

**DOCUMENTATION OF PHILIPPINE TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE AND PRACTICES IN HEALTH:  
THE DUMAGAT PEOPLE OF BARANGAY DIBUT, SAN LUIS, AURORA**

A collaborative project of

The Dumagat community of Barangay Dibut, San Luis, Aurora

Philippine Institute of Traditional and Alternative Health Care - Department of Health (PITAHC-DOH)

Institute of Herbal Medicine - National Institutes of Health - University of the Philippines Manila

National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP)

Aurora State College of Technology (ASCOT)

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

- I. Reminder
- II. Executive summary
- III. Abstract
- IV. Background
- V. Scope and limitations
- VI. Methodology
- VII. Ethnography of Dibut
  - A. People**
    1. Description of the people
    2. Tagibulos: the origin of the Dumagat language
  - B. Place**
    1. Physical description
    2. Access to the area
  - C. History**
    1. Governor Lucing Molina
    2. The Second World War
    3. The coming of the New Tribes Mission
    4. Awarding of the Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title (CADT)
  - D. Livelihood**
  - E. Political system**
  - F. Religion**
  - G. Social**
    1. Family
    2. Courtship
    3. Marriage
    4. Gender
    5. Education
    6. Pastime
  - H. Food**
    1. Binungu
    2. Nami
  - I. Health**
    1. Beliefs and practices
      - a. Pregnancy

- b. Giving birth
- c. Infant care
- d. Puberty and aesthetics

**J. Death, afterlife, and the world we live in**

**K. Causes of illness**

- 1. *Aswang*
- 2. *Amas*
  - a. *Sobkal*
  - b. *Taloman*
  - c. *Patianak*
  - d. *Talo*
- 3. *Kaluluwa*
- 4. *Change of climate*
- 5. *Salot*
- 6. *Hawa*
- 7. *Pagsalubong ng init at lamig*
- 8. *Animals and the surroundings*
- 9. *Plants*
- 10. *Bonog/usog*

**L. Health-seeking practices**

- 1. Mainstream
- 2. Arbularyo
- 3. Prayer

**M. Dibut: a clan of healers**

**N. How one learns to heal**

- 1. *Pagkakatnig*
- 2. *Need*
- 3. *Experience*
- 4. *Purposely transferred*

**O. The healing process**

- 1. Cultivation, gathering, and storage of herbal medicine
- 2. Preparation
  - a. *Laga*
  - b. *Alak*
  - c. *Laib*
  - d. *Pais*

- e. *Ngata/nguya*
- 3. Direction for use
  - a. *Tapal*
  - b. *Inom*
  - c. *Buga*
  - d. *Langgas*
  - e. *Pahid*
  - f. *Ligo*
  - g. *Kwintas*

- 4. Effects, adverse effects, and contraindications

#### VIII. Tables of ethnopharmacological uses of natural materials

#### IX. Appendices

- A. Indications recognized and corresponding plants used
- B. Case studies of Dumagat households and key consultants
  - 1. Eustaquio Bihasa's Household
  - 2. Natividad Household
  - 3. Molina Household
  - 4. Felicito Bihasa's Household
  - 5. Casamis Household
- C. Dumagat folktales
  - 1. Dibut: the origin of the name
  - 2. Ang kuwento ni Mog-got
  - 3. Ang kuwento ni Kutikut
- D. Lexicostatistics
- E. List of cultural consultants
- F. Bibliography

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in Barangay Dibut, San Luis, Aurora  
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## REMINDER

The indigenous knowledge and practices written in this report were obtained with full consent from cultural consultants belonging to the Dumagat community in Barangay Dibut, San Luis, Aurora. Any information from this study to be used for further academic research or commercial purposes should have the free and prior informed consent of the knowledge-owners. The knowledge-owners and this study should be properly acknowledged and cited if information in this report will be used. Any commercial benefits which may arise from the utilization of the community's indigenous knowledge should be shared with the Dumagat people of Barangay Dibut, San Luis, Aurora.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Based on Elisabetsky and Posey 1994. From Posey and Dutfield 1996. Beyond Intellectual Property: Toward Traditional Resource Rights for Indigenous Peoples and Local Communities. p.48.



## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- PROJECT TITLE:** DOCUMENTATION OF PHILIPPINE TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE AND PRACTICES IN HEALTH: THE AGTA PEOPLE OF CASIGURAN, AURORA AND THE DUMAGAT PEOPLE OF SAN LUIS, AURORA
- PROJECT LEADER:** DR. ISIDRO C SIA
- IMPLEMENTING AGENCY:** Institute of Herbal Medicine, National Institutes of Health University of the Philippines Manila
- COOPERATING AGENCIES:** Agta People of Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora  
Dumagat People of Barangay Dibut, San Luis, Aurora  
Aurora State College of Technology  
National Commission on Indigenous Peoples
- DURATION:** 15 MONTHS

### SIGNIFICANCE:

The Philippines is one of the richest countries in terms of cultural diversity, as well as of biodiversity. There are 110 indigenous communities and 175 ethnolinguistic groups in the country. The indigenous peoples, characteristically living in the mountains or their fringes, have depended mostly on plants and other natural products from the forest to prevent or treat sickness. But environmental degradation and the onslaught of lowland mainstream cultures now threaten their healing traditions. Lifestyle change as a result of displacement from their ancestral domains and lack of supportive mechanisms to pass on knowledge are also leading to the discontinuance of their traditional healing practices.

Few studies have been conducted to document the ethnopharmacological knowledge and healing practices of our indigenous peoples. Madulid of the National Museum documented the medicinal plants used by the Ati people in Nagpana, Iloilo, Panay. He has also compiled a bibliography of almost 1,000 references on Philippine ethnobotanical and ethnopharmacological studies.

The Complementary and Traditional Medicine Study Group of the National Institutes of Health, University of the Philippines Manila (NIH – UPM) and the Philippine Institute of Traditional and Alternative Health Care (PITAHC) documented the ethnopharmacological knowledge and healing practices of the following ethnolinguistic groups: the Isnag, Kalinga, Ifugao, Kankana-ey, and Ibaloi peoples of the Cordillera; the Bugkalot people of Dupax del Sur, Nueva Vizcaya; the Kabulowan, Tagibulos, and Idimala Agtas of Sierra Madre; the Ayta people of Morong, Bataan; the Tadyawan, and Alangan Mangyans of Mindoro; the Pala'wan, Batak, and Tagbanua peoples of Palawan; and the Ata Manobo, Bagobo, Mansaka, Mandaya, and Dibabaon peoples of Mindanao.

Maramba in "Medicinal plants: their role in health and biodiversity," reported that in 1978 to 1983, Quintana conducted a nationwide documentation of traditional healers and medicinal plants used. Maramba and Dayrit reported that out of this survey, 120 medicinal plants were chosen for priority studies by the National Integrated Research Program on Medicinal Plants.



Landa Jocano did his seminal work on the healing traditions of Bay, Laguna from 1968 to 1973. Documentation of healing traditions has likewise been done by Filipino anthropologists Abaya, Estacio, Padilla, Tan, and the Community Medicine Foundation.

The documentation previously done, though seemingly numerous, is not enough to cover the breadth and depth of the immense body of traditional knowledge held by our indigenous peoples. For one, the more than 20 Negrito (Ayta/Agta/Alta/Ata) groups have been represented in only 3 studies listed in this review. As a group of peoples, they are the most vulnerable to losing their oral traditions because of the harsh conditions they are living in, the onslaught of mainstream cultures to the detriment of the local culture, and the lack of supportive mechanisms to pass on their traditions to the younger generations. Four Negrito languages are now considered extinct; with the loss of the language of a people, the people's traditional knowledge is also lost.

The ethnographic and ethnopharmacological study of the Agta people of Casiguran, Aurora and the Dumagat people of San Luis, Aurora, is a component of the Documentation of Philippine Traditional Knowledge and Practices in Health Program. This project aims to conserve both the biodiversity and cultural heritage of the indigenous communities and ethnolinguistic groups in the country.

Documenting with the indigenous communities their health traditions may contribute in upholding their knowledge and practices. It is a way to transfer the healing traditions to succeeding generations. Indigenous elders may pass away but the community can still refer to the documentation for their ancestors' health practices.

The project recognizes that the ancestral domain of our indigenous peoples is a rich source of potentially useful pharmacologic agents. The documentation may be used by communities/community members as evidence of particular health knowledge and practices which they possess and have rights to. Knowledge gathered may also help in providing the indigenous communities with culturally acceptable health care services, including health education materials.

The documentation may aid in spreading awareness that the cultural wealth of indigenous communities is inextricably tied to the richness of biodiversity of their ancestral domain. It may contribute in promoting the protection of communities' ancestral land which they rely on not only for health but is the primary basis of life for the indigenous peoples.

### **Objectives of the project**

1. To identify and select ethnolinguistic groups and study communities
2. To identify and link up with research partners in Aurora
3. To organize, orient, and train local research assistants in facilitating participatory research
4. To conduct consultation meetings with communities and integrate their recommendations regarding the project
5. To discuss and form with the community the code of ethics in doing research
6. To prepare the academic research agreement and obtain the Free and Prior Informed Consent
7. To facilitate in building the communities' capacity for research
8. To document with the communities their traditional knowledge and practices in health
9. To assist in developing mechanisms for protection of the community's traditional knowledge, practices and related biological resources
10. To prepare a hard copy and electronic copy of the documentation and herbarium with and for the communities, and if applicable, to the partner institution in the region

11. To develop culture-sensitive health education materials with and for the communities
12. To evaluate the project with the community
13. To centralize data for the digital library
14. To ensure appropriate access to traditional knowledge and equitable sharing of benefits arising from the utilization of the said knowledge
15. To promote the use of relevant information to the indigenous communities, local health NGOs, local environment advocates, local cultural workers, the scientific community, and policy makers.

## **METHODOLOGY**

### *Identification of indigenous groups*

The Agta community of Casiguran, Aurora, and the Dumagat community of San Luis, Aurora were selected based on the following criteria:

- 1) reputed richness of indigenous healing traditions (presence of traditional healers and community members knowledgeable of indigenous healing practices),
- 2) the richness of the biodiversity of the ancestral domain of the people,
- 3) the expressed willingness and capacity of the community to participate, and
- 4) there is peace and order in the area/community.

On March 15, 2010, a meeting was held in the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) Central Office in Quezon City, to discuss the project. The project leader, consultant, and research assistants met with NCIP executive director, Masli Quilaman, Carlos Buasen, Jr., director of the Office of Education Culture and Health, and Melita Mercado, legal officer of NCIP Aurora.

Ms. Mercado recommended the Negrito communities in Barangay Dibut, San Luis, and in Casiguran as possible research sites because numerous elders could be found in the two coastal areas. The objectives and methodology of the project were also discussed. The NCIP explained their protocol in obtaining free and prior informed consent (FPIC) from the communities before a project may be undertaken. The meeting also defined the role of NCIP in assisting the research team by linking them up with the indigenous communities and helping facilitate in the FPIC process.

### *Conducting consultation meetings with the community and integrating their recommendations*

As defined in the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act (IPRA), Free and Prior Informed Consent shall mean "the consensus of all members of the ICCs/IPs to be determined in accordance with their respective customary laws and practices, free from any external manipulation, interference and coercion, and obtained after fully disclosing the intent and scope of an activity, in a language and process understandable to the community." (Rule II. Section 1.k., IPRA 1997)

A letter was sent to the NCIP Central Office requesting for assistance in linking up with the communities. The said letter was forwarded to their Region 3 Office and Aurora Provincial Office. Through NCIP field officers, a letter was sent to the communities requesting for a community consultation regarding the documentation of their knowledge and practices in health.

### The Agta People of Casiguran

On May 6, 2010, a meeting with the Agta community was held in the Dipontian Christian Fellowship Church, in Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora. Twenty two community members were present including Chieftain Regina Eneria. Engineer Mark Basilio, the NCIP Officer assigned in Casiguran, facilitated the consultation which was part of obtaining the free and prior informed consent of the community. The project leader explained the project rationale, objectives, and methodology to the community. The community then raised questions, comments and shared past experiences regarding research conducted in their area.

In the consultation, the community members confirmed that they still practiced traditional healing methods and there are still *bunogen* (healers) among them. However, aspects of their culture, including their language, are slowly disappearing. Some said that many of them have not been able to pass on their knowledge: "*Darating yung panahon na malilimutan na ng mga kabataan.*" (Time will come when the next generation of Agta will forget our traditions.)

A community member reminded the researchers that if they would really be immersing in the community then they should not pass judgment on their practices. One also said to be prepared if some would be shy/apprehensive (*nahihiya*) to talk to them. Some would also be apprehensive to take them in because they may only provide food such as *kamote*. They were concerned that the researchers would not be comfortable with their food. The research team told the community that part of the immersion is experiencing how the Agta live, including what they eat. The community should not adjust to the researchers, the researchers will adapt to their lifestyle. The team assured the community that they and their way of life would be given respect during the research.

After more questions were asked by the community, they then agreed to collaborate on the project and welcome the two researchers who would live there.

### The Dumagat People of San Luis

Consultation with the Dumagat community in Dibut was held on May 4, 2010 at the barangay hall. Present in the meeting were twenty three representatives from the Dumagat community, including tribal chieftain, Eustaquio Bihasa; Rene Querijero, barangay captain of Dibut; Dr. Carlos Buasen, Jr. director, Office of Education, Culture and Health of the NCIP; Napoleon Calderon, provincial officer of NCIP Aurora; two other NCIP staff; Dr. Isidro Sia; and five research assistants. The meeting lasted for two hours. The main goal and rationale of the research was laid out to the community as well as the methodology of research, which is participatory research. The community willingly agreed to the research and verbally agreed to accommodate two research assistants to live with them to document their traditional knowledge and practices in health.

In the first meeting with the Dumagat community in Dibut, the chieftain verbalized his concern regarding the collection of plants, because these samples could possibly be studied by doctors in other countries. If some plants are recognized as effective, they might be commercialized. They asked how this could be avoided. The project leader assured that if the community decides that the documentation shall only be kept in the community, or safeguarded by an institution, then it shall be strictly followed. The medicinal plants will not be commercialized, if UPM is interested in doing this, the consent of the community must first be obtained.

The community wanted clarification regarding who will benefit from the project, specifically the output. The project leader informed the community that they would be the primary recipients. The project shall mainly be for the community to be able to document their traditions. Again, if they decide that the knowledge will be kept in the community, their decision shall be respected because

it is their right to manage their knowledge and traditions. The project is for the Filipino people, to support Filipino culture. It is not for the benefit of other countries. The community has the right to their knowledge. They shall be the first to obtain a copy of the documentation which they shall validate for accuracy.

#### *Preparation of the Memorandum of Agreement and obtaining the Free and Prior Informed Consent*

“Protection and Promotion of Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Practices:

The following guidelines, inter alia, are hereby adopted to safeguard the rights of IPs, to their indigenous knowledge systems and practices:

- 1) The ICCs/IPs have the right to regulate the entry of researchers into their ancestral domains/land or territories. Researchers, agents or representatives and other like entities shall secure the free and prior informed consent of the ICCs/IPs, before access to indigenous peoples and resources could be allowed;
- 2) A written agreement shall be entered into with the ICCs/IPs concerned regarding the research, including its purpose, design and expected outputs”

(Rule VI. Section 15., IPRA 1997)

“The FPIC is given by the concerned ICCs/IPs upon the signing of the Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) containing the conditions/requirements, benefits as well as penalties of agreeing parties as basis for the consent.”

(NCIP AO No. 01 Series of 2006. Part 1. Section 5.a.)

#### The Agta People of Casiguran

On June 21, 2010, the Agta community of Sitio Dipontian gathered with the researchers to discuss the Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) for the project. Ten community members were present, among them were two healers. Ms. Willilen Padeo, represented NCIP Aurora in the meeting.

The researcher told the community about the experience of India in successfully defending their rights to their indigenous knowledge and practice of Ayurvedic medicine by presenting ancient Sanskrit texts that documented the century-old use of various medicinal plants. It was explained to them that documentation may be a way to pass on traditions and is also evidence of the indigenous knowledge systems that a community has developed through years of practice. The rights of the community in managing their knowledge as stated in the Republic Act 8371 or Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA) was also reviewed with the community. Sections of the RA 8371 stating these rights were included in the MOA.

The roles of the community and the researchers were defined. Among these were ensuring that research methods are culturally appropriate for the community and would not interfere with their daily activities. The community members also identified areas where people are prohibited to enter unless permission is obtained. Among these are areas which the Agta mark as *binaset*, these may be hunting grounds, burials sites and areas which relatives of the deceased forbid people to enter in respect to the recently departed. Individuals may face a heavy fine for entering *binaset* areas and even community members are prohibited to enter certain sites. It would be the researcher’s responsibility to always ask permission from the community.

Data verification was pointed out by the community. Individuals said that the information gathered should be accurate. (*Kailangan sigurado.*) It would be both the researcher and the healer’s responsibility to ensure that the data recorded is correct.

It was emphasized that the institutions with a copy of the documentation must always ask permission from the community if information from the documentation will be used for any purpose.

*“Maganda, pag ilagay mo nang ganoon. Baka saka-sakali mawala na kami, mga bata na lang ang nandiyan. Mabasa nila.”* (It is a good idea to put it [in a book]. Time will come when we will be gone and only the children are left... They will still be able to read it.)

*“Talagang maganda kasi kuwan... kung katulad ng sabi mo kanina na ilalagay niyo sa isang halimbawa maliit na aklat. Siyempre, kung sakaling sa tagal ng panahon malilimutan na.. meron mabuklat yung mga bata na dito makikita yung mga gamot na ginagamit ng mga ninuno natin ngayon.”*

(It is really good because... like you said earlier, you would be putting [our knowledge] in a small book. The time will come when the people have already forgotten, the children will be able to read something where they will learn of the medicines their ancestors had used.)

