

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 UMA TRIBE of Western uma, Lubuagan, Kalinga, Cordillera Administrative Region.

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2013

The Knowledge and Practices on Health of the Uma tribe in Western Uma, Lubuagan, Kalinga

Ethnographic findings

I. Community Profile

Geography and topography

Western Uma, Lubuagan, Kalinga is a home for the Uma tribe of Kalinga province in the Cordillera Region of Northern Philippines. It is one of the barangays within the Municipality of Lubuagan lying 800 meters above sea level and found in the eastern part of the Cordillera Region. It is a mountainous community which is suitable for all plants that thrive in temperate climate. It has a total land area of 2,014.828 square meters with its total half portion as a forest. From the land area, 50 hectares of this is being utilized by the community for rice fields and 50 hectares of this is orchard planted with coffee and fruit trees. 50 hectares is used for swidden farming and 30 hectares is residential. (Barangay profile, 2009)



The view of Western Uma from *bubong* (one of the peaks within the Uma tribe's territory).

The community is found in the middle of rugged mountains and surrounded by bodies of water that includes rivers, springs, waterfalls and creeks. Below the rugged mountains and beside the rivers are rice paddies. Western Uma according to the elders was once known for a name, “Wowok” or water source because you can find water source everywhere.

Just beside the community are various tribes of Kalinga that includes Balatoc tribe of Pasil; Sumadel and Colayo tribes of Tinglayan to whom the Uma tribe has forged peace pacts with a long time ago. They are maintaining peaceful relations by not encroaching in each other’s territories. Their forefathers declared boundaries not based on land area but base on rivers and mountains that separates their territories. Mt. Awidon/Awijon marks the territorial boundaries of Lubuagan, Uma and Pasil tribes. Members of the Uma tribe who are growing water cress in their rivers are selling this product to Balatoc tribe in Batong Buhay.

Access

From Tabuk City which is the capital center of Kalinga Province, you can reach Western Uma by jeep for 5-7 hours bumpy ride. The jeep traverses the national highway which is the Tabuk-Bontoc road passing through the mighty Chico River. When the jeep reaches the territory of the municipality of Lubuagan, it turns to Lubuagan-Batong Buhay provincial road where passengers experience a couple of hours of heart stopping ride because if the driver is not well trained, the jeep might fall into the ravine. The road is narrow that every time the driver sees a vehicle Tabuk bound, he will find a relatively wider portion of the road to park or else, the two vehicles will not fit that can cause a road mishap. The jeep fare is Php100.00 (US\$2.3) from the capital center to the community.

There are two trips daily plying the Lubuagan-Batong Buhay road. Its terminal is found at the Dagupan, Tabuk Public Market in front of Balageo’s General Merchandise. The 1st trip departs from Tabuk City at 7AM and the 2nd trip at 8AM. Passengers who want to sit inside the jeep should be at the terminal an hour before the departure or else, they will sit on top. The two trips arrive in Western Uma at around 12 noon to 3PM depending on the road situation. The travel is usually slower during rainy season especially when reaching the Lubuagan-Batong Buhay road because it gets muddy and slippery. The overloading is also one factor that is causing the slow travel. Jeeps are usually overloaded with supplies and people. Most of the time, there are more passengers on the top load than those sitting inside.

On the other hand, there are also two trips daily leaving Western Uma for Tabuk City. The 1st trip leaves at 7AM. The jeep for this trip parks beside the waiting shed in Sitio Ag-agama to wait for passengers after it goes around Sitio Latawan. The 2nd trip comes from Batong Buhay and arrives in Western Uma at around 9AM. The travel going back to Tabuk is usually shorter,

if a passenger gets the 1st trip; he/she arrives in Tabuk at 11AM. The 2nd trip on the other hand arrives in Tabuk at 12 noon to 1PM.

Aside from the public transportation, some people in the village have motorbikes which are usually used by the community for emergency purposes.

Population

According to the latest population census in the barangay which was in 2009, the total population is 1,210 (658 males and 552 females) with 207 households and 226 families. The community is patriarchal with men heading the family. The population is dominated by farmers and farm laborers. There are a few of them who are professionals or those who are working with the government and private institutions receiving minimum wage or even higher. The literacy rate is 92%. However, this only pertains to those who can read and write. The barangay profile says that majority of those within the 92% only reaches until high school level. Below is a table of the educational attainment of the population.

Educational Attainment	Population
College Graduates	59
College level	91
High School grad	58
High School level	242
Elem. Graduate	2
Elementary Level	529
Illiterates	95

Livelihood

They live through traditional way of farming. They mainly rely on their wet rice harvest which is twice a year. To augment their rice produce, the community also engages into swidden farming. They are also growing water cress as source of cash and an emergency viand. Other cash crop includes *sayote* and *pechay*. Coffee is also planted mainly for consumption and secondary for selling. Moreover, the community is endemic of tiger grass which is a raw material for their soft broom industry. According to the Barangay profile, the village is producing an average of 5,000 brooms per year. Most of the families are into hog raising.



The rice paddies and its golden grain just before harvest in October 2012. (left photo)



A swidden farm in Sitio Ag-agama planted with corn. (photo on the left)



Preparing the harvested tiger grass for soft broom making. The rattan hanged in the middle of the photo are gathered in the forest for a minimum of 5 days.



Viernes Bommosao, one of the Key Informants making a soft broom during the interview.



One of the women in the community gathering water cress and shells for dinner. (photo on the left)

Governance

The Local Government Unit which is the Barangay Council is dominated by men. At present, there is only one woman member of the barangay council who is also one of the key leaders of Uma Women in Action (UWA), a chapter of *Innabuyog-Kalinga*. The barangay council is the present governing unit of the village and the main decision making body. However, consultations are conducted through a community meeting involving leaders of the village with minimal participation of women.

Natural resources

1. Water

The area is very rich in water resources that are evident with its three main rivers, numerous creeks, springs (including hot springs) and waterfalls. According to the elders of the Uma tribe, their village was once called “Wowok” or water shed. Bon-ayan River, one of their large bodies of water in the barangay which is found in Sitio Ag-agama gives life to most of the rice paddies and also where water cress are grown. It is also the river that turns the turbine of the micro-hydroelectric power plant operated by the community. It is now supplying majority of Western Uma’s households.

The micro hydro was facilitated by Cordillera Disaster Response and Development Services (CorDis RDS) and was already turn-over to Ag-agama Electric Cooperative (Agelco) which was formed by the community in order to manage the power plant.

Other rivers in the village are Cachamayan found in Sitio Latawan. Waterfalls are also found in the two main rivers in the community where the children and young people often go for picnic especially on summer. Lon-oy waterfalls is found above the Bon-ayan river and Cachamayan waterfalls along the Cachamayan River. The village has nine (9) springs which are also their sources of potable water. These springs are tested and proven safe.

Springs	Location
a. Masicutan	Sitio Mallongan
b. Tangkiban	Sitio Ag-agama
c. Kabiggen	Sitio Ag-agama
d. Baktot	Sitio Ag-agama
e. Sadingat	Sitio Ag-agama
f. Bon-ayan	Sitio Ag-agama
g. Amputlic	Sitio Latawan
h. Acebaobo	Sitio Latawan
i. Araneta	Sitio Latawan

Stories from the elders in the community told that the bodies of water in the village were once rich in various types of fresh water fish and other creatures. *Agama* or crabs were very abundant long ago that was the reason why Sitio Ag-agama was named as such. However they said, due to the pollution brought by the mine operation of Batong Buhay, those cannot be enjoyed by the tribe anymore. They were thankful that the said mine firm was closed or else, even the bodies of water would have vanished.

On the other hand, aside from waterfalls, rivers and creeks, Western Uma also has hot spring in the middle of the rice paddies. *Sun-ot* hot springs has been proven by the community to heal scabies and other types of skin diseases. Thus, it is where people suffering from skin diseases take a bath. This was also a sign that their land area is a potential for generating geothermal energy.



Lon-oy water falls (left), Bon-ayan River (right)



The research team in Sun-ot hot spring. (left photo)

2. Forest

As said earlier, half of Western Uma's land area is forest. Considering the rugged terrain of the village, the mountains are as steep and as rich. During the hike to one of their lowest peak called "*bubong*" in March 19, 2013 purposely to take a top view of the village's land area; it was observed that large portion of the said mountain is bald. The local volunteer said, Batong Buhay mines was the culprit because during its operation in the 70s, it massively cut trees for its timber. The lowest peak took the team an hour of continuous hike up and 30 minutes down back to the community.

Aside from the lowest peak, there are still several mountains with rich resources within the tribe's ancestral domain. During the focus group discussion on community profile, women said, their forest is where the men gather *iwoy* or rattan during the harvest time of tiger grass on Summer; it is where they get materials like lumber for their house and firewood; it is where they hunt wild pigs and deer seasonally; it is where they gather *ligis*, a material for mat weaving and where most of their medicinal plants are found.

3. Rice paddies and swidden farms

As mentioned above, the village lives by farming. They harvest rice twice a year in the paddies which is dominantly traditional. Also, they are planting several varieties of vegetables in their swidden farms. The rice produce are mainly for consumption. Their vegetable produce on the other hand is for consumption and for cash crop. According to the indigenous women during sharing in the course of the field work, life in the village is not easy but they survive because of their practice of *Innabuyog* or labor exchange and sharing of resources.

Lim-ay Bommosao, one of the women in the village said, during planting and harvest seasons, they are in their farms from 6AM to 6PM everyday for two weeks. This is because they are not only thinking of their farms but others too. The *Innabuyog system* requires them to finish all the farm works of those who lend a hand for theirs. It's tiring she said but it is better than paying farm hands. The practice she added strengthens camaraderie in the community.

The introduction of high yielding varieties of rice and commercial farm inputs however made them vulnerable. But having seen the effects of commercial farm inputs to land and environment, they are until now struggling to plant the traditional varieties and practice *innabuyog*.



Harvesting rice in an Innabuyog system (left photo)

Community Leaders

Aside from the Barangay council members who are considered community leaders, there are community leaders coming from the peoples' organizations, elders and the church. Leaders of Ag-agama Community Organization (AGCO) are considered leaders in the community. AGCO is a multi-sectoral organization in Sitio Ag-agama. This organization has facilitated several socio-economic projects like corn mill, Botica, rice cooperative, and even the micro-hydro power facility. Leaders of *Innabuyog Uma* are also respected regardless of gender.

There are also active organizations in the community created by the local government unit like the Kalipunan ng Liping Pilipina (KALIPI) and Rural Improvement Club (RIC) which are both women organizations. Episcopal Church Women (ECW) is also an influential church organization. As influential as the Punong barangay is the priest of the largest religious denomination in the village which is the Episcopal Church.

When it comes to the religious denomination, Episcopalians/Anglicans are the majority. There are small groups compose other denominations like Free Believers and Jehova's Witnesses.

Ethnolinguistic groups

Majority of the population in the village belongs to the Uma tribe. Only a few of them came from various ethnolinguistic groups like several tribes in Kalinga, Kankana-ey of Mt Province, Pangasinense, Ilokano, Ibaloi if Benguet, Cagayanon, Bisaya, and Tagalog through inter-marriage.

Weather/Seasons

Western Uma has 2 seasons, the dry season and the rainy season. The uma tribe calls the dry season, *Chagun* and the latter as *Agilid*. Basing on their agricultural calendar, *chagun* starts in November and ends in June while *Agilid* starts in July and ends in October. Other weathers such as drought is recognized by the tribe as *Angeg*, rain shower as *etot*, rain as *Uchen*, flood as *Lajos* (it is a based from Iloko's term for flood as *Layos* for the tribe do not have a concrete term for the said word), lightning as *Kilat*, and thunder as *Kuchuy*.

English	Filipino	Uma language
Sunny	Tag-araw	Chagun
Drought	Tagtuyot	Angeg
Rainy	Tag-ulan	Agilid
Rain	Ulan	Uchen
Flood	Baha	Lajus
Lightning	Kidlat	Kilat
Thunder	Kulog	Kuchuy

II. The People

Origin of the Uma tribe

The Uma tribe traces their origin from the Lubuagan tribe who are living in the town center of the municipality of Lubuagan. Elder Viernes Bommosao in an interview tried to recall what their forefathers told them of where they came from and how their tribe came to life. During the *binnusor* (warrior society) which they also call *Kinnayaw*, their ancestors were part of the Lubuagan tribe living in Mabilong, Lubuagan. They (ancestors) were the clan who were always looked down by the braver and stronger clans within the tribe.

In one incident, their ancestors killed a member of a stronger clan that eventually led to a clan war. This incident pushed their ancestors to hunt and gather food in neighboring forest because they are afraid to go around the hunting territory of their tribe.

That hunter reached the area where the tribe is presently living and realized that it is better for their clan to leave Mabilong and reside in the area for them not to be wiped out. He then went back to their community and informed his clan of a better place for them. They went to the area which is mountains away from Mabilong and started cultivating swidden farms and erecting huts. Their local term for swidden farm is *Uma* that is why the area is called as such because the small community's swidden farms are thriving aside from their fertile hunting ground.

Another elder, Belen Salbot said that their ancestor, the hunter who discovered Uma is Gawet. This person he said was very industrious, kind and hospitable according to the accounts of their forefathers. He decided for their clan to abode in the area because of security reasons and the rich natural resources that he saw. One of the areas he noticed to have various springs is now called Sitio Ag-agama. It was also rich in fresh water fish and shells that are dominated by *Agama* (crabs) that is why it is called Ag-agama.

Salbot shared one of the famous accounts of their forefathers regarding Gawet's kindness and hospitality. The members of the clan whom they hurt came to Uma hunting for their clan and stopped at Gawet's hut. Instead of drawing his own bolo to face the warriors who were hunting for their heads, he opened his door and offered food and drinks to the warriors. He even offered them tobacco after eating. These warriors from the other clan after eating went home and informed their clan and the whole Lubuagan tribe to stop hunting for Gawet and his clan's heads because they are kind people. After that, the clan started living in peace.

Meanwhile, Viernes said that the hunter who discovered Uma was really Lungas who is the father of Gawet. However, he added that Gawet was the famous personality of their tribe because he is known by many tribes for his being *mampangog* (industrious), kind, and generous.

Headhunting named the Sitios of Uma

Their ancestors Salbot said named every area in their ancestral domain based on their movements during the *kinneyaw* days. The entrance of their village is where the clan warriors gather and start their journey for a head hunt thus, they call the area, *Mallongan*. *Mallong* is their local term for head hunt. *Kulong* is an area where there is no definite entrance and exit that if you are a stranger to the area, you will be left isolated (*Kulong*). *Bangtitan* on the other hand is where the warriors of the clan hang body parts (head, hand, foot) of those whom they killed during the head hunt and when these body parts rot,

its terrible smell is called *mambangtit* (smelly). *Bangtitan* means a smelly place. When these warriors head towards the community there is a certain area where their footprints dry up easily leaving their marks traceable and they called the place *Magmag-an* meaning, dry place.

The clan was separated from the Lubuagan tribe because their ancestors decided to have autonomy over their resources and decision making. Viernes added that during the warrior society, the Uma clan did not want to be affected when any of the clans of the Lubuagan tribe has a conflict with other neighboring tribes. Their forefathers then consulted and decided to be separated from the Lubuagan and were called Uma tribe.

The Uma tribe domain was eventually divided into two parts namely Upper Uma which is composed of three sitios, Bangtitan, Duya-as and Magmag-an; and Lower Uma which is composed of 5 sitios namely, Mallongan, Latawan, Ag-agama, Roadside and Kulong. The Local Government Code of 1991 however separated three Sitios of Lower Uma and called it Uma Del Norte. These sitios were Ag-agama, Mallongan and Latawan. In 1995, Uma Del Norte was renamed as Western Uma.

Elders said, before cash was introduced, trading is already in place through barter system like in any other society. There are other tribes Viernes said who are exchanging gongs, carabaos and other animals with their produce before. He and other elders cannot trace how gongs reached their village and the Cordillera as a whole but he is certain that those came from China. He even said that there are only three *toyon* (genuine Chinese made) gongs in the whole of Uma and he can recognize them. Those have even names, *Iw-iw*, *Chosleg*, and *Tukingan*. These were handed from generation to generation and are not already in the territory of Uma because they were sold to other tribes by those who inherited them.

Salbot also recalled that they have been exchanging weaved products like *Langaja* (baskets), *lablak* (winnowers) and *gusi* (jar) to other tribes. The Lubuagan tribe he said is the ones who are often visiting their village to exchange their products with their tobacco and legumes.

The brave and ferocious Kalingas who fought against the Spaniards

Lubuagan as a whole was never conquered during the Spanish Regime for their more than 300 years of occupying the country. In the Studies of Philippines Languages and Cultures (1987), Guillermo Galvey, a Spanish military officer was quoted in his ethnographic notes saying the Guinaanes (now people of Lubuagan) “live to the east of the Tingguians up to the heights of the Cordillera itself. They are brave, treacherous and and ferocious and make war to the death with the Tingguians forcing even those who have submitted to the Spanish government to pay tribute”. William Henry Scott was also quoted that in the Spanish efforts to control the people of the Cordillera, they established zones of military occupation called “commandancia politico-militares”.

One of these is the Comandancia de los Rios Saltan y Tanodan in 1859 with a purpose not only to pacify the area but to construct a transcordilleran road between Abra and the eastern side of the Cordillera. This road connects Nueva Viscaya, Tanodan Valley and Lubuagan. The road was finally completed in 1880 but was not opened for long because the Kalingas would not cooperate. Scott was quoted “whether the Spanish would have been successful politically and militarily will never be known for in 1898, all the Spaniards on the Cordillera departed abruptly”.

This historical event of constructing the Transcordillera road was still in the memory of the Uma tribe. Viernes said that their ancestors told them of Spaniards passing through Balbalan and Lubuagan when en route to Abra. He also saw the remnants of the aforementioned road in their short cut foot trail between Pasil and Balbalasang, Balbalan. It was a zigzag trail and when he asked his forefathers about it, it was the trail that the Spaniards constructed.

The elders were also proud that their municipality is famous for becoming the country’s national capital for 72 days on March 6 to May 17, 1900 by General Emilio Aguinaldo before he eventually escaped for Palanan, Isabela prior to his capture.

Unforgettable events

Viernes recounted that one of his unforgettable years was during the Japanese occupation. Dagson Tubban said, during this time, women were used as couriers of supplies for the Japanese soldiers. And the worst was when the Japanese bombed Podpod (one area in Lubuagan).

Moreover, Tubban added that one of the most memorable events in the history of their tribe and the history of the whole Cordillera peoples was the Martial Law during the Marcos dictatorship. It was the time when the Marcos regime planned to construct the famous dams along the Chico River. This plan he said was met by overwhelming protests not only of their tribe but all the tribes affected from Bontoc to Kalinga because of its foreseeable effects to their livelihoods and to their land itself. *“Lammusilok nga madi mi kayat ngem gapu ta suldado ti agkonkontrol, kuna ti tao nga lumaban kami a nu ipapilit yo...isunga nagrebolusyon ti i-Kalinga ta madi mi diay Dam,”* (It was very clear and bright that we do not want the project but because the soldiers were the ones who are in control, the people said, we will fight if you insist...Thus, the Kalinga people revolted against the government project) Tubban recounted.

He also back tracked before the Martial Law when Caltex already entered their village in the 1950s telling them that they wanted to observe their water and the pressure of air but they did not understand any of what the company was explaining. They (the company) even set up a rain gauge and paid somebody to monitor and report. After several years, Caltex came back with a purpose to dig holes to test their land.

Dagson said, he complained because the concept of digging holes in the land is destructive but the company paid for guides to go to the Cachamayan River in Sitio Latawan and do the test activity. He and other members of their village drove the three engineers away who headed to the municipality of Tinglayan only to be ambushed by the Butbut tribe because the said engineers were involved in the Dam project along the Chico River.

Several months after (sometime in 1960), Caltex came back to Western Uma via a helicopter with a Caucasian surveyor. Tubban said that the company was holding a map of where the hot springs are. When they went to survey a river with a hot spring, members of the community were there threatening to cut their heads if they will not leave their land. One of the guides explained to the Caucasians by saying, "your heads will be cut if you will not leave". The surveyors left abruptly leaving their equipment to be destroyed by the community. Today, Tubban said, the company is still in the area carrying the name, Chevron creating conflict among the community with its determination to pursue its geothermal project.

Viernes on the other hand shared a near death experience during the Martial Law. He was working in Batong Buhay mines and heard that their village in Uma was fired with mortar by the Philippine Constabulary (PC). He was very worried about the situation of his family in the village. His wife and daughter were living in Uma while he was renting near the mine site. After several hours, they were informed that nobody died and only a few houses were razed by the "ambush" even though the firing started at 4PM and ended at 9PM. He then explained that it was the act of *Kabunyan* to spare the tribe from destruction.

Moreover, there was one night when he was walking home from Batong Buhay to bring supply to his family when three members of the PC fired at him. He was holding with him a torch illuminating his figure including the Batong Buhay uniform that he was wearing. He should not be mistaken to be anybody from the guerilla movement but they continued firing at him but he was lucky he said not to be shot. If ever he was shot dead, the PC would have thrown him into the ravine so that nobody will see him. When the PC did not stop firing at him, he brought down the rice sack that he was carrying and run for his life. He did not even notice that he was running into the ravine. He hid somewhere in the steep slope down to the river for an hour. One soldier was calling him to come out because they will not harm him. The soldier even explained that his companions were firing because they are drunk. However, he did not believe what the soldier was saying because it was very clear that the guns of the three soldiers were directed to his position and even particularly to him. He did not come out from where he was hiding until the PC left. A day after that, he was planning to get revenge but his wife told him that if he will continue what he was thinking, they will all die. At midday, one of the villagers went to their house to inform him that the soldiers are calling for him because they want to apologize but due to his anger, he did not go.

He said they were the ones who just fired at him without him doing anything wrong so they should be the ones to approach him if they want to apologize.

Further, Viernes recalled his bad experience during the split of the Cordillera Peoples Liberation Army (CPLA) from the New Peoples Army (NPA) during the time of President Corazon Aquino in 1987. The CPLA he said made a peace pact with the government and became mercenaries of the regime hunting for the heads of their former comrades (NPA) who remained standing for the rights of the people. Even the leaders of the peoples organizations were victimized he said by the CPLA. Because of this, the NPA fought against them and one of the battles took place in Uma where many of the CPLA died. Viernes and other men in the village had to carry the bodies and bring it to the next village and the people from the next village will also have to transport the bodies until it reaches the town center for the families to retrieve them. It was very hard for him to carry the bodies of the people of their own who once served for the betterment of the communities but turned 360° because of money or because of following a wrong leader.

The typical *I-uma*

Based on the observations of Viernes as he grew up, a typical i-Uma (person from Uma tribe) has a brown skin complexion with men having tattoos in their arms called *byiking* and women having tattoos from their chest to the arms called *byatok*. *Byiking* for men symbolizes that they are *Mingor* (brave warrior). It also symbolizes that they have killed people in a battle. *Byatok* for women on the other hand do not symbolize anything. Viernes said it is just a decoration adding to their beauty. Today, anybody can have their skin tattooed without killing people because the culture on tattoo has changed. However, it is still unacceptable for many tribes in the province seeing a man tattooed without any reason. This was observed even in the village where no man is seen wearing a tattoo.

Before, the body built of a typical i-Uma is tall and with broad shoulders but because of the changes in lifestyle and inter-marriage, body built of the people of the Uma tribe varies. Viernes observation of their ancestor's teeth is strong, sharp and is beautifully arranged. He has not seen any of their elders before to die without teeth. Today he said, because of the food that they eat, the quality of their teeth is depreciating. Their lips are usually dark especially his generation because of their addiction to chewing tobacco and betel nut. It is even common to elders (men and women) to smoke tobacco using their *byangbyanga* (smoke pipe). Their nose also varies but the most common is pointed.

They call themselves i-Uma or person belonging to the Uma tribe. They also recognized that they are part of the Kalinga ethnolinguistic group. However, they are still resistant of being called *Igorots* (people from mountains, a collective term for all the indigenous peoples in the Cordillera region). The *Igorots* they said are the people from Mt. Province and Benguet.

III. Economy

Agricultural cycle and rituals

The Uma people are living mainly through swidden farms and rice fields thus, every year; their lives revolve in the rice paddies, and swidden farms. For the members of the tribe however who do not have enough land to till for their consumption, they have to move out of the community for some time to work as farm laborers, mason, carpenters among others in other communities to augment their meager harvest.

According to Viernes, the agricultural activities for the dry season or *Chagun* starts in the month of November and ends in July. In the rice paddies, November is the month for *pachug* (sprouting of rice seeds) after they *ani* (harvest) their produce for the dry season in October. During this season, they call the seeds they plant as *Chilagun* which compose of *jekot*, *oyak* and *unoy* varieties. December on the other hand is the month for *Jeyopjop* (preparation of paddies for planting) and when January comes, the community helps each other in *osok* (planting rice). This activity ends in the month of February. *Sagamsam* (clearing the weeds several weeks after the planting).The *chilagun* is harvested in May.

After the *osok* in March, men split into groups to search for available area in the forest that is suitable for swidden farming. If one group has found a place, they would clear a small portion of it to declare that the place is already taken. They call the activity, *tebya*. "*Intako tumebya*," (Let's go and find a place for swidden farm). This activity Viernes stressed should be done in groups. The preparation of the farm starts immediately until the month of April. The month of May he said is the best time to plant in the swidden farm. The activity is also called *osok*. They are usually planting various kinds of food like varieties of legumes namely, *bitwelas* (beans), *balatong* (mung bean), and *antak* (black beans) which are harvested after three months. At the same time, they are planting corn which is harvested a month later after the harvest of legumes. *Kejis* (pigeon pea) is also planted which is harvested either after six months or one year depending on its variety. *Tilegew* is harvested every after six months while the *Mutlin* is every after one year.

In the rice paddies, June is the month for sprouting rice varieties that can live during the rainy season (*Agilid*) and these are called *Sinawali*. The activity of sprouting these rice varieties is called *Payyutok*. Then, in July, they will plant the sprouted seeds. *Sagamsam* follows after planting. The *sinawali* is harvested in October.

In September, after the legumes and corn are harvested in the swidden farms, they will start weeding the farms for rainy season planting which is called *Silayawsaw*. During October, they gather all the dried weeds and burn them. This particular month Viernes said is sunny that is why it facilitates the burning.

However, if the weather is otherwise, they patiently gather the weeds and place it on the sides. The same kinds of legumes are planted together with tobacco several days after the burning. Corn can also be planted but it cannot bear enough fruits during this season.

Meanwhile, tiger grass is planted anytime of the year beside their rice paddies or in the sides of the swidden farms. Its flowers that are a raw material for soft broom are started to be harvested in February. If a farmer planted young tiger grass, they will have to wait for two years before its flowers bloom. If they are just going to maintain those that are already planted, they harvest its flowers annually.

Beliefs and rituals

In almost every step of their agricultural calendar, they are following beliefs and rituals. Some are not already recognized and practiced today by the younger generations but some are still strictly observed.

Ichew/idaw (omen bird) according to Viernes can mean different things depending on the activity. Sometimes, it symbolizes a bad omen but for swidden farming, it symbolizes otherwise. If the men are preparing the swidden farms and they saw this kind of bird, it means good harvest is upcoming. Moreover, a small snake when seen while preparing the farm is also a good omen because it symbolizes a wanton harvest. The snake is like a rope that would tie a carabao, pig or dog that the farmer will purchase after the harvest.

During planting rice in the paddies, the tribe believes that the activity should be started by a person who is known to be very good at *osok*. Viernes recounted that when he was still single and residing in Upper Uma, he was puzzled because his parents and other elders are waiting for Daw-in (a person good at *osok*) to start the activity. When he asked his father about the reason, the latter said the rice will grow healthy and will avoid rat infestation if Daw-in will start. Today however, the practice is fading because those who are still practicing it are being laughed at.

During harvest, Viernes said, their ancestors are observing numerous beliefs and rituals. He mentioned some that he observed when he was younger. In the rice paddies, if the owner is harvesting which is usually done in an *innabuyog* (exchange of labor) system, the foot trail going to the paddy/ies is avoided by those who are not participating in the activity. A sign which is called *pechus* (a grass called *luno* is placed on the foot trail with its tip tied). The reason behind is that, the spirits of the rice harvest will go away and the harvest will lessen. Also, a person who is not participating in the activity is forbidden to eat with the people involved in the harvest. If it is so, they believe that the rice grains will be eaten by rats. It is easier for them in the olden days to drive away those who are not participating in the activity through a *pechus* because it is a taboo for them not to invite any person to eat if met in the fields.

Moreover, the person who first harvested a bunch of rice grains is given a pig's foot for him/her to tie it with the rice grains. The person will raise his/her arms with the rice grains and pig's foot and speak out a prayer to *Jumejeyus* (God) for the harvest to be used in good activities such as welcoming a visitor, marriage and other merry making activities.

In all these activities, the tribe up to this time is still using backward tools in farming like *landok* (iron-made tool used by women in clearing weeds in the farms), bolo, and carabao. Only a few are using *Kuliglig* (engine operated plow tool) instead of using their own feet to prepare the paddies for planting.

Agricultural Calendar

Season	Month	Agricultural Activities		Farm Tools
		Rice Paddies	Swidden farms	
Chagun (Dry Season)	November	<i>Pachug</i> = sprouting <i>Chilagun</i> rice seeds namely, <i>jekot</i> , <i>oyak</i> , <i>unoy</i>		Hands
	December	<i>Jeyopjop</i> = preparation of rice paddies for planting		Feet, <i>Kuliglig</i>
	January	<i>Osok</i> = Planting of sprouted rice in the paddies <i>Sagamsam</i> = (clearing of weeds from the newly planted rice) Harvest of tiger grass for soft broom production	Harvest of tiger grass for soft broom production	Hands Sickle/ knife
	February			
	March	Harvest of tiger grass for soft broom production	<i>Tebya</i> = search for available land area for swidden farming. This activity is done in groups.	Bolo Sickle/ knife for harvesting tiger grass
	April		<i>Boka</i> = preparation of the swidden farm	Bolo, steel bar (<i>Bollang</i>)
	May	<i>Ani</i> = Harvest	<i>Osok</i> = planting various kinds of food like varieties of legumes namely, <i>bitwelas</i> (beans),	<i>Ani</i> = Sickle <i>Osok</i> in swidden

			<i>balatong</i> (mung bean), and <i>antak</i> (black beans) which are harvested after three months. At the same time, they are planting corn which is harvested a month later after the harvest of legumes. <i>Kejis</i> (Kardis in Iloko) is also planted which is harvested either after six months or one year depending on its variety. <i>Tilegew</i> is harvested every after six months while the <i>Mutlin</i> is every after one year.	farms = <i>Landok</i> , <i>bolo</i> , <i>bollang</i>
	June	<i>Payyutok</i> = sprouting <i>Sinawali</i> rice seeds		Feet <i>Kuliglig</i>
Agilid (Rainy Season)	July	<i>Osok</i> = planting of the sprouted <i>sinawali</i> rice seeds <i>Sagamsam</i>		Hands
	August		Harvest of legumes in the swidden farms	
	September		Harvest of corn Clearing/weeding the farm for the planting of <i>Silayawsaw</i>	<i>Landok</i> <i>Bolo</i>
	October	<i>Ani</i> = Harvest	Gathering and burning of the dried weeds. If the weather does not permit burning, the tsrube patiently place the weeds on the sides of the farm.	<i>Landok</i> <i>Bolo</i>

Other livelihood activities of the tribe are *anup* (hunting), gathering forest resources and *sayop* (gathering river fish and shells). Dry season Viernes said is the best time for hunting because wild animals like *laman* (wild pig), *ugsa* (deer), and *fuwot* (cloud rat) because they run slower and there are no leeches during the said season. *Iwoy* (rattan) is also gathered in the forest during the dry season especially in February because it is the time for their soft broom production. Aside from soft broom, they are also using *iwoy* for weaving baskets and winnower. Also, this material is used to tie the bamboos used for their *littagon* (flooring).

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 UMA TRIBE of Western uma, Lubuagan, Kalinga, Cordillera Administrative Region.

During the time of their ancestors, Viernes said *iwoy* are just gathered near their houses however, as generations pass, the area for gathering such went farther.

Sayop is also done during dry season in their rich rivers. There were various kinds of fishes that they can catch in their rivers before like *palispis*, *ugachiw*, *chayap*, *igat* (eel), and *agama* (crabs). Both men and women are involved in this activity. These kinds of resources disappeared due to the usage of electricity and cyanide in gathering. Further, it was also attributed by the community to the mining activities in Batong Buhay before.

To augment their harvest, especially for those who have no enough land, men go out of the community and look for jobs that are usually *boka*, and *kabite* (stone walling) and carpentry. The Uma tribe is usually meeting men from neighboring tribes like Butbut and Sumadel in this kind of livelihood. The community where they always find work is Buwaya in the Municipality of Balbalan which is reached through foot trails. They usually pay them with their harvest in their swidden farms.

IV. Material Culture

Settlement patterns

The houses of the tribe through the observation of the researcher is clustered. All the houses in Sitio Ag-agama are located in one area, also in Sitios Latawan and Mallongan. The close relatives and clans most of the time settle together in one sub-cluster. In Sitio Ag-agama alone, there are particular names for every sub-cluster of houses. Those in *Mallango* belong to one clan, which also applies to *Patakan*, *Palatpatan*, *Aliwongwong*, *Sakwilig*, *Tangkiban* and *Sakyab*. The sub-cluster also affects the language intonations. The clan in Mallango would likely have different intonations from that of the clan in Palatpatan. Marriage however changed the pattern of settlements but the names of sub-clusters remains. Despite the sub-clusters, Sitio Ag-agama is still united in terms of community issues.

One house is usually composed of one household. However, in situations where a new family has yet to build a house, they will live temporarily in their parents' house. There is no strict rule of whether it is patrilocal or matrilineal. Living under the roof of the parents' house usually means that the new family is trying to learn how to run a family and when they are ready to be independent, they will live in a neolocal residence. For the tribe a neolocal house does not always mean that it is a newly built house. The tribe practices borrowing of houses that are unoccupied when they still do not have the resources to build a new one.

If a new house is built, they perform a ritual called *lonok* (house blessing) before the family settle in it. The house owner butchers a pig and cook *kilampayay* (sticky rice with pork) for the community. An elder or *mandadawak* would pray to *kabunian* that only good things can

enter the house and the members of the family will always be healthy and in good relationship with each other. After the prayer, the community eats; throw *kilampayay* to anybody and to any parts of the house; and dance to the beat of gongs. This ritual is still performed today but instead of a *mandadawak*, the family invites a priest or Pastor to lead the prayer for the new house and the family. During the data gathering fieldwork on December 31, 2012, the research team witnessed the *lonok* of the newly built house of one teacher in Sitio Ag-agama.

Further, the tribe has the tradition to pass on the parents' house to the first born female in the family thus, if the first born female marries, it is her right to take over her parents' house so the parents will have to built a new house of their own. Today however, Viernes said that it is not always the case because practicality would still prevail.

The elderly couples on the other hand usually live under the roof of their *ujiji* (last child). However, it is the prerogative of the other children to take the responsibility or not.

The old house structure the elders said do not have partitions inside because people before wanted their homes to be spacious. The big space is used for cooking, eating, receiving and sleeping. Handicrafts are done outside the house especially during daytime. They only do the activity inside the house when it is raining. Today, influence from the lowland communities changed the structure. You can now see partitions in every house in the village. The common partitions are kitchen, sleeping room/s, receiving and *kallangan* (terrace). Toilets are commonly set outside the house. Only a few however have their toilets inside their houses.

House materials

Building a house before was a lot easier than building a house today, said Viernes. The materials were available within the territory of the tribe. These materials he said are wood, bamboo, rattan and cogon grass. In his experience, it took him 20 days to finish their house. He spent five days gathering logs, on the 6th day; he called the help of his relatives to erect the *poste* (skeleton). The remaining days were spent for gathering cogon grass, and filling up the house skeleton with lumber and cogon grass for its walls and roof respectively.

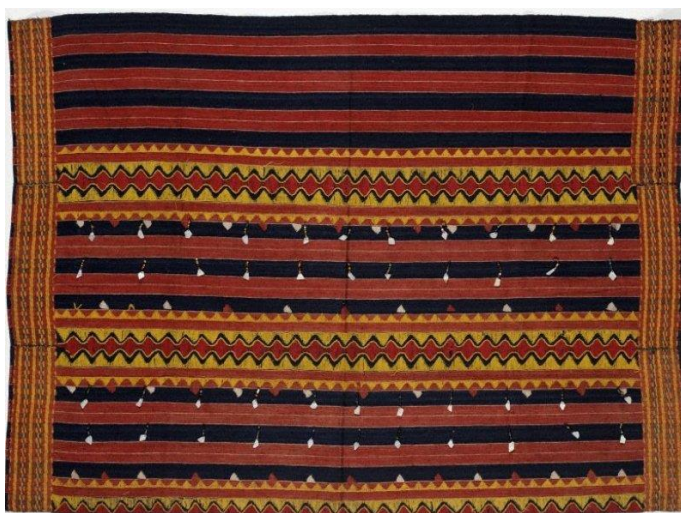
Viernes observed that in the 1960s, there was a drastic change in the materials used in house construction. Construction companies he said started selling nails, Galva, cement and others in their provincial and town centers. Today, most of the houses in the village are made out of modern materials. There are only a few that maintained the cogon grass as their roofs and those are the houses of those who cannot afford to buy Galva. Some of the houses however still have the touch of the old house architecture such as having high wooden foundation with ladder for the people to enter the house.

There tradition of helping each member of the tribe in building a house is still strongly practiced but with several changes. The person who is calling for help butchers a pig or dog and any tribe member who is willing to help is welcome. Today, the practice is not natural especially for the younger generations, the elders still needs to explain to them the importance of the tradition before they go and help. The cash economy is also a significant factor in the changes. Today, a person who needs help in building a house needs to have enough money to pay for local carpenters. The tribe however is determined to retain the old practice because it helps them in battling the effects of worsening poverty.

Before, kitchen utensils are made out of coconut shell and clay. Bowls made out of coconut shells are called *byakka*, clay pots are *byanga*, and clay jars are *burnay*. The tribe does not make clay pots and jars but they were buying it from their neighboring tribes with vegetables or money. In fetching water, the women were using the *byanga* and carry it over their heads. Viernes said that it was a very hard task for their women but they cannot help because they are not allowed to carry such pots as the women were doing. When the women reach their houses, they would transfer the water from the pots to the clay jars. He recalled that the water put in the clay jar is cool all through-out the day compared to plastic containers today. Aside from plastic water containers, the community has also shifted to what they call “better kitchen utensils” that can be bought in the town center.

Traditional attires and ornaments

Viernes recalled that when he was younger, one long pants and one t-shirt is enough for one person. Women on the other hand have one *panchiling* (pajama). These kinds of clothing he said were available in Lubuagan. Before, they were not ashamed even if they are naked because there was no malice when it comes to nakedness unlike today. A person today he added has the luxury of having several pairs of clothing. Traditional attires on the other hand were only worn during special occasions like Bodong celebration, weddings and community activities. Their attires which are *Malaga* (weaved) in their municipality are very precious to them. Like almost all the tribes of Kalinga province, their weaving designs are called *gilamat*, *pilagpagen* and *silanbyatuwon*. *Gilamat* he said is used for women attire called *kain*. This design is recognized with its zigzag pattern and thread colors namely yellow, green, red and black. The *kain* aside from the *gilamat* design has decoration called *wittawit*. These are aluminum with diamond shape or shells sewed in their desired spaces in the *kain* to make it more beautiful.



Kain made from kilamat design (left) and Bye-e made from pilagpagen design (right)



Western Uma grade school girls in their traditional attire during the Lubuagan (LNHS) National High School Foundation Day on February 21, 2013.



Western Uma grade school boys in their traditional attire during the LNHS Foundation Day on February 21, 2013 .

Silanbyatuwon is a design used for making a special kind of blanket. It is a special blanket because it is only used to wrap the dead but not all the dead can be wrapped with this kind of blanket. It is only applicable for the dead elderly. The colors of threads used are red, black, light blue and light green. *Pilaggagen* on the other hand is a design particularly for men's g-string called *Bye-e*. It's design is the same with that of the *Silanbyatuwon* but they used more colorful threads like red and yellow.

These attires can also be inherited. It is one of the items that the tribe includes in their *tilepon* (set aside for the purpose of inheritance and to be used for special occasions). Today, the *kain* with the *wittawit* costs Php 3000.00, *silanbyatuwon* is Php 1000.00 and the *bye-e* is at Php 700.00.

Traditional healers whom they called *Man-aalisig* or *Mandadawak* do not have particular attires. Viernes said, he has observed them conducting rituals to heal the ill persons but they dress the way the common people of the tribe dress.

Aside from *byatok* and *byiking*, the Uma tribe before were wearing *lubyey* (earrings made out of gold) for women and *kalloyong* (necklace made out of gold) for men. Today however, nobody from the tribe wears the said jewelries. Viernes said that the presence of such jewelries during the time of their ancestors shows that the people before were richer. The aforementioned ornaments he added may have been inherited by some members of the tribe but were sold due to financial emergencies. Even the *ong-ong* and *adjongan* (genuine jade beads) from Japan were all sold.

Staple food

Uma tribe of Western Uma is producing crops mainly for consumption thus, their agricultural produce are also their staple food. Like other Filipino people, Uma people are rice eaters but in times of crisis, they are mixing sweet potatoes in the rice they are cooking in order to save. Viernes recalled that when he was 14 years old, they experienced severe food crisis. Rice he said was rarely eaten for many. Men were going out of the community to work as farmhands in other tribes in exchange for a sack of rice. He remembered that when her grandmother cooks, she would only mix one *chupa* of rice in a large pot with lots of sweet potatoes. They were planting the said root crop thus; it was the only available food. He cannot recall though what event has led them to such kind of crisis.

Normally, they eat full meal twice a day up to this time. Betty Belen, a woman leader said in an interview that they are only eating thrice a day when they have visitors. During the data gathering period, the researchers did observe that they are inviting for lunch usually at 1 or 2PM. To explain this, the community normally eats heavy breakfast and dinner. It is still a practice not to eat during lunch time. However, throughout the day, they often drink coffee which they are also producing. For one day, the average cups of coffee that the Uma people drink are four to five. Usually, they drink coffee once they are awake in the morning while waiting for the breakfast, after breakfast, at noon, before dinner and some still drink coffee after dinner. It was also noticeable that even a 3-year-old child is drinking coffee. For the others, coffee often serves as their viand. They are mixing it with rice specially when there are no available viands.

Moreover, coffee for them should be strong and sweet. It is one of the reasons why sugar is in demand in the village. They cannot brew and drink a coffee without it.

During conversations with each other, receiving visitors, community meetings, and other social gatherings, coffee is served.

Today, the community plants water cress along their rivers which is often called “emergency” by the people because it is available throughout the year. It is not only for consumption for them but also for cash. It is the product that the women sell their town center and even to their neighboring villages.

Food for special occasions

Food for special occasions are usually animals like native chicken, pork, and carabao. It depends on the kind of occasion and the status of a family. These are complemented with *jekot* (sticky rice) and *kamote* (sweet potato). In a *Palanus* (traditional wedding), the tribe can butcher native chicken or pig depending on how much they can provide.

During wake, the family of the dead butchers carabao or pig for the community and the visitors. *Jekot* is cooked during the ritual called *songot* which is done on the 9th day of the dead. In a house blessing, it is a must to cook *jekot* together with the meat of the butchered animal chopped finely. The dish is called *kilampayay*. In this particular occasion, *kilampayay* is not only for eating but for throwing all over the new house even on the people after the ritual is done.

Moreover, in a thanksgiving ritual for the first born called *konted*, the family cooks native chicken for ten days but it is not already practical for the present generation. Viernes said, it is only the well off family that can afford to complete the ritual. What is usually done he said is the completion of three days. This concept he said is based on the *jepong* (hearth) which has three rocks to balance the pots. If this is not completed, the child will be imbalance and has the tendency to be sickly.

Every ritual conducted in a person's life like *Ilom*, *Konted*, *Gabbok*, *Obyen*, *Palanus*, *Pusipos*, *Utong*, *Songot* and many more, native chicken, pig, sticky rice and sweet potatoes are important. The said rituals will be discussed bellow.

On the other hand, if the couple is newly married, they are prohibited to eat internal organs because it is a belief that eating those will lead to an unhealthy family. The tribe does not prohibit any kind of food for the pregnant woman as long as she wants to eat. What is prohibited is laughing at people, animals or things that are ugly-looking or having imperfections because the child may acquire it. Lastly, for widow and widower, eating animal fats are prohibited because it may cause illness. They can only eat the flesh of meat.

Viernes moreover mentioned that the tribe had a practice before of *innabuyog* in times of occasions. Whenever there is a wake, the bereaved family is not the only ones preparing food for the visitors. Each of the households who have available resources would cook *jekot*, brew coffee and bring it to the wake. The households who shared resources will be listed by the bereaved family for them to repay when the said households have special occasions including losing a member of the family. This practice is not intact anymore he said giving more burden to families sponsoring occasions.

V. The life cycle of i-Uma and their corresponding beliefs and rituals

1. *Alak* (childhood)

Ilom

Ilom is a ritual done by the tribe basically for the couples to have a healthy first born child. Benito Sugao, one of the elders of the tribe said, it is conducted if the wife is pregnant and if the couple is having a difficulty of getting the woman pregnant. The family of the male will be the one in-charge for the *basi* (sugarcane wine) and the family of the female will butcher pig or chicken to welcome the *basi*. They call this *Palanus* of the *basi*. *Palanus* for them is a ritual for welcoming a person or significant things. It is not only use for the wedding rituals.

Viernes added that during this ritual, the elders in-charge of the ritual put a piece of log together with the *gamugam* (combination of various leaves and grass, and all the things to be used for the ritual) and a clay pot in front of the newlywed's house. Also sugarcane, rattan and coconut leaves are put inside the house. The elders do not remember anymore the significance of each leaf. The couples' parents cook *jekot* which is usually *kilampayay* and put it in front of the house, after that they call the couple to eat. When they are done eating, the people present during the ritual throws *kilampayay* first on the couple, on their parents and to each other. If somebody brings *pilanteyok* (pulverized *jekot* cooked with sugar), the people put it in bowls and pour it to anybody. A merry making activity starts when everybody runs from the person holding *kilampayay* and *pilanteyok*. This activity however is lessened today because it was realized that they are throwing the food which they work hard for.

Konted

For every new born baby, parents butchers a native chicken. If it is a girl, they butcher *upa* (hen) and if it is a boy, they would look for a *kawitan* (rooster). It is sign of celebration for having a baby born. For the Uma tribe, if this ritual is not performed, the baby would grow sickly. For the family who can afford, they can complete the ritual of butchering native chickens for the period of ten (10) days. For those who can hardly afford, it is a must for them to complete the three (3) days. Viernes explained that it was patterned to the three rocks in a *jepong* (hearth). If the family only performs it for one or two days, it is not balance like that of the hearth where three rocks are needed to balance a pot. They said the *konted* should be *lajejepong* meaning, balanced.

Gabbok

This ritual is not strictly practiced today because it is costly. However, during the time of the tribe's ancestors, it is a requirement. This is done for every first born female and male in the family. Most of the time, they are performing this ritual if the first born is sick. They attribute the illness to the spirits of their ancestors. In order to appease the spirits, they have to perform the *gabbok*.

This is a ritual celebrating the first born. A *mandadawak* from the tribe or from the other neighboring tribes will facilitate the celebration. Sugao said, the *mandadawak* pray that the couple and the child will be healthy. The parents usually butcher a pig and the tribe dance to the beat of gongs.

It has also a *gamugem* that is composed of *allilison* (a species of fern), *gawed* (a leaf chewed together with the betel nut), *buwa* (betel nut), *iwoy* (rattan), *unas* (sugar cane), *tagaupay* (herb that thrives in upland rivers and in moist soil), coconut leaf, betel nut leaf, *byakka* with the pig's *ogtoy* (liver) and the un-husked rice.

Today, only a few families can afford to do the ritual. Even the community leaders said that it is not already practical to maintain the practice. Sugao shared that he did not perform the ritual with his first born because her wife does not believe on it. As a result, his first born boy was sick and became very thin. They brought him to the hospital but he was not healed. One night he dreamt of their ancestor instructing him to bring the child to his grandmother (Sugao's mother). When they brought the child to his grandmother as instructed, the child was healed and came back to health. It was the reason he said that they performed the *gabbok*.

Sugao further explained that his parents and his wife's parents both have the history of *man-aalisig* (traditional healers) that is why it is not allowed for them to skip doing the said ritual. This was further strengthened when their first female was born and they did not perform the ritual. The girl also became sickly and reached a near death situation. When they performed the ritual, she miraculously regained her health. That was the time he realized that it is not easy to get rid of it especially if you have traditional healer ancestors. He added that the spirits of the said ancestors are the ones making their children sick if they do not perform it.

Obyen

Obyen is a tradition done usually after the *gabbok*. The parents cook *jekot* and bring their child to the husband's parents. The *jekot* will be distributed to both husband and wife's relatives as a sign that the family already performed the *obyen*. The grandparents of the child welcome him/her with butchering a pig or chicken depending on their social status.

All the relatives who receive *jekot* will help in the ritual. Some of the important things that they will give the family with their first born are *fonge* (jade necklace), *Piling* (porcelain plate), and the *obyen* (baby carrier cloth) which is also called *kagoy*. When they go back home, the family brings back half of the butchered pig which they call *liyom*.

The *liyom* is an exchange for the *jekot* that they distributed. When the family goes to the house of the wife's parents, the *liyom* is distributed to her relatives. Further, if the wife's parents afford, they can welcome the child with butchering another pig.

No other rituals are performed during a person's childhood. However, every child has to respect their parents and the elders. They have to listen to what the elders are advising them. A girl starts to learn to be responsible at home when she is taught gradually to take on household chores like washing the dishes, fetching water and child minding. They are often brought to farm during weekends to participate in field works that they can deliver. Girls are taught of the chores that their mothers are doing but in a gradual manner. Boys on the other hand tail their fathers and other male in the community.

2. Bumaro/bibyasang (Young adult)

After performing the *obyen*, the child can now live and grow healthy. No other rituals are performed until he/she decides to get married. This is when they already reach the stage where they are called *bumaro* (male young adult) and *bibyasang* (female young adult). However, there are those who do not have the luxury to choose whom to marry specially during the time of their ancestors. Those who were committed to somebody even during their childhood by the tribe; those who were committed by their parents to somebody they like; and those who were force to marry a person belonging to the clan that they are in conflict with in order to stop the clan war. These types of marriage however have started and continue to be fading.

Today, the choice of the person regarding whom to marry prevails. The choice however does not include the relatives up to their third degree cousins. However, in cases where second cousins fall in love with each other, they have to let their relationship open to the public especially when they knew from the very beginning that they are relatives and their families have close ties.

Palanus

Palanus is a practice for the tribe to bless the new couple. Up to this time, this tradition is still intact. The research team even witnessed one *palanus* during the field work. Before, this ritual is enough to bind the couple into marriage.

Today however, the tribe has to undergo a civil or church marriage because marriage contract is a requirement for legal matters and when their children study.

Dagson Tubban recalled that the usual system of marriage during their time start with *tugtugew*. If parents have a son who is already a *bumaro*, they choose a female whom they think is a suitable partner for their son. When they have chosen a female, they would tell it to the elders and the elders will talk to the parents of the female. If the parents of the female agree, the male parents will butcher a chicken or a pig as a *palanus*. After several days, the parents of the *bumaro* instruct their son to go and gather firewood for his in-laws. Upon arrival of the *bumaro* to his in-laws carrying firewood, the in-laws will butcher chicken or pig as a *palanus*. The male will then live in the house of his in-laws. After a month of staying in his in-laws' house, he will invite his wife to visit his parents. If the female agrees, the parents of the male will again butcher chicken or pig for the couple. With that, the couple can now be called husband and wife.

Benito Sugao in a separate interview said that during their time, their parents and the elders were determined to look for a suitable wife of the *bumaro* who is *mampangog* (hardworking). He himself had been chosen a wife three times by the elders but they only succeeded during the third time. During the first match making, he was shocked when the elders went to their house and give half of the butchered pig to them. The elders explained that the parents of the female whom they chose for him agreed that their daughter be married to him so they butchered a pig. However, when he and the girl met, there was no affection involved for the both of them so it wasn't successful.

The second choice of the elders was not also successful. When he went to gather firewood for his supposed in-laws and live in their house, the female did not go home for almost a month that is why he left and the match making did not materialize. The third time, he was invited by his friend in Upper Uma for a visit in Duya-as. He was not aware though that his friend and the elders were planning to get him married to a *bibyasang* who just went home from Manila. When he saw the lady, she liked her and surprisingly, the latter also has feelings for him. That lady is his wife.

Buscayno Bommosao, youth leader shared in a separate interview the type of marriage in today's generation. *Tugtugew* he said is not already applicable. The usual marriage type this time depends when a boy and a girl like each other. When the couple decides to settle down, the male would ask the elders and some of his friends to accompany him in the female's house and talk to the girl's parents. The parents usually do not disagree that is why; pig is expected to be butchered by his future in-laws. Half of the butchered animal is given to the male and his companions. This is called *lungos* (from the head to navel). The companions of the male who are serving as witnesses receive any amount of cash from the female's parents but the elders are the ones to turn over. This cash is called *lilay*. This serves as evidence that the couple is already married. The *lungos* will be divided by the companions of the male or cooked in the male's house for the witnesses and his relatives to eat.

On the other hand, if it was the males' parents that butcher a pig, as a *palanus* for the couple, the elders deliver half of it to the female's house and this is called *liyom* (from the navel to the two legs). On the other hand, dogs are prohibited to be butchered in a *palanus*.

The *palanus* should be done in a sweeping and peaceful manner. Nobody should create distracting sounds like yell, noisy laugh, and falling kitchen utensils. If there is a glass or any kitchen utensils that accidentally broke in the course of the *palanus*, the community believe it to be a bad omen. Some would still pursue the activity but some would postpone it. Sound of an owl, snake and other animals are also bad omens. If the elders and the male hear one of those animal sound while on their way to the female's house for the *palanus*, they will not continue. Moreover, the couple is prohibited to eat any internal organs of the animal butchered for the *palanus*.

The elders cited examples of couples who have violated the rules and their family relations were not smooth.

Palanus for the tribe is still the basis of marriage until today. Civil and church marriage is secondary.

On the other hand, there are cases where women get pregnant outside wedlock or the blessing of the tribe for a couple's union. If the couple did not marry, then the community calls the couple *manchagchagas* and their relationship as a *chagchagas*. The baby born out of this relationship is called *aggabyak* which is similar to the concept of "bastard" child.

Also, they also have a concept of people who are not contented with one relationship or one spouse. A woman who has this kind of attitude is called *liyatiw*. A man on the other hand is called *ipaw*. These types of people are prone to having *chagchagas* even if they are already married or having another two or more relationships simultaneously.

3. *Pumamilya* (Family)

Viernes said that since then and now, the head of the family is the father. "*Uray masadut ti lalaki, isuna latta ti masurot,*" (Even though the male is lazy, he is still the boss) he stressed. The woman does most of the job for the family especially if the man is not *mampangog*. She does all the chores in the house like cooking, cleaning, fetching water, pounding rice, washing dishes and clothes, and child minding. She also does most of the work in the farm like planting, weeding, *pooy* (watering), harvesting, clearing the swidden farms, and some tasks for men. While doing the said chores, she is also the one ensuring that there is available food for her family during meals.

Men on the other hand, do the preparation of rice fields and swidden farms, gathering firewood, helps in harvest and in other chores of women in the field. Viernes admitted that

women can do anything that they can do while men (not all) cannot do the tasks of women especially household chores.

Seed separation on the other hand is a primary role of women according to Lim-ay Bommosao, wife of Viernes. However, if the husband is knowledgeable on how to separate seeds from the harvest, the couple helps each other in the task. In seed separation of rice, Lim-ay explained that they are choosing the rice grains that are not too mature from the best quality of the harvest. Then they let it dry very well. Rice grains she added that are not too mature grow easily.

Division of labor in the field

Work	Gender responsible
Rice field	
<i>Pachug</i>	Female
Uprooting of the <i>pachug</i> for planting	Male
<i>Jeyopjop</i> (preparation of the rice field for planting)	Both male and female but primarily male
Planting	Female
Weeding (<i>sagamsam</i>)	Female
<i>Padanum</i> (watering of the rice field)	Both male and female
Harvest	Both female and male but primarily female
Seed separation	Female
Swidden farm	
<i>Tebya</i> (searching land area for swidden farm)	Male
Burning of tall weeds	Male
Clearing of the swidden farm to be ready for planting	Female
Planting	Both female and male but primarily female
Weeding of the swidden farm	Female
Harvest	Female Male
- Gathering	
- Carrying of harvest from farm to residence	

Division of labor in household

Work	Gender responsible
Drying of rice and other harvest	Both male and female
Pounding rice	Female
Cooking	Female
Cleaning	Female
Fetching water	Female
Washing dishes and clothes	Female
Child minding	Both male and female but primarily female

In decision making, men are still the ones heard but today, most of the families adopted a balanced decision making process where both women and men decides. Even in the Barangay local government unit, women are now recognized and are joining the selection process. One of the women leaders is actually a member of the Barangay council. However, never was there a woman who became the village chief.

Meanwhile, if the woman is pregnant, she can eat whatever she craves but she cannot laughed at any person, animal or thing having ugly appearance because the child she is carrying might imitate the thing that she was laughing at. After giving birth, a woman cannot go out of the house especially at sunrise and sunset because the spirits in the environment might cause them illness. If the woman goes out, she has to put any piece of red cloth in any parts of her body that is visible. That cloth will tell that the woman just gave birth so that the spirits will spare her. Until the child's *puseg* (navel) is not healed, the woman cannot go out of the house. Further, if she goes out after the *navel* is healed, she must carry with her a cloth to burn along the way so that spirits will smell and spare her for any bad intentions.

The couple once declared husband and wife addressed their in-laws as *mad-an* for female in-law and *meyong-eg* for the male in-law. The couple on the other hand is addressed by their children as *Ama* (father) and *Ina* (mother). Their first child is called *panguyo*, second is *kumadwa*, and the last child as *ujiji*. The children addressed each other by first name basis regardless of who is older and younger. Even uncles and aunts are addressed in their first names. Today however, due to the influence of people from the lowlands, some are already calling their father *daddy* and *papa*, their mother as *mommy* and *mama*. They are also starting to call their older siblings as *manong* and *manang* and their uncles and aunts as Auntie and Uncle.

Divorce

The tribe has a strong regard to family and they do anything to protect it from being broken. This is evident with their rituals and practices on marriage. However, the tribe is also open for divorce cases when the family and the tribe have done all means to save the family. Viernes and Buscayno said, one of the bases for the couple's separation is infidelity. This issue they added is unacceptable and if the parties (husband and wife) did not meet in one end in resolving the case, then they can go their separate ways. Divorce is rare in the tribe because most of the time, problems are solved within the family and with the help of the elders.

Before, Viernes shared that divorce is a must for couples who cannot bear offspring. Several years from the *palanus* and the couple have not bore a child, they are forced to separate. This happened because propagation is very important before in order for the tribe to grow in population. One of the bases of a strong tribe before according to Viernes was population.

Balo/Pangis

When a person is widowed, there are *ngilin* (____) that he/she has to observe. The tribe calls a widow *balo* and a widower *pangis*. For the period of one year, they are not allowed to eat meat. Meat according to the elders can cause them incurable diseases. If they eat for example, a carabao, they might imitate how the carabao is chewing or they would grow as big as the said animal. They are also prohibited to eat hairy vegetables and those that are itchy when eaten like *gabi* (taro).

Also, they do not cut their hair for one year because if they do, the people will conclude that the *balo* or *pangis* has forgotten her/his dead spouse. They are not allowed to go out their house without *sakkudong* (cloth covering the head). They cannot leave their house without somebody doing the household chores especially cooking. If they go out, they cannot go beyond the village because they are advice not to cross rivers. If their spouse died just recently, they are not allowed to step on mud. Buscayno himself do not know their ancestors' rationale behind the rules but the tribe is still observing it. Failure to perform the rules he said might result to illness and disaster to family.

Moreover, the widowed spouse cannot remarry until after one year from the death of their previous spouse. If a person violates this rule, the people will conclude that he/she is disrespectful of his/her dead spouse. This rule Viernes said is often violated. There was a case where the widowed spouse remarried three months after the death of his wife and a gossip about how he rejoiced when his wife was dead spread all over the tribe. Violating this is an undesirable story to be marked upon anybody's name especially if it is going to be retold to the younger generations, Viernes added.

4. *Mad-an/Meyong-eg* (Elderly)

For the tribe, a person can be considered *meyong-eg* (old man) and *mad-an* (old woman), when they reach the senior citizen age or when they have already grandchildren. Age for them is equivalent to wisdom that is why elders are influential in decision making and in molding the youth.

Pusipos

This is a ritual celebrating the life of an old person which is usually done when he/she is in a near death situation or if he/she has been sick for many days. When the grandchildren, children and other relatives of the person hear that a certain old person is sick, they would go and pay him/her a visit. They bring with them cooked *jekot* for the old person to taste. The family whom the old person is living with will butcher a pig or even a carabao depending on how much the family can shoulder. This gathering is called *pusipos*. Viernes said that this is also the time for the old person to say his/her advice to the people present in the gathering. The animal butchered in this gathering is prohibited to be eaten by the old person's children in-law.

To some people, *pusipos* will uplift the person's will to live thus, after the gathering they gained strength and live for more months or years. Benito Sugao explained that before, their ancestors perform this ritual in order to appease the spirits who cause the illness of the old person. If the spirits are appeased, the sick old person may regain his/her health. Today however, *pusipos* can also be a reunion for the clan. The gongs are played and the members of the clan rejoice for the long life of their grandparent. They dance to the beat of gongs and tell significant lives of families and the unforgettable events in the life of the sick person. With this, the old person will feel alive and happy that can help in bringing him/her back to life.

4. Afterlife

Viernes also said that death for the old people is a celebration of their life. If the person's family can afford, they can organize a program during the *bagungon* (wake) that will focus on telling good and funny stories regarding the dead person. They focus more on the good deeds of the person when he/she was still alive and draw lessons from them. This kind of activity cannot be done if the person dead is not a *meyong-eg* or *mad-an*.

The *bagungon* normally lasts for three days if the person dies a natural death. However, if the person is killed by bullets or by any deadly weapon, the body will be buried after one day. If killed by an enemy, the body is buried facing down after one day and by sunrise for them to get an immediate revenge. Sugao further explained that this tradition has changed today.

They are now applying normal days and process of wake even for those who are killed by deadly weapons and by enemies.

Utong

Utong is the carabao or pig that the family butchers on the second day of the wake. Sugao recalled that before the 1970s, the *utong* is only for attendees of the wake who are not members of the tribe and who are considered as *busor* (enemies). They butcher the animal in the morning of the second day and put it at the center of the *amung* (gathering). Representatives from the other tribes will just go and get a part of the animal before lunch and bring it home. In 1969 however, the rules of the *utong* was changed due to practicality reasons. Sugao quoted the elder who proposed for changing the rules of the *utong*, “...*nu amirisen tayo, nagrigatan tayo nga inur-urnong ti naggatang tayo iti nuwang ngem dagiti kabusor tayo ketdin ti mangan*” (...if we are to analyze, we bought the carabao with our blood and sweat but we are just letting it eaten by our enemies). Their elder continued in asking his tribe mates: Are we just playing with the resources that we worked hard for? The elders of the tribe then agreed to the proposal that *utong* will be butchered for all. This has also a purpose to gather the community in the wake to participate in the discussion if there is.

Kayakeg

During the wake members of the tribe would invite any of the attendees of the wake who are not from the village to eat in their houses. They call this, *kayakeg*. This is a role Sugao added of women. Men do not do this unless the family has butchered a pig or native chicken for the visitors. For example, Sugao goes to the *amung* during dinner time and meet any of his relatives from neighboring barrios especially the elders, his relatives would think that he is there to invite them to eat in their house because he has butchered an animal for them.

If it is the women on the other hand who go the *amung* and *man-kayakeg* (invite the visitors to eat), there will be no expectation in terms of food to be served in the table. Further, the *kayakeg* has changed today because the ongoing practice is; attendees of the wake who have relatives or acquaintances in the village will go directly to the latter's houses and there is no need for them to be invited. It is only those who do not know any family in the village who will wait for the *kayakeg*.

Meanwhile, during the wake, each household in the village will not leave their kitchen empty every after meal because they believe that the spirits of their ancestors visit. If they (spirits) have seen no food in the pots, they will get angry and may cause illness to the members of the family. Even if the family will not participate in the *kayakeg*, they will still cook for the unseen.

Pogpog

During the burial, the elders bring a chicken to the person's grave. Before putting the casket inside the grave, they will butcher the chicken and throw stones inside the grave to drive the person's spirits away from the village and they call this ritual, *pogpog*. After burying the body, they put a *togod* (_____) beside the grave. Every house in the village will also put a *pechus* (*runo* stalk with tied leaves on its tip). This has the purpose to shove away the spirit of the dead who is trying to enter the house. If the spirit tries to enter, they believe that he/she will be cut with the blades of the *runo's* leaves.

Joos

When the elders and relatives get back from the burial, *tilupe* (mixed sticky rice, grated coconut meat and pork that are finely chopped) and *gabi* are cooked. The combination of the two dishes is called *joos*. All the relatives of the dead sip the soup of the *gabi*, chew the *tilupe* and spit it out. After spitting, they would say, "*majoos ka*" addressing to the dead relative. This means that all their bad vices, attitudes and bad luck will all be carried by the dead person's body. A *kilampayay* is also cooked. Particular for the burial, the *kilampayay* is a mixture of sticky rice, internal organs of chicken or pig and blood. They will prepare a plate of the said dish and put it on top the person's grave which will serve as his/her *songot* (food for the journey).

Singising

Morning after the burial, the direct family of the dead will call the *man-aalisig* (traditional healer) to officiate the ritual of driving away the *logoy* (all the bad luck) in the house. This ritual is called *singising*.

Songot

On the 9th day of the dead, the family (if they have the resources) cooks *inanchila* (sticky rice with coconut's *latik*) dish which will serve as the person's *songot* for his/her journey to another dimension of the world. If this is not performed the tribe believes that the spirit of the dead will not leave the human being's world. It is the *songot* they said that he/she is waiting before starting the journey. This is normally performed on the 9th day alone but if the family wishes to do it from the 7th up to the 9th day, it is better.

VI. Socio Political

What makes a leader?

According to Buscayno, a community leader before is a male elder who has the following attributes: wise, brave, good at giving advice, and righteous. He should also be seen in all the community activities like the *Angkas* (volunteer work erecting a house, agricultural activities etc), *Innabuyog* and others. He should not only be there for the sake of attending but he should actively lead those activities.

He who had been chosen as a village chief will take the responsibility without expecting an honorarium. As generations passed, *talinti* (paid village chief) was introduced. Its difference with the previous system was the *talinti* was receiving a small amount of money as his honorarium and the process is not done through appointment but through votation. It was also during the introduction of the *talinti* that voting was practiced. If there are two bets for the position, the community votes by using the beans and a container. They have beans with two colors of seeds, the white and the red. The elders choose one color each for the candidates and let the community choose. They put their chosen color of beans inside the container the elders will count the beans and declare the winner with the highest number of votes.

In the *talinti* system, the choice should only be two. The elders conduct a community meeting and ask the community whom to nominate. The nomination will be complimented with the qualification of the person being nominated. The two nominations having the best qualifications will be the ones to be voted for in an election system.

Today however, Buscayno said that those systems and qualifications are totally gone. Choosing a village leader today depends on how much money the candidate has. Vote buying he said is very rampant that it had crushed their good practice of leadership. This is also one of the reasons why their integrity as a tribe and as a clan is already crippled. It had been a cause for rocky relations of couples, siblings and relatives within the tribe.

This statement was also corroborated by Viernes in a separate interview. "*Nadadael ti unity mi manipud nairugi ti panaggatang ti botos. Idia y nga nagulo ti Uma ta pati agkakabsat, agkakapul, agkakailyan ken mismo nga pamilya ket nadadael ta rummingbaw ti pansarili nga interes ti tattao gapu iti kuwarta*" (Out unity broke since vote buying started. It brought chaos in our tribe that even the families were destroyed. This he said was what money can do. Self interest among some members of the tribe prevailed over the common good).

Who has the power?

The governing unit of the village Buscayno said is the Barangay Local Government Unit headed by the *Punong Barangay*. However, in decision making, it is still the recognized elders/leaders that have the power to decide on issues affecting the tribe. These elders and leaders usually compose the *Barangay Lupon*. They are the ones in charge of resolving internal and external conflicts. These conflicts are usually rooted to *toptope* (land grab) or boundary dispute.

In order to pass as a member of the *Lupon*, a person should be knowledgeable of things like ancestral land, customary laws and culture. A person needs not to be an elderly to be chosen as a member. This he said made the leaders of organizations to be part of the *Lupon*. Women are however are still unwelcome in this structure. Up to this time, men hold the major role in community decision making.

Whenever there are community issues that need to be discussed and given decisions, elders convene a meeting in *paway* (spaces outside the houses). Unlike other tribes in the Cordillera who have tribal halls called *ator* or *dap-ay*, the Uma tribe discusses in any *paway* conducive for holding a meeting. The *paway* for a meeting is usually located at the center of the village for the accessibility of every elder and leader.

Tribal war and peace pact

Nobody from the elders in the community can root out how tribal wars started. But to them, it started as a way of the tribe to protect their territory and the tribe itself. Each tribe has certain territory which had been defended by generations by any means including tribal war. A tribe has to hunt in their own hunting ground and if anyone violates then it means war. This fierceness of the tribes in Kalinga especially of the Lubuagan had been used for them to fight the Spaniards from occupying their land. This had been evident with the ethnographic research of Scott where in the goal of the Spaniards to construct a road connecting Kalinga and Abra failed.

Tribal war is also evident with the interviews to elders where they cited examples during the time of binnusor. Clan war was also the reason why the Uma tribe seceded from the Lubuagan tribe and formed a different tribe. Even several places within the territory of the tribe were named according to how their ancestors used certain areas. Scott even described the tribes in the municipality of Lubuagan to be brave, ferocious and are fighting with the Tingguians of Abra. Despite tribal wars, tribes maintained bilateral relations with other tribes through the *Bodong* (peace pact).

During the height of the Chico Dam project opposition, the tribes in Kalinga widened the scope of their peace pacts. Instead of only bilateral, they welcomed multi lateral relations with several tribes opposing the project in Kalinga and Mt. Province to be build a stronger force in their battle to stop the project. Bilateral relations with other tribes still exist up to this time as well as tribal wars. The Uma tribe however has not engaged into tribal war for a long time. Buscayno who is 27 years old said did not witness any war of this kind since his birth. Disputes with neighboring tribes however are the ones he witnessed but it did not reach to breaking of the peace pact.

In the primer of Binodngan Peoples Organization (BPO) entitled “Tribal War and Peace Pacts”, *“the main purpose of tribal war is expansion or defense of territory. But tribal war also means obtaining justice, of meting out vengeance for the killing or injuring of the members if one tribe by those of another. In primitive societies, where there ar no courts or penal systems for trying and punishing offenders, the only way to obtain justice is to take revenge. Tribal war is founded on the principle of vengeance – a life for a life, a blood for a blood”*. The primer added that the institutions of *binnusor* and *bodong* have clearly lost their material relevance to most Cordillera communities. These communities it added found other means of resolving their contradictions such as dialogue and amicable settlement which entails less expenditure of resources and hardly disrupt their daily lives and do not ruin their productivity.

Dagson Tubban, *bodong* holder between Uma and Balatoc tribes said that the concept of *bodong* arose because of brotherhood. They realized that it is inevitable for the members of the tribe to mingle with the people of several tribes. Some would even intermarry to neighboring tribes. In order for them to be safe wherever they go, they forged peace relations and came out with the *pagta* (law of the *bodong*). However, he added that the high regard of the i-Kalingas of their brotherhood most of the time result to war because when members of their tribes are injured or die, they would tend to break the *bodong* in order to met out vengeance. The war especially in the ancient time last for decades until both tribes decides that they have killed enough for seeking justice.

The role then of the elders is to prevent brewing tribal wars. The elders are composed of the peace pact holders and recognized leaders of the tribes. Whenever there is a *bodong* threatened to be broken, the elders of the tribes involved meet to negotiate. Their aim is to prevent the *bodong* from being broken so that tribal wars are prevented thus; they would do everything based on the *pagta* for them to meet in one end or else, the war will take place.

Buscayno said that one of the common causes of tribal wars is boundary disputes. This he said arise if one tribe tries to claim land areas that do not belong to their tribe’s territory. This territorial issue he said had been resolved long ago because their ancestors declared clearly their boundaries but sometimes, vested interest still prevails especially if money is involved. He cited an example from their neighboring tribes that disputed over territorial boundary because the area disputed was the heart of a mining company’s exploration application.

Moreover, they have an unresolved boundary dispute with the Sumadel tribe. This dispute he said is worsened by the irrigation project of National Irrigators Association (NIA). The said project encompasses the disputed land area that led to heightening of the dispute among the two tribes. He then concluded that then and now, their practice of tribal war is always co-opted by corporations and the government in their quest to break their unity and fight one another instead of focusing on the real issues. This he said is the reality that they are facing in the entry of Chevron's geothermal project in their area. Aside from existing boundary disputes, the project will for sure result to disputes on boundaries especially that Chevron's concession is with the boundaries of three municipalities namely, Lubuagan, Pasil and Tinglayan.

VII. Relationship with the environment

The tribe believes that all creatures on earth (trees, bodies of water, forest and etc) have stewards. These can be spirits of their ancestors or spirits of the forest. Whatever activities they are going to conduct in their environment, they have to ask the permission of the stewards by performing rituals. Also, if they have harvested resources from their environment, they have to share parts of it to the said stewards. They call this activity of sharing, *patay*.

Patay is a tribe's tradition to almost all of their activities like harvest, merry making activities and any activity that involves butchering of animals. If they will not perform this, the spirits will get mad and inflict harm on them. The harm usually inflicted are incurable illnesses which will only be healed if they conduct rituals that will appease the said spirits.

Viernes said that this belief has made them sustain their natural resources. They only get what they needed because if they get a little greedy and hunt or gather resources in an amount more than what they need, they will be subjected to the anger of the environment's stewards.

Buscayno shared that there is a story being retold to them by their fathers and grand fathers about an *i-uma* who is very good at hunting. He is called a *mingor*¹(expert) of hunting wild animals. This hunter has hunted a number of deer, wild pig, monkey and others. The stewards observed what he did and they warned him in his dream to stop being greedy and get only what he and the tribe need. However, he did not heed the warning. As a result the spirits got angry and cast him a disease that was never healed until his death.

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Mingor was a term for the male members of the tribe who are experts of headhunting. A *mingor* during that time has killed a lot of the tribe's enemies.

Another case Buscayno shared was a member of the tribe who cut a tree in their neighborhood. This person he said did not ask permission in any way he can. After that, the person got very ill. When his family went to a *man-aalisig* (traditional healer), it was explained that when he cut the tree, one of the children of the spirits of the tree was accidentally got hurt. The spirits even said that they will get the person's life because he harmed their child. The family performed rituals that include butchering an animal to appease the spirits before the man came back to health.

VIII. Leisure

During night time and Sundays when the communities have time to rest, they go and chat with their neighbors, listen to radio and watch TV with their neighbors who have such technology. The women staying at home for child minding activities usually spend their free time chatting with their neighbors who are also doing the same tasks. They gather in one of the households and brew coffee and drink while chatting.

For those who have televisions at home, they welcome every member of the tribe who wants to join them in watching movies which are usually action films (local or international). This is only at night time because their mini hydroelectric power only works at night at around 4PM and ends in the morning at 7PM. It was a policy that the community agreed. Drinking liquor today is already rampant especially for the men. Sometimes when they got drunk, some of them would shout what he wants and end up to be the talk of the village the morning after. There is an existing ordinance fining those who create chaos in the community when drunk.

Further, during special occasions like wedding, and *bodong*, the members who are good at *ullalim*, *uggayam* and playing instruments like *tungali* (nose flute) are requested to perform for the gathering. The kids are also playing bamboo instruments namely *tongatong* and *pattenggok*.

IX. Non government organizations (NGO)

Organizing work by non-government organizations started in 1989 when an epidemic broke out in the 3 sitios of Uma. The epidemic resulted to an average of 9 deaths in every village of Uma. Members of non-government health organizations Community Health Education Services and Trainings in the Cordillera Region (CHESTCORE) conducted fact-finding missions after which they organized the barangay health volunteers who were given health trainings. These NGO-trained health workers were further trained by the DOH which subsequently accredited some of the trainees as qualified barangay health workers.

Community development workers from other non-government and church organizations took over for further organizing and development work. Noted among these NGOs are Cordillera Disaster Response and Development Services (CorDis-RDS) formerly Montañosa Relief and Rehabilitation Services, Inc. (MRRS), Montañosa Research and Development Council (MRDC), Sibol ng Agham at Teknolohiya (SIBAT), and the Episcopal Church of the Philippines (ECP). These NGOs organized and trained community members on project management, financial management and other educational discussions enabling the community to manage the projects like the mini hydroelectric power plant, rice and corn mill, rice cooperative and others.

Other service NGO that is also working in the area is the Cordillera Women's Education Action Research Center (CWEARC). It is doing empowering research activities with the Innabuyog Uma and AgCO members on the geothermal and militarization issues. It had also given educational discussions on the indigenous women's situation and trainings on how to empower indigenous women in socio economic projects.



Interview with elder Belen Salbot



Interview with peace pact holder, Dagson Tubban



Interview with Benito Sugao on the life cycle of an i-uma.



Betty Belen and her daughter preparing the TALAS oil out of lemon grass, chili, ginger and oil.

Health, Healing and Illness findings

I. The tribe's concept of health

The Uma tribe believes that all actions of a person towards his/her fellow men and to the environment have repercussions to a person's health. Being greedy of hunting and gathering could make the stewards angry and cast illness to the doer of the action. A person's health could be affected if he/she piss or defecate in the rivers, forest, and anywhere that can be seen by the environment's stewards. Their optimum health then depends on how they interact with their environment. The results of the interviews to traditional healers concretize how these beliefs apply to their lives.

Moreover, there are illnesses that they recognize as caused by the weather like too much exposure from the sun, and the sudden change of the weather that can cause colds, headache and flu. These kinds of illness they said are not inflicted by the spirits. They strongly believe that the illnesses inflicted by spirits cannot be cured by any doctor. The *man-aalisig* (traditional healer) can only diagnose and advise how to cure it.

If a person is sick, they believe that positive things can help a person to recuperate faster. Thus, his/her family and friends should not tell negative stories that can make the person feel down. The feeling of happiness and being inspired Benito said are helpful to alleviate the will of the person to live.

A healthy person Betty Belen, a woman leader in the village said is energetic, eats normally, can withstand problems, goes to church and is not jealous. Positive attitudes should embody what they call a *mallagpot* or *mallikas*. The two local terms mentioned describe a healthy person. They do not have exact term for the word health but *mallagpot* which means hard-working and *mallikas* which means strong would according to Betty define health. She further explained that health for them does not only involves physical wellbeing but it includes how a person acts, interacts, work and talks. If a person is ill, he/she does not perform the said activities normally. A person who is jealous of his/her neighbor is unhealthy, she said. Also, a person who does not go to community gatherings and does not lend a hand if somebody direly needs help is not emotionally and psychologically healthy.

Betty further shared that their tribe has long been neglected by the government in terms of social services and that includes health services that they needed. There were epidemics in the past decades in their village and neighboring communities but the ones who went to help them are the NGOs who conducted medical missions. For a long time she said, they have relied on their own knowledge on treating illnesses. Whenever they feel that there was something wrong with their system, they would consult the *man-aalisig* who would advice them of what ritual to perform and what kind of food to eat. Their ancestors have also discovered some herbs that could help cure diseases.

However, this knowledge on herbal medicines started to be disregarded by the people due to the introduction of western medicines.

This knowledge was strengthened when CHESTCORE went to their village and gave trainings on health that focused on the uses of herbs in getting back to health. Also, during the 70s, the presence of the revolutionary movement in their territory had helped them very well in health issues. Aside from herbal medicines, they learned how to do the Acupuncture, acupressure, bentosa and even uproot decayed tooth. Sanitation issue she added became very important to the village that moved them to construct toilets in an open pit system.

II. Healing

Healing for the tribe is saving life. It is curing the current illness and preventing others to occur. Wansi, an elder said, healing is being generous to your knowledge for the other people to use. It is being ready to help the people in need of health assistance. For the traditional healers, healing is a sacrifice and is a choice. This is because a traditional healer is not prohibited to do other things that normal people do once they choose to apply their skills. Also, one woman elder in an interview said that even before, life is more important for the tribe than money or property. They can spend all their wealth just to restore someone's health.

Any occurring illness that is not associated to changes of weather is associated to the person's wrong doing to the environment, to animals, and to his/her fellowmen. Being healthy then requires a person to respect the balance of the forest, bodies of water, spirits of the environment, and should not step on another person's right.

Their traditional practice of healing cannot be explained by the key informants of when and how it began. Traditional healers who participated for this research only shared about how they became healers but with regards to the history of how such kinds of feelings started in their village, they cannot recall any accounts about it.

Alisig

Alisig is their most popular way of healing in the village. It is a process of healing where a person ill consults a *man-aalisig* (traditional healer) and advised of what he/she take or perform in order to restore his/her health. He can also cure the illness on his/her own if it needed be. Today, the tribe seeks the help of *man-aalisig* in illness that are not cured by any Western medicines. These types of illnesses are believed to be cause by spirits. And the healers usually attribute these to a person's activities in the past. These activities usually involve bad intentions like greediness in hunting and gathering in the forest, defecating and urinating anywhere especially in the forest, and cutting trees without the permission of its stewards. It can also be cause by people with what they say *sangasang* (power to inflict harm on others on purpose or not).

Other healers also believe that there are illnesses caused by other people who really want to inflict harm or even kill a certain person because of conflicts. This is called *padpadya* (kulam in Filipino). However, among the members of the Uma tribe, there are no persons who can perform *padpadya*. Accounts from the elders reveal that those who have the skill in doing it are from other tribes far from them.

Rituals

The life cycle of an Uma person is full of rituals that enable a person to experience good health and good life. These are the rituals mentioned in the ethnographic findings which are traditions that need not to be consulted to a traditional healer before performing. These are the *konted*, *alilaslas*, *gabbok*, *obyen*, *palanus*, *pusipos* and others. Failure to perform these would mean that a person is prone to illness or other kind misfortunes. The tribe usually attributes bad lucks to the failure of a family to do any of the rituals.

Today however, the tribe is already trying to get rid of the rituals that are not appropriate to their situation. Example of a ritual is the *gabbok* which is costly that a common family can hardly afford.

Other rituals are those that a *man-aalisig* will tell the ill person to perform.

Tingiting

This ritual is done for the victims of trauma specially those who were involved in accidents. Its purpose is to fetch the soul of a person who is traumatized and is suffering from illness that medical doctors cannot cure. It is a ritual done to restore the health of a person not only physical but more importantly, spiritual and emotional. They believe the soul of a person who has been traumatized is separated with the body that is causing him/her sick. If they perform this ritual, the soul will be reunited with the body and the healing process will be facilitated.

Betty Belen recounted how she was accidentally shot in the feet by one of her cousins but it was not deadly. They cleaned the gunshot wound with herbs. She did also take antibiotics thus, after several days, the wound was healed. However, weeks later, she was hospitalized because she could not eat. All kinds of food that she was taking in were just wasted because it seemed that her stomach did not have the capacity to digest. She kept vomiting even at the hospital that made her thinner and dehydrated. After one week at the hospital, they requested to be discharged because she was not getting any better. "*Kasla pay nga kumarkaro ti marikriknak*," (I felt that my health condition just became worse) she added.

When they got home, the elders advised them to perform the *tingiting*. They then butchered a native chicken and the traditional healer performed the ritual with all the members of the family. The healer chanted for the reunion of the body and soul. After the ritual, Betty said, she felt a lot better and the restoration of her health was facilitated.

Songa

Songa is a ritual which is relatively similar to the purpose of *tingiting* however; this is done if there are accidents or conflicts involving two parties resulting to the injury of any party. For example, two persons are involved in a fight and one of them was injured. While this ritual is the same with that of *tingiting*, *songa* is not only for the purpose of the speedy recovery of the one injured but it also has a purpose of setting peace mind to both individuals. Belen Salbot said the one who injured the other is the one responsible to perform the *songa*. This only needs a native chicken to be butchered in the residence of the injured. The person who performed the *songa* is prohibited to eat the cooked chicken.

Belen Salbot recounted that when he was younger, he injured one of his friends by accident. Three days after, the elders went to their house and instructed him to perform a *songa* for the speedy recovery of the person injured and also for him to have a peace of mind. The elders guided him on what to do until the end of the ritual. Two days after the *songa* his injured friend recovered.

He added that when two persons involved in a fight injured one another, they will both perform the ritual. They elders will tell them, *mansillonga kayo* (you make peace by performing *songa*). One person will butcher chicken in the house of the one whom he injured and that also goes to the other person. "*Ti songa ket kasla panagbawi iti nakaaramid ti madi*," (Songa is a ritual done by a person to make amends to the wrong that they did) Belen iterated.

III. Illness and cure

Betty who chairs the Committee on Health in the barangay council mentioned some of the common illnesses among her tribe that she has observed. These are cough and colds, Urinary Tract Infection (UTI), fever, ulcer and diarrhea. The elderly are commonly stricken by arthritis. These are usually treated with herbs that are introduced to them. For cough, they are curing it with oregano decoction and calamansi juice. The oregano leaves are placed in almost cooked rice and when the rice is cooked, they get the leaves and extract its juice then let the person suffering from cough drink. A person who is suffering from a prolonged cough is having malfunctions in other parts of his/her systems that cannot be cured by the aforementioned herbs.

For diarrhea, they learned how to make an oral cure for dehydration. They are mixing salt or sugar to warm water for the patient to drink. Their forefathers she said were using the juice of a banana trunk to cure this kind of illness. Water Betty added is the best cure for any illness that effectively works for diarrhea. Moreover, they are still practicing the butchering of young chicken if someone is suffering from diarrhea. If the patient is a girl, a young female chicken is butchered; young rooster is for a boy patient. Its purpose is for the patient to easily digest its meat.

The main cause of ulcer Betty said is poverty. The people she explained work very hard in order to live that sometimes, they forgot to eat. This however led to a greater problem which is ulcer. They are curing this kind with Western Medicine but if they cannot afford, they rely on Liberty (brand of a condensed milk). For the arthritis problem, they learned to cook oil called *Tanglad, Laya, Sili and Lana* (TALAS) – a mixture of lemon grass roots, ginger, chili and oil. This is used by massaging a drop of it to the acu points for arthritis. Some however are just applying it to where the ache is felt but accounts told that it is still effective.

UTI on the other hand is the difficulty in urinating, growing fatter, chills and fever. If a person reaches this stage, Betty said he/she is taken to the hospital. However, this can be cured right away by taking in several herbs that are available in their village like *suysuyoppaan* (Makahiya). Drinking a lot of water she said is a great help once the symptoms are felt. Fever is already being cured by Western medicine like Paracetamol, and Mefenamic acid.

During the months of February and May, they have observed the occurrence of illnesses particularly, cough and colds, and diarrhea. This is attributed by the community with the drastic changes in weather. Patients of cuts and burns are usually taken to the hospital if it has reach second and third degree or else the community can handle. The best known herb for cuts in the village is what they call *bokbokkasan*. This is endemic in the area. A soft stalked herb with heart shaped green leaves, violet flowers and can grow up to two feet tall. It thrives in a moist environment.

Members of the tribe mostly die from old age, cancer and TB. TB they said is an illness that can be inherited like that of cancer. Wansi and Billiet Aboli believe that TB has no cure especially if you are diagnosed of having such illness during the Senior Citizen age. What they do they said is to butcher an animal for the old person's *pusipos* hoping that it can heal. If not, the elderly departs peacefully.

Recently, the community observed that there is already significant number of people dying of cancer. Prostate cancer patients Betty said has the biggest number of mortality.

Skin diseases are not things to be ashamed of, Betty further explained. Those who have ringworms, skin diseases and others are normal to be seen. The shameful illnesses for them are those that can harm other people like Psychosis.

Other illnesses recognized

1. *Gagate* – This is a skin disease that forms many patches in the skin, itchy and painful. It is usually suffered by children. Calsiyao Gannaban, one of the traditional healers in the village said he as a father to two boys had been done anything to save them when their bodies from head to toe were covered by *gagate*. He had let them checked by the doctors and applied medicines but to no avail. The elders advised him to perform a ritual that would appease the spirits that might have caused the *gagate* on his two boys. After the ritual, he observed that the patches in the skins of his two boys are starting to dry up. Eventually, they were healed.

A woman elder was suffering a *gagate* in her butt for weeks and has been taking in medicines that can heal the said skin disease but it was no use. Calsiyao and his family called the best *man-aalisig* in the municipality and when she saw the woman elder, she pointed at the swidden farm of the woman elder. She explained that the woman suffering skin disease defecate somewhere in her swidden farm that made the spirits angry. She told them to capture one native chicken and butcher it in the farm where the ill person defecated. They get the chicken's head and put it on the tip of a *runo* facing the ravine. Just once night after the ritual, the *gagate* had been cured.

2. *Tungew* – This refers to the warts growing in the eyelids. This they believe is cured by touching it with their earrings called *lubyey*. It is like magic Belen said because after touching the warts with the *lubyey*, the warts are miraculously gone.

3. *Layusok* – is described by Thomasa Tayawa as an illness when a person is very tired from work, feverish and chilling. This can be associated with *flu*. If a person is suffering from this illness, he/she only needs rest and eat good food. The good food mentioned by Thomasa is usually native chicken. Drinking the hot soup of the chicken is believed to ease the pain and eventually heals the person.

4. *Tuko* and *Kamuras* – Chicken pox and measles respectively are illnesses that the tribe considers as normal to a growing person. Also the do not have any practice or knowledge on how to cure them. They said that chicken pox and measles are incurable and it depends on the resistance of a person if he/she can withstand it; if not, he/she dies.

Thomasa however shared that when they were young and suffered from chicken pox, their parent would gather edible frogs and boil it. The soup is used to bath them to facilitate the healing process. Measles on the other hand is believed to be eased by chewing sugar cane.

5. *Koyang* – Pin worms or *koyang* is the common to children. Billiet Aboli, one of the elders said that if a child is growing thinner and having an abnormally big stomach, he/she has *koyang*. Their parents before are curing this illness by letting the children eat *kamote* (sweet potato) raw. After several hours, the child would defecate

6. *Fungal* – it is the tribe's local term for nose bleeding. They are treating this through pressing the forehead near the eye brows with a towel or clean cloth dipped in hot water for several minutes to stop the bleeding.

7. *Kamachog* (sore eyes) – Belen said that during the months of January to March, the transferable disease in the eyes called *kamachog* or sore eyes spread in the village. This is attributed to the blooming of several flowers. *Agawa-aw*, a type of herb that crawls on mossy rocks has tiny heart shaped green leaves. The villagers extract the leaves' juice and apply drops in their infected eyes. After three days, they sore eyes he said will be healed. However, he said that this herb only works for a two or three-day sore eyes. When it exceeds, the herb does not have the capacity to cure it already.

8. *Tugi* – This illness is described by the community with a sudden headache and stomach ache. According to Luis Tayawa, the illness can be quickly healed by a three strike on a pot cover placed near the head of the patient. The sound produced by a pot cover hit can absorb the illness. This is a popular way of healing among the members of the tribe because even the villagers who are not healers know the process.

9. *Padpadya* – This illness is similar to the concept of *kulam*. The villagers believe that there are illnesses that are mysterious that even doctors and other traditional healers cannot heal. Luis Tayawa shared that he had cured several people who had this kind of illness. One of them is his nephew who had five holes in his feet even showing his bones. When he examined him, he said that it is a *padpadya*. He asked him of his prior activities and he concluded that his nephew got the illness in Batangas. According to him, when his nephew washed his clothes and let it dry, the one who is holding the poison pour some in the pants. He cured it by charcoal coming from the butt of a pot with oil. He rubbed the charcoal with oil in the feet of his nephew for three days and the holes were all gone.

Moreover, he healed several of the people of the Municipality of Pasil who went to Western Uma and seek his help. One of them is a lady having lots of an inch hole in her body. The patient was already suffering for three months. The holes he said started from her hands until it was spread all over her body. The lady is victimized he said by her previous boyfriend who cannot accept that they are going separate ways. The ex-boyfriend knew of someone who has the bad skill which is doing the *padpadya*. Luis instructed the family to buy a native chicken for them to start the healing process. They butchered the chicken and checked its bile if it says a positive sign. Luis however does not believe in bile reading. He believes that the person can be healed if God forbid. After eating, he started applying the charcoal with oil by rubbing it in a downward direction into the affected skin. A day after, the holes started to disappear. He again prayed and applied the "medicine" on the lady. On the third day of healing, there is only one hole remaining which was in lady's hand. When she was totally

recuperated, the family went home.

10. *Latupok* – John Pario, a traditional healer said *latupok* is an illness on the lips that usually attacks children. It is recognized by painful cracking and whitening of the lips. In the village, John is known for his expertise in curing this illness. During the interview with him, he dreamt of his great grandfather when he was 55 instructing him that this can be healed with his breath and the river fish, *ugachiw*. He applied the instruction by blowing into the lips of people who are suffering from this kind of disease and tell them to gather *ugachiw* and cook it by simply boiling and adding salt. The soup of the river fish then will be drank by the patient.

This kind of healing he said is not effective if it is done by others because it did not appeared in their dreams. The healing practices he added that that the healer discovered or learned is his/her dreams cannot be duplicated by others. They believe that they have a certain kind of power that makes the healing effective.

11. *Gobyew* – John Pario shared that he discovered a cure for dysentery or what the tribe call, *gobyew*. This he said is an illness that would make the patient suffer by continuous defecation and stomach ache. The cure he said was tested by him to himself when he was suffering such kind of disease. He was already thin and dehydrated for prolonged suffering from dysentery when he saw a woman pulverizing *jekot* (sticky rice) by pounding it. He grabbed a handful from the pulverized *jekot* and ate. Successfully, he was able to stop from going in and out of the toilet.

When one of his relative who is at the same time, their neighbor was suffering from the said illness, he advised her to eat the same *jekot* and when she did, she was healed.

12. *Tabyew* – This is poisoning from the herbs that a person ate leading to vomiting and dizziness and sometimes, double vision. This is cured by the tribe by chewing sugar cane or simply eating sugar.

13. *Ibuk* – Tooth ache cause by tooth decay. The tribe according to Billiet Aboli is treating the ache by chewing herbs like *byebyetak* or known in other villages in the Cordillera as *borbortak*. The juice of the herb he can ease the pain.

On the other hand, Benito Sugao tried to heal his tooth ache with the juice extracted from *tiyongan* which belongs to the family of ants. Its color is black and red and is living in soft soil.

14. *Busali* – In English, they call this boil. This is a skin infection characterized by reddening, sore and with deep seethed pain especially when the sore is touched. According to Benito Sugao, his father had a cure for this that he tried once and proven to be effective. This treatment is composed of the *luklo* (spider ecdysis), *ichus* (wooden spatula), and coconut oil. He said the coconut oil is rubbed in the reddened skin followed by the pulverized ecdysis and then the spatula is heated by the fire before using it to press the reddened area. When he tried this treatment to his son, after several hours, the “eye” of the boil came out and the deep seethed pain is gone.

Benito added that sometimes, the wisdom of the elders should not be underestimated because those are results of decades of experience.

Herbal Medicine

Even prior to the introduction of herbal medicine to the community, the tribe is already curing themselves with herbs that they themselves tested to be effective. Some of these are herbs that can stop the bleeding from wounds and can even facilitate the healing of cuts and wounds. These are *bokbokkasan*, *salipat*, and bamboo leaves. Others that heal several common illnesses are *agawa-aw*, *kamote* (sweet potato), *byayat* (banana), *kutsay*, sugar cane, *kawkawati*, and many more. Some herbs like oregano and lagundi are introduced to them by Cordillera Health Education Services and Trainings in the Cordillera Region (CHESTCORE) and the guerillas.

These herbs are tested based on the tribe's experience. Most of the herbs are used by extracting their juices and apply in the ill portion of the body. Some like *kamote* and banana are just eaten.

Aside from herbs that can heal, the tribe also knows of insects that are useful in their health. Asthma for example is believed to be cured by the house lizard's tail. They burn the tail and mix the ashes into any liquid and drink. Also, earrings made out of gold (*lubyey*) are believed to heal warts in the eyelids. They also believe that observing some practices can facilitate the healing process especially for women who just gave birth and those who are having the difficulty in lactation. Some of these practices are still observed today and the informants believe it to be effective.

IV. Healers

The common to all the healers who participated in this research is dream. They became healers because they dreamt of how to heal. Usually, the person in their dreams who are instructing them of how to heal is one of their ancestors. If the person dreaming will not practice what their ancestors told them in their dream, it will affect their health. Some were sick for several months and healed after they decide to apply the skill.

John Pario, 66 years old

Pario said he was 55 years old when his great grandfather appeared in his dream telling him how to treat *latupok*. He did not heed the instruction because he was not confident of himself. That he said caused him to suffer dysentery for three months. He cannot work because he was defecating every now and then. "*Kasla ak nga magmagna nga awan puot na*," (I can be likened to a walking dead) he added. When he decided to apply the skill that his great grandfather wishes him to, he was suddenly recuperated. It is a responsibility that cannot be escaped.

On the other hand, when he was healing, he observed that the illnesses that he was treating are absorbed by his family. He was then advised to require *sipat* from his patients. *Sipat* is a material given by the patients to the healer in order for his family to be saved from the cured

illness. The material which is required by Pario is tobacco leaf in any amount that the patient can afford to give. He uses the tobacco by smoking and blowing it to the face of the person.

Also, the illness is transferred to his family if the patients are paying their services in cash or in kind. One day, he was asked to heal a teachers child and a day after, the teacher went to their house giving them a lot of *jekot* (sticky rice). Even though he knew that the teacher had good intentions, he refused to accept. He just explained that the tobacco leaf is more than enough.

His expertise is treating *latupok* and *gobyew*. The *latupok* is healed with him blowing the face of the patient with the tobacco leaf that he smoked and instructing them to catch *palispis* and boil them with salt and water. The soup shall be drunk by the patient. *Gobyew* on the other hand is treated by eating pulverized *jekot*. The effectiveness of the treatments however relies on the healer. The treatment that he dreamt of cannot be effective if others even other *man-aalisig* performs it.

Pario also can see the person's spirit before they die but it is only particular to their relatives. At first, he did not believe it and he kept on denying it from himself but it happened many times. Hours or a night prior to the death of a relative, he sees them walk by his side and disappear leaving him without any strength. Every time that happens, he felt that his bones become jelly.

Luis Tayawa, 51 years old

During the interview, he recounted how he became a *man-aalisig*. He said that he was in Tabuk (provincial center of Kalinga) when he asked their neighbor to climb the betel nut tree and harvest its remaining fruits. The owner let him and he gathered the three fruits. When he went to his relatives' house, he started to feel dizzy that he cannot eat anything. For eleven days, he did not eat anything. He lost the direction of his life. Every day, he was seen walking to nowhere. It was good he recalled that his relatives have tricycle to fetch him when he is not home yet by nightfall.

In the eleventh day without eating, he was finally encouraged to eat but he only took in three scoops of rice. He felt that he was overfed already. After eating at around 1PM that day, he sat on the bed and started seeing and hearing a person talking in front of him. He was awake but he was not moving. His lips are the only ones moving because he was conversing with the person "in front" of him. His cousins, uncles and aunts were crying because they thought that he was dying. He was in that situation for an hour. At 2PM, when he got back to normal, he remembered that the person he was talking to instructed him to use the three betel nuts for healing. It has also the power to deflect *padpadya*. He was not taught on how to use other herbs in healing. He only told him that it will come to him at the right time.

Less than an hour later, they were informed of a kid who fell from the second floor of the building. His arms were fractured and his head was injured. The people around them were already panicking because they do not know what to do. Luis he said knelt and prayed. After that, he asked the parents to look for *kutsay* (chives) or onion leeks. After few minutes, they handed him onion leeks. He then pounded it and applied on the kid's fractured body parts

and on the bruises. He then instructed the family to bring the kid to the hospital because he needed medicines.

From then on, he had healed a lot of people in Uma, Pasil, Tabuk and a lot more places. Aside from those that appeared in his dreams, he is also using other methods of healing that he heard from other healers. But these methods are those that are commonly used and not those that are exclusive to a certain healer. As mentioned above, the healing methods that are exclusive only to a particular healer are those that they have dreamt of. He is also reading herbal medicine books to have more knowledge on other herbs specially those that are available in Uma.

Moreover, he is one of the only two *man-aalisig* in Western Uma who can treat the illness caused by *padpadya*. Like Pario, he is also requiring *sipat*. For the case of *padpadya*, a *sipat* is usually native chicken. If *sipat* for Pario is to protect his family from absorbing the illness from his patients, *sipat* for Luis Tayawa is done to drive the bad spirits away from the patient and from the village. He holds the native chicken and pray then after that, he release the chicken by throwing it as far as he can. If the chicken was able to fly farther, the bad spirits will be driven away and the healing will be successful. If the chicken is not able to fly, there is a big possibility for the healing to fail.

He stressed that the most important factor that heals a person ill is the trust and belief that he/she can be healed by *alisig*. Another is God's intervention. He believes that even if the person has a great chance to live if God forbids, it is no use.

James Basilan

James Basilan is very famous not only among the Uma but to all the neighboring tribes. He is known having the capacity to heal all kinds of illness except for cancer. Other participants of this research have shared accounts of how James saved their children and their selves. His skill they said is reinforced by the *sumang* which is a bottle of herbs preserved in coconut oil.

James was however destroyed because of some selfish interest. His *sumang* according to the informants had been destroyed by people from other tribe where he went supposedly to heal. Because of that, his health was affected and his emotional and mental health gave up. He has still the capacity to heal but he is not confident anymore. Some of the people who recently went to his house to ask his help failed. James according to them is always telling them that he cannot heal anymore.

To the villagers, they are very sad with how James turned out. He has done a lot for the community.

V. Anatomy/Physiology

The table below gives an idea of how the elders of the tribe know their body parts. It discusses how these body parts are understood by the informants according to their relevance or uses. This is according to the interviews with elders, Billiet Aboli and Wansi Bongat.

External body parts in English	External body parts in local language	Uses/relevance
Head	Byattukeg	Head is the one holding the brain which is useful for a person's thinking.
Hair	Fuok	It covers the head
Ear	Inga	Use for hearing
Face	Lupa	It differentiates a person from another person
Eyes	Kuyup	It is used for seeing
Eye lashes	Kimat	
Nose	Onge	It is used for smelling
Mouth	Tupok	It is used for eating, drinking
Lips	Subyin	It is used for eating, talking, drinking
Teeth	Ngipon	It is used for chewing
Tongue	Jila	It is used for tasting
Throat	Ekuok	
Palate	Lawot	It catches the food after the teeth chew
Neck	Byegang	It holds the head
Shoulder	Abyaya	

Shoulder blades	Padpadchange	
	Takob	It connect the shoulders together
Back	Ochog	It is used for posture; It is useful for a person to stand in right position.
Spinal cord	Taliti	It holds the ribs
Chest	Byiyukung	It houses the lungs and heart
Stomach	Fuwang	It is where the food goes after the person swallow
Abdomen	Pus-un	
Waist	Butek	
Leg	Epu	All these body parts are recognized by the informants as useful for standing, walking, running and any kinds of mobility.
Knees	Puwog	
	Butoy	
	Chungoy	
Toes	Gammat	
Heel	Mung-o	
Feet	Chapan	
Ankle	Tikling	

Internal body parts in English	Internal body parts in local language	Uses
Heart	Puso	This organ according to the informants is the one in-charge of a person's heartbeat
Lungs	Byaya	This organ is in-charge of the breathing
	Ogtoy	
Kidney	Byatin	It is where the urine goes
Bile	Apchu	
Gizzard	Fotak	
Intestines	Byagis	It is where the feces go before they are excreted.

VI. Conception, pregnancy and prenatal care

Normally, a woman only gets pregnant if she is married and the *palanus* is performed. However, even before, there are those who have violated this norm. Today, there are already numerous cases of pregnancy out of wedlock or results of what they call *chagchagas*. However, for the community, it is still not normal for a woman to get pregnant without getting married to the father of the child.

Cravings during the first trimester of pregnancy are recognized by the community as normal. Thomasa Tayawa said one of the signs of being pregnant is craving for sour foods. Also, if the woman is craving for the said food and her eyes are deep, she is surely pregnant. If their cravings are not met or satisfied, she said they will get sick or can even result to miscarriage. A pregnant woman she added often quarrels with her husband and sometimes, they do not want to see the face of their spouse.

On the other hand, the community believes that pregnant woman is prohibited to eat the meat of a male pig. Thus, when there are community occasions, the family with a pregnant woman will have to know the gender of the pig butchered. Betty Belen said that if they eat the said meat, it can result to difficulty in lactation. She shared that there was one time when she was lactating that her breasts were aching and it can hardly pump milk. She felt that there are tumors inside that are causing the pain her difficulty in pumping milk. She

explained further that their tribe believes that what she experienced is an effect of discreetly eating pork.

Today however, Thomasa said it is no longer strictly observe especially that there are already pork available in the market which are bought per kilo.

As explained in the ethnographic findings, it is not good for a pregnant woman to laugh at any imperfections of a person because there is a great possibility that the child she is carrying will imitate the thing or person she laughed at.

Abortion

Thomasa recalled that she heard of abortion when she was still young. A woman who wants to abort the baby she was carrying would burn *uyut* (the remains of the rice bundle when the grains are pounded) and mix the ash with water and drink. There were already cases of abortion she said and one of the main reasons is when the father of the baby does not want to marry the woman pregnant. This is however prohibited in their culture but it is a reality.

When a woman aborted the baby she is carrying and the family knew, the life of the woman is more important thus, they will have to butcher a chicken for her speedy recovery.

On the other hand, there are also cases of accidental miscarriage. To avoid this, women who are in their early stage of pregnancy and those who are to deliver are given lighter task. Sometimes, they just stay at home to rest.

Birth control

Before, the people do not have a concept of birth control. Thomasa explained that people before wanted their tribe to propagate. This is especially during the time of *kinnayaw* because a many male members of the tribe are dying in tribal or clan wars. The people encourage having many children. Today, the community is already conscious on birth control because of the scarcity of resources.

VII. Childbirth

Women delivering babies before were all assisted by expert traditional midwives or what they call *mampapaanak*. Thomasa said that it was only recently that there are professional midwives. If she is going to compare the skill of the traditional midwives and that of the professional, the latter is way behind.

The tribe has also practice in order to facilitate the delivery that would also lessen the pain that a woman has to endure. The woman is advised to eat a raw egg. All the pots inside the house should be opened and if possible, the *uyud* (deer's feet) will be place in the belt. These are believed to be helpful in the process of delivery.

After delivery, the *tagalakan* (placenta) is buried preferably by the woman or the husband. The woman is prohibited to perform heavy work like carrying heavy materials. She is also advised not to stay long under the sun.

Viernes Bommosao on the other hand said that if a woman just gave birth, she is not allowed to go out often especially during sunrise and sunset. If she goes out, she must have any red cloth worn as a way to inform the spirits of the environment that she just gave birth. They believe that spirits do not harm them. She is only allowed to go out when the navel of the baby heals. He added that if the woman needs to go *dagsi* (common washing area), she has to bring with her any cloth and burn it on the way for the spirits to smell and recognize that she just gave birth.

Thomasa added that giving a name to a child before is like following the lineage of the family. If it is a boy, he shall be named before their ancestors.

A woman who just gave birth is also advised not to eat food that can cause itchiness like *gabi* leaf.

VIII. Post Natal

Up to this time, majority of children in Western Uma are breast fed. Only a few of them are fed with formula milk. Aside from it is recommended that children of the tribe should be breast fed, the peasant family of the village cannot afford to buy formula milk. The babies of professionals and those mothers who are working outside the community are the ones usually fed with formula. Teachers who have break times to breast fed their babies usually are into mix feeding.

Breast feeding is also an activity that can be done in *innabuyog* system because if a lactating mother needs to attend to work or any important occasion, she can bring her baby to another lactating mother to breast feed while she is away. The other mother on the other can also leave her baby to the other in return if she has to do something important in the field or in the town center.

Thomasa said that when a mother is lactating, the family if they can butchers a chicken when needed to facilitate the production of milk in the mother's breast. There are also food that are recommended for them to eat like squash, *sayote*, *amti*, *papaya*, and vegetable tops.

IX. Childcare

Weaning children is relatively easier for the tribe. When another baby Thomasa said is on the way, the kid who is still breast fed is gradually driven away from his/her mother's breast until the child cannot remember breast milk anymore. For the children that are harder to wean, they have to apply chili on the mother's breast so that when he/she feed from it and got stung by the chili he/she will not try to touch the breast.

Common illnesses suffered by children are diarrhea, pin worms and fever. Thomasa further said that in order to maintain a healthy body and avoid the illness, kids are prohibited to eat any intestines of animals.

For the kids of the village, they are allowed to do anything they wanted as a child like playing, studying, and many more. However, they also have to spare time to help in the household chores. They are also starting to warn them on how to interact with the environment. For the boys, they are taught on how to hunt birds properly by not being greedy. They are also taught not to indiscriminately cutting branches of trees, herbs and other plants because the stewards of the said creatures might get angry and cast illness on them.

Also, they are advised not to stay outside by nightfall. In order for the children to abide with their advice, they would tell stories of *is-isu* (the spirit who can imitate the figure and face of a person that it wishes to imitate) to scare them. The stories however of *is-isu* are true. There are they said accounts of elders who have witnessed this spirit. Before, *is-isu* is considered to be a friendly ghost because it does not harm. It only appears to tease or play with people. Today however, *is-isu* has become naughty to that it is watching women taking a bath.



Child minding is a task performed by children (left photo). Children playing beside the rice fields while their parents are harvesting rice (right photo).

X. Adolescence

For women adolescents who are having their menstruation, they are advised by the elders to eat raw egg if they are having difficulty. Thomasa said that aside from facilitating the delivery of a baby, the egg is also helpful to make the menstrual flow normal and eases the pain.

For boys, once they reach adolescence, their circumcision should have been done. It is a shame for a boy not to be circumcised before adolescence. Circumcision is done with a sharpened guava branch. Today, they have a medical doctor in the village and they are advised that circumcision should be done in the clinic.

XI. Elders

Billiet Aboli and Wansi Bongat in an interview said that the common ailments of elderly in their tribe are eyes and ear defects. Wansi who is on his 70s he said is already deaf. *“Dakkel met ti lapayag ko ngem nu apay met gamin natuleng,”* (I have big ears but I don’t know why it is deaf) he added. Billiet on the other hand is suffering from an eyes defect. He was supposed to be scheduled for operation in Baguio City in 2012 but he did not have enough patience to wait.

Wansi recalled that he is a witness to the death of some of his ancestors but none of them died with illness. All of them he said died of old age. Even their eyes are stronger than the eyes of the people today. Billiet corroborated that the eye sight of their grand fathers did not deteriorate until they were on their death bed.

XII. Sanitation

Their sanitation system before was much easier because the community has a smaller population. They were washing dishes and clothes in the rivers; fetching water directly from the springs; they do not have much non biodegradable wastes thus, they can just throw their garbage in areas away from the backyard. Even defecating is done somewhere in their environment. But they have a strong belief that indiscriminate throwing of garbage and defecating in the environment will make the spirits angry and can inflict harm on the family or on the person who did the activity.

The guerillas in the 70s introduced sanitation to the community according to Betty Belen. They were taught of how to make toilets and other sanitation activities like setting open pit garbage. Other NGOs like CHESTCORE conducted health trainings for the village leaders that include the issues of sanitation. Their water system was just set up recently with the help of NGOs and the local government unit. Today few of the households have their water faucets inside their houses. These were made with their personal money. Other available water taps in the community are clustered. The area where the water is located is called *dagsi*.

XIII. Modern Health Care

Today, the community is abiding both with traditional and biomedicine. They still believe that they can be healed the traditional way that is why if their illness can be healed by the *man-aalisig* or by their practice and rituals, they are not accommodating the issue of going to hospital or consulting with doctors. Another issue that is hindering them to go to hospital is the money. They cannot afford the high rocketing prices of check-ups and medicines. Thus, they are just going to the said medical institutions when it is already an issue of life and death and all their health seeking behaviors cannot already heal the sick.

They also have BarangayHealth Workers who are members of the community. They are trained by CHESTCORE and later on by the Department of Health (DoH). They are the ones going around for health monitoring especially to mothers and children. During the data gathering activities, the research team witnessed one of the BHWs checking the blood of an adolescent who had been sick for two days. The test was to determine if the person is suffering from Malaria. The material they said was given to them by the DOH.

The Medicinal Plants of the Uma Tribe in Western Uma, Lubuagan, Kalinga



I. **BOKBOKKASAN**

1. General Data

Use of plant	This herb is use to stop bleeding of bruises, wounds and cuts. It is also believe to hasten the healing process of the said ailments.
Scientific name	
Local name	<i>Bokbokkasan</i>
Common name in Filipino	
Common foreign name	

Planting, gathering and storing (if applicable)	The flowering herb is endemic in the area. It is found everywhere in the village thus, the community do not need to plant or store it.
Part/s of the plant use	Leaves
Preparation, measurement of the part/s use	At least three or more leaves are gathered and pounded to extract its juice. The juice is rubbed on the bruised or cut area. The pounded leaves can also be used as poultice on the injured part of the body and tied with clean cloth.
Additional information	
Dosage	The tribe do not have a concept of dosage in this particular herb. The amount use is based on the size of bruise or cut. Their idea is, as long as the juice extracted is enough to be rubbed on the areas injured.
Negative effects and precaution	None
Additional information	
Informants	Uma tribe of Western Uma, Lubuagan, Kalinga. This is a common knowledge to the village and it cannot be attributed to a particular person/s who participated in the data gathering.
Address of the informant	Western Uma, Lubuagan, Kalinga
Name of data collector	Alma Bocad Sinumlag, Melba Belen
Date of collection	May 31, 2013

2. Herbarium Data Template

Scientific name	UNCOLLECTED
Local name	<i>Bokbokkasan</i>
Field Number	
Herbarium Number	
Collector/s	
Collector Number	
Place of collection	
Common area where the plant live	Mossy stone walls, moist soils, near community washing sheds and swidden farms
Latitude	
Altitude above sea level	800 meters above sea level
Habitat	
Measurement	The fully grown <i>bokbokkasan</i> can reach a maximum height of 2 feet above the ground.
Flower	One plant when fully grown is bearing 4 to 5 small light purple flowers which are grouped in one.
Seeds	
Name of specimen collector	
Date of specimen collection	
Place of storage	
Data collector	

Date	
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3. Ethnopharmacological indication data template

3a if medical indication

If there are medical uses	
What are the ailments it can heal	It stops bleeding
Description of the ailment	Wounds, cuts, and bruises from sharp edged grasses, from sharp metal objects.
Cause of the ailment	Accidents, touching sharp edges of grass
How is it diagnosed	N/A
Healing	<p>Pound the 3 or more leaves, extract the juice and rubbed it in the injured part of the body. Pounded leaves can also be used as poultice on the injured part of the body and tied with clean cloth.</p> <p>The bleeding according to the community usually stops after one or two minutes when applied with <i>bobokkasan</i>.</p>
Name of data collector	
Date	

3b If there are other uses aside from medical

Uses aside from medical (e.g. poison)	N/A
Description of its effects when used	N/A
Name of the data collector	N/A
Date	N/A

4. Informant data template (*bokbokkasan* is an herbal medicine known by the whole village. Also, during the data gathering process, all the informants young and old, traditional healer or not are knowledgeable of this plant.)

Name of informant	N/A
Address	N/A
Birth date	N/A
Age	N/A
Sex (Male or Female)	N/A
Work	N/A
Type of informant	N/A
Type of healing	N/A
Extent of healing experience	N/A
History of the case handled	N/A
Name of family members and their relationships (if the informant is a healer)	N/A

Date	N/A
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***Agawa-aw* on a mossy stone captured in Sitio Ag-agama, Western Uma, Lubuagan, Kalinga**

II. **AGAWA-AW**

1. General Data

Use of plant	This herb is use for curing <i>kamachug</i> or sore eyes.
Scientific name	
Local name	<i>Agawa-aw</i>
Common name in Filipino	
Common foreign name	
Planting, gathering and	This crawling herb is not planted because it is naturally growing in the

storing (if applicable)	village at any time of the year.
Part/s of the plant use	Leaves and stalks
Preparation, measurement of the part/s use	Gather enough leaves and stalks then pounded to extract its juice. The juice is dropped on the infected eyes.
Additional information	
Dosage	Also, the tribe do not have any concept of dosage for this particular plant. It is as long as the juice extracted is enough for one or two drops.
Negative effects and precaution	None
Additional information	
Informants	<p>This health knowledge is also owned by the Uma tribe of Western Uma, Lubuagan, Kalinga. For the sake of recognizing those who shared the knowledge, their names are below.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Belen Salbot – elder living in Sakwilig (sub-cluster), Sitio Ag-agama, Western Uma, Lubuagan, Kalinga 2. Viernes Bommosao – elder, living in Mallango (sub-cluster), Sitio Ag-agama, Lubuagan, Kalinga 3. Benito Sugao – elder of Ag-agama, Western Uma, Lubuagan, Kalinga
Address of the informant	Western Uma, Lubuagan, Kalinga
Name of data collector	Alma Bocad Sinumlag, Melba Belen
Date of collection	June 4, 2013

2. Herbarium Data Template

Scientific name	UNCOLLECTED
Local name	<i>Agawa-aw</i>
Field Number	
Herbarium Number	
Collector/s	
Collector Number	
Place of collection	
Common area where the plant live	Mossy stones, moist soils, and swidden farms
Latitude	
Altitude above sea level	800 meters above sea level
Habitat	
Measurement	<i>Agawa-aw</i> is a crawling herb and one branch from the root can reach up to 2.5 feet.
Flower	One plant when fully grown is bearing 4 to 5 small light purple flowers which are grouped in one.
Seeds	N/A
Name of specimen collector	
Date of specimen collection	
Place of storage	
Data collector	

Date	
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3. Ethnopharmacological indication data template

3a if medical indication

If there are medical uses	
What are the ailments it can heal	It is used for treating sore eyes
Description of the ailment	The ailment is characterized by red, watery, sore eyes. It is itchy and painful especially during morning.
Cause of the ailment	It is an air borne infectious disease which the tribe believes that a person can be infected if he/she stares at the person who has this kind of ailment. This illness is usually suffered during the months of February to May.
How is it diagnosed	The local can tell if a person is suffering from this disease.
Healing	Pound enough leaves and stalks to extract the juice. Pour one or two drops of its juice in the infected eye/s. This is usually done three times a day for three days. After three days, the informants said, the ailment is cured.
Name of data collector	Alma Sinumlag, Melba Belen
Date	June 1, 2013

3b If there are other uses aside from medical

Uses aside from medical (e.g. poison)	N/A
Description of its effects when used	N/A
Name of the data collector	N/A
Date	N/A

4. Informant data template (*Agawa-aw* is an herbal medicine known by the whole village. However, for the sake of recognizing the persons who shared the knowledge, there profiles are below.)

Name of informant	Belen Salbot
Address	Sakwilig (sub-cluster), Sitio Ag-agama, Western Uma, Lubuagan, Kalinga
Birth date	
Age	
Sex (Male or Female)	Male
Work	Farming
Type of informant	Elder
Type of healing	N/A
Extent of healing experience	N/A
History of the case handled	Belen Salbot applied this knowledge of the tribe with himself and his children and according to him, three days after the first application of the herb, the <i>kamachug</i> is healed and the person's eyes are back to normal.
Name of family members and their relationships (if the informant is a healer)	N/A
Date	June 1, 2013

Name of informant	Viernes Bommosao
Address	Mallango (sub-cluster), Sitio Ag-agama, Western Uma, Lubuagan, Kalinga
Birth date	
Age	
Sex (Male or Female)	Male
Work	Farming
Type of informant	Elder
Type of healing	N/A
Extent of healing experience	N/A
History of the case handled	Like that of Belen Salbot, Viernes applied this herb to himself and his children.
Name of family members and their relationships (if the informant is a healer)	N/A
Date	June 4, 2013

Name of informant	Benito Sugao
Address	Patakan (sub-cluster), Sitio Ag-agama, Western Uma, Lubuagan, Kalinga
Birth date	
Age	
Sex (Male or Female)	Male
Work	Farming
Type of informant	Elder, Barangay Councilor
Type of healing	N/A
Extent of healing experience (if traditional healer)	N/A
History of the case handled	He and his family had been using this plant and he proves it to be effective.
Name of family members and their relationships (if the informant is a healer)	N/A
Date	June 2, 2013



Pengipang captured in Mallango (sub-cluster), Sitio Ag-agama, Western Uma, Lubuagan, Kalinga

III. *PENGIPANG*

1.

Use of plant	This herb is use to stop bleeding of wounds, cuts and bruises. It can also be use to stop tooth ache.
Scientific name	
Local name	<i>Pengipang</i>
Common name in Filipino	

Common foreign name	
Planting, gathering and storing (if applicable)	This is a vegetative plant that is endemic in the village. It grows at any time of the year.
Part/s of the plant use	Leaves and roots
Preparation, measurement of the part/s use	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. For stopping bleeding – gather enough leaves and pound to extract the juice and rub on the injured part of the body. The pounded leaves can be used as poultice. 2. For stopping tooth ache – uproot one <i>pengipang</i> and cut the middle root that grows vertical to the ground. This plant has only one root in the middle which is usually the biggest root. Pound the root and use as poultice on the teeth aching. The juice should seep until the gums.
Additional information	
Dosage	Like the other herbs, it has no definite dosage. The amount use is based on how much a person can endure.
Negative effects and precaution	None
Additional information	
Informants	<p>This health knowledge is also owned by the Uma tribe of Western Uma, Lubuagan, Kalinga. For the sake of recognizing those who shared the knowledge, their names are below.</p> <p>For its use on stopping the bleeding</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Benito Sugao – elder of Ag-agama, Western Uma, Lubuagan, Kalinga <p>For its use on stopping of tooth ache</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Viernes Bommosao – elder, living in Mallango (sub-cluster), Sitio Ag-agama, Lubuagan, Kalinga
Address of the informant	Sitio Ag-agama, Western Uma, Lubuagan, Kalinga

Name of data collector	Alma Bocad Sinumlag, Melba Belen
Date of collection	June 4, 2013

2. Herbarium

Scientific name	UNCOLLECTED
Local name	<i>Pengipang</i>
Field Number	
Herbarium Number	
Collector/s	
Collector Number	
Place of collection	
Common area where the plant live	It is endemic in village. It grows anywhere at any time of the year.
Latitude	
Altitude above sea level	800 meters above sea level
Habitat	
Measurement	The fully grown vegetative herb, <i>pengipang</i> can reach a maximum height of 1 ft above the ground.
Flower	N/A
Seeds	N/A
Name of specimen collector	

Date of specimen collection	
Place of storage	
Data collector	
Date	

3. Ethnopharmacological indication data template

3a if medical indication

If there are medical uses	
What are the ailments it can heal	It stops bleeding and tooth ache
Description of the ailment	Wounds, cuts, and bruises from sharp edged grasses, from sharp metal objects. Tooth ache
Cause of the ailment	Accidents, touching sharp edges of grass Tooth decay
How is it diagnosed	N/A
Healing	For stopping of the bleeding Pound the enough leaves, extract the juice and rubbed it in the injured part of the body.

	For stopping of tooth ache Uproot one <i>pengipang</i> and cut the middle root that grows vertical to the ground. This plant has only one root in the middle which is usually the biggest root. Pound the root and use as poultice on the teeth aching. The juice should seep until the gums.
Name of data collector	Alma Sinumlag, Melba Belen
Date	June 4, 2013

3b If there are other uses aside from medical

Uses aside from medical (e.g. poison)	N/A
Description of its effects when used	N/A
Name of the data collector	N/A
Date	N/A

4. Informant data template (*Pengipang* is not widely known in the community. There are two informants who shared of the plant's medical use. However, it doesn't mean that they are the only ones who have the knowledge about this medicinal plant. There may be others but they did not participate in the data gathering process.)

Name of informant	Benito Sugao (for using the plant to stop bleeding of wounds, cuts, bruises)
Address	Patakan (sub-cluster), Sitio Ag-agama, Western Uma, Lubuagan, Kalinga
Birth date	
Age	
Sex (Male or Female)	Male
Work	Farming
Type of informant	Elder, Barangay councilor
Type of healing	N/A
Extent of healing experience	N/A
History of the case handled	He and his family had been using this plant and he proves it to be effective.
Name of family members and their relationships (if the informant is a healer)	N/A
Date	June 2, 2013

Name of informant	Viernes Bommosao
Address	Mallango (sub-cluster), Sitio Ag-agama, Western Uma, Lubuagan, Kalinga
Birth date	
Age	
Sex (Male or Female)	Male
Work	Farming
Type of informant	Elder
Type of healing	N/A
Extent of healing experience	N/A
History of the case handled	Like that of Belen Salbot, Viernes applied this herb to himself and his children.
Name of family members and their relationships (if the informant is a healer)	N/A
Date	June 4, 2013



Bannata captured in the orchard area in Sitio Ag-agama, Western Uma, Lubuagan, Kalinga

IV. *BANNATA/BALLATA*

1.

Use of plant	This herb is use for curing <i>bana</i> or a skin allergy caused by heat and cold weather.
Scientific name	
Local name	<i>Bannata/Ballata</i>
Common name in Filipino	
Common foreign name	
Planting, gathering and storing (if applicable)	This is a vegetative plant that grows in the orchard or anywhere that has sheds. It grows in cool places.

Part/s of the plant use	Leaves
Preparation, measurement of the part/s use	Gather one leaf, wash it and heat near the fire. If the heat is enough, press the leaf on the <i>bana</i> . Tie it with clean cloth. If the heat of the leaf is absorbed, then the patient can take it off. Do this until the <i>bana</i> is totally healed.
Additional information	
Dosage	Also, the tribe do not have any concept of dosage for this particular plant.
Negative effects and precaution	None
Additional information	
Informants	Belen Salbot – elder living in Sakwilig (sub-cluster), Sitio Ag-agama, Western Uma, Lubuagan, Kalinga
Address of the informant	Sitio Ag-agama, Western Uma, Lubuagan, Kalinga
Name of data collector	Alma Bocad Sinumlag, Melba Belen
Date of collection	June 2, 2013

2. Herbarium

Scientific name	UNCOLLECTED
Local name	<i>Bannata/Ballata</i>
Field Number	
Herbarium Number	
Collector/s	
Collector Number	
Place of collection	
Common area where the plant live	It grows in the orchard or any areas where there are enough sheds. It grows at any time of the year.
Latitude	
Altitude above sea level	800 meters above sea level
Habitat	
Measurement	The fully grown vegetative herb, <i>bannata/ballata</i> can reach a maximum height of 2 meters above the ground.
Flower	N/A
Seeds	N/A
Name of specimen collector	
Date of specimen collection	
Place of storage	
Data collector	
Date	

3. Ethnopharmacological indication data template

3a if medical indication

If there are medical uses	
What are the ailments it can heal	<i>Bannata/balata</i> is use to heal <i>bana</i> , a skin allergy
Description of the ailment	A skin allergy which according to the informant is caused by heat from the sun and cold weather or the sudden change of weather.
Cause of the ailment	Exposure from the heat of the sun and exposure to cold.
How is it diagnosed	A skin discoloration and tiny blisters appears. The part of the skin affected is itchy.
Healing	Gather one leaf, wash it and heat near the fire. If the heat is enough, press the leaf on the <i>bana</i> . Tie it with clean cloth. If the heat of the leaf is absorbed, then the patient can take it off. Do this until the <i>bana</i> is totally healed.
Name of collector/s	Alma Bocad Sinumlag, Melba Belen
Date	June 2, 2013

4. Informant data template (*Bannata/ballata* is known by many members of the village. There is only one informant who shared about this plant. However, it doesn't mean that they are the only ones who have the knowledge about this medicinal plant. There may be others but they did not participate in the data gathering process.)

Name of informant	Belen Salbot
Address	Sakwilig (sub-cluster), Sitio Ag-agama, Western Uma, Lubuagan, Kalinga
Birth date	
Age	
Sex (Male or Female)	Male
Work	Farming
Type of informant	Elder
Type of healing	N/A
Extent of healing experience	N/A
History of the case handled	Belen Salbot applied this knowledge of the tribe with himself and his children. He is also advising it to the young people who are usually the ones experiencing this and they found it effective.
Name of family members and their relationships (if the informant is a healer)	N/A
Date	June 2, 2013