer advice and guidance to settle the problem. If the problem cannot be settled, the opinion of the elders greatly influence the course of the marriage, that is, whether the man or woman would continue to live together or if it would be better that they separate.

Through participant observation, it is notable that it is the men who more actively participate in meetings concerning their land and issues such as developments on the plan to put up a cement plant in their area. When asked why, the men say that, although women are welcome to join the said activities, the distance of the meeting

place proves to be the restriction. When meetings are held in a different sitio or in the barrio, the woman will be out of the house for a long time if she goes with her husband and there will be no one to attend to the needs of their children. In a few instances, though, women opt to come to the meeting and bring their children with them.

Religion

The people say that they practiced no religion prior to the coming of the New Tribes Missions. They did believe in *Empo*, however – an invisible being who made and takes care of the heavens, water, the earth, as well as everything that grows in it. He is superior over all and *diwatas* were believed to serve him.

The coming of the New Tribes Missions changed their religious orientation. They discouraged the practice of the *turon* (calling of the *diwatas*) because this was comparable to calling on false gods. The missionaries introduced to them the Bible and Jesus Christ as the one true God. The people attend church services regularly. One woman who heard a visitor in the area say that he did not believe in God asked, “If God were not real, who made the heavens and the earth, then?” Most of the people share this same faith, as they await the day when “our bodies will be transformed into heavenly bodies” and “there will be no more Americans, *Bisayas* or Pala’wans. We will be as one when Jesus comes.”

The missionaries also trained men in every sitio to become pastors and to continue the work when they have already gone. Aside from delivering sermons every Sunday, pastors are also involved in the decision-making process in the community. When a decision has to be made, for example, to allow the separation of a husband and wife, the pastor gives the Biblical point of view regarding the matter.

Some people, though, express regret that they had to throw away and burn their things which were used for the *turon*, specifically the *babandils*. Now, *babandilsn* may be found in only a few households.

Education

The school teachers, a male and two females, assigned at the Soked Elementary School do not hold classes on Mondays because this is the day they go up to the mountains. They say that this is part of their service. Classes are held from Tuesday to Thursday (whole day) and half day on Fridays because the teachers will be going home.

A total of 78 children from different sitios were enrolled for school year 1997-1998. Parents prefer to send their boys to school rather than the girls. The school is a long walk from other sitios and the girls will need constant guidance, while the boys may walk to school by themselves. This explains why the boys are more fluent in Tagalog than the girls.

The teachers complain that many of the children do not come to school regularly, despite encouragement and constant reminders to do so, and the original number of

students dropped as the months went by. Only three graduated in March. The teachers feel that the children do not find the need to go to school, as “they will just be planting rice and making handicrafts when they grow-up.” They cite some of the older girls and unhappily predict that in one or two years, these children are going to get married, without ever even going to high school.

The nearest high school is found in Barangay Panitian. Because of lack of finances and the distance of the high school from the area, most parents opt not to send their children to school anymore after graduating from elementary school. But they feel very strongly about the need to send their children to school. Parents often tell their children to go to school so that they “would not be like” themselves. By this, they mean, they cannot read or write efficiently, and they find mathematics difficult and people take advantage of them during buying and selling procedures. On several occasions, when children would make excuses not to come to school, their parents (usually fathers) would get mad and tear the child’s notebooks apart or punish the child by making him perform the tasks of older people like clearing the fields and planting crops.

Language

The young and old speak the language which is the same name as their tribe – Pala’wan. According to them, though, today’s Pala’wan is not the same as that spoken by their elders. The old Pala’wan is deeper, as they describe it, and only the very old people of today will be able to understand it.

A great number of men know how to speak Tagalog. They say that they learned so by having had some schooling and from interactions with lowlanders when they go to the *taboan* to sell their crops or to Puerto Princesa to sell their handicrafts. Many women could understand Tagalog but are less able to speak it because they are less exposed to formal education and interactions with lowlanders. The very old and the very young have a very limited Tagalog vocabulary, which poses a barrier to communication.

Some of the men know several words in Ilonggo, Ilocano and Bicol and would readily show off their knowledge by translating, say, “Where are you going?” in several different dialects.

It is English, though, that they find very difficult to learn. Some of them confessed that they had asked the Americans who came to their area to teach them some English words, but now they do not remember any at all. Some have come up to me and asked me to translate interesting statements such as, “*Bakit mo ako pinagtatawanan?*” They say it would be nice if they could understand a little English, a language which, to them, seems like the sounds made by birds.

Communication

Internal

Pala'wans communicate by using the spoken word. Almost everyday, they go to another house (*sumbaloy*) and spend long hours chatting about everything under the sun – what one dreamt of last night or the night before, who is going to Puerto Princesa City on a certain date, what happened in church, the coming wedding. It is not a surprise that what one person knows, everybody knows. Most of the time they bring their handicrafts with them and work on them while chatting. The only time they go home is when a young child begins crying or when it is already getting dark.

There are some who know how to write and send messages this way. For example, a man from another *sitio* will not be able to attend a meeting. He sends a messenger bearing his letter. Reading of the letter is not exclusive to the one to whom it was sent. As soon as he is done reading it, he relays the message to anybody who asks or lets that person read the letter himself.

Nowadays, the young people often write a letter in professing love towards another person. Usually, it is the boy who does so and sends his letter through a messenger. In one case, though, it was the girl who sent the boy a love letter, on the outside of the envelope emphasizing that her message be kept a secret. Later on though, everyone will definitely find out the contents of the letter.

Writing of love letters is most probably the influence of lowlander acquaintances and a new manner of professing affection for another person among the Pala'wans. In earlier days, it only took as much as a direct question like “Would you like to be my wife?” and an answer right there and then. A girl who tells the boy “Don't say that again” means “no” and she who says “I'll ask my father and mother first” means “yes.”

Radio

Most households have a transistor radio. DZRH, Radyo ng Bayan-Palawan, some FM and foreign stations reach the area. Their favorite station is Radyo ng Bayan-Palawan because it airs live messages and announcements which the people anticipate every time a fellow goes to Puerto Princesa. They hold radio announcers in high regard because they “must have had a lot of education” to know so many things and heed whatever advice they hear from them. They often tell their children, “What did Irene (announcer) say? That children should obey their parents.” Aside from the news, health topics are also discussed and commercial medicine advertised.

On Sundays, they await “Tanggol Kalikasan”, a program co-anchored by Boy Magallanes, Haribon-Palawan vice president. During weekdays, at 7:00 PM, is “Leon Montero: Code name: Latigo” that they follow religiously. If one misses an episode, he is surely going to ask those who were able to listen.

Written

There are some written articles in every home. Each household was given a copy of the Pala'wan dictionary (compiled by Ken and Ann Munis), which translates Pala'wan into Tagalog and English. The missionaries, on the other hand, gave them Bibles (Old and New Testaments) and other Bible-related literature. They also have a Pala'wan hymnal which was prepared by the Christian Translators Fellowship and contains popular hymns such as the "Doxology", "Amazing Grace" and "On Higher Ground." Some political materials have also reached the area.

Tito Mata still keeps the books that were left behind by the Americans, although he says he could not understand a word. He also keeps the documents pertaining to the Domadoway Foundation, Incorporated, and their ancestral domain claims (facilitated by Haribon). The elders who were able to attend seminars during the time when the US Peace Corps volunteers were in the area have kept handouts and other mementos from those gatherings.

Television/movies

The young people are able to watch Tagalog movies in the house of Sofronio Espanola Vice- Mayor Marcito Acoy. Located in Panitian where electricity is still not available, Acoy utilizes an electric generator. Every Saturday, from 8:00 AM to 12:00 noon, they show two Tagalog films (mostly action), for which they charge P5.00 per head.

Some of the young people, when going to Puerto Princesa to sell their handicrafts, also grab the chance to watch Tagalog films in movie houses.

Mail/packages

Letters or packages may be sent to a resident of Domadoway through Haribon. When anybody from the area comes to the city, it is picked up and given to the person whom it was sent to.

They may also be sent through the Municipal Post Office of Quezon, postal code 5304, to be picked up on a Monday when the people go to Quezon to sell their products.

Community stratification according to social prestige

In the area, a person is considered popular if he possesses or has done things and has reached places that the majority of others have not. For example, Pala'wans who have been to far places such as Manila or Mindanao are accorded great admiration by the people. The people's impression is even magnified if that person traveled by plane. The interior of an airplane is unimaginable to them, and its ability to fly, incomprehensible.

Perceived social problems

Pala'wans often assure visitors that as long as they are in Domadaway, they have nothing to be afraid of. They differentiate themselves from the *Bisaya* who cause a lot of troubles such as disrespect to women, theft, and many instances of taking advantage of other people. They think of themselves righteous than the *Bisaya* because in their area, there are no cases of crimes such as rape or murder. They even challenge others to check prison rolls and they are sure that one will not find a Pala'wan.

The people also have their own theory about the El Nino phenomenon. They consider it God's punishment for the worsening sins of man. An example of these is *sumbang* (incest). A few years back, this was unheard of, and now that some people commit this sin, God caused the El Nino to occur. Past years' summers never caused their sources of drinking water to dry up, but this year, the water levels in countless streams have been greatly reduced.

SOCIO-POLITICAL

Informal power holders: then and now

Muslims have greatly influenced the way of life of the Pala'wans in Domadaway. When asked whether the Muslims were in the area before the Pala'wans were, they could only say that the minute they opened their eyes, the Muslims were already there.

Muslims, who were *maiseq* (quick-tempered), ruled over the Pala'wan, who quietly accepted their sovereignty. The barrio then was called *napan* and it was governed by a *datu*. Smaller areas within the barrio were the charge of a Pala'wan *arungkaya* (also called *satya* or *panlima*) and a *pangarapan* meaning "trusted" (next in rank to the *arungkaya*). They were chosen by the *datu*. When problems arose in the barrio, it was the *pangarapan* who first tries to resolve it. If the problem cannot be settled, it is made known to the *arungkaya*. If he fails to settle the matter, that is the only time that it is brought to the attention of the *datu*, for if every problem were brought to him, he would have too much to handle.

"There was still no president then, but we already had our own laws," say informants. Problems then ranged from the less serious stealing of material possessions to the worst – stealing of another man's wife. In the former case, the thief just needs to return the things he has stolen, or its equivalent. But in the latter, the offended man is asked by the *datu* as to what he wants done to the adulterers. He may suggest *gentungan* (death) and it may be granted him. The *datu*, however, has the power to veto the man's decision and just pose a fine on the offenders, usually 40 *salapas* (small metal boxes).

When an *arungkaya* dies, his son inherits (*susublian*) the position. Today, this is not practiced anymore because many people desire to be in position. There are no more *datu*s and the governance of what came to be known as *sitios* has been left in the hands of the *arungkaya* and the *pangarapan*, more popularly known now as the

chieftain and the *segundo*, respectively. In most cases, they are elected by the people themselves, who choose those who are *maseod* (wise), can speak in public, does not lie, and performs his responsibilities diligently. In some sitios, however, chieftains and *segundos* are assigned by the captain of the barangay.

Formal leadership

The 11 sitios of Domadoway are part of three barangays – Panitian (Sofronio Espanola), and Abo-abo and Pinaglabanan (Quezon). According to the people, there are certain barangay officials who may be approached whenever problems arise, but most of them are reluctant to do so because they have heard that most of the officials are in favor of the cement plant being planned to be put up in Domadoway.

NGOs operating in the area

Haribon is the primary NGO that operates in the area. It has been in the area since 1996 and is most appreciated by the people for their support in foiling the establishment of the cement plant. Occasionally, one or more people from Domadoway go to Puerto Princesa to sell handicrafts. Haribon has reserved a place in their office where these people can stay and spend a night or two. (Other natives, such as the Batak and Tagbanua, are also welcome.) At times, some of them even sleep in the house of Boy Magallanes, a Haribon official.

Haribon-Palawan focuses on community organizing. At this time though, a community organizer (CO) has not yet been assigned to Domadoway. They are also planning to develop a sustainable health program for the Pala'wans and express anticipation of the outcome of this research.

In the Council Meeting held on April 13, 1998, Haribon endorsed the candidacies of Joseph "Erap" Estrada and Edgardo "Edong" Angara for president and vice-president, respectively. (Atty Joselito Alisuag is the provincial coordinator of Erap's JEEP). It also endorsed the bids of other local candidates. The people, probably in gratitude to the group, voted for those endorsed.

Others groups in the area include PAFID and just recently, Karapatan. The latter group has assigned an organizer to Domadoway, whose area of responsibility includes other parts of the municipalities of Quezon, Sofronio Espanola and Brooke's Point.

PEACE AND ORDER SITUATION

Frequent sources of conflict

During the researcher's entire stay in the area, there was only one time when a fight occurred. It was between two young men. They threw punches at each other until they were stopped by several older men. When asked the reason for the fight, the people could only say that there was no real reason except that one of the young men involved is known to be a troublemaker.

During one Sunday service in the Sitio Pamuaran church, a young married man was so moved by the pastor's sermon that, after the pastor had spoken, went up to the podium and confessed that he had committed adultery. He expressed remorse for what he did and promised never to do it again. The people, who usually do not listen attentively to the pastor's message, were hushed and said among themselves, "It is better for a man to commit theft than to commit adultery" and were very much surprised that the man was making a public confession. Although he did not name names, the people were able to guess who the involved woman was because she was known to be a flirt and has had other extramarital affairs prior to this one. The people expressed fear for the man making the confession, because the involved woman's husband may run amok and harm him.

Patterns of conflict resolution

Usually, the parties concerned, along with their families, meet with the elders of the community. The problem is settled by identifying who is at fault.

In the first case, the person at fault usually pays the offended party an amount, which is to be decided on by the elders. At other times, they are just given advice by the elders and are warned against fighting again.

The second case will not be put to rest as easily as the first. A lot of time will be spent by the families of all parties concerned in coming up with a decision. Whether the man and woman stay together as man and wife depends on whether the woman forgives her husband and whether the woman's family forgives the man. In any case, though, he is bound to pay the husband of the woman with whom he committed adultery a lot of money for the shame brought upon that man, the amount of which is to be decided on by the elders. In this particular instance, the pastor restricted the man from ever leading the church congregation in singing hymns (for he was the song leader) and from giving offering. The man found this fair enough and he was even thankful that he could still go to church.

Presence of armed groups

The people claim that there are no armed groups in the area.

Incidence of crime

Crimes such as rape and murder are known to them only by listening to the radio or hearing news from lowlanders. When Pala'wans (men) fight, they box. They say it never reaches the point that a person kills another. They attribute this to the fact that most of them do not drink *tabad* (rice wine) anymore. Drinking *tabad* causes drunkenness, which, they believe alters one's state of mind, causing him to commit different sorts of misdeeds.

Perceived political problems

In Domadoway, there are sitio leaders who suggest that there should be a change in the Foundation's leadership. They say that Chairman Tito Mata has been in position for 14 years now but the term of office of the Foundation Chairman is only 6 years. The oldest living chieftain, Patinti Sapit of Sitio Soked, proudly shows an identification card issued by the Office of the Southern Cultural Communities (OSCC) which names him as the Pala'wan "Tribal Chieftain." When asked whose decisions should be followed on matters concerning Pala'wans in Domadoway, Patinti Sapit would only smile and say *tawey* (I don't know.).

Tito Mata says that there are many who want to become chieftains or replace him as Chairman of Domadoway Foundation because people think that he receives a salary (from NGOs and other groups) in performing this role. He emphasizes that the "salary" he gets is the preservation of their land.

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES RELATED TO HEALTH AND ILLNESS

Concepts of health, illness and well-being

The people do not have a local term for "healthy." After the researcher explains the term, consciously not giving too many clues as to the mainstream idea of "health," the people usually describe a healthy person as one who has *menonga'y ginawa* (good breathing, ie, no signs of difficulty), is able to work, is free of illness, and is *merembo* (fat). Some of them equate being fat with having a strong body.

A person is considered ill when *lein-lei'y ginawa ya* (He has different patterns of breathing). Pain is also a sign of illness, especially if it is intense enough that the person is unable to work.

Rasay is a term meaning "seriously ill." Aside from the given signs of illness, a person is considered *rasay* if he is unable to walk and talk. Family members know that an infant is *rasay* if he has a deep *bubun* (anterior fontanelle).

A person is dying when he takes fast but short breaths (*singap*). When he stops breathing and his shoulders fold in and then out, he is dead. Some dead persons pass urine or stool. His *arimpuro* (cowlick) will open and release his *kurudwa* (soul). While the body is not yet buried, the *kurudwa* sits near the head part of the body. That is why nobody must sit or walk on that part.

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES ON PREGNANCY

A Pala'wan woman suspects that she is pregnant when she misses her period (*dugo*). For example, an informant says, a woman's period comes on the 8th day of every month. If, one time, it does not come on the 8th day and a couple of weeks after, she would suspect that she is pregnant. This suspicion is confirmed if she still does not have her period a couple of months later. During the early part of pregnancy, when the bulge on the abdomen is not yet noticeable, some women experience vomiting

(*suka*), while others do not. But all informants confessed that they experienced *pag-ibgen*. *Ibeg* means saliva. In this case, it is used to mean “that which makes the pregnant woman salivate.” The food wanted could be anything from *doro’t niyog* (coconut juice) to *mailew na nangka* (unripe jackfruit). Most of them, however, experienced craving for the unripe *mempalam* (mango). There is even such a thing as *mempalang-bobtung*. This means that although it is not the season for mango trees to bear fruit, they do bear several for the pregnant woman to be able to eat her *pag-ibgen*.

Once there was a pregnant woman whose *pag-ibgen* was the ripe jackfruit. She asked her husband to find her one, although it was not the season of jackfruit. “Go ask from the Muslims,” the wife pleaded. So the man went to the Muslims and asked for jackfruit, explaining that his wife was pregnant and was craving for it. The Muslims gave him permission to take as many as he wants. However, as many as the man took, he ate while he was still up in the tree. He went home and told his wife, “The Muslims wouldn’t give me any.” Days passed and the woman’s craving did not subside. She pleaded with her husband to ask the Muslims again. Off went her husband. The Muslims let him take as many as he wants, but just like the first time, he ate them all and went home telling his wife “I found nothing.” The woman wanted jackfruit so badly that he asked her husband to keep looking. Her husband went to the Muslims a third time and asked for a jackfruit. The Muslims said that there weren’t any ripe ones anymore, but that the man could take an unripe one, if he wants to. The husband took an unripe jackfruit home and hid it from his wife. He placed it in a *kukuluan* (large basket) to allow it to ripen. One day the man went out, and the woman was left alone in the house. The jackfruit, which had ripened by this time, was emitting a very sweet scent. Because she wanted it so much, she took a very small portion (just a part that contained one seed) and ate it. Then she was content. When her husband came home, she said, “The jackfruit has ripened.” “There is no jackfruit,” the husband answered. “Yes, there is, in the *kukuluan*. I even took a small portion and ate it.” Hearing this, the husband was filled with rage. He took a bolo and struck his wife’s belly. His wife died instantly. The fetus was exposed and he saw that it was sucking on the piece of jackfruit that his wife ate. He thought to himself “So it was the baby who craved for the jackfruit all along.”

Nothing really bad happens to the pregnant woman (or the fetus) if she does not get what she wants, except that she will not be able to get it out of her mind all day and might even dream about it. Another thing is that, after the baby is born, he will salivate excessively.

Clues as to the baby’s gender can be derived from the *pag-ibgen*. If the woman craves for the *lada* (pepper), she will give birth to a boy. She will give birth to a girl if she craves for *tuey* or *bornok* (kinds of shellfish).

The woman first feels the *gibek* (literally, this means “noise,” but in this case it is used to mean “movement”) of the fetus, probably, on the fifth month. During this time, the *maninikeg* is already able to feel the fetus with his hands. He gathers *inggley it mantung* (vegetables for the pregnant). The names of these plants are unknown. They are soaked in water and the infusion is drunk by the woman once a month for the next four months to prepare for the complete expulsion of the placenta and any accompanying *aring*. After the fourth dose, the woman pays the *maninikeg*. Around 10 years ago, the entire regimen cost P25 only. Three to five years ago, the price

increased to P80.