During the discussion of the conflict resolution, the community said that they know the research would not have any problems with the community since the researchers would always be consulting the community regarding each activity to be done. But if an arbiter would be needed in case of a breach of contract, the community would choose the NCIP to go between the two parties. They also agreed that the community's customary law and the university's alternative conflict resolution shall be recognized.

### The Dumagat People of San Luis

The meeting with the Dumagat community regarding the MOA was held on June 15, 2010 at the “Bahay Pulungan” in Barangay Dibut, San Luis. The community was identified as the first party while UP Manila was identified as the second party. There were thirty six representatives of the Dumagat community in attendance, along with three research assistants from IHM, the legal officer of NCIP Aurora - Melita Mercado and Claire Crosby, NCIP staff.

The following points were discussed:

- Identify the community as Dumagat not Alta, in the MOA. The community call themselves Dumagat because according to them they live near the sea as contrast to the Alta who live in the upland or inland area.
- The rights of the community in managing their knowledge as stated in the Republic Act 8731 or Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA) was reviewed with the community. Sections of the RA 8731 stating these rights would be included in the MOA.
- The roles of the community and the researchers were defined. Among these were ensuring that research methods are culturally appropriate for the community and will not interfere with their daily activities.
- The community themselves brought up that in case of a breach of contract, they would want the NCIP to act as the arbiter between the two parties. The NCIP is the agency that has long assisted the community in resolving conflicts. They also agreed that the community's customary law and the university's alternative conflict resolution shall be recognized. (*Susundin ang umiiral na patakaran ng katutubong pamayanan at unibersidad sa alternatibong pagsasaayos ng hindi pagkakaunawaan.*)
- Terms of accommodation  
The community recommended that the two research assistants who would be documenting the traditional knowledge and practices would stay in one household for a week and move to another family the next week. Selection of households was done by the community, mainly through volunteering and identifying community members knowledgeable in traditional

healing. They also said that even though there is no healer in one household, the researchers should still stay with the family to observe how a “non-healer” family would respond to an illness. They said that it would be a good experience for the researchers to observe the varied lifestyle of Dumagat families.

#### *Data-gathering methodology*

The following data-gathering methods were utilized by the research assistants. Community members recommended approaches to ensure that the research process would be appropriate and respectful.

##### Participant observation

The research assistants lived and integrated with the community. The researchers took note of information on health practices which community members mentioned in casual conversations. These were given further inquiry.

##### Interviews

Interviews were utilized to obtain the life stories of healers. Through this method they were able to share their personal narratives regarding how they became healers, how they acquired healing knowledge and the different illnesses they have dealt with. Caregivers also recalled of past illnesses of their children or grandchildren and described their health seeking behavior.

The healers informed the researchers of the schedule when they were available for interviews: Discussions were held in the morning before and after breakfast, prior to leaving for work. This would be continued upon arriving from work in the afternoon. Sharing of stories were also done after dinner, before sleeping.

The healers were not forced to disclose their knowledge. They were informed that they have the freedom to share only what they want to share.

##### Focus Group Discussion

The researchers discussed healing methods with groups of cultural consultants such as an Agta family. A husband and wife confirmed from each other the knowledge they knew. Aside from the researchers asking questions, the couple’s daughter-in-law also asked further questions to learn more practices that she may be able to apply in caring for her children.

##### Re-enactment of healing practices

Healers who brought medicinal plants demonstrated its use through re-enactment which was captured in photographs and videos.

##### Medicinal plant collection and preservation with the youth

The youth were encouraged to accompany the researchers during plant collection so they would be able to learn of the knowledge of elders/healers. Through this they would be able to find out where they may obtain those plants if a family member needs it. They practiced memorizing the names of the plants gathered. They were taught to take photographs of the medicinal plants. The children also assisted in cleaning the medicinal plants and labelling the specimen prior to spraying denatured alcohol.

##### Documentation through the use of digital gadgets

The researchers obtained permission from the cultural consultants prior to taking photographs and videos of actual healing process or re-enactment, and also when recording interviews. In some forest areas picture taking was prohibited by a healer to respect the spirits residing there.

Verification of gathered information and security

Verification was done after data was written or encoded. The written report was read to the consultants and they were asked for comments afterward. Researchers repeatedly informed the consultants that they have a right to decide what information to disclose.

## **ETHICAL CLEARANCE**

The project followed the protocol of the community and the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples in the proper introduction of projects and in obtaining the Free and Prior Informed Consent of the community prior to conducting research.

The project underwent the National Institutes of Health Ethics Review.

Gratuitous Permit was obtained from the Department of Environment and Natural Resources prior to plant collection. A Transport Permit was also obtained prior to transferring the plant specimen to UP Manila.

## **ACCOMPLISHED TASKS**

The project was able to document the traditional and modern health knowledge and practices of the Agta people of Sitio Dipontian, Barangay Cozo, Casiguran, Aurora and the Dumagat people of Barangay Dibut, San Luis, Aurora. Seven healers and former healers, 31 caregivers and 4 youth were the cultural consultants in Casiguran. Twenty six community members in Dibut shared their knowledge, included in this group were 3 individuals with the most knowledge in healing.

121 plants were documented as used by the Agta of Sitio Dipontian for 82 medical indications. Most plants were used for abdominal pain, post-partum illness and wounds. 68 plants were identified by the Dumagat of Dibut as used for 45 medical indications. Most plants were used for wounds, fever and diarrhea.

Aside from the technical reports, we were able to produce the said reports in Filipino for the use of the community in the research areas. Culture-sensitive health education materials were created with the community and translated to their language (Casiguran Agta and Filipino).

## **END-USERS/TARGET BENEFICIARIES:**

1. The Agta people of Casiguran, Aurora and the Dumagat people of San Luis, Aurora
2. The stakeholders involved in the preservation of our cultural heritage in health and our biodiversity  
(policy makers, health NGOs, cultural workers, environment advocates).
3. The scientific community
4. Industries involved in wellbeing and provision of health services focusing on complementary and alternative medical practices.
5. The Filipino people.

## **POLICY ACTION AND PROGRAM INTERVENTION**

### **Participatory research approach**

The Documentation of Philippine Traditional Knowledge and Practices in Health Project aimed to follow a guiding principle wherein community members are not merely objects of the research but must be treated as cultural consultants. Being the owners of the said knowledge and practices, the people in the community have a right to manage their knowledge and be consulted in every aspect of the research. The researchers took steps to remind the community of their rights, from the drafting of the Memorandum of Understanding containing sections of the Indigenous People's Rights Act, to obtaining the Free and Prior Informed Consent of each consultant regarding the cultural knowledge they would share. The healers contributed in crafting methods which would help in the data-gathering and in adjusting to the livelihood or schedule of the community. They also specified which knowledge or names may be publicly disclosed. Individuals had the right to decide what matters could be discussed regarding health, religion and the supernatural. The data-gathered was organized into a Tagalog report and was read to the healers and other community members for verification of data.

The youth were encouraged by the adults in the community and the researchers, to be involved in the collection of plants and become familiarized with valuable and useful knowledge. They were taught the names of the plants, its uses, and where it may be obtained in their domain. The Agta and Dumagat youth also contributed in the photo-documentation of plants in the forest and in preserving plant specimen.

The health education materials were created with the community. Mothers and healers suggested which common illnesses should be the focus of the said materials. Community members also illustrated the images in the materials and translated the text in their own language (Agta).

It is crucial for the community and the researchers to be partners in the process. In order to respect the community's culture, including specific and unwritten rules, the researchers continually consulted the community to ensure ethical research procedure while conducting the documentation.

### **Advocacy**

The ethnographic and ethnopharmacological study of the Dumagat people of Dibut will contribute to the body of literature concerning Philippine indigenous groups. The researchers learned that there was no available study yet which accounted the traditions of the said people. This report may greatly contribute in upholding the remaining Dumagat culture in the rapidly changing community.

The documentation done may be a tool to help the Agta community of Casiguran in their efforts to defend their right to their ancestral domain and in conserving their biological and cultural diversity being threatened by development projects. The ethnopharmacological report itself shows that the community greatly depend on their natural environment, which is where they obtain medicinal plants and nutritious food for their health. The Agta have inhabited the area since time immemorial and they depend on their environment for their survival. Their right to manage their traditions and ancestral land must be respected.



## **Indigenous peoples and health care**

Local health workers and health centers must be aware of respecting indigenous beliefs and practices when working with the Agta and Dumagat communities. Instead of belittling the communities' health traditions which they greatly rely on especially when they are financially strife, the health workers may open themselves to integrating the medicinal plants of the community which are safe to use. Indigenous peoples also have a different world view or perspective regarding health and healing. If health workers are able to read reports such as this, they may understand communities better and may provide more effective health services. It is important to create a more culturally sensitive health care delivery system.

## ABSTRACT

An ethnographic and ethnopharmacological study of the Dumagat people in Barangay Dibut, San Luis, Aurora, Philippines was conducted from June to October 2010. The study covers the documentation of the ethnopharmacological knowledge and indigenous healing practices of the Dumagat people.

Information was gathered from 3 identified community members known to have knowledge in herbal medicine. Knowledge was also obtained from mothers, the youth, and other community members. A total of 68 plants and 3 animal products were documented to be used for more than 45 medical indications. Ten plants were documented as used for treating wounds, 7 for fever, and 5 for diarrhea with vomiting. Documentation included the local names, therapeutic indications, plant parts used, method of preparation, directions for use, precautionary measures, source of information, and other significant data. The plants were identified by their scientific names, where applicable.

The primary source of income in the community are fishing and farming. In depth studies on the Dumagat must be conducted to comprehensively document the people's beliefs and practices, not limited to health and healing. With the extinction of their language and the impact of neighboring dominant ethnolinguistic groups, encouragement is strongly recommended for the youth to learn and promote their culture, which has been insufficiently examined.



## BACKGROUND

The Philippines is rich in culture and biodiversity but these are threatened to be lost due to “modernization”. This research project aims to document the traditional knowledge and practices of the Dumagat living along the coast of Aurora.

*The Dumagat of Dibut, San Luis, Aurora is what we may call a community in transition. Contrary to what a person might imagine in regard to what a traditional community is, Dibut has concrete modern houses, cemented roads, electricity, small sari-sari stores, *videokehan*, and other amenities that are experienced by people living in small towns. Dumagats and non-Dumagats live side-by-side and almost have no notable physical difference at all. And little by little everyday, the traditions are replaced by the mainstream culture. Traditional healing has been equated to healing using herbal medicine. The only identified *arbularyo* (the person knowledgeable in curing illness caused by evil spirits) is a *mestizo*, a term they use to refer to a person who has a mixed ancestry of Dumagat and another ethnolinguistic group.*

It is in this context that the research assistants arrived at the place. The research assistants documented what a traditional community in transition would be and what knowledge is carried by the members of the traditional community as they transform their lifestyle from traditional to mainstream.

Aside from the documentation, the research also aims to assist the community in developing mechanisms for the protection of their traditional knowledge, practices, and related biological resources as they move towards modernization. It also seeks to develop cultural-sensitive health education materials. Participatory research is used, with the researchers working side by side with community members to facilitate the community’s capacity for research.



## SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

Data gathering for the research project, entitled Documentation of Philippine Traditional Knowledge and Practices in Health, was conducted from June 15 to October 16, 2010. Data appearing in this research are based on what the consultants have told the research assistants during that time. In the duration of stay of the research assistants in the area, they spoke to identified healers, mothers, fathers, as well as the youth. Due to several constraints, the researchers were not able to talk to all the people identified to have knowledge in traditional medicine.

The research is mainly concerned with the traditional knowledge and practices in health of the Dumagat in Dibut, San Luis, Aurora. But because the selected site is a community in transition, the research focused on the knowledge since practice of the knowledge was already seldom done. The healer in this research refers to a person who has knowledge in herbal medicine. This is in contrast to the *arbularyo* who uses both herbal medicine and other methods such as *sobkal* and Latin prayers to heal.



## METHODOLOGY

### Selection of the study area

The study site was chosen based on the following criteria:

- reputed richness of indigenous healing traditions (presence of traditional healers)
- the richness of the biodiversity of the ancestral domain of the people
- the expressed willingness of the community to participate

### Social preparation

Prior to the actual gathering of data, a meeting with the community was held on May 4, 2010 at the Barangay Hall of Dibut, San Luis, Aurora to obtain consent from the community to conduct the research. The main objective of the research as well as other guidelines were explained by the project leader. Present in the meeting were Barangay Captain Rene Querijero; Dumagat Chieftain Eustaquio Bihasa; National Commission on Indigenous Peoples' (NCIP) Director of Health, Education, and Culture Department, Carlos P. Buasen; Provincial Director of NCIP-Aurora Officer-in-Charge, Napoleon Calderon; two other NCIP staff; the project leader of the research, Dr. Isidro Sia; four (4) research assistants, and twenty three (23) representatives of the Dumagat Community. The community willingly agreed to the research and verbally agreed to accommodate two research assistants to live with them and document their traditional knowledge and practices in health.

On June 15, 2010 a meeting was again held to discuss the Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) at the "Bahay Pulungan". In the said document, the community was identified as the first party while UP Manila was identified as the second party. There were thirty six (36) representatives of the Dumagat community in attendance, along with three (3) research assistants from UP Manila, the legal officer of NCIP-Aurora – Melita Mercado and one other NCIP staff. The community agreed to the sign the MOA with the following alterations:

- changing Alta to Dumagat. The indigenous community call themselves Dumagat because they live near the sea, in contrast to the Alta who live in the upland or inland area.
- identification of NCIP as the arbiter in case of breach of contract or conflict between the two parties.



- terms of accommodation of the two researchers. It was agreed upon that the two research assistants who would be documenting the traditional knowledge and practices of the Dumagat in Dibut, San Luis would stay in one (1) household for one (1) week. They would initially stay in Chieftain Eustaquio Bihasa's house, then move to Nelson Natividad's home after a week. After that, they would stay with Jesus Molina, Rodrigo Donato, Trinidad Salcedo, Elena Casamis, then to Federico Molina's household. After all these households were exhausted, the Chieftain would again assign the next households. Selection of host families were done by the community, mainly through volunteering and knowledge of a family member who is familiar with traditional healing, with the exception of the Chieftain's household who was obliged to accommodate the researchers initially because he is the community leader. One of the representatives of the Dumagat community suggested that even though there is no healer in one household, the researchers should still stay with the family to observe how a “non-healer” family would respond to an illness. Furthermore, she said that it would also be a good experience for the research assistants to observe the varied lifestyle of Dumagat families.

A letter was given to the mayor of San Luis, Anabelle Tangson, to inform her of the project and the stay of the two research assistants in the barangay.

#### Literature search

The research assistants reviewed past studies regarding the Dumagats in Aurora. They found only three<sup>1</sup> studies related to the community in Dibut. Another reference was the compilation of proofs gathered by the Dumagat community to show their right to their ancestral domain. This was found in the library of NCIP Central Office in Manila.

The research assistants also visited three colleges in Aurora namely Mount Carmel College (MCC) in Baler, Wesleyan University in Maria Aurora, and Aurora State College of Technology (ASCOT) in Baler. ASCOT has conducted an inventory of flora and fauna in Dibut however studies on the herbal medicine of the place have never been done. There was an undergraduate thesis about the herbal medicine but it was focused on Casiguran, Aurora.

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<sup>1</sup> The three research studies were 1) Documents from Summer Institute of Linguistics dated 1986 which focused on the language of Umiray-Dumaget; 2) Fieldwork Report: Floral and Faunal Inventory of Wildlife Sanctuary Dibut, San Luis, Aurora which was done on 2007 by ASCOT working hand-in-hand with Philippine Association for Intercultural Development (PAFID) and National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP); 3) the Barangay Development Plan for the Fiscal Year (FY) 2008-2010 from San Luis Municipal Office. There are other researches conducted in the area such as Marine Biodiversity of Dibut Bay conducted by Paul Watts, however, the research assistants were not able to get a copy of it.

The research assistant also went to the *Museo de Baler* for possible articles or research materials about Dibut but none were found.

### Gathering of data

*Participant observation* was used to gather data for the research. The researchers lived in different households in the area from June 15 to October 16, 2010. They stayed with one household for one week. During this time they joined the day-to-day activities of the key consultants. Several herbal medicines were identified while accompanying the key consultants to their farm or while having an informal chat with them. The belief system regarding health, illness causation, world view, concept of a good life, and the likes were observed during informal day-to-day interaction.

Informal *focus group discussion* (FGD)<sup>2</sup> was also used to gather data and to validate information gathered. The FGD was very useful because this method helped the research assistant distinguish the common knowledge and knowledge held by specific individuals in the community.

The *transect walk* was also used to gather data. The research assistants walked with the key informants to the places important to them, especially the places where they obtain the herbs used for healing. Through this method, the research assistants were able take pictures of the actual plants they use for healing as well as gather herbarium specimen for plant identification. The transect walk was also used to verify the community map taken from the Barangay Development Plan of Dibut.

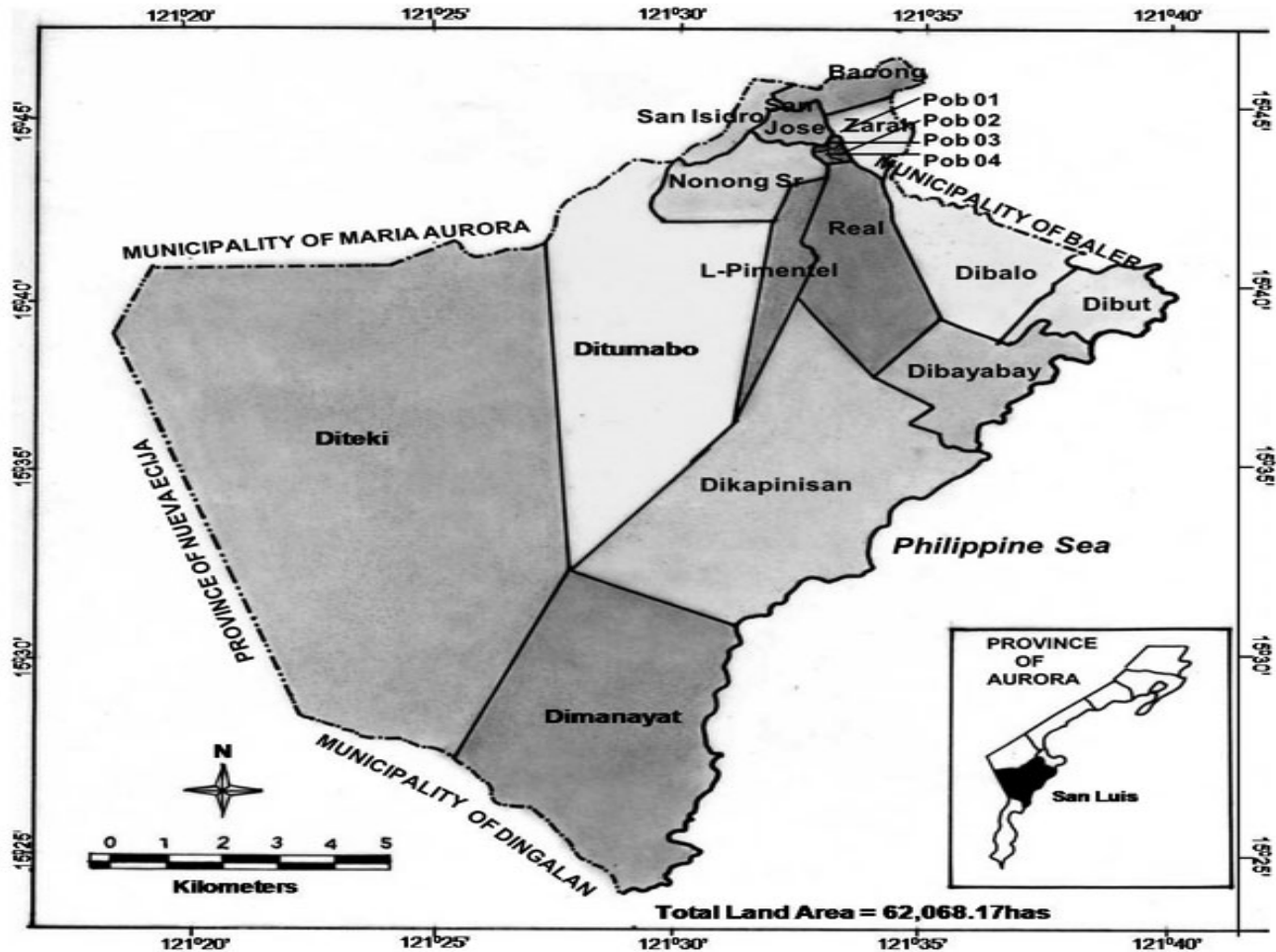
*Key informant interviews* were mainly done during the rest period of the primary consultants. The main information gathered were the name of the plants, its indication, common Filipino and foreign names, cultivation, gathering, postharvest handling, and storage, preparation, including amount of part/s used, dosage and direction for use, contraindications, precautions and adverse effects and other additional information. The name and address of the informants were also jotted down.

Data gathered was verified after they were written or encoded.

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<sup>2</sup> Focus group discussion or FGD is a method wherein a group of people share their ideas and knowledge on a certain topic. The research assistants served as facilitators during these times.

**ADMINISTRATIVE MAP  
MUNICIPALITY OF SAN LUIS  
Province of Aurora  
Region III**



**FAST FACTS**

Geographical location: 121°16'00' E Longitude,  
15°28'00' N Latitude

Number of barangays: 18

Population: 23,766

Dominant population: Tagalog

Total no. of households: 4,548

Land area: 62,068.17 has.

Literacy rate: 84%

School: Primary (1), Elementary (18);  
Secondary (4)

Main livelihood: farming, fishing

Major crops: coconut, palay, citrus, pineapple,  
root crops and other fruits

Major products: sabutan crafts and other  
handicrafts

Communication: Smart & Globe, radio transceiver,  
Philpost, internet

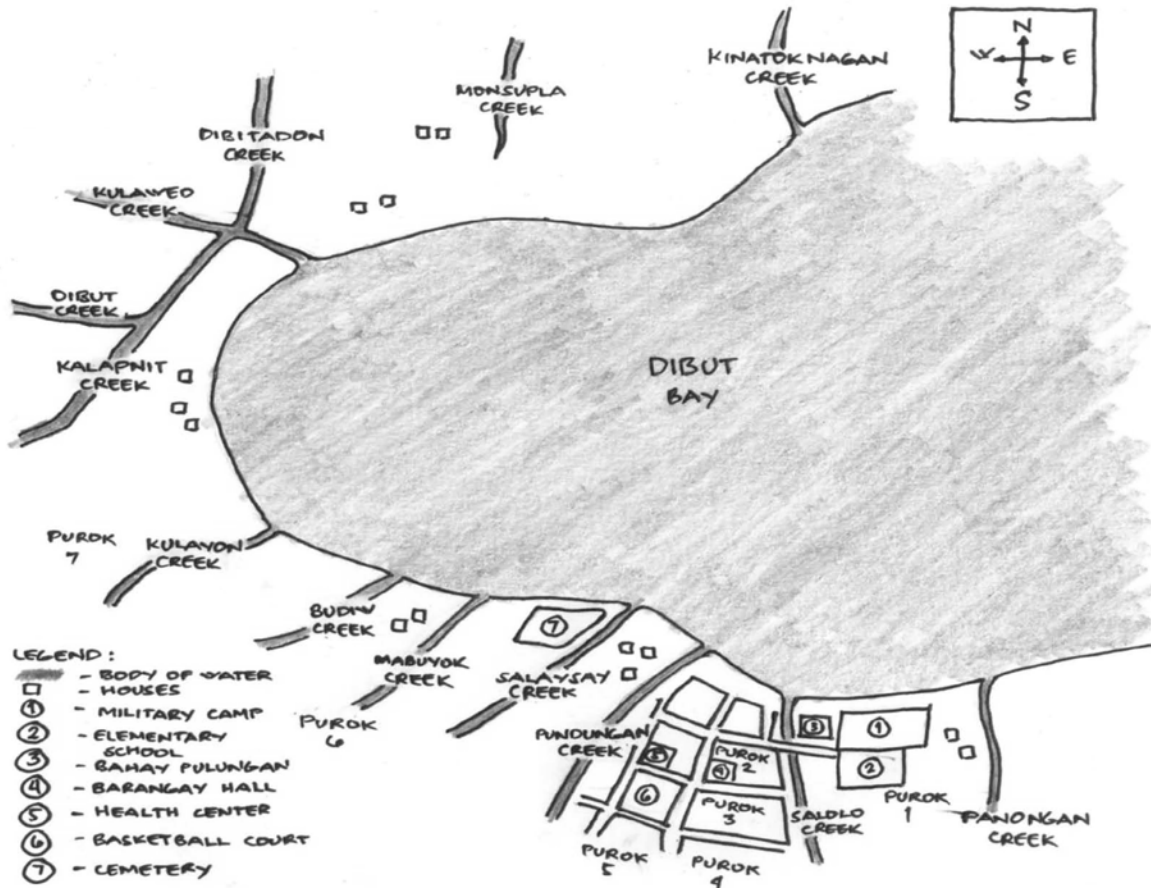
Tourist Spots: Caunayan Falls, beaches, Danayag  
and Maaling-aling Trek

Distance from Baler: 7 kms

Distance from Cabanatuan City: 108 kms

Source: <http://sanluisaurora.ph>

## Dibut Map



### FAST FACTS

Number of puroks: 7

Number of creeks/ estuaries: 12 (Panongan, Benus, Pundungan, Salaysay, Mabuyok, Budiw, Kulayon, Kalapnit, Dibut, Kulawed, Dibatadon, Monsupla, and Kinatoknagan)

Population: 712 (as of 2007)

Ethnolinguistic groups: Dumagat, Tagalog, Visaya, Ilocano

Land area: 1,341.24 has

Literacy rate: below 50%<sup>3</sup>

School: Primary (1), Elementary (1);

Main livelihood: farming, fishing

Major crops: coconut, banana, root crops, and vegetables like pako (fern) and squash

<sup>3</sup>Based on the research assistants' rough approximation. Most of the community members whom the research assistants spoke to (this is not limited to the Dumagat) are either elementary undergraduate or elementary graduates. A handful of finished high school and college graduates will not exceed five individuals.



## ETHNOGRAPHY OF DIBUT

### THE PEOPLE

To the people of Baler, San Luis, and other towns and barangays in the vicinity, the “katutubo” in Dibut are called Alta. But the indigenous community in Dibut object to being called by this term and they insist on being referred to as Dumagat<sup>4</sup>. They say that Alta are the people living in the upland or inland area like those in Diteki (another barangay of San Luis which is near the Sierra Madre Mountains). They, on the otherhand, are Dumagat because they live near the “dagat” or sea. When asked if they are related to those in Diteki, Nelson Natividad answered, “Yes, we came from the same ancestors. Only, they live near the mountains and we decided to settle near the sea.” So their self-ascription is based on the place where they live.

Contrary to the expected physical features of Negritos, which is curly-haired, dark-skinned, and short stocky body figure, the Dumagats in Dibut look like typical Tagalog in the city. Many have considerably light skin, are tall and have skinny bodies. Women wear their wavy, sometimes straight hair, in different lengths which they shampoo and condition everyday. They dress up for special occasions such as weddings, church anniversaries, and fiestas. They also wear makeup and other jewelry that are bought from the market. The men dress up like farmers, labourers, or fishermen – in shorts or pants and t-shirt. This is why the community often experience researchers coming to their community but upon seeing them change their minds in wanting to conduct research because according to the researchers “ang mga tao sa Dibut ay ‘di na katutubo”<sup>5</sup> (Those in Dibut are not indigenous people anymore).

Based on the National Statistics Office Population Census in 2007, Dibut’s population is 712. There are no statistics on how many of these people are Dumagat. However, in a conversation with the

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<sup>4</sup> In the first draft of the Memorandum of Agreement, the indigenous group in Dibut was identified as Alta. During the meeting with the community to discuss the MOA, the term was immediately corrected by those in attendance. Chieftain Eustaquio Bihasa was the one who explained the difference between Alta and Dumagat.

<sup>5</sup> Ate Leonora said this during the meeting for MOA. She was talking about two anonymous American researchers and one Visayan translator who recently went to Dibut to conduct research on the traditions of the Dumagat. But after one day, they left because according to the American (translated by the Visayan to the people), “Aalis na kami at di naman na kayo katutubo dito.” (We’re leaving because you’re not indigenous people.) A similar story was shared by Barangay Captain Rene Querijero. He said that one time a group of college students came to Dibut intending to study the Dumagat culture. Their teacher asked the Barangay Captain where the Dumagats are and the Barangay Captain pointed to the people (the Dumagats) in front of them. The teacher said, “No they’re not!” In which the Barangay Captain replied, “Why? What were you expecting?”

Barangay Captain Rene Querijero and Barangay Councilor Alexander Noriel<sup>6</sup> they mentioned that *if there is 1% of Dumagat blood in the veins of a person, she or he would be counted as Dumagat*. If this would be followed, then majority of the people in Dibut will be Dumagat. However, because of outside influence and everyday interaction with other ethnolinguistic groups, Dumagat culture has been overshadowed by mainstream culture.

## LANGUAGE

The Dumagat people of Dibut have their own language also called Dumagat. According to them it is a derivation of the Tagibulos<sup>7</sup> of Quezon. However, there are just a handful of fluent speakers of this language, usually the old ones. Three of the many reasons for the dying language are: 1) Dumagat parents teach Tagalog to their children, their reason is because the children would be using Tagalog in school, not Dumagat; 2) a child growing up in the settlement will have playmates from different ethnolinguistic groups thus will tend to communicate in the language that is understood by many which is Tagalog; 3) intermarriage – a family with one Dumagat parent and the other from another ethnolinguistic group will speak in Tagalog so they will all understand each other. Despite this problem, the few fluent speakers of Dumagat take pride in their language, because according to them, it is the language that could easily be understood by any Dumagat or Agta group. As Amadeo “Deo” Angara put it, *Tagibulos is the “national” language of the Agtas*.

## THE PLACE

Dibut is a paradise yet to be discovered! With its vast breathtakingly beautiful bay on the east and the wide mountains surrounding it from north to south, one won't really help but fall in love with the place.

Dibut is one of the four coastal barangays of San Luis, Aurora. Home to four different ethnolinguistic groups – namely Tagalog, Ilocano, Visaya, and Dumagat, the community is a place where different cultures and traditions integrate; however, it is an accepted fact that the earliest settlers in the area are the Dumagat so when one says traditional culture, it is understood that one means Dumagat culture.

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<sup>6</sup> Councilor Alexander Noriel is a Tagalog married to a Dumagat.

<sup>7</sup> Deo Angara, Trinidad Salcedo, Felicito Bihasa, and Cipriano dela Torre – community members who have worked with PAFID and other research projects funded by different NGOs have confirmed this.

Upon arrival on the site, one would immediately observe that the community is stretched along the wide shore. Barangay Dibut is divided into seven *puroks*. Purok Uno is on the southeast side of the settlement. That is where the Military Camp is located. At the west side of the camp is an old and familiar structure to the people – the barangay elementary school. They say it has been there since the '50s and many elders of the place can still remember learning how to read and write in the four walls of the classrooms. On the north side of the Military camp is the “Bahay Pulungan”. The hut used to be the office of the Philippine Association for Intercultural Development (PAFID) staff when they still had projects in the area, but now it serves as a resting place for National Commission for Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) staff whenever they visit the place. Residential houses crowd around the center of the settlement, Puroks 2-5. Notable in this settlement is that most of the houses are made of concrete, very much unlike the traditional houses of the Dumagat, the *pinaltat* which is made of coconut palm and wood<sup>8</sup>. At the center of these houses, facing west, is the Barangay Hall. Here is where they conduct meetings regarding matters about the barangay. It also serves as the classroom for the Alternative Learning System (ALS)<sup>9</sup> in the afternoon on weekdays. On the right side of the barangay hall is the health center where people of Dibut usually obtain medicine for their health complaints. A recent addition to the barangay is the *botika ng barangay* which is located the back of the barangay hall. Across the health center is a typical Filipino barangay plaza with a basketball court and stage at the south side. Programs during the barangay fiesta and other barangay related events such as the visiting of the municipal mayor are held on this place. Purok Sais or Angara Village is at the northwest side the settlement. It is called Angara Village because most of the families living there have Angara as a surname, although when asked how they are related to the Angara political family of Baler, they smile and say they just have the same surname.<sup>10</sup> The north side and farthest place of the settlement is Purok Siete. This purok is the biggest among the seven in terms of territory however it is the least densely populated area.

Another way of partitioning the barangay is through the name of the estuaries and creeks in the area. There are 12 estuaries (creeks) in Dibut. Panongan is the first from the southeast. The area

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<sup>8</sup> At present there are no more *pinaltat* in the area. Jerry Novicio said that the traditional shelters were used by the ancient nomadic Dumagat as temporary shelter to protect themselves from the elements of nature such as the sun's heat, rain, and strong winds. It was very easy to build, it took only a few minutes. But because the Dumagat now are less nomadic, they already build nipa huts and concrete houses.

<sup>9</sup> ALS classes had been regular at the beginning of the research project but by mid-July classes had stopped. This is why no one among the ALS students was able to take the Alternative Learning System Accreditation and Equivalency Test. According to the ALS students, the program stopped because there was no available teacher.

<sup>10</sup> According to Nelson “Tantan” Natividad, Dumagats used to have no surnames. But when their ancestors started working for rice field owners and logging companies of Tagalogs, they were required to have surnames. So they took the surnames of their employers. Another instance in which they obtained Tagalog surnames was when they would get married. Surnames are required for the marriage contract. The Dumagat bride and groom use the surnames of their ninongs and ninangs or even the officiating priest/authority. This is why most Dumagats have Tagalog surnames.



near the creek is also called Panongan. So when a person asks where one lives, those from Dibut may answer 'In Panongan', meaning 'our house is near Panongan Creek'.

The area sandwiched by Salolo and Pundungan Creeks is called 'barrio'. This is because this area (Purok 2-5) is the center of the settlement and where the *hustle and bustle* of the barangay life is. It is where the basketball court, health center, botika ng barangay, big stores, and most especially the '*videokehan*' is located. The *videokehan* is owned by a Dumagat-Ilocano couple. Oftentimes at night, when someone sings her or his voice can be heard all over the barrio. But this is not the only thing that makes the barrio alive. There has been electricity in the area since 2004 this is why houses with television (TV) sets have been the *tambayan* (hang-out place) of the people. Almost every night, the barrio is transformed into a movie house – each house that owns a TV shows different movies and drama shows. It's for the community member to choose what she or he would watch – whether it be a Korean Telenovela, a Tagalog movie, or an English movie. There are even choices on what Korean soap opera, or what Tagalog or English movie genre!

After Salaysay Creek is the Angara village. As mentioned earlier, it is called by that name because of the surnames of the people living there. The cemetery can be found near Mabuyok Creek. After the cemetery is Budiw Creek. There are less than 7 households living near Budiw but the researchers observed that this area had the most youth and children. The first time the researchers visited the place, the first scene that appeared to them were fifteen or more grade school children playing with their slippers. After Mabuyok Creek is the Kulayon Creek, followed by Kalapnit settlement. According to Jesus Molina, the settlement was called Kalapnit because Kalapnit Creek used to pass through the area but it was rerouted. The said body of water now meets with Dibut Creek, Kalawed Creek, and Dibatadon Creek. Water from these four creeks goes to the ocean through the Kalawad Estuary. Then there are a few more houses after the Dibatadon Creek. This settlement is also called Dibatadon. After that, there is the Monsupla settlement named after the creek flowing in its midst, the Monsupla Creek. Next to the settlement of Monsupla is a group of big rocks. Ocean waves can reach these rocks during *taib* (high tide). After these rocks, there are some houses of Ilocanos and Visaya. This place is called *Ibayo* meaning *the other side*. Ibayo prides itself on its majestically beautiful twin falls situated at the heart of the forest.

## ACCESS TO THE AREA

Of the four coastal barangays of San Luis – namely Dibut, Dibayabay, Dikapinisan, and Dimanayat, Dibut is the nearest to Baler – the capital town of Aurora. Moreover, it is also the nearest barangay to the poblacion, thus making it the most accessible.

There are two ways to reach Dibut – by land or by sea. By land, one has to hike from Real, another barangay of San Luis, Aurora, climb up and down a mountain, cross a river around 20 times, then walk on a long and winding foot trail. For a seasoned walker, it takes two hours or so to do this, but for a person who is not accustomed to walking far distances, the hike could last for up to eight exhausting hours.

The other option, which is by sea, is an hour and forty-five minutes to two hour boat ride from the capital town of Aurora - Baler. The banca going in and out of Dibut have three common sizes – small, medium, and large. Small boats can accommodate up to 6 people, medium up to 20 people, and large ones can fit 40 people at most. If the sea is “*lantap*” or calm, this mode of transportation to the barangay is better than going by land. However, during the *amihanin* when the sea is *masilig* or rough, to travel by land would be the wiser choice. Another drawback of riding in boats is because there is no passenger boat going in and out of Dibut, one has to find a boat that still has space to accommodate another person or two. In short, one has to hitch a ride going to Dibut by boat. Although it is possible to rent a boat, this costs between 500 to 2,000 pesos back and forth. This would be the payment for the “comfort” of just sitting on a boat and not having to walk for long hours.

## HISTORY

It is an accepted fact that the earliest settlers of Barangay Dibut are the Dumagats. They trace their ancestry from Umiray, Quezon. According to common knowledge among the Dumagats, during the time of Governor Lucing Molina<sup>11</sup>, he decreed that all Dumagats should be gathered in one place and he designated Dibut to be the place of Dumagats. However, when he died, some families went back to Umiray, others to coastal barangays, and some preferred to stay and settle in Dibut. This explains why Dumagats in Dibut usually have relatives living in Diotorin, Dibayabay, and in other

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<sup>11</sup> The same is recorded in the Dumagat Tribe Ancestral Domain (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora), a book on the Indigenous Knowledge and Practices of the Dumagat of Dibut submitted in NCIP. Note that in the historical data of Baler 1952-1953 another tribal governor in the name of Teodorico Molina was cited as their leader in 1935 who started the election of officials for the tribal community.

coastal places as far as Umiray, Quezon.

During the time of the Second World War, Dibut served as a port and refuge for the Japanese soldiers.<sup>12</sup> This is one explanation why many stories are going around that there are many treasures hidden in this place. There are even rumors that some people had already detected and found some of these treasures.

One major event in the history of the Dumagats in Dibut is the coming of Jim and Betty Adkinson, missionaries of the New Tribe Mission, who introduced the Christian religion to the Dumagats in 1967. They converted many Dumagats to Born Again Christian thus altering the belief system of the people in general. Traditional practices such as befriending spirits they call *sobkal*, the use of *anting* (magic) and the likes had been discouraged if not prohibited. As a result, even the elders now have a mixture of Christian and traditional view of the world and their surroundings.

There are no stories or legends as to the origin of Dumagats or Alta, nevertheless they have traditional stories to comfort a crying child or make a child fall asleep. The researchers were able to hear two of these stories – the story of Mog-got and that of Kutikut.<sup>13</sup>

#### Awarding of Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title (CADT)

In May 27, 2009, the Dumagat of Dibut, San Luis, Aurora received their Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title (CADT). The awarding program was held in the main office of National Commission on Indigenous Peoples in Floridablanca, Pampanga. Members from the community received the certificate from then President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo and other government officials. A CADT acknowledges the Dumagats in Dibut are the earliest settlers of the area thus have the right to own and till the land. However, due to poverty and lack of *pagpapahalaga sa lupa* (value for the ancestral domain), a large portion of the land covered by CADT area are pawned to Tagalog settlers of the area.

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<sup>12</sup> Barangay Development Plan of Dibut for the Fiscal Year 2008-2010

<sup>13</sup> See appendices

## LIVELIHOOD

There is a slight difference in livelihood between the traditional Dumagats and the Dumagats of the present. Before, as hunters and gatherers, their main concern was their immediate consumption. There was no concept of money – no one bought or sold anything. So if one Dumagat was able to catch a big wild boar, for instance, it would be divided equally among the families of the settlement.

In 1967, along with the introduction of a new religion, the missionaries of new Tribe Mission had altered two other important aspects of the Dumagat – *food* and thus *livelihood*. The missionaries brought relief goods like rice, canned goods, and noodles. As a result the Dumagat were introduced to food that they could not obtain in their surroundings. They began to see the need to earn money to buy what they need. Money became vital in their lives. To earn, many had worked as harvesters of big rice fields owned by Tagalogs in the nearby barangays of San Luis like Sarah and San Isidro. Logging had also been prevalent in Aurora this time so some of the Dumagats had worked for logging companies.

By the 1980s until now, Dibut has slowly changed into a society reliant on a cash economy. Although their main source of income is still through hunting and gathering, they now tend to sell their products so they could have money to buy from the stores in the community.

Nowadays, the most common way to get food and earn money in Dibut is fishing. *Pangangawil* or rod fishing is usually done by men to provide food for the family. The villagers usually catch *saray* and *bura*. The weight of overnight fishing averages from five (5) to ten (10) kilograms. But fishing is only done when there is no moon ("*kung walang buwan*" - new moon). And there are also instances when a fisherman has no catch after a day or a night's fishing. "*Swerte-swertehan lang sa pangangisda*" according to a fisherman. "*Pero noong bata pa kami at bago pa lang kami nagsasama*", Ofelia Natividad related, "*kahit diyan sa pampang talagang maraming isda at mga hipon. Kaya nga kung tatanungin mo ako, mas maginhawa ang buhay noon kaysa noon.*"<sup>14</sup> (Even near the shore there were many fish and shrimps. So if you ask me, the life before was better compared to now.)

The other method of fishing is called *paninisid* or dive fishing. In this method the fisher uses *pana* or arrow to catch the fish underwater. *Pagtitiwtiw* is another method to get food from the ocean, only this time the main product to be caught is *pusit* or squid. There is also *paglalamang gasang*

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<sup>14</sup> Ofelia Natividad fishes near the shore for *pang-ulam* (viand) almost everyday. Sometimes she gets lucky and catches one or two big "isdang bato", but oftentimes it's just less than a kilo of small fish.

that is getting shellfish along the *gasangan*, *paghihilada* – another way of fishing, and many more. In all these, the main goal is to get food for their consumption. If there is excess, it will be sold to the stores so they will be able to purchase rice and coffee.

Another source of income in Dibut is *pagkokopra*. Money comes easy in copra especially if its price is high in the national market. Coconut fruit can be harvested every three months to be made copra. For each copra making, the income can range from P15,000 to P30,000. However, most of the coconut farms of the Dumagats are pawned to Tagalogs so even though they technically own the land they cannot enjoy the fruits of their land.

During *habagat* months, Dumagats rely on root crops and vegetables for food. Rice and coffee are bought or if they don't have money they just borrow and pay at a later date. Nevertheless, some people still earn money by selling other produce like bananas, ferns, cassava, and *gabi* (yam).

Some members of the community also work outside of the settlement. Some work as house helpers, nannies, and laborers in nearby towns and cities. Very few work in offices due to the fact that most Dumagats aren't able to finish high school.

Economic aid from the government is considerably abundant in the area. Although it is not limited to the Dumagat people alone, the Dumagats greatly benefit from subsidies. One active and prominent organization helping the community is *Self Employment Assistance-Kapatiran or SEA-K* (read as *se-ya-key*). This is an organization built to give *tulong-puhunan* to its members but first they have to treat each other as sisters/brothers. Initially they would be granted P5,000 then after they have paid for it, they could borrow as much as P30,000. Aside from this, they also have projects in the community such as cleaning the creeks, sweeping around the area, and making fences. These are done on Mondays, and if they work they will be paid P150 per day. There are other government projects there like core houses, *kakawan* or cacao plantation, rice for work, free boat engine, and so on. In the researcher's point of view, the government had not been negligent of the people in Dibut.

## POLITICAL SYSTEM

Dibut is home to four different ethnolinguistic groups – Ilocano, Tagalog, Visaya, and Dumagat. Like any other barangay, it is governed by a barangay captain and his seven barangay councilors. The barangay officials are responsible for peace and order of barangay and implementing government projects. All of the members of the community who are eligible to vote can vote for the said political slots.

However, the “katutubo” or the natives of the land – the Dumagat, have another political structure – the Tribal Council. The Tribal Council is composed of the chieftain and six other members. But the existence of the Tribal Council does not mean that the Dumagats are free not to follow the secular law. As Barangay Captain Rene Querijero and Chieftain Eustaquio Bihasa have said, “the two ‘governments’ work hand in hand to maintain order in the community. Supposedly, everything concerning the indigenous people is under the tribal council. If the case is between Dumagat and Tagalog, there will be a settlement meeting in the barangay hall where each party will have their representatives. It is against the law to imprison a Dumagat or file a case against a Dumagat without first talking to the chieftain. Furthermore, all matters regarding ancestral domain is always directed to the Tribal Council. The chieftain and tribal council are put in the position through election and only those who have Dumagat blood can participate in the election. However, the last election held in Dibut was declared void. The chieftain before the said election acts as officer in charge until now.

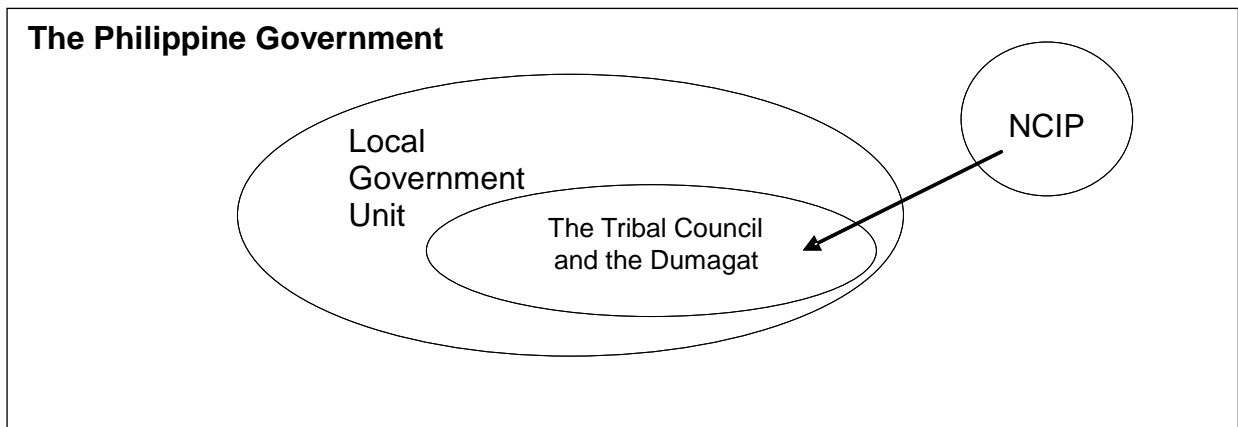


Figure 1. Dibut political system

## RELIGION

There had been a Catholic chapel in Dibut even before the New Tribe Mission missionaries came. According to Trinidad Salcedo, Catholic masses were held in the area in special occasions only and that there was no regular priest in place. Despite this fact, many of the forefathers of the Dumagats practice “*no religion*”. By *no religion* they meant that they did not gather in a church and talk about their beliefs. However they did believe that there were spirits around them that could cause them harm and protect them from harm.

But in 1967, Jim and Betty Adkinson – American missionaries of New Tribes Mission, came to Dibut and converted many Dumagats to be Born Again Christians. Trining said the lives of their elders had drastically changed with the introduction of Christianity.<sup>15</sup> Before, the elders befriended unseen spirits to get “*anting*” or super natural powers which include healing power, *pagkukulam*, and immunity from bolo and bullet wounds. With the coming of Born Again Christians the practice was discouraged if not prohibited. This is actually one reason why many of the traditional healing practices and rituals of the traditional Dumagats were not passed on to the present elders of the community.

In 1967, the New Tribes Mission church was initially built in Kalapnit – a place in Purok 7, Dibut. Later on, in the 1990s, it was renovated and the name of the church was changed to Conquer All Lost and Lonely (CALL). In 1970's, Christ the Lord (CTL) – another Born Again denomination built another church in Angara Village. Then in 1980's, ARISE built another church in Purok 2. So there are three Born Again churches in the area along with one Catholic chapel.

Religion has played a great role in the “changing” culture of Dumagats in Dibut. For one, their view of their surroundings has changed. Before, they believed that spirits roamed and lived with them. These spirits should be respected. One must also be careful not to disturb them else they might get angry and cause plague, illness, or death. But nowadays, these spirits are categorized under bad or evil spirits coming from Satan. *Kaluluwa* or souls of the dead are believed to go either to the “*Sinapupunan ni Amang Abraham*” or “*Dagat-dagatang Apoy*.” Although they still have that belief that they can be sick when they are “*nabati ng kanilang namatay nang kamag-anak*” (greeted by

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<sup>15</sup> Trinidad Salcedo or Trining told the research assistants about their father. She said that before the coming of the New Tribe Missionaries, their father was an alcoholic and he would beat their mother. She also believes that maybe their father had *anting* because he couldn't be harmed by bullets nor bolo. But after he was converted to Born Again, he was a changed man. He became more responsible and kinder to his family. It was also unknown if he gave up his *anting* but Jesus Molina, Trining's brother, told the research assistants that when their father died, he was still breathing even during his wake. So one of their cousins told him that maybe whatever it was in his body should be removed first so that his soul would finally rest. Jesus Molina didn't elaborate on the process they did to remove the “object” but he said after it was removed, their father's breathing finally stopped.

their dead relatives), they have no explanation as to why these *kaluluwa* are still on earth.

## SOCIAL ASPECT

### Family

For many Dumagats, their family is the most important aspect of their lives. Parents may sacrifice anything for their children. A manifestation of this is the experience of Tantan, a former barangay captain. He related, “*Sa sobrang dami ng aking ginagawa.. Tapos lagi pa akong nasa Dikapinisan noon, dinadalaw yung mga nagti-training na CAFGU. Tingin ko napabayaan ko ang aking pamilya. Bihira ko na silang nadadalaw.*” (I had to do a lot of things.. Before, I was always in Dikapinisan visiting those training for CAFGU. I think I neglected my family. I seldom visited them.) He resigned from his post because of this. Another proof of the very strong family bond of the Dumagat is related by Presing. Presing had been studying to be a Born Again Christian pastor in Tarlac when her mother asked her to go home to Dibut. Her mother told her that time that “*Kahit tayo naghihirap basta tayo’y magkakasama.*” (Though we a suffering from poverty, what matters is that we are together.) She didn't want to stop her studies then but her mother got sick so she still went home.

### Courtship

Nowadays, young adults court the way most people do – they give flowers, chocolates, and so on. But according to Chieftain Eustaquio Bihasa, the traditional Dumagat courtship is a little different from this. Men also give different objects to women but each object has a meaning. For instance a man's first gifts to a woman he likes may be a leaf of *sagilala*, *tubo* (sugarcane), and *puso ng saging* (banana flower). *Sagilala* sound like *makilala* (to meet), *tubo* is *matamis* (sweet), and *puso ng saging* symbolizes the heart of the giver. So, one *sagilala* leaf plus *tubo* and *puso ng saging* will read as “*Nang una kitang makilala naging matamis ka sa puso ko.*” (When I first met you, you became sweet in my heart).

However, during the early times, arranged marriage had been prevalent and was accepted by the Dumagat. Now, the Dumagat youth may decide who they want as a life partner. The most common ideal partner for the youth nowadays is a person who they like/love, has good family background, and has no history of psychological illness.<sup>16</sup> Looking for a partner outside the community and

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<sup>16</sup> Based on the statements of Chieftain Eustaquio Bihasa- an elderly; Mel Bihasa, Amadeo Angara, Warly Victorio – adult unmarried men; and in another occasion Pricilla Malate – married woman and Angelo Valino – youth.



choosing one who is non-Dumagat is now common because as Warly Victorio has said, “*Karaniwan kasi ng mga Dumagat ay (mag)kamag-anak na rin kaya mas mabuting mag-asawa ng di-Dumagat.*” (Most Dumagats are relatives so it is better to marry a non-Dumagat.)

### Marriage

Marriage is sacred for the Dumagat people of Dibut. Even before, when had not yet been Christianized and had no wedding rites yet,<sup>17</sup> a person who left her or his family was severely punished. According to Tantan and Ofelia Natividad, during the time of their ancestors, when a woman/man left her/his partner, even if she/he moved to another place and tried to hide, the elders of her/his supposed family would do everything to find her/him and would force her/him to go back to her/his supposed family. But that was after she/he is tied and beaten in public.

The same is true nowadays. Although there is no more tying and beating in public, leaving one's partner is still scorned.

It is observable that among the male Dumagats there are two types of “kabataan” or unmarried people – those of the ages 14 – 19 and those of age 28 and up. Most if not all of the males in the range of 20 to 27 years old, are married. The researchers have asked about this situation and Warly Victorio and Amadeo Angara, both Dumagat bachelors aged 29, explained that late teens to early twenties is really the marrying age of the male Dumagat- *they are in their prime* as Warly put it. But when a man passes that age they usually become shy to express their feelings and are afraid to be rejected. So instead of starting their own family, they focus on other things. Marriage had been put aside if not forgotten. However, most of the adult females are married. For the duration of time that the researchers stayed in the community they did not meet a woman aged 22 and above who was unmarried but they met countless single men aged 27 and above.

### Gender

Among the Dumagat community in Dibut, work in the field such as *pagkokopra*, *pagtatapas*, and the likes are generally done by male while household chores such as cooking, doing the laundry, cleaning the house, and washing the dishes are done by the female.

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<sup>17</sup> Tantan said that in the time of their ancestors, the elders would just let the foreheads of the couple meet then declare them husband and wife.

## Education

There is an elementary school in the barangay. However, it is a fact that many of the youth are not able to finish elementary. Parents blame the youth for having no drive to study. The shortage of teachers in the school and poverty are also mentioned as causes of this problem. The researchers agree to this but they also believe that lack of encouragement from parents is another major reason for high rate of out-of-school-youth in Dibut.

## Pastime

Since electricity arrived in Dibut in 2002, watching DVDs has been one of the major pastimes of the people. Korean dramas have been a major hit among the all people – young and old, male and female. Tagalog movies featuring Filipino action stars like Fernando Poe, Jr., Lito Lapid, Ronnie Ricketts, and others are also some of the favorites.

For the children aged 3-10, swimming in the ocean is a delightful way to pass the time. In Dibut it would be very rare to meet a child who does not know how to swim. The problem is sometimes instead of going to school, they choose to just play in the ocean.

For those whose houses without electricity, if they are not in the barrio watching TV, they would be crowding around and discussing anything – it may be about people around them, politics, the difficulty of life, among other things. These are the moments that the research assistants utilized to conduct interviews and focus group discussions.

## FOOD

Like in any other community food is vital in the Dumagat community in Dibut. The food of the Dumagat has been greatly affected by the changes in their environment. The elders of the community have verified that the introduction of rice greatly affected their diet.

In the olden times, there were two sets of food eaten by the Dumagats – for *habagatin* and for *amihanin*. During the *habagat* months, when the sea is *lantap* (calm), the main food is fish, shrimps, and other seafood. Their marine catch was matched with vegetables which they could gather in their surroundings. On the other hand, during the *amihan* months, when ocean waves are big and going to the sea was not an option, the main source of food was the forest. According to

the elders, this was the time they ate the traditional food which is composed of root crops, starch, and meat of wild boar. The most popular among these traditional foods was *binungu*– a *bibingka*-like food from *pugahan* (a type of palm) which they filled with wild boar meat. However, as mentioned before, nowadays this food is cooked only during very special occasions; the most recent was during the June 2010 barangay fiesta. But Veronica Molina-Valino had told the researchers that when she was young, this diet cycle was very common.

After the introduction of Born Again Christian, the diet of Dumagat changed. During the early days, they could live with fish, wild boar meat, vegetables, and other food they could gather from the ocean or the forest. At present, a Dumagat meal cannot be complete without rice. Spices for their viand is also prevalent and they use *vetsin* (monosodium glutamate), soy sauce, vinegar, garlic, and onion. In contrast to the olden times when the only spice they used was the leaf of the Kabulaw tree<sup>18</sup>. At present, children and adults prefer noodles and canned goods over root crops and vegetables.

Back then, according to the adults, when they saw that they have half a sack of banana or *kamote*, they were already contented with having those foods for a few days. But now, when there is no rice in their containers, they feel uneasy and find ways to earn to be able to buy rice. If worse comes to worst they borrow rice from the store to be paid once they have money.

Another change brought about by the introduction of “outside” food to the natives is the drinking of coffee. Coffee is a necessity of every Dumagat household nowadays. It is not uncommon to see people – both young and old – sitting in a corner while sipping coffee in the morning. Some adults even said that if they have coffee in the morning, even without breakfast, they could be satisfied and work the whole morning.

But one thing that the Dumagat take which that hasn't changed is their chewing of *mama*. *Mama* has four ingredients – *bunga* (areca nut), *apog* (calcium hydroxide), *litlit* leaf, and *maskada* (tobacco). The traditional and contemporary Dumagats alike have claimed that they could live without food so long as they have *mama*.

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<sup>18</sup> Kabulaw leaf has a sour taste. It is still used as spice nowadays and is a much preferred “*pang-asim*” than tamarind and calamansi.

### Binungu

One of the favorite traditional food of the elders is *binungu*. *Binugu* is made from the pith (*ubod*) of *pugahan* (palm) tree. Jesus Molina detailed the step by step preparation to make *binungu*. First, the head of the family, the father, will look for a *pugahan* tree that already has a big pith. Their forefathers knew a method to determine the size of the pith of a tree. The trunk of the tree will then be chopped into one "*dipa*", and cut into half to get the pith. The pith would be pounded to get the juice. After all the juice is extracted, it would be left for a while to let the *yuru* (starch) settle, to separate it from the water. A thin layer of *yuru* will be spread on the *tagbak* leaf and on top of it a slice of wild boar meat would be placed. It would be then rolled and tied, and then ready to be roasted on fire. The resulting delicacy is *binungu* or in Tagalog – *pinutus*.

### Nami

*Nami* is a root crop that used to be a traditional food of the Dumagats. According Jesus "Itot" Molina, *nami* can be poisonous if it is not properly prepared. He said, first the tuber of *nami* will be cut so that it will fit in a casserole. Then it will be boiled for several hours. The boiled *nami* will then be sliced into thin pieces. Afterwards it will be put in a basket and will be soaked in running water for one night. The next day it can be eaten with grated coconut meat along with boiled wild pig broth. The Dumagat have passed on a story that during the time of the Japanese occupation, a group of Japanese soldiers boiled *nami* and ate it. All the soldiers died. Naldo also told us about his experience when he and other men were working in construction. He said that one time they just wanted to drink alcohol but they didn't have money to buy one. So they decided to experiment on *nami*. They gathered around 2 ½ teaspoon of *nami* sap, added sugar, then heated it. The smell was very pungent. Five people smelled and tasted it. They all fell asleep and woke up the next day. Itot added that if the shoot of *nami*, even just three leaves, will be put on top of rice being cooked, anyone who eats the rice will get dizzy and will surely fall into a deep sleep.

## HEALTH

*Dibut is a community in transition from traditional to mainstream.* From the physical aspect of their lives to economic to social spheres. Due to everyday interaction with different ethnolinguistic groups and the accessibility of the area to the nearby towns and cities, it is now difficult to draw a line between traditional Dumagat and outsiders' belief and practices. For instance, it will be very hard to identify the traditional practices for infant care because of 1) the change of belief due to the change of religion, 2) since 1970's doctors from Baler and San Luis have been visiting Dibut and "corrected the wrong practices" of the Dumagats, and 3) intermarriage – because most of the households have heterogenous parents, child care is based on a mixture of Dumagat and other ethnolinguistic beliefs. Most information which will be discussed here are based on NOW, the prevalent practices of the Dumagats in Dibut.

### PRACTICES AND BELIEFS

The following are some beliefs and practices of the Dumagats. Some of them "claim" to be traditional while others are from non-Dumagat groups or based on mainstream culture.

#### Pregnancy

A traditional way to know the sex of an unborn child is to observe how a pregnant woman walks. When the pregnant woman is sitting, then stands up to walk, the foot that she will use to take the first step would be the basis for the sex of the child. If she takes a step using her left foot first, the unborn child is female. If she uses her right foot then the unborn child is male. However this belief is just a remnant of the traditional ways of the ancient Dumagats. For the Dumagats now, this method is not reliable and is considered a superstition.

Until now, it is believed that *aswang* prey on pregnant women. So pregnant women are advised to be extra careful in dealing with strangers and suspected *aswang*. The researchers observed the suspected *aswang* in Dibut are usually non-Dumagats or if ever they do have Dumagat blood, they haven't stayed in the place and have gotten their power from outsiders.

#### Giving birth

Most of the herbal medicines that the research assistants have gathered are for mothers who have just given birth. They are taken by mothers to prevent "*baynat*" (postpartum illness).

The midwife in the community has the responsibility of assisting in giving birth. In an interview with Erna Lopez, a barangay health worker, she said that “*Nagagalit si Doktor [the municipal doctor of San Luis] kung hindi si midwife ang nagpapaanak. Siya [midwife] daw kasi nag-aral. 'Di katulad ng hilot, wala silang training. Kapag namatay daw po kasi yung bata, kasalanan daw po yun ni midwife.*” (Doktora gets angry when it's not the midwife who assists when someone is giving birth. This is because the midwife has studied, unlike the *hilot* (traditional midwife) who has no training. When a child dies it will be the fault of the midwife.)

There are isolated cases of mother and infant death in the community. In one occasion, the baby had been alive when it was born but died after a few minutes. Then after the child was buried, the mother died. Then there was also an instance that the child lived for only one month. But in all these cases, Erna commented, “*Karaniwan, kapabayaang iyon ng nanay sa anak. 'Yung iba kasi, manganganak na pala tsaka pa lang malalaman ni midwife na buntis pala. Kaya 'di sila naalagaan habang buntis.*” (Usually it is the negligence of the mother in caring for the child. Some were already about to give birth when the midwife would learn that they were pregnant. So they are not taken care of during their pregnancy.)

In their traditional belief, all healers agreed that when a woman has just given birth, she is very fragile and weak. Tantan Natividad and Felicito Bihasa told the research assistants that it is strictly prohibited for the new mother to step on water and do hard tasks such as lifting heavy objects three days after she has given birth. Tantan Natividad added that on the third day when the mother has already taken a shower with lukewarm water and herbs, she would not be allowed to sleep the whole day. If she does, the heat would go up to her head and might cause insanity. Jose “Jun” Casamis, Jr. said that in the hospital, after a woman has given birth she is encouraged to sleep. In the traditional midwife way, the woman is not allowed to sleep immediately. She would be given traditional medicine first then she must let the medicine take effect (usually just a few minutes) before she can sleep. This is done because if she sleeps without the medicine and without letting it take effect “*sisiba ang hilab ng tiyan niya* (her womb would suddenly be excruciatingly painful)”.

#### Infant care

“Breastfeeding is very important for a newly born infant. It is how she/he gets the needed sustenance to help her/him be strong. Food eaten by the mother greatly affects the health of the child, so the mother has to be very careful on what she is eating. Although there are no prohibited foods for a breast-feeding mother, it is advised that she refrains from eating fish with *tibo* (spiky or thorn like dorsal fin).” This is a belief that ancient and contemporary Dumagats hold on to.

Furthermore, “when a breastfeeding mother has been out for a day, say she has worked in the farm for the whole day, she must squeeze out breastmilk prior to feeding the child. This is done so that the child will not be able to drink spoiled milk.”<sup>19</sup>

In the day-to-day conversation of the research assistants with the Dumagats, they noticed that child fatality had been higher in the 80's and before that than at present. While the research assistants had been mapping the genealogic chart of the different households, it was not uncommon to list a child who died before reaching the age of seven. The common cause for these infant deaths was *tjpdas na itim*.

### Puberty and aesthetics

The Dumagat people believe in natural beauty so they do not have any traditional plant used for aesthetic purposes. However, when the research assistant was gathering herbarium specimen, Veronica “Ero” Valino pointed to an onion-like plant and said that it is used as “*pampaganda*” of Dumagats. They get the leaves of the plant, extract its juice and apply it on their face. The skin will be exfoliated. But this is not commonly used nowadays because a woman who used it experienced burning on her skin after doing the treatment.

Circumcision is a comparatively new practice among Dumagat. In the olden times, they didn't have such practice.

Lucy Bihasa told the research assistants a practice on the onset of a woman's menstruation. She said the woman has to wear a skirt and try to climb stairs skipping several steps at a time. The number of steps that she has skipped would be the number of days she would have her monthly period. For instance, if she was able to skip three steps then she will have her menstruation for three days. But because Lucy is of Visayan descent, she is not quite sure whether this practice was from Aurora, the place where she grew up, or from Visayas, her homeland.

*Sinibigan* or amenorrhea is another condition wherein the Dumagats have many medicinal cures. Jun Casamis said that *when a woman has her menstrual period, she is like having a baby*. The prohibitions for a woman who has just given birth is the same with the one who is having her monthly period. She should abstain from eating sweet and sour food. One should also avoid stepping on water. If the woman does not obey the advice, the result will be *sinibigan* or in mild

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<sup>19</sup> Tantan Natividad, a healer who claims '*pag-aanak*' to be his expertise and Ofelia Natividad, a mother - quoted these statements. Felicito Bhasa and Lucy Bihasa had likewise uttered similar statements.

cases *natipid ang regla* or dysmenorrhea.

## DEATH, AFTERLIFE, AND THE WORLD WE LIVE IN

Since most of the informants were born and raised under the Born Again Christian belief, most believe that after one dies she/he will go to either "*sinapupunan ni Amang Abraham*" (heaven) or "*dagat-dagatang apoy* or *hades ng pagdurusa*" (hell). Their notion is mainly based on the bible. During the interviews and discussions about life and death, they would frequently quote some verses from the bible to prove their point. Although one question from the researchers has always been answered with silence or a change of topic, that is, about the "*kaluluwa ng kanilang kaanak na bumabati sa kanilang kaanak*" (the spirit of their deceased relative that appears to them). Healer A explained that when a person dies, if she/he accepted Jesus as her/his saviour she/he will go to heaven. Heaven is somewhere beyond the sky that we see. If the person had been bad when she/he was alive and she/he never acknowledged "*Panginoon*" (God) until her/his death then the person would go to hell. But when asked about the souls that they say greet living people and may cause illness and why they are still here on earth, Healer A just stared blankly and said "*Hindi ko lang alam, 'yan kasi ang paniniwala namin.*" (I don't know, that is just what we believe in.) Healer B said that maybe those are not really the souls of their loved ones then suddenly changed the topic. When the researcher followed up about what she had said about the soul, she ignored the question and continued talking about something else. In the case of Healer C, he readily said that *sobkal*, *aswang* and the other spirits around us are really from Satan then held back his tongue when asked to elaborate his answer.

From the researchers point of view, although they had been Christianized for a long time, some of the traditional beliefs remained even though they had realized that it may somewhat contradict with what they ought to believe in. It was like case of chewing *mama*. One of the devoted Born Again asked the research assistant why she doesn't ask him why he still chews *mama* despite the fact that he is already a Christian. So the research assistant obliged. He said that, before, they were asked by missionaries to stop the habit but they said it was very difficult. Then he argued that anyway they don't swallow the juice, they just chew then spit it out. So it doesn't go inside their body, only until their mouth.

The Dumagats view the world from the mixture of Born Again Christian and traditional beliefs. They believe that humans share this world with animals and spirits living in the mountains, trees, seas, rivers, and creeks. These spirits according to some have always been living there or for some,



these are actually followers of Satan. They are considered bad spirits but they also help people especially in healing the sick. *Arbularyos* get their power and knowledge from them. Then there are the souls of the dead people. They can also cause illness to people through *bati* or greeting.

Plants are plants, they are not living, and they don't have souls according to the Dumagat point of view. Animals also have no souls but they are alive.

## CAUSES OF ILLNESS

For the Dumagat people, there are several reasons why a person gets sick. Some of the explanations they have learned from their elders, some from doctors who visited them before,<sup>20</sup> and some from health seminars and other information dissemination methods in their barangays. The causes of illnesses are the following:

1. ASWANG. Humans who have power to change their appearance and feast on other humans' internal organs are called *aswang*. Jun Casamis and Tantan Natividad have said that *aswang* came from Satan. There are two kinds of *aswang*. The *lakad* and *lipad*. *Lakad* are the *aswangs* that change their appearance into animals like dogs and cats. *Lipad*, on the other hand, are the *manananggal*. There is a story that two *aswangs*, one a *lakad* and the other *lipad*, competed to know who is better. They agreed to prey on one victim, whoever eats the internal organ of the victim first would be the stronger. The *lipad* decided to fly two hours earlier before the *lakad* would leave. When the *lipad* arrived at the area she was surprised to find the dead victim. The *lakad* had killed it. Actually, according to Felicito Bihasa *lakad* can affect the victim even from afar. They could kill their prey even though they are not in the "crime scene."

Unlike what are shown on televisions with *aswangs*, blood drippings from their mouths, literally eating the internal organs of the victims, Jun Casamis said that it is possible that a person may look intact - no wounds on his body, but has been a victim of an *aswang*. This is because "aswangs eating the internal organ of the person may be deeper than the literal sense." It is possible that a person who gets sick and is diagnosed to be *inaswang*, will be checked by a doctor who will not see anything wrong with her/him. It is the essence, like an unseen energy, that the *aswangs* actually get from their victims.

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<sup>20</sup> Since the 1960s, doctors from the nearby towns like Baler and San Luis had been visiting the area.

2. AMAS O DI-NAKIKITA (UNSEEN BEINGS). The *di-nakikita* or the unseen are spirits roaming around the earth. The people of Dibut call these unseen spirits *amas*. They usually live in the sea, mountains, trees, rivers, and creeks. According to Healer 1, these spirits maybe the angels who were thrown from heaven because they broke the law of God and followed Satan. This explanation, though, came out after the Christianization of the people. For Healer 2<sup>21</sup>, the *di-nakikita* is the source of knowledge and power of the *arbularyos*. But Jun Casamis says that this *amas* may have been here even before the world had been created. Nelson Natividad explained that if an illness is caused by the *di-nakikita*, she/he cannot be cured and/or can be worsened by “*medicine*” (a term they used to mean pills and other substances given by the doctor or bought from the pharmacy). So when one of the research assistants got sick and was rushed to the hospital, one community member told the other research assistant not to allow doctors to inject medicine to the patient because he suspects that the research assistant was *nabati*.

For the Dumagats the following are the kinds of *di-nakikita*:

Sobkal. *Sobkal* is considered a good spirit. They are the ones that befriend people and teach them about healing. A *sobkal* reveals itself to its friend in dreams. They live in sacred areas such as the mountains. The human friend of the *sobkal* can ask anything from it. It may be to cause harm to another person or to heal the sick. Tantan said that when a person is greeted by a *sobkal* and gets sick, the same *sobkal* can reverse the effect. But if it happens that the sick person consults an *arbularyo* who has another *sobkal* friend, the *arbularyo* can ask his spirit friend to communicate with the *sobkal* who caused the illness, and request it to cure the sick person. However, it is still more effective if the *arbularyo* that was consulted is the friend of the *sobkal* that caused the illness.

At present, there are no more *sobkal* in Dibut. Tantan said that when the original human friend of the *sobkals* die, the *sobkal* looks for “new” friends. If it can't find another friend then it will move to another place or it can also die. Some say that when their forefathers were still alive, there were many *sobkal* in the area but because most of the contemporary Dumagat don't practice befriending *sobkal*, they already moved to other places like Matawi and Umiray.

Taloman. *Taloman* is another spirit that can be befriended by healers. However, these spirits are much worse than the *sobkal* for they can be asked to kill a person. They are more frightening than the *sobkal* because when they are angered they could cause immediate death to the person who offended them. If one *taloman* causes harm to a person, only the healer friend of the *taloman* can

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<sup>21</sup> Name withheld for safety purposes.

undo the harm. So if one is afflicted with an illness caused by a *taloman* its healer friend cannot be located or the *taloman* has no healer friend, the person can never be cured and will eventually die.

Like the case of *sobkal*, *taloman* no longer reside in Dibut. Knowledge about this spirit was obtained from stories that their parents told them.

Patianak. *Patianak* is the Dumagat term for *dwende* or dwarf. They are described like those we see on TV – small creatures with long and white beards. They live in anthills or near a *sapang maliliit* (creek). *Patianak* are known to play tricks on people and this may cause harm to the living. A case of death by drowning was even blamed on a *patianak* living near the Budiw Creek. According to the mother, the child was about 3 years old that time. She was just playing near their house the last time she was seen. Knowing the child was safe, the mother went to the other side of their house to continue washing their clothes. A few minutes passed when she decided to check on her child but the child was nowhere in sight. When they found her, she was already floating in the creek, lifeless. The incident happened just a few years ago and the mother still felt sad telling the story of her child. And every time she talks about her deceased child she always says that the child was “*pinaglaruan ng patianak*” (*patianak* played with her child).

Talo. *Talo* are spirits residing in the mountain and forest that could cause a person to lose his way. “*Huwag kang pumunta diyan, sige ka kukunin ka ng talo,*” (Don’t go there, *talo* will get you) is a prevalent statement told to children to stop them from going to a place that they are not supposed to be in, like the forest. Tantan Natividad shared his experience about *talo*. He said when he was still *nagyayantok* (harvesting rattan), he had been lost in the forest. It was already afternoon, he was with another *magyayantok*. He said to his companion that he would go ahead. After a few minutes he heard footsteps ahead of him. So thinking that it must be his companion who actually decided to go ahead of him, he followed the footsteps. At that time, he wasn’t thinking clearly anymore. All he could think of was to follow the steps. Luckily, his wife, who was also around the vicinity became worried after the real companion of her husband already arrived without him. She looked for her husband and found him just wandering around the forest. Tantan said that when he saw his wife, that was the time he “woke up.” He had completely lost track of time, he didn’t even realize that he had been walking for almost an hour and that the sun has already set. His wife told him that he had been victimized by *talo*.

Ero Valino said that a *talo* can change their appearance to fool humans. For instance, they could appear to be a person the victim knows so the victim would follow them and even talk to them.

3. KALULUWA. The kaluluwa or soul of the dead can also cause illness or even death. Tantan said that when a person is *nabati* by a dead relative, his/her illness can easily be cured by any *arbularyo* and the person can easily recover. However, it is very important to bear in mind that when one sees a relative that is already dead, the living should never speak to the soul of the dead because if the dead happens to say something and the living cannot understand it, he/she would surely die on the spot.

4. CHANGE OF CLIMATE. Trining said the changing weather or climate can cause illness. For instance, August is the month in which the climate changes from *habagatin* to *amihanin*. This time as well, many people have fever, cold, and/or cough. But an ancient belief as to why cough and colds are prevalent in August was that during this time, there is a flower in the mountain that starts to bloom. The blooming of this flower causes the cold and cough. The present Dumagat cannot explain this situation. They just say that it was the belief of their ancestors.

Too much cold and too much heat can also cause illness according to Felicito Bihasa. He said getting a cold is one example of an illness caused by exposure to low temperature.

5. SALOT (PLAGUE). “When a hen without chicks crows, an unmarried woman is going to be pregnant. When a hen with chicks crows, a married woman will be pregnant but the father of the child is not her husband. The direction where the hen faced as it crowed is the place where the woman (that will get pregnant) comes from.” Both types of pregnancies are shameful and against the belief system of the Dumagat. Thus, if either situation happens, the spirits will get angry and bring about *salot* or plague in the community. *Salot* may be cough, fever, cold, or other disease. It will be confirmed as *salot* if many community members would have the same disease in a short period of time. This “problem” can be solved by burning a kind of incense – from the sap of a tree in the forest.<sup>22</sup> Although this is not practiced anymore, many of the cultural consultants could still recall their grandparents and parents doing such. They recall that the burning of the incense really helped. Every time there is a *salot* and the elders burn the incense, the illness of the community miraculously disappeared.

6. HAWA. *Hawa* or contagion is a relatively new concept to the community of Dibut. They learned about this from the doctors who have visited them and from television programs and movies that they have watched. They believe that when one is sick, the *krobyo* (*mikrobyo* or microbes) travel through air from one person to another. Tantan Natividad said skin diseases such as *buni*

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<sup>22</sup> No one in the community knows the name of the tree because the ritual is not practiced anymore.

(ringworm) and *ketong* (leprosy) are also contagious. This happens when they have the same “type of blood” or “*magkakadugo*”.

7. INIT AT LAMIG. Humoral pathology has been one of the widely accepted etiology of illness among the Dumagats. They believe that when a person is exposed to heat for a long time then is suddenly exposed to cold, the person will get sick. A farmer should not take a bath after a day's work, nor should a fisherman be soaked from the sea water after a day of fishing. This is also the most common explanation for children being sick with fever, cough, and cold. Because the community is located along the shore, most children walk along the beach going to school and in the afternoon they will take a dip in the ocean. The next day, they become sick. This is also related to the concept of *pasma*.

8. ANIMALS AND THE SURROUNDINGS. Animals can cause illness to people when they bite. For instance when a dog bites a man, the man will feel pain and thus becomes sick. Snakes and other insects like centipede have venom so when they bite not only does it cause pain but also bring about other problems like high fever, poisoning, or even death. Felicito Bihasa added that animal dung can cause disease. Although the ancient Dumagat did not know about bacteria, Felicito said their ancestors had known that dung might cause them disease because they tend to avoid stepping on them.

Meanwhile, animals such as ducks, chickens, and birds, and insects like flies and roaches carry *krobyo* (*mikrobyo* or *microbes*) on their feet. When they step on plates and other things used in eating, the *krobyo* will be transferred to the people who use the contaminated utensils and it may cause illnesses. To avoid this situation, the utensils should be cleaned with water. It should not have dirt like mud/soil, traces of food, or other foreign matter that can be seen by the naked eye.

9. PLANTS. Plants can also cause illness to people. For instance when a person eats a plant that is not compatible with his body, then this might cause diarrhea. There is also a condition they called *naligas*. *Ligas* is a kind of plant that may cause itchiness and skin inflammation when touched. It is advised that this plant should be avoided. However, Trining Salcedo has said that once a person identifies that the plant is *ligas*, he/she could touch it without being harmed. In short, the Dumagat practice is, if the person doesn't know what plant it is, one should not touch it for it might be something that may cause harm.

10. BONOG. People can cause illness to others unintentionally. This is the case of *bonog* (*usog*). Felicito Bihasa has said that *bonog* is “*hangin na dala ng tao na pagod na, nakaka-apekto sa isang*

*tao/bata.*” (air that is carried by a tired person that affects a person/child.) It is also possible that a person can be *mabongan* (be affected by *bonog*) when another person who has *bonog* talks to one person but the other does not answer. Jeremy Bihasa told the research assistants that *bonog* can be transferred. Once a person has been affected by the *bonog*, she/he has already the power to *mambonog* (also cause it to others) – whether she/he likes it or not! He further stated that in the case of those who have *bonog*, they really don’t intend to make the other person sick. Oftentimes they pity their “*victim*” especially when she/he is a child. Tantan Natividad said that usually the old people have *bonog*. Both Felicito Bihasa and Jun Casamis have agreed to this.

A person who is *nabonogan* or *nausog* feels sudden dizzy and would want to vomit. He/she will also experience sudden fits of cold sweat. The ears will also feel cold and soft as if it has no bones.

For Felicito and Jeremy Bihasa, a good and effective cure for *bonog* is the saliva of the person who had brought about *bonog* to the “*victim*”. But if the person can’t be located, Jun Casamis had given some alternatives like the guyabano or the malunggay leaves.

## **HEALTH SEEKING PRACTICES OF DUMAGAT IN DIBUT, SAN LUIS, AURORA**

When a person is sick, the person is usually excluded from the everyday cycle of life. For instance, a child who has fever will not go to school. An adult male with cough should not go fishing or a woman who has cold must not farm. This is due to the fact that when a person is sick, her/his body gets weak. To recover her/his health she/he needs to rest and seek medical attention.

There are three possible ways a household in Dibut could react to illness. Either they resort to “mainstream” medical practices, consult a traditional healer, or ask a pastor of their church to pray for the patient.

### **1. “Mainstream” medical practices**

There is a health center in the *heart* of Dibut. The structure is located near the barangay hall, across the barangay plaza. It is run by the barangay midwife, a “*mestiza*” (a term they use to refer to a person who has a mixed ancestry of Dumagat and another ethnolinguistic group). Assisting her are seven barangay health workers (BHW). Medicine for colds, cough, fever, and high blood are available in the Health Center for free. When a household member is sick, the initial reaction of the other household members is to go to the health center to get medicine or buy medicine from the

botika ng barangay or the other stores. If there is no available medicine in the barangay health center, they go to the municipal health center. Synthetic medicine is very much valued by the people in Dibut.

The most common illness among the children in the barangay are cold, cough, and fever. This is due to too much exposure from the sun and bathing in the sea for too long. Illness is rare among the youth (adolescents). In regard to the adults, the common health concern is pregnancy among the married women. Although there are traditional practices for prenatal care, the people in Dibut mainly rely on the 'expertise' of the midwife. Among the elders, high blood is the main health complaint. Many say that their high blood pressure is hereditary, but some say it is because of their diet – too much seafood and fat.

The nearest hospital in Dibut is the Aurora Memorial Hospital in Baler, which is a two-hour boat ride away. When one member of the family is sick, another member usually approaches the barangay captain or the municipal mayor for financial support.

## **2. Arbularyo and healers**

At present there are no traditional Dumagat *arbularyo* residing in Dibut. The only identified *arbularyo* is half Ilocano, half-Dumagat. But there are elders who still have the knowledge on traditional herbal medicine and can recall some experiences when they were 'healed' by an *arbularyo* when they were still young.

As mentioned above, people in Dibut mainly rely on synthetic medicine for their 'everyday' illnesses. But when the illness is supposed to be caused by "*amas*" or spirits, they go to a person who knows how to counter the effect of the *amas*. *Amas* or "*di-nakikita*" (another term they use to mean spirits which literally translates to unseen) are spirits existing are anywhere. People are afflicted with illness when they are "*nabati*" by the spirits (literally – greeted or noticed by a spirit). The person who is *nabati* exhibits the same symptoms as a person who is sick – fever, vomiting, dizziness, stomachache, and cold sweat. But the difference is that the sickness is very immediate, very abrupt – one moment the person is active and healthy, the next moment she/he is very sick. Although they believe that the illness would not cause death, they still go to an *arbularyo* immediately for the "comfort" of the patient.

Aside from their knowledge in herbal medicine, *arbularyos* are known to be able to cure using *Latin* prayers. Jun Casamis, the only identified *arbularyo* in the area said that there are two kinds of *Latin* prayers – the one coming from the “dark” side and the one coming from the wood where Jesus was crucified, thus coming from God. He claims that his knowledge in healing came from God.

### 3. Prayer

Born-again Christianity has spread its influence in Dibut since the 1960s. Nowadays, there are three different churches in Dibut and because of the religion’s extensive influence to the people, even in sickness people tend to consult a pastor for possible help. In cases that they believe that a patient’s illness is caused by “*amas*”, the members of the household ask a pastor to pray to a higher being to expel or to frighten away the “evil” spirit. And in case that the illness is a medical problem such as ulcer, high blood and the likes, they ask a pastor to pray for the fast recovery of the patient.

#### **Dibut – a clan of healers**

The development plan of Dibut identified 6 healers and 2 traditional bone-setters. However in the duration of the research assistants’ stay in the area it proved that although there may be known *arbularyos* in the place, almost every elder as well as some young adults do have some knowledge in healing. It is also notable that the knowledge in healing had been spread in all families in Dibut. By careful inspection of the genealogy of the settlers of the community, it has been proven that somehow each family is connected to another family, thus the dispersion of knowledge.

How one learns to heal

“*There are just one or two plants in this world that is/are not used in healing.*” That is according to Felicito Bihasa’s grandfather and to Jun Casamis’ father. What those plants are, they never mentioned. But how does a person know which plant is for what illness?

As in any knowledge, knowledge in traditional healing is passed on by a teacher to a student. Among the Dumagat in Dibut, the most common way to transfer the knowledge is through “*pagkakatnig*” or in literal translation “to tell”. Felicito said that when he was still a child while traversing the mountains with his *lolo*, his grandfather used to point to him the medicinal plants and their medicinal value. He memorized the appearance of the plant and sometimes even the location



of the plant so that when he needed it he would easily find it. In that way he accumulated knowledge on medicinal plants which in turn he taught to his wife and children in a similar manner.

Another way of *pagkakatnig* is exhibited in the experience of Jun. He said that when a member of his family gets sick, he gives them medicinal plants. He then tells them what that plant is, its medicinal value as well as how it is used. This is how he teaches them so that when he passes away his family would still know the medicine around them.

Trining's experience is somewhat the same, except that in her case the initiative to learn came from her. She said that when she was still younger and her parents were still alive, when she or her sibling was given medicine, she asked what the medicine was and how it would be used. When the elders gave medicine, usually it would just be the bark, root, or leaf. She asked her parents to show her the whole plant. That way she learned to identify the plants around her with medicinal value.

Knowledge is also transferred or acquired because of **need**. Jun said that when his first four kids died of unknown reasons, he approached his father and asked to be taught how to heal. Lucy Caldoza-Bihasa, a Visaya who has married a Dumagat, claims that she learned her skills in healing from her husband. She related that when their children were still young, they used to go to Diatorin on foot. They crossed the mountains with their children on their backs. To protect the young ones from spirits that may have been residing in the forest, she used luyang pula. She chewed that with *mama* then "*ibinubuga*" (spread the mastication) on her children's bodies. To cure and protect her kids through "*pagbubuga*", she learned to chew *mama* (betel nut chew).

Angelo Valino said when he had malaria, one healer told him that a bitter taste kills the "virus" of malaria. That's why he decided to look for plants and herbs around him that has bitter taste. He extracted the juice of cassava leaves and drank it. He also made a sambong decoction as his substitute for water. He was cured by this. Because of his experience, he now shares that cassava leaves as well as sambong has medicinal value.

Another way to acquire knowledge in herbal medicine is through **experience**. When Tantan Natividad accidentally stepped on a barbed wire, he used *talahib* leaves to treat the wound. It healed very well so now he says that *talahib* leaves is (an) "*apurbadu*" (approved) cure for infection. Julita Orta, on the other hand, had been sick with *iti* (a case when a person vomits and has severe diarrhea at the same time) while walking along the Sierra Madre Mountains. One of her companions gave her a plant to chew and she immediately felt better. From then on she has always told anyone who is sick that the plant is very good for *iti*.

Knowledge can also be **purposely transferred**. When Tantan Natividad's stepfather was about to die, he asked him (Tantan) to come to him and offered his knowledge in healing. He accepted some of the skills but declined the others.

There are other ways to acquire the knowledge in healing but these are the most common ways. And because the methods are very informal, almost anybody who is willing to listen and learn can become a healer.

### **The healing process**

#### Cultivation, gathering and storage of herbal medicine

There are no strict methods of cultivation of herbal medicine among the Dumagat in Dibut. Most of the herbal medicine they use are bark, root, or leaves of trees gathered from the mountains and forest. But there are some families that are cultivating shrubs and herbs which can be used as medicine. Most of those who have begun to do this are the mothers. Delia Pagaspas-Victorio said that she grows mayana, luyang dilaw, luyang pula, and buasaw in their backyard so that if ever someone is sick in her family medicine will be accessible. Lucy Caldosa-Bihasa added that it is easier to get medicine if they are already in your backyard, so you won't need to look for it.

In the duration of stay of the research assistants in the area, they have heard three notable practices on gathering medicinal plants. One is that when a person gathers medicinal plants, it is advisable to get the plant parts facing the east. Although it is not a strict practice, it is still followed in many occasions. Cipriano dela Torre explained that the plant part facing the sun is healthier and gets more nourishment than the rest. Thus, it will be more effective in healing.

The other practice is in regard to responding to *sakit ng babae buwan-buwan* (females' illness every month or menstrual period). Jeremy Bihasa said that when a woman is suffering from her monthly period, a man should get the medicine for her. Felicito Bihasa, Jeremy's father, said he doesn't know the underlying reason for this but it was what his grandfather had told him and what he tells to his children now.

The third belief is shared by almost everyone who knows how to heal in the community and that is gathering medicinal plants is *hiyang-hiyang* (it depends on the compatibility between the healer and plant). Ellie Victorio-Casamis said that in synthetic medicine there are different brands and it is up

to the consumer to choose which she/he will buy, based what is more effective to her/him. In the case of herbal medicine, the *hiyang-hiyang* (effectiveness of the medicine) will depend on who obtains the plants. For example: a person is sick with cough and one healer gives a medicinal plant but the patient does not get better. The patient might ask another healer to get the same medicinal plant. If this time she/he will get better then it is said that the patient is *hiyang* with the second healer. And whenever the same patient gets sick, she/he will just ask the second healer to obtain the medicinal plant because she/he believes that what the healer will get is more effective than those gathered by other healers.

As to the storage of medicinal plants, there are no prescribed methods, this maybe so because most of the medicinal plants are already available around the area. Most of traditional medicine entails using the fresh plant or plant part so they need not store the herbs. They will just get some when they need it.

### Preparation

There are different ways to prepare medicinal plants. Among the common preparations are *ipapais*, *ilalaib*, *ilalaga*, *ngangatain* or *ngunguyain*, and *aalakin*.

1. **Laga.** *Laga* (decoction) is the most common way to prepare a plant for medicinal use. This entails putting the plant part in a kettle or a casserole with water which will then be heated over fire. However, unlike the common boiling method when the person waits for the water to boil, among the healers, *laga* usually means waiting for the water to be hot enough to drink. The water should not reach its boiling point. Although there are no known adverse effect for overcooking the medicinal plant, Nelson Natividad said that when the water is boiled the taste of the medicine will usually be stronger thus will be less appealing to drink.
2. **Aalakin.** If in *laga* the person preparing the medicine should not wait for the water to boil, in *aalakin* it is the other way around. The decoction should be boiled for a long time in this process until half of the original amount of water would have evaporated. Among the parts of plants prepared in this method are the root and bark.
3. **Laib.** *Laib* is a method of preparation often used for leaves. This just means heating the leaf over fire until it is tolerably hot or until green colored leaves change into a brown shade.
4. **Pais.** *Pais* is another method wherein the medicine is heated directly over fire. However, because this method is usually done for root and bark, these will be cut into small pieces first. It will then be mixed with salt. The research assistants have wondered why salt is

combined with it but the Dumagat only say that it is what their ancestors have done. Afterwards, the mixture will be wrapped with leaves usually a banana leaf because it is big enough. Then it will be heated over fire until the banana leaf changes its color to a brown shade.

5. **Ngangatain / ngunguyain.** Another use of *mama* among the Dumagats is for healing. Lucy Bihasa claims that she learned chewing *mama* after she had given birth to her first son. This is because many of the traditional medicine are prepared by mixing and chewing them with *mama*. Healers have said that the taste of *mama* is not really altered in this process.

There are more ways to prepare the traditional medicine among the Dumagat in Dibut. The methods of preparation for each particular medicinal plant is detailed on the ethnopharmacological data.

#### Direction for use

If *laga* is the most common way of preparation, drinking the decoction is also the most common way to take in the medicinal plant. Medicinal plants for common cold, *dugal* (spitting blood), and even for *nag-anak* (to prevent post-partum illnesses), should be drunk. This is a manifestation that Dumagat people of Dibut believe that if a person is sick, the problem is inside the body of the person. Another manifestation of this belief is shown in this statement uttered by Tantan Natividad. "*Wala talagang tawag ang mga Dumagat sa mga nasa loob ng ating katawan (internal organs). Kung anong tawag sa Tagalog ganun din and tawag namin. Halimbawa 'yung puso, puso rin sa Dumagat. 'Yung bituka, bituka rin. Pero pag sinabi naming masakit ang tiyan, nagkakaintindihan na ang tinutukoy ay yung loob ng tiyan, kung ano man doon ang masakit. Kung masakit ang dibdib, hindi yung dibdib na nakikita natin sa labas kundi yung nasa loob, siguro puso o yung baga.*" (There are really no Dumagat terms for internal organs. We just adopt the Tagalog terms. For example the heart is also called heart in Dumagat. The intestines are the intestines. But when we say stomachache, it is understood that what is painful is the inside of the stomach whatever it is there. If there is chest pain, it is coming not from the outside but inside, maybe the heart or the lungs.)

Nevertheless, for illnesses of the skin like *buni*, *an-an*, or even *sugat* (wound), a common way to apply the medicine is *itatapal* (place on the skin) or *ipapahid* (spread). *Lalangasin* is also another method. This just means washing the affected area with the decoction of the medicinal plant.

Oftentimes this is done in the evening before going to bed. As Veronica Valino put it, “*Matutulog na lang kasi sa gabi, wala nang masyadong gagawin. Kaya ‘di madudumihan yung sugat.*” (There is nothing to do at night but to sleep. So the wound will not get dirty.)

Among the mothers who have just given birth, so they may avoid getting *baynat* (post-partum illness), some leaves are added to the water they use for bathing. The medicinal plant is believed to protect the new mother from the cold that may cause illness if it enters their body.

For children who have fever, cold, or cough, a method to administer the medicine is *ibubuga*. The medicine is chewed (*ngangatain*) along with the *mama* (betel nut chew), then one will spit it out and the mastication will be used to massage the body of the child.

One interesting preparation and use of medicinal plant is the *taligharap* flowers used to cure *singaw* (mouth ulcers). The flowers are made into a necklace and will be used overnight. The next day, the wound in the mouth will comparatively be better and eventually will be healed. Trining Salcedo said it is really effective. Furthermore, she said that this method has really no devotion or prayer and she doesn't know how it happens, it's like a miracle and it works.

#### Effects, adverse effects and contraindications

“Walang side effect ang mga gamot ng katutubo.” (The medicines of the indigenous people have no side effect.) This is what healers have claimed about traditional medicine. Though there are some herbal medicine that may give a little pain here and there after taking them, it is considered part of the healing.

As to contraindications, Felicito Bahasa and Jun Casamis said that one should avoid sweet and sour food especially when the illness being cured is regarding *buwanang legra* (menstruation) and *baynat ng nag-anak* (post-partum illness).

**TABLES OF ETHNOPHARMACOLOGICAL USES OF NATURAL MATERIALS  
AMONG THE DUMAGAT PEOPLE OF BARANGAY DIBUT, SAN LUIS, AURORA, 2010**

**Table 1. Abdominal pain**

Ethnopharmacological use	For abdominal pain ( <i>sakit ng tiyan</i> )
Scientific name	Calcium hydroxide
Common name/s	Apog
Local name/s	Apog
Part/s used	Slaked lime
Preparation	Combine ½ teaspoon of apog with 3 teaspoons of water. Mix it well until water becomes clear.
Direction for use	Drink the clear mixture.
Additional information	Do not consume the apog residue. The mixture will taste bitter. Abdominal pain is a result of consuming slightly spoiled food and eating banana before taking hot food.
Informant/s (place and year)	Casamis, Jun (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 2. Abdominal pain**

Ethnopharmacological use	For abdominal pain ( <i>sakit ng tiyan</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Cinnamomum mercadoi</i> Vidal
Common name/s	Kalingag
Local name/s	Kalingag
Part/s used	Bark
Preparation	Obtain a bark of around 2 x 2 inches in size. Chop the bark into around 1 x 1 cm pieces. Heat these in 2 glasses of water until the water turns into a brown shade.
Direction for use	Swallow the decoction around 3 times.
Additional information	
Informant/s (place and year)	Bihasa, Eustaquio (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 3. Abdominal pain**

Ethnopharmacological use	For abdominal pain ( <i>sakit ng tiyan</i> )
Scientific name	-
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Pakong dapu
Part/s used	a) Whole plant b) Root
Preparation	a) Obtain 1 whole pakong dapu plant. Wash the whole plant then put it in a glass of hot water. b) Gather 3 pakong dapu plants. Get the roots of 3 plants. Wash the roots thoroughly.
Direction for use	a) Drink the infusion until one is well. b) Chew the roots.
Additional information	
Informant/s (place and year)	Bihasa, Eustaquio (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 4. Abdominal pain**

Ethnopharmacological use	For abdominal pain ( <i>sakit ng tiyan</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Phyllanthus niruri</i> L.
Common name/s	Sampalok-sampalokan
Local name/s	Taltalikod
Part/s used	Whole plant
Preparation	Boil for a long duration of time.
Direction for use	Drink 3 times a day.
Additional information	
Informant/s (place and year)	Malate, Prescilla (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 5. Abdominal pain**

Ethnopharmacological use	For abdominal pain ( <i>sakit ng tiyan</i> )
Scientific name	-
Common name/s	Boa or python
Local name/s	Sawa
Part/s used	Apdo (gall bladder)
Preparation	Mix a small amount of gall bladder in 1 tablespoon of water.
Direction for use	Drink the mixture.
Additional information	The mixture will taste bitter and have a dark color. Informants believe that the stomachache subsides because of its bitter taste.
Informant/s (place and year)	Bihasa, Lucy; Bihasa, Felicito; Bihasa, Jeremy (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 6. Abortifacient**

Ethnopharmacological use	As abortifacient ( <i>pang-agas</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Kayea sp.</i>
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Dalunot
Part/s used	Root bark
Preparation	Gather roots of dalunot. Obtain the root bark.
Direction for use	Chew the root bark once.
Additional information	The patient will bleed after chewing the root bark.
Informant/s (place and year)	Casamis, Jun (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 7. Abortifacient**

Ethnopharmacological use	As abortifacient ( <i>pang-agas</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Hyptis suaveolens</i>
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Suob kabayo
Part/s used	Main roots
Preparation	Gather 4 main roots of suob kabayo then boil it in water.
Direction for use	Drink ½ a glass of decoction every morning and evening.
Additional information	Contraindicated for a woman 3 months pregnant because not all that is in her womb will be expelled.  Advisable for a woman 2 months pregnant. The woman will bleed after continuously drinking the decoction.  The roots can be used as long as the decoction has taste.
Informant/s (place and year)	Bihasa, Lucy (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 8. Abortifacient**

Ethnopharmacological use	As abortifacient ( <i>pang-agas</i> )
Scientific name	-
Common name/s	Unnamed plant no. 3
Local name/s	-
Part/s used	Root
Preparation	Get a small portion of the vine's root. Wash root thoroughly.
Direction for use	The pregnant woman (3 months at most) must chew the root.
Additional information	The root tastes very bitter. It is believed that the bitter taste actually induces abortion. After chewing the root, the woman's stomach will start to feel painful and she will begin to experience bleeding.



Informant/s (place and year)	Salcedo, Trinidad (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 9. Amenorrhea**

Ethnopharmacological use	For amenorrhea ( <i>sinibigan</i> )
Scientific name	-
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Miloso
Part/s used	Root
Preparation	Gather roots of miloso. Wash thoroughly and place in a glass of hot water.
Direction for use	Drink the infusion until one menstruates. Use the miloso residue as poultice on the forehead.
Additional information	The patient may experience slight dizziness.
Informant/s (place and year)	Natividad, Nelson (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 10. Anthelmintic**

Ethnopharmacological use	As anthelmintic ( <i>pampurga</i> )
Scientific name	1) <i>Barringtonia asiatica</i> (L.) Kurz. 2) <i>Bikkia</i> sp. 3) <i>Quisqualis indica</i> L.
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	1) Buton 2) Manpol 3) Tanulong (tahid-labuyo)
Part/s used	1) Fruit 2) Root 3) Root
Preparation	Gather plant materials then boil in water.
Direction for use	Drink the decoction once.
Additional information	The decoction smells and tastes like wood because of the roots. The intestinal worms will come out after one takes the decoction.
Informant/s (place and year)	Bihasa, Lucy; Bihasa, Felicito (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 11. Anthelmintic**

Ethnopharmacological use	As anthelmintic ( <i>pampurga</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Bikkia sp.</i>
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Manpol
Part/s used	Root
Preparation	Gather 1½ root of manpol. Chop the root then heat in water.
Direction for use	Drink the infusion.
Additional information	The infusion is tasteless. Even if the worms are expelled, the child may still continue to drink the decoction.
Informant/s (place and year)	Natividad, Nelson (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 12. Appendicitis**

Ethnopharmacological use	For appendicitis ( <i>apendiks</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Carica papaya L.</i>
Common name/s	Lalaking papaya
Local name/s	Lalaki a kapaya
Part/s used	Flower
Preparation	Gather a bunch of flowers of lalaki a kapaya. Boil the bunch of flowers in a desired amount of water. Remove the kettle from fire upon initial boil of the preparation. Let the decoction cool.
Direction for use	Drink decoction as desired or as substitute for water or coffee.
Additional information	Avoid foods that are too sweet. The water will have a slightly green color and will taste bitter.
Informant/s (place and year)	Natividad, Nelson (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 13. Back pain, Lower**

Ethnopharmacological use	For lower back pain ( <i>sakit sa ibaba ng likod</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Carica papaya L.</i>
Common name/s	Lalaking papaya
Local name/s	Lalaki a kapaya
Part/s used	Flower
Preparation	Gather a bunch of flowers of lalaki a kapaya. Boil the flowers in a desired amount of water. Remove kettle from fire upon initial boil of the preparation. Let the decoction cool.
Direction for use	Drink the decoction as desired or as replacement for water or coffee.
Additional information	Avoid foods that are too sweet. The water will have a slightly green color. The bitterness

	of the decoction will be based on the amount of water added.
Informant/s (place and year)	Natividad, Nelson (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 14. Back strain**

Ethnopharmacological use	For back strains (pilay sa likod)
Scientific name	<i>Belamcanda chinensis</i> (L.) DC.
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Aksibar
Part/s used	Leaf
Preparation	Gather 2 mature aksibar leaves. Boil it in a glass of water until half the amount remains.
Direction for use	Drink the decoction twice a day daily.
Additional information	The decoction turns into a blue shed and is tasteless.
Informant/s (place and year)	Casamis, Jun (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 15. Bite of animal with venom or rabies**

Ethnopharmacological use	For bite of centipede, scorpion, snake, or dog ( <i>kagat</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Ipomoea pes-caprae</i> (L.) R. Br.
Common name/s	Baling-baling
Local name/s	Bereng-bereng
Part/s used	a) Sap b) Petiole
Preparation	a) Obtain the sap of a bereng-bereng plant. b) Collect 7 pieces of petiole. Pound the collected petiole.
Direction for use	a) Apply the sap on the affected area. b) Use the pounded petiole as poultice on the affected area.
Additional information	The patient will feel like the poison is being sucked out of the wound.
Informant/s (place and year)	Gonzales, Inocencio "Bongbong" (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 16. Bite, Centipede**

Ethnopharmacological use	For centipede bite ( <i>kagat ng ulahipan</i> )
Scientific name	-
Common name/s	Yantok na gatasan
Local name/s	Ditan
Part/s used	Sap
Preparation	Cut the stem of ditan vine.
Direction for use	Apply sap on the affected area.
Additional information	The pain will subside after application of the sap.
Informant/s (place and year)	Natividad, Nelson (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 17. Boil**

Ethnopharmacological use	For boil ( <i>pigsa</i> )
Scientific name	-
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Lipang kalabaw
Part/s used	Root
Preparation	Gather roots of a lipang kalabaw plant then boil it in water.
Direction for use	Drink the decoction once.
Additional information	The boil will subside if unripe. If the boil is ripe, the pus will come out.
Informant/s (place and year)	Casamis, Jun; Casamis, Elena (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 18. Boil**

Ethnopharmacological use	To ripen the boil ( <i>pampahinog ng pigsa</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Urena lobata</i> L.
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Pukot-pukotan
Part/s used	Flower
Preparation	Gather 5 pukot-pukotan flowers then mash it.
Direction for use	Apply the mashed flowers around the boil.
Additional information	The boil will ripen faster.
Informant/s (place and year)	Casamis, Jun (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 19. Boil**

Ethnopharmacological use	For nodes such as a boil ( <i>bukol tulad ng pigsá</i> )
Scientific name	1) <i>Mussaenda philippica</i> A. Rich. 2) Calcium hydroxide
Common name/s	1) - 2) Apog
Local name/s	1) Taligharap 2) Apog
Part/s used	a) Leaf b) Flower (the white variety)
Preparation	a) Pound leaf of taligharap then add a small amount of apog. b) Gather some flowers of taligharap. Wash thoroughly.
Direction for use	a) Apply the leaf around the infected area once. The eye/center of the boil should not be covered for this is where the pus will come out. b) Attach the petals around boil. The flower will cause the boil to ripen. Once the pus comes out, the wound will start to heal.
Additional information	
Informant/s (place and year)	Casamis, Jun; Casamis, Elena; Salcedo, Trinidad
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 20. Boil**

Ethnopharmacological use	For nodes such as a boil ( <i>bukol tulad ng pigsá</i> )
Scientific name	1) - 2) Calcium hydroxide
Common name/s	1) Unnamed plant no. 1 2) Apog
Local name/s	1) - 2) Apog
Part/s used	1) Leaf 2) Slaked lime
Preparation	Gather leaves then pound it. Add ample amount of apog.
Direction for use	Use as poultice over the node for a whole night or day.
Additional information	The preparation is more effective when applied at night.
Informant/s (place and year)	Casamis, Jun; Casamis, Elena (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 21. Bonog or nousog**

Ethnopharmacological use	For <i>bonog</i> or <i>nousog</i>
Scientific name	<i>Annona muricata</i> L.
Common name/s	Guyabano
Local name/s	Guyabano
Part/s used	Leaf
Preparation	Crush a leaf of guyabano.
Direction for use	Let the patient smell the leaf.
Additional information	Cold and soft ears are the signs of <i>bonog</i> . One will suddenly feel dizzy and will want to vomit. <i>Bonog</i> is unintentionally caused by a tired person who carries/brings air that affects another person.
Informant/s (place and year)	Casamis, Jun (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 22. Bonog or nousog**

Ethnopharmacological use	For <i>bonog</i> or <i>nousog</i> (in the face)
Scientific name	<i>Moringa oleifera</i>
Common name/s	Malunggay
Local name/s	Malunggay
Part/s used	Leaf
Preparation	Gather 2 branches of malunggay.
Direction for use	Use the leaves to fan the patient who experienced <i>bonog</i> . Place a young leaflet on the patient's temples and leave it in place until headache disappears.
Additional information	Headache is a sign of <i>nousog sa mukha</i> . The procedure will remove the heat from the head of the patient. <i>Bonog</i> is unintentionally caused by a tired person who carries/brings air that affects another person.
Informant/s (place and year)	Casamis, Jun (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 23. Contraceptive**

Ethnopharmacological use	As a contraceptive ( <i>pampigil sa pagkakaroon ng anak</i> )
Scientific name	-
Common name/s	Unnamed plant no. 2
Local name/s	-
Part/s used	Root
Preparation	Gather roots of the plant and boil in 2 glasses of water.
Direction for use	Drink the decoction three times.
Additional information	The volume of menstruation will increase. The decoction has no taste and color.
Informant/s (place and year)	Molina, Trinidad (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 24. Cough**

Ethnopharmacological use	For cough with rapid breathing due to tiredness ( <i>ubong may hapo</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Morinda citrifolia</i> L.
Common name/s	Apatot
Local name/s	Apatot
Part/s used	Sap of fruit
Preparation	Gather a fruit of apatot. Cut the fruit into four pieces. Boil in 3 glasses of water until 1 glass remains.
Direction for use	Consume 1 teaspoon of the decoction everyday until well.
Additional information	This can be done everyday even after one is already well.
Informant/s (place and year)	Casamis, Jun; Casamis, Elena (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 25. Cough, Dry**

Ethnopharmacological use	For dry cough ( <i>hirap sa pag-ubo</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Citrus microcarpa</i> Bunge
Common name/s	Kalamansi
Local name/s	Kidya
Part/s used	Fruit
Preparation	Get 7 unripe kidya fruits and wash thoroughly.
Direction for use	Chew the fruits at once. Swallow the juice and if possible even the residue. This can be done anytime until one gets better.
Additional information	Seven is considered a complete number so the number of fruits should be seven to be effective.
Informant/s (place and year)	Natividad, Nelson "Tantan"; Salcedo, Trinidad (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 26. Cough (Dugal)**

Ethnopharmacological use	For <i>dugal</i> (cough with blood-stained phlegm & chest tightness)
Scientific name	<i>Belamcanda chinensis</i> (L.) DC.
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Aksibar
Part/s used	Whole plant
Preparation	a) Get around 4 whole aksibar plants. Wash plants thoroughly. Boil these in 3 glasses of water until 2 glasses remain. b) Get a whole plant of aksibar. Soak the plant in coconut wine.
Direction for use	a) Drink half a glass of decoction thrice daily for 3 days. Plant can be reused up to 3 times. Decoction will spoil after 2 days. b) Drink spoonful of aksibar mixed with lambanog 3 times a day.
Additional information	Salcedo, Trinidad
Informant/s (place and year)	(Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 27. Cough (Dugal)**

Ethnopharmacological use	For <i>dugal</i> (cough with blood-stained phlegm & chest tightness)
Scientific name	<i>Drynaria quercifolia</i> (L.) J. Sm.
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Pakpak-lawin
Part/s used	Leaf
Preparation	Boil 2 dry leaves of pakpak-lawin in 2 glasses of water until 1 glass remains and the water turns into a brown shade.
Direction for use	Drink the decoction until well.
Additional information	The decoction is tasteless.
Informant/s (place and year)	Casamis, Jun; Casamis, Elena (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)



**Table 28. Cough (Dugal)**

Ethnopharmacological use	For <i>dugal</i> (cough with blood-stained phlegm & chest tightness)
Scientific name	-
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Palosapis no. 2
Part/s used	Root
Preparation	Gather roots of palosapis. Clean this thoroughly.
Direction for use	Chew and swallow the juice from the roots. Spit out the residue when it already has no taste. This can be done anytime until one is well.
Additional information	Do not consume alcoholic beverages.
Informant/s (place and year)	Bihasa, Felicito (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 29. Cough leading to tuberculosis**

Ethnopharmacological use	For cough leading to tuberculosis ( <i>ubong tutuloy sa TB</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Saccharum spontaneum</i> L.
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Talahib
Part/s used	Leaf
Preparation	Tie talahib leaves into a knot then boil in 2 glasses of water for 30 minutes. Cool the decoction.
Direction for use	Drink decoction at once, every morning and night until one is well.
Additional information	
Informant/s (place and year)	Salcedo, Trinidad; Malate, Prescilla (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 30. Cough, Productive**

Ethnopharmacological use	For productive cough ( <i>maplemang ubo</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Saccharum spontaneum</i> L.
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Talahib
Part/s used	Leaf
Preparation	Tie talahib leaves into a knot then boil in 2 glasses of water for 30 minutes. Cool the decoction.
Direction for use	Drink decoction at once, every morning and night until one is well.
Additional information	
Informant/s (place and year)	Salcedo, Trinidad; Malate, Prescilla (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 31. Defecation, Difficult**

Ethnopharmacological use	For difficult defecation ( <i>weres</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Voacanga globosa</i> (Blanco) Merr.
Common name/s	Bayag-usa
Local name/s	Bayag-usa
Part/s used	Leaf
Preparation	Gather leaves of bayag-usa.
Direction for use	Massage the abdominal area of the patient then use the leaf as poultice.
Additional information	<i>Weres</i> is the condition when the intestines are in knots. Difficulty to defecate, feeling of fullness, and hardening of stomach are the signs and symptoms of <i>weres</i> .
Informant/s (place and year)	Casamis, Jun; Casamis, Elena (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 32. Diarrhea**

Ethnopharmacological use	For diarrhea ( <i>pagtatae</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Wedelia biflora</i> (L.) DC.
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Pangin-naw
Part/s used	Root and flower
Preparation	Gather roots and flowers then boil in 2 glasses of water.
Direction for use	Drink the decoction.
Additional information	
Informant/s (place and year)	Casamis, Jun; Casamis, Elena (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 33. Diarrhea**

Ethnopharmacological use	For diarrhea ( <i>pagtatae</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Chloranthus elatior</i> R. Br. ex Link
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Payetyet
Part/s used	Root
Preparation	Gather roots of payetyet then wash thoroughly.
Direction for use	Chew the washed roots. Swallow the juice of masticated roots.
Additional information	
Informant/s (place and year)	Bihasa, Eustaquio (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 34. Diarrhea and stomachache**

Ethnopharmacological use	For diarrhea and stomachache ( <i>pagtatae at sakit ng tiyan</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Chloranthus elatior</i> R. Br. ex Link
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Payetyet
Part/s used	Root
Preparation	Gather 2 main roots of payetyet.
Direction for use	Chew the roots when experiencing stomachache and diarrhea.
Additional information	Chewing payetyet will relieve the pain and stop the diarrhea. Payetyet roots taste like menthol.
Informant/s (place and year)	Casamis, Jun; Bihasa, Eustaquio (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 35. Diarrhea with vomiting**

Ethnopharmacological use	For severe diarrhea with vomiting ( <i>iti</i> )
Scientific name	1) <i>Psidium guajava</i> L. 2) <i>Chromolaena odorata</i> (L.) King & H. Rob.
Common name/s	1) Bayabas 2) Lagitik
Local name/s	1) Bayabas 2) Lagitik
Part/s used	1) Leaf 2) Root
Preparation	Get one main root of lagitik and wash it thoroughly. Gather around 5 young bayabas leaves. Heat the root and leaves in a kettle of water. Wait until water turns into the color of crude oil.
Direction for use	Drink the decoction anytime until one feels well.
Additional information	
Informant/s (place and year)	Natividad, Nelson "Tantan" (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 36. Diarrhea with vomiting**

Ethnopharmacological use	For diarrhea with vomiting ( <i>iti</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Phyllanthus niruri</i> L.
Common name/s	Sampalok-sampalokan
Local name/s	Taltalikod
Part/s used	Whole plant
Preparation	Boil for a long duration of time.
Direction for use	Drink 3 times a day.
Additional information	
Informant/s (place and year)	Malate, Prescilla (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 37. Diarrhea with vomiting**

Ethnopharmacological use	For diarrhea with vomiting ( <i>iti</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Pseudelephantopus spicatus</i> (Juss. ex Aubl.)
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Taba-tabakuhan
Part/s used	Leaf
Preparation	Extract 1 tablespoon of sap from the leaves.
Direction for use	Drink the extracted sap.
Additional information	The informant believes that the patient needs to take the preparation only once because it is very effective.
Informant/s (place and year)	Dumagat of Dibut (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 38. Diarrhea with vomiting**

Ethnopharmacological use	For diarrhea with vomiting ( <i>iti</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Euphorbia hirta</i> L.
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Turutumbung
Part/s used	Aerial part
Preparation	Boil the aerial part of turutumbung in water.
Direction for use	Drink the decoction.
Additional information	
Informant/s (place and year)	Casamis/Bihasa, Elena (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 39. Dysmenorrhea**

Ethnopharmacological use	For dysmenorrhea
Scientific name	-
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Kilawi
Part/s used	Bark
Preparation	a) Get a small portion of fresh or dried bark, around half of a thumb in size. b) Gather bark of kilawi. Heat in 3 glasses of water.
Direction for use	a) Chew the bark. Swallow the juice. The mastication may be placed on the forehead. Continue process once a day until well. b) Drink the decoction.
Additional information	Walking under the sun as well as eating sweet or sour food should be avoided for five days while taking the herbal medicine.  If the woman has other illnesses aside from dysmenorrhea, the medicine will make the patient weak. The patient will want to sleep and rest for longer periods of time but after that the patient will become well and strong.  It is important to only heat the water, not boil it, for it will lessen the effectiveness of the medicine.
Informant/s (place and year)	Salcedo, Trinidad (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 40. Dysmenorrhea**

Ethnopharmacological use	For dysmenorrhea
Scientific name	<i>Macaranga grandifolia</i> (Blanco) Merr.
Common name/s	Takip-asin
Local name/s	Takip-asin
Part/s used	Bark
Preparation	Obtain a bark of the tree. Scrape off the first layer to obtain the second layer of the bark; gather as much as one handful of the second layer. Place the scraped bark in 3 glasses of hot water. Strain the mixture to separate the sediments and the water. The water will have a bluish color.
Direction for use	Drink the decoction. Place the residue on the forehead.
Additional information	The decoction is a little bitter. The residue on the forehead is to prevent the dirty blood to go up to the head. If the dirty blood will go to one's head, this may cause insanity.
Informant/s (place and year)	Bihasa, Eustaquio (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 41. Eyes, Sore**

Ethnopharmacological use	For sore eyes
Scientific name	<i>Euphorbia hirta</i> L.
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Turutumbung
Part/s used	Sap
Preparation	Cut a stem of turutumbung to obtain the sap.
Direction for use	Apply a drop of turutumbung sap on patient's eyes.
Additional information	
Informant/s (place and year)	Casamis/Bihasa, Elena (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 42. Fever**

Ethnopharmacological use	For fever
Scientific name	1) <i>Areca catechu</i> L. 2) - 3) <i>Piper retrofractum</i> Vahl. 4) <i>Nicotiana tabacum</i> L. 5) Calcium hydroxide
Common name/s	1) Bunga 2) Dusol 3) Litlit 4) Tabako 5) Apog
Local name/s	1) Bunga 2) Dusol 3) Litlit 4) Maskada 5) Apog
Part/s used	1) Seed 2) Leaf 3) Leaf 4) Leaf 5) Slaked lime
Preparation	Chew a leaf of dusol together with <i>mama</i> (betel chew).
Direction for use	Spit out the mastication and spread it on the child's entire body.
Additional information	Any part of dusol can be used as an alternate for the leaf.
Informant/s (place and year)	Bihasa, Lucy; Bihasa, Felicito (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 43. Fever and body aches**

Ethnopharmacological use	For fever and body aches ( <i>lagnat at pananakit ng katawan</i> )
Scientific name	1) <i>Mentha sp.</i> 2) <i>Citrus microcarpa</i> Bunge 3) <i>Allium ascalonicum</i> L.
Common name/s	1) Yerba buena 2) Kalamansi 3) Sibuyas Tagalog
Local name/s	1) Herba buena 2) Kidyá 3) Sibuyas Tagalog
Part/s used	1) Leaf 2) Fruit 3) Clove
Preparation	Gather shoots of herba buena, 1 fruit of kidya, and 1 clove of sibuyas. Mash the plant materials.
Direction for use	Use this as poultice on patient's temple, nape, back, arms, and legs. Cover the patient with a blanket.
Additional information	Do not wet the patient's spinal bone, knee, and elbow. Drink paracetamol if it is available. The patient will perspire after the procedure.
Informant/s (place and year)	Bihasa, Lucy; Bihasa, Felicito (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 44. Fever of child (with flatulence and stomachache)**

Ethnopharmacological use	For a child's fever (with flatulence and stomachache)
Scientific name	<i>Alpinia haenkei</i>
Common name/s	Luyang ligaw
Local name/s	Buasaw
Part/s used	Rhizome
Preparation	Chew the buasaw rhizome.
Direction for use	Spit the masticated buasaw and smear it all over the body. This can be done anytime.
Additional information	The child will perspire and feel comfortable after the procedure.
Informant/s (place and year)	Casamis, Jun; Casamis, Elena (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 45. Headache**

Ethnopharmacological use	For headache ( <i>sakit ng ulo</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Annona muricata</i> L.
Common name/s	Guyabano
Local name/s	Guyabano
Part/s used	Shoots
Preparation	Gather 3 shoots of guyabano and sprinkle a small amount of salt on it. Crush the leaves and flatten it using a bottle.
Direction for use	Apply the leaves on patient's temples and leave in place until headache disappears.
Additional information	
Informant/s (place and year)	Bihasa, Felicito; Bihasa, Lucy; Bihasa, Jeremy (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 46. Headache**

Ethnopharmacological use	For headache ( <i>sakit ng ulo</i> )
Scientific name	1) <i>Mentha sp.</i> 2) <i>Citrus microcarpa</i> Bunge 3) <i>Allium ascalonicum</i> L.
Common name/s	1) Yerba buena 2) Kalamansi 3) Sibuyas Tagalog
Local name/s	1) Herba buena 2) Kidya 3) Sibuyas Tagalog
Part/s used	1) Leaf 2) Fruit 3) Clove
Preparation	Gather shoots of herba buena, 1 fruit of kidya, and 1 clove of sibuyas. Mash the plant materials.
Direction for use	Use this as poultice on patient's temple, nape, back, arms, and legs. Cover the patient with a blanket.
Additional information	Do not wet the patient's spinal bone, knee, and elbow.
Informant/s (place and year)	Bihasa, Lucy; Bihasa, Felicito (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)



**Table 47. Inguinal hernia**

Ethnopharmacological use	For inguinal hernia ( <i>Iuslos</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Voacanga globosa</i> (Blanco) Merr.
Common name/s	Bayag-usa
Local name/s	Bayag-usa
Part/s used	Main root
Preparation	Gather a 6 inch root of bayag-usa then boil 2 glasses of water until 1 ½ glass remains.
Direction for use	Drink the decoction until well.
Additional information	The patient should not lift or carry heavy things. Carrying things heavier than the person causes <i>Iuslos</i> . A person with <i>Iuslos</i> will experience headache and irritability.
Informant/s (place and year)	Casamis, Jun; Casamis, Elena (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 48. Kidney stone**

Ethnopharmacological use	For kidney stone ( <i>sakit sa bato</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Pterocarpus indicus</i> Willd.
Common name/s	Narra
Local name/s	Narra
Part/s used	Heartwood (tigas)
Preparation	Scrape heartwood of narra and place it on a glass of water.
Direction for use	Drink the infusion 3 times a day.
Additional information	The patient will experience body pains and lethargy but this will disappear after 3 days. The color of water will turn into a blue shade.
Informant/s (place and year)	Gonzales, Inocensio "Bongbong" (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 49. Kulebra (rash)**

Ethnopharmacological use	For <i>kulebra</i>
Scientific name	-
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Pagong-pagongan
Part/s used	Leaf
Preparation	Obtain a pagong-pagongan leaf. Put coconut oil on leaf then heat over fire.
Direction for use	Apply the leaf on the rash and leave it in place for 3 hours.
Additional information	The patient should not eat reddish food like tomato, shrimp, and crab, and globular food like globular eggplant. <i>Kulebra</i> is a hot and reddish rash that suddenly appears on the skin.
Informant/s (place and year)	Casamis, Jun; Casamis, Elena (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 50. Lactation, To induce**

Ethnopharmacological use	To induce lactation ( <i>Pampagatas sa nag-anak</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Macaranga grandifolia</i> (Blanco) Merr.
Common name/s	Takip-asin
Local name/s	Takip-asin
Part/s used	Small shoots and bark
Preparation	Scrape 2 fistfuls of takip-asin bark and boil it in water.
Direction for use	Drink the decoction. Use the small shoots as poultice on mother's breasts.
Additional information	The decoction has acrid taste and a brownish color.
Informant/s (place and year)	Casamis, Jun (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 51. Ligament, Swollen**

Ethnopