

**Ethnomedical documentation of and community health education for selected  
Philippine ethnolinguistic groups: the Isnag people of Laco, Kabugao, Apayao  
Philippines**

A collaborative project of

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Last, this document was written in tribute to the Isnag people of Kabugao, Apayao. We hope you find it meaningful.

*This manuscript is dedicated to the Isnags of Kabugao.*

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## **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

An ethnopharmacological study of the Isnags in Kabugao, Apayao was conducted from May to October of 2000. The six-month study included documentation primarily of the indigenous healing practices and ethnopharmacological knowledge of the Isnags. The researcher included the historical background and description of the people in the study site. Barangay Laco served as the site of the study. The study covered all the seven *sitios* of Barangay Laco. A total of 138 medicinal plants and 30 other natural products were documented. Documentation of *materia medica* included local names, therapeutic indications, part(s) used, preparation methods, direction for use, source(s) of information and remarks for some natural products needing further explanation, precautionary measures and other significant information. Immersion in the community was the primary method employed. Interview, house-to-house visits, participant observation, and focus group discussion were the techniques utilized in gathering and validating data. Forest exploration and collection of specimen was done from the onset of the immersion in the study site.

The people in the study site still practice traditional healing eventhough modern medicine is now available. More encouragement is recommended for the healers to continue their responsibility toward healing the sick. A daily assigned health worker is needed in the study site. The promotion of Isnag art and culture through education was also recommended.

## LIST OF KEYWORDS

Apayao  
Ethnomedical documentation  
Laco  
Kabugao  
Medicinal plants  
*Managtanib*  
*Say-am*  
*Mengal*

## **INTRODUCTION**

The Philippines has rich cultural diversity considering that our country is home to more than 13 million indigenous peoples belonging to more than 127 distinct ethnolinguistic groups. Moreover, the Philippines is said to be one of the top 10 countries with rich biodiversity. Each group has its traditions, including those which refer to healing.

Most of the indigenous Filipinos live in the mountains or their fringes or near the sea. They are found throughout the archipelago. The Isnag tribe is one of them. The people have used plants and other natural products from the forest and the sea to treat their sick. Many studies have been done on indigenous peoples but very few studies focused on indigenous Philippine medicine.

We wish to address the need to document, and hopefully, preserve and propagate the beneficial healing traditions of our indigenous peoples. We also wish to search for potentially useful therapeutic agents among the ethnomedical practices of our indigenous peoples before the said healing traditions are overcome by the twin threats of forest and sea degradation and onslaught of lowland mainstream culture.

Much can be learned from indigenous healing traditions and practices. Many so-called modern drugs are derived from plants. We utilize other economic benefits we obtain from plant products, eg, food, clothing, shelter, and others. We hope that with the information that we gathered from the research, we shall be able to help in the advocacy for the right of the indigenous peoples and for the preservation and protection of their ancestral homelands as well as the conservation of the biodiversity of the country's forests and

seas. Moreso, the information we gathered will aid in the formulation of culturally acceptable health education materials, which are beneficial for the prevention of illness and promotion of health of the indigenous people.

## **OBJECTIVES**

The study aimed to achieve the following:

1. To document the plants and other natural products being used as medicinal agents by the Isnags;
2. To document their beliefs and practices on health, disease and healing;
3. To prepare culturally acceptable basic health education messages/materials for the Isnags; and
4. To help in the advocacy to preserve the indigenous people through advocacy campaign.



## **METHODOLOGY**

The researcher, prior to the final selection, visited several sites. Criteria were followed to aid the researcher in the final selection of the study site.

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

## **PROCESS OF ENTRY**

The researcher made a courtesy call to the municipal mayor of Kabugao, Apayao to ask for possible sites and permission of entry in the area. After having Barangay Laco as the suggested site for the study, the researcher was accompanied by some *barangay* officials in entering the site. They instructed the researcher to smell one dry leaf from the ground before crossing the rivers. This was to protect the researcher from the *anitos*, since she was new in the place. The Bahalay family was the foster family who accomodated the researcher during her stay in the area.

## **IDENTIFICATION OF CONTACTS**

Municipal mayor Dionisio Stewart Agudelo of Kabugao was the first contact person who provided the researcher possible sites and contacts in the area.

An immediate referral to barangay captain Livino Bahalay of Laco was made after the local officials were informed about the purpose of the research.

With the help of the barangay captain, guides were provided to the researcher. They were Luis Bahalay and Meldred Lingan, *barangay* officials in the community who assisted the researcher in conducting interviews in the different *sitios*.

### SOCIAL PREPARATION

The immersion was initiated by first meeting with the *barangay* captain of the study site the first day of going to Kabugao. Right there and then, the *barangay* captain was briefed about the purpose of the research. The researcher again met with Kabugao Municipal Mayor Dionisio S Agudelo in order to formally secure permission for entry in the area. The mayor made an announcement to the local officials, policemen, and the people about the purpose of the research during their flag ceremony.

The researcher had easily developed warm friendship and acceptance from the Isnag people in the community. Upon arrival in the study area, the people voluntarily offered their houses for the researcher to stay in. Some people from far-flung areas who had heard about and were interested in the research also visited the researcher. The people held a ceremony presented to the researcher to express their happiness that their place was chosen to be the area of the study. They let the researcher wear their traditional clothes as a sign of accepting her in the community.

With such accommodation, the researcher did not have a difficult time gathering information about the Isnag culture while being careful to preserve what was of value to the people.

### LITERATURE SEARCH

The researcher did considerable preparation before immersing in the selected area. The researcher read books and gathered data from public libraries and museums.

Related literature was accessed the from the libraries of the University of the Philippines Diliman, University of the Philippines Baguio, National Museum and government offices of Apayao. The researcher also visited the libraries of Apayao Community Learning Center (ACLC) and Lourdes High School in Kabugao.

The secondary data gathered gave the researcher a vivid picture of what the place was and who the Isnag people were, and an appreciation of the simplicity of their living. These data also gave the researcher an idea of what to expect before she immersed in the community. It also served as baseline data against which the researcher compared the information that she gathered in the area.

### SITE SELECTION

Barangay Laco was chosen as the study site because it met the set criteria. There were practicing traditional healers residing in the place, the community was very near the forest and water supply for the collection of specimen, and had a stable peace and order situation. Also, Barangay Laco was one of the areas suggested by the mayor of Kabugao.

## SELECTION OF INFORMANTS

Through house-to-house visits, the researcher found out that all of the people had knowledge on herbal medicine. The healers utilized medicinal plants and were still active in performing traditional healing practices.

For this reason, healers, family health care givers and elders were selected as informants for the study.

## DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

### **Participant observation**

The participant observation method made the researcher keenly aware of the practices of the traditional healers. The performance of healing practices was directly observed and thus created a better understanding of the verbal accounts gathered.

Aside from mainly observing, the researcher had tried being treated by the healers and had also personally applied the herbs given by them.

Photodocumentation and audiodocumentation were also done.

### **Focus group discussion**

Conducting a focus group discussion during harvesting period was not easy. Everyone in the community, except for small children, left their house and worked in their rice fields. Setting a schedule with the people was necessary. The researcher had to climb a very steep mountain to reach the rice fields. Food was provided for the participants.

Two FGDs were conducted in Sitio Tahomatan. One FGD, attended by six fathers, was conducted on top of the mountain while everybody was busy harvesting rice. After their work, the people gathered in a *sihay* or temporary granary. Another FGD was composed of twelve mothers who gathered in the house of the *barangay* captain, as scheduled. The researcher used audiodocumentation and photodocumentation during the discussion.

A prayer was said before each FGD was begun. The people were very generous and cooperative in sharing their knowledge. The discussions were livened up by the sense of humor of some individuals. It was apparent that the people learned many things from each other.

### **Interview**

The researcher made use of a prepared guide questionnaire to facilitate the interviews. House-to-house visits were done but the researcher was also able to interview informants whom she met along the road and some on top of the hill during the harvesting period. There were those who visited the researcher in her place and voluntarily shared their knowledge about herbal medicine. People who have been treated by the healers were also interviewed. The healers were interviewed individually in several occasions and in different places. There was an instance wherein the healer was interviewed while he was in the process of treating a patient.

### **Collection of plant specimens**

While gathering information on traditional healing practices, specimen collection was done.

Consent from the *barangay* captain and permission from the people in the community was needed in preparation for specimen collection.

Some *barangay* officials and community members were assigned to help the researcher in identifying and collecting plant samples. Some of the informants also gave the researcher plant specimens after being interviewed.

Thirty-seven identified plant samples were gathered. The materials used in collecting the specimens were a cutter, newspapers, plastic bags, scotch tape and a notebook for recording plant names.

Three samples of each plant were supposed to be collected. A sample was supposed to be sent to the University of the Philippines herbarium, the Philippine Institute of Traditional and Alternative Health Care, Department of Health and the National Museum. Unfortunately, because of time constraints, only one sample for each plant was obtained.

### **Data validation**

As a way of clarifying and double-checking the information gathered, the researcher employed further house-to-house visits and interviews with healers and other informants. One of the healers interviewed died and the researcher was unable to clarify some information with her. FGDs were also venues for validation, as the participants commented on information given by healers and also shared their own knowledge about medicinal plants. Participant observation, photo and audiodocumentation were also means of validating data. Aside from these, gathering of plant specimens further served to

validate the data. Upon seeing the plants, the informants agreed by describing their effectiveness.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

A total of 138 plants and 30 other natural products were documented. Specimen samples were collected for 37 plants, while nine plants were not identified by the informants.

The most common ailments in the area were malaria and goiter. Wounds, dysentery, diarrhea, kidney, eltor, influenza, bites, skin allergy, varicose veins, fracture, fever and cough were also common. The most well known plant was the *dalipawan/alipawan/lipawan*, which was usually used for malaria. The most frequently used plant part was the bark for decoctions.

According to the informants, the medicinal plants they used were all effective, since they were natural and caused no side effects.

There were 46 informants interviewed, among them were healers, family health caregivers such as mothers and fathers, and elders. Data gathering covered two months in Barangay Laco, which was the only site of the research.

### **THE GEOGRAPHIC SPREAD OF THE ISNAG PEOPLE**

The Isnags are one of the 13 ethnolinguistic groups in the Cordillera, constituting the majority of three groups indigenous to the province of Apayao.

The first group is the Isnag inhabiting the adjacent areas of Pagudpud, Dumalneg and Adams in the province of Ilocos Norte (Fiagoy 1987). The second group is composed of the Isnag families who occupied Sanches, Mira, and Claveria in the province of Cagayan.



The majority of the ethnic group inhabits the Apayao towns of Calanasan, Conner, Pudtol, Luna, Flora and Sta Marcela (Delos Reyes 1987).

The first two groups submitted to foreign domination, while the third group did not. So, as the years of occupation passed, the Isnag inhabiting Ilocos Norte and Cagayan, gave up much of their own culture and assimilated that of the foreigners'. In the process, they became more like the foreigners and less like their ancestors. The third group of Isnags, on the other hand, preserved more of the culture of their ancestors and so came to look less and less like their acculturating neighbors (Lecture of William Henry Scott about cultural minority).

Apayao lies in the northwesternmost tip of Luzon. It is landlocked by the province of Cagayan on the northeast and bounded on the northwest by Ilocos norte and Abra, on the south by Balbalan and Pinukpuk, both municipalities of Kalinga province. It is classified into upper, middle and lower Apayao. The upper portion is occupied by the Imandayas, the middle portion by the Isnags, and the lower portion by the Imanlods.

In 1995, the total population was 83,660. The population density was 21.3 persons per square kilometer. The average annual population growth of 1.9 percent was lower than the national average of 2.3 percent. The population was characterized as young with 29,279 people younger than 15 years. Dependency ratio was 1:5. The total number of households was 15,326.

Based on historical records, the Spaniards, Americans and Japanese once stepped into the Apayao areas. Thus, many of the people's family names carry those of the foreigners who found a home in the area.

As observed by the researcher, some locals possessed Japanese and black American physical traits. The natives, especially in Kabugao, who had been influenced by the outsiders, had preserved their culture, ie, they still observe the beliefs and practices of their ancestors.

## MUNICIPALITY OF KABUGAO

### **Location and accessibility**

Kabugao is the capital town of Apayao. It is located at the center of Apayao, which is in the northwest tip of Luzon. It is bounded on its northwest by the municipality of Calanasan, northernmost tip by Luna, northeast by Pudtol and Flora, east by the province of Cagayan, and south by the municipality of Conner and the province of Abra. The town lies within a landlocked area with a latitude of 18 degrees 1.5 minutes north and longitude of 121 degrees 11 minutes east. The area is approximately 128 kilometers away from Tuguegarao, Cagayan. It can be reached by van or by bus. Buses regularly leave Tuguegarao at 6 o'clock in the morning while vans leave at 8 o'clock going back at 11 o'clock on the same day. The fare is P80.00 for the bus and P90.00 for the van. Vehicles going to Kabugao will pass through Conner-Kabugao road via a barge through the river of Tuao, Cagayan.

### Slope and elevation

Generally, Kabugao has a rugged terrain with the highest elevation reaching 1,231 meters above sea level. The town's topography is characterized by gentle slopes or rolling landscape to hilly or mountainous slopes. Approximately 51.3 square kilometers or 5.5 percent are categorized under flat and nearly level to sloping and moderately rolling with a slope range of 0-18 percent. This roughly comprises the area of the municipality. About 55.92 square kilometers or 6 percent are characterized by rolling to moderately steep hills with a slope range of 19-30 percent. The remaining 821.76 square kilometers, equivalent to 88.46 percent belong to the above 30 percent slope category, composed of the existing hills and forested mountains in the area.

### Climate

Kabugao lies within the Type III climate. This is generally characterized by a long wet season and a short dry season. The rainy season usually starts in July and ends in February, while the dry season covers the months of March to May. The temperature in the locality varies directly with the seasons. April and May are the hottest months while the month of December is the coldest.

### Etymology

According to the people in the study site, the name of the municipality was derived from the sound made by the bird called *tuwaw*, which was "*Kabuhaw! Kabuhaw!*" Another supposition is that it was named after the Spanish soldier Cabo Ogao or Corporal Ogao who was killed by ferocious animals. Some Filipino and Spanish soldiers heard his screams and the growling sounds of the animals. So they went into the forest and found

his bones, gathered and buried them near a brook in the place. That brook is now called Kabugao.

### THE STUDY SITE

Barangay Laco is located in the 5<sup>th</sup> area of Kabugao. According to the elders in the community, its name came from the Isnag word “*laco*” meaning “to sell”. The *barangay* is about 2 kilometers away from the town proper. It can be reached by means of boat or *barangay* free of charge through Apayao River. Thirty minutes is consumed for hiking and crossing the Laco River and six of its tributaries. Another way of reaching the center of the *barangay* is by passing through the rice fields going up to the mountain.

Laco has a total land area of 31.28 square kilometers, about 3.37 percent of the total land area of Kabugao. It is comprised of seven *sitios*: Lower Utokan, Upper Utokan, Poblacion-Nalbuan, Tahomatan, Alihawa, Daladappan and Anitap. Isnags compose 95 percent of the total population while five percent are Ibanags and Ilocanos. The latest population of the *barangay*, according to the secretary, is 511. There are 98 households in the *barangay*, while there are 57 in Sitio Lower Utokan, 72 in Sitio Upper Utokan, 64 in Sitio Poblacion-Nalbuan, 94 in Sitio Tahomatan, 94 in Sitio Alihawa, 60 in Sitio Daladappan and 70 in Sitio Anitap.

Laco is frequently visited by typhoons. The climate is temperate - the same as in the lowlands. It was very hot during the day, which was why some of the natives wore nothing on their upper body, especially men and children. Sometimes the researcher took a bath with the natives in the cool Laco River when it was too hot. It was quite cold during nighttime.

Scattered settlements spread over the place, about one to two kilometers from each other. Houses were located on the mountainsides and some near the river. Each had a rice granary or *sipi*, sanitary comfort rooms or *agkawelan* for defecating, and bathroom or *agdidihotan* made of bamboo for bathing. Also, each household had a potable water supply coming from the spring or *suday* while some have dug wells called *tabbog*. During nighttime, most families used gas lamps to light their homes because there was no electricity in the area.

Trees like mahogany and paper trees were being planted for reforestation and propagation. There was also a primary school building and a barangay hall situated at the center of the *barangay*.

#### PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED

The absence of good roads was a major deterrent to reaching the place. One would experience crossing the mighty Apayao River by means of the *barangay* or boat operated by a *bangkero*. At times there was no *bangkero*, especially when it rained hard. It was very difficult to cross the river. People used their slippers to row the boat just to reach their destination. Raining for a short period of time was enough to make Laco river and its tributaries rise, thus making them impassable. Before crossing the river, one had to wait a few hours until the water had already subsided. The researcher almost drowned when she was crossing the rushing flow of the Laco River during house-to-house visits. She had experienced passing through slippery rocks and hiking very steep mountains.

Compounding the problem of lack of good roads was the fact that the existing ones were very narrow. There were no adequate protective measures along highways, and landslides that occur during the rainy months render these narrow roads unsafe to pass.

Another problem was the absence of vehicles. Everyone had to walk or ride a carabao to reach his or her destination. Lastly, there were many mosquitos in the area.

### ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE ISNAG PEOPLE

The ethnic inhabitants of Apayao are known by the following names: Imandaya, Imanlod, Apayao, Isneg or Isnag. According to the people, Imandaya is an Isnag term meaning people who live up above or at the upper part of Apayao. The Imanlod are the people who live downstream. Some accepted the term Apayao, a term that traced the old battle cry of the people “*ma-ap-ay-ao*”, which is shouted with the hand rapidly clapping over the mouth (Wilson 1967). The word Isneg or Isnag evolved from the term *itneg* whom Vanoverbergh stated probably came from an Ilocano word meaning “from Tineg”. Tineg is a town and a river in Abra. An informant (retired teacher and news editor) professed that Isnag is actually a corruption of *itneg*. The natives of the Tineg in immemorial times traveled across the TransCordillera zone to reach villages in the hearthlands of Apayao in order to barter beads, jars and salt with Apayao articles and properties. In the course of time when these mountain people found themselves in lowlands, the lowlanders identified them as Itneg. Another informant said that when the Americans came, they called the native Isnag in a slang pronunciation of the word *itneg*. Today, the term came down to Isnag, meaning all the Apayao people in general.

The Isnag are of a Malay-type ancestry like most other Filipinos, but little is known about where they came from before they settled in Apayao or when they came (Reynolds 1973). However, there are various theories as to where they came from. Keesing indicates that they came from the Babuyan and Batanes Islands as they came from the Ibanag. The Isnags may also be related to the Itavi of Southern Apayao, and that they spread northward from there.

Another theory was that the Indonesians and Mongolians were the ancestors of the Isnags. These people came in two main migration waves: the Indonesians came by way of Southeastern Asia, and the Mongolians by way of Central Asia. These two waves found a new home in the northern end of the Cordillera Central Mountains.

Based on observation, the Isnags resembled the physical features of Indonesians. They had prominent jaws, dark brown complexion, round eyes, straight hair and were tall. Very few among them had curly or kinky hair.

#### HISTORY OF SETTLEMENT

The Indonesian, Mongolian and Malays who came to Luzon thousand of years ago were said to be the ancestors of the present day Isnags. But very little is known about where they first settled.

It is said that Isnags preferred to settle along waterways and small river systems. The rivers were their source of food and means of transport, with the Isnags being expert boatmen. At a certain season of the year, they moved into the hills to tend their farms (Fiagoy 1987).

An informant said that during the Spanish regime and the Dominican missions were established in the area, the people left their houses, burned their farms and lived in the mountains.

The Philippine Revolution broke out in 1896 where the Isnags defeated the Spaniards in a decisive battle. Both the Spaniards and the missionaries withdrew from the area.

As documented, the "Battle of Waga" in 1913 was the turning point of headtaking activities and the beginning of peace in the area. The battle convinced the Isnags that their spears were no match to the guns of the soldiers. Then the American Government was formally created in 1914.

Pursuant to the creation of the Mountain Province under Act No 1876 on August 18, 1908, the area became the subprovince capital of the subprovince Apayao in 1916.

During the first part of the Japanese occupation, after the fall of Corregidor, the area was made into the headquarters of the USAFFE of northern Luzon. The Japanese left in August 1944 (Wilson 1967).

On June 25, 1963, the area became a regular municipality under Executive Order No 42 issued by President Diosdado Macapagal during his visit in the area.

It is now the provincial capital of the new province Apayao on February 14, 1995 by virtue of RA No 7878.