As the woman nears the *pagsakitan* (day of delivery), a piece of cloth of any kind, called *ebet* or *egem*, is tied around the top of her abdomen. By this time, the child has become very active. The purpose of the *egem* is to prevent the fetus from reaching the *atey* (liver), just in case his movement perforates the very thin *bebtangan* (uterus) and kicks open the *letap* (door) that separates it from the liver. The liver is where a person's life is. If the fetus reaches the liver and kicks it, the mother may die.

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES ON DELIVERY

At the onset of labor pains, the woman's husband prepares the needed things. He ties a *dudurianan* (bamboo which will be kicked by the *maninikeg* when he forcefully pushes the uterine fundus) securely to the floor. He lays down a *datag-datag* (strips of flattened bamboo made into a mat) where the woman must lie.

He puts a *wag* vine around the pillars of their house to keep *merat na tau* (evil men) from coming near. He begins to burn firewood and coconut husks, a process known as *tigabuan* – the generation of enough smoke to overpower the combined scents of the mother (fishy because of blood) and the infant's (fragrant) that might attract bad spirits.

Anybody is allowed to watch the delivery. From the very young to the very old, relatives and neighbors fill the place where a delivery is to take place. While most of the people just come to watch, others perform supportive roles such as heating water for the woman to drink and cooking *binolbog* (porridge) for her to eat after she gives birth. Men stand by to help in case the *maninikeg* is not able to facilitate the expulsion of the placenta and *aring* and in case he runs out of strength, as he pushes very forcefully.

Two persons are vital to the Pala'wan birthing process: the *maninikeg* and the *mengengempet*. Although the people have never heard of a Pala'wan delivery that took place without either one of them, they are sure that it is going to be disastrous. The fetus may even come out through the anus.

The *maninikeg*

By deeply palpating the woman's abdomen, the *maninikeg* is able to predict when the baby is just about to come out. He positions his body directly over the woman's body. His feet are on both sides of the woman's head. The woman's arms are tightly held by two persons (may be either men or women) as she would slide down with the force of the *maninikeg's* pushing. He occasionally takes short periods of rest and waits for the woman to feel a coming contraction before he starts pushing again. He continues doing so until the *mengengempet* says that both the baby and the placenta are out. At this cue, he grabs the muscles around the umbilicus, asks the woman for any pain. If pain is present, he applies heated leaves of *payong* to the woman's abdomen, until both he and the *mengengempet*, along with the woman, agree that there is no *aring* left. These *aring* have life and when left inside the placenta may

reach the *atey* and eat it, causing maternal death.

As soon as the all the products of conception, ie, the infant, the placenta, and *aring* are expelled, the *egem* is tied around the hypogastrum to keep the uterus from slipping down.

The *mengengempet*

The *mengengempet* is a woman who positions herself on the foot part of the pregnant woman. A blanket from the waist covers the woman giving birth down to her feet. The *mengengempet* places her hands inside the blanket and waits for the placenta to be expelled, constantly telling the *maninikeg* what she is feeling with her hands. It is the *mengengempet* who cuts the baby's cord and places the placenta in a *danuman* (bamboo water container). After giving the baby a bath, she touches the woman's legs and stomps once on the floor. She reaches for the woman's right and left hands and stomps once on the floor. This process is known as *pinamigatan*, meaning, the floor will not keep the woman lying down for a long time.

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES ON LACTATION AND BREASTFEEDING

Right after the *meraga* (infant) is born and the *mengengempet* cuts his cord and gives him a bath, he is brought to his mother for his first feeding.

The first milk (no local term) is *malaget* (sticky and does not flow continuously) and is therefore thrown away. This is done so especially when the woman has given birth for the first time. It is believed to cause many different illnesses in infants.

If the woman has little or no milk a couple of hours after she has given birth, she must "buy" milk from the *tebeg* tree. The *tebeg* is a tree that is *metagek* (sappy). The mother's *galang* (shell bracelet), *manas* (beads) or even a plastic ring that comes with junk foods must be hanged on a *tebeg* branch as a sign of "buying" milk from the tree. It will not take long before the woman has sufficient milk.

The newborn naturally sleeps all day. From time to time, he is awakened by a cold bath, otherwise, the people say, he won't feed. The Pala'wan newborn is bathed five or more times a day, ie, whenever the mother or a relative thinks that he is hungry. The *bubun* (anterior fontanelle) does not signify anything related to hunger or satiety.

BOTTLEFEEDING

Some young mothers say that they would like their children to get used to bottlefeeding. They say that this is so because they cannot do much work when they have an infant who needs to be fed often. On the other hand, others think that there is no need for the bottle. They say that a woman can work while the baby sleeps, go home when she thinks the baby has awakened, feed the baby, put him to sleep again, and go back to work.

PATTERNS OF RESORT

People self-medicate, whether by using plants or commercial drugs or, oftentimes, both, before going to anybody else for treatment.

If a child is sick with, for example, *sakit it ulo/agnaw* (a condition characterized by headache, fever and chills), his parents and grandparents (who usually live nearby) assist each other by getting plants. These are usually used as poultice to relieve the headache, or decoction to lower the body temperature by causing perspiration. At the same time, analgesics and antipyretics such as Alaxan, Medicol, Cortal and Biogesic are given, when available. Sometimes, they even go to the village center to buy medicine.

Depending on the severity of the illness, as assessed by the child's verbalization of pain and/or discomfort and level of activity, the medication is continued until he gets well. If he neither shows improvement nor deterioration, the medication is either continued or stopped. If the condition becomes worse, the help of a person who knows medications aside from the one already used is sought. This person may not be a *balyan*, but simply *maseod megpang-ubat* (knows how to heal). Usually, these persons are the elders in the community, but sometimes, there are certain people who specialize in healing particular illnesses, and are not necessarily old.

Aside from the *balyan*, the Pala'wan traditional healer, there are those who specialize in different cases. The following are examples.

The *maninikeg*

The *maninikeg* is the man who assists in childbirth. By palpating the abdomen of a pregnant woman, he is able to know when the woman is probably going to deliver her child. During delivery, he forcefully pushes the uterine fundus until all the products of conception are out, ie, the infant, the placenta, and any *aring* (fingerlike projections of the placenta which may cause death when retained).

There was a time when only Patinti Sapit of Sitio Suked knew how to *sikeg*. Women and their families from all over Domadaway would build a *nipa* hut close to Patinti when the day of delivery is still about one or two months away. Today, many have learned the strokes of a *maninikeg*, although they claim that nobody formally taught them the ways, but that they learned by watching others do it and by actually helping on emergency cases.

The *mengengempet*

The *mengengempet* is the woman who assists in childbirth. Her responsibilities include catching the infant as it is delivered, coordinating with the *maninikeg* whether the placenta has been expelled already or not, and expressing whether she thinks there is some *aring* that has been retained. She also cuts the cord, places the *inulunan* (placenta) in the *danuman* (bamboo water container), bathes the infant and washes the mother.

The *mamamala*

The *mamamala* is someone who sees invisible beings that come close to a pregnant woman and intend to eat her unborn child. The *mamamala* instructs a pregnant woman to stay inside the house and directs the invisible being, which they simply call *merat na taw* (evil person) to go away. He seems to have authority over these beings as they heed his directions.

The *ilot*

The *ilot* specializes in treating *lisu* or bone dislocation. According to the people, he uses painful massage techniques, but keeps the affected part from swelling and actually puts the bones back to their original positions. Oftentimes, he is also a *maninikeg*.

The *manenegpa*

The *manenegpa* may be either male or female. He specializes in treating *marep* – a condition which the people describe as “body pains, as if there were thorns embedded on one’s flesh.” The *manenegpa* utters an incantation, blows on the painful part, grabs the muscles on that part, twists it and pulls out whatever object has been embedded on it. The *manenegpa* is able to get different things such as *ransang* (nails) or bamboo sticks.

***Balyan*: the Pala’wan traditional healer**

The researcher was able to interview four *balyans*: Tansiong Tima of Sitio Katbagan (also known as Ketket), Patinti Sapit of Sitio Soked, and Salimbak Tamat and Melia Magas (also known as Nono) of Sitio Pamuaran.

Tansiong Tima and Salimbak Tamat continue to practice the *turon* (calling of the *diwatas*) to diagnose illnesses and discover the plants and *tawar* (incantations) which are to be used in healing a particular patient. Melia Magas and Patinti Sapit (who, contrary to what the people say, denies that he was ever a *balyan*) have been drawn to Protestantism. They still heal by using plants and other natural products, saying these materials were given to them by *Empo* (God) for this purpose. However, they do not practice the *turon* anymore because *diwatas* are believed to be false gods.

Each of the four healers confessed that his/her healing knowledge came from the *diwatas* who are believed to be servants of *Empo*. They say that *diwatas* appear in what they describe to be “dreams.” According to their description, the *balyan* seems to be asleep, as his eyes are closed. He is able to walk and climb stairs, and he speaks in a voice different from his own. In this “dream,” a *diwata* appears, disguised as someone known to the *balyan*. The *diwata* teaches the *balyan* what plants are used for particular ailments and the incantations that go with some of them. After the *balyan* “wakes up,” he would not remember the things that happened, but would

remember what the *diwata* taught him.

Being a *balyan* seems to run in the family. Tansiong Tima says that his uncle was a *balyan*. Salimbak Tamat says that his great grandfather (Apo Kambingen), his grandfather (Apo Inggal), and his father were all *balyans*. However, they say that anybody may be taught and trained to become a *balyan*.

Just the same, anybody may refuse. Tito Mata's mother and Patinti Sapit's father were *balyans* but they both refused to follow in their footsteps for the same reason – fear of dying by the bolo. It was known to all that *balyans* transform themselves into the widely feared *kumakan* or “one that eats” (also called *balbalan*). The *balyan*'s soul (*kurudwa*) leaves his body and flies, especially at night. It goes to burial sites and eats corpses. It also eats those who are sick, have just given birth, and infants and fetuses.

Apparently, the *kumakan* is visible, since it causes great fear among the natives who refrain from going out just before nightfall and during the night for fear of seeing a *kumakan*. The *kumakan* is not invincible, though. One can strike it with a sharp bolo and, although the *kurudwa* will not sustain a wound, once it returns to its body, the person will suffer pain on the part that was struck. If the bolo used in striking him was previously used in shredding tobacco leaves, the *kumakan* will die because of the heat of the tobacco leaves' sap.

General data about the healers

Tansiong Tima

Ketket, as he is more popularly known, says that he must be 40 years old now because he was about the age of his son, Victan (about 8 to 10 years old), when *suka tey tey* (vomiting and diarrhea) and typhoon Senyang came to their place. He says that he experienced wearing *baag* (loincloth) when he was still young, and he could remember that with five centavos, one could get 10 pieces of candy and 10 centavos could buy a piece of clothing.

Tansiong says he has been healing the sick even before his first marriage. He says that he was about the age of her eldest daughter, Rolinda, who must be 11 or 12 years old.

It is believed that Tansiong was poisoned a few years ago in Pulot, Sofronio Espanola. He engaged in a drinking spree with some Pala'wan friends who lived in Pulot. He was so drunk that he slept in one of his friends' house that night. The morning after, he was offered coffee. As soon as he got home, he was coughing. Weeks and months passed and he began experiencing more and more signs of poisoning. Aside from the constant productive cough, his voice changed, and he experienced weakness such that he could not go to the *taboan* except by riding a carabao. He tried to heal himself and was almost well until he went to Puerto Princesa City, drank a couple of beers with Boy Magallanes of Haribon, and ate pork as *pulutan*. Pork is a contraindication to the herbs which Tansiong was using. His condition was getting worse, as he already experienced vomiting of blood. The poison is believed to burn the *tatbugan* (throat)

causing voice changes, the *tubo* (that which connects the *tatbungan* to the stomach) causing vomiting of blood, and the *tiney* (intestines). Death occurs once the intestines are completely burned.

Because Tansiong believes that he does not have much time to live, he has started teaching his wife about his healing knowledge. He is also considering teaching his children.

Aside from being a *balyan*, he does not have any other responsibility in the community.

Patinti Sapit

Patinti claims that he must be over 100 years old by now, considering that his grandchildren already have grandchildren of their own.

Aside from being a *balyan*, Patinti was also the only *maninikeg* for a long time and the only *mamamala* that the people could name. He also serves as the chieftain of Sitio Soked, and thus, is a member of the Domadoway Foundation Board of Trustees.

At his age, Patinti still maintains his own *uma* (swidden farm), and lives with his wife and an adopted son, who must be seven or eight years old. He is able to go to distant sitios to attend to different matters and even to Puerto Princesa City when Haribon asks him to attend a meeting.

Patinti boasts of being the one who suggested to the US Peace Corps volunteers, Ken Munis and Ann Koontz-Munis, that what Domadoway needed was a school, that he has assisted in the most number of childbirths compared to any other *maninikeg*, that he has been named by the Office of the Southern Cultural Communities (OSCC) to be the Pala'wan "Tribal Chieftain," and that he is the only one who owns *susublian* (inherited) stones which he uses to facilitate the expulsion of the *inulunan* (placenta) during childbirth.

He says that when he was younger, his *kurudwa* (soul) would know whether another person was walking behind him or ahead of him, and that he could order the *kunem* (dark clouds) not to rain. He knew when a woman was supposed to give birth by palpating her abdomen and he never missed.

One of his daughters has already learned many of his healing practices simply by watching.

Salimbak Tamat

Salimbak was the former chieftain of Sitio Pamuaran. He says that there must have been 80 *umas* already from the time he was born, which makes him around 80 years old.

He was not swayed by the Protestant faith, and continues to practice *turon* up to now.

Coming from a family of *balyans*, he boasts of his great grandfather, Apo Kambingen, who only had to lift his palm to the air and would be given plant medicines by the *diwatas*. Salimbak says Apo Kambingen lived, died and was buried in a cave in Bundok Tawis.

He claims to have healed “everyone” because he serves as the doctor in his place. Among his many patients was Tansiong Tima, (another *balyan*), people from other sitios and even people from the barrio, including Muslims.

He presented a manner by which a lost object may be found. He says that he must be the only one who knows this technique. One must get 4 pieces of any kind of wood cut about 2 inches long each. They are arranged one on top of the other. A *tawar* (incantation) is uttered and the *balyan* hears the pieces of wood speak. In this process, he also discovers whether the missing object was stolen or simply misplaced. If the object was stolen and the bottommost piece of wood speaks, this means that the object will not be found no matter how the owner looks for it. Finding the object is more likely as the piece of wood that speaks is closer to the top.

Melia Magas

Melia Magas began healing even before she was first married. It was a long time ago, and she could not remember how old she was then. She remembers, though, that she was around 12 years old (referring to her granddaughter) when she heard that the Japanese were here.

Although Melia does not perform the *turon* anymore, as she has been going to church since the missionaries came, she still serves those who come to her to ask for medicinal plants. She is also the most well known *mengengempet* or woman who assists in childbirth. The people say that Melia is the only *mengengempet* who refuses to accept any form of payment for her services, when others charge as much as P500 nowadays. She could not give any reason why she does not accept payment and only says *kay ko* (“I do not want to”).

She thinks it would be good to pass on her knowledge so that not only a few people know how to heal. Although no one has come up to her and has asked to be taught, Melia says she is willing to teach anybody who asks.

The making of a *balyan*

In the case of Salimbak Tamat, he saw a *taw't kakayuan* (person of the woods) while he was still very young. In the Pala'wan culture, a person who sees a *taw't kakayuan* is meant to be a *balyan*.

Tansiong Tima claims that when he was about the same age as his son, Victan (who must be 8 to 10 years old), he suffered many different kinds of illnesses. He became weak and did not have the appetite to eat rice. A *diwata* appeared in his dream and said, “If you will not perform *turon*, you will die.” He did not give his dream much attention and he did not get well either. The *diwata* again appeared in his dream

saying, “If you do not call on me, you will die. Prepare *tabad* (rice wine), *minelmel* (bread) and *pinuso-puso* (*malagkit na bigas* cooked in shaped coconut leaves with coconut milk).” He prepared all these and performed *turon* and got well from his illnesses.

If a person, Pala’wan or *Bisaya*, wants to become a *balyan*, he must seek the help of a *balyan* who is willing to teach him everything he knows. There is even a mountain in the Domadoway area, which is named Pinagbolayan. This means that a *balyan* taught a student to become like him in that mountain. Both the *balyan* and the student must perform *turon* twice a month for eight consecutive months, each time preparing *tabad* and fatty foods such as chicken, eggs, *pinuso-puso* and *nilutlot* (*malagkit na bigas* cooked in bamboo shoots). *Parina* (solidified tree sap) may also be burned. Its fragrance will attract the *diwatas* who are purposefully being called and whose help is being sought.

On the eighth month, the student performs *turon* for one last time. In his head is placed two or three platefuls of *malagkit na bigas*. If the *diwatas* do not approve of the student, they would get mad and cause the plates to fall as he jumps from place to place. If the *diwatas* are pleased, they would keep the plates from falling. This is how a person who claims to be a *balyan* is affirmed or rejected.

Perceived health problems

The people say that it is difficult to live far from doctors and hospitals because when emergency situations arise, death claims the lives of patients while they are being transported to health facilities. Although the people still make use of natural products, mainly plants, in healing their sick, many of them confess that they are effective only for mild to moderate cases. For severe cases, those that cannot be made well by their plants, the people now resort to bringing their sick to doctors. When they have no money to spend for the cost of consultation and, at times, hospitalization, they usually borrow from those who have extra money, or seek the help of NGOs, government offices (such as the Department of Social Welfare and Development) or politicians.

The two most common health problems encountered by the people are *sakit it beteng* and *sakit it ulo*.

Sakit it beteng is defined as abdominal pain accompanied by vomiting and diarrhea. Matial Tamat of Sitio Pamuaran thinks that this may be due to unclean drinking water, as their springs are open and exposed to different elements in the environment. Because of this, he was planning to make a request (addressed to politicians) to give material support for the building of encasements around each spring in Sitio Pamuaran that is used for drinking.

Sakit it ulo, on the other hand, is defined as headache that is accompanied by chills. For this reason, it is also called *agnaw*, meaning, chills.

Along with these is a problem related to the birthing process. People have reported cases of post-partial deaths because of the retention of the *inulunan* (placenta) and

some *aring*. As mentioned before, *aring* are fingerlike projections of the placenta which, when retained, may cause death.

Stillbirths, neonatal and infant deaths have also been reported by the people. These deaths are often attributed to the dreaded *kumakan* (“one who eats”), which is attracted by the infant’s fragrance and to *lianens* – invisible beings who are capable of taking a person’s soul. The souls of very young children are not as strong as the souls of adults, which is why children are particularly prone to this condition.

Table 1. The life stages of a Pala'wan

| Stage/approximate age | Description | Common ailments |
|---|--|---|
| <p><i>Meraga to meraga-raga/</i> 0 to 2 years old/ 3 to 4 years old</p> | <p>From birth up to the time when the child:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - is weaned - is able to walk stably - is able to talk in phrases and short sentences - is still cuddled by parents, especially by the mother - is carried by parent or older sibling when walking far distances - still goes out of the house without clothes on - may not yet be left alone in the house - may not yet go to other houses by himself | <p><i>Segew-segew</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - a condition characterized by the persistent crying of a <i>meraga</i> especially in the afternoon and at night. Aside from crying, <i>meraga-ragas</i> complain of seeing scary beings which are invisible to other people. |
| <p><i>Kay nga kala</i> (Literally translated, this phrase means “not yet big”)/ 5 to 8 years old</p> | <p>From <i>meraga-raga</i> up to the time when the child:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - is able to talk in long, complete sentences - is not cuddled by parents anymore - may be left alone in the house - may begin going to school - may help fetch water, cook rice, catch birds, harvest rice and onions, come along with elders in gathering vegetables and marine products, take care of younger sibling | <p>From <i>meraga-raga</i> to <i>budyang/subur, lebew</i> or <i>tipdas</i> usually occurs. According to the Pala'wan, this is a non-communicable ailment characterized by the appearance of water- and pus-secreting vesicles and pain all over the body.</p> |
| <p><i>Budyang-budyang</i> and <i>subur-subur</i>. (Very young lady and very young man)/ 9 to 13 years old</p> | <p>From <i>kay nga kela</i> up to the time when the child:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - is usually in grade 1, 2 or 3 - still plays with children belonging to the opposite sex but begins to form same sex groups to which he allocates a great deal of time | <p>-</p> |

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - may already have a <i>deydey</i> (boyfriend/ girlfriend) - washes own clothes, fetches water, cooks, helps in harvesting rice and in <i>pagbabayo</i> <p>Girls:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - begin to use hairclips and refuse to have hair cut - begin to prefer the <i>tapis</i> (<i>malong</i>) over the <i>simpan</i> (short pants) <p>Boys:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - prepare a small piece of land for planting corn - take care of the family's carabao | |
| <i>Budyang</i> and <i>subur</i> (Young lady and young man)/ equivalent to adolescence | <p>From <i>budyang-budyang</i> and <i>subur-subur</i> up to the time when the person:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - gets married and starts a family of his own - does all the previous responsibilities mentioned, except that there are more economic functions to perform such as making handicrafts, selling products in the marketplace and being involved in community activities | There are no passage rites from childhood to womanhood or manhood. The only recognized difference between <i>kay nga kela</i> and <i>budyangs</i> and <i>suburs</i> is the body size. Circumcision and menstruation are not considered significant indexes of passing from one stage of life to another. |
| <i>Umetngen</i> / equivalent to young to middle adulthood | <p>Characterized mainly by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - providing food for the family by performing economic functions - performs parental and grandparental roles - involved in the decision-making process in the community | - |

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|--|
| <p><i>Megurang</i>/late adulthood</p> | <p>Characterized by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - hair turning white (<i>bura</i>) - ability to continue working in the field but experiencing easy fatigability, diminished vision and different ailments - may have grandchildren to the knees, elbows and cheeks (chronological order that means a grandchild is getting farther and farther away from his grandparent's kiss) | <p>Except for those mentioned above, no other illnesses are specific to any age group. Both the young and old suffer from the more common <i>sakit it beteng</i> (abdominal pain with diarrhea and vomiting) and <i>sakit it ulo</i> (headache with chills).</p> |
|---------------------------------------|--|--|

Table 2. *Materia medica*

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Pelu-pelu*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|--------------------------------|-------------------|--|--|
| <i>Lisu</i> – bone dislocation | Vine | Remove the leaves from vine. Pound the vine. | Tie the pounded vine around the affected part. Repeat the process until the patient is relieved. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Kapok* (Pala'wan), *bulak* (Tagalog)

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|-------------|---------------------|--|---|
| <i>Lisu</i> | Outer layer of bark | Scrape a sufficient amount of the outer layer of the bark. Place this over fire and add a small amount of coconut oil. | Apply as poultice on the affected area. Any kind of cloth may be used as bandage. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Biserser* + *saleng* (generic term for sap of trees)

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|---|--|---|--|
| <i>Marep</i> – body pains; as if something is embeddem in one's flesh | Outer layer of stem (<i>biserser</i>) Sap (<i>saleng</i>) | Scrape the outer layer of the stem of <i>biserser</i> and add a small amount of <i>saleng</i> . | Apply as poultice on the affected area. It will adhere to the skin even without bandage. When it no longer adheres to the skin, it has no more therapeutic effect. Repeat the process until pain disappears. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Kortang*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| <i>Marep</i> | Young leaves | Pound several young leaves. | Apply as poultice on the affected area. Remove when dry and repeat the process if the patient is still not relieved. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Kulegbew*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|---|-------------------|---|---|
| <i>Marep</i> | Leaves | Pound several leaves. | Apply as poultice on the affected area for about an hour. Repeat the process until pain disappears. |
| <i>Sut</i> – formed blood in intestines shaped like a snake, spider, etc. | Leaves | Boil a sufficient amount of water. Add 4 leaves and wait until they soften. | Drink the decoction. Contraindications: sugarcane, string beans |
| <i>Sunggur</i> - colic | Leaves | Boil a sufficient amount of water. Add 4 leaves and wait until they soften. | Drink the decoction. Contraindications: sugarcane, string beans |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Kelelepnit*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|--------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| <i>Marep</i> | Roots | Pound a sufficient amount of roots. | Apply as poultice on the affected area. Repeat the process when dry and if the patient is still not relieved. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Pungo-pungo*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|--------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| <i>Marep</i> | Roots | Pound a sufficient amount of roots. | Apply as poultice on the affected area. Repeat the process when dry and the patient is still not relieved. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Dengingi*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|--------------|-------------------|--|---|
| <i>Marep</i> | Roots | Scrape and pound outer layer of roots. | Apply as poultice on the affected area. Repeat the process when dry and if the patient is still not relieved. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Empelungew*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|--|---------------------|---|--|
| <i>Sakit it ulo/agnaw</i> – headache with chills | Young leaves | Pound a sufficient amount of young leaves. | Apply as poultice on the head and temples using a blanket or handkerchief as bandage. Repeat the process until pain disappears. |
| Diagnosis | Outer layer of stem | Scrape a small amount of the outer layer of the stem. | Rub the scraped stem on any painful body part. If patient feels the stinging pain naturally caused by plant, the illness is not serious. If the stinging pain is not felt, the illness is serious. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Merenggewiri*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|--|--|
| <i>Sakit it ulo/agnaw</i> | Roots | Remove soil from the roots by washing with water. Boil a sufficient amount. | Take a swallow of the decoction. |
| <i>Sakit it nipen - toothache</i> | Roots | Scrape the outer layer of the roots. Discard the scraped outer layer and boil the roots. | Use the decoction as gargle. Repeat the process until pain disappears. |
| <i>Linog - dizziness</i> | Leaves | Tear the leaves into small pieces. | Sniff the odor of the torn leaves until dizziness disappears. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Merenggewiri + lengba + punti*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|---|-----------------------|--------------------------|--|
| <i>Ikat – swelling of any body part</i> | Roots of the 3 plants | Mix and pound the roots. | Apply as poultice on the affected area. Repeat the process until swelling subsides. Contraindications: guava, <i>calamansi</i> , <i>kamote</i> |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Kelilibon*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|---|--|
| <i>Sakit it ulo/agnaw</i> | Outer layer of the roots | Scrape a sufficient layer of the outer layer of the roots and boil in a glass of water. | Drink the decoction. Repeat the process until headache disappears. |
| <i>Linog</i> | Leaves | Tear the leaves into small pieces. | Sniff odor of torn leaves until dizziness disappears. |
| Nosebleeding | One leaf | Roll leaf into a size that will fit the nasal orifice. | Place the rolled leaf into the nasal orifice until |

| | | | |
|---|-------------------------|--|--|
| | | | bleeding stops. |
| <i>Sakit it beteng</i> – abdominal pain often accompanied by vomiting and/or loose bowel movement | Leaves | Heat several leaves over fire. | Apply as poultice on the abdominal area. Any kind of cloth may be used as bandage. |
| Abortifacient | Outer layer of the stem | Scrape the outer layer of the stem. Boil in a small amount of water. | Drink the decoction. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Anterungan*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|---|------------------------|---|---|
| <i>Sakit it ulo/agnaw</i> | Leaves | Collect 3 pieces of leaves. | Place leaves on the forehead and temples until they dry up. Any kind of cloth may be used as bandage. Repeat the process until headache disappears. |
| Centipede bite | Sap | Collect a sufficient amount of sap. | Apply sap on the bitten area. The pain will subside in less than an hour. |
| Dog bite | Sap (with incantation) | Collect a sufficient amount of sap and utter the incantation 8 times. | Apply sap on the bitten area “to remove the rabies”. Rabies is defined as that which causes the pain and swelling. |
| <i>Sungkar</i> – mosquito bite-like wheals that usually grow under the lower lip and chin and sometimes in the head. They are itchy, painful and secrete pus. | Young or mature leaves | Pound a sufficient amount of leaves and extract juice. | Let the juice drip onto the affected areas. Repeat the process until the wounds dry up. Contraindications: eggplant, tomato, yam, pork, chicken and egg. Eating of these foods may be resumed a month |

| | | | |
|--|--|--|--|
| | | | after the wounds have all dried up. However, the fish <i>balanak</i> may not be eaten for an unspecified length of time or the illness will recur. |
|--|--|--|--|

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Niyog-niyog*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|---------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|---|
| <i>Sakit it ulo/agnaw</i> | Fruit | Cut the fruit in half. | Rub the inner portion of the fruit on the forehead. Repeat until headache disappears. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Kapal-kapal*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|---------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| <i>Sakit it ulo/agnaw</i> | Leaves | Pound a sufficient amount of leaves. | Apply as poultice on the forehead and temples using any kind of bandage. Repeat the process when the poultice dries up and the patient is still not relieved. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Lengan*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|--|---------------------------|--|---|
| <i>Pagsandungan</i> – headache that occurs every other day | Leaves (with incantation) | Collect several leaves. Place in any kind of container and pour water into it. | Wet the head and the entire body with the infusion. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Lengan + senek*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|---------------------|---|---|--|
| <i>Pagsandungan</i> | Leaf or stem of <i>lengan</i> Leaf of <i>senek</i> | The patient himself or another person must find a <i>lengan</i> plant. He must take a leaf or part of the stem while whispering and asking the plant not to cause the patient's head to ache, if it is the one causing it (a process called <i>nangnangan</i>) and admitting that the plant is more powerful than the patient. Cut the leaf or stem into 4 parts and place in a funnel-shaped <i>senek</i> leaf. Pour water into the leaf. | Let the water from the leaf drip onto the patient's <i>arimpuro</i> (cowlick), down to his face. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Emelung*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|-----------------------|-------------------|--|--|
| <i>Sakit it nipen</i> | Roots | Boil a sufficient amount of roots in a glass of water until half the initial volume is left. | Use the decoction as gargle. Repeat the process until pain disappears. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Dalapas*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|--|-------------------|--|--|
| <i>Daser-daser/iked</i> – cough not due to poisoning | Young leaves | Cut four ¼-inch pieces of young leaves and soak in ½ glass of water. | Drink the infusion every morning for 4 days. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Telinga-baboy*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|---|-------------------|---|--|
| Cough due to poisoning | Rootcrop | Peel the rootcrop and soak in a glass of water. | Drink the infusion. Contraindications: pork, <i>bagoong</i> , banana (<i>banggi</i> or <i>turdan</i> kind) and pineapple for at least a year. |
| <i>Bawas</i> – inability to have children | Rootcrop | Soak the rootcrop in water and leave for a night. | The following day, divide the infusion into 4 parts and drink 1 part in the morning, noon, afternoon and night. |
| So as not to get drunk | Rootcrop | Peel the rootcrop. | Eat the peeled rootcrop before drinking alcoholic beverages. The number of rootcrops one eats depends on how much he is going to drink. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Enderamey*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|---------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| <i>Sakit it ulo/agnaw</i> | Roots | Scrape a sufficient amount of roots. | Apply as poultice on the head and temples. Repeat the process until the patient is well. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Alibetbet + buyo*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|--|--|
| <i>Sakit it ulo/agnaw</i> | Leaves of both plants | Take several leaves from both plants. Mix and pound. | Apply as poultice on the forehead. Headache will disappear in less than 2 hours. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Kamelet*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|---------------------------|-------------------|---|--|
| <i>Sakit it ulo/agnaw</i> | Bark | Boil a small piece of bark in ½ glass of water. | Drink the decoction. It should cause the patient to perspire within a couple of hours. Repeat the process until headache disappears. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Nito*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|--|---|
| <i>Kanbasa – athlete's foot</i> | Roots | Boil a sufficient amount of roots in a glass of water. | Pour the decoction on the affected area while it is still warm. Repeat the process until the wounds dry up. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Belinggod*

Sanglay-kayo (Pala'wan), *kamoteng kahoy* (Tagalog)

Kamantis (Pala'wan), *kamatis* (Tagalog)

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|----------------|------------------------------|---|---|
| <i>Kanbasa</i> | Young leaves of the 3 plants | Mix and pound the leaves. Heat over fire and extract the juice. | Pour the juice over the wound. Repeat the process until the wound dries up. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Banwa't limatek*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|------------|-------------------|--|---|
| Wounds | Leaves | Pound a sufficient amount of leaves and extract the juice. | Pour the juice over the wound. Repeat the process until the wound dries up. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Penesip*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|------------|------------------------|--|--|
| Wounds | Young or mature leaves | Pound a sufficient amount of leaves and extract the juice. | Pour the juice over the wound to stop bleeding and to dry the wound. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Gengas + lupa + nito + senek*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|--|---|---|--|
| <i>Barangas</i> – a very painful wound | Bark of <i>gengas</i> and <i>lupa</i> Roots of <i>nito</i> Leaf of <i>senek</i> | Collect a small piece of bark from the <i>gengas</i> and <i>lupa</i> trees. Scrape the outer layer of the <i>nito</i> roots. Place all the plant ingredients into a funnel-shaped <i>senek</i> leaf and pour water into it. | Let the water from the leaf drip onto the wound. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Sulung-manok + Balatong* (Pala'wan), *monggo* (Tagalog)

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|--|---|---|--|
| <i>Ugyap</i> – large wounds in different parts of the body | Leaves of <i>sulung-manok</i> Seeds of <i>balatong</i> | Extract juice from the <i>sulung-manok</i> leaves. Heat the <i>balatong</i> seeds using a frying pan. Pound the seeds. Mix the juice and the pounded seeds. | Apply the mixture on the affected areas. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Kunit*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|---------------|-------------------|---|---|
| Animal wounds | Rootcrop | Pound a sufficient amount of rootcrops. | Apply as poultice on the animal's wound |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Kedlem*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|-----------------|-------------------|--|---|
| Epigastric pain | Leaves | Soak the leaves in hot water and wait until they soften. | Drink the infusion. Repeat the process until the patient gets well. |

Scientific name: *Psidium guajava* L

Local name/s: *Beyabas* (Pala'wan), *bayabas* (Tagalog)

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|------------------------|------------------------|--|--|
| <i>Sakit it beteng</i> | Young or mature leaves | Boil a handful of leaves in 1 glass of water. Wait until the broth becomes reddish and is half the initial volume. | Drink the decoction. Repeat until the patient gets well. If <i>beyabas</i> is not effective, try other plants which are more bitter. |

Scientific name: *Chrysophyllum cainito*

Local name/s: *Kaymito*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| <i>Sakit it beteng</i> | Bark | Boil a small piece of bark in water. | Drink the decoction. Repeat the process until the patient gets well. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Lengat*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|--|-------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| <i>Sakit it beteng</i> <i>Suka tey tey</i> – vomiting and diarrheal <i>Sunggur</i> | Roots | Boil a sufficient amount of roots. | Drink the decoction. Repeat the process until the patient gets well. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Kelempiney*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|------------------------|-------------------|--|--|
| <i>Sakit it beteng</i> | Roots | Wash roots thoroughly with water to remove soil. Boil the roots for a few minutes. | Drink the decoction. Repeat the process until the patient gets well. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Bowang-bowang*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|---|-------------------|---|---|
| <i>Sakit it beteng</i> Bloody stools | Roots | Scrape the outer layer of the roots of both plants. Mix them and soak in water. | Drink the infusion. Repeat the process until the patient gets well. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Keyeyansong*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|---------------|-------------------|---|--|
| Bloody stools | Roots | Scrape a large amount of the outer layer of the roots. Add water and place over fire and wait until it comes to a boil. | Drink the decoction. Repeat the process until the patient gets well. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Seket-seket*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|----------------------------|-------------------|--|---|
| <i>Seryew</i> - stomatitis | Roots | Scrape the outer layer of the roots and place in ½ glass of water. | Drink the infusion once a day for 4 days. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Bebesalan*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|--|-------------------|---|--|
| <i>Salibegbeg/samban</i> – a person left his house well but went home ill | Young leaves | Pound a sufficient amount of leaves and place them in a glass. Pour water into the glass. | Let the patient drink the infusion while another person counts 1 to 8 and says “ <i>Labi, galad!</i> If it is <i>salibegbeg</i> , fetch the person’s soul where he left it.” |
| Headache | Young leaves | Pound a sufficient amount of young leaves. | Apply as poultice on the forehead and temples. Any kind of cloth may be used as bandage. Repeat the process until the patient gets well. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Sensanamog*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|------------|-------------------|---|--|
| Ulcer | Roots | Cut 8 1-inch pieces of roots and boil in 1 glass of water until the broth turns red. Divide into 4 parts. | Drink 1 part of the decoction in the morning, noon, afternoon and night. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Seringit*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|---|-------------------|--|--|
| <i>Bawas</i> – inability to have children | Fruit | Pick the smallest and lightest fruit there is. | Throw the fruit against the back of the person unable to have children so lightly that he should not notice it. If he notices and asks about it, answer <i>tawey</i> , meaning I don’t know. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Teglumampong*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|------------------|-------------------|--|--|
| Weight reduction | Leaves | Pound several leaves. | Apply as poultice on the abdominal area. |
| | Stem | Cut a piece of stem and soak in 1 glass of water for a short period of time. | Drink a small amount of the infusion once. |
| | Bark | Take a small piece of bark and dip in water for a short period of time. | Drink a small amount of the infusion once. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Pituro*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|----------------------------|-------------------|---|---|
| Itchiness of any body part | Leaves and seeds | Pound a sufficient amount of leaves and seeds. Extract juice. | Apply the juice on the affected body parts. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Egupit*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|---|-------------------|--|---|
| For the appearance of wheals on the entire body of an infant is caused by the accidental or intentional cutting of an <i>egupit</i> tree by the infant's parent | Sap | The infant's parent must cut the body of the plant and collect a sufficient amount of sap. | Apply the sap all over the infant's body. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Bawing*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|---|-------------------|--|---|
| To keep a child, especially infants, from getting sick when going from one place to another | Stem and leaves | Cover the stem and leaves with any piece of cloth. | The parent must carry this cloth wherever he takes the child. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Tegbak*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|--|-------------------|-------------|--|
| To keep the soul of the dead from coming near the sick | Stem and leaves | - | Place the stem and leaves on the path leading to the house, inside the house, or anywhere near the sick person until he gets well. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Banag*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|---|--|
| To prevent <i>banta</i> - relapse | Leaves | Boil several leaves in a small amount of water. | Apply the decoction all over the patient's body. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Saleng* (generic term for sap of trees)

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|-------------------------|-------------------|--|---------------------|
| To prevent <i>banta</i> | Sap | Light the sap with matches or a lighter. Place a wooden plate over it and wait until part of the plate is burned. Scrape the coal with a knife and place it in a glass. Add a small amount of water. | Drink the infusion. |

Scientific name: *Syzygium cuminii*

Local name/s: *Lumbuy* (Pala'wan), *duhat* (Tagalog)

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|------------------------|-------------------|--|---|
| <i>Sakit it beteng</i> | Bark | Get a small piece of bark. With a knife, remove its outer layer and boil the bark in a glass of water. | Drink the decoction until the pain subsides and the diarrhea stops. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Mererenggo*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|------------------------|-------------------|--|---|
| <i>Sakit it beteng</i> | Bark | Get a small piece of bark. With a knife, remove its outer layer and boil the bark in a glass of water. | Drink the decoction until the pain subsides and diarrhea stops. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Bego*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|------------------------|-------------------|--|---|
| <i>Sakit it beteng</i> | Bark | Get a small piece of bark. With a knife, remove its outer layer and boil bark in a glass of water. | Drink the decoction until the pain subsides and diarrhea stops. |

Scientific name: *Carica papaya*

Local name/s: *Kepayas* (Pala'wan), papaya (Tagalog)

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|------------------------|-------------------|--|---|
| <i>Sakit it beteng</i> | Roots | Get a handful of roots and wash away the soil with water. Boil the roots in a small amount of water. | Drink the decoction until the pain subsides and diarrhea stops. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Korebingan* – a very young coconut that does not have meat yet

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|---|
| <i>Sakit it beteng</i> | Coconut juice | Find a <i>korebingan</i> . | Drink the juice until the pain subsides and diarrhea stops. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Buri*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|---|--|--|---|
| <i>Ilo</i> – vomiting caused by eating of a certain food for the first time | <i>Bulus</i> – a very young leaf that is still rolled inside the plant | With a knife, chop the <i>bulus</i> into small pieces. Boil in a glass of water. | Drink the decoction until vomiting stops. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Payong*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|--|--------------------------|---|--|
| During childbirth, to help the woman expel the placenta or any <i>aring</i> – fingerlike projections of the placenta, which, when retained may reach the liver and cause death | Roots (with incantation) | Remove the soil from the roots with bare hands or by washing with water. Pound the roots and place in a glass and fill it with water. | Apply the infusion on the woman's abdominal area until the placenta and any <i>aring</i> are expelled. This is determined by the woman's complaint of pain and the <i>maninikeg's</i> (male birth attendant) palpation of the abdomen. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Teban + senek*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|--|--|---|---|
| <i>Dederengdangen</i> – an amount of blood normally expelled during childbirth is retained in the uterus | Leaves of <i>teban</i> One leaf of <i>senek</i> | Get a couple of <i>teban</i> leaves. Pound and place them inside a funnel-shaped <i>senek</i> leaf. Place them over fire and wait until the leaves are warm and withered. | The <i>maninikeg</i> grabs the muscles of the part of the abdomen from which the woman feels pain and vigorously applies the <i>teban</i> and <i>senek</i> leaves. The leaves may be reheated and reused. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Eluyew*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|-----------------------|-------------------|---|----------------------|
| <i>Dederengdangen</i> | Bark | Get a small piece of <i>eluyew</i> bark. Boil in a glass of water and wait until half the initial volume is left. | Drink the decoction. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Lekwas*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|---|--|
| <i>Alapap/buridas</i> – (an-an) | Rootcrop | Get one or more rootcrops (quantity depends on the extent of ailment.). Remove the soil with bare hands or by washing with water. Pound and add a small amount of kerosene. | Apply on the affected area/s. Repeat the process until the <i>alapap/buridas</i> disappears. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Berirang*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| <i>Alapap/buridas</i> | Young or mature leaves | Collect and pound several leaves. | Apply the pounded leaves on the affected area/s. Repeat the process until the <i>alapap/buridas</i> disappears. |

Scientific name: *Cassia alata* L

Local name/s: *Kembe* (Pala'wan), *akapulko* (Tagalog)

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| <i>Alapap/buridas</i> | Leaves | Collect and pound several leaves. | Apply the pounded leaves on the affected area/s. Repeat the process until the <i>alapap/buridas</i> disappears. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Egunoy*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|------------|-------------------|---|---|
| Wounds | Leaves | Collect and pound several leaves. Extract juice. | Pour the juice over the wound to stop bleeding. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Rita-rita*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|------------|-------------------|---|---|
| Wounds | Leaves | Collect and pound several leaves. Extract juice. | Pour the juice over the wound to stop bleeding. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Menseruney*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| Wounds | Leaves | Collect and pound several leaves. | Apply as poultice on the wound to stop bleeding. The hands, or any kind of cloth, may be used to keep poultice in place. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Tarong* (Pala'wan), *talong* (Tagalog)

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|------------|-------------------|--|---|
| Wounds | Young leaves | Collect and pound several young leaves. Extract juice. | Pour the juice over the wound to stop bleeding. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Penwen*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|------------------------|-------------------|--|--|
| For non-healing wounds | <i>Bulus</i> | With a <i>bolo</i> , cut the <i>penwen</i> plant near the base. Take the <i>bulus</i> which is still rolled in the middle of the plant. Ask it to let the wound form a scar. | Crush the <i>bulus</i> with bare hands and apply as poultice on the wound. Any kind of cloth may be used as bandage. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Penwen + dapugan-dapugan + tegbak*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|---|-----------------------|---|---|
| To ward off souls of the dead, which may cause death, from coming near the sick | Roots of the 3 plants | Remove the soil from the roots by washing with water. Place in a glass and fill with water. | Apply the infusion on the entire body of the sick person. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Biga*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|--|---|---|--|
| To kill a worm's hair that entered a person's hand or foot when he accidentally touched or stepped on it | <i>Labon</i> – part just below the leaf | Remove the leaf and take the <i>labon</i> . Heat over fire. | Press the hand or foot with the worm's hair against the heated <i>labon</i> . The area is characterized by pain, in some cases, swelling, and in later stages, necrosis. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Lupa + senek*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|--|--|---|--|
| To kill a worm's hair that entered a person's hand or foot when he accidentally touched or stepped on it | Roots of <i>lupa</i> One leaf of <i>senek</i> | Get a sufficient amount of <i>lupa</i> roots. Remove the soil by washing with water. Place the washed roots inside a funnel-shaped <i>senek</i> leaf. | Pour water into the <i>senek</i> leaf and let it drip onto the affected body part. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Bengkel*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|--|-------------------|---|---|
| <i>Kedel</i> – patches of hairless, hardened skin seen especially in animals | Bark | Get a sufficient amount of bark and pound thoroughly. Try to extract juice from it. | Apply the juice over area/s with <i>kedel</i> . |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Segeng*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|-------------------------|-------------------|---|--|
| <i>Daser-daser/iked</i> | Roots | Remove soil from the roots by washing with water. | Chew the roots and swallow the juice. Repeat the process until cough disappears. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Delapas*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|-------------------------|---|---|---|
| <i>Daser-daser/iked</i> | Young leaves for grown-ups | Collect several young leaves. | Eat the young leaves. Repeat the process until cough disappears. |
| | Roots for infants and children who could not yet be left alone in the house | Remove soil from the roots by washing with water. Soak the roots in a glass of water for 2 hours or so. | Let the infant/child drink the infusion. Repeat until cough disappears. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Belinad*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|--|-------------------|-----------------------|--|
| <i>Kiray-kiray</i> – pain at or around the eyebrows when the sun rises and intensifies as the sun continues to go up | Fruit | Get a piece of fruit. | Hold the fruit, which is shaped like an open clam, touch it to the eyebrows, and perform biting motions with it. Count 1 to 9 (one for each biting motion) and say <i>Labi, galad!</i> |
| To have a female child | Fruit | Get a piece of fruit. | The woman must ask the fruit for a baby girl. |

Scientific name:

Local name/s: *Dinakep*

| Indication | Plant part/s used | Preparation | Direction for use |
|---------------------|-------------------|--|---|
| <i>Sakit it ulo</i> | Leaves | Collect several leaves and place them in a glass. Fill the glass with water. | Apply the infusion on the entire body of the sick person. |

Table 3. Other natural products with medicinal use

| Natural product | Indication | Preparation/ direction for use |
|---|--|--|
| <i>Oresong</i> – soot that has accumulated at the bottom of the cooking pot | <i>Segew-segew</i> – a condition common in infants and very young children. In infants, it is mainly characterized by crying, especially in the afternoon and at night. Aside from crying, very young children complain of seeing scary beings which are invisible to others. | Scrape a small amount of <i>oresong</i> from the bottom of a cooking pot and apply it on the eyebrows of a child suffering from <i>segew-segew</i> . Keep doing this until the infant's crying is abated and the young child no longer complains of seeing invisible beings. |
| Chicken feather | <i>Bolbod</i> (otitis media) – A condition where water entered a person's ear/s and was retained there for a long time. It usually occurs when a child is taking a bath. If the water is not removed quickly, an unpleasant-smelling greenish/yellowish fluid will come out from the ear/s and the child will have hearing problems. | Pluck a feather from any kind of chicken. Poke the ear several times with the hairy end of the feather to induce the release of water trapped inside the ear. Do this twice a day (morning and afternoon) until no more fluid flows from the child's ear and does not show signs of poor hearing. |
| Meat and bones of a wild pig | <i>Lebew/tipdas</i> – According to the Pala'wans, a non-communicable disease believed to have come from the Muslims characterized by the appearance of water- and pus-secreting vesicles and pain all over the body. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Soak several pieces of bones in a glass of water. Have the patient drink the infusion. 2) Have the patient eat a small amount of meat. 3) Place these materials near the person suffering from <i>lebew</i>. <p>As this ailment is believed to have come from the Muslims, doing the abovementioned measures will shun away <i>lebew</i>.</p> |
| The piece of wood where pots are hanged during cooking | <i>Benit-benit</i> – a condition characterized by a painful <i>tatbungan</i> (throat) and difficulty in swallowing | Remove the piece of wood from the cooking area. Soak it in a glass of water and have the patient drink a small amount of the infusion then touch the wood to the patient's neck |

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| | | (as if drawing a line) 8 times. |
| <i>Paspasan</i> – flattened bamboo roofing | <i>Salibegbeg/samban</i> – A person left his house feeling well but came home ill. | Take a piece of <i>paspasan</i> several inches long. Break it into smaller pieces and soak in a glass of water. Have the patient drink a small amount of the infusion. |

Table 4. Ailments and treatments

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| Name of ailment | <i>Tingken</i> |
| Cause | A person's soul was taken by <i>lianen/taw't kakayuhan</i> (evil invisible beings) |
| Description | <i>Lianens</i> usually take the souls of those who have offended them or their dwelling by making too much noise, playing, urinating or defecating near their homes, which are usually large rocks and trees. If left untreated, this condition will lead to death. |
| Signs and symptoms | Rolling up of eyeballs Stiffness of the entire body/arching of the back Stiffness of the hands and arms, directed towards the back Weakness Weight loss Presence of many other illnesses, eg, cough and headache |
| Treatment | Informants say that only "first class" <i>balyans</i> are able to cure this ailment. Unfortunately, they say, the first class <i>balyans</i> they know have already passed away. |

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| Name of ailments | <i>Urutuan, rastong</i> |
| Cause | <i>Sanged</i> |
| Description | <i>Sanged</i> are invisible things in the environment which cause illness. The people do not know where they live or how they cause illness. But they have the capability to inflict illness on any body part that they choose. In this particular illness, the <i>sanged</i> has sent an <i>aridip</i> (very small worm). If left untreated, the <i>aridip</i> will go to all areas of the gums and cause all teeth to decay. |
| Signs and symptoms | <i>Urutuan</i> - bleeding gums <i>Rastong</i> - necrotic gums Both are characterized by tooth decay and severe pain in the mouth. |
| Treatment | The treatment includes gargling of an infusion, the components of which, the informant refused to disclose as he was using it on a patient at the time of interview. It is believed that disclosure of the name of the plant that was currently being used ----- its therapeutic effect. |
| Contraindications | The patient must refrain from eating worm-infested fish, <i>kulat</i> (mushroom) and fruits which have <i>tindek</i> (black spot) because it indicates the presence of a worm. |

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| Name of ailment | <i>Sut</i> |
| Cause | Not known |
| Description | Blood formations in a person's stomach in the shape of different animals such as: snake (<i>sut-enipa</i>), millipede (<i>sut-lumbaged</i>), worm (<i>sut-luylyuy</i>), small crab (<i>sut-kerepey</i>), grasshopper (<i>sut-peyatong</i>), and others. If the <i>sut</i> is not expelled, the condition will result to loss of strength as |

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| | evidenced by inability to stand up, and in severe cases, death. |
| Signs and symptoms | Severe abdominal pain which may or may not be accompanied by vomiting and diarrhea Sensation that something in the abdomen is crawling or walking (<i>megbaker</i>) Pain “on the liver area” (directly above the umbilicus) which is accompanied by vomiting |
| Treatment | Refer to Table 2. |
| Special notes | The patient receiving treatment must refrain from eating sardines and other oily foods, as they are believed to revitalize dead, but unexpelled <i>sut</i> . |

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| Name of ailment | <i>Iked/daser-daser/ubong natural</i> |
| Cause | <i>Lianen</i> |
| Description | When trees and other plants begin to bear flowers, and when the time for harvesting rice has begun, insects and other animals are attracted to them. These insects and animals may bear the souls of <i>lianen</i> . When they come near people, they will cause them to cough. It is differentiated from cough due to poisoning by using a special diagnostic instrument (<i>buldong</i>). |
| Signs and symptoms | “Ordinary” cough that just comes and goes; not severe |
| Treatment | Refer to Table 2. |
| Special notes | The patient who is undergoing treatment must refrain from eating salt, and sour foods. |

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| Name of ailment | <i>Raston</i> (Pala’wan) <i>Lason</i> (Tagalog) |
| Cause | Ingestion, inhalation or reception of a poison |
| Description | Poisons may be incorporated in food, smoke, a pat, or something that was used to draw a line in front of a person. There are two types: <i>raston-maniblek</i> and <i>raston-manahon</i> . |
| Signs and symptoms | <i>Raston-maniblek</i> - necrosis of the lips, tongue and chin that is followed by death two hours or so after being poisoned <i>Raston-manahon</i> - productive cough that becomes more severe with time, accompanied by voice changes (as the poison burns the pharynx), easy fatigability, and weight loss. If left untreated, will lead to death four to eight years after the person was poisoned. |
| Treatment | Refer to Table 2. |
| Special notes | The patient must refrain from eating pork, pineapple, and a banana variant called <i>pisang</i> . By using the <i>buldong</i> one will be able to differentiate between cough that was caused by poisoning or the <i>daser-daser</i> type. The <i>buldong</i> is a type of bamboo that has no hole in the middle and no joint-like partitions. Its length depends on how long the sidestretched arms of its owner are. When a person |

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| | consults someone who owns a <i>buldong</i> , the owner silently asks the <i>buldong</i> to help him diagnose the illness. For example, to differentiate between ordinary cough and cough that was caused by poisoning, the owner asks his <i>buldong</i> , “Is this cough caused by poisoning?” The owner stretches his arms and if the <i>buldong</i> ’s answer is “no,” the length of the <i>buldong</i> does not change. If the <i>buldong</i> ’s answer is “yes,” it lengthens by a couple of inches or so. |
|--|---|

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|--------------------|--|
| Name of ailment | <i>Sakit it ulo/agnaw</i> |
| Cause | Staying under the heat of the sun for a long time Mosquito bite |
| Description | - |
| Signs and symptoms | Severe headache Chills Increased body temperature |
| Treatment | Refer to Table 2. |

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| Name of ailment | <i>Lebew/tipdas</i> (Pala’wan) <i>Bulutong</i> (Tagalog) |
| Cause | Believed to have come from the Muslims |
| Description | A non-communicable illness common to childhood that takes about two weeks to disappear |
| Signs and symptoms | Appearance of water- and pus-secreting vesicles Pain all over the body Non-itchy |
| Treatment | Refer to Table 3. Have the patient drink much water, as heat may build up inside his body and cause death. Do not allow him to take a bath, though, because this will aggravate his condition. Have the patient stay inside the house because if he is exposed to too much air, the <i>tipdas/lebew</i> may “enter his body” and cause death. |

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| Name of ailment | <i>Katel-katel</i> |
| Cause | Not known |
| Description | Presence of small, itchy papules on the entire body; non-communicable |
| Signs and symptoms | Presence of small, itchy papules on the entire body |
| Treatment | Refer to Table 2. |

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| Name of ailment | <i>Marep</i> |
| Cause | Old age Difficult work (such as maintaining swidden farms) In the realm of invisible things, one of a person’s souls (<i>kurudwa</i> ; a person is believed to have many souls), the <i>kurudwa-begit</i> (bird soul) was blowgunned by another invisible being. |

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| Description | - |
| Signs and symptoms | Body pains; as if something is embedded in one's flesh |
| Treatment | Refer to Table 2. Consult a <i>manenegpa</i> . The <i>manenegpa</i> is someone who specializes in treating <i>marep</i> . He calls on the <i>diwatas</i> of the walls and floors, Mengkebegbeg and Mengkebiringbiring, utters an incantation, blows on the painful body part, grabs the muscles around it, and pulls out whatever object is embedded on it. |

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| Name of ailment | <i>Ikat</i> |
| Cause | <i>Sanged</i> |
| Description | - |
| Signs and symptoms | Swelling of any part of the body |
| Treatment | Refer to Table 2. |
| Special notes | The patient who is being treated must refrain from eating calamansi, sweet potato, cassava, guava and coconut. |

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| Name of ailment | <i>Pagsandungan</i> |
| Cause | The person was noticed or liked by the plant <i>lengan</i> . |
| Description | Headache that occurs every other day |
| Signs and symptoms | Headache that occurs every other day |
| Treatment | The patient, or in cases where the patient's pain is severe enough to keep him from doing anything, another person must find a <i>lengan</i> plant. He must take one <i>lengan</i> leaf or part of its stem, while asking the plant (a process called <i>nangnangan</i>) not to cause the patient's head to ache anymore as he is already convinced that the <i>lengan</i> is more powerful than him. |

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| Name of ailment | <i>Kanbasa</i> (Pala'wan) <i>Alipunga</i> (Tagalog) |
| Cause | A person's feet was soaked in mud and rainwater entered them. |
| Description | - |
| Signs and symptoms | Swollen toes Presence of wounds between the toes that are itchy and secrete water and pus In severe, untreated cases, the nails are detached from the toes. |
| Treatment | Refer to Table 2. |

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| Name of ailment | <i>Sakit it beteng</i> |
| Cause | Drinking of unclean water |
| Description | - |
| Signs and symptoms | Abdominal pain often accompanied by vomiting and diarrhea |
| Treatment | Refer to Table 2. |

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| Name of ailment | <i>Sungkar</i> |
| Cause | <i>Sanged</i> |
| Description | - |
| Signs and symptoms | Appearance of mosquito bite-like papules, oftentimes under the lower lip and on the chin but may also affect the head. These are itchy and painful, and secrete pus. |
| Treatment | Refer to Table 2. |
| Special notes | The person who is suffering from <i>sungkar</i> must refrain from eating the following: eggplant, tomato, oily foods such as pork, chicken and eggs, and the fish <i>balanak</i> . All except <i>balanak</i> may be eaten a month or so after the wounds are completely healed. <i>Balanak</i> may not be eaten for an unspecified length of time because it may cause a recurrence of <i>sungkar</i> . |

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| Name of ailment | <i>Seryew</i> and <i>ugam</i> |
| Cause | Unknown |
| Description | - |
| Signs and symptoms | <i>Seryew</i> - stomatitis <i>Ugam</i> - appearance of painless, white, milk-like substances in the mouth |
| Treatment | Refer to Table 2. |

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| Name of ailment | <i>Salibegbeg/samban</i> |
| Cause | A person, greeted by an invisible being, was not able to respond. |
| Description | A person left his house feeling well but came home ill. |
| Signs and symptoms | - |
| Treatment | Refer to Table 2. |

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| Name of ailment | <i>Benit-benit</i> |
| Cause | Not known |
| Description | Believed to be a prelude to cough and colds |
| Signs and symptoms | Painful <i>tatbungan</i> (throat) Difficulty in swallowing |
| Treatment | Refer to Table 3. |

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| Name of ailment | <i>Seblew</i> |
| Cause | Mentioning of the name of a dead person Walking on burial grounds Coming near of a dead person's soul |
| Description/cause | The person contracts the illness that caused the death of the person causing <i>seblew</i> |
| Signs and symptoms | - |
| Treatment | Find someone who knows the incantation for <i>seblew</i> . The incantation will be uttered eight times into a small amount of <i>apog</i> (powdered shells used for <i>nganga</i>). A cross is then drawn using the <i>apog</i> on the affected part, eg, the abdomen. |

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|--------------------|--|
| Name of ailment | <i>Pantak</i> (Pala'wan) <i>Kulam</i> (Tagalog) |
| Cause | Witchcraft |
| Description | Application of witchcraft by an unknown person, often an Adversary |
| Signs and symptoms | Pain on different body parts |
| Treatment | <p>Consult a <i>maseod</i> (wise) person to make sure whether the illness is caused by witchcraft or not. He will open an egg into a plate. If the illness is due to witchcraft, the <i>maseod</i> will see who is causing it.</p> <p>Consult a person who knows the incantation against witchcraft. He will utter the incantation in a glass that contains mongo beans and an egg. After he utters the incantation, the mixture is placed in the following body parts in this order: both temples, forehead, neck, chest, both sides of the chest, both elbows, both knees and both legs.</p> <p>Another manner of treatment is by soaking a piece of red cloth in a glass. Pour a small amount of water into it. Let the one who knows the incantation against witchcraft utter it. Have the patient drink the infusion once at noon and once in the afternoon for one week.</p> |

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|--------------------|--|
| Name of ailment | <i>Salagad</i> |
| Cause | <i>Sanged</i> |
| Description | - |
| Signs and symptoms | <p>Pain on the <i>barabawan</i> (hypogastric area)</p> <p>Oliguria</p> <p>Hematuria</p> <p>In severe cases, the person passes small stones with his urine.</p> |
| Treatment | A rare tree that has no name is used to treat this condition. A piece of its bark is taken and boiled in a glass of water. After the patient has drunk the decoction once or twice, he will be able to urinate without frequency or urgency. |

FIGURES

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