Phase II Documentation of Philippine Traditional Knowledge and Practices on Health and Development of Traditional Knowledge Digital Library on Health for Selected Ethnolinguistic Groups: The MAENG-TINGGUIAN of Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra, Cordillera Administrative Region.

REPORT PREPARED BY:

Erlinda C. Palaganas, University of the Philippines Baguio, Baguio City Alma B. Sinumlag, University of the Philippines Baguio, Baguio City Rosalinda R. Suyam, University of the Philippines Baguio, Baguio City Rainier M. Galang, University of the Philippines Manila, Ermita, Manila Isidro C. Sia, University of the Philippines Manila, Ermita, Manila

The Knowledge and Practices on Health of the Maeng tribe in Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra: Ethnographic Findings

COMMUNITY PROFILE

I. Geography

Barangay Amtuagan is one of the 10 political divisions of Tubo, Abra. The village is located at the east of the Abra River and is bordered by two mountains overlooking the Damanil River. Amtuagan is bounded at the north by the municipality of Boliney, at the northwest by Barangay Sabnangan of the municipality of Luba, at the south and southeast by Tiempo and Kili, both barangays of Tubo, Abra. Amtuagan is divided into two main parts: the *centro* referred to as Amtuagan and Sitio Likowan. Amtuagan or the main barangay is divided into 5 sub-sitios – Kipan, Lam-ag, Linasin, Sausa, and Tampugo.

Weather/Seasons

Amtuagan has a distinct dry season and wet season. The dry season starts in December and last until April. The first rain of May marks the beginning of the wet season which lasts till November.

The people of Amtuagan have a range of local terminologies for climate and weather -related concepts. They use the term *kamaga* to refer to the dry season. They also have in their vocabulary *tikag* or *kumamaga* to allude to drought. *De-am* or *kabasa* is the term for wet season while *arbis* means drizzle, *udan* is rain, *layos* is flood, *kimat* is lightning and *kidew* or *kicho* means thunder.

Access

Amtuagan is located approximately 15 kilometers away from the municipal towns of Tubo and may be reached through different routes. One may get to the baranggay by enduring a 5 hour jitney ride from Bangued to the town center of Tubo, followed by a 3-hour hike from Mayabo to Amtuagan. Another option is the 3 hour vehicle travel from Bangued to Luba plus a two hour hike setting off from Sabnangan, Luba to Sitio Likowan. Although, there are rough roads connecting Amtuagan with other Tubo and Luba villages, most of these paths are only accessible during the dry season.

When travelling from Bangued to Amtuagan, one has to cross the Abra River twice or trice depending on one's drop off point. During the dry season, barges are available at Barangay Manabo, Bangkagan and Sabnangan to transport vehicles from one side of the river to the

other. In the rainy season however, when the water rises and the current is stronger and faster, the barges are only used to transport passengers and their belongings across the mighty river.

Two trips are available from Bangued to Amtuagan. The first is the 9:00 AM jitney bound to Mayabo. The second is the jitney bound to Luba which leaves at 2:00PM. These trips are usually full-packed especially during weekends and holidays. Passengers, their luggage, and marketed products fill not only the inside of the jitneys, but also its top load section. Transportation normally costs Php 120.00 but rises to Php180.00 during the rainy season. Passengers are also charged additional P20.00 for barge service in the wet-rainy periods.

The reverse trip from Amtuagan to Bangued is usually started with a hike from the baranggay to Luba. Public transportation is then taken either through the 8:00AM or 11:00AM Luba jitney schedule or the 11:00AM Tiempo (another barangay of Tubo) trip. The 8:00AM trip is preferred by the people as it as true that the latter would be carrying more passengers.

II. Demography

Population

Barangay Amtauagan has a total population of 342 individuals distributed among 73 households. Of the total HH count, 25 are located in sitio Likowan and the remaining 48 are distributed among the sitios of barangay proper. Household size range from 1- 10, with majority having 4-6 members. $\frac{1}{2}$

Ethnolingistic Groups

Residents of barangay Amtuagan belong to the Maeng tribe, a subgroup of Itneg found in the municipality of Tubo. Only a few, the *pakamang*², who come from the Mountain Province, Benguet, Kalinga, Ilocos Sur, and other municipalities of Abra, belong to other ethnolinguistic groups.

The Maeng Tribe has a distinct dialect which is also called Maeng. Maeng is close to the vernacular of the Kankanaeys of Western Mountain Province, the Bontocs of Sadanga in the eastern part of Mountain Province, and the Kalingas in the southern part of Kalinga Province.

Education

Amtuagan's learning facility is limited to pre-school and elementary levels. High school education is thus pursued either at Bangued, Tiempo, or Luba.

Majority of the residents of Amtuagan are learned; only a few however were able to enter and finish college due mostly to economic constraints.³

Religion

Almost three-forth of Amtuagan residents are Roman Catholic (71%), while the rest (29%) are Crusaders (CDCC), Pentecosts, Seventh Day Adventists, UCCP or Episcopal.⁴ The dominance of roman catholic religion in the village dates back in the Spanish period when it was first

introduced in the area. At present RC churches are present both in Amtuagan proper and in Sitio Likowan.

III. Environment

Natural resources

Amtuagan is rich in natural resources, and the residents are very vigilant in protecting their territory. The area where Amtuagan lies is believed to be rich in gold ore, thus a prospect for mining. Several companies have been applying to explore the area, but the companies' attempts to convince the residents have failed several times due to people's strong resistance to mining. The people believe that there is only death in mining. They fear that their land, water and even air would be poisoned once mining enters the village.

Water

The Damanil River, which traverses Amtuagan and drains in the Abra river, is rich in biodiversity. Eel, shrimp, palileng and ogadiw (kinds of freshwater fish) are among what the community peoples harvest from the Damanil. Using ramp-like structures made of runo and bamboo, the residents wait for the rain to pour as it causes the water level to rise and the current to be faster and stronger. The eel, shrimp and fish would then be washed downstream and be caught in the structures. When the rain begins to fade, the men rush to the river and harvest the catch. Harvest is divided into the number of families that co-own the structures. The Damanil river also serves as a source of irrigation for rice fields. Sand, for the construction of houses or pathways, is also mined by the residents from the river.

Amtuagan also has three springs directed into community reservoirs and water system for supplying the household water and drinking needs.

Forest

A communal forest lies within the vicinity of the barangay. Community members are allowed to hunt wild boar, deer, and other animals in the area. It is from this forest that people gather wood for cooking and timber for building their houses. The community has instituted a forest

resource management system based on their local culture. *Lapat* in the local language, the system defines the kinds and extent of activities allowed within the communal forest as well as procedures for managing cases of system violations.

IV. Economy

Livelihood

The people of Amtuagan are predominantly land cultivators. In the months of May to October, people plant rice, and starting November, people grow corn and other upland vegetables. Rice is the primary crop planted in fields and *umas*. The rice paddies in the community are located in the lower part of the mountain ranges, near the river where water for irrigation is abundant. *Umas*, on the other hand are located in the upper hill portions. Rice planted in the *umas* needs less water and are usually just rain fed. Like in most communities in the Cordillera, the presence of *uma* is an indication that the harvest in the rice fields is not enough.

Agricultural production in the community is usually only at the home consumption level, and majority of the households do not harvest sufficiently enough for their own needs. The demand for cash to sustain basic essentials is thus high in the village. The need to secure finances therefore pushes Amtuagan people to look for other sources of living within and outside the locality. Some local travel to Baguio City or anywhere in the National Capital Region to look for jobs. Women usually end up as sales ladies or domestic helpers while men usually construction workers, carpenters, or masons. Some go to areas where Small Scale Mining is practiced and work as miners. Som also go to the provinces of Benguet and Mt. Province to work in vegetable gardens. Others work in their own yard by creating pieces of narra furniture marketed within Tubo. A few works overseas as domestic helpers.

The people of Amtuagan also engage in *anop* or hunting. Men, usually in groups, hunt for *bakes* (monkey), *alingo* (wild pig), *ugsa* (deer), or wild chicken. Whatever hunted is divided equally and brought home for family meals or sold for cash. Men and women also go to the river to *kalap* or gather fish, eel, or shellfish. Almost every household in Amtuagan raise livestock – chicken, pig and cattle – which they use in rituals or special occasions or which they sell for additional income. Some have fish ponds where they raise Tilapia and shellfish usually marketed at Php 120-140.00 per kilogram.

The resources in the Abra River also allow the people of Amtuagan to survive through fishing activities. This is especially true in the rainy season as freshwater fish and shell products are abundant. The river bounty in the rainy periods allow household not only to sell in neighboring communities but also to smoke fish and stock some food for the lean months.

COMMUNITY ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA

I. Historical Accounts on Amtuagan

The original Amtuagan was located near the present-day Barangay Kili. Tribal wars between Maeng of Amtuagan and Kili and the nearby barangays of Mountain Province caused the migration from the original Amtuagan to the place called "Dagasan", a resting place of travelers from Boliney and other places bound for Tiempo in Tubo. Unfortunately, the people of Dagasan were plagued by leprosy during the early years of their settling, forcing them to move again, this time to a lower area named Linasin. During World War II, Japanese soldiers arrived and brutally ruled in Linasin. They burned the place, resulting in the division of the community. A group went to the northeast part and named their settlement "Likowan", while the rest stayed and occupied the foot of the hill, naming it "Amtuagan" their original settlement. The people of Amtuagan, though a tribal community practicing tribal war, traded their goods to people from the neighboring municipalities or provinces.

Amtuagan has a history of vigilance in protecting their environment. Attempts to operate mining in the area during the time of American and Japanese colonization were successfully rejected by the people. The people of Amtuagan played a part in the struggle against the Cellophil Logging Concession in the 1970's. They also participated in several municipal-wide, provincial-wide and inter-provincial (Abra, Mountain Province and Kalinga) meetings and mass action to show protest against this project. Their struggle was answered by militarization and the rise in cases of human rights violation.

The introduction of the church is also an important part of the history of Amtuagan. Together with the coming of the romancatholic faith, education was also introduced.

II. Folklores

There was once a great flood which inundated even the communities in the mountain. A man named May-eng was able to climb to the summit of Mount Poswoy and survived. When the rain stopped, he looked around and thought he was the only survivor. On the second night after the great rains, he saw the light of fire from another mountain. As he was thinking how to reach the other mountain, a cat passed in front of him. He grabbed the cat's tail but the cat didn't mind and continued to walk across the mountains. When May-eng reached the source of light of fire, he let go of the cat's tail. There he saw Mayang, his sister. May-eng and Mayang were both disappointed to know that no one else survived. They both thought of how they could bear while sitting near the camp fire. Both were also worried of procreating because they are siblings.

A few hours later, a flying bird approached them. The bird was carrying a tobacco leaf. It went near the siblings and dropped the tobacco. May-eng picked it up and rolled it into a cigar.

He smoked it. When the cigar was half its original size, Mayang took the cigar from him and smoked it. After smoking, they looked at each other and became attracted to each other.

When the flood completely subsided, May-eng and Mayang went to the foot of the mountain to live. They had children and grandchildren. Their grandchildren migrated to Lubo (in Kalinga) and in Besao, Mt. Province. Their grandchildren meet at the house of May-eng and Mayang and decided to call the place Maeng. Some of them stayed behind and established settlements in Maeng.

Generations passed, an elder named Gayanggang became the leader of Maeng. It was during his time when *tikag* came. Their source of water was becoming depleted. Gayanggang, with other men, followed the river downstream to look for water. They reached a place, the present day Santa in Ilocos Sur. When *tikag* was over, they returned to Maeng, though some stayed behind.

One day, several of the pigs expected to be giving birth ran away. Gayanggang gathered the community for a meeting and asked them to form teams and search for the missing pigs. The community searched for the pigs and found them in different areas under different plants. The pigs gave birth and found shelter under the plants of Baucoc, one was found under Kuli, others under Tubo, Taleb, and Dataan. Gayanggang called for a meeting. He told the villagers to build settlements in the areas where the pigs were found. People named the places after the plants.

Years passed and the population in these settlements grew. They survived by planting sweet potato and ube in their *umas*, fishing in the river, hunting wild pig and deer. Men who were *naingel* (brave, skilled in hunting and battle) and *nasisirib* (wise) were born. Time came when tribes began to engage in war against other tribes who were encroaching in their territory. The *Maengs* had tribal wars against the tribes of Dallik, Mainit and Sadanga of Mountain Province; Binongan of Abra and Kalinga; and other tribes of Kalinga. Their weapons were pinawit, sayang, toktok, gaman (buneng) ken kalasag (shield). Many of the *Maengs* died in the battle. This went on for years until 2 elders told the community that it was time they enter *Peden* (peace pact) with their enemy tribes. The *Peden* was strengthened through intermarriage between these communities. The population of the Maeng grew. Some of them went to the places of Balikwey, Namucocan, Tubo, Tangalig and Pisa to settle.

After many years, the *peden* was broken. Tribal war of the Maeng against the same enemy tribes re-started. Before the other tribes successfully surrounded the Maeng territory, some of *Maengs* fled to Damolin, Utip, Mung-o, Luba, Manabo, Lagangilang, Viciosa, San Emilio, Quirino, Galimuyod and Banayuyo. To counter the possibility of defeat or massive violence against the *Maengs*, the Maeng tribe leaders performed a ritual called *Lakang* (a ritual which they consider a secret of the Maeng tribe). The goals of the ritual were successfully achieved. After a few more years, the Maeng and its rival tribes re-established peace through strengthening the *Peden*.

III. Unforgettable Events

The people recall the bravery of Maeng during the time of Japanese colonization. They also recall the return of the Americans and their interest in mining out the village. The people fought against the Americans until they won. After these, the church came to introduce Christianity. The people recall this as one important event in their lives for this is also the time when education was introduced.

The time of Martial rule during the time of Marcos is an important part of the history of Amtuagan. This was the time when large projects, which the people consider as destructive and anti-people, were imposed on the territories of indigenous peoples. The Cellophil Logging Concession started logging in the mountains of Abra. The Itnegs, including the Maeng tribe resisted. The people united with other Itnegs in their struggle against the logging concession and later with other tribes of Mountain Province and Kalinga who is struggling against the Chico Mega Dam Project. Leaders of the Maeng tribe entered agreements with other tribes to unite against the destructive projects.

IV. The Typical Maeng

The *Maengs* are said to be respectful and hospitable to their guests/visitors. They are indigenous peoples with a strong vow to their territory. The *Maengs* are brave and will do their best to protect their environment against destructive projects such as large scale corporate mining. They have a rich culture which they intend to preserve and improve.

Maengs describe themselves as dark/brown skinned. Though some would say they have fair complexion. Height varies among the *Maengs*; some are tall, some are short. Their eye and hair color are either black or brown. Their noses also vary. Some have long nose, some have *lubpak* (flat) and some have the median type, neither long nor *lubpak*.

V. Agricultural cycle, beliefs and rituals

A two-cropping system is practiced in Amtuagan for rice planted in the rice fields. Planting for the first cropping would start on February to March and would be harvested on May to June. The second cropping would start on July or August and harvested on October or November.

The rice being planted in Amtuagan nowadays is of commercial types-normally harvested 3 months after planting.

The indigenous varieties on the other take 6 months or more before harvesting. Thus, with the indigenous varieties, there would only be one cropping per year. With the commercial varieties, the working and waiting period prior to the reaping of farm produce is shorter and is thus proffered by farmers.

The commercial variety, though, are dependent on commercial fertilizers and insecticides.

Each family is responsible for the preparation of its rice field. Men usually do the *panag-arado* or the tilling of land. Men and women equally uproot the weeds. After clearing and tilling the rice field, snails in the field are picked. These snails are considered pests as they feed on the young leaves of planted rice. While the snails are edible, they are also collected for consumption.

In Amtuagan, the culture of *abbuyog* is practiced during the rice planting season. In this tradition, a group, usually from a cluster of houses, would help each other in planting. The group would talk and agree on the planting schedule of each household. Each household is obliged to send a representative and return the help given by other household in the rice field. The household scheduled to plant becomes the host household and must prepare lunch for those who come to help. The lunch is usually boiled black beans and rice. At present, instead of engaging in *abbuyog some* owners pay Php 120.00 per day for hired farm labor.

Planting season in the *uma* would start in May or June when the rain starts. The villagers clean the weeds from their *uma* in April and May in preparation for the rain to come. When the rain starts, the villagers would till the land and plant rice, corn, or beans. If the machete of the owner of the uma is broken while working, he should stop and continue his work the next day. They believe that this is a sign that misfortune would come to the person if he continues to work. If an *idaw*, a bird, crosses the path of a person going to the uma, he should not continue for this is a warning that misfortune would come to him if he continues.

In planting rice, the people engage in manual and laborious farming. They use the *arado* with the aid of a carabao to till the land. Those who do not own a carabao rent it at Php 120 per day; this is equal to the amount being paid to a person per day worked in the rice field. They also use the *suyod* and the *pailit*. The farm tools which were granted by the NGO Montañosa Research and Development Council (MRDC) to the people's organizations helped the community a lot to ease the burden of rice farming. Tools include shovels, crowbars, cart, *arado* and *suyod*. These tools may be borrowed by members of the community with a minimal maintenance fee of Php 5.00. This is far better than renting the same tools from individuals at a higher rate.

In the past, when the people of Amtuagan were still cultivating the indigenous rice varieties, it was a tradition to perform the *ubaya* after all the villagers finished planting. The ritual includes prayers for insects and pests to stay away and for harvest to be abundant. Ubaya performance is a community activity; the villagers gather in the *dap-ay* each household bringing rice as contribution. Chicken is butchered and everyone eats. No one is allowed to work for the next 4 days after *ubaya*. After everyone has harvested the rice, *begnas* is performed. This is a festivity with pig butchering done in the *dap-ay*. The villagers once again gather in the *dap-ay*, contribute rice, and celebrate for their abundant harvest.

VI. Material Culture

Settlement patterns- The houses in Amtuagan proper are clustered. Their settlement pattern could be attributed to their culture of tribal war as tribes who engage in tribal war usually have clustered houses surrounded by rice fields and *umas*. In cultures practicing tribal war, there is a designated area for houses to be built and the usual pattern is for families to build their houses near each other.

Sitio Likowan is relatively a new settlement area. The people recall that approximately fifty years ago, the place was just a spot where 5 *pakalso*² was situated. As years passed, those who owned the *pakalso* settled in the area. Their children built their houses in the same area when they married. More and more houses were built until it formally became Sitio Likowan.

Housing materials- Houses in Amtuagan are built using commercial and locally found materials. Traditionally, houses were made of timber and bamboo and roofed with pan-aw (cogon grass) harvested by the villagers from the nearby forest. Nowadays, newly built houses in are concrete or made up of timber and galvanized iron sheets. Sand and gravel used in cementing is physically quarried from the banks of the Damanil River. Other construction materials are purchased from Bangued particularly during the months of March and April when rain is rare and the roads to Amtuagan are passable. In the wet season, when roads are inaccessible, materials are manually carried from Luba to Amtuagan. Hollow blocks are also locally made using gravel quarried from the river and cement purchased from Bangued.

Houses in Amtuagan do not follow any specific architecture. In the past however, before the use of cement was introduced, houses were single-room structures. Houses were built with a large and elevated floor area manually pounded and hardened with large wood blocks. The walls were made up of wood or bamboo and house foundations were long solid wood called *lipit*. Usually, 4 or more lipits were used in a house. Some houses also had elevated sleeping quarters with floor made of wood. A ladder which is also made of wood is used to get to the sleeping quarter. Though elevated traditional sleeping quarters had no walls to separate them from the rest of the house. Nowadays, houses are divided into rooms. The kitchen, dining and living or receiving areas are usually in the same room and a minimum of 2 sleeping quarters — one for the parents and the other for the children are available. A separate structure, a smaller one, is built to serve as *agamang* or granary.

The size, design, and materials of a house depend on its owner. Those who can afford to buy cement and iron usually prefer a concrete abode. Other house owners however choose a cheaper alternative by using galvanized iron sheets for both roofing and outer walling purposes. Some use timber or plywood as inner house wall. The change in house material preference from wood to concrete is attributed by the people to the introduction of cement in the late 1990's.

Kumon (bayanihan) is a cultural practice where the community people volunteer to help build new houses. Men voluntarily help in carrying timber from the mountains to the construction area. This is referred to as *Alluyon*. In Amtuagan, although *Kumon* and *Alluyon* are voluntary, the owner of the house must prepare lunch for the workers. Nowadays house owners employ paid construction workers especially if the house would be made of cement.

Traditional attires and ornaments- Indigenous attire for Maeng is tapis and wanes. The tapis is a wraparound skirt which is held in place by a belt with strings at each end. The strings are used to tie the belt together. The wanes, on the other hand is worn by men. This is woven g-string. Tapis worn by Maeng women is similar to the tapis of Mt. Province. Women also have the pinigitan which is worn during special occasions. Part of the heirloom of the Maeng is the Sillot, a traditional necklace made of beads.

Tribal war and peace pact- Tribal war is part of the culture of people in Amtuagan. At present, this is no longer being practiced. The last tribal war they remember was in the 1960's. This was between Amtuagan and Boliney. The weapons used in tribal war before the time of Japanese colonization was gayang (spear) and gaman (machete). People inherited these weapons from their ancestors. During the Japanese colonization, the warriors of the community were able to collect weapons from Japanese soldiers. They used these weapons against the Japanese and enemy tribe who tried to enter the village.

VII. Relationship with the environment

VIII. Leadership and Governance

An indigenous political system, called the *dap-ay* system, is part of the Maeng culture. The *dap-ay* is a structure that also serves as a political center. The Maeng tribe has been practicing this system of governance since time immemorial. In this system, decision making is through consensus. The *dap-ay* system is patriarchal in nature as only men have the right to speak and be heard. Furthermore, only the elder men are allowed to speak for the younger ones are said to lack experience.

In Amtuagan, cases are resolved through a community meeting at the *dap-ay*. The common cases being handled are theft and assault committed mostly by drunk residents. The elders and the community decide on the punishment based on the gravity of violations.

The lightest punishment is in a form of advice and the heaviest is fine through money or through *pasida*, the butchering of pig which will be eaten by the people.

In the 1980's however, the government system became dominant over the dap-ay system. In this non-indigenous system, decision making is done only by elected officials.

After the introduction of the democratic election, the elders of Tubo devised a way of ensuring peace and order. They agreed that there should be rotation of the mayoral office and there should be equal division on municipal council office. Tubo has 3 zones. Each zone consists of 3-4 barangays. It was agreed upon that each zone would choose who will be representing them as municipal councilor. The three zones would have scheduled rotation in choosing who should be the mayor. It is through consensus that the municipal officials are chosen. Thus the election would just formalize the indigenous process done. Same is true with the barangay officials. The people of Amtuagan have agreed that the barangay captain be chosen through consensus. And that each would be given only one term

What makes a leader? In Amtuagan, leaders are chosen based on the person's experience. The leader should also have no bad record in the community, brave, and principled. The leaders in Amtuagan are the elders of the dap-ay and the elected barangay officials. Being a leader is not inherited. It is earned.

Aside from the elected members of the Local Government Unit, the leaders of the People's Organizations PETAK and PESEK, and the elders of the Dap-ay are considered leaders. Community leaders are respected by the people; the people have high regard for them. They consider the elders as the wisest in the community given their age and experience.

IX. Leisure

During the night and after their work, people of Amtuagan spend their time watching TV. Those who do not have television in their houses go to their neighbor. The women usually watch telenovela while men watch sports. At times, men and women share one TV set, changing channels during commercial breaks. They also watch TV during lunch.

The people of Amtuagan also spend their free time chatting with each other. During the day, the women who are child rearing chat with other women. The men, on the other hand chat during the night time when they gather to drink liquor.

Children, on the other hand, spend their time playing and swimming in the river. They climb trees and jump from the branches into the river. They climb the rocks and dive into the water. Some even go to the middle of the hanging bridge and dive into the river.

X. Non-government organizations (NGO)

Non-government organizations started organizing in Amtuagan in the 1980's. The Cordillera Peoples' Alliance for the Defense of Ancestral Domain (CPA) and its local counterpart in Abra, Kakailian Salakniban tay Amin a Nagtaudan (KASTAN) assisted the community with the issues they are facing. The people's organizations PESEK and PETAK are affiliated with CPA.

The Montañosa Research and Development Council (MRDC) is an NGOs granting socioeconomic projects to peoples' organizations. MRDC also organized and implemented projects in Amtuagan. Among these are the construction of a *dapilan* (sugar mill), training on black smith, distribution of farms tools., and construction of an irrigation system. The construction of an irrigation system has been started in the aim of improving the harvest.

The Episcopal Church of the Philippines (ECP) also conducted trainings on soap making as part of their livelihood program in the village. Those who were able to attend the training take turns in making soap which they sell in their neighboring communities. The soap is made with medicinal plants which are found in the locality such as guava and lagundi. The ECP also constructed the community's water system.

Another NGO the Community Health Education, Services and Training in the Cordillera Region (CHESTCORE) also conducted health trainings in 2012. They train volunteer Community Health Workers (CHW) in aim of building Community-Based Health Programs. The CHWs serve as front liners of health in the community.

HEALTH KNOWLEDGE AND PRACTICES

I. Concept of Health and Disease

The *Maengs* of Amtuagan have no local term for health. They have adopted the Ilocano term *salun-at*. The *Maengs* describe a healthy person as someone without any disease and someone who is not in pain even when tired.

For the *Maengs*, a healthy person is strong, happy, alert, and helpful of others. A healthy person is enthusiastic in doing his job and daily routine. They believe that there is no physical description of a healthy person. One may be fat but ill or may be thin but healthy (not ill). They also believe that health does not only involve physical health. Emotional and psychological health should also be considered. They say a person may be physically fit but the person is not healthy if he or she worries much about life problems or if grieving.

The people of Amtuagan retained their indigenous concept of diseases and their cause but also accepted scientific explanations.

The causes of disease may be classified as one or combination of the following: a. supernatural forces, b. forces of nature, c. overwork, and/or d. pathogenic microorganisms. The *Maengs* believe that there are spirits which may inflict illness to a person if the person harmed them or their habitat. The *sairo* (local term for *anito*), a spirit whose features is the same as that of human, is believed to inflict illness.

The *Maengs* also believe that a person can become sick when the seasons are changing.

When the rainy season starts, the weeds start to grow. This may cause illness. When the temperature becomes cold, many will harbor cough and colds. Extreme hot and extreme cold weathers will also cause disease. Overwork is also seen as a cause of illness. Other causes which people mentioned were malnutrition and food which causes allergy. They also believe that chemicals in food cause ailments. The indigenous peoples of Amtuagan, aside from their indigenous knowledge on the causes of disease, also adopted the western-based knowledge. They have learned through seminars conducted in the area of the pathogenic microorganisms and the corresponding diseases they bring.

II. Health-seeking Behavior

The people of Amtuagan self-medicate when they feel sick or seek help from traditional healers, community health workers, or health professionals. The community health workers are equipped with knowledge on home remedies and medicinal plants. The residents together with the community health workers maintain a herbal garden to ensure that the village has a source for its people's medicinal plant needs. The herb garden has been helpful to the community since people have limited access to western drugs. The *botika sa barangay's* supply is also limited to a few pain relievers, anti-pyretic drugs, and a few antibiotics.

Health services remains to be inaccessible to the people of Amtuagan. Construction of the barangay health center has been started the due lack of funds has stopped its completion. A barangay midwife is stationed in the community and several barangay health workers serve as front liners of health care in the area. The nearest health facility available for the Amtuagan people is in Mayabo which is 3-hour hike away. The RHU does not have a medical doctor; thus, people choose to go directly to Bangued to seek medical attention. The people manually transport the patients using improvised stretchers using a blanket tied on a bamboo pole.



Photo: courtesy of CHESTCORE, Inc.

As the picture shows, the sick is being transported from Amtuagan, in this case, from Sitio Likowan, to Luba to wait for transportation to Bangued. The team who would accompany the sick would be composed of a minimum of 4 men. Two would be carrying the sick at a time; the others would be following and are ready to take over if one of the men currently carrying the sick gets tired.

III. Knowledge and practices in pregnancy and childbirth

Pregnancy

People of Amtuagan believe that pregnancy and childbirth is a normal part of woman's life. A woman is suspected to be pregnant when she misses her menstruation. Early signs of pregnancy would include unexplained headache, nausea and vomiting. A strong pulse in the neck would indicate pregnancy.

Pregnant women experience either *manginaw* or *mangangteg* during the early part of their pregnancy. *Manginaw* refers to the condition where the pregnant woman craves for certain food. Some may even crave for deer meat. *Mangangteg*, on the other hand refers to the condition where the pregnant woman dislikes everything. A woman may crave for a certain food and would not eat anything else. A woman who is *mangangteg* may also dislike certain routine such as combing her hair, brushing her teeth or even taking a bath. These may be experienced by a pregnant woman for as long as 3 months.

When a woman is manginaw, she is forbidden to ask her husband to get the food she craves.

It is believed that the husband would be in trouble or meet misfortune if he gets the food his wife craves for. The people of Amtuagan also believes that the husband may also experience manginaw or mangangteg. He may crave for a certain food. He may also dislike climbing up the stairs because his feet feel heavy as a stone.

Pregnant women in Amtuagan are allowed to work and continue their daily routine. Those who were able to seek medical advice from doctors say they were advised not to work in the *uma* or in the rice field when they are in their 8th month of pregnancy.

Old women could tell if the conceived child is male or female. If the pregnant woman's skin is reddish, it is believed that the child would be male. If the woman's bulge in the abdomen seems sharp, the child would be male. If it is rounded, the child would be female. If the woman always steps the left feet first when starting to walk, the child would be male. If the bulge in the abdomen is large and seems to have a gap, the woman should expect twins.

Childbirth

A traditional birth attendant, who is also a female, assists a woman while giving birth. Most Amtuagan women seek the traditional birth attendant's help when giving birth.

It has been a practice for the birth attendant to repeat whatever the woman did before she felt cramps. If the woman was sewing, the birth attendant should do the same. If the woman opened a bottle, the attendant should open and close the bottle again. It is believed that this helps in making child delivery easier for the woman.

When a woman is about to give birth, the attendant or her companion would prepare the instrument, made of sharpened bamboo, which will be used to cut the umbilical cord and warm water to bathe the baby after birth.

The woman has the freedom to choose the position where she is most comfortable in giving birth. Positions vary per individual and for every child delivered. Some would prefer a sitting position. Some prefer lying down or squatting.

When the child has been delivered, the birth attendant would wait for the placenta to be delivered before cutting the umbilical cord. The child is then bathed and wrapped in warm clean cloth. Oil would be rubbed in the child's palms and feet especially if the child's hands and feet are cold. This is believed to help keep the child warm. The child is then placed beside the mother for the mother to breast feed her baby.

The *kadkadua ti ubing* or the placenta is washed and either placed in a basket and hanged in a tree or buried under the house, near the house or near the doorstep.

This is done so that the child may always find his way home when he grows. Some would cut a piece of the placenta, roast it and soak it in water. The roasted placenta is removed and the water is brought to the mother to drink. It is believed that this would help in the speedy recovery of the mother.

In cases where the child is not breathing after delivery, the *kadkadua ti ubing* is massaged until the child starts to breathe.

Postnatal care

The mother is not allowed to take a bath on the day she gave birth but should bathe the next day. The mother is allowed to do household chores but not work in the *uma* or rice field for a month after giving birth. The mother shouldn't carry heavy objects, too.

Certain kinds of food are disallowed for women who just gave birth and for lactating mothers. Vegetables with trichomes are believed to cause skin diseases. It is believed that the trichomes would get into the breast milk. Corn and string beans are believed to cause skin diseases which may spread in large areas of the child's body. Dried beans, especially *Kardis*, will cause the volume of breast milk to decrease, and dried string beans may cause painful feeling when breastfeeding. Sweet potato when eaten by mother who just gave birth is believed to cause parasites, such as pinworm, to come out through the anal opening or the vagina of the mother. *Dodiken* or *agodo*, a kind of shells, is also forbidden. It is believed that eating these would cause postnatal bleeding.

People have observations that mothers of this generation produce smaller volume of breast milk compared with the older generations.

Abortion

The indigenous peoples of Amtuagan believe that abortion may happen because of many reasons. Abortion is believed to be caused by a spirit when a pregnant woman passes through another village and gets met by a spirit. For the people, overwork and extreme heat may also cause abortion. Accidents such as falling or slipping may also bring miscarriage. A woman's emotional health is important during pregnancy. Problems and depression are believed to cause abortion.

Induced abortion is not culturally accepted in the *Maengs*. Some pregnant women, though, abort their unborn child through intake of certain drugs or *sumang*, an herb which could be found in the forest. *Dupilan*, a medicinal plant used to cure arthritis, is also believed to induce abortion.

IV. Traditional Health Practices

Part of the rich culture of the Maengs of Amtuagan is their health knowledge and healing practices. The Maengs' health practices usually involve animal butchering and chanting. Prayer chants or *Sapo* are sung during healing rituals.

Sapo

Sapo is a prayer chanted by the healer while performing the rituals. Only a few elders, said to be chosen and mostly men, know these. Each of the Sapo may last for an hour or more. Only a few elders nowadays have knowledge of the *sapo*.

The people of Amtuagan have four (4) Types of Sapo: Prayer asking for a child, Prayer for Songba of old rice field, Prayer for Daw-es, and Prayer used during Buyon.

Sapo ay dumawat si Anak (Prayer asking for a child)

Wada nan sin-agi, menkabsat ya. Nan kanan chin lalaki," enka et umma kababaihan as sisinfutek ay chawa, ta paalidegdegem", kankanana kanu. Kakanegay kanu nan babai, ina na nan kafa (lagba) na. In e na kanu ad aang (agamang) cha, lukatan na ng aang cha. Sagting na kanu nan sinsinfutek ay chawa, kusno na nan kafa na, i-uchong na kanu ya, ali-alikamten na, pa alidegdegen na, achi kanun mafaya, nalukpos kanu ay nafayo ya, agamichen na kanu nan gaam-ey chi banga da et, pisokan na, machugan cha. Maka uto kanu pay ya, kanana kanun sin kalalakian na en, "ento pay san kalalakian ay kanam en enka mengalingay ya umali". Machaliyam egan ka. Kanan cha kanu pay "mangan". Mangan cha kanu pay. Nakakan cha, kanan kanu din kalalakian na en "aam met a chin akufan cha ta baonen ta". Hana kanu et, gumanay cha. Gumanay da pay kayo ya,ataatan da ya kanalamagda . lalamagan chi un-na.

Anu ot pay manegfat cha din poon ay changla. Iyamma chas fawi (kalapaw) cha. Gitgitayaan cha, nen at ataatan cha. Kanan pay en kapacham na ana pet nan wadwacha. Sya kanu pay ya, maid kanu maila cha, agan nunay cha pay os ya, kanalamag cha kanu os, manegfat as poon chi changla et, iyama chas bawi cha. Gitgitayaan cha, nen atataatan cha maid kanu maila cha.

Machan-nagem kayo ya maid maila cha sya kanu pay ya, kasicheg gumonay ay maliteg nan sang atan. kanalamag cha kanu es ya, manegfat cha kanu os nan poon chi changla, iyamma chas bawi cha, in gitgitayaan cha, nen atataatan cha. Kanan pay ni kapacha mo anak et chi kawadwadchang, kananas chi. Awad kanu es nan nenpaspasyal ay unga. "Ay, chu-ey man chi kabkapuaan ta man chin pinagpugwas cha, kanan kanu chin kalalakian na. Sa kanu pay kabuaan chin babae et, kabuaan nas pinagbegwas na yan gumgumaingan cha.

Achi kanu nen luma, imuchong et abong cha. "Awni ka ta suksuknuben mi sik-a", kanan cha kanu. Sinuknob cha kanu chi, lumoob cha inatuom uma cha nan unga.

Nen kila kila kanu nan unga. Sa kanu pay chi ya, apaan kanu pay menchaan ad chaya ya, enak man luslachan nan ipugaw as san ta pay han pumaeng nan achawag sina. Lesyaban na pay kanu en, kanana pay kanu et en, "kay man chukangem es sa ta nen ininuwaan na as men pangatuan as pakaway. Sya kanu pay et, kanan kanun Kabunian en, "chakayo ay napangcha ya, amaan yo et sa. Magamit kayo chagungan mo, baken laganayan". Sa cha pay kanu amaan cha. Kanu pay, awad kanu alikan na a ay petpetek, uwes, gamit, wanes. Si chi. Sa cha kanu kanan cha et napangcha cha en, "sya pay na nan bag-im ay tumakchang ay ichaya. Na-ay pay chi tuliwas nan inkayo inkapkafua", kanana kanu. Hada pay kanu ichawis nan otik ya, encha kanu pay pultikan.

There once lived a childless couple. The man told his wife to get a bundle of rice sheaves, and pound it. The woman immediately obeyed. She got her kafa (rattan head basket) and went to their rice granary. She pulled a bundle of rice sheaves and put it inside her head basket, then she went home and pounded the cleaned rice. She then got their pot and cooked the rice grains. When the rice was cooked, the woman called the husband saying, "Where are you my brother, who said you just went out to visit some friends? It is already late and you are not yet around." The man arrived and they sat down to eat. When they were through eating, the man told the woman, "fill our akupan (a woven rattan or bamboo shoulder bag that serves as a cooked rice container which people bring along when when they travel) with cooked rice to bring as our food for our journey to go seek for a child. They then started their journey. They observed for any omens, and seeing no bad signs, they startedd their journey by using the uphill pathway used by the old folks.

When they went up, they found a changla tree. They cut reeds and made a hut for shelter. They observed the surroundings for any omen while they danced the traditional dance to make a request from Kabunyan. They looked around, but they could not see anything, so again they went up the pathway and make a shelter under another changla tree, where they danced and observed again for any signs, but again they saw nothing.

A strong wind blew and they could not see anything, except the bright path going up. They went up further till they came to another changla tree. They made a shelter under the tree and again they rested, danced and observed the surroundings for any signs to follow. They asked themselves, "When will we have a child?" Just then, they saw a child walking idly. "Ah there it is what we have been praying for!" the man said excitedly. Then he told the woman, to start a fire from the live charcoal they maintained in their shelter.

After a while, the child came passing by their hut. The couple told the child, "Wait, we shall follow you." They hastily followed the child. The child shouted and cried to the heavens. Then He who dwells in the skyworld, heard the cry of the child. "I will go down to discover what is happening, because the cry is such that it needs me", said Kabunian. He descended to where the cry came from. He saw what is happening. He said, "you couple perform the required ritual to have your plea be granted. Go forth and make pigpens and chicken coops." The couple

therefore obeyed Kabunian and performed the prescribed ritual. The couple bundled a blanket, clothings, and a g-string, and they offered this to Kabunyan saying "So we are offering this to you, as you step up to the skies." "So your request is granted" said Kabunyan. Then the couple burned the hairy skin of the pig then butchered it.

Sapo di Menpabuyon (prayer used during Buyon⁸)

Kanan kanu din apo cha en, "enkayo et menpabuyon ay duwa ay apok. Enkayo menpabuyon ad Sinadsadan". Umey cha kanu pay nan unga ay menpabuyon. Kanan cha kanu on, "manok mi ay, faniyas-faniyasan, achiyo tuptapukun sat a manok mi ay up-upa", kanan kanu nan isinadsadan. "Baken kami ay faniyas ay, ipugaw kami ay umey menpabpabuyon". Ipadchoy yo man et nan abong din menpabuyonan cha umey kami," kanan cha kanu.

Umey da kanu san abong san menpabuyonan, kamigen kanu nan in-ina nan buyon na, kisukisuen na kanu ay iyadtuko na kanu nan fansag cha. Iyadtuko na kanu ya, kisukisuen na. Naiwed kay uwana, "nay man ay naid kaywan nan buyon sina et umey kayo man ad Sanggootan.

Umey da kanu pay ad Sanggootan. Kanan kanu nan i-Sanggootan et, "adi yo man sungsungkeen nan manok mi sa ay up-upa". "Baken kami ay maniyas ay, ipugaw kami ay umey menpabpabuyon. Enkami ipabuyon nan ipugaw ay maulichatan as nan sigab na", kanan da. Sya kanu pay chi ya, pachuyungaen cha et nan abong chin pabuyonan cha, ay menpabuyon. Kamit kanu et nan in-ina nan buyon na ya, iyadtuko na kanu sagkawan nan fansag cha. "Maiwed kay uwan na, nay man ay maid kay uwan na. Umey kayo man keni adyagyag? ad tinaong", kanana kanu.

Sada kanu pay es umey. Sumuwang cha kanu es Tinaong, kanan kanu nan i-Tinaong ya "faniyas-faniyasan . Adi yo man supsupaken nan manok mi sa ay up-upa". "Baken kami ay fanyas faniyas ay, ipugaw kami ay umey menpabuyon nan ipugaw ay malichatan as nan sigab na", kanan cha kanu. Patchuyonan et nan afong cha ta umey kami. Sa kanu pay et umey cha. Kamit kanu et nan in-ina nan buyon na ya, iyadtuko na kanu sagkawan nan fansag cha. Kisukisuen na kanu. Kay uwana. Toni pachungona, sinideg ad Islep. Kanu nan kumaman. Kanana kanu en "na iman ay sinideg nan Islep nan kumaman san kayo ipabpabuyon."

Umuchong kayo ot ta enkayo bugaasan nan pangcha yo ta amaan cha". Sumaa cha as manok ay i ama cha. Sada kanu pay umey. An ando nan afong nan sinicheg. "Ay, umey kayo pay et, menkiliw is ipugaw ay sinicheg". "Umey kami man et," ay ipapilit kanu nan unga ay umey.

Umey cha kanu pay, chatnan cha kanu et din Indiyapan ay fayo. Kanan cha kanu en, "fukatam man nan afong yo ta lumoob kami. Ilaen nan afong yo". "Enkayo pay um-umey id afong ay awad nan sinicheq ay mengkiliw si ipuqaw", kanana kanu.

Chuwa cha kanu et pay umey, lumoob cha kanu. Ilaen cha kanu nan chapwat ay kasdiyay. Napatipat kanu nan inliw ay nalango ya nenlayong, maata. Inili cha kanu nan maata ay esang, sya kanu nan nilapsok cha en, nakaysan cha. Kanan kanu Idiyapan en, "ay sya to a nan enkayon ina. Enkayo ot ta achi tumawang nan kalalakian asa ay mengkiliw as ipugaw", kanan na kanu.

Et makaysan cha kanu ya, nato kanu sinichegen ay lumtaw. "Anu pay nan immali sina ay ipugaw", kanana kanu ken kababaihan ay Indiyapan. "Anu pay nan malmalyag ay umali san afong yo ay menkalaw kas ipugaw". Ipapilit kanu sinicheg en wad immey. Ey, musmusmusan na kanu nan pinagchawan nan unga ay imey nenpabuyon et, suknuben na chaycha. Umey da kanu pay ad tinaw, kanan kanu chin tinaweng ay "nalikaman ta naka aa kayo ad lum-eg yo ay ipugaw". "Naka aa kami man ngem awad pay nan nachuga ay unud mi", kanan kanu nan unga.

Nakaysan cha kanu ya, awad kanu sinicheg en ay mang an anap ken chaycha. Suksukneben na

kanu chaycha, umey cha kanu ad Tinaong. Kanan kanu es nan i-Tinaong, "nali ka man ta naka saa kayos lum-eg yo ay ipugaw", kanan cha kanu. "Naka-aa kami ngem awad pay nachugay nan unud mi". Nato kanu es si sinicheg en ay men alalimachog ay menananap ken chaycha. Kanan kanu chin itinawon ay "awad pay imal-ali sina", kanan cha kanu. Nakaysan cha kanu as nan unga, inmey cha ad Sinatsachan.

Iniuchong cha pay chin lang-ag chi ipugaw ay ina cha. Umey cha kanu et ed Tinadtachan, kanan kanu nan i-Tinadtachan ay "nali ka man ta naka saa kayos lum-eg yo ay ipugaw". "Naka-aa kami ngem awad pay nachugay nan unud mi". Nato kanu pay a sinicheg ay men un uned ken chaycha, umey cha kanu ay umuchung nan chuwa ay unga. Umey cha kanu pay ad Sabnangan sichi ya, kanan kanu chin ina ay isabnangan en, "umali ka man ay pinaing chi i-Amtuagan ta chamaen cha man chin sinicheg sa pay nan umey menun-unud si ipugaw", kanana kanu. Umey kanu pay nan pinaing chi i-Amtuagan. Angfayan cha an sinicheg ay lam-esen cha. Puklen cha. Kanan kanu sinicheg en, "chuwa kayo pay mangamis mo, achi kayo menpanga-as chuway iki na ya. Sya pay ay a ek chakayo", kanana kanu. "Sachi ka man panga a es chuwa chan iki na nu siya nan kanam", kanan kanu nan pinaing. En cha kanu es pusikan".

There was a sick oldman (old woman). He/she called his/her two grandchildren saying, "go see the Menbuyon⁹ of Sinadsadan village." The two grandchildren proceeded to the see the Menbuyon. When they were in the village of Sinadsadan they heard someone say, "You monitor lizards (banyas), don't steal our chicken, specially our young hen." The children answered back saying, "We are not monitor lizards. We are persons who came to consult the Menbuyon. Please show us the way to her house. "

They then went to the Menbuyon's house. The menbuyon tried her best to find what is causing the illness of the children's grandfather/grandmother, but she could not find anything. She said,"I tried my best but I could not see anything. Go see the Menbuyon of Sanggootan."

The children proceeded to Sangkootan. The i-Sanggootan told them, "monitor lizards, stop bothering our chicken." "We are not lizards; we are human beings who come to seek the help of the Menbuyon. We came to consult what is causing the illness of a person who is suffering so much." The children answered back. So the villagers showed the way to the Menbuyon's house. When they consulted the Menbuyon, the Menbuyon tried all her knowledge and instruments to divine but the result was negative. She therefore said, "I cannot find any cause, go to the Menbuyon of Tinaong".

The children then journeyed to Tinaong. When they reached Tinaong, the village people said, "You lizards, stop catching our chicken." "We are not lizards; we are human beings who came to seek the help of the Menbuyon, regarding the illness of a person who is suffering from too much. Please show us the way to her house so we could see her." The children responded. The village people showed the way, so the children found the Menbuyon. The seer brought out all her instruments and spread them on the floor. After taking a nap for a few moments, the seer said in a trance, "ah I found out what is causing the illness, it is the Anito of Islep." It is very clear that the malevolent being is the Anito of Islep".

The children started their way home to prepare for the ritual of appeasing the anito through the offering of a chicken. They decided to proceed to the long house where the Anito of Islep dwells. Some people advised the children saying, "Why will you dare go to the dwelling place of the Anito? You know this Anito captures human beings." The children said, "We will go."

When they reached the long house where the Anito dwells, they saw the widow Indiyapan ¹⁰. The children told her "Do open the door so we could enter." The door was opened and they entered. The Indiyapan told them, "Why do you come to this place where the Anito dwells? You know that He catches people." The children went around exploring the long house. They then looked up to the ceiling of the long hut. They saw *inliw* leaves hanging from poles put across the beams of the ceiling. There were fresh green leaves and wilted and dried leaves hanging. They snatched one of the green leaves then went out of the house. The Idiyipan told them "Run fast and go home because my Anito husband will be home in a while and he might see you, you know he catches human beings."

The children ran fast, just as the Anito arrived at their dwelling. He looked suspiciously at Indiyafan, and said "There were humans that just came here." The human wife said, "Who will dare come here, when they know that you are catching humans." However, the anito insisted that there were humans who entered their house. He smelled around and followed the path taken by the children, then ran after them.

When the children reached Tinaong, the village people of Tinaong said, "How brave of you to have taken an Inliw leaves (leaves of the Inliw tree, which is usually used during rituals) from the Anito's dwelling to use as talisman for us human beings!" "Yes, we succeeded to get one but the anito is running fast after us." the children said.

Phase II Documentation of Philippine Traditional Knowledge and Practices on Health and Development of Traditional Knowledge Digital Library on Health for Selected Ethnolinguistic Groups: The MAENG-TINGGUIAN of Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra, Cordillera Administrative Region.

10The human wife of the Anito.

The children hastily left Tinaong when the anito came looking for them. The anito asked the people of Tinaong if the children passed by. The village people said, "Yes they have passed by, but they have gone away already."

The children kept on running till they came to the entrance of the village of Sinad-sadan, carrying with them the cure for their grandmother's illness. The village people saw them and exclaimed," How nice that you arrived safely, and that you were able to get something to ward off evils!" "Yes, we succeeded, but we have to go fast, because the Anito is running after us," answered the children. The children just rushed out of the village when the furious Anito arrived.

The children continued running till they reached the village of Sabnangan. An old woman from Sabnangan saw the children being run after by the Anito of Islep. She shouted at the entrance of the village, "Come out, you Spirit beings guarding the entrance to Amtuagan, that you will catch and wrestle with this Anito who is running after humans". The Spirits called upon, came out and stopped the Anito in his track. The spirits got hold of the Anito and they mauled and strangled him. The Anito said, "It is too much that you are two against me, I am just asking for a two-legged animal and I will not bother the humans anymore. So the Spirits of Amtuagan said, "So be it". The offering was then done.

Sapo di Daw-es (Sapo for Daw-es)

Kanan kanu din lallakey ad dap-ay da, "umapon kayo ay baanabaro as binabalas-sangan tay tiempo na naey ay pa begnasan tako". Umapon da kanu nan binabaroan, kanan kanu nan amama ed dap-ay et "ay ta pay ay gapo ta kananmi ay umapon kayo ya aped kayo os umapon? Ay mid pay i apon yos pukanen takos na dap-ay?"

Nasisiyan da kanu nan babaro et enda nen anap as sinanayan ya ginamuan ay basi. Ado kanu nan inyali da ay sinanayan ya ginamuan ay basi.

Kanan kanu nan am-ama en "iyapat yo pay ta uminom tako pay ta tangden yo pay datako ay inuumbon".

Iyapag da kanu pay, laslas-iyan da kanu et nan duwa ay ul-uli na. Ay achi chan apagan. Machanget kanu pay nan chuwa ipugaw ay aam-a ay uminom ya, kanan cha es "iyapag yo pay nu awad chaan".

Iyapag cha kanu es ya kanu pay en achi chan achan nan chuwa ay ul-uli na. Ket kenu nan gumibos. Gumibos kanu pay ya, sada kanu pay adyan ya, ket mengkasituppaan cha kanu nan ited na ay basi. Iyakaam cha kanu es pasilpet chas ubet da nan apag cha. Nailan kanu nan kababaihan cha. "Ay tapay es laslas-iyan yo nan kalkalalakiak asa ay achin apagan. Payan pay es si apagan yo dayda ya kasituppaan yo nan inumen cha".

Hana kanu pay ayagan daycha ya umuchong cha. Nan kalkalalakian ay chuwa ay ul-uli na, umuchong cha kanu pay ya, kanana kanu pay "umuchong tas agamang tako ta lamanan tako nan gakon apo tako sa ay basi. Lamanan yo pay nan achi natuppaan. Amay may nan nen inuman yo ay natuptuppaan sichi".

Sa da kanu pay umey ed agamang da, lukaban nan kababaihan cha et lumoob et uminom. Naka inom kanu pay ya, kanana kanu es "ayo, maisukkat kayo pay ay uminom. Ta nu maka inom kayo, manmanen yo pay. Kaw-an yo pay nan karuskos na ta awad i-ey yos dap-ay as pakibnong yo. Sada kanu pay nakaysan kanu sin kababaihan das chi. Lumiyak as sinfutok. I-uchong na. Naka-inom cha kanu pay ya, sacha kanu es manmanen nan basi et, amma chan likpan et, enpan cha et agamang cha.

Kumaysan cha kanu pay, umuchong cha. Nawakinas kanu et nan liliak chi kababaihan cha yan nan petay nay yan nan sillot na. Nawakinas kanu nan chaan." Ay ket pay napangilawan es nan putong nan kababaihan ay nay naiwara nan gamit na yan liliyak na", kanan cha kanu et sada kanu agewen et inuchong cha. Dimateng cha kanu ed abong cha, awad kanu et nan kababaihan cha ay nanakso ya sumakyatan san achan loob nen segpan. Sidi sakyang kanu ilaen cha kanu nan nataguan na ya nasaungan. "Ya tu asa nan achim kaas-asawan tay nasauwan es pay nan nataguam", kanan cha kanus chi. Nenkaysan chas dap-ay, ini ey cha nan parasko ay pakidnong cha ed chap-ay. Idi duwa ay lallalaki ya ul-uli na.

Naawatan met sidi babbabai, ay kababaihan cha, ay ya tu awed pay nan, ilaen da kanu nan nataguan na ya, sya sa ay nasaungan. Ya tu-aw et pay nana chi kaas-asawan na. Mennemnemn kanu, "ay mennemnemak et akangaw. Ay nenbalian nak et akangaw" kanana na. Nemnem kanu es yan, ugali na akangaw ya achi et makangakangaw dan nina kalkalalakiak. Nemnem kanu abes. Ugali na ket akwiking. Nemnemen na es kanu ya, "ugali na akwiking ya, achi met makuwi-kuwiking chan kalalakiak ed sina", kanana kanu abes. Nemnem kanu ya, pipiya et ugali nan kaichew. Ta awad et tangachen cha nu keg kencha ay manganap nan kataguan cha. Kanu pay, ya sa, kinwani na kanu et "umuchong kayo et ta mangan tako", kanana kanu sidi kalkalalakian ay imey ed chap-ay. Ay umuchong cha kanu pay ya maiwed nan kababaihan cha. Dinamaq cha kanu sinan kasaqufong cha "ay maiwed pay nannaaq yo nan kababaihan sina? enta pay ay maiwed ya kanana ay umuchong kami ta mangan ya". Kanan kanu apo cha en, "enkayo kad pay anapen. Ta mangan tako". Umey cha kanu pay. Ya et sa ay, awad nan chapo ay nenwelwelasiwes es funufon sichi. Umchas chad chaqsianen cha ya, awad nan kalamfa ay mentataya nan tuchuy cha. Ilaen cha nan lagpas nan awad nenlugba. Kanan kanu nan iyun-una en "ay sumakyat ka kad sichi ta kaanem nan lagfas chi da iuchong cha". Ay umey kanu pay, tukafan na kanu pay, tumayaw da kanu et nan kakiya-kiyaw. Sumakyat kanu os nan nengkapangas nan saboang. Malablabey kanu et. Kanana kanu sichi ay men i sula et "ay ta malablabeyak pay ta awad pay tangaden chin kalalakiak sina. Sya pay nan poonen cha. Nu kedeng ay mangiliw cha". Sakyap na nan sengkapanga. Ey, lumbog kanu et. "Sya man na ta, lumboqak man ta awad man lumboqan nan idnun chi kalkalalakiak sina ya, lumboqan chi pakanen cha ay iyas ya, pakanen cha nan porokan cha ay manok, ya animal cha" kanana kanu

es. Sakyab na kanu sa si sankapanga, ya umgat kanu et. Umgat kanu et, ya kanana kanu "ay sya pa ngay ngata, nenkedsuwan pay nan kalkalalakiak sina mo, kek-en cha ay manganap si katagoan cha", kanana kanu es chi ay mangisurwa, umapapat. Ha cha kanu pay umuchong, istolyaen cha kanu ken apo cha, kanan kanu apo cha en "ay chinatngan yos kababaihan yo?" "Chinatngan min sa et pay ay nenfalin pa ay ichew". "Ay nu sya sa ya, umey kayo et pukanen.

Sinakiab dan sa ay saboang cha, ammaan yos agamang tako, amaan yos atotong tako, amaan yos kagafan tako. Nu lupposen yo pay ya, amaan yo pay ta gusuten yo nan pungto na ya amaan yo pay lusab yo. Sacha kanu pay umey ay tet-ewa et amaan cha. Tinuba-tubak cha kanu et isaa cha nan agamang cha. Imey na atutong cha as, kagab cha, iggawan chi manok. Sacha kanu pay gusuten nan panga na et amaan chas lusab cha. Lupposen cha kanu pay ya, patiken cha kanu ya kumanakkak kanu ya, achi kumali. Ilaen cha kanu nan tachaw, awad nan as-asuso. Kanan kanu et nan iyun-una en "ayo, sumakyat ka kad ta pukanem chi ta iyanag ta nu koot pay nan kapaayan sina". Sinakyat na kanu ay tet-ewa, iyanag cha kanu pay, kaan na kanu pay, iyanag cha, patikem chi ya, sya kanu pay en nan kumanakkak. Achi kanu pay en nan bunag na. Kanan cha kanu es. Ilaen cha kanu nan isang ay tachaw ya, tunge cha ancho ya afafufok kanu es nan pungto na es lukutan.

Kanan kanu aanchi yan "kasin ta man anagan san lapaten ta man, nu chi pay ay sya nan tumbegan nina". Sa cha kanu men-a et iyanag cha et lapaten cha. Ay, iluppos cha kanu ay lapaten ya, patiken ya kanu et nenkakaong kanu et ay dedke na et chaeb ya tungcho. Umuchong cha kanun. Umuchong chad abong cha. Kanan kanun apo da en "niluppos yo?" Naluppos pay amin et, amin pay ay lusab mi et naluppos pay amin".

"Ay, nu sya say a, mangan tako pay et ta nu nakakan tako et men aama kayos baong-ay yo". Nakakan cha kanu pay ya sya san, amaan cha kanu nan patupat, na ung-ay chan baong sichi. Parbangon kanu, rinubuat cha kanu. Umey cha kanu ed suungan cha ya, patiken cha ya, sya san malablabey. "Ay, ya pay ta amay nan poonen ta". Kanan kanu as, awad kanu apo cha ay umun-unod "entako es nenpatnga ta entako pay anapen din tukpek isa tupunek pay wangchen".

Siya kanu nenlugaw na ya, ya kanu sa ay, lumlumbog. Kabuyan na kanu es ay mangwanin "ay sya man na ta lumbogan chi itnew mi ya lumbogan chi lun-ag mi, lumbogan chi pakanen mi ya, lumbogan mi yas animal mi, nuwang mi". Sada kanu kanan nan apo cha ya "entako man es labaw na, men kab-es isa." Umey cha kanu nen kab-es, chik-ilan cha kanu ya, umgat kanu et ebes. Inumgat kanu pay chi et, sada kanu abuyan sichi ay mangwanien "ay sya man sa ta awad manen men kedseng ta ay manganap nan kataguan tako", kanan cha kanu chi. Sa cha kanu ka-es ya, kanana kanu nan apo da ya, "ay, umyan tako es sina ta na-ay ay maschem". Inumyan cha kanus chi.

Parbangon kanu pay ya, taik-ilan cha kanu et malablabey kanu et. "Ay sya man ta ama nan wangwangchen nan ichew ta." Kanan kanu et nan apo cha en, "ayo, sik-a pay ay naudi et, umey ka et inuchen. Sik-a pay iyun-una, umey ka pay ad binongan".

Nakaysan kanu nan inaudi na, umey kanu sumaneg ed susuungan cha ed inuchey. Madmange kanu ya sumuwang nan, ya sa maikit ka, anti na kanu sa. "Sumagsang-en ka man sina ta lingsitak man sik-a", kanan kanu chin naudi. Na-ag kanu nan ikit na ya, kanana kanu "ay ta pay ta enka menlingsit. Sublatem es pay nan awit kus na ay naduma-duma ay aliliyan chii laganayan ya aliliyan chi gumaingna, alilyan chi ipugaw. Achu nan nen-egaw sina". Hana kanu pay sublaten. Iyuchong na. Inayig-as ken apo cha. Sumuwang cha kanu as kampo cha ya, kanan kanu apo ay "sya man ta naninago kayo", kanana kanu. Uwayen tay si manong mo ay immey ed Binongan.

Sya es sa, sung-ungan kanu es si manong na ay umey ed Binongan ya, umey kanu es sangben nan suungan. Sumwang es, lumtaw nan litteg na ay nen-awites, adoo es nan awit na. Kanana kanu es sichi, "ay sumagsang-en ka man sina ta kenlingsitak sika", kanana kanu. Achi ka pay menlingsit ta sublatem pay nan awit ko sina. Ay naduma-duma nan nentetee sina ay alilyan chi ipugaw ya alilyan chi gumaingan ya alilyan chi laganayan", kanana kanu abes. Abet cha kanu pay ay sinublat na. Siya na kanu pay ey kanana kanu nan apo da, "ay sya man ta naninago kayo", kanana kanu abes. Ay, manafako kayo et ta katafakoan kayo ta entako et".

Katafakoan cha kanu pay ya sya da pay kanu rumubuat. Chaychayen en kanu nan ballugay cha ay umuchong. Umey cha kanu es suungan ya, tinaag nan chumachap-ay. Kanan cha kanu en, "ay sya anu pay nan atoy ay itubtubok ay mengaygayugay isa ay ilaen yo pay ay binabaloan nu sino nan maid kendakayo". "Anggay nan chuwa ay ul-uli na ay maid sina". "Ya, achi cha ya enkayo ababten chaycha." Umey cha kanu ya, achi cha kanu et ay tet-ewa nan apo da ya nan chuwa ay ul-uli na ay apo na.

Ngumangitngit cha kanu chin binabaroan et, chakayo tu an men gogotok ay men anap si katagoan yo, ug-ayan yo pay nan ul-uli na, kanan cha kanu es ay menpalew kendayda. Nakaysan cha kanu, umey cha es chap-ay. Sumuwang cha kanu es chap-ay ya, kanan kanu chin apon chi naul-ulian ay "ay sabyaten yo pay na ta sya pay nan laman yo, ta ennak pay i uchong nan ap-ok ay nan ta ennak pasabyaten ad abong dinena apok ed sina". Sa cha kanu pay i uchong, sana kanu pay amaan nan dao-es. Mano-es cha kanu pay nan duwa cha ay apo na.

The elders of the Dap-ay¹¹ said, "Come young men and young women, the time to perform the Begnas¹² has come". The young men and the young women of the village gathered in the Dapay. The elders berated them saying, "Why is it that you came barehanded; Is it because we just called for you that you came? You did not even bring anything for us to butcher, eat or drink while we discuss community affairs in this Dap-ay?"

The young men went to find sinanayan (rice wine) and ginamuwan basi. They brought a lot of these drinks, sinanayan and ginamuwan basi.

An elder said to an elder, "Open the wines and do the ceremonial prayer, then you youngmen serve us all who are gathered here thru the apag"

(as per custom, when there are drinks to be served, a person or two are tasked to distribute the drink using an apagan, to all those present in the gathering until the last person is served, then the apag could be repeated again. They all drink from the same apagan or bowl made from coconut shell).

The youngmen followed the order to serve the basi, but they intentionally by passed two young men who are orphans. They did not serve them drinks. Two elders got mad at the servers, berating them, "Do serve if there are more drinks and do not exclude anybody"

The youngmen served more wine but again they bypassed the two men. When a few drops were left of the basi, the young men poured the last drops to the serving bowl, spat on it and passed the serving bowl under their anus (in the guise of washing their anus) before offering the drink to the two. The orphans refused to drink because it was spat upon. An older kinswoman of the two orphans saw what happened and told the servers, "Why did you bypassed my brothers without serving them a drink and now that you are serving them, you spat on what you are serving them?" Then she called the two orphans to leave the dap-ay. She said, "Come, let us go to our rice granary so you will taste the basi made by our grandparents. You will taste unadulterated basi, and this time no one will spit on it".

Then they went to their rice granary, some young women joined them. The older woman carefully opened the jar of basi and took the first drink. When she was done, she told the others, "Come and enjoy the drink, and when you are through, put some in your karuskos (a big coconut shell that serves as wine container) and bring it to the dap-ay to share and that your presence be recognized." The older woman got a bundle of rice sheaves to take home and pound to cook.

The orphans and their friends slowly sipped their basi and appreciated the unadulterated taste. They then carefully closed the lids of the jar and locked the granary.

When the orphans and their friends were satisfied of the basi, they started their way to the dap-ay bringing the basi they got from their grandparents granary.

They saw the things carried by an older woman from their kin. All her things were spread out and unbundled, she lay naked as all her clothes were scattered. The orphans carried their kins woman to her house. When they came to her house, they met another female kin who was going out to fetch water. When they brought the older woman up through the bamboo ladder, they saw that her vagina was "nasaungan" or has grown protruding tusks like that of an old boar. "So this is the cause, why you never got married, because your vagina has grown tusks" said the orphans. Then they went out of the house to continue their way to the dap-ay to bring the basi to share, and to be recognized as members of the dap-ay.

The older woman kin heard what the orphans said about her vagina. She thought about it and told herself, "So this is the reason why I never got married. What then shall I do?" She though of becoming an "akangaw" bird, wherein she will shout aka akangaw the whole night long, but then she will not be endeared to her kin. She thought of becoming a koling bird that will make eerie kwiiiik kwiiiik sounds as it flies during the day. But again this will not endear her to her kins because agwiking ¹³or koling is known to be the bird of bad omen. The woman thought and uttered "I think it would be best to become a big robust tree, where my kin brothers shall look up for their shelter and livelihood, this is also for them to remember me." Then she called the orphans who just arrived from the dap-ay, "Come let us eat". The orphans then entered the house as called. But when they went inside, their older kin woman was not around. They asked their neighbors and the people they met if they have seen their older kinwoman but they answered in the negative. Their grandmother told them, "Go find her, so we will eat together." The orphans went out to look for her. They found ashes scattered along the way until the place where the seedlings grow. They continued walking till they came to the entrance of their village. They saw a Karamba¹⁴ collecting water under a small water duct near the resting place. When they looked upward they saw a bamboo basket. The older orphan commanded his younger brother to go up the tree and get the rattan basket, so they could bring it home. When the older boy took the rattan basket, birds flew out chirping loudly. The youngman went up the branches and he heard the voice of their missing kin woman say, "I became a robust tree that my kin brothers will look up to for their livelihood. This will serve as their capital materials to move on to prosperity." The kin woman went up another branch and wrapped herself around the branch saying "Here I will merge myself that my kin brothers shall have a place to settle down. All the animals that they raise shall multiply; all their efforts shall bear abundantly. The orphans went home. They told their grandmother all that they saw and heard. They told her that their kin woman turned to a tree. "If that is the case, go fell that tree" said their grandmother. "Climb up the tree and chop the lower big branches to make a rice granary, to make a shelter for you. Take also the small branches and the leaves to make your beddings." The orphans did as told. They chopped the wood to make their rice granary and hauled the timber home. They made pig pens from it; they made chicken houses. Then they carefully cafted their bed from the smaller branches and arranged the leaves to serve as their beddings.

When the orphans tapped the higher branches of the tree, it seemed full, as it made no hollow sounds. When they looked up they saw a column of dustlike particles coming from the crown. "Go higher" said the older brother, "Go cut that branch and we will see what use it would be for us." The younger one followed and when he tapped the branch; it sounder hollow inside. The orphans cut the hollow part and lo behold it holds the honeycombs of the Lukutan bees. The orphans finished their projects, and the woman tree provided for all their needs to start their settlement, and even their food.

The aunties told the orphans to start their settlement by starting to make their house. They worked till they finished everything. Then they went home to their grandmother. Their

grandmother asked them if they finished what they were doing. The orphans told her that they finished everything, from the roof and unto the floorings.

"So if that is the case, come inside and we will eat." After supper, their grandmother instructed them to prepare food that they would carry the next day in their journey.

They then made "patopat". In the early dawn, the orphans with their grandmother started on their journey.

They walked until the resting place that serves as the entry to their village. The grandmother said, "Take a rest while I'll find the right path for us to follow."

The grand mother cooked for them. And told them, "I think this is the place where we shall settle, where our bodies will rest, where animals we shall feed live and multiply, and so with our carabao. Let us sleep for night is coming". So they spent the night in the area.

Again when dawn came, their grandmother saw that the place is very fertile and that they were following the right path, she told the siblings, "You younger one go to Inuchey, while you older one go to Binongan."

The younger one then started on his journey until he reached the entry path to Inuchey. He heard somebody approaching and he recognized her as his dead aunt. He shouted, "You come nearer and I will beat you". But then the Auntie spoke to him, "Why will you beat me. Come and carry my load that is laden with the diffferent tools needed to prosper, such as those of Laganayan, and different wares for the household." The young man then took the load from his dead aunt, and then they walked back to where their grandmother was waiting. As they came near the entrance of their hut, their grandmother saw them and said, "It is good that you came back to life from the dead". The grandmother told them that they will wait for the older brother who went to Binongan.

As the older brother came to the entry path to Binongan, he saw their dead uncle coming toward him. "Come a bit nearer and I will beat you" warned the youngman to his dead uncle coming to him. The uncle told the youngman, "Why will you beat me up? Don't harm me, instead come and carry my heavy load. This contains different tools, ornaments and many other things needed by man to live, such as housewares and ornaments for the house, and such as the tools that Laganayan used for good to attain wealth and honor." The youngman took on the load from his uncle and they went back to their grandmother. "How good that you came back to life from the dead. Come in rest and smoke some tobacco." the grandmother told them.

After the ceremonial tabacco sharing and smoking, they prepared together to go out. They carried their backbaskets and they started towards the dap-ay. When they reached the entry they looked up to the men in the dap-ay.

The elders told the boys who were sleeping inside the dap-ay; "Do check who is missing in your sleeping area." The youngmen who dormed in the dap-ay told the elders that the two orphans were the ones who were not in their sleeping place in the dap-ay. The elders told the youngmen to go meet the approaching people. When they went to meet them, they found out that they were the two orphans with their grandmother, and the resurrected uncle and auntie.

The youngmen in the dap-ay looked with envy to the orphans laden with goods, and they told them, "So you went to look for work that you may live." The elders berated the youngmen who have been putting down the orphans. And are spending their days idly in the dap-ay, "Look they said, these orphans went out of their way to luck and hae productive, now good awaits them, unlike you who are just waiting idly for the luck to come."

The orphans with their grandmother went to the dap-ay, the grandmother told the people in the dap-ay, "Come meet us and take your share of what we brought you, while I will bring my orphans grandchildren to their house and perform the prescribed rituals." So they went to their new house and they performed the ritual of Daw-es. That will cleanse them of all their bad lucks, wards off any untoward misfortunes and make them retain their good luck.

<u>Songba Sapo – Talon nga daan (Prayer for Songba of old rice field)</u>

Awad kanu si Gallabay ad Tungdo. Men ob-obeg kanu pay si Ballawa na. Adi kanu et makaseyep. Tay teken nang pangdedengena nan pangaas nan kayan. Sabangen nan kayan. Adi kanu makaseyep ta sabali kanu nana panangdenge na as pangaas nan danum at kayan. Asa kanu pay kanan ni Galabay sin baballo na, "umey kayo man ilaen nan panagsyanan tako sa ad sabangen nan kinayakayan asa", kanan kanu ni Gallabay sin baballo na. Asa da kanu pay umey nan baballo na ed sabangan din kinayakayan. Ado kanu et nan iluslusab na ay naisag-a sag-a sinan pinagsyanan da. Ilaen da pay kanu nan iluslusab nas di ay nasag-a sag-a nan, sada-sadap nan pinagsyanan da. Nenlusaban da kanu es laganayan. Yan an nenlusaban das gumaingan. Nenlusaban das pudot ya inglit. Sa kanu pay mentauli nan baballo ay umey ken di apo da ay Gallabay. Sumangpet da kanu pay ken apo da ay Gallabay. "Anu pay nan enkayo nang ilaan san sabangan na kinayakayan asa?" kanan kanu Gallabay di. Sumungbat kanu din baballo nas di, "Enka mi man inila es, adu et nan ikapkapat nas di ay nasag-a sag-a nan panagsiyanan sidi. Tay nenlusaban da as laganayan ya nenlusaban da as tumaingan. Ya, nenlusaban da as pudot". "Et nu siya sa", kanan kanu ni Gallabay, "lagpien yo et nan sangi yo sa ta umey tako et kaqamkamen ta ipisok yo san sangi yo ta uway awad en sumongba as sugibat ya", kanan kanu nan apo da ay Gallabay di. Asa da kanu pay umay umey. Umey da kanu pay, sada kanu pay kagamkamen di nenlusaban da as gumaingan ya, nenlusaban da as laganayan, nenlusaban da as pudot ya inglit. Sa da kanu pay manuktupok san wanen di ginawang sidi. Umey da kanu pay ad santa sidi. Iyataat da kanu pay di ilaen da. Napanget kanu et nan panangila da sinan nengkasiidi da et nan mapat-a kanu ay panangila da et nan wanen nan kinayakayan. Sada kanu pay Manobo. Umey cha kanu pay ad safangan nan qinawang chas chid lagangilang. Iyataat cha kanu chin at cha sin safangen chin qinawang chas chi ad lagangilang. Napanget kanu et.

Iyataat cha pay kanu nan ata cha sichin wanen chin kinayakayan, sha kanu et nan mapat-a. "Aw ay baken yun sas egaw yos chi manongfa as sugifat cha ay", kanan kanu Gallabay di. "Chuwa chako et manubok assa". Siya cha kanu pay sufusufuk shichi, umey cha kanu pay as safangan ginawang cha ad itneg. Iyataat cha kanu pay nan ilaen chas chi ad ginawangan chas chi ad sabangan etnea. Mapanget kanu es ay chin wanenet chin kinayakayan sichi nan mapata. "Aw ay, baken es sa as manogfa as sugifat ay", kanan kanu Gallabay. Asa cha kanu pay manubok. Umey cha kanu pay as ginawang chi i-manabo. Iyataat, ikapas cha kanu pay es chin ilaen cha ed, ilaen cha si wanen chin safangan, ginawangan chas chi ad manabo. Napangat kanu et ay chin wanenet chin, kinayakayan chin, mapat-a. Ay nan mapat-a man asa nan suruten tako tay waig. Baken ngen sa as manongfa as sugifat cha. Sa cha kanu pay manubok, umey da kanu pay as sabangen, ginawang chas chi at tabangaw, masiwsiw. Ikapas cha kanu pay es nan ilaen chas chi ya, maburek kanu et nan panangila chas chi ay nan kinayakan man et ay chin, mapat –a ay chin, mapat-a ay ilaen cha. Sya chin. "Aw ay baken es sa as egaw chin manongfa ay suqifat cha?" kanan kanun si Gallabay chi. Sa da kanu pay isubok. Umchas cha kanu pay as qinawang ad Bangcagan shichi, safangan kulilas shichi. Iyataat cha pay kanu es sin ilaen cha ya mabunget kanu nan panang-ila cha ay chin ginawang, kinayakayan chan chin egaw din mapat-a ay panang-ila cha. "Ay nan mapat-a man sisa nan unuden chako ay", kanan kanu Gallabay chi. Et chuwa cha kanu ay kamkakamkamen chin iluslusap nas chi ay nenlusafan cha as laganayan ya, nenlusafan cha as gumaingan ya, nenlusafan cha as puchot ya inglit, nenlusafan cha as chabungan. Chuwa cha kanu et gamgamen ay ipispisok san sangi cha. Umchas cha kanu pay ad ginawang, ginawang san chamalin sina. Iyataat cha kanu pay nan ilaen cha ya, napuret kanu nan panang-ila cha sin kinayakayan sichi ay nan, ginawang sichi ad chamalin nan mapat-a. Ay nan ginawang man ad isa chamalin ay mapat-a nan panang-ila tako et ya pay chin unuden tako. Chuwa cha kanu et at kamkamen nan nenlusafan cha as, gumaingan ya ay, nenlusafan cha as chagungan ya, nenlusafan cha as laganayan, ya inglit. Sa cha kanu pay manufok sichi, ginawang sichi ay Chamalin. Umey cha kanu pay as Safangan agafaab sichi. Mabunet kanu et nan panang-ila chas safangen agafaab sichi. Ay nan ginawang kanu sichi Damalin nan mapat-a. "Ay nan, mapat-a man isa ay, ginawang asa Chamalin chi unuden chako tay aw ay siya chi nan egaw chi manoqfa as sugifat cha ay", ikaman kanu Gallabay chi sin baballo na. Sa cha kanu pay manubok, umey cha kanu pay as ginawang ad safangen, ginawang sichi ad fangsab. Iyakapas cha pay kanu nan ilaen cha sin ginawang cha schin fansaq ya, mabunet kanu et nan panangila cha. Ay nan chamalin man et nan, sichi man nan egaw nan mapat-a. Siya da kanu ay, siya man nan unuden chako ta siya pay nan mapat-a. Siya da kanu pay, dumateng si chi ad Amtuagan sichi. Awad cha kanu nan amam-a ay men amamillay, sumongfa as sugifat cha. "Na ay pay ay chumateng tako et nato cha nan amam-a ay men am-amillay si songfan chi sugifat cha ay", kanan kanu Gallabay chi. "Na-ay pay ay isawang mi pay nan, kinabkakamkam mi ay menlusaban yo as laganayan ya, menlusaban yo as chagungan ya, menlusaban yo as gumaingan, ya inglit. Na ay pay ay ichaskon mi pay ken dakayo ay manongfa as suqifat yo nan kinabkakamkam mi ta aw-awaten mi pay si Gallabay ay maqmaqabay chi itno na. Ya, nan atotong na ya lima. Saqafan pay es Gallabay sichi ya lima. Siya pay nan kumalian mi ay men ichaskon ken chakayo ay manoqfa es suqifat yo et is-isinen yo pay sak-en ay Gallabay ay magmagabay si itno na. Am-in ay agamang paya, lima. Agafang mi ya, lima. Ami-in nan atutong mi ya, lima nan atutong mi ya, panganan pay si laganayan. Ay sya pay nan gapu na ay imali ak ta ichaskon mi pay nan gasat kendakayo ay manogfa si sugibat yo et, aw awaten yo pay kanak si Gallabay ay magabay si itno na".

Kanan pay si Gallabay si chi en, "na-ay pay ay, isangpet mi nan gasat ken dakayo ay umiili et, aw-awaten yo pay sak-en ay Gallabay ay, magafay si itno na", kanana si chi. Ya, am-in nan, pakanen mi ya, lima chin atutong na. Am-in nan chagungan mi ya, lima chin kagafan na. Sya ay, awaten yo pay nan, isawang mi ken chakayo ay umiili ta enggam kayo pay, matatago ya, enggam kayon sumalun-at. Tay, na-ay pay ay makuwa nan songfan chi sugifat yo ay inmalian mi et, sak-en pay chi, ingangawit yo mo, manungfa kayo as sugifat yo pay tay achi yo pay kek-en na nu achi initcho ken chakayo ay lupaw".

In the olden days, Gallabay who dwells up in the sky world was deep in his thoughts. He could not sleep and was restless because the sound of the river that forked underneath him was unusual.

Being disturbed because of the unusual roar, Gallabay called his youngmen. He commanded them saying, "Go check why the sound of the river as it forked is unusual." The young men went to check the source of the unusual roaring sound. When the young men reached the place, they saw that there were a lot of gnarled and unruly tree branches clogging the flow. On top of the pile of branches was the temporary shelter where Lagayan rested while on his journey, where he cooked his food and retained the live charcoal for the next travellers to start their fire, and where he took a sip from the *basi* he brought along his journey. The young men then started fire and retired for the night.

The young men returned to Gallabay. Gallabay asked them "What did you discover as the cause of the unusual roar where the river forked? The young men answered, "We found out that a lot of gnarled branches were stacked where the river splits. On top of the pile is the shelter where Laganayan took refuge for shelter and warmth".

"So if that is the case, mused Gallabay, prepare yourselves, lift up your rattan backbaskets on your shoulders and we go to gather those materials and wood that Laganayan sheltered himself, where he tended the live charcoal and where he sipped basi and pack them in your back baskets (sangi) so that what you discovered will bring guide us, as we journey to the place where you can settle down for good."

So they started their journey to where the forked. The youngmen gathered the materials used by Laganayan, where he sheltered himself from the heat and the wind, and where he tended the live charcoal and packed these inside their sangi. They then started on their journey. They walked up the river till they reached the village of Santa. They looked around, far and near. The surroundings looked so dark and gloomy, the only bright side that they saw was the path following the river source. They continued their journey up the river following the bright path

till they came to were the river forked to Lagangilang. When they reached the the place where the river branched to Lagangilang, they observed that the place looked so dark, but there was a cleared pathway that was bright. Gallabay said "This is not the place for you to make farms and settle down, let us continue the journey".

They continued their journey upstream following the river source, till they came to where the river forked to the river of Itnem 16. They looked around for signs to guide their journey. Again the sorroundings portend darkness. Gallabay said, "This is not the place for you to farm and settle down. "They again followed the bright path till the forking of the river to the village of Manabo. They observed that the place looks bleak, like the color of dusk, when the light and darkness fight before total darkness. Again they followed the bright path following the river, till they came to where the river splits to the village of Tabangaw to the Masiwsiw River. They looked near and far. They observed that the surroundings are becoming brighter, "Sign of good luck", Gallabay said, "But this is not yet the place for you to settle". They then continued their journey following the brighter side, slithering up river till they reached the place where the river diverged to Batcagan (Poblacion, Luba). Again they observed that the place was dark, but the pathway that they were threading was bright. Gallabay commanded them to follow the bright path. The youngmen gathered their beddings that came from the beddings of Laganayan, where Laganayan sheltered himself from the heat and the evening chill, and packed them back in their sangi. They continued their journey till they reached the fork to the Damanil River. Again they looked around, far and near and the place was so dark but the river going to Damanil looked bright. They trekked upward following the Damanil River till they reached the place, where the Damanil river forked (this fork of the river proceeds to Amtuawagan). The fork going to Agabaab was so dark, but the fork leading to the village of Damanil was bright, so Gallabay told the young men, "We follow the bright path because that leads us to the place where you will clear and settle."

Following the Damanil River upward, they walked until the place where the river forked to the village of Fangsab. Again they observed for omens, and the bright path still leads upward following the Damanil. They followed the bright path till they came to Amtuagan.

When the party reached Amtuagan, they found men idly talking and sitting around the dap-ay. Gallabay told the idle men, "We are here to bring you a gift to make your life prosper. We brought you the things that the Laganayan rested. Make your dwellings sturdy to protect you and to have your hearth warm by retaining a live coal, like what Laganayan did. Here we bring you these offerings and learnings, so you may prosper like Gallabay whose pig throughs were five, whose rice granaries were five and whose chicken coops were also five."

Gallabay expounded his words, "Thus we are bringing you as a community good fortune. You follow my teachings for it will make you prosper. All the animals you shall feed shall multiply, your pig throughs shall be five, your rice granaries shall be five and your chicken coops also five. Receive these gifts as a community, we exhort you. You will live long and healthy. Thus you

perform the sangbo^{17.} Go gather reeds and bamboo to make your dwellings. You should never eat nor use what you did not work for, or sweated for, or what is not given to you. Be industrious and iligent and you will prosper."

Thus the people of Amtuagan performed the Sangbo and obeyed the laws laid by Gallabay.

Types of healing Practices

Aside from Sapo or healing prayers, the rich healing tradition, knowledge, and practices of the people of Amtuagan are manifested by their various healing practices. Among these are Aw-Awid. Ay-Ayag, Bakid, Bino, Bogboga, Daw-Es, Gomagatab, Kinag-Aw, Ngino, Sibisib, Songba, Tingiting, and Tumo. These practices have specific healing purpose and procedure, but almost common to these practices is the butchering of animals and the singing of chants or prayers.

<u>Aw-Awid</u>

Aw-awid is a ritual performed when a person is sick, when a woman has just given birth, or when a member of the family just passed away. An old woman usually performs the ritual. It is only performed by a man if women are not available.

The aw-awid for a sick person would require a pig, coconut shell with water, basi, liwliw and sharpened bamboo for pig butchering.

Aw-awid is performed so that the person would get well fast or die fast to ease the person's suffering. Before *aw-awid* is performed, the immediate family of the sick should all be present. Close relative will also be called. They would all chant.

They would then place water in their palms and clap near the ear of the pig causing the water to splash. If the pig shakes of the water, this would indicate that the illness will be cured. The bile of the pig would also be read after the pig is butchered. After eating, one relative would hold the liwliw and the sharpened bamboo, approach the sick and say "sawagak pay sik-a ta ibangon mu ta umunay ka" meaning, I bless you that you would get well and gain strength. All would take turn in doing so.

The Aw-awid for the grieving family follows the same procedure as the awawid for the sick. The former however is practiced to heal the soul of the bereaved family. As discussed, grieving and sorrow are perceived in the Maeng culture as possible causes of ill health. The Aw-awid is thus performed to pray for the grieving family to stay fit despite the death of a loved-one.

The *aw-awid* for a woman who just gave birth would require a pig, chicken, *sillot* (indigenous necklace), spear, *igao* (used to winnow rice) and hair.

The members of the immediate family, like what was described above, would place water in their palms and clap near the ear of the pig. The pig shaking off the water indicates that the mother and the newborn child would be healthy. The healer would tie the hair and *sillot* on the spear and place it above the *igao*. The healer then gets the chicken and chants that the mother and the newborn would stay healthy and that their soul that went near the water and met bad spirits would come home.

Ay-Ayaq

Ay-ayag is a ritual used to call the soul of a sick person. The Maengs believe that when the soul of a living person strays away from the body, the person will become sick. In this case, ay-ayag is to be performed.

To call the soul of the sick, the healer has to bring a piece of clothing of the sick and a rooster. If the healer knows the place where the soul is, the healer would go that place, holds the feet of the rooster and waves the rooster and the clothing. This is done while he calls the name of the person and asks the soul to go home or back to the person's house.

If the healer doesn't know the exact place where the soul of the person is, the healer goes to the highest place in the community. He/she would hold the rooster's feet and simultaneously wave the clothing and the chicken. At the same time, the healer calls the name of the person and encourages it to return and enjoy the comfort of one's home. The healer says: "sadinno man nga disso ti ayan mu, pangaasim ta agawid ka jay balay u. Han nga komporme dita ti pagturturungam ken pakikuykuyugam. Masapul nga agawid ka jay balay u ta ada ti balay nga isu ti pagnaidan isu ti paginanaan".

The healer would do this several times, facing different direction each time. The healer then goes back to the house of the sick.

When he reaches the door of the house, he waves the rooster and clothing and calls on the soul to come home. He then covers the chicken and the clothing with $kaga^{18}$. At about 4:00 in the afternoon, the healer gets the rooster and the clothing and one again calls out for the soul of the sick person. At dusk, the healer gets another chicken, chants and butchers the chicken.

Bakid and Tumo

Bakid is a ritual done after a house, building or any structure has been made while *Tumo* is done when one dreamed that he butchered an animal.

During the *Bakid*, a pig¹⁹, basi, rice, *sillot*, a piece of clothing by the house owner, 4 pieces of wood or *runo*, and a piece of iron rod are needed. The sillot is placed in the clothing. When the pig has been butchered, bile reading is done. After which, the community may eat. A whole leg

of the butchered pig is reserved for the one who performed the ritual. After eating, the head of the pig is boiled in preparation for the *Sakmeng* which will be done the next day.

The *basi* is important in this ritual as it is used to call and pray on the spirits, the souls of the house owners' ancestors, and the bad spirits not to inflict illness on the owners.

The next day, the *pinawit* or the snout of the pig is placed in the cooked rice. The owner of the house would gather the materials needed – *basi*, a weed called *sapiin* (used as a mat inside the pot when cooking rice), bamboo shoot (with leaves) and a match. The sapiin is placed in a pitcher of water. The *sacmeng*, a chant, is then performed.

The ritual performer would then tell the owner of the house to use a hat, get a machete and gather a bunch of wood. The owner should be very observant that no one (people or animal) would cross his path as he gets back to the house. When he gets in the house, he should remove the machete from his waist. The owners is not allowed to work for the next 2 days and also prohibited from gathering firewood. He should not bring any sour or stinking food inside the house in the same period. On the third day, the house owner is allowed to get dried firewood. The wood however should be small branches, tied into a bunch and carried into the house.

Bino

Bino is a ritual which can only be performed for the first child. This is done to protect the first child from illness. This may also be done if the first child is sick and has not undergone Bino yet. This ritual would require a pig to be butchered. Like in other rituals, the bile is read for signs. Prayers or chants for the child are also sung. Only elder women with expertise in ritual performance are allowed to perform the Bino.

Bogboga

Bogboga is done to cure headache in children. The healer would first do the ababyos or prayer. She would then tell a story of two sisters. If the headache is not yet cured, the healer would again pray and then tell another story. The second story is about a family looking for a place to stay. The third story is a story of a bird. After telling stories, the healer would hold the piik (nail or a piece of iron) and coconut shell. She would strike the coconut shell with the piik and chant "bogboga aniawa makaan ka tay nabogbogaan ka bogboga aniawa makaan ka tay nabogbogaan ka" encouging the soul and body of the child to get well as the bogboga has already been performed.

The story of two sisters:

There was once a family who had a small *uma* (swidden farm). One day, the father told his daughters to go to the *uma* to harvest string beans for their viand. The two sistrs obeyed and brough back the string beans. The next day, the sisters went back to the *uma* to harvest. Their father was wondering why his daughters keep on harvesting a lot while they only have a little uma. On the third day that the sisters went to the *uma*, they saw a man. The man asked them to urinate. After they urinated, the man approached and looked at the mark made by their urination.

One left a neat mark while the other had a scattered mark. The man told them to go home and tell their father that a man wanted to marry the one whose urine made a scattered mark. The two went home and did as they were told. The father, not knowing that the invisibleman followed her children home, asked the sisters why they didn't invite the man home.

The next day, the man came to their house and asked the father if he could marry one of his daughters. The father agreed. The man then suggested that they plant gourd in their uma. The father said they should plant rice, but the man insisted. When they harvested the gourd, the man built a ²⁰dapilan. When they feed the gourd to the dapilan, rice came out.

A few months later, the man said they should go to his town to get married. The people of the village were invited to the events. The man gave ash to his wife and instructed that she scatter it on the way leaving a trail so that the people would follow it to his town.

When the village people reached his town, everyone was amazed to see a spring of gold. When the ceremony was over, the man distributed deer as a token, one for each guest. When he was about to give the deer for his wife's cousin, the cousin would not accept the deer and asked for the *dapilan* instead. The man said, "Go downstream. I will let the *dapilan* float through the river so you do not have to carry it". The cousin did as he was instructed. The man pushed the dapilan to the river. As the dapilan approach the cousin, it turned into a boa and a big stone.

The story of the family looking for a shelter

There was a couple with a child who had no place to stay. They travelled to the next village hoping they would find a place to stay. Upon reaching the next village, the people asked them where they came from and why they came to the village. The couple answered that they came looking for a place to stay. People told the family that the village is already crowded and the family will not have any spot to buid their home. The couple decided to go back to their village. On their way back to their village, they heard a *kwiking*. The man said they should stop and rest for it is was a bad omen. They rested and built a fire from leaves and dry twigs.

After they have rested, they continued to walk towards their village. Upon reaching the edge of their village, the man's brother spotted them. He asked where they have been. The family answered that they went to the other village looking for a place to stay but the villagers said their village is already crowded. The brother let them in and gave them water to drink. Upon returning to their village, the family was surprised to see a house already built for them to stay.

The story of a bird:

There was a bird named *salibubu*. One day, the bird flew with the goal of getting to the river bank. Upon landing, the bird wondered why instead of being at the side of the river, it was in a sand area that it reached. The *salibubu* looked around and saw a very wide span of sand. The bird felt its wings as they were strating to grow coarse. The *salibubu* tried to fly, but the sand was on its wings make it hard to fly. The bird kept on trying and always ended up on the same place.

People believe that the *salibubu* would carry the sick child's headache away if the child's soul is determined to get well just like the *salibubu*.

Daw-es

Daw-es is done for the community or certain people to be protected from any harm, illness or even death. It is also done to cure the sick. Daw-es is also performed if one dreamed about an old man or woman arriving in their home. If *daw-es* is not performed, the person who dreamt will be sick.

Daw-es is more commonly performed as a cleansing ritual. It is performed by the elders to clean a person from the bad effects of his immoral or unlawful acts. Daw-es is also done to a person who encountered misfortunes. The ritual is also done to avert evil in the future. The sacrificial animal in Daw-es is iether a dog or a rooster, depending on the gravity of the act or misfortune. It is believed that the spirit of the rooster or the dog drives the evil or misfortune to a far away place.

Basi, pig and *liwliw* are needed. *Basi* is used to call the good spirits and to ask them to help bring good fortune to the person or community. Before the healer and anyone in the community drinks the *basi*, the healer prays for good fortune. The *liwliw* (picture shown at the left) serves as a shield from bad spirits.



To perform Daw-es, the healer first prepares all the materials needed. After the pig is butchered, the healer chants a prayer asking for good fortune, good health and protection from harm. The pig will then be cut and the liver be taken out. The healer then reads the bile. After the reading of the bile, the healer chants another prayer asking once again for good fortune, good health and protection from harm. The basi is then poured into the sabot (bowl made of dried coconut shell) and passed on to the people to drink.

After Daw-es, the healer and the community or person who had the ritual done is forbidden to work and gather wood for three days. They should not bring any foul smelling and sour things inside their house. After three days, the healer and the community or person who had the *daw-es* are already allowed to work or go about their usual activities.

Gomagatab

Gomagatab is a ritual used to cure toothache. For this ritual, the healer gets a small piece of wood and an axe. He asks the person who has toothache to stop crying (if the person is crying) and hold the piece of wood. The healer then chants and touches the back of the axe to the cheek or side of the face where the acing tooth is. The person whom gomagatab was perfored to is then forbidden to chew on anything until the pain disappears.

Kinag-Aw

Kinag-aw is a ritual done to ask for children. It is said to be one of the most expensive rituals. Relatives and friends from neighboring communities are invited to witness the ritual. The first step requires a large pig to be brought and butchered at the *agamang* (rice granary) area. While waiting for the pig's meat to be cooked, people dance and play the gongs.

After eating, people who witnessed the pig offering return to the house of the couple asking for offspring. 2 more pigs are required, one small and a large one, for the next part of the ritual. A *ballawa* (bed) should be placed beside the front door of the house prior to the next ritual performance. The smaller pig is placed below the *ballawa* while the bigger pig is placed above.

Men play the gongs in the *ballawa*. After the first two rituals have been performed, the visitors from neighboring communities bring home the pigs.

If a tree or a branch falls into the direction of the couple's house within a week after the *Kinagaw* ritual has been done, the couple must butcher another pig. After 5 days, daw-es should be done. Chicken is butchered. This is to drive away any untoward incident, illness or even death which may come into the couple and their family.

Ngino

Ngino is a healing ritual done exclusively for children from families who are Mapangpanginoan. ²¹They are families whose children need to undergo ngino while still young so that children would not be sickly. The condition, referred to as pangino, is said to be inherited in the family. The healer first makes a buyon, a special emblem believed to have powers to answer questions. The healer then asks the buyon if the sick child needs ngino.

If the sick child needs *ngino*, the child should be brought to the house of the grandparents who had *pangino*. The healer would ask the parents to gather what are needed: uncooked rice, an egg, and a chicken. The healer would do the *madmad*, the opening prayer. The egg and the rice would then be cooked separately. The chicken will then be given to the sick child for his tending. It is believed that the pre-rituals and taking care of the chicken cures the sick child. Also, according to community beliefs, chickens taken cared of by the *pangino* grow faster.

<u>Songba</u>

Songba is performed when illness is caused by the spirits living in the rice fields or springs. This is also performed when the spirits talk to people through their dreams. In songba, village people and the healer go to the rice field or the spring. They bring along a pig that serves as an offering for the spirit to remove the illness he has inflicted into a person. If it is indeed the spirit living in the rice field that inflicted the harm, the pig is killed and the sapo is performed. The healer also prays that the offering be accepted by the spirit. After the sapo or the prayer, the pig is slaughtered and cooked for the people to eat. After the songba is performed, all people present in the ritual must leave and go home. Everyone is forbidden to return to the rice field or the spring for one day.

Tingiting

Tingiting is a ritual performed when a person has been wounded. This is performed when one had an accident and was wounded by any sharp object while hunting or tending to animals. This is also performed when a person has a gunshot wound or wounded by another person.

Chicken, rice and *basi* are needed for this ritual. If a person has caused the wounds of another, that person provides all the needs for the ritual. The healer chants before he butchers the chicken. The healer then gets basi, touches the wound, and prays that the wound be healed. The healer next calls on the ancestors and asks that nothing untoward happens to the wounded.

When the chicken is cooked, the healer slice a small peice of liver, gets the head of the chicken and rice and place them in a plate as atang or offering.

Sibisib

Sibisib, like tingiting is performed to heal wounds. The healer searches for the weed amuwam. When he acquires the weed, he returns to the wounded, chants and touches the wound with the weed. He then says "kakaanim chi masigafan ta umunayen ta umalin-awa" meaning take away the illness that he may be cured and relieved.

While searching for the *amuwam*, the healer should be very keen in observing the surroundings. If he hears the sound of a *Kwiking* bird or any animal crosses his path, he must not continue. The healer returns to the wounded, waits for a while and then tries again.

Tumo

When a person dreamed that he butchered an animal – carabao, cow, pig, goat, or chicken – the *Tumo* should be performed to avoid deaths in the family. The animal required to be butchered during the ritual is the same as the one dreamt about. A rooster should also be butchered. It is forbidden for the members of the family to eat the rooster. This will be eaten only by the healer and his companion. The chant is then performed after all the members of the family have slept. The chant asks the *namarsua* (creator) to end the family's misfortune and wishes the family to live prosperously.

Other traditional healing methods

Because access to health facilities remains a problem in barangay Amtuagan, the people have adapted by preserving their traditional healing practices and by maximizing the healing potential of locally available plants.

Community peoples have likewise been increasing thir knowledge on helath and healing by participanting in seminars and trainings.

The use of medicinal plants has long been a practice in Amtuagan. Volunteer health workers were able to learn the different locally available medicinal plants and their uses through seminars and trainings given by different organizations.

To ensure accessibility and availability of healing plants when needed, the community created an herbal garden (picture shown below). The garden is maintained by the youth and the women. Every household was also encouraged by community health workers to have their own herbal garden.



Some community members have been able to attend several trainings and workshops that provide additional knowledge on health and healing. Among these trainings were the acupuncture and ventusa training given by CHESTCORE. Traditional healers were also able to attend these trainings thus enhanced their health knowledge and let them acquire additional skills for healing. Acupuncture has been practiced by a few since 1980's. The people of Antuagan who have experienced being treated with acupuncture testified that acupuncture is effective. The few who were able to learn acupuncture in the 80's, though, were not able to practice their skill freely. Those who know acupuncture fear of being accused as activists or rebels. Those who were able to learn acupuncture in the trainings conducted by CHESTCORE in 2012 use the skill to treat the sick in their family and in the community. Ventusa is seldom used by the people of Amtuagan as they prefer massage more.

Traditional Healers

Traditional healers in Amtuagan are not necessarily born in the village. Some of the traditional healers are *pakamang* from the neighboring barangays or other municipalities of Abra.

Traditional healers in Amtuagan may be knowledgable and skilled of several healing rituals.

They may have acquired and learned these from their parents, grandparents or other relatives who are also healers. Most learned through observing though.

The traditional healers, are not allowed to perform healing rituals when they are still young. The right age for a healer to perform rituals is not counted by the healer's age in years but is measured through one's position in the community or the age of one's grandchildren. The healer can not fully perform a ritual if he or she has not held any position in the community. He or she should first be considered an elder or held any position in the government or his or her grandchildren should be teenagers or older prior to healing.

When a person has earned the age or leadership status fit for a healer, he or she is given the right to try his/her skills in performing chants and rituals. If the first person whom he/she performed a healing ritual gets healed, the potential healer may continue healing and improve his skills. If the result of the first healing turns undesirable, the potential healer is disallowed by the community to continue performing chant and rituals. The banned healer may try to reprove his/her skill and gain the community's recognition five years after his/her unsuccessful healing attempt.

The Medicinal Plants of the Maeng Tribe in Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra

I. Kogon/ pan-aw

1. General Data

Use of plant	This is used to cure painful sensation when urinating.
Scientific name	Imperata cylindrical var. major
Local name	Kogon/ Pan-aw
Common name in Filipino	Kogon
Common foreign name	
Planting, gathering and storing (if applicable)	This is found within the community. There is no need to propagate or store this.
Part/s of the plant use	Young roots
Preparation, measurement of the part/s use	Young roots are gathered, washed and boiled in water.
Additional information	
Dosage	There is no exact volume of the decoction required for the patient to drink for as long as the patient drinks this 3 times in a day.
Negative effects and precaution	There are no known negative effects.
Additional information	
Informants	The Community Health Workers of Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra
Address of the informant	Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra

Name of data collector	Rosalinda Suyam, Paul Ao-wat
Date of collection	June 2013

Scientific name	Imperata cylindrical var. major
Local name	Kogon/Pan-aw
Field Number	
Herbarium Number	
Collector/s	
Collector Number	
Place of collection	
Common area where the plant live	The plant thrives in all soil types. It thrives in grasslands, in cliffs or even under the trees.
Latitude	
Altitude above sea level	
Habitat	
Measurement	The leaves may grow up to a length of 2.5 feet. The roots may extend several feet allowing the grass to grow and cover several square foot of soil area.
Flower	
Seeds	

Name of specimen collector	
Date of specimen collection	
Place of storage	
Data collector	
Date	

3a if medical indication

If there are medical uses	
What are the ailments it can heal	According to the informants, the plant is used to cure Urinary Tract Infetion (UTI).
Description of the ailment	The ailment is characterized by painful sensation when urinating.
Cause of the ailment	Heat and drinking less water
How is it diagnosed	Painful sensation when urinating. Sometimes, blood streaks may be visible with the urine.
Healing	The young roots are washed and boiled to produce a decoction. The decoction is drunk by the patient. The patient should drink thrice in a day. The symptoms usually go away after 2 or 3 days of treatment.
Name of data collector	Rosalinda Suyam, Paul Ao-wat
Date	June 2013

4. Informant data

The informants are Community Health Workers of Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra.

II. Ginseng





1. General Data

Use of plant	 a. To cure cough. b. Cure bruises and wound resulting from dog bite or snake bite. c. Relieve symptoms of ulcer d. Cure several illness (which the Community Health Workers did not specify. They believe that ginseng can cure numerous illness.
Scientific name	
Local name	Ginseng
Common name in Filipino	Ginseng
Common foreign name	Ginseng
Planting, gathering and	The plant is cultivated in the backyard herbal garden in Amtuagan.

storing (if applicable)	
Part/s of the plant use	a. Leavesb. Leavesc. Leavesd. Roots and bark
Preparation, measurement of the part/s use	 a. Boil 3-5 leaves in water. b. One leaf is washed and pounded. It is applied in the affected area. c. Decoction. d. Soak roots and/or bark in red wine.
Additional information	
Dosage	 a. Drink the resulting decoction 3 times a day. b. Poultice is applied at least once a day. c. The decoction is drunk 3 times a day. d. Drink from the wine with roots and bark of ginseng 3 times a day.
Negative effects and precaution	No known negative effects.
Additional information	
Informants	The Community Health Workers of Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra
Address of the informant	Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra
Name of data collector	Rosalinda Suyam, Paul Ao-wat
Date of collection	June 2013

Scientific name	
Local name	Ginseng
Field Number	
Herbarium Number	
Collector/s	
Collector Number	
Place of collection	
Common area where the plant live	The plant is introduced in the area. These were bought either in Bangued or in Baguio City. These are planted in flower pots.
Latitude	
Altitude above sea level	
Habitat	
Measurement	The plant may grow to a height of 3 feet.
Flower	
Seeds	
Name of specimen collector	
Date of specimen collection	
Place of storage	

Data collector	
Date	

3a if medical indication

If there are medical uses	
What are the ailments it can heal	 a. This plant may be used to cure cough of any kind. b. Cure bruises and wound resulting from dog bite or snake bite. c. Relieve symptoms of ulcer d. Cure several illness (which the Community Health Workers did not specify. They believe that ginseng can cure numerous illness.
Description of the ailment	
Cause of the ailment	 a. Cold weather, dust. b. Falling off or being bumped into hard objects causes bruises. Wounds would result from dogbite or snake bite. c. Not eating on time (before going to field to work, lunch and dinner time) d. Not specified.
How is it diagnosed	 a. Through the symptoms seen in the patient. b. Skin discoloration, usually bluish black in color, indicating internal bleeding in the tissues. Cuts in the skin causes by teeth of dog or snake. c. Heartburn. d. Not specified
Healing	Healing may take 2 or more days upon starting to drink the decoction from the leaves of the ginseng plant.

Name of data collector	Rosalinda Suyam, Paul Ao-wat
Date	June 2013

4. Informant data

The informants are Community Health Workers of Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra.

III. Pancit-pancitan

1. General Data

Use of plant	To relieve the symptoms of ulcer, hypertension and arthritis.
Scientific name	
Local name	Pancit-pancitan
Common name in Filipino	Pancit-pancitan
Common foreign name	
Planting, gathering and storing (if applicable)	The plant is gathered fresh if needed. These are neither cultivated nor stored for future use.
Part/s of the plant use	Whole plant including the roots
Preparation, measurement of the part/s use	The plant is steamed or soaked in boiling water and eaten.
Additional information	
Dosage	There is no required volume of plant to be used.
Negative effects and precaution	No known negative effects
Additional information	
Informants	The Community Health Workers of Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra
Address of the informant	Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra
Name of data collector	Rosalinda Suyam, Paul Ao-wat
Date of collection	June 2013

Scientific name	
Local name	Pancit-pancitan
Field Number	
Herbarium Number	
Collector/s	
Collector Number	
Place of collection	
Common area where the plant live	The plant grows in damp mossy areas. Usually they grow in the mossy ripraps.
Latitude	
Altitude above sea level	
Habitat	
Measurement	Mature plants range from 4 to 6 inches tall.
Flower	
Seeds	
Name of specimen collector	
Date of specimen collection	
Place of storage	

Data collector	
Date	

3a if medical indication

If there are medical uses	
What are the ailments it can heal	The plant is used to relieve the symptoms of ulcer, arthritis and helps control blood pressure for hypertensive patients.
Description of the ailment	 a. Ulcer – heartburn b. Arthritis – joint pain and swelling of the joints c. Hypertension – blood pressure is high, pain may be felt in the nape area, the patient is also easily irritated and angered.
Cause of the ailment	 a. Ulcer – not eating at the right time b. Arthritis – age related, sudden change of body temperature when one who just came from work suddenly soaks in the water, or being soaked in water for long periods of time such as during the time they are working in the rice field. c. Hypertension – inherited. May also be diet-related. This may be caused by salty or fatty diet.
How is it diagnosed	 a. Ulcer – symptom (heartburn) is felt b. Arthritis – pain and swelling of the joints c. Hypertension – the patient feels the symptoms listed above. This could be diagnosed by checking the blood pressure of a person.
Healing	Healing time may take a day or more depending on each individual and the gravity of the illness.

Name of data collector	Rosalinda Suyam, Paul Ao-wat
Date	June 2013

4. Informant data

The informants are Community Health Workers of Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra.

IV. Subusob

1. General Data

Han of alout	Companying materials at infantian (UTI) and the formation of the control of the c
Use of plant	Cure urinary tract infection (UTI), cough, fever and hypertension
Scientific name	Blumea balsamifera L.
Local name	Subusob
Common name in Filipino	Sambong
Common foreign name	
Planting, gathering and storing (if applicable)	The plant is neither cultivated nor stored.
Part/s of the plant use	Leaves
Preparation, measurement of the part/s use	Measure 1 cup of freshly gathered leaves. Cut the leaves into small parts and boil it in 1 cup of water. Boil for about 15 minutes. Strain the leaves separating it from the resulting decoction.
Additional information	
Dosage	The resulting decoction is drunk as one dose. The patient should be given decoction three times a day.
Negative effects and precaution	No known negative effects.
Additional information	
Informants	The Community Health Workers of Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra
Address of the informant	Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra
Name of data collector	Rosalinda Suyam, Paul Ao-wat

Date of collection	June 2013

Scientific name	Blumea balsamifera L.
Local name	Subusob
Field Number	
Herbarium Number	
Collector/s	
Collector Number	
Place of collection	
Common area where the plant live	The plant grows everywhere. They may grow on the side of the road, rice field or houses.
Latitude	
Altitude above sea level	
Habitat	
Measurement	Mature plants measures from 4 to 6 feet in height.
Flower	
Seeds	
Name of specimen collector	
Date of specimen collection	

Place of storage	
Data collector	
Date	

3a if medical indication

If there are medical uses	
What are the ailments it can heal	a. Cough b. Fever c. Hypertension
Description of the ailment	 a. Cough b. Fever – the patient feels hot. The skin and eyes feel hot. c. Hypertension – blood pressure is high, pain may be felt in the nape area, the patient is also easily irritated and angered.
Cause of the ailment	 a. Cough – cold weather, dust. b. Fever – any infection. c. Hypertension – inherited. May also be diet-related. This may be caused by salty or fatty diet.
How is it diagnosed	 a. Cough – the patient is heard coughing. b. Fever – temperature is taken using the thermometer or in the absence of a thermometer, comparing the body heat of the patient with someone who is not sick. c. Hypertension – the patient feels the symptoms listed above. This could be diagnosed by checking the blood pressure of a person.
Healing	 a. Cough – healing may take 3 or more days b. Fever – healing would take minimum of 1 day c. Hypertension – blood pressure may normalize within a day.

Name of data collector	Rosalinda Suyam, Paul Ao-wat
Date	June 2013

4. Informant data

The informants are Community Health Workers of Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra.

V. Balete

1. General Data

Use of plant	Hasten blood clotting to avoid excessive bleeding
Scientific name	Ficus sp.
Local name	Balete
Common name in Filipino	Balete
Common foreign name	
Planting, gathering and storing (if applicable)	The plant is neither cultivated nor stored for future use.
Part/s of the plant use	Bark
Preparation, measurement of the part/s use	Sufficient size of bark to cover the wound is cut from the tree. The wound will be covered with the bark with the inner layer touching the wound. Cloth or bandage may be used to hold the bark in place and add pressure to the wound.
Additional information	
Dosage	Poultice is done once.
Negative effects and precaution	No known negative effects.
Additional information	
Informants	The Community Health Workers of Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra
Address of the informant	Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra
Name of data collector	Rosalinda Suyam, Paul Ao-wat

Date of collection	June 2013

Scientific name	Ficus sp.
Local name	Balete
Field Number	
Herbarium Number	
Collector/s	
Collector Number	
Place of collection	
Common area where the plant live	The tree may grow anywhere within the community. It commonly grows in the mountainside and near the river or any water source.
Latitude	
Altitude above sea level	
Habitat	
Measurement	
Flower	
Seeds	
Name of specimen collector	
Date of specimen collection	

Place of storage	
Data collector	
Date	

3a if medical indication

If there are medical uses	
What are the ailments it can heal	The bark of the balete tree is used to hasten blood clotting to avoid excessive bleeding
Description of the ailment	Bleeding wound.
Cause of the ailment	Cuts in the skin. May be deep or shallow wound.
How is it diagnosed	Cut is seen on the skin and blood flows from it.
Healing	The bleeding may stop immediately after the bark has been placed on the wound.
Name of data collector	Rosalinda Suyam, Paul Ao-wat
Date	June 2013

4. Informant data

The informants are Community Health Workers of Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra.

VI. Andadasi

1. General Data

Use of plant	Used to cure skin fungal infection such as <i>kurad</i> (ring worm), <i>kamanaw</i> (an-an in tagalog, these are discoloured whitish patches on the skin), <i>gaddil</i> (fungal infection with skin ulceration), <i>dagala/alipunga</i> (athlete's foot) and <i>lasi</i> (dandruff).
Scientific name	Cassia alata L.
Local name	Andadasi
Common name in Filipino	Akapulko
Common foreign name	Ringworm bush
Planting, gathering and storing (if applicable)	The plant is neither cultivated nor stored.
Part/s of the plant use	Leaves
Preparation, measurement of the part/s use	For treatment of <i>kurad, kamanaw, gaddila</i> and <i>dagala,</i> leaves are pounded and applied over affected area. For treatment of <i>lasi</i> , the leaves are pounded; the juice is extracted and mixed with water. This is used to wash the hair of a person with <i>lasi</i> .
Additional information	
Dosage	Sufficient amount to cover the affected area is needed. The treatment is done at least once a day.
Negative effects and precaution	No known negative effect.
Additional information	
Informants	The Community Health Workers of Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra

Address of the informant	Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra
Name of data collector	Rosalinda Suyam, Paul Ao-wat
Date of collection	June 2013

Scientific name	Cassia alata L.
Local name	Andadasi
Field Number	
Herbarium Number	
Collector/s	
Collector Number	
Place of collection	
Common area where the plant live	The plant commonly grows in dry soil. They grow in the stony part river banks away from the flow of the water.
Latitude	
Altitude above sea level	
Habitat	
Measurement	
Flower	

Seeds	
Name of specimen collector	
Date of specimen collection	
Place of storage	
Data collector	
Date	

3a if medical indication

If there are medical uses	
What are the ailments it can heal	a. Kurad b. Kamanaw c. Dagala d. Gaddil e. Lasi
Description of the ailment	 a. Kurad – characterized by itchy feeling, it starts with a round whitish elevated spot in the skin which widens in area. b. Kamanaw – this is characterized by white discoloration in the skin which are irregular in shape. c. Dagala – characterized by itchy feeling in between the toes. The skin may be peeling off causing wounds. d. Gaddil – characterized by itchy feeling and ulcerations in the skin. e. Lasi – characterized by itchy scalp. Sometimes flakes may be visible.
Cause of the ailment	a. <i>Kurad</i> – fungal infection b. <i>Kamanaw</i> – fungal infection

	 c. Dagala – fungal infection. The foot is soaked in water for long periods of time. d. Gaddil – fungal infection e. Lasi – fungal infection, dry scalp
How is it diagnosed	 a. Kurad – skin is observed for signs and symptoms b. Kamanaw – skin is observed for signs and symptoms c. Dagala – skin is observed for signs and symptoms d. Gaddil – skin is observed for signs and symptoms e. Lasi – skin is observed for signs and symptoms
Healing	Healing may take a week or more.
Name of data collector	Rosalinda Suyam, Paul Ao-wat
Date	June 2013

4. Informant data

The informants are Community Health Workers of Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra.

VII. Gayyab

1. General Data

Use of plant	Used to cure cough, stomach ache, and for wound healing.
Scientific name	Psidium guajava L.
Local name	Gayyab
Common name in Filipino	Bayabas
Common foreign name	
Planting, gathering and storing (if applicable)	The plant is neither cultivated nor stored.
Part/s of the plant use	Young leaves and shoot
Preparation, measurement of the part/s use	 a. Cough – boil 1 cup of fresh young leaves in 2 cups of water for 20 minutes. b. Stomach ache – chew young leaves c. Wound cleaning – boil leaves for 15 minutes. Cool the solution. Wash the wound with the decoction.
Additional information	
Dosage	 a. Cough – the resulting decoction is divided into three. One part is one dose. The decoction is taken 3 times a day for minimum of 3 days. b. Stomach ache – there is no
Negative effects and precaution	No known negative effects.
Additional information	
Informants	The Community Health Workers of Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra

Address of the informant	Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra
Name of data collector	Rosalinda Suyam, Paul Ao-wat
Date of collection	June 2013

Scientific name	Psidium guajava L.
Local name	Gayyab
Field Number	
Herbarium Number	
Collector/s	
Collector Number	
Place of collection	
Common area where the plant live	Common in all areas.
Latitude	
Altitude above sea level	
Habitat	
Measurement	
Flower	

Seeds	
Name of specimen collector	
Date of specimen collection	
Place of storage	
Data collector	
Date	

3a if medical indication

If there are medical uses	
What are the ailments it can heal	a. Coughb. Stomach achec. Prevents infection in wound
Description of the ailment	a. Coughb. Stomach ache – pain in the abdomen.c. Prevents infection in wound
Cause of the ailment	 a. Cough – cold weather, dust b. Stomach ache – eating a lot, not eating on time, eating spoiled food c. Prevents infection in wound – wounds are caused by cuts in the skin
How is it diagnosed	 a. Cough – symptoms are observed in the patient b. Stomach ache – symptoms are observed in the patient c. Prevents infection in wound – cuts are seen in the skin
Healing	a. Cough – may take 3 or more daysb. Stomach ache – effect should be immediate

	c. Prevents infection in wound
Name of data collector	Rosalinda Suyam, Paul Ao-wat
Date	June 2013

4. Informant data

The informants are Community Health Workers of Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra.

VIII. Oregano



1. General Data

Use of plant	Cure cough
Scientific name	
Local name	Oregano
Common name in Filipino	Oregano
Common foreign name	
Planting, gathering and storing (if applicable)	The plant is cultivated in the backyard herbal garden. It is propagated through cutting the stem and replanting.

Part/s of the plant use	Leaves
Preparation, measurement of the part/s use	5 leaves are heated. The juice is extracted and mixed with 5 teaspoons of honey.
Additional information	
Dosage	1 teaspoon three times a day for minimum of 3 days
Negative effects and precaution	No known negative effects
Additional information	
Informants	The Community Health Workers of Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra
Address of the informant	Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra
Name of data collector	Rosalinda Suyam, Paul Ao-wat
Date of collection	June 2013

Scientific name	
Local name	Oregano
Field Number	
Herbarium Number	
Collector/s	
Collector Number	
Place of collection	
Common area where the plant live	The plant is cultivated in the backyard herbal garden.
Latitude	
Altitude above sea level	
Habitat	
Measurement	
Flower	
Seeds	
Name of specimen collector	
Date of specimen collection	
Place of storage	

Data collector	
Date	

3a if medical indication

If there are medical uses	
What are the ailments it can heal	Cough
Description of the ailment	
Cause of the ailment	Cold weather, dust
How is it diagnosed	Coughing is heard from the patient
Healing	Healing would take 3 or more days.
Name of data collector	Rosalinda Suyam, Paul Ao-wat
Date	June 2013

4. Informant data

The informants are Community Health Workers of Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra.

IX. Kutsay



1. General Data

Use of plant	Wound healing, inflammations, cough, kabab (gas pain)
Scientific name	
Local name	Kutsay
Common name in Filipino	Kutsay
Common foreign name	Onion chives
Planting, gathering and storing (if applicable)	Cultivated in the backyard herbal garden
Part/s of the plant use	Leaves
Preparation, measurement of	a. Wound healing – poultice

the part/s use	 b. Inflammation – poultice c. Cough – extract juice from the leaves d. <i>Kabab</i> – poultice
Additional information	
Dosage	 a. Wound healing – apply poultice twice a day b. Inflammation – apply poultice twice a day c. Cough – drink 1 teaspoon of juice from the leaves three times a day. Sugar may be added d. <i>Kabab</i> – apply as needed
Negative effects and precaution	No known negative effect
Additional information	
Informants	The Community Health Workers of Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra
Address of the informant	Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra
Name of data collector	Rosalinda Suyam, Paul Ao-wat
Date of collection	June 2013

Scientific name	
Local name	Kutsay
Field Number	
Herbarium Number	
Collector/s	
Collector Number	
Place of collection	
Common area where the plant live	Cultivate in the backyard herbal garden
Latitude	
Altitude above sea level	
Habitat	
Measurement	
Flower	
Seeds	
Name of specimen collector	
Date of specimen collection	
Place of storage	
Data collector	

Date	

3a if medical indication

If there are medical uses	
What are the ailments it can heal	a. Woundsb. Inflammationsc. Coughd. Kabab
Description of the ailment	 a. Wounds b. Inflammations – pain and swelling spot in the body c. Cough – coughing d. <i>Kabab</i> – gassy feeling, stomach ache
Cause of the ailment	 a. Wounds – cuts b. Inflammations – insect bites, bumping into hard objects, falling c. Cough – cold weather, dust d. <i>Kabab</i> – eating gassy food such as sweet potato, eating a lot when excessively hungry
How is it diagnosed	 a. Wounds – cuts are visible b. Inflammations – swelling and redish portion of th skin. May either be itchy if caused by insect bite or painful if otherwise. c. Cough – coughing d. <i>Kabab</i> – stomach ache
Healing	 a. Wounds – the kutsay hastens wound healing b. Inflammations – immediate effect c. Cough – 3 or more days healing d. <i>Kabab</i> – immediate effect
Name of data collector	Rosalinda Suyam, Paul Ao-wat
Date	June 2013

4. Informant data	
The informants are Community Health Workers of Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra.	
Phase II Documentation of Philippine Traditional Knowledge and Practices on Health and Development of Traditional Knowledge Digital Library on Health for	

X. Tagumbaw

1. General Data

Use of plant	Used to cure a. Sprain b. Diarrhea c. Fever
Scientific name	Jatropha curcas L.
Local name	Tagumbaw
Common name in Filipino	Tubang bakod
Common foreign name	Big purge nut, physic nut, purging nut tree
Planting, gathering and storing (if applicable)	Planted in the community herbal garden or in backyard
Part/s of the plant use	 a. Sprain – bark b. Diarrhea – sap c. Fever – leaves
Preparation, measurement of the part/s use	 a. Sprain – spread the bark. On the inner portion, apply oil. Heat and apply on the joint while still warm. b. Diarrhea – gather sap. c. Fever – place 1-3 leaves in the forehead.
Additional information	
Dosage	 a. Sprain – apply 2x a day b. Diarrhea – drink 1 teaspoon of sap 3 times a day c. Fever – as needed.
Negative effects and precaution	No known negative effect
Additional information	

Informants	The Community Health Workers of Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra
Address of the informant	Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra
Name of data collector	Rosalinda Suyam, Paul Ao-wat
Date of collection	June 2013

Scientific name	Jatropha curcas L.
Local name	Tagumbaw
Field Number	
Herbarium Number	
Collector/s	
Collector Number	
Place of collection	
Common area where the plant live	Herbal garden of the community or in the backyard
Latitude	
Altitude above sea level	
Habitat	
Measurement	
Flower	

Seeds	
Name of specimen collector	
Date of specimen collection	
Place of storage	
Data collector	
Date	

3a if medical indication

If there are medical uses	
What are the ailments it can heal	a. Sprain b. Diarrhea c. Fever
Description of the ailment	 a. Sprain – painful, swelling and may be bruised joint area b. Diarrhea – frequent and soft stool c. Fever – warm feeling
Cause of the ailment	 a. Sprain – <i>natapilok</i> b. Diarrhea – eating spoiled food c. Fever – infections
How is it diagnosed	 a. Sprain – signs and symptoms are present b. Diarrhea – frequent and soft stool c. Fever – temperature taken with a thermometer
Healing	 a. Sprain – may take 2 or more days b. Diarrhea – immediate but may take 1-2 days c. Fever – immediate effect

Name of data collector	Rosalinda Suyam, Paul Ao-wat
Date	June 2013

4. Informant data

The informants are Community Health Workers of Amtuagan, Tubo, Abra.