In the study site, the people could not tell the history of their settlement.

### PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ISNAG PEOPLE

The typical Isnag was tall and slender. Skin color was brown to fair. They had thin eyebrows. Their eyes were black, round and deep set. Noses were neither high-bridged nor flat. Cheekbones and jaw were very prominent. Lips were thin and were always painted with the red or black coloring of “*mama*” (betel chew). Men wore their hair short and clean cut. Women also wore their hair short or at shoulder level. It was believed, especially for pregnant women and for mothers, that women should wear short hair in order for them not to become bald.

The traditional clothing was colorful (Reynolds and Grant 1973). During ceremonial occasions, the women wore a colorful striped *tapis* called *aken* that went with a long sleeved blouse, *badiyo*, which was plain or colorfully embroidered. A large head dress or *laddong* was tied neatly on the head used for carrying *iko* or kitchen knife; *bahakat* or long belt made from cloth was tied around their waist to support the *aken*; and the *talimayan*, a small *la-ba* (basket) used as their bag. Men wore the *abag*, a black or blue G-string that covered the undergarment *ayuman*. This was topped with a long sleeved shirt (*badiyo*), and *abungot* or a red cloth that was wrapped around their head. Men also carried *binawit*, a kind of *aliwa* (bolo) and *singat* (spear).

Women also wore adornments like *sahaban* (headband made of beads), *bungot* (necklace), *lubay* (earrings), *papassat* (anklet), *sinali* (bracelet), *sangkilat* (ring) and *ambusaw*, a necklace of larger beads. Men also wore *sangkilat* (ring) and always carried *bulsa* or *tahimayan*, a *mama* container tied around their waist.

Most of the ornaments worn by women are heirloom pieces acquired through inheritance or dowry. The girls used to wear a strand of blue thread around the ankles as an indication that they were single and not yet engaged (Keesing 1960). However, the practice no longer exists today.

The physical features of the Isnags have not changed, although they have somewhat imitated the manner of clothing of the lowlanders, especially the Ilocanos and Ibanags. Machine-made T-shirts, jeans, and shorts have replaced *badiyo*, *aken*, *abag*, *abungot*, and *laddong*. Though their clothes have changed, they still carry with them *aliwa* and *bulsa* for men and *la-ba* and *iko* for women. Some elders in the community still wear their traditional clothing because it is what they are used to.

#### ECONOMIC ASPECT

Despite the mountainous terrains, agriculture remained to be the Isnag's dominant industry with majority of the households engaged in farming. The main produce was rice, corn, banana, pineapple, coffee and various vegetables. The natives also grew tobacco for their *mama* and *sili* to increase their appetite. Sugarcane was also cultivated in their *kaingin* for making *basi* (wine).

Rice was always insufficient because of various reasons: there was limited womanpower (women were the ones who planted rice in the *koman*), crop destruction by wild animals, occurrence of typhoons, the high demand for rituals where big crowds were present, and observing many *kannaw* (prohibitions) and beliefs which delayed them from working. Thus, rice was procured from the commercial center in the adjacent province of Cagayan, to augment the scarcity. The month of September is a difficult time for the Isnags as there

is an inadequate supply of food. The harvesting period also begins in September and may take up to November. No one pounded rice while the harvest was ongoing. The researcher, together with the people, had experienced three days of not eating regular meals, but settled for *pomelo* and coconut meat.

Even though the people owned big pieces of land, they cultivate them with just enough crops for their own consumption. Fishing and hunting were usually done every night and the catch was good for the following day only. When there was no catch, fruits remedied their hunger.

There were many different fishing methods used by the Isnags. They made use of *mamso*, a mixture of pounded *tuba* fruits and some ashes for fish poison, *paltu* (fish gun) and improvised goggles. Men dipped their head under water and shot fish one by one. *Manangdal* or fish nets and *dakap* or bamboo fish traps were also used. As observed by the researcher, during nighttime, especially when there was a full moon, men prepared their *ato* (dog), *singal* (spear), traps, and *palattog* (gun). *Ugta* (deer), *laman* (wild boar), *palos* (eel), bats and large birds were the common game. The Isnags practiced *magraddo* wherein the meat of caught animals was shared to the community.

The general utility tool was the *aliwa*, a thin-bladed bolo with the back point drawn out. Another type was sort of lever-shaped and was called *baddang*. There were six kinds of *aliwa* which men carried everywhere: *binawit*, *pinatad*, *binarawad*, *kumpay*, *ampilang* and *pinagsay*.

The basis for the social status in the community was the possession of highly valuable items they have inherited from their ancestors. These items were beads, jars, and plates of Asian origin and circulated as *tadug* (dowry) during *mangatawa* ceremony. If anyone in the community owned these valuable items, they were called *batnang* (rich), but those without them were called *pobre* (poor).

At present, the natives sought employment in the lowland and some had married in the neighboring areas. Some had gone abroad to work as domestic helpers, while others had stayed in the area and worked as government employees, carpenters, blacksmiths, and the rest are *bangkeros* (boat operators) in the Apayao River. Families with enough capital were involved in trading and retailing for added income.

#### WORLD VIEW

When asked how the world was created, most of the Isnags replied, “we do not know”. Those who had been converted to Christianity believed that it was Apo Diyos (God) who created the earth and every living thing.

As gathered from some of the locals, the Isnag race came from the first man and woman created by Apo Diyos. They had given no names to their first parents. It all started when Apo Diyos commanded a giant black bird to pile plenty of soil in front of him, which he turned into flat land. Water, mountains, trees, animals, and the first man and woman then followed. He taught the man to *mag-uma* or to make a swidden and the woman to plant rice or *ammay* in order to survive. Later on they were blessed with two children: a boy and a girl.

After fifteen years, while the man was busy working in the *koman* (swidden) and his family was in their house, there came a great flood. The great flood destroyed the land but the man and his family climbed up the highest mountain, which was now called Mount Sulu. Several years had passed and the man and woman died. Their children became husband and wife and had children of their own. The natives considered that their *ina* (mother) and *ama* (father) once lived in Mount Sulu.

The Isnags also believed in a dual self, ie, they had a physical self, which they called *baggi* (body) and a spiritual self, which they called *kaduduwa* (soul). The body was intended to have an end but the soul would live forever. The soul went with the body when the person was still living. When the person died, the soul was separated from the body and either went to heaven or became a *balangobang* (ghost) that wandered around.

An informant said that there were two abodes, one for mortals and the other for spirits, the skyworld and the earthworld. People who lived in the earthworld were called *isagaddan* and the people who lived in the skyworld were called *ilangit*.

Some natives believed that there was no heaven and said, “*paano magkakaroon ng langit kung nandito ang mga anito?*” Some spirits that they believed were among them are *Iwahan*, perfectly handsome and always helped people in need; *Imbangonan*, a one-breasted woman who cured the sick; *Ilay* or *Pilay*, who guarded the rice and plants; and *Anglabbang*, a malevolent spirit believed to inflict diseases on people. They also believed in dwarfs (*kaybakan*) and giants (*haggag*), although these creatures no longer exist now.

## POLITICAL AND SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECTS

### **Political aspect**

In each settlement there was one headman called *mengal* who earned the position because people regarded him as the leader. A person assumed leadership if he was wealthy, courageous and well versed in the local lore. Above all he was noted for his bravery, wisdom and skill as a warrior. A leader must also be just, since he was called upon to settle disputes (Wilson).

Disputes between individuals were settled by the *mengal* through consensus in the council. The council was responsible for looking into each problem and judging whether or not the common law had been broken. Violations of this law included stealing, adultery, telling false stories about others and creating trouble, especially during feasts and celebrations.

Aside from settling disputes, the group of *mengals* was responsible for defending the community, maintaining peace and order and in training the youth for warfare. Another important responsibility was the balance of economy by ensuring that people have enough food to eat. While the *kamenglan*, the most superior among the *mengals*, was in war or settling disputes, other *mengals* lead in activities like fishing and hunting. Thus, their leadership was situational (Reynolds 1973).

At present, there is no more headhunting or tribal wars, although *mengals* still exist. He is privileged to hold ceremonies, *say-am*, *pildap* and *kogtot* by offering the head of a dog, instead of a human head, to the spirits.

In the study site, the *barangay* captain heads the community, although a man named Luis Bahalay is considered by the people as a *mengal* of modern times. He is a member of the Civilian Armed Forces Geographical Unit (CAFGU) and is a member of the *barangay* council. He had not taken any head of the enemy, but had killed seven NPAs with the seven bullets of his gun. Because of that courageous deed, he had saved the people in the community, including children, from the hands of members of the New People's Army (NPA). As observed, there was no conflict between the *mengal* and the *barangay* captain in terms of leadership. Instead, they joined efforts for the good of the community.

## **Socio-cultural**

### Family

The Isnag family, like the typical Filipino family, was characterized by strong bonding between its members. Even after the children had established families of their own, they still kept close ties with each other. In some households, there were two or three families living together because parents did not want their children to live away from them.

The ultimate goal of every Isnag was to have many children. Some people, whose children were away, working and studying in another place, adopted orphans. They felt that a family was not complete without children in the home.

On the other hand, some parents had resorted to abortion due to poverty.

In the family, the authority was vested on the father. Every member of the family followed his rules and orders. He got angry when something went wrong but was also very affectionate. He did everything to protect his family from any danger.

The mother's role was to take care of his husband and children. The children were taught to obey their parents and help in household chores and other duties. Family values included hospitality to visitors and offering aid to neighbors.

### PEACE AND ORDER

According to the people in the community, they had a bitter experience with the NPAs in the 1980s. They left their houses and lived in the forest. They made a secret exit from their houses for them to escape when the rebels attempted to enter. Some families lost their children because they were killed by the NPAs. But in the early 90s, the NPAs were driven away by a certain Lt Madarang together with his men and the *mengals* in the community. It had been peaceful since then. Policemen and members of the CAFGU monitor the area 24 hours a day. There was one instance wherein the researcher was suspected to be a spy of the NPAs, but the *barangay* captain explained to them the purpose of the research.

Traditionally, the Isnags served coffee to their visitors. During the researcher's stay in the study site, she was served hot coffee at every house she visited. It was said to be a form of giving protection; that once she drank, she was protected and the host was responsible for her life.

### DAILY ROUTINE

The days started with the smell of coffee. Coffee was served periodically throughout the day. The natives never started their day without drinking coffee and chewing *mama*.



At 5 o'clock in the morning, the mother roasted dried coffee beans in a frying pan. Then she pounded the roasted beans using a wooden mortar called *altong* and a pestle called *allo*. Sometimes the children helped in pounding the coffee beans while the mother cooked rice and *limpa* (vegetables and meat) for breakfast. After eating, each member of the family did his household duties, such as washing the dishes and pots, cleaning the floor and fetching water. The children altogether took a bath in the *agdidihotan* or bathroom, changed clothes and wore slippers, which they called, "smuggle". The children walked a few kilometers to the school. They carried with them *pakkal* or food wrapped in banana leaves for lunch. The mother with a child who did not go to school yet stayed at home and did household chores, but most of the women did the farming. They climbed up to their *koman* or upland swidden farm to plant, weed and harvest. They stayed and rested in a small temporary hut that stood near the *koman* to avoid long hikes. Lunches were also eaten in the hut. Men did the fishing and gathering of coconuts and vegetables. They cooked their own food while their wives were in the *koman*.

After a day's work, adults - men and women - met in a house and had *mama* chew. While having a conversation, they drank coffee and watched the children playing *lawi-lawi* or chicken and cock game and *magsasama* or hide and seek. Sometimes men gathered and sang songs like *dong-dong-ay*, *dewas*, *uggayam* and some modern songs accompanied by a guitar. They did not drink but instead chew *mama*. Work did not end there. Mothers prepared dinner for the family. After they have eaten, each member did the same duties, as in the morning, before they went to sleep. The men, on the other hand, went to the forest and hunted wild animals especially when there was a full moon. They usually returned home at dawn.

## LANGUAGE

The dialects spoken by the ethnic inhabitants were grouped into three: Balon and Nabuan spoken in the municipality of Conner, and Isnag, generally spoken by the Calanasan, Kabugao, Pudtol, Flora and Luna. The Isnag dialect was described as related to Ilocano, Ibanag, Tagalog and Pangasinan. Eventhough there were some slight differences, such as in pronunciation, eg, “g” in Conner becomes “h” in Kabugao, they still understood each other.

## INFORMANTS

### **Healers**

In the study site, healers were commonly known as "doctor *tapals*" because they made use of medicinal plants in curing the sick. Rituals were part of the process of healing. *Managtanib* was how the healers called themselves because the word "*tanib*" meant “medicine”. There used to be a chief healer in the community called *durarakit* or the shaman. The *durarakit* was usually a female healer who served as a medium for the spirits through *maganito* during the *say-am* ritual. Unfortunately, they had already gone. Some had died while others had married and transferred to another place.

The researcher had interviewed three herbolarios and faith healers from different *sitios* in the study site. Most informants in the community testified that the *managtanibs* Apo Lakay, Being and Bartadan were quacks, but truly healed different ailment by using the *agtanibans* or the *aningat*. *Agtanibans* or the *aningat* was a mixture of different herbs and coconut oil that was stored in a small bottle inherited from their ancestors. Every holy week the oil from the *agtanibans* or the *aningat* was refilled to become effective. *Managtanibs* were invited by people from neighboring areas, even by those from Manila, to cure ailments using their *agtanibans* or *aningat*, medicinal plants and non-herbal

agents. Some people, however, did not believe in them and had not tried to seek help even once.

Each of the *managtanibs* had a different story as to how they became healers.

### Profile of healers

Josefa Buyao  
“Being” “Lusa”

Josefa “Being” Buyao was a 48-year old healer from Sitio Babandaw. She was very shy and was very hesitant to answer questions during the interview. She had reached grade II and could not understand or speak Filipino. An interpreter was needed. It took a lot of patience and time to draw a complete history from her. She gave much information after the purpose of the study was explained to her.

She started to have knowledge in healing when she was still in grade school. She was struck by a terrible sickness that led her to “death”. Her parents and neighbors performed the *kogtot* because they believed that she was not yet dead, but only asleep. She “died” for three hours but “came to life” again. The woman she saw in a dream while she was “dead” sent her back to life when she could not find her name on the list of dead people.

Whenever she was sick, a little boy appeared to her. In her description, the boy’s entire body was covered with blood. Once, the boy appeared to her and said, “I will call you ‘Lusa’.” *Lusa* meant earth or soil. “I will teach you how to heal the sick”. Then the boy disappeared. The people in the community thought that she had gone mad because she kept looking for the boy. When there was a sick person, the boy would appear and bring the *tanib* or medicine she would use. She realized that she was chosen to heal the sick.

One case had concerned a 50-year old man whom the family said was “*namatayan ng dugo*”. The doctor said it was malaria. The patient was discharged from the hospital after several days of confinement because the family saw no improvement in his condition. When the patient was already in their house, they immediately performed the *kogtot*. The researcher was able to observe the healing practices of Being. She accompanied Being to the place where she got *tanibs*. She gathered *sobray*, a vine with small leaves. At the patient’s house, she walked over to the window and made a sign of the cross. She prayed in silence or *nakarrag*. Manual pressure and massage with *agtaniban* or *aningat* oil was applied to the swollen and paralyzed body of the patient. She tied the *sobray* plant around his right ankle and left wrist. Lastly, she put lime and two leaves of *baliwliw* in his *pingpingat* or both sides of the forehead. She performed the same procedure three times in one month. After a month, the patient was already well. He could climb coconut trees and go to his *koman*. Everything was normal again.

Thomas Dangao

“Apo Lakay”

In Sitio Nalbuan, there was a 40-year old healer named Apo Lakay. He was a former member of the CAFGU and served the area for several years driving out the NPAs. The researcher found him fishing near the Laco River. He was very willing to relate the story of when and how he became a healer. He became a healer after he “died” for 12 hours after falling from a cliff. His friend saw him fall and brought his body to their house. He said that he saw his own body lying on the floor while his *kaduduwa* (soul) went with an old man. The old man called him “Apo Lakay” and taught him different kinds of medicinal plants. After he “came back to life”, he realized that this calling was better than

being in the CAFGU. He possessed a great ability to heal the sick without asking anything in return.

According to some of the informants who became well after Apo Lakay treated them, his whole body trembled and his face changed into an old man's while he was praying. He let patients bring one leaf of any plant to him. He would apply the leaf on the affected area. He would then let the patient bring back the leaf to where he got it. All of the medicinal plants and some natural agents he used came from his dreams.

One time the researcher saw him wandering around near Apayao River. He was searching for a stone that looked like an eagle. An eagle, in a dream, told him that he could find the stone near the river. Then he showed the researcher the stone that really looked like one. He was not yet sure of the use of the stone and said that he would wait for the answers in his next dream.

Bernadeth Ortega

“Bartadan”

Bernadeth “Bartadan” Ortega was a 56-year old healer in Sitio Alihawan. She started healing on January 5, 1972. Most of the people considered her as the physician in the place who diagnosed and gave treatment to their ailments.

She related dreaming of an old man wearing white clothes. The following day, the man in her dream appeared while she was fetching water from the *tabbog* (dug well). The man said, “Do not be afraid. I am Jesus Christ. I will teach you to heal the sick. My spirit will help you.” From then on she became a healer.

She used white paper, candle and water for her rituals. These materials served as an “x-ray” to diagnose the type of illness afflicting a person. The moment she made her diagnosis, she would apply *agtaniban* oil on the entire body of the patient. She used a specific herb for the patient. She also had the ability to make a woman pregnant or *mabusit* if she was not capable of bearing a child.

The second time the researcher interviewed her, she was sick and alone in her house. She generously shared with the researcher her knowledge on medicinal plants. She showed her the plants near her *koman*. The amazing part was when her niece told the researcher that she was already blind. After a few days, she was hospitalized and was in serious condition. Her husband decided to take her home. They immediately performed the *kogtot* ritual. After one night, however, she died.

## CONCEPTS, BELIEFS AND PRACTICES ON HEALTH AND HEALING

### **Health**

The Isnags considered health to be their wealth. In their culture, a person was thought to be healthy if he was “normal”. To them normal meant having no problems, a strong body and being able to perform everyday activities effectively.

Presently, most of the Isnags still depended on traditional healers even though modern medical practitioners are already accessible for providing health services. According to one healer in the community, he could determine a healthy body by simply looking at the skin. When a person’s skin has distinct pores, he was considered to be healthy. To keep the body healthy, vegetables and fruits were eaten. Daily exercise and regular bathing was also performed.

Most of the people in the community wore amulets to protect themselves against any danger. These amulets could be herbs like *lingbaw*, *baing-baing* and *kamman*, roots of tree, stones, insects or even larvae tied around their neck or hidden in their pockets. This knowledge was taught by the traditional healers in the community. It was strongly believed that by doing this, they would be spared from ailments caused by the spirits. An informant said that these amulets “*akkan na tahunungan di anito, no mauwe ka koman*”, meaning, “would prevent him from the touch of the spirits when going to *koman*”.

As observed by the researcher, most Isnags had little knowledge about maintaining their body healthy when it came to diet and personal hygiene. They ate as much as they wanted. Rice was prepared in a much greater amount than the *limpa*. When there was no available *limpa*, *pinaltit* (*bagoong*, *sili*, and *pomelo* leaves) was cooked instead. The Isnag meal was not complete without *sili* as an appetizer. They also believed that those who got *sili* without permission would be punished by the spirit *Ilay/Pilay* who guarded the plant.

As regards physical hygiene, most Isnags wore the same clothes after taking even if they were already soiled. They did not practice tooth brushing. When a tooth ached they ignored it and waited until it fell off. Most of them had very few teeth left. Another observation was that after defecating, they used newspaper sheets to wipe their anus and left them scattered inside the *agkawelan* or toilet provided by the health officials in the area.

### **Disease**

It was generally believed that most afflictions, including accidents and unproductiveness, were caused by spirits. The spirit-caused diseases were classified into three types. The

*mamalangobang* was a type of illness caused by the spirits of departed relatives. The *naanito* was a type of illness caused by playful spirits wandering around, and the *masimat* was a type of illness caused by the spirits as a punishment for hurting them. It was believed that these spirits punished them for inflicting harm even when they did not mean any. To keep themselves from harming the spirits, the Isnags said “*bari-bari*”, in order for the spirits to move away while they are passing. For example, a woman wanted to urinate but was afraid she might hurt the spirits with the hot urine. She would utter “*bari-bari*”, asking permission for the spirits to move away.

According to them, the spirits must be recognized, respected and honored because they were everywhere and did the same activities humans did.

Some Isnags recognized that some physical illnesses were due to stubbornness, ie, not following prohibitions. Some were caused by witchcraft. When a cold cup of coffee was being offered and one did not see the reflection of his face in the coffee, there was a possibility that someone had bad intentions. It would be better not to drink the coffee, as it was usually the work of a witch. Some said illnesses are due to over fatigue and exposure to sun and rain.

Still, the Isnags called on the traditional healers and the *durarakit* when severe illnesses occurred. It was also important for them to perform the healing rituals even without the assistance of the *durarakit* or shaman. The service of the shaman was employed only when it was necessary to communicate with the spirits through *maganitu*.



Three rituals were performed to cure simple to severe diseases. These were the *pildap*, *kogtot*, and *say-am*. *Adingat* or the blood of a dog was offered to the spirits who lived in the *amadingan* tree. Dogs were very sacred to the Isnags because they believed that the spirits liked the blood of the dog than any other animals’.

### **Pregnancy and childbirth**

The researcher had interviewed two women who were two months pregnant and another one who was five months pregnant.

Isnag women still observed *kannaw* (prohibitions) during pregnancy and performed the same practices as the Isnags before them had done.

A delayed menstruation for a couple of months indicated to an Isnag woman that she was pregnant. This was followed by some signs and symptoms, such as nausea, vomiting, dizziness, and irritability.

Pregnant women did not strictly observe diet. They could eat whatever they wanted except for the following: twin bananas, because they would give birth to twins; *sili*, so that the child would grow normally and not become malnourished when he was born; and *kamote*, for the woman not to experience hemorrhage after delivery. It was also believed that the child would have *dudang* (otitis media), jaundice and swelling if the pregnant woman ate any kind of fish and that the child would defecate inside the womb if she ate any kind of *bahat* (banana).

In the third trimester, a pregnant Isnag was discouraged from eating certain sweet foods including ripe fruits. She, as well as visitors, should not stay by the door. She should apply coconut oil on her abdomen everyday. These practices were observed to ensure an easy delivery.

The pregnant woman should only take a bath in the morning so that she would not *masimat* or become ill. They believed that if she took a bath in the afternoon, the *anitos* would come and plan to take the child in her womb. Most pregnant women did not wear their hair long because it is believed that they would become bald if they did so.

The well-known healers were often called on and consulted by women who would not conceive a child for they had the ability to make the woman become *busit* (pregnant). Some used herbs, seeds, or coconuts. Some women testified that these measures were very effective because they tried them and were able to have a child.

A pregnant woman continued her daily chores including working in the *koman* and pounding rice and coffee. Work was a form of exercise in preparation for childbirth. She was required to drink hot water to ensure easy delivery fifteen days before the due date of delivery.

The *hilot* or the local midwife tied a *bahakat* or a piece of cloth around the woman's abdomen to prevent the premature delivery of the child. The relatives encouraged her to eat cooked meat and vegetables without rice because they believed that if she ate rice, she would defecate and the child will come out at the same time.

Two days before giving birth, the woman set aside her work from the *koman* and stayed in the house for fear that the *anitos* might harm or take the child in her womb. When she wished to go outside the house, she brought with her *aliwa (bolo)* and a torch made of bamboo to scare the *anitos* away.

When the pregnant woman began to feel labor pains, she laid quietly on the floor while waiting for the local midwife. Tools like unsterilized bamboo knife, blankets, coconut oil and warm water were prepared. To facilitate childbirth, the *hilot* massaged the abdomen downward with coconut oil.

After the child had come out, the *hilot* pushed the abdomen downward so that the *kabulbulon* (placenta) would be expelled. The cord is then cut. The child was raised upside down and fed the juice of pounded *parya* leaves to remove the amniotic fluid he had swallowed inside the womb. Coconut oil was applied on the navel.

Sometimes, after the delivery, a blood clot or *pinukal* was retained inside the womb, which caused severe abdominal pain. The *hilot* would then place *kahama* or a small crab on top of the woman's abdomen and she was fed boiled *balangkoy* or cassava to relieve the pain. She was also fed chicken broth with papaya and ginger to increase her breast milk. After a few hours of rest, the woman cleaned herself and the floor upon which she had given birth without any assistance from her relatives because she was embarrassed and felt unclean.

The father of the child placed the umbilical cord on a *tahu* (coconut shell) and buried it near their house. At the same time, he planted a coconut tree right beside the place where the cord was buried. The coconut tree was named after the child.

Three days after giving birth, the parents of the child performed the *pildap*. They made *sinandila*, a kind of rice cake and offered a dog to the *anitos* as a form of thanksgiving.

### BELIEFS AND PRACTICES IN COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

There were different ways on how an Isnag man courted a girl. Examples are playing the *patanggo*, a bamboo instrument with an open end, acting as a sounding tube or the *baliing* (nose flute). If the girl liked him, she played the *pahengheng*, a kind of bamboo instrument exclusively played by girls. The man may also swim the Apayao river to prove his sincerity. Another way was by using *angimod* or love charms, which could be his own armpit sweat, larvae of mantis, or different kinds of herbs given to him by a *durarakit* or shaman. It was believed that a girl would fall in love with him once her body came in contact with the *angimod*. A new way to win the girl's heart was by writing her love letter.

The girl's looks were not what counted most, but her character. A girl must be kind, *mahinhin*, hardworking and pure. Virginity was a source of pride for the Isnags. For the boy to become attractive, he must be brave and hard working.

*Mangatawa* is a term for the Isnags betrothal ceremony. Among the Isnags, some marriages were arranged by parents even without the knowledge of their children. The parents of the boy gave *aliwa* to the parents of the girl, which represented their

engagement. Marriage usually came when the girl and the boy reach the age of fifteen or sixteen. However, such an engagement may be broken. In this case, *subli* was made. It was a sign of respect to both parties when there had been disagreements regarding marriage. The bride price (*tadug*) was returned to the parents of the boy.

Nightly visits were done when the boy was assured that the girl accepted him. At this time, he could also sleep with her if the parents of the girl permitted him to. After he had informed his parents about their relationship, the boy brought *simba* to the house of the girl. It could be *sahaban* (beads) or money wrapped in a new *aken* (skirt). Together with the *simba* was a basketful of rice cake or *innanapat*. It was made with cooked *dekat* or *malagkit* and grated coconut meat, wrapped in coconut leaves. The *innanapat* was scattered on the *datag* or floor of the girl's house before it was distributed to the girl's relatives. This practice ensured an easy childbirth. The boy and his relatives were prohibited from partaking of the rice cakes for the reason that they would become ill or even die. The relatives of the girl would butcher a pig, dog and chicken. Everyone was served with *pakkal* or boiled rice topped with cooked *limpa* (meat and vegetables that wrapped in banana leaf). The negotiation started while eating the *pakkal*. The parties discussed everything, especially the *tadug*.

There were two kinds of *tadug*. One was the *pa-bag*, which was money that ranged from 5,000 pesos above, and included ancient jars. The other one was called *pagpapasusuan*, which was also money but in a smaller amount, and also including a piece of land and animal. If the boy's family were poor, his family and relatives would give contributions to meet the demands of the girl's family. After the negotiations, the boy and the girl were

considered to be husband and wife. They lived together either in his house or her parents' house. According to the natives, this was the Isnag system of marriage.

The *tadug* was not actually given right there and then, instead, it may take a year or two or even after they already have children. As soon as the *tadug* was ready to be claimed by the girl, a ceremony called *akit* or *mangakit* was held. The girl and her relatives brought a pig and a basketful of *sinandila* (rice cake) in exchange for the *tadug*. The girl and her relatives would not eat the *sinandila* for them not to become ill.

The *say-am* was held during the *akit*. The pig that had been given by the girl's family would not be butchered; instead, it would be given to the relatives of the groom who had contributed for the *tadug*. The relatives of the groom butchered another pig to be served to all the people who had been invited. If the *tadug* had not been given in full, *akit* was held again until the *tadug* was given completely.

If the couple wished to visit their in-laws, the girl would bring a basket of *sinandila* and the man, a basket of *innanapat*. This was a sign of respect and love for their in-laws.

The Isnags also practiced polygamy and divorce. A man may have two or three wives as long as he could provide for the needs of his wives. Divorce may be decided if the partner was lazy, committed adultery or was impotent.

Before, *laklakay*, a respected elder in the community officiated the wedding. Now, most weddings were officiated by the mayor and some by the parish priest.

## DEATH AND BURIAL

The researcher had witnessed death and burial practices in the community. The person who died was a female healer she had interviewed. Before she died, she was in a state of comatose in the hospital for one week. Her family decided to bring her home because they saw no hope. When they were already home, a new mat was placed on the floor and they laid her there. She could not even open her eyes. The only thing that was heard from her was her deep breathing. While a family member went around and notified families and friends in the community, her relatives performed the *kogtot* ritual. They offered a dog to the spirits and danced (*manaddo*) to the beat of the musical instruments *gansa* and *ludang*, asking the spirits to make her well again. After twelve hours, she died. Her husband cried silently beside her. It was their practice for the living partner to stay beside the deceased spouse and not to eat until after the funeral. They washed and garbed the corpse with white clothes.

While the men prepared the *longon* (coffin), she was laid in a mat and placed in the *takilay* or the center post of the house. As soon as the coffin was brought inside the house, they wrapped the body with *denaket* (native blanket) and placed her inside the coffin. They placed *sipang* (coconut flower) on her armpit so that no bad odor will diffuse into the air. It is *kanaw* (prohibited) to utter the word “*mabaho*” because the *sipang* will will become ineffective.

At night, the men remained awake so that no one like *buwa* and *patikayo* could take and eat the corpse. They believed that these cannibals had super powers and could turn themselves into a big black dog or fly. They were from Dagara, another *barangay*, but could sense whenever there was was a dead person who has blood of Dagara. The natives

believed that when the earth shook at the house of the dead person, *buwa* and *patikayo* had come to take the corpse.

On the second day, the relatives butchered pig and made *pakkal*, which was served to the mourners. A portion of the *pakkal* and a glass of water were placed near the coffin. This kind of offering was called *tahiran*. It was believed that the souls of the dead also eat and drink wherever it must be. As a means of showing grief, the men play *bisnag*, a game of endurance where the *apel* (thigh) is spanked by another man. Sometimes their thighs would bleed due to the strength of the force being applied.

Before the burial, the nearest relative of the dead performed a ritual called *tam-tam*. They got *tangesing* or four bundles of rice from the granary and burned them at the foot of the ladder to be offered to the Ilay/Pilay. They believed that by doing so, they would have good harvests in the future. Also, they prepared *pakkal* and charcoal for the dead not to come back and scare anybody or *mamalangobang*. When the coffin was ready, they passed it through the window of the house. The reason for this practice was that another person would die if they passed the coffin through the door. When the coffin was already outside, a brave man closed the window permanently. The only one who can open the window was one who could shout and boast to the *anitos* that he was brave and had killed a person. According to the elders, the burial would be stopped if there was lightning, thunder, and rainbow or if a ghost appears, as someone in the family may die next.

The surviving spouse was not allowed to go to the funeral. Instead, he was left inside the house, lied down on a mat and covered himself with a blanket. He bathed with *sahu* or the liquid that was secreted from the mouth of his spouse. Before the coffin was brought to



the grave, they burned dried *pandan* leaves and beheaded a *pipiya* or chick inside the tomb. Then, the coffin was placed in it and the mourners covered it with earth and stone so that the ghost of the dead person would not scare them. The men put some twigs of *pomelo* around the tomb so that *buwa* and *patikayo* would not steal her body.

When the funeral was over, the relatives of the dead pelted the house with stones (*magballaw*) to drive away evil spirits. Some men cut coconut trees to be offered to the dead. This offering is called *attong*. From the day she was buried, her husband will light a candle or gas lamp on her burial ground until the *abobat* or the end of the mourning period. During the mourning period no one except the family members entered her house.

On the *taribukay* or third day after the burial, the relatives fixed the tomb. They planned and talked about the coming *pakasiyam* or the ninth day. Also included in their discussion are the *lapat* or prohibitions during the mourning period. The *lapat* was implemented for several months to a year. On the ninth day, the relatives held *pildap* and made *sinandila* (rice cake). Again, the men will play the *bisnag*.

According to the informants, when the mourning period ends, *say-am* was performed and all of the people in the community joined the celebration. The *lapat* or prohibitions were then disregarded. Should the existing partner want to marry again, he would perform the *pildap*. If he chose not to marry, he would go and live with his relatives.

## LIFE STAGES

Life stage	Health care and practices
<i>Ababbing</i> - infant	<p>The child is clean with coconut oil or warm water.</p> <p>The infant is fed with the juice of <i>parya</i> leaves to remove the amniotic fluid or blood it swallowed inside the womb.</p> <p>The child is given breastmilk for at least three years.</p> <p>The child who is able to eat solid foods is given <i>bahat</i>, <i>kamote</i>, and <i>nabaw</i> and especially <i>tarung</i> in order for the child to have a long life.</p>
<p><i>Babbing</i> - young children</p> <p>The <i>manakam</i> - eldest child</p> <p>The <i>uddian</i> - youngest child</p>	<p>Like the adults, young children eat <i>atang</i>, <i>kabatiti</i>, string beans, <i>sili</i> and <i>dinaldag</i>.</p> <p>At this stage, the boys are circumcised with the sap of the <i>bolbolaw</i> plant.</p> <p>To prevent anemia, they are fed with boiled <i>kamote</i> and <i>parya</i> leaves.</p>
<p><i>Balasang</i> - female adolescent</p> <p><i>Bagbaho</i> - male adolescent</p>	<p>They may consume <i>nabaw</i> and dishes with <i>sili</i> like <i>pinaltit</i>, <i>sinursur</i>, and <i>abraw</i>, aside from the common vegetables prepared. These foods increase their appetite.</p> <p>Boys who have not been circumcised do so themselves by using a blade or razor. They wash their penis with a decoction of guava leaves.</p> <p>At this stage the boys use <i>rabbang</i> or a string made of goat tail to increase libido.</p> <p>The girls take a bath without pouring water on their head during menstruation to prevent <i>matipad</i>.</p>
Adult	They cannot eat without <i>sili</i> . Men remove their <i>rabbangs</i> at this stage.
<p><i>Laklakay</i> - elderly man</p> <p><i>Babakat</i> - elderly woman</p>	They eat any kind of vegetable available, as well as fish, meat, <i>kahama</i> and lobster.

## Healing rituals

The Isnags believed that spirits caused particular diseases and that spirits also made them well. Aside from inviting the *managtanib* to cure their illnesses, the natives performed the rituals *say-am*, *kogtot* and *pildap*. These three rituals were performed as a form of thanksgiving, to gain favor from the spirits, to appease evil spirits or *balangobang* and to ask help from a particular spirit to cure grave illnesses.

According to the elders in the community, the *say-am* was a big gathering where people danced or *manaddo* and sang praise to the spirits or *anitos*. It lasted between one to five days. The stages in performing the *say-am* were *maganito* (calling of the spirits), first *manognad* (killing of the dog), splitting of coconuts, *tungtung*, and second *manognad*. Brief descriptions of the stages of the *say-am* are as follows.

*Maganito*. It was a communication rite performed by one or two shamans or *durarakit*. An ordinary sleeping mat was placed on the floor and necessary equipments were placed near it (Grant 1973). This included four bundles of rice taken directly from the rice granary (*tangesing*), beads (*sahaban*), sugarcane wine (*basi*), head axe (*aliwa*), a bamboo sliver (*pangru-ru*), various herbs, a pig, betel nut and lime. The *durarakit* stood on the mat holding the *tangesing* and the *aliwa*, then danced to the beat of the gong (*gansa*) and drum (*ludang*). The *durarakit* trembled and started to speak to the spirits. She would ask them to bring back the spirit of the sick person. After she had spoken to the *anito*, the men would butcher a pig using a *pangruru*. The *pangruru* with the blood of the pig was then rubbed on the forehead of the sick.

First manognad. The brave men prepared the *singat* or three betel leaves inserted in coconut leaves, *sinampatanggo* or five small bamboo tubes, *tahu* or coconut shell bowl, *basaw* or *runo*, *assip* or left over rice, red cloth, betel nut, ashes and *basi* or San Miguel gin. A dog was fed with *assip* while the brave men cut its head using the *aliwa*. The dog's blood (*adangat*) was collected and poured in a *tahu* and four *sinampatanggo*. These items were brought to the *amadingan* tree, which was believed to be the dwelling place of spirits. A brave man drank the *basi* or gin and shouted "Yahoo! *Nakapatay ya ka tulay may ki sabili nga ili may akkan na dumamkay kibabaludan!*" meaning, "I had killed a person but I never stepped in prison!" If he did not shout, it will result to deafness. The dog's body was cooked while the remaining *sinampatanggo* was placed near the door and inside the house of the patient. Another offering was done by means of *pinagbasso*, wherein they offered some pieces of meat to the *anito* and they danced in exchange for the spirit of the sick. The patient was fed with the cooked liver and his forehead was rubbed with the blood of the dog (*adangat*).

Splitting of the coconuts. The splitting of the coconut was performed in the house of the *anglabbang*, the spirits of the headhunters. The brave men would take turns trying to split a coconut with a single stroke of their *aliwa* after shouting their great deeds (Delos Reyes).

Tung-tung. The *tung-tung* was the climax of the *say-am*. Bamboo poles were distributed to the brave men after declaring their great deeds. The men would start striking the bamboo poles against a flat stone. As they did so, they shouted "Yahoo!"

Second *manognad*. To complete the ritual, killing of another dog was done. The *durarakit* then carried the split coconuts, body of the dog, rice and the bamboo poles to the *amadingan* tree. These materials served as gifts to the *anitos*, in the hope that they would spare them and let the sick back to health again.

The *kogtot* was a ritual having the same stages as those of the *say-am*. No specific time was required in performing the *kogtot*. This ritual was immediately held if the sick was hopeless and could no longer be treated by healers or by medical practitioners. An informant said that *kogtot* was usually done for emergencies.

The *pildap* was a short ritual given to the *anitos* and usually lasted for one day. The only stages performed were the *maganito* and the first *manognad*.

TABLES OF MEDICINAL PLANTS USED BY THE ISNAG PEOPLE OF LACO, KABUGAO, APAYAO

**For an-an**

Scientific name: *Cassia alata* L  
 Filipino name: *Akapulko*  
 Local name: *Indadasi* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Ringworm bush/shrub

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/ 1-5 pieces	Pound leaves.	Rub on the affected area after taking a bath.	1 healer

Scientific name: *Momordica charantia* L  
 Filipino name: *Ampalaya*  
 Local name: *Parya* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Bitter melon, bitter gourd, balsam pear

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/ 10 pieces	Pound leaves.	Rub on the affected area after taking a bath 3 times a day.	1 FGD of 12

**For anemia**

Scientific name: *Mimosa pudica* L  
 Filipino name: *Makahiya*  
 Local name: *Baing-baing* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Touch-me-not

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Roots/just enough	Boil roots in 4 glasses of water until 1 glass is left.	Drink the decoction every night.	1 individual interview 1 FGD of 12

Scientific name: *Ipomoea batatas*  
 Filipino name: *Kamote*  
 Local name: *Kamote* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Sweet potato

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Red tops/just enough	Cook with just enough water	Eat the vegetable 3 times a day.	1 FGD of 12

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Sobray II* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Whole plant/ 1 piece	Remove the leaves.	Tie the plant around the wrist or ankle.	1 healer 1 <i>hilot</i> 1 individual interview

### For appendicitis

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Alam* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Old leaves/ 3 pieces	Boil leaves in 3 glasses of water until 1 glass is left.	Drink the decoction 3 times a day./Pick up leaves that lie face up under the tree.	2 healers

### For arthritis

Scientific name: *Zingiber officinale*  
 Filipino name: *Luya*  
 Local name: *Basang* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Ginger

Scientific name: *Allium sativum*  
 Filipino name: *Bawang*  
 Local name: *Bawang* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Garlic

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name: *Sili*  
 Local name: *Tur-rang* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Chili pepper

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Root/ 1 finger-size ( <i>basang</i> ) Bulb/ 5 cloves ( <i>bawang</i> ) Fruit/ 15 pieces ( <i>tur-rang</i> )	Cook plant materials with coconut oil. Strain and store in a bottle.	Rub oil on the affected area.	1 healer 1 individual interview

### For asthma

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Batunit* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Flower/ 1 glass of petals	Boil flowers in 2 glasses of water until ½ glass is left.	Drink the decoction 2 times a day./The color of urine is fuchsia pink.	1 FGD of 12 3 individual interviews
Flower/ 1 glass of petals	Pour boiled water on a glass of flowers and cover for 30 minutes.	Drink the decoction 2 times a day./The color of urine is fuchsia pink.	1 FGD of 12 3 individual interviews

Scientific name: *Vitex nependo* L.

Filipino name: *Lagundi*

Local name: *Dangla* (Isnag)

Foreign name: Five-leaved chaste tree

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fresh leaves/ 1 handful	Boil leaves on 3 glasses of water until 1 glass is left.	Drink the decoction 3 times a day. Continue until well.	1 individual interview

### For backache with difficulty of breathing

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Tahapoli* (Isnag)

Foreign name:



Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/ 3 pieces	Heat the leaves over the fire.	Tie leaves around the waist with a bandage.	1 individual interview

### For *balbalili*

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Kunig* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Root/ 1 fist-size	Pound root and wrap with banana leaf. Heat over fire.	Apply the pounded root on the affected area.	1 individual interview

### For beriberi

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name: *Suha*  
 Local name: *Lumban* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Pomelo

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Ripe fruit/ 2 pieces	Remove the skin of the fruit.	Rub the flesh and juice on the entire body.	1 FGD of 12

### For sudden pain on neck and nape

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Anang-nga apo* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Basaw* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Whole plant/ 1 piece ( <i>anang-nga</i> )	Burn the plant materials in a <i>tahu</i> *.	Cover the patient with a blanket. Place	1 individual interview

<i>apo</i> Tops/ 1 piece ( <i>basaw</i> )		the <i>tahu</i> under the blanket and inhale the smoke.	
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\**Tahu* - coconut shell bowl

### For bites (centipede, dog, scorpion, snake)

Scientific name: *Allium sativum*

Filipino name: *Bawang*

Local name: *Bawang* (Isnag)

Foreign name: Garlic

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Bulb/ 1 clove	Pound the clove.	Rub on the affected area. One application only.	1 FGD of 12

Scientific name: *Moringa oleifera*

Filipino name: *Malunggay*

Local name: *Malunggay* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Root/just enough	Wash the roots.	Chew and sip the juice 2 times a day.	2 individual interviews

Scientific name: *Carica papaya*

Filipino name: Papaya

Local name: *Papaya* (Isnag)

Foreign name: Papaya

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Raw fruit/ 1 piece	Cut the fruit into small pieces.	Rub 1 piece on the affected area. One application only.	1 FGD of 12

### For bleeding wound

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Amanya* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Tops/just enough	Pound the tops and wrap with bandage.	Tie the pounded leaves on the affected area.	1 FGD of 12

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Kabbuyo* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/ 5 pieces	Pound the leaves.	Tie the pounded leaves with a bandage on the affected area.	1 individual interview 1 healer
Tops/ 5 pieces	Pound the leaves.	Tie the pounded leaves with a bandage on the affected area.	1 individual interview 1 healer

#### For boil

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Alipawan, Dalipawan, Lipawan* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Sap/just enough	Get sap from the tree.	Apply sap on the affected area 2 times a day./It prevents the further growth of the boil.	1 individual interview

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Amasbassi* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fresh leaf/ 1 piece	Make a hole near the apex of the leaf that fits on the size of the ulcer and macerate with coconut oil.	Apply the leaf on the affected area once a day. Continue until the boil bursts.	1 healer

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Angarkarret* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fresh leaf/ 1 piece	Wash the leaf.	Tie leaf on the affected area after the pus is gone.	1 individual interview

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Dalunit* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fresh leaf/ 1 piece	Make a hole on the leaf the same size of the boil.	Fit the hole on the affected area 3 times a day. Continue until the boil bursts.	1 individual interview

Scientific name: *Hibiscus rosasinensis*  
 Filipino name: *Gumamela*  
 Local name: *Gumamela* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Flower/ 1 piece	Heat flower over fire and pound.	Apply the pounded flower on the affected area.	1 FGD of 12 1 healer 3 individual interviews
Flower/ 1 petal	Make a hole on the petal that fits the size of the boil.	Apply the petal on the affected area once a day. Continue until well./It prevents the further growth of the boil.	1 FGD of 12 1 healer 3 individual interviews

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name: *Tabako*  
 Local name: *Tabako* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Tobacco

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Dried leaf/ 1 piece	Tear a small piece of the leaf.	Apply the leaf on the affected area once a day.	1 FGD of 12

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name: *Tabatabako*  
 Local name: *Tabatabako* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaf/ 1 piece	Pound the leaf and wrap with a bandage.	Tie the leaf on the affected area.	1 individual interview

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Tahibangon* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/ 5 pieces	Pound the leaves.	Tie the pounded leaves on the affected area.	1 individual interview

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Uhing* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Young leaves/ 7 pieces	Heat the leaves over fire.	Apply the leaves on the affected area./It stops the growth of the boil.	1 individual interview

### **For bone cancer**

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name: *Repolyo*  
 Local name: *Repolyo* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Cabbage

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fresh leaf/ ½ leaf	Pound the leaf.	Apply the pounded leaf on the affected area once a day.	1 healer

### For brain cancer

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Tuba* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/ 3 pieces	Macerate leaves with a little oil from <i>tangali/agtaniban</i> *.	Apply the leaves on the affected area and massage the head after the application. Continue until well.	1 healer

\**Tangali/agtaniban* - a mixture of different kinds of herbs and coconut oil that is stored in a small bottle

### For breast cancer

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Tuba* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/ 3 pieces	Macerate leaves with a little oil from <i>tangali/agtaniban</i> *.	Apply the leaves on the affected area and massage the head after the application. Continue until well	1 healer

\* *Tangali/agtaniban* - a mixture of different kinds of herbs and coconut oil that is stored in a small bottle

### For bronchitis

Scientific name:

Filipino name: *Kamoteng kahoy*

Local name: *Balangkoy* (Isnag)

Foreign name: Cassava

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Raw root/just enough	Remove the skin of the root. Grate root and squeeze to obtain juice. Place the juice under the sun to pulverize.	Wrap the powder with a bandage and put a few drops of water. Dab on the chest every night.	1 individual interview

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Kutsay* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fresh leaves/ 5 pieces	Wash and squeeze the leaves in a container.	Drink the juice 3 times a day. Continue until well.	1 individual interview

#### For bumblebee bite

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Kamantigi* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Flower/ 1 piece	Wash the flower.	Rub the flower on the affected area.	1 FGD of 12

#### For cataract

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Barwang* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fresh leaves/ 3 pieces	Boil pounded leaves in just enough water.	Wash the face with the decoction.	1 healer

#### For circumcision

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Bolbolaw* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Sap/few drops	Get the sap.	Apply the sap on the glans penis./It is very painful.	3 individual interviews

### For chickenpox

Scientific name:  
Filipino name: *Kakaw*  
Local name: *Kakaw* (Isnag)  
Foreign name: Cacao

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/ 5 pieces	Burn leaf and powder. Mix powder with coconut oil.	Apply the mixture on the affected area every night. Continue until well.	1 individual interview 1 FGD of 12

Scientific name:  
Filipino name:  
Local name: *Lawi-lawi* (Isnag)  
Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/just enough	Burn the leaves and powder. Mix powder with coconut oil.	Apply the mixture on the affected area. One application only.	2 individual interviews

Scientific name:  
Filipino name:  
Local name: *Tahaha* (Isnag)  
Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/just enough	Burn leaves and powder. Mix powder with coconut oil.	Apply the mixture on the affected area. One application only.	2 individual interviews

### For chills

Scientific name:  
Filipino name:  
Local name: *Kabatiti* (Isnag)  
Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Seeds/ 3 pieces	Get seeds from the fruit.	Take 3 seeds 2 times a day.	1 FGD of 12 1 healer



			2 individual interviews
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**For colds**

Scientific name: *Zingiber officinale*

Filipino name: *Luya*

Local name: *Basang* (Isnag)

Foreign name: Ginger

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Root/ 1 handful	Pound roots. Boil pounded roots in 3 glasses of water until 1 glass is left.	Drink the decoction 3 times a day. Continue until well.	1 individual interview

Scientific name:

Filipino name: *Kalamansi*

Local name: *Kalamansi* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fruit/ 7 pieces	Extract the juice and add a little sugar.	Drink the juice 3 times a day.	1 healer

Scientific name:

Filipino name: *Oregano* (Isnag)

Local name: *Oregano*

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fresh leaves/just enough	Heat leaves over the almost cooked rice for 3 minutes. Squeeze the leaves to obtain juice.	Drink 1 teaspoon of juice 2 times a day. Continue until well.	1 FGD of 12 1 healer 4 individual interviews

### For contraceptive

Scientific name: *Leucaena leucocephala* L

Filipino name: *Ipil-ipil*

Local name: *Ipil-ipil* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Seeds/ 1 small can	Roast and pound the seeds. Mix 1 tablespoon of pounded seed in 1 glass of hot water.	Drink like coffee.	1 healer

### For constipation

Scientific name: *Carica papaya*

Filipino name: Papaya

Local name: *Papaya* (Isnag)

Foreign name: Papaya

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Ripe fruit/ 1 piece	-	Eat the whole fruit. Once only.	1 healer

### For cough

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Abgaw* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/ 3 pieces	Macerate leaves in coconut oil.	Apply 2 leaves on the chest and 1 leaf at the back for 3 consecutive nights.	1 FGD of 12 2 individual interviews

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Asiwang* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Ripe fruit/ 1 piece	Squeeze the fruit to obtain juice.	Drink the juice. Once only.	1 individual interview

Scientific name:

Filipino name: *Kamoteng kahoy*

Local name: *Balangkoy* (Isnag)

Foreign name: Cassava

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Raw root/just enough	Remove the skin of the root. Grate root and squeeze to obtain juice. Place the juice under the sun to pulverize.	Wrap the powder with a bandage and put a few drops of water. Dab on the chest every night.	1 individual interview

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Basang* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Root/ 1 handful	Pound roots. Boil pounded leaves in 3 glasses of water until 1 glass is left.	Drink the decoction 3 times a day. Continue until well.	1 individual interview
Root/just enough	Pound roots and put coconut oil.	Apply oil on the neck, chest and back	1 FGD of 12

Scientific name: *Allium sativum*

Filipino name: *Bawang*

Local name: *Bawang* (Isnag)

Foreign name: Garlic

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Bulb/ 1 whole	Remove the skin and get the cloves. Pound cloves, toast and add just enough sugar.	Eat the mixture 3 times a day.	1 FGD of 12

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name: *Ikmo*  
 Local name: *Hawad* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Betel leaves

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/ 3 pieces	Heat leaves over fire and put a little oil.	Apply 2 leaves on the chest and 1 leaf at the back every night./ Do not go under the sun.	1 FGD of 12

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name: *Kalamansi*  
 Local name: *Kalamansi* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Scientific name: *Zingiber officinale*  
 Filipino name: *Luya*  
 Local name: *Basang* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Ginger

Scientific name: *Tamarindus indica*  
 Filipino name: *Sampalok*  
 Local name: *Salamagi* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Tamarind

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fruits/ 5 pieces ( <i>kalamansi</i> ) Young leaves/ 1 handful ( <i>salamagi</i> ) Root/ 1 piece ( <i>basang</i> )	Pound <i>kalamansi</i> and <i>salamagi</i> . Boil in 2 glasses of water until 1 glass is left. Cool and strain. Add <i>kalamansi</i> juice on the decoction.	Drink the decoction 3 times a day.	1 FGD of 12 2 individual interviews

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Sangkidanag* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Flower/ 1 piece	Open the flower.	Apply the wet part of the flower on the neck every morning. Continue until well.	2 individual interviews

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Umila* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Wild eucalyptus

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Bark/just enough	Get a small portion of the bark	Smell the bark. Continue until well.	1 individual interview

### For cough with phlegm

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name: *Oregano*  
 Local name: *Oregano* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fresh leaves/ 2-3 pieces	Heat leaves on top of the pot cover for 3 minutes. Squeeze the leaves and get the juice.	Drink 1 teaspoon of juice 2 times a day. Continue until well.	1 FGD of 12 4 individual interviews

### For convulsion

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Alinuuwaay* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Tops/ 1 piece	Wrap with a bandage.	Tie around the wrist./ Avoid eating any kind of fish.	1 individual interview

### For cut

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Amanya* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Indadasi* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fresh leaves/ 5-6 pieces ( <i>amanya</i> ) Fresh leaves/ 5-6 pieces ( <i>indadasi</i> )	Wash the leaves and squeeze to obtain juice.	Apply the juice on the affected area 2-5 times a day. Continue until well.	1 individual interview

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Amanya* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Kabbuyo* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Tops/ 3 pieces ( <i>amanya</i> ) Tops/ 1 piece ( <i>kabbuyo</i> )	Pound the leaves.	Apply on the affected area once a day. Continue until well.	1 healer

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Balayang* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Trunk	Cut the trunk.	Squeeze directly on the affected area./It prevents excessive bleeding.	2 individual interviews

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Bassaw* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Young stem/ 2 pieces	Get the medulla of the stem and pound.	Tie the pounded stem on the affected area. One application only. Continue until well.	1 FGD of 6

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Kabbuyo* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/ 2-3 pieces	Pound the leaves .	Apply the juice on the affected area./If the affected area is big, add more leaves.	1 individual interview

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Sigsag* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Stem/ 1 piece	Cut the stem and get the sap.	Rub the sap on the affected area. Continue until well.	1 healer 1 FGD of 12 2 individual interview

### For diarrhea

Scientific name: *Persea americana*  
 Filipino name: *Abocado*  
 Local name: *Abocado* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Avocado

Scientific name: *Psidium guajava*  
 Filipino name: *Bayabas*  
 Local name: *Gayabat* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Guava

Scientific name: *Chrysophyllum cainito*  
 Filipino name: *Caimito*  
 Local name: *Caimito* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Star apple

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/ 7 pieces ( <i>abocado</i> ) Mature leaves/ 7 pieces ( <i>gayabat</i> ) Mature leaves/ 7 pieces ( <i>caimito</i> )	Boil leaves in 5 glasses of water until 3 glasses are left.	Drink the decoction 3 times a day.	1 FGD of 12

Scientific name:  
Filipino name:  
Local name: *Cherry* (Isnag)  
Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Ripe fruit/ 5-10 pieces	Wash the fruit.	Eat the fruit 3 times a day.	1 FGD of 12 1 individual interview

Scientific name:  
Filipino name:  
Local name: *Cherry* (Isnag)  
Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Bark/ 1 glass chopped bark	Boil bark in 3 glasses of water for about 5 minutes until 1 glass is left.	Drink 2 tablespoon of the decoction 3 times a day for 3 consecutive days.	1 individual interview

Scientific name:  
Filipino name: *Malagkit*  
Local name: *Dekat* (Isnag)  
Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Grains/ 1 small can	Roast the grains and boil in just enough water.	Drink as coffee substitute every morning. Continue until well.	1 FGD of 12



Scientific name: *Syzygium cumini*

Filipino name: *Duhat*

Local name: *Lomboy* (Isnag)

Foreign name: Rose apple

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Bark/ 3 inches for children 5 inches for adult	Boil bark in 5 glasses of water until 3 glasses are left for adult. Boil 3 glasses of water until ½ glass is left for children.	Drink the decoction 3 times a day.	1 healer
Seeds/ 3 pieces	Remove the seeds from the fruit and wash.	Eat seeds 3 times one day.	-

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Manila* (Isnag)

Foreign name: Wild banana

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Trunk	Cut the trunk and squeeze to obtain 1 cup of juice.	Drink the juice 3 times a day for children. Drink the juice 4 times a day for adults./Avoid eating red foods like sardines and lobster.	4 individual interviews

### For dysentery

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Cherry* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Young fruit/ 3-5 pieces	Wash the fruits.	Eat the fruit 3-4 times a day and drink plenty of water./Avoid eating oily foods.	1 healer

Scientific name: *Syzygium cumini*

Filipino name: *Duhat*

Local name: *Lomboy* (Isnag)

Foreign name: Rose apple

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Bark/ 2x2 inches	Boil the bark in 3 glasses of water until 1 glass is left.	Drink the decoction 3 times a day. Continue until well.	1 FGD of 12

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Manila* (Isnag)

Foreign name: Wild banana

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/remarks	Source(s) of information
Trunk	Cut the trunk and squeeze to obtain 1 cup of juice.	Drink the juice 3 times a day for children. Drink the juice 4 times a day for adults.	2 individual interviews

### For eczema

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Amanya* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Indadasi* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Tops/ 3 pieces ( <i>amanya</i> ) Tops/ 3 pieces ( <i>indadasi</i> )	Boil leaves on 2 glasses of water until ½ glass is left.	Wash the affected area with soap and apply the decoction every night.	1 healer

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Indadasi* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/ 1-5 pieces	Pound the leaves well.	Wash the affected area with soap and apply the pounded leaves 3 times a day. Continue until well.	1 individual interview

Scientific name:

Filipino name: *Lumot*

Local name:

Foreign name: Algae

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fresh plant/just enough	Get the plant fresh from the water.	Rub the plant on the affected area 3 times a day. Continue until well.	1 FGD of 12

Scientific name: *Mangifera indica*

Filipino name: *Mangga*

Local name: *Mangga* (Isnag)

Foreign name: Mango

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Bark/ 3 pcs 3-inch long	Boil bark in 2 glasses of water until 1 glass is left.	Apply the decoction on the affected area. Continue until well./ Avoid eating <i>bagoong</i> and chicken.	1 healer

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Salsalamagi* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Whole plant/ 1 handful	Pound the plant and add a little coconut oil.	Wash the affected area and apply the pounded plant every night.	1 <i>hilot</i>

**For eltor**Scientific name: *Cocos nucifera*Filipino name: *Buko*Local name: *Iyog* (Isnag)

Foreign name: Coconut

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Coconut shell	Burn the shell and pound the charcoal. Dissolve in 1 glass of water.	Drink 1 tablespoon of the solution 2 times a day./Drink plenty of water to replace the water that is lost from the body.	1 individual interview

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Manila* (Isnag)

Foreign name: Wild banana

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Trunk	Cut the trunk and squeeze to obtain 1 cup of juice.	Drink the juice 3 times a day for children. Drink the juice 4 times a day for adults.	1 FGD of 12

Scientific name:

Filipino name: *Marijauna*Local name: *Marijuana* (Isnag)

Foreign name: Marijuana

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Seed/ 1 piece	Pound the seed.	Eat the pounded seed and drink 1 glass of water. Once only.	1 FGD of 12

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Pahuwa* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
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Trunk	Cut the apical part of the trunk and pour the juice in a container.	Drink once the pain occurs.	3 individual interviews
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Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Salsalamagi* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Whole plant/ 1 piece	Boil plant in 2 glasses of water until 1 glass is left.	Drink the decoction once a day for 5 consecutive days./Avoid eating coconut meat and peanuts.	1 <i>hilot</i> 1 healer 1 FGD of 12

#### For fracture

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Kattawa* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Branch/just enough	Heat the branch over fire and remove the bark.	Tie the bark on the affected area every morning./Cut a branch in the morning in front of the rising sun.	1 healer

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Lanong* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Stem/small amount	Scrape the stem and add coconut oil.	Wrap with bandage and tie on the affected area 3 times a day. Continue until well./Avoid eating squash.	1 healer 1 individual interview 1 FGD of 12

### For fever

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Alipawan, dalipawan, lipawan* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Bark/ 3 pieces	Boil trunk on 1 <i>abaytasa</i> (big cup) of water until 1 glass is left.	Divide the decoction into 3 parts. Drink 1 part 3 times a day. Continue until well.	1 individual interview

Scientific name: *Vitex negundo* L

Filipino name: *Lagundi*

Local name: *Dangla* (Isnag)

Foreign name: Five-leaved chaste tree

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Sapitan* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fresh leaves/ 1 handful ( <i>dangla</i> ) Whole plant/ 1 piece ( <i>sapitan</i> )	Dry the plant material under the sun. Boil dried plants in 2 glasses of water until 1 glass is left.	Drink the decoction 3 times a day. Continue until well.	2 individual interviews

Scientific name:

Filipino name: *Oregano*

Local name: *Oregano* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fresh leaves/ 2 pieces	Wash the leaves.	Tie the leaves on the forehead.	1 individual interview

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: Unidentified plant A

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Whole plant/ 1 piece	-	Tie the plant around the wrist or ankle. One application only.	1 healer 1 individual interview

### For goiter

Scientific name: *Ipomoea batatas*

Filipino name: *Kamote*

Local name: *Kamote* (Isnag)

Foreign name: Sweet potato

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/just enough	Boil the leaves in just enough water.	Drink the decoction every morning. Continue until well.	1 FGD of 12

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Dahumhayang* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Stem/just enough	Boil stem in 1 glass of water.	Drink 1 tablespoon of the decoction once a day. Continue until the size of the affected area becomes small.	1 individual interview

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Kutsaritas* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Flower/ 3 pieces	Boil flowers in 1 liter of water until ½ liter is left. Store the decoction in a bottle.	Drink 1 tablespoon of the decoction once a day until consumed./If there is a dead person do not carry round objects inside his house.	1 FGD of 12

### For gas pains

Scientific name:  
Filipino name:  
Local name: *Disol* (Isnag)  
Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Root/ 2 inches for children and 1 fist-size for adults	Cook the root in a small amount of coconut oil for 5 minutes.	Apply the oil in the back and stomach.	1 individual interview

Scientific name:  
Filipino name:  
Local name:  
Foreign name: Garlic vine

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/ 3 pieces	Macerate leaves in coconut oil.	Apply on the navel 3 times a day for 3 consecutive days.	1 FGD of 12

Scientific name:  
Filipino name:  
Local name: *Hatat-ato* (Isnag)  
Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Whole plant/ 6 pieces	Boil plant in 3 glasses of water.	Drink the decoction 3 times a day. Continue until well.	1 healer

Scientific name:  
Filipino name: *Tabako*  
Local name: *Tabako* (Isnag)  
Foreign name: Tobacco

Part(s) used/ Amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Dried leaf/ 1 piece	Make an <i>appay</i> or cigar.	Blow the smoke on the navel during nighttime. Once only.	1 FGD of 12



### For headache

Scientific name:  
Filipino name:  
Local name: *Baliwliw* (Isnag)  
Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/ 2 pieces	Put coconut oil on the leaves.	Apply the leaves on both sides of the forehead ( <i>pingpingat</i> ). Change the leaves 3 times a day. Continue until well.	1 individual interview 1 FGD of 12

Scientific name: *Vitex negundo* L  
Filipino name: *Lagundi*  
Local name: *Dangla* (Isnag)  
Foreign name: Five-leaved chaste tree

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fresh leaves/ 1 handful	Boil leaves in 3 glasses of water for 30 minutes until 1 glass is left.	Drink the decoction 2 times a day. Continue until well.	1 individual interview

Scientific name:  
Filipino name: *Ikmo*  
Local name: *Hawad* (Isnag)  
Foreign name: Betel leaf

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/ 2 pieces	Put a little oil on the leaves.	Apply the leaves on both sides of the forehead ( <i>pingpingat</i> ) once a day. Continue until well.	1 FGD of 12

Scientific name:  
Filipino name:  
Local name: *Kattawa* (Isnag)  
Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/ 2 pieces	Put a little oil on the leaves.	Apply the leaves on both sides of the forehead ( <i>pingpingat</i> ) 2 times a day. Continue until well.	1 FGD of 12 1 healer 1 individual interview

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name: *Oregano*  
 Local name: *Oregano* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fresh leaves/ 2-3 pieces	Pound leaves and put a little salt.	Apply the juice on both sides of the forehead ( <i>pingpingat</i> ) 3 times a day. Continue until well.	3 individual interviews

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name: *Katakataka*  
 Local name: *Tahakupit* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fresh leaves/ 3-4 big leaves	Macerate leaves with a pinch of salt or a little amount of coconut oil.	Apply the leaves on the forehead 3 times a day. Continue until well.	1 FGD of 12

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Tuba* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaf/ 1 piece	Heat the leaf over fire and put a little oil.	Apply the leaf on the forehead 3 times a day. Continue until well./It relieves the pain.	1 healer

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Wariwad* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Whole plant/ 1 piece	-	Tie the plant around the head.	1 individual interview

### For hemorrhage

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Dalig* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Roots/just enough	Pound the roots.	Apply the pounded roots on the affected area and tie the pounded roots on the lower part of the abdomen.	1 healer

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Salsalamagi* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Whole plant/ 1 piece	Boil plant in 2 glasses of water until 1 glass is left.	Drink the decoction once a day for 5 consecutive days. Continue until well./ Avoid eating sour foods.	1 <i>hilot</i>

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Yongoyong* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
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Mature leaf/ 1 piece	Pound the leaf and squeeze to obtain juice.	Apply the juice on the affected area. One application only.	1 healer
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Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: Unidentified plant G  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Aerial part/ 1 piece	Wrap the plant with a bandage.	Tie the plant around the waist. One application only.	1 healer

### For hemorrhoids

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Kohaman* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Tops/ 1 piece	Get the coiled leaf.	Insert the coiled leaf inside the anus every night. Remove the leaf every morning. Continue until well.	2 healers

### To induce lactation

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Alipawan, dalipawan, lipawan* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Sap	Get sap from the tree.	Put 1 drop of sap on the nipples of the mother.	1 individual interview

Scientific name: *Oryza sativa* L

Filipino name: *Bigas*

Local name: *Bagas* (Isnag)

Foreign name: Rice grains

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Grains/ 1 tablespoon	Chew the rice.	Apply the chewed rice on the nipples of the mother.	1 individual interview

### For hypertension

Scientific name: *Allium sativum* L

Filipino name: *Bawang*

Local name: *Bawang* (Isnag)

Foreign name: Garlic

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Bulb/ 1 piece	Remove the skin and pound the cloves. Add a little vinegar.	Apply the garlic on the nape 3 times a day.	1 healer
Clove/ 1 piece	Wash the clove.	Eat the clove like candy when signs and symptoms occur.	1 FGD of 12

### For impotence

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Tahalingad-ano* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Seeds/ 3 pieces	Gather seeds under the leaf.	Take 3 seed each for male and female before having sexual intercourse.	1 healer

### For influenza

Scientific name:  
Filipino name:  
Local name: *Bahakat-malindan* (Isnag)  
Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Dried leaves/ just enough	Burn the leaves in a <i>tahu</i> *.	Inhale the smoke once a day.	1 individual interview.

\**Tahu* - a coconut shell bowl

Scientific name: *Vitex negundo* L  
Filipino name: *Lagundi*  
Local name: *Dangla* (Isnag)  
Foreign name: Five-leaved chaste tree

Scientific name:  
Filipino name:  
Local name: *Sapitan* (Isnag)  
Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/ 1 handful ( <i>dangla</i> ) Aerial part/ 3 piece ( <i>sapitan</i> )	Boil plant materials in ½ <i>pot</i> of water until 1 glass is left. Cool and strain.	Drink the decoction once a day./Make more decoctions and use it for bathing.	1 FGD of 12

### For insomnia

Scientific name:  
Filipino name:  
Local name: *Bahakat-malindan* (Isnag)  
Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fresh leaves/ 2 pieces	Boil the leaves in 1 glass of water. Store the decoction in a bottle and add coconut oil.	Apply the decoction on the entire body every night.	1 individual interview

Scientific name: *Mimosa pudica*  
 Filipino name: *Makahiya*  
 Local name: *Baing-baing* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Touch-me-not

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Roots of 1 plant	Boil roots in 7 glasses of water until 1 glass is left.	Drink 1 tablespoon of the decoction every night.	1 individual interview

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: Unidentified plant F  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Whole plant/just enough	-	Tie the plant around the wrist or any part of the body every night.	1 individual interview

#### For kidney infection

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Banaba* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/ 10 pieces	Boil leaves in 2 glasses of water until 1 glass is left.	Drink 1 tablespoon of the decoction 3 times a day for adults. Drink 1 teaspoon of the decoction 3 times a day for children	1 FGD of 12

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Alam* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
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Mature leaves/ 5-10 pieces	Boil leaves in 3 glasses of water until 1 glass is left.	Drink the decoction 3 times a day. Continue until well./ Tastes like Sprite (softdrink).	1 individual interview
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Scientific name: *Cocos nucifera*  
 Filipino name: *Niyog*  
 Local name: *Iyog* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Coconut

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fruit/ 1 piece	Get the juice.	Drink the juice 2 times a day. Morning and afternoon. Continue until well.	1 healer 1 individual interview

Scientific name: *Zea mays*  
 Filipino name: *Mais*  
 Local name: *Mais* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Corn

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Hair/just enough	Boil hair in 4-5 glasses of water until 1 glass is left.	Drink ½ glass of the decoction 2 times a day.	1 FGD of 12 1 FGD of 6

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Silalay* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Whole plant/just enough	Wash the plant and cook like vegetable. Put a little salt.	Eat the plant 3 times a day. Continue until well.	1 individual interview

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name: *Sili*  
 Local name: *Tur-rang* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Chili pepper

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Tops/ 1 handful	Boil tops until it is cooked.	Eat the tops 3 times a day. Continue until	1 healer



		well.	
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Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Tabbang* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Roots/10 pieces	Gather roots and wash well.	Chew the roots and swallow the juice 3 times a day. Continue until well.	1 FGD of 6

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: Unidentified plant D  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/ 5 pieces	Heat leaves over fire.	Apply the leaves on the abdomen and at the back 3 times a day. Continue until well.	1 healer

### **For kulam**

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Bakuwit* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Twig/ 1 piece	Put the twig inside the bottle with coconut oil.	Apply the oil on the affected area.	1 healer

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Tahaha* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Dried leaf/ 1 piece	Tear a small piece from the leaf.	Place the leaf inside the pocket everywhere you go/ <i>"panguntra sa kulam"</i> .	1 healer

### For leech bite

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name: *Langka*  
 Local name: *Anangka* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Jackfruit

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaf/ 1 piece	Boil leaf in 1 glass of water.	Apply the decoction on the affected area every night.	1 healer

### For leprosy

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Talimungay* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/ 1 piece	Put a little coconut oil on the leaf.	Clean the affected area with warm water. Apply the leaf on the affected area and change the leaf when dried. Continue until well.	1 healer

### For lice infestation

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Banrangay-ato* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaf/ 1 piece	Pound the leaf and wrap with a piece of cloth.	Rub gently on the head. One application only./It can cause blindness.	1 healer 1 individual interview

### For leukemia

Scientific name: *Allium sativum* L

Filipino name: *Bawang*

Local name: *Bawang* (Isnag)

Foreign name: Garlic

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Bulb/ 3 cloves	Roast cloves.	Eat roasted cloves 3 times a day.	1 healer

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Labtang* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Stem/just enough	Boil stem in 2 glasses of water until 1 glass is left.	Drink 1 tablespoon of the decoction 3 times a day.	1 FGD of 12

### For magdardangar

Scientific name:

Filipino name: *Gabi*

Local name: *Atang* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaf/ 1 piece	Dry the leaf under the sun.	Apply the leaf on the forehead. One application only.	1 healer

**For mahangangan**

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: Unidentified plant H

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
<i>Aningat</i> or hardened liquid coming out from the trunk of the tree	Heat the <i>aningat</i> over fire.	Let the patient inhale the smoke.	1 healer

**For itchy feet**

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: Unidentified plant B

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Roots/just enough	Boil roots in 3 glasses of water.	Wash feet with the decoction.	1 healer

**For malaria**

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Alipawan, dalipawan, lipawan* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Bark/ 1 piece	Boil bark in 2 glasses of water until 1 glass is left.	Drink 1-2 tablespoons 3 times a day for 3 consecutive days for adults. Drink 1 teaspoon of the decoction 3 times a day for 3 consecutive days for children. Continue until well./Very bitter	2 healers 1 FGD of 12 1 FGD of 6 5 individual interviews

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Baliwliw* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Young leaves/ 2 pieces	Put coconut oil on the leaves.	Apply the leaves on both sides of the forehead ( <i>pingpingat</i> ).	2 healers

Scientific name: *Vitex negundo* L  
 Filipino name: *Lagundi*  
 Local name: *Dangla* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Five-leaved chaste tree

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fresh leaves/ 3 pieces to 1 handful	Boil leaves in 3-3 glasses of water until 1 glass is left.	For children drink 2- 3 tablespoons of the decoction 3 times a day. For adults drink ½ - 1 glass of the decoction 3 times a day. Continue until well./No side effect	1 healer 3 individual interviews 1 FGD of 12

Scientific name: *Cocos nucifera*  
 Filipino name: *Buko*  
 Local name: *Iyog* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Young coconut

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fruit/1 piece	Get the juice.	Drink the juice 2 times a day.	1 healer 1 individual interview

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Kabatiti* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Seeds/ 3 pieces	-	Take seeds 3 times a day. Continue until well.	1 FGD of 12 1 healer 2 individual

			interviews
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Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Mahowan* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Trunk/just enough	Burn the trunk twice. Boil the charcoal in 1 potful of water for 1 hour.	Drink the steam under the pot cover once a day. Continue until well./Avoid taking a bath in the afternoon.	1 individual interview.

Scientific name: *Carica papaya*  
 Filipino name: Papaya  
 Local name: *Papaya* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Papaya

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaf/ 1 piece	Tear 3 small pieces of the leaf.	Eat the leaf 3 times a day.	1 healer

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Tobitob* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/ 5 pieces	Boil leaves in 3 cups of water until 1 cup is left.	Drink the decoction 3 times a day. Continue until well./ Drinking alcohol is prohibited.	1 elder

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: Unidentified plant A  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Whole plant	-	Tie plant around the wrist or ankle. One	1 individual interview

		application only.	1 healer
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**For *matalalingo***

Scientific name: *Zingiber officinale*

Filipino name: *Luya*

Local name: *Basang* (Isnag)

Foreign name: Ginger

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Root/just enough	Pound the roots.	Apply the root on the affected area. One application only.	1 individual interview

**For *matipad***

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Herbaka* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/just enough	Wrap leaves with banana leaf. Cover with ashes and burn. Remove the banana leaf when burned.	Squeeze the leaves on top of the head 2 times a day. Continue until the menstruation continues.	1 individual interview

**For *naanito***

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Sobray I* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Whole plant	-	Tie the plant around the wrist or ankle.	2 healers

**For natuyuan ng dugo**

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Sobray II* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ Amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Whole plant	-	Tie the plant around the wrist or ankle.	1 healer 1 <i>hilot</i> 1 individual interview

**For nosebleed**

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: Unidentified plant G  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fresh leaves/ 1 piece	Wrap leaf with a bandage.	Tie the plant around the waist. Once only./Remove when the bleeding stops.	1 healer

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: Unidentified plant C  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Stem/ 1 piece	Wrap the stem with a bandage.	Tie the stem around the waist. Once only./Remove when the bleeding stops.	1 healer

**For otitis media**

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name: *Kawayan*  
 Local name: *Kawayan* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Bamboo



Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
<i>Balakaba</i> (powder found inside the bamboo)/just enough	Cut the bamboo lengthwise and get the <i>balakaba</i> .	Remove the liquid inside the ear and clean with a piece of cloth. Apply the <i>balakaba</i> in the ear 2 times a day. Continue until well./ Do not eat meat and shellfish.	1 FGD of 12

### For penile erection

Scientific name: *Mimosa pudica*  
 Filipino name: *Makahiya*  
 Local name: *Baing-baing* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Touch-me-not

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fresh leaves/just enough	Boil leaves in 3 glasses of water until 1 glass is left.	Drink 1 tablespoon of the decoction 3 times a day.	1 individual interview
Fruit/just enough	Boil fruits in 3 glasses of water until 1 glass is left.	Drink 1 tablespoon of the decoction 3 times a day.	1 individual interview

### For pimples

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name:  
 Foreign name: Spider lily

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Bulb/ 1 piece	Divide the bulb into 2 pieces.	Rub 1 piece gently in the face every night.	1 individual interview

### For poison

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name: *Calachuchi*  
 Local name: *Lulunsa* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Tops/ 1 piece	Wash the tops.	Eat tops 3 times a day.	1 healer

### **Poison for fish**

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Tuba* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fruits/just enough	Pound the fruits and mix with ashes.	Spread the mixture in the water.	1 FGD of 6 2 individual interviews

### **For poliomyelitis**

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Kalapikap* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Roots from 1 plant	Get the roots.	Tie roots around the ankle. One application only.	1 healer

### **For possessed**

Scientific name: *Annona muricata*  
 Filipino name: *Guyabano*  
 Local name: *Guyabana* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ Remarks	Source(s) of information
Fresh leaves/ 3 pieces	Gather leaves.	Apply the leaves on the entire body. Inhale the leaves.	2 healers

### For rheumatism

Scientific name:  
Filipino name:  
Local name: *Kattawa* (Isnag)  
Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Trunk/just enough	Heat the trunk over fire and put coconut oil.	Tie the trunk on the affected area. Continue until well.	1 individual interview 1 FGD of 6

Scientific name:  
Filipino name:  
Local name: *Kattawa* (Isnag)  
Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Branch/just enough	Heat the branch over fire and put coconut oil.	Tie the branch on the affected area. Continue until well.	1 individual interview 1 FGD of 6

Scientific name:  
Filipino name:  
Local name: *Kunig* (Isnag)  
Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Root/ 1 fist-size	Pound root and wrap with bandage.	Tie the pounded root on the affected area. One application only.	1 individual interview

### For rabies

Scientific name: *Moringa oleifera*  
Filipino name: *Malunggay*  
Local name: *Marunggay* (Isnag)  
Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Primary root/small amount	Scrape the root.	Apply on the affected area.	1 healer
Trunk/small amount	Scrape the trunk.	Apply on the affected area.	1 healer

### For sapping

Scientific name:  
Filipino name: *Kawayan*  
Local name: *Kawayan* (Isnag)  
Foreign name: Bamboo

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
<i>Balakaba</i> (powder inside the bamboo)/ just enough	Cut the bamboo lengthwise and get the <i>balakaba</i> .	Apply the <i>balakaba</i> on the affected area after taking a bath. Continue until well.	1 FGD of 12

Scientific name: *Psidium guajava* L  
Filipino name: *Bayabas*  
Local name: *Gayabat* (Isnag)  
Foreign name: Guava

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Young leaves/just enough	Pound the leaves.	Apply the leaves on the affected area after taking a bath. Continue until well.	1 FGD of 12

### For scabies

Scientific name:  
Filipino name: *Madre cacao*  
Local name: *Madre cacao, madre* (Isnag)  
Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fresh leaves/just enough	Pound the leaves and squeeze to obtain juice.	Dip a piece of cloth in the juice and dab on the affected area 3 times a day. Continue until well.	1 individual interview

### For severe headache

Scientific name:  
Filipino name:  
Local name: *Sobray I* (Isnag)  
Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Whole plant/ 1 piece	-	Tie the plant around the wrist. One application only.	2 healers

**For *singaw***

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Anonang* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/ 3 pieces	Burn the leaves and powder. Mix the powder with coconut oil.	Apply just enough mixture on the affected area 3 times a day. Continue until well.	1 individual interview

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Anonang* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Anangka* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Scientific name: *Chrysophyllum cainito*  
 Filipino name: *Caimito*  
 Local name: *Caimito* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Star apple

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/ 1 piece ( <i>anonang</i> ) Mature leaves/ 1 piece ( <i>anangka</i> ) Mature leaves/ 1 piece ( <i>caimito</i> )	Burn the leaves and powder. Mix the powder with coconut oil.	Apply just enough mixture on the affected area 2 times a day. Continue until well.	1 FGD of 12

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name: *Cacaw*  
 Local name: *Cacaw* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Cacao

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/ 1 piece	Burn the leaf and powder. Mix the powder with coconut oil.	Apply just enough mixture on the affected area once a day. Continue until well.	1 individual interview

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Kattawa* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Petiole/ 1 piece	Cut the petiole and get the sap.	Apply the sap on the affected area 3 times a day. Continue until well./The sap is <i>masuprad</i> (bitter)	1 healer 1 individual interview 1 FGD of 12

### For skin allergy

Scientific name: *Mangifera indica*  
 Filipino name: *Mangga*  
 Local name: *Manga* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Mango

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/ 20-30 pieces	Boil leaves in 1 pot of water.	Use for bathing.	1 healer
Bark/just enough	Boil the bark in 1 pot of water.	Use for bathing.	1 healer

### For sore eyes

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name: *Sampaguita*  
 Local name: *Sampaguita* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Flower/ 4-5 pieces	Squeeze the flower to obtain juice.	Distill the sap directly to the eyes 3 times a day. Continue until well./ Get the flower preferably early in the morning.	1 individual interview

### For sprain

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Kattawa* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Trunk/just enough	Heat the trunk over fire and put coconut oil.	Tie the trunk on the affected area. Continue until well.	1 individual interview 1 FGD of 6
Branch/just enough	Heat the branch over fire and put coconut oil.	Tie the branch on the affected area. Continue until well.	1 individual interview 1 FGD of 6

### For swelling

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Tabbang* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/ 1 piece	-	Tie the leaf on the affected area.	2 individual interviews

Scientific name:

Filipino name: *Katakataka*

Local name: *Tahakopit* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fresh leaves/ 1 piece	Heat leaf over fire.	Apply the leaf on the affected area. One	1 healer 1 individual

		application only.	interview
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**For *takit tang-ngad***

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Umpig* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fresh leaves/ 1 piece	Fold the leaf.	Apply the leaf on the <i>tang-ngad</i> (nape). Continue until well.	1 healer

**For tetanus**

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name: *Sili*  
 Local name: *Tur-rang* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Chili

Part(s) used/ Amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fruit/ 1 piece	Cut the fruit.	Rub the fruit on the affected area once a day. Continue until well.	1 FGD of 12

**For *til-i***

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Analwa* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/ 2 pieces	Macerate leaves with coconut oil.	Apply the leaves on the affected area.	1 individual interview



### For tonsillitis

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Karomantering* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Thorn/ 1 piece	Remove the thorn from the plant.	Stroke the neck gently with the thorn in the morning and in the evening. Wrap the thorn and tie on the neck.	1 FGD of 12

### For toothache

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Amanya* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Indadasi* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Stem /just enough ( <i>amanya</i> )	Scrape the stem and cook inside the bamboo tube. Pound the stem and get the juice.	Use as a mouthwash after every meal.	1 individual interview
Stem/just enough ( <i>indadasi</i> )			

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Lang-ngi* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Stem/toothpick-size	-	Rub the end of the stem on the affected area and spit.	1 individual interview

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Rattan* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Stem/ 1 piece	Heat the stem over fire until the sap comes out.	Distill the sap on the aching tooth 3 times a day.	1 FGD of 6 1 individual interview

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Taggay* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Bark	Get the sap from the bark.	Put the sap on the affected area 3 times a day.	1 individual interview

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Tuba* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Twig/ 1 piece	Wash the twig.	Put the twig on the affected area and bite until the pain stops.	1 individual interview

### For tuberculosis

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Anaha* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Bulb/ 1 piece	Boil the bulb in 2-3 glasses of water until 1 glass is left.	Drink the decoction 3 times a day.	1 healer 3 individual interviews

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Basing* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Sapitan* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Root from 1 plant ( <i>basang</i> ) Aerial part/ 1 piece ( <i>sapitan</i> )	Boil the plant materials in 1 <i>abaytasa</i> (big cup) of water until ½ glass is left.	Drink 1 tablespoon of the decoction 3 times a day. Continue until well.	1 individual interview

#### For ulcer

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name: *Kamoteng kahoy*  
 Local name: *Balangkoy* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Cassava

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Thorn/ 1 piece	Remove the thorn from the plant.	Stroke the neck gently with the thorn in the morning and in the evening. Wrap the thorn and tie on the neck.	1 healer

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name: *Ikmo*  
 Local name: *Buwa* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Betel nut

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Young fruit/ 3-5 pieces	Open the fruit.	Eat the inner part of the fruit once a day for 3 consecutive days.	1 FGD of 12 1 healer

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name: *Saging na saba*  
 Local name: *Dippig* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Young fruit/ 1 piece	-	Eat fruit 3 times a day. Continue until well.	1 healer

Scientific name: *Zea mays*  
 Filipino name: *Mais*  
 Local name: *Mais* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Corn

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Hair/just enough	Place hair in 1 pot of water until it reaches the boiling point or until the color of the water is violet.	Drink 1 glass of the decoction 3 times a day. Continue until well.	1 FGD of 12 1 FGD of 6

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Kabbuyo* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Root/just enough	Boil roots in 2-3 glasses of water until 1 glass is left.	Drink the decoction 1-3 times a day. Continue until well.	2 individual interviews 1 healer

### For uterine cancer

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Tuba* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/ 3 pieces	Macerate leaves with coconut oil from <i>tangali</i> *.	Apply leaves on the affected area. Massage the head after applying the	1 healer

		leaves.	
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\**Tangali* - a mixture of different herbs and coconut oil that is stored in a small bottle

### For varicose veins

Scientific name:

Filipino name: *Paminta*

Local name: *Paminta* (Isnag)

Foreign name: Black Pepper

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Seeds/ 20 pieces	Pound the seeds and put a little oil.	Rub the pounded seeds on the affected area every night.	1 FGD of 12

### For vomiting

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Longgishissi* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Stem and leaves/just enough	Squeeze the parts.	Apply on the neck.	1 individual interview

### For whooping cough

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Hatat-ato* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Whole plant/ 6 pieces	Boil plants in 3 glasses of water until 1 glass is left.	Drink the decoction 3 times a day. Continue until well.	1 healer

### For worms

Scientific name: *Leucaena leucocephala*

Filipino name: *Ipil-ipil*

Local name: *Ipil-ipil* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Seeds/ 3 pieces	-	Take 3 seeds once a day.	1 healer

Scientific name:

Filipino name: *Suha*

Local name: *Lumban* (Isnag)

Foreign name: Pomelo

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Ripe fruit/ 1 piece	Remove the skin of the fruit.	Eat the whole fruit before eating a meal. Once only.	1 individual interview

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Talolong* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Seeds/ 1 piece for 1 year-old child; 2 pieces for 2 year-old child and so on.	-	Take seed(s) with 1 glass of water. Once only.	1 individual interview

### For wounds

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Animat* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Procedure	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fresh leaves/just enough	Pound the leaves.	Apply the pounded leaves on the affected area 3 times a day.	1 individual interview

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Basaw* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Young stem/ 2 pieces	Get the medulla of the stem and pound.	Tie the pounded part on the affected area. One application only. Continue until well.	1 FGD of 12 1 individual interview

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Hawad* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fresh leaves/just enough	Pound the leaves and get the juice.	Apply the juice on the affected area once a day. Continue until well.	1 FGD of 12

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Insisirit* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Trunk/ 1 arm-size	Heat the trunk over fire. Get the white part inside the trunk.	Apply on the affected area. One application only.	1 FGD of 6

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Kappay* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Whole plant/just enough	Pound the plant.	Apply the pounded plant on the affected area once a day. Continue until well.	1 FGD of 6

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Longgishissi* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Stem and mature leaves/just enough	Squeeze the parts.	Apply the juice on the affected area.	1 individual interview

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name: *Tabako*  
 Local name: *Tabako* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name: Tobacco

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Dried leaf/ 1 piece	Pound the leaf and put a few drops of water.	Wrap with bandage and tie on the affected area. One application only.	1 FGD of 12

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: *Tobrol* (Isnag)  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/just enough	Pound the leaves.	Apply the pounded leaves on the affected area 3 times a day.	2 individual interviews

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name:  
 Local name: Unidentified plant I  
 Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Tops/just enough	Pound the tops.	Apply the pounded tops on the affected area. Change the tops when it is already dried.	1 individual interview



### For wound of animals

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: *Basikalang* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Bark/ 2 handful of scraped bark	Boil the bark in 2 cups of water until 1 cup is left.	Apply the decoction on the affected area.	1 individual interview

Scientific name:

Filipino name: *Madre cacaw*

Local name: *Madre cacaw* (Isnag)

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaves/just enough	Pound leaves.	Apply the pounded leaves on the affected area./The odor of the leaves will drive away worms inside the wound.	1 individual interview

### For wounds with thorn

Scientific name:

Filipino name:

Local name: Unidentified plant E

Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Mature leaf/ 1 piece	Wash the leaves.	Apply the leaf on the affected area.	2 individual interviews

TABLE OF NON-HERBAL MATERIALS USED

**For asthma**

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name: *Butiki* (Isnag)  
 Local name:  
 Foreign name: House lizard

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Whole/ 1 piece	Roast the lizard and pound. Mix with 1 glass of water.	Drink the mixture once a day. Continue until well.	1 FGD of 12 1 individual interview

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name: *Pagong* (Isnag)  
 Local name:  
 Foreign name: Turtle

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Meat/ 1 whole	Cook the meat.	Eat the cooked meat 3 times a day.	1 FGD of 12

Scientific name:  
 Filipino name: *Sawa* (Isnag)  
 Local name: *Ba-lat*  
 Foreign name: Snake

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Gallbladder	Boil gallbladder in ½ glass of water.	Drink 1 tablespoon of the decoction 3 times a day.	1 individual interview

**For back pain**

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Lime/just enough	Mix lime with a little coconut oil.	Apply on the affected area 2 times a day.	1 healer 1 individual interview

### For beriberi

Scientific name:  
Filipino name: *Bulati*  
Local name: *Aluki*  
Foreign name: Earthworm

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Whole/ 1 piece	Roast the worm and mix with 1 cup of coffee.	Drink 1 cup of the mixture 3 times a day.	1 FGD of 12

### For boil

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Glass/1 piece	Remove the dried skin on the affected area.	Place the mouth of the glass to cover the affected area until the pus comes out.	1 FGD of 12

### For colds

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Dew from the leaves/just enough	-	Apply the dew on the face every morning.	1 individual interview

### For convulsion

Scientific name:  
Filipino name:  
Local name: *Sihara* (Isnag)  
Foreign name:

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Feather/1 piece	Burn the feather.	Inhale the smoke of the burned feather.	1 individual interview

**For eltor**

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Gunpowder/ 1 pinch	Remove the powder from the capsule.	Take a pinch of powder followed by 1 glass of water.	1 FGD of 12
Matchstick powder/ 3 sticks	Mix 3 the powder on 1 glass of water.	Drink the mixture 3 times a day.	1 FGD of 12 1 individual interview
1 tablespoon sugar 1 pinch salt	Roast the materials in a pan and mix with 1 glass of hot water.	Drink the mixture 3 times a day for 3 consecutive days.	1 FGD of 12

**For gas pain**

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
1 pinch salt 1 small bottle of gas	Mix the materials in a bottle.	Massage a small amount of the mixture on the abdomen. One application only.	1 FGD of 12
<i>Kuuwid</i> / 1 piece	-	Bit the <i>kuuwid</i> several times on the stomach 3 times a day.	1 FGD of 12

**For goiter**

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
<i>Dumi ng hasahan</i> / just enough	-	Apply the <i>dumi ng hasahan</i> on the neck when there is no moon.	1 <i>hilot</i> 1 FGD of 12
2 tablespoons gas 2 tablespoons coconut oil 2 naphthalene balls	Mix the materials in a bottle.	Apply just enough mixture on the neck every night./Avoid eating round fruits when there is moon.	1 healer

### For headache

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Lime/just enough	-	Put lime on both sides of the forehead ( <i>pingpingat</i> ) 3 times a day.	1 FGD of 12 1 healer
1 pinch of salt	-	Put the salt on both sides of the forehead ( <i>pingpingat</i> ) 3 times a day./Have enough rest.	1 FGD of 12 1 healer

### For itchiness

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Lime/just enough	-	Apply the lime on the affected area 3 times a day.	1 FGD of 12 1 healer
Black cloth/ 1 piece	Heat the cloth over fire.	Dab on the affected area.	1 FGD of 12
Coconut oil/just enough	-	Apply oil on the affected area every morning. Continue until well.	1 FGD of 12

### For *kumkumay*

Scientific name:  
Filipino name: *Kuto* (Isnag)  
Local name:  
Foreign name: Lice

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
1 piece	Get 1 louse from the head.	Insert the louse on the affected area./The louse will eat the germs.	1 healer 1 FGD of 12
Engine oil/ 2 drops	-	Put oil on the affected area every afternoon.	1 FGD of 12

### For lice infestation

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Kerosene/just enough	Soak a small piece of cloth with kerosene.	Wrap around the head for a few minutes. Wash the hair afterwards.	1 FGD of 12

### For mumps

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
<i>Kakutan</i> /just enough	Mix the <i>kakutan</i> with a few drops of vinegar.	Apply the mixture on the affected area 3 times a day. Continue until well.	1 FGD of 12 2 individual interviews
<i>Anyil</i> /just enough	Mix <i>anyil</i> with a little water.	Apply the mixture on the affected area 3 times a day. Continue until well.	1 FGD of 12

### For muscle pain

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Gas/just enough Coconut oil/just enough	Mix the materials in a bottle.	Apply the mixture on the affected area every night.	1 FGD of 12

### For nosebleed

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
1 pinch salt 1 pinch <i>lahiw</i>	Mix the materials on the palm.	Place the materials on the top of the head ( <i>alintutuko</i> ).	1 FGD of 12
Cold water/just enough	-	Sprinkle the water on top of the head ( <i>alintutuko</i> ).	1 FGD of 12
Moist of the <i>amoto</i> (jar)/just enough	Rub the hands on the <i>amoto</i> .	Apply the moisture on the forehead every morning. Continue until well.	1 FGD of 12

### For palpitations

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
1 tablespoon sugar	Dissolve sugar in 1 glass of water.	Drink the solution once only.	1 FGD of 12 1 individual interview

### For poisoning

Scientific name:  
Filipino name: *Itlog*  
Local name: *I-log* (Isnag)  
Foreign name: Egg

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Shell/ 1 whole	Burn the shell and powder. Mix the powder with 1 glass of water.	Drink the mixture once a day.	1 FGD of 12

### For rabies

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
<i>Batu</i> (deer antler)/ 1 pea-size	-	Put the <i>batu</i> on the affected area.	1 FGD of 6 4 individual interviews

### For rheumatism

Scientific name:  
Filipino name: *Sawa*  
Local name: *Ba-lat* (Isnag)  
Foreign name: Snake

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Fat/ 1 whole	Cook the fat and get the oil.	Apply the oil on the affected area before going to sleep.	1 FGD of 12

**For sapping**

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Saliva/just enough	-	Apply saliva on the affected area 3 times a day. Continue until well.	1 FGD of 12
Coconut oil/just enough	-	Apply the oil on the affected area 3 times a day. Continue until well.	1 FGD of 12

**For sore eyes**

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Urine/just enough	Wet a piece of cloth with urine early in the morning.	Dab the cloth on the eyes.	1 FGD of 12
Dew from leaves/just enough	Get dew from the leaves of plants.	Apply the dew on the eyes every morning.	1 FGD of 12 1 individual interview
<i>Hatta</i> (breast milk)/ 3 drops	-	Put 3 drops of milk directly to the eyes 3 times a day.	1 FGD of 12 1 individual interview
Coconut oil/ 3 drops	-	Put the oil directly to the eyes 3 times a day.	1 FGD of 12

**For tonsilitis**

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Saliva/just enough	-	Apply the saliva on the affected area 3 times a day. Continue until well.	1 FGD of 12
<i>Kuuwid</i> / 1 piece	-	Stroke the <i>kuuwid</i> several times on the affected area .	1 FGD of 12



**For tetanus**

Scientific name:

Filipino name: *Garapata ng aso*

Local name: *Kapbang* (Isnag)

Foreign name: Dog flea

Part(s) used/ amount	Preparation	Direction for use/ remarks	Source(s) of information
Blood/just enough	Get the blood of the <i>kapbang</i> .	Apply the blood on the affected area 3 times a day. Continue until well.	1 FGD of 12

TABLE OF DISEASES

Disease	Description and signs and symptoms	Cause	Treatment
<i>An-an (kamanaw)</i>	White spots in the skin. Commonly seen in young children.	Chalk powder	Application of pounded <i>indadasi</i> and <i>parya</i> leaves
Anemia	Lack of blood. Common to almost all children and adults.	Lack of iron	Decoction of <i>baing-baing</i> roots; Boiled kamote leaves; <i>Sobray</i> plant
Appendicitis	Pain on the lower right part of the abdomen	Too much eating of salty foods and fruits with plenty of seeds	Decoction of <i>alam</i> leaves
Arthritis	-	-	Cooked <i>bawang</i> , <i>basang</i> root, <i>sili</i> fruit and coconut oil
Asthma ( <i>raddo</i> )	Difficulty of breathing	Smoking and drinking alcohol	Decoction of <i>dangla</i> leaves; Decoction of <i>batunit</i> flower; Roast house lizard Cooked turtle Decoction of <i>ba-lat</i> gallbladder
Backache with difficulty of breathing	-	-	Heated <i>tahapoli</i> leaves
Backpain ( <i>takit kammol</i> )	-	-	Lime and coconut oil
<i>Balbalili</i>	Palpitating stomach-ache	-	Pounded <i>kunig</i> root
Beriberi ( <i>babbad</i> )	-	Always eating mungo beans and legumes	Pomelo juice and roasted earthworm
Sudden pain on neck and nape	-	Played by the spirits	Burned <i>anang-nga apo</i> and <i>basaw</i> tops
Bites ( <i>kahat</i> )	-	Dog, centipede and scorpion	Pounded garlic and raw papaya fruit
Bleeding wound	-	Accident	<i>Malunggay</i> root or trunk
Boil ( <i>botali</i> )	Big sore in the skin with whitish liquid secretion	-	Application of <i>amasbassi</i> leaf; <i>angarkarret</i> leaf; <i>alipawan</i> sap; <i>dalunit</i> leaf; <i>gumamela</i> flower;

			dried tobacco leaf; <i>taba-tabako</i> leaf; <i>tahibangon</i> leaves; young <i>uhing</i> leaves; and glass.
Bone cancer	Pricking pain of the bones	-	Pounded cabbage leaves
Brain cancer	There is a tumor in the brain. Severe headache.	-	Mature <i>tuba</i> leaves with coconut oil
Breast cancer	There is a tumor in the breast.	-	Mature <i>tuba</i> leaves with coconut oil
Bronchitis	Frequent cough with difficulty of breathing		<i>Kutsay</i> juice
Bumblebee bite	-	Bumblebee	<i>Kamantigi</i> flower
Cataract	White discoloration of the pupil with blurred vision. Common to most of the elders.	-	Decoction of <i>barwang</i> leaves
Chickenpox ( <i>toku</i> )	Itchy red spots on the skin.	-	Burned <i>cacao</i> leaves with coconut oil; burned <i>lawi-lawi</i> with coconut oil; and burned <i>tahaha</i> with coconut oil
Colds ( <i>panatang</i> )	Runny nose	Exposure to sun and rain	Decoction of <i>basing</i> roots; <i>kalamansi</i> juice; juice from <i>oregano</i> leaves; dew from the leaves.
Chill ( <i>kolikog</i> )	The whole body is shaking with very cold feet	Caused by <i>anito</i>	<i>Kabatiti</i> leaves
Circumcision	To cut off the skin of the penis.	-	<i>Bolbolaw</i> sap
Constipation	Difficulty in defecating	Drinking small amount of water	Papaya fruit
Contraceptive	To prevent pregnancy	-	Roasted <i>ipil-ipil</i> seeds
Cough ( <i>ikag</i> )	Difficulty of breathing with sore throat	-	<i>Abgaw</i> leaves with coconut oil; <i>asiwang</i> fruit; powdered <i>balangkoy</i> root; heated <i>hawad</i> leaves; decoction of pounded <i>basang</i> root and <i>salamagi</i> leaves

			with <i>kalamansi</i> juice; <i>sangkidanag</i> flower; and <i>umila</i> bark
Cough with phlegm	Difficulty of breathing	-	Oregano juice
Convulsion ( <i>makaddag</i> )	Lock jaw and severe chill with high fever.	Caused by the anito	Burned <i>sahara</i> feather and <i>aliluuway</i> tops.
Cut ( <i>bihad</i> ) ( <i>mattab</i> )	-	Accident	<i>Balayang</i> juice; <i>amanya</i> and <i>indadasi</i> juice.
Diarrhea ( <i>boris</i> )	Stomacheache and frequent bowel movement	Eating bad food	Cherry fruit; roasted <i>dekat</i> ; decoction of avocado, guava, and <i>caimito</i> leaves; decoction of <i>lomboy</i> bark; <i>lomboy</i> seeds; and <i>manila</i> juice
Dysentery ( <i>tuweng</i> )	Blood and mucus is present in the stool.	-	Cherry fruit; <i>manila</i> juice; and decoction of <i>lomboy</i> bark
Eczema ( <i>tabatab</i> )	Itchy and reddish skin	Foods like chicken and <i>bagoong</i>	Application of <i>lumot</i> ; decoction of <i>amanya</i> and <i>indadasi</i> leaves; decoction of mango bark; and pounded <i>salsalamagi</i> plant with coconut oil
Eltor ( <i>naburubor</i> )	<i>Mahuta-magkawel</i> Vomiting and at the same time defecating	-	Burned coconut shell; <i>manila</i> juice; pounded marijuana seeds; <i>pahuwa</i> juice; decoction of <i>salsalamagi</i> plant; gunpowder; matchstick powder; and roast salt and sugar
Fracture	Broken bones	Fall	Heated branch of <i>kattawa</i> and scraped stem of <i>lanong</i> with coconut oil
Fever	High body temperature	Caused by the spirits	Decoction of <i>alipawan</i> bark; decoction of <i>dangla</i> leaves and <i>sapitan</i> plant; <i>oregano</i> leaves; unidentified plant A

Gas pain ( <i>bomsog</i> )	There is air inside the stomach.	Caused by bad air	Garlic vine with coconut oil; <i>kuuwid</i> ; salt and gas; <i>tabako</i> leaf; and decoction of <i>hatat-ato</i> plant
Goiter ( <i>biyal</i> )	Enlargement of the neck	Lack of iodine; always carrying heavy things; eating round fruit when there is moon and when there is a dead person.	<i>Dumi ng hasahan</i> ; gas, coconut oil and naphthalene balls; decoction of <i>kutsaritas</i> flower; decoction of <i>kamote</i> leaves; and decoction of <i>dahomhayang</i> stem
Headache ( <i>mahawwang</i> )	<i>Takit-ulo</i>	Problem at work and hot temperature	Leaves of <i>baliwliw</i> with coconut oil; lime; salt; decoction of <i>dangla</i> leaves; leaves of <i>hawad</i> with coconut oil; <i>kattawa</i> leaves with coconut oil; pounded <i>oregano</i> leaves with salt; <i>katakataka</i> leaves with coconut oil; and <i>wariwad</i> plant
Hemorrhage ( <i>nabakal</i> )	Profused bleeding.	-	Pounded roots of <i>dalig</i> ; decoction of <i>salsalamagi</i> plant; <i>yongoyong</i> juice; and unidentified plant G
Hemorrhoids	The uterus comes out from the anus	Eating too much <i>sili</i>	<i>Kohaman</i> tops
<i>Hindi makalabas ang gatas ng ina</i>	No milk discharge from the breast of the mother	-	<i>Alipawan</i> sap
Hypertension	Dizziness and a pale face	Eating too much <i>panya</i> and <i>kamote</i> leaves	Pounded <i>bawang</i> with vinegar
Impotence ( <i>lappap</i> )	Could never be <i>busit</i> or pregnant	-	<i>Tahalingad-ano</i> seeds
Influenza ( <i>madahang</i> )	High fever	Exposure to sun and rain	Burned <i>bahakat-malindan</i> leaves
Insomnia	Cannot sleep at night	Caused by so many problems	Decoction of <i>dangla</i> leaves and <i>sapitan</i> plant; decoction of <i>bahakat-malindan</i> leaves; decoction of <i>baing-baing</i> roots; and unidentified

			plant F
Itchiness ( <i>nakatal</i> )	Itchy skin	-	Lime; coconut oil; and heated black cloth
Kidney infection ( <i>kuliliaw</i> )	Difficulty in urine secretion	Drinking too much alcohol	Decoction of <i>alam</i> leaves; burned <i>alam</i> leaves; coconut juice; decoction of corn hair; boiled <i>silalay</i> plant; boiled <i>sili</i> tops; <i>tabbang</i> roots; heated leaves of unidentified plant D; and decoction of <i>banaba</i> leaves
<i>Kulam</i>	Dark discoloration around the eyes and the nails turn violet. You can see no reflection of your face on a cold cup of coffee.	Jealousy and revenge	<i>Bakuwit</i> with coconut oil and <i>tahaha</i> leaf
<i>Kumkumay</i>	Decayed toenails and itchiness	-	Lice and engine oil
Leech bite	-	Leech	Decoction of <i>anangka</i> leaves
Leprosy	-	-	<i>Talimungad</i> leaves with coconut oil
Leukemia	Dark spots in the skin	-	Roasted garlic and decoction of <i>labtang</i> stem
Lice infestation	Itchiness of the head	Acquired from the water and other children	Pounded <i>barangay-ato</i> leaves; decoction of <i>madre cacao</i> ; and kerosene
<i>Mahangangan</i>	Talking while sleeping	<i>Anito</i>	Heated unidentified plant H
<i>Magdardangar</i>	Shaking of the head	Caused by <i>anito</i>	<i>Atang</i> leaves; heated coconut juice and burned red onion skin
<i>Makati ang paa</i>	Itchy feet	-	Decoction of unidentified plant B
Malaria ( <i>maglado</i> )	Severe chill, cold feet and high fever	<i>Masi-mat</i> ; water and mosquitoes	<i>Baliwliw</i> leaves with coconut oil; coconut juice; decoction of <i>dangla</i> leaves; <i>kabatiti</i> seeds; decoction of <i>alipawan</i> bark;

			burned <i>mahowan</i> trunk; papaya leaf; decoction of <i>tobitob</i> leaves; unidentified plant A; and a <i>pildap</i> (a ritual of offering dog)
<i>Mataltalingo</i>	-	-	Pounded <i>basang</i> roots
<i>Matipad</i>	The flow of the blood is delayed during menstruation	The head is poured with water while taking a bath	Heated <i>herbaka</i> leaves
Measles ( <i>karagnat</i> )	High fever with red spots on the skin	-	Heated coconut juice; burned <i>lasuna</i> leaves inhaled; burned red onion leaves; burned mango leaves; and rice
Mumps ( <i>kabbi</i> )	Enlargement of the face with high fever	-	<i>Kakutan</i> and <i>anyil</i>
Muscle pain ( <i>pukal</i> )	-		Gas and coconut oil
<i>Naanito</i>	Numbness of the body	Caused by <i>anito</i>	<i>Sobray I</i>
<i>Natuyuan ng dugo</i>	Paralyzed and swollen body	Caused by <i>anito</i>	<i>Sobray II</i>
Nosebleed ( <i>paggong</i> )	Blood coming out from the nose	Hot temperature	Leaves of unidentified plant G; salt with <i>lahiw</i> ; cold water; moist of <i>amoto</i> ; and pounded leaves of unidentified plant C
Otitis media ( <i>dudang</i> )	A light yellow liquid coming out from the ear. It smells foul.	Water has entered the ear.	<i>Balakaba</i> of bamboo; <i>suru-suru</i> sap; <i>tabako</i> leaf
Palpitating	Fast heart beat	Over fatigue	Sugar with water
<i>Pasma</i>	-	-	Decoction of <i>tobitob</i> leaves
Inability for penile erection	The penis cannot erect.	-	Decoction of <i>baing-baing</i> leaves or fruits
Pimples ( <i>dahiwat</i> )	-	-	Spider lily
Poison ( <i>sabidong</i> )	Dizziness	Eating bad foods for the stomach	<i>Lulunsa</i> tops; and burned egg shell
Poison for fish	-	-	Pounded <i>tuba</i> fruits
Poliomyelitis	Cannot walk and have small feet	-	<i>Kalapikap</i> roots
Possessed	<i>Naallot</i> (insane)	<i>Anito</i>	<i>Guyabano</i> leaves
Rheumatism	Radiating pain on the	-	Heated <i>kattawa</i> trunk

<i>(pangul)</i>	knee		with coconut oil; oil from <i>ba-lat</i> and pounded <i>kunig</i> root
Rabies	Acting like a dog	Dog bite	<i>Malunggay</i> root or trunk
<i>Sapping</i>	Breaking of skin on the neck and ears	Too much sweating	<i>Balakaba</i> of bamboo; <i>gayabat</i> leaves; coconut oil; and saliva
Severe headache	<i>Takit-ulo</i> and dizziness	High temperature and too much problem	<i>Sobray I</i>
<i>Singaw (mangnganga)</i>	Sores found in the inner lips	-	Burned leaves of <i>anonang</i> ; burned leaves of <i>cacao</i> leaves; <i>caimito</i> and <i>anonang</i> leaves
Skin allergy ( <i>rasa</i> )	Itchy skin with red or white spots	Food and poisonous leaves	Decoction of mango bark or leaves
Sore eyes ( <i>kamata</i> )	Red coloring of the eyes and itchiness in the eyes	-	<i>Sampaguita</i> flower; dew; <i>hatta</i> ; coconut oil; and urine
Sprain	-	-	Heated <i>kattawa</i> trunk or branch with coconut oil
Swell	-	-	<i>Tabbang</i> leaf; heated <i>tahakopit</i> leaf and <i>baramban</i> plant
Takit tang-ngad	Pain on the nape	Caused by the anito	<i>Umpig</i> leaf
Tetanus	Accidentally stepping on a rusty object	-	<i>Sili</i> fruit and <i>kapbang</i>
<i>Til-i</i>	Pain on the lateral part of the body accompanied by difficulty of breathing	-	<i>Analwa</i> leaves with coconut oil
Tonsillitis ( <i>sinidingan-halpa</i> )	Difficulty in swallowing food	-	<i>Karomantering</i> thorn; <i>kuuwid</i> ; and saliva
Toothache	The swollen gums and <i>takit ngipan</i>	-	Juice of <i>amanya</i> nad <i>indadasi</i> stem; <i>langngi</i> stem; rattan sap; <i>taggay</i> sap; and <i>tuba</i> twig
Tuberculosis ( <i>diir</i> )	Frequent cough	Taking a bath after the hard work and drinking too much gin	Decoction of <i>anaha</i> bulb; decoction of <i>basang</i> root and <i>sapitan</i> plant



Ulcer	Severe abdominal pain after taking sour foods	-	<i>Balangkoy</i> root; <i>buwa</i> fruit; decoction of corn hair; and <i>dipping</i> fruit; and decoction of <i>kabbuyo</i> roots
Uterus cancer	-	-	<i>Tuba</i> leaves with tangali oil
Varicose veins	Swollen veins, visible on the legs	-	Pounded <i>paminta</i> seeds
Vomiting ( <i>mahuta</i> )	Pale face and stomachache	Bad food eaten	<i>Longishissi</i> leaves and stem
Whooping cough	-	-	Decoction of <i>hatat-ato</i> plant
Worms ( <i>ulipat</i> ) ( <i>osos</i> )	Enlargement of stomach usually seen in children	-	<i>Ipil-ipil</i> seeds; and pomelo fruit
Wounds ( <i>talingo</i> )	-	Natural causes	Pounded leaves of <i>animat</i> ; pounded stem of <i>basaw</i> ; juice of <i>hawad</i> leaves; heated trunk of <i>insisirit</i> ; pounded <i>kappay</i> plant; juice of <i>longishissi</i> leaves; pounded tobacco leaves; pounded <i>tobrol</i> leaves; <i>manila</i> juice; and pounded tops of unidentified plant I
Wound of animal	The skin has a foul smell and is full of worms.	-	Decoction of <i>basikalang</i> bark and pounded <i>madre cacao</i> leaves
Wound with thorn	The thorn is pricked into the skin.	Accidents	Unidentified plant E

## **RECOMENDATIONS**

1. The traditional healers sense of responsibility toward healing and comforting the sick should not be discouraged. Instead, this sense of responsibility should be enhanced.
2. At least one health worker should be assigned daily in the area to enable the Isnag people to attain a high level of health. Relatively, more health centers in the area is recommended.
3. Isnag arts and culture should be taught continuously to the young, educated and open-minded Isnags who seem ready to break away from their traditions and to adapt new ways.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **INDEX OF DISEASES ACCORDING TO PLANTS USED**

#### ***Abgaw***

Cough

#### ***Abocado***

Diarrhea

#### ***Alam***

Appendicitis  
Kidney infection

#### ***Alinuway***

Covulsion

#### ***Alipawan, dalipawan, lipawan***

Boil  
Fracture  
Fever  
To induce lactation  
Malaria

#### ***Amanya***

Bleeding wound  
Cut  
Eczema  
Toothache

#### ***Amasbassi***

Boil

#### ***Ammay***

To induce lactation  
Measles

#### ***Anaha***

Tuberculosis

***Analwa***

*Til-i*

***Anang-nga apo***

Sudden pain in the neck and nape

***Anangka***

Leech bite  
*Singaw*

***Animat***

Wound

***Angarkaret***

Boil

***Anonang***

*Singaw*

***Asiwang***

Cough

***Atang***

*Magdardangar*

***Baing-baing***

Insomia  
Anemia  
Penile erection

***Bahakat-malindan***

Influenza  
Insomia

***Bakuwit***

*Kulam*

***Balangkoy***

Bronchitis  
Cough  
Ulcer

***Balayang***

Cut

***Baliwliw***

Headache  
Malaria

***Banaba***

Kidney

***Baramban***

Beriberi

***Barangay-ato***

Lice infestation

***Barwang***

Cataract

***Basang***

Arthritis  
Bites  
Hypertension

***Basaw***

Cut  
Wound

***Basikalang***

Wound

***Batunit***

Asthma

***Bawang***

Arthritis  
Bites  
Hypertension

***Bolbolaw***

Circumcision

***Buwa***

Ulcer

**Cabbage**

Bone cancer

**Cacao**

Chicken pox  
*Singaw*

***Caimito***

*Singaw*  
Diarrhea

***Kamote***

Goiter  
Anemia

**Cherry**

Diarrhea  
Dysentery

***Dahomhayang***

Goiter

***Dalunit***

Boil

***Dalig***

Hemorrhage

***Dekat***

Diarrhea

***Dangla***

Asthma  
Fever  
Headache  
Influenza  
Malaria  
Tuberculosis

***Dippig***

Ulcer

***Disol***

Gas pain

**Garlic vine**

Gas pain

**Guava**

Diarrhea  
*Sapping*

***Gumamela***

Boil

***Guyabana***

Possessed  
Tuberculosis

***Hatat-ato***

Gas pain  
Whooping cough

***Hawad***

Cough  
Headache  
Wound



***Herbaka***

*Matipad*

***Indadasi***

Cut  
Eczema  
Toothache  
*An-an*

***Insisirit***

Wound

***Ipil-ipil***

Contraceptive  
Worm

***Iyog***

Eltor  
Kidney  
Malaria

***Kabatiti***

Chill  
Malaria

***Kabbuyo***

Bleeding wound  
Cut  
Ulcer

***Kaddang***

Diarrhea

***Kalamansi***

Colds  
Cough

***Kalapikap***

Poliomyelitis

***Kalina***

Abortifacient

***Kamantigi***

Bumblebee bite

***Kappay***

Wound

***Karomantering***

Tonsilitis

***Kattawa***

Fracture  
Headache  
Rheumatism  
*Singaw*

***Kawayan***

Otitis media  
*Sapping*

***Kohaman***

Hemorrhoid

***Kunig***

*Balbalili*  
Rheumatism

***Kutsaritas***

Goiter

***Kutsay***

Bronchitis

***La-ba***

Measles

***Labtang***

Leukemia

***Lang-ngi***

Toothache

***Lanong***

Fracture

***Lasuna***

Measles

***Lawi-lawi***

Chicken pox

***Lomboy***

Diarrhea  
Dysentery

***Longgishissi***

Vomiting  
Wound

***Lulunsa***

Poison  
*La-ba*  
Measles

***Lumot***

Eczema

***Lumban***

Beriberi  
Worms

***Madre cacao***

Lice infestation  
Scabies  
Wound

***Mahowan***

Malaria

***Mais***

Kidney  
Ulcer

***Manga***

Eczema  
Measles  
Skin allergy

***Manila***

Diarrhea  
Eltor  
Wound

***Marijuana***

Eltor

***Marunggay***

Bites  
Rabies

***Okra***

Ulcer

***Onion***

Measles

***Oregano***

Colds  
Cough with phlegm  
Fever

***Pahuwa***

Eltor

***Paminta***

Varicose veins

***Papaya***

Bites  
Constipation  
Malaria

***Parya***

*Kamanaw*

**Rattan**

Toothache

***Salomagi***

Cough

***Salsalamagi***

Eczema  
Eltor  
Hemorrhage

***Sampaguita***

Sore eyes

***Sangkidanag***

Cough

***Sapitan***

Fever  
Influenza  
Tuberculosis

***Sigsag***

Cut

***Silalay***

Kidney

***Sobray I***

*Naanito*  
*Severe headache*

***Sobray II***

Anemia  
*Natuyuan ng dugo*

**Spider lily**

Pimples

***Suru-suru***

Otitis media

***Tabako***

Boil  
Gas pain  
Otitis media  
Wound

***Taba-tabako***

Boil

***Tabbang***

Kidney  
Swell

***Taggay***

Toothache

***Tahaha***

Chicken pox  
*Kulam*

***Tahakopit***

Headache  
Swell

***Tahalingad-ano***

Impotence

***Tahapoli***

Backache with difficulty of breathing

***Tahibangon***

Boil

***Talimugay***

Leprosy

***Talolong***

Worm

***Tarong***

Abortifacient

***Tobitob***

Malaria  
Beriberi  
Tuberculosis

***Tobrol***

Wound

***Tuba***

Brain cancer  
Breast cancer  
Headache  
Poison for fish  
Toothache  
Uterus cancer

***Tur-rang***

Arthritis  
Kidney  
Tetanus

***Umila***

Cough

***Umpig***

*Takit tang-ngad*

***Uhing***

Boil

***Wariwad***

Headache

***Yongoyong***

Hemorrhage



## INDEX OF DISEASES ACCORDING TO NATURAL PRODUCTS USED

### *Aluki*

Beriberi

### *Anyil*

Mumps

### *Ba-lat*

Asthma

Rheumatism

### *Batu*

Rabies

### **Black cloth**

Itchiness

### **Coconut oil**

Back pain

Goiter

Itchiness

*Sapping*

*Sore eyes*

*Muscle pain*

### **Cold water**

Nosebleed

### *Dermon*

Sore eyes

Colds

### *Dumi ng hasahan*

Goiter

### **Egg**

Poisoning

**Engine oil**

*Kumkumay*

**Gas**

Gas pain  
Goiter  
Muscle pain

**Glass**

Boil

**Gunpowder**

Eltor

***Hatta***

Sore eyes

**House lizard**

Asthma

***Kakutan***

Mumps

***Kapbang***

Tetanus

**Kerosene**

Lice infestation

***Kuuwid***

Gas pain  
Tonsillitis

***Lahiw***

Nosebleed

**Lice**

*Kumkumay*

**Lime**

Back pain  
Headache  
Itchiness

**Naphthalene balls**

Goiter

**Salt**

Eltor  
Gas pain  
Headache  
Nosebleed

**Saliva**

*Sapping*  
Tonsilitis

***Sihara***

Convulsion

**Sugar**

Eltor  
Palpitations

**Turtle**

Asthma

**Urine**

Sore eyes

**Unidentified plant A**

Fever  
Malaria

**Unidentified plant B**

Itchy feet

**Unidentified plant C**

Nosebleed

**Unidentified plant D**

Kidney infection

**Unidentified plant E**

Wound

**Unidentified plant F**

Insomnia

**Unidentified plant G**

Hemorrhage  
Nosebleed

**Unidentified plant H**

*Mahangangar*

**Unidentified plant I**

Wound

## LIST OF LOCAL PLANT NAMES

*Abgaw*  
*Abocado*  
*Alam*  
*Alinuuway*  
*Alipawan, dalipawan, lipawan*  
*Amanya*  
*Amasbassi*  
*Ammay*  
*Anaha*  
*Analwa*  
*Anang-nga apo*  
*Anangka*  
*Angarkaret*  
*Animat*  
*Anonang*  
*Asiwang*  
*Bahakat-malindan*  
*Baing-baing*  
*Bakuwit*  
*Balangkoy*  
*Balayang*  
*Baliwliw*  
*Banaba*  
*Barwang*  
*Baramban*  
*Barangay-ato*  
*Basang*  
*Basaw*  
*Basikalang*  
*Batunit*  
*Bolbolaw*  
*Buwa*  
*Caimito*  
*Kamote*  
*Dahomhayang*  
*Dalunit*  
*Dalig*  
*Dangla*  
*Dekat*  
*Dippig*  
*Disol*  
*Gayabat*  
*Gumamela*  
*Guyabana*  
*Hatat-ato*  
*Hawad*  
*Herbaka*  
*Indadasi*

*Ipil-ipil*  
*Insisirit*  
*Iyog*  
*Kabatiti*  
*Kabbuyo*  
*Kaddang*  
*Kalamansi*  
*Kalapikap*  
*Kalina*  
*Kamantigi*  
*Kappay*  
*Karomantering*  
*Kattawa*  
*Kawayan*  
*Kohaman*  
*Kunig*  
*Kutsaritas*  
*Kutsay*  
*Labtang*  
*Lang-ngi*  
*Lanong*  
*Lasuna*  
*Lawi-lawi*  
*Lomboy*  
*Longgishissi*  
*Lulunsa*  
*Lumban*  
*Lumot*  
*Madre cacao*  
*Mahowan*  
*Mais*  
*Manga*  
*Marijuana*  
*Marunggay*  
*Okra*  
*Oregano*  
*Pahuwa*  
*Paminta*  
*Papaya*  
*Parya*  
*Rattan*  
*Salomagi*  
*Salsalamagi*  
*Sampaguita*  
*Sangkidanag*  
*Sapitan*  
*Sigsag*  
*Silalay*  
*Sobray I*  
*Sobray II*

*Suru-suru*  
*Tabako*  
*Taba-tabako*  
*Taggay*  
*Tahaha*  
*Tahakopit*  
*Tahalingad-ano*  
*Tahapoli*  
*Tahibangon*  
*Talimugay*  
*Talolong*  
*Tarong*  
*Tobitob*  
*Tobtrol*  
*Tuba*  
*Tur-rang*  
*Uhing*  
*Umila*  
*Umpig*  
*Wariwad*

LIST OF INFORMANTS

Name	Age	Sex	Position in the community
Thomas Dangao	40	Male	Healer
Pio Labwang	72	Male	Elder
Josefina Lawani	63	Female	<i>Hilot</i>
Selsi Tariao	27	Female	Mother
Josefa Bahalay	36	Female	Mother
Teresa Salvachera	57	Female	Mother
Nieves Lawagan	44	Female	Mother
Hermogenes Agudelo	-	Male	Father
Josefa Buyao	48	Female	Healer
Felicitas Salleb	39	Female	Mother
Luis Bahalay	51	Male	Female
Bernadeth Ortega	54	Female	Healer
Alejandro Bahalay	38	Male	Father
Laura Baltazar	42	Female	Mother
Eusebia Luban	45	Female	Mother
Susan Bahalay	-	Female	Mother
Rosalinda Agudelo	27	Female	Mother
Clarita Lingan	52	Female	Mother
Reyes Bunga	60	Male	Father
Livino Bahalay	60	Male	Barangay Captain
Dawal Baltazar	45	Male	Father
Merita Bunga	-	Female	Mother
Beba Bahalay	30	Female	Mother
Theodoro Tapiro	-	Male	Teacher
Julieta Lingan	40	Female	Mother
Shirley Oshio	25	Female	Mother
Mely Bahalay	-	Female	Mother
Lucia Abali	-	Female	Mother
Amparo Iringan	-	Female	Mother
Jovita Agudelo	-	Female	Mother
Justina Bahalay	49	Female	Mother
Rosita Anibong	-	Female	Mother
Elisa Bahalay	-	Female	Mother
Juanito Balangito	-	Male	Father
Ralph Cuntabay	-	Male	Father
Roosevelt Bahalay	30	Male	Father
Luciano Lawani	-	Male	Elder
Meldred Lingan	-	Female	Mother
Edgar Tomas	28	Male	Father
Cecile Tomas	23	Female	Mother
Johnny Dangao	-	Male	Father
Dawas Abali	48	Male	Father
Lito Lawani	29	Male	Father
Jimmy Duag	25	Male	Father



Donato Duag	-	Male	Barangay Secretary
Lolita Umingli	-	Female	High school teacher

TRANSLATION OF SOME COMMON ISNAG TERMS

ENGLISH	FILIPINO	ISNAG
Face	<i>Mukha</i>	<i>Panngit</i>
Chin	<i>Baba</i>	<i>Simid</i>
Neck	<i>Leeg</i>	<i>Bulaw</i>
Nape	<i>Batok</i>	<i>Tang-ngad</i>
Chest	<i>Dibdib</i>	<i>Hoto</i>
Abdomen	<i>Tiyan</i>	<i>Sinay</i>
Fish	<i>Isda</i>	<i>Sisida</i>
Body	<i>Katawan</i>	<i>Baggi</i>
Soul	<i>Kaluluwa</i>	<i>Kaduduwa</i>
Shoulder	<i>Balikat</i>	<i>Abaha</i>
First finger	<i>Hinlalaki</i>	<i>Indadakkal</i>
Second finger	<i>Hintuturo</i>	<i>Intutuldo</i>
Third finger	<i>Hinlalato</i>	<i>Impupunot</i>
Ring finger	<i>Palasingsingan</i>	<i>Impapanay</i>
Small finger	<i>Hinliliit</i>	<i>Inkikiit</i>
Armpit	<i>Kilikili</i>	<i>Angkikili</i>
Male reproductive organ	<i>Titi</i>	<i>Bungaw</i>
Female reproductive organ	<i>Puke</i>	<i>Uki</i>
Breast milk	<i>Gatas ng ina</i>	<i>Hattat</i>
Tongue	<i>Dila</i>	<i>Dila</i>
Drink	<i>Uminom</i>	<i>Uminon</i>
Sleep	<i>Matulog</i>	<i>Matudog</i>
Wake up	<i>Gumising</i>	<i>Malukag</i>
You	<i>Ikaw</i>	<i>Ikaw / kikaw</i>
Me	<i>Ako</i>	<i>Iya</i>
We	<i>Tayo</i>	<i>Datada</i>
They	<i>Sila</i>	<i>Agida</i>
Leaf	<i>Dahon</i>	<i>Adon</i>
Tree	<i>Puno</i>	<i>Kayo</i>
Eyebrow	<i>Kilay</i>	<i>Kulikulab / kibubang</i>
Eyelashes	<i>Pilik mata</i>	<i>Kimat</i>
Carabao	<i>Kalabaw</i>	<i>Nuwang</i>
Cow	<i>Baka</i>	<i>Baka</i>
Pound	<i>Dikdikin</i>	<i>Taltalan</i>
Sugarcane wine	<i>Tabo</i>	<i>Basi</i>
Boat	<i>Bangka</i>	<i>Barangay</i>
Spirits	<i>Espiritu</i>	<i>Anito</i>
Giant	<i>Higanti</i>	<i>Haggag</i>
Yes	<i>Oo</i>	<i>O</i>
No	<i>Hindi</i>	<i>Akkan</i>
Ladder	<i>Hagdan</i>	<i>Ladder</i>
Door	<i>Pintuan</i>	<i>Hitap</i>
Wall	<i>Dingding</i>	<i>Dingding</i>
Beautiful	<i>Maganda</i>	<i>Mapiya</i>

Hard	<i>Matigas</i>	<i>Nakulnet</i>
Big	<i>Malaki</i>	<i>Dakkal/ abay</i>
Small	<i>Maliit</i>	<i>biti</i>
Plenty	<i>Marami</i>	<i>Ado</i>
Few	<i>Kaunti</i>	<i>Bitbiti</i>
River	<i>Ilog</i>	<i>Wangag</i>
Take a bath	<i>Maligo</i>	<i>Magdihot</i>
Rain	<i>Ulan</i>	<i>Udan</i>
Flood	<i>Baha</i>	<i>Mabay danom</i>
Water	<i>Tubig</i>	<i>Danom</i>
Waterfalls	<i>Talon</i>	<i>Barrong</i>
Spring	<i>Bukal</i>	<i>Tuday / suday</i>
Deep	<i>Malalim</i>	<i>Adallan</i>
Shallow	<i>Mababaw</i>	<i>Abibbaw</i>
Dug well	-	<i>Tabbog</i>
Strong current	<i>Maagos</i>	<i>Parupo</i>
To swim	<i>Lumangoy</i>	<i>Manalog</i>
To paddle	<i>Magsagwan</i>	<i>Magpiluha</i>
Flow	<i>Agos</i>	<i>Mesiya</i>
Drop	<i>Patak</i>	<i>Patta</i>
Father	<i>Tatay</i>	<i>Ama</i>
Mother	<i>Nanay</i>	<i>Ina</i>
Child	<i>Anak</i>	<i>An-anak</i>
Uncle	<i>Tiyo</i>	<i>Ulikag</i>
Auntie	<i>Tiya</i>	<i>Ikit</i>
Brother	<i>Kuya</i>	<i>Manong</i>
Sister	<i>Ate</i>	<i>Manang</i>
Pregnant	<i>Buntis</i>	<i>Bussit</i>
Stone	<i>Bato</i>	<i>Bato</i>
Hand	<i>Kamay</i>	<i>Ima</i>
Thigh	<i>Hita</i>	<i>Apel</i>
Leg	<i>Binti</i>	<i>Bassit</i>
Finger	<i>Daliri</i>	<i>Kurimang</i>
Sole	<i>Talampakan</i>	<i>Dappan</i>
Ankle	<i>Sakong</i>	<i>Mimingkal</i>
Knee	<i>Tuhod</i>	<i>Otod</i>
Together	<i>Magkasama</i>	<i>Kuwa tadda</i>
Nose	<i>Ilong</i>	<i>Ihong</i>
Teeth	<i>Ngipin</i>	<i>Ngipan</i>
Mouth	<i>Bibig</i>	<i>Bahong</i>
Hair	<i>Buhok</i>	<i>Abo</i>
Head	<i>Ulo</i>	<i>Ulo</i>
Forehead	<i>Noo</i>	<i>Kiday</i>
Elbow	<i>Siko</i>	<i>Siko</i>
Ear	<i>Tainga</i>	<i>Talinga</i>
House	<i>Bahay</i>	<i>Balay</i>
Banana	<i>Saging</i>	<i>Bahat</i>
Dog	<i>Aso</i>	<i>Ato</i>

Cat	<i>Pusa</i>	<i>Kusa</i>
Pig	<i>Baboy</i>	<i>Aboy</i>
Chicken	<i>Manok</i>	<i>Ano</i>
Egg	<i>Itlog</i>	<i>I-log</i>
Bird	<i>Ibon</i>	<i>An-ano</i>
Sun	<i>Arw</i>	<i>Mata / sinag</i>
Clouds	<i>Ulap</i>	<i>Angap</i>
Fog	<i>Hamog</i>	<i>Alapaap / amor</i>
Drizzle	<i>Ambon</i>	<i>Maharbit</i>
Drizzling	<i>Umaambon</i>	<i>Maar-arbit</i>
Dew	<i>Hamog</i>	<i>Dermon</i>
Boiled rice	<i>Kanin</i>	<i>Nabaw</i>
Rice	<i>Bigas</i>	<i>Baggas</i>
Rice	<i>Palay</i>	<i>Ammay</i>
Eldest child	<i>Panganay</i>	<i>Manakam</i>
Youngest child	<i>Bunso</i>	<i>Uddian</i>
Morning	<i>Umaga</i>	<i>Pagmakat</i>
Afternoon	<i>Hapon</i>	<i>Hidam</i>
Evening	<i>Gabi</i>	<i>Habi</i>
Noon	<i>Tanghali</i>	<i>Alhaw</i>
Moon	<i>Buwan</i>	<i>Bulan</i>
Star	<i>Bituwin</i>	<i>Bittuwan</i>
Soil	<i>Lupa</i>	<i>Lusa</i>
Deer	<i>Usa</i>	<i>Ugta</i>
Wild bore	<i>Baboy damo</i>	<i>Laman</i>
Snake	<i>Ahas</i>	<i>Idaw / ba-lat</i>
Gun	<i>Baril</i>	<i>Palatog</i>
Betel leaf	<i>Ikmo</i>	<i>Hawad</i>
Betel nut	-	<i>Buwa</i>
Betel nut chew	<i>Hitso</i>	<i>Mama</i>
Fire	<i>Apoy</i>	<i>Apoy</i>
Tobacco	<i>Tabako</i>	<i>Tabako</i>
Creek	<i>Sapa</i>	<i>Awweg</i>
Dish	<i>Ulam</i>	<i>Limpa</i>
Plate	<i>Plato</i>	<i>Hupan</i>
To plant	<i>Magtanim</i>	<i>Magtugno</i>
To clean	<i>Maglinis</i>	<i>Magballat</i>
To harvest	<i>Mag-ani</i>	<i>Maggani</i>
Bamboo paddle	<i>Kawayang sagwan</i>	<i>Takkan</i>
Sap	<i>Dagta</i>	<i>Nikot</i>

### **The Isnag house**

The house or *balay* of the Isnags is rectangular in shape and raised on six posts. Four of the posts are called *adihi* and the other two are called *takilay*. The walls are made of wood perpendicular to the ridges on the floor. Other houses use *bolo*, a kind of bamboo, which is cut into halves, and tied horizontally with rattan strips. The walls have very small spaces left in between the hewn wood or *bolo*. The purpose of the space is to allow air to penetrate the house, explaining why some of the houses do not need windows. The corners of the house are called *siyu*. The floor or *datag* is usually made up of bamboo secured with beams to the inner side of the posts. It is where the family members eat, sit and sleep. A *tuhaw* or small bench stands at the *siyu*, used for sitting especially if there are visitors. The *parattag*, located near the wall, is used to keep clothes, woven mats and blankets.

The roof or *atap* of almost all houses is made up of *anahaw* and *bassaw (runo)* on the first layer and it is called *tabbang*. Below is the second layer made up of *bolo* cut into halves and tied with rattan strips, but some roofs are made of galvanized iron. Generally, there are two or three windows and a door. The windows and door are usually open at daytime. In the evening, it is closed not because someone might enter and steal, but because a *balangobang* or ghost might go inside the house and scare people. Some houses have ladders that lead to the door, which is pulled in the evening.

When entering the house, the kitchen or *anatonan* is first seen. It is usually located near the door either to the left or right side. Above the *puhan* or fireplace is a three-layer drying rack. The lower is called *salapanan*. It is used for storing firewood that is not yet completely dry or, occasionally, the meat of animals. The second layer or the *paha* is used

for storing *ammay* or rice that has to be dried before they are pounded. The third and uppermost layer is called *parattag*. It is used for storing vegetables, rice, coffee, *la-ba* or baskets, among others. The *agamotoan* is a board on which the *amoto* or water jars are placed. The *sasagpatan*, a shelf made from bamboo, is where plates, *tahu* or coconut shell bowl, *duyug* or glass are placed. The ancient jars and plates are secured in a shelf close to the roof.

The Isnags build temporary house in the *koman* or swidden area. The house is used for resting after working in the rice field especially during the harvest season. The walls are made of bamboo. It is not as durable as the permanent house (Delos Reyes).

In the study site, about an hour hike away from the center, there is an old native house on top of a mountain. It has stood there for many years. An informant, a 60-year old man said that the old house was already standing there when he was still young. It is made up of pure hewn wood and raised on eight posts. It is quite taller and bigger than the present houses, but the structure is the same inside the house. The ladder is about five feet tall. The only existing old house in the area might be gone in the future. Some of today's houses have roofs of galvanized iron, windows and pigpens underneath.

### **Granary**

The Isnag granaries are of three kinds: the *alang*, *sipi* and the *sihay*. According to Father Morice Vanoverbergh in his book (the Isnag Buildings), the rice granaries of the Isnags are called *alang* and are very much alike. When you have seen one of them you have seen them all.

As observed, the *sihay* is the temporary granary. It is located in the mountainside near the *koman*. After the harvest, the rice bundles are piled inside the *sihay* and eventually transferred to the permanent granaries called *alang* and *sipi*. These granaries are located near the *balay* or house of the Isnags.

At present there are no more *alanga*, only *sipis* and *sihays* are built to store rice. According to the locals, the structure of the *sipi* is the same as the *alang*. The skeleton of the *sipi* is made of four short posts called *adihi* at each corner. The *banatan* or beams connect the posts forming a square shape. The *datag* or floor is made of bamboo and runs throughout the square frame. The space inside is called *uneg*. It is where the bundles of rice are stored.

In each corner of the *sipi* is a large flat wood called *aledeng*. The *aledeng* is slipped on each post under the *banatan*. The purpose of the *aledeng* is to keep rats from climbing the granary and from eating the rice.

The walls or *taddo* is made the same as that of the wall of the house but it is tightly close to each other so that the water will not penetrate inside when it rains.

The roof or *attap* of the granary is the same with the roof of the house. It has *bubungan* or wood on top of the roof, which supports the thatch. The *babakan* is a triangular frame of the *attap*.

The door is small and is a cut out of the front wall. It is covered with a flat board, supported with two pieces of wood called *agadalan* connected to the door. The *agdan* or ladder is made up of bamboo and is used to get the bundles of rice inside the granary.

The *sihay* is a temporary granary that is made purely of bamboo. It has three walls, four posts and a flat roof.

The Isnags believed that in every rice granary, the rice spirit or *Ilay/Pilay* resides on its corner or *siyu*. It guards the rice or *ammay* and whoever has the intention of stealing the rice will become lame or *pilay*.

### **Agriculture**

The Isnags cultivate crops on a dry rice type of farm located on the mountain slopes and some on the grasslands. The people grow rice in the swiddens called *koman*. They select a plot according to the first appearance of the moon, the ideal condition of the soil, and the direction of the *labag* or omen bird. If it passes from left to right, going to the *koman* is postponed, but if it passes from right to left, the day is favorable to go to the *koman*.

In the field, some herbs like *tahibangon*, *basang*, and *sapitan* are placed on the selected site. These herbs serve as *tanibs* or medicine in curing the *lusa* (soil). Also they are an offering to the spirit of the rice called *Pilay/Ilay*. This is done before the men start to *magballat* or clean the site. It is *kanaw* or prohibited for men to bring *aliwa* (bolo) during the *ballat* because the *Ilay* will go away. They will leave the field for one day and it is called *bakwal*. On the third day, they start the *pag-uuma* in which *basaw* or *runo* are cut and burned. Usually *pag-uuma* is done in the month of March where the *basaw* are already dried.

A day before planting rice, the women perform the *pakayab* ritual. While throwing a few grains of rice on the ground, they utter prayers addressed to the rats and wild animals in



order to avoid crop destruction. On the first day of planting, usually done in the afternoon, the women plant only two to five seeds on the ground. Just beside the hole where the seeds are planted, they place *ilulubi*. *Ilulubi* is composed of black stone and different herbs like, *tuba*, *sapitan*, *tahibangon*, *disol*, *ibasan*, and round *buwa* or betel nut. They also tie *innanapat* or rice cake on a *runo* plant. These offerings ensure the health of the plants. The following day the women will go to the *koman* and plant rice for half a day and it is called *manarsar*. The women will bore holes on the ground with *sagwa* or pointer stick or metal, and with her other hand reach for a few seeds from a coconut shell tied around her waist and drop them on the hole, which is covered with *lusa* or soil. After she finishes planting rice in the whole *koman*, she will wait until the last seed grows before she goes back and starts to weed. By doing this, the rice will grow plenty of grains.

Weeding is done only for half a day. The woman uses *anitan* or hoe to remove the weeds, after which she goes home. The following day, she stays in the house for another *bakwal*. On the third day, she returns to the *koman* and starts weeding. In caring for the unhealthy plant she uses *saripit*. *Saripit* is a Y-shaped wood with *tahaha* leaf, coconut husk and a *basangal* vine attached to it. It is offered to the *Ilay/Pilay*. The Isnags believe that the *Ilay* will cure the plants.

The month of September is usually the harvesting period of the Isnags. Just before the harvest, the men make *batta* or thin strips of bamboo used for tying bundles of rice. On the first day, the house of the person who is about to harvest, will put *duwag* near the house. *Duwag* is a Y-shaped wood, a sign that no one is allowed to enter the house for three days from the onset of the harvest. *Mani-dan* ritual is performed by the Isnags before the harvest to exorcise the community from the evil spirits which they believe

bring sickness and death to the people. A chicken is offered by cutting its beak. The blood is dropped on the *batta* and *kagkagdat* vine. Then they say a prayer called *maghayhay* “Here, we killed chicken for you *anito*, do not kill anyone among us”. They also make *sinandila* a kind of rice cake for the *anito*, so that they will have a good harvest.

During the harvest, everyone, men, women and children aged six and above, pick stalk of rice one by one until a bundle is gathered. The bundles of rice are piled in the *sihay* or temporary granary located in another mountain or near the *koman*. Later, the rice in the *sihay* is transferred to the *sipi* or rice granary that is located near the house before they hold the *say-am* for thanksgiving.

After the harvest, a ritual called *mama-ba* is performed. This ritual is being offered to the *Ilay*. They will pound one bundle of rice and place it on a *la-ba* (basket) together with the *amatbattog* vine. After three days, the Isnags are allowed to pound and cook three *tangesing* or twelve bundles of rice. They are not allowed to eat *palos* (eel) or frog because they are slippery. They believe that if they do so, the rice they have harvest would be easily consumed.

### **Meteorological data**

The area has a temperate climate. The coolest months of the year are December to February while May is the warmest month.

The prevailing climate of the area falls under Corona's Type III classification. It is characterized by a not very pronounced dry season, relatively from the months of

December to April, and wet during the rest of the year. The heaviest rains occur during the month of August or September. Typhoons frequently occur from July to October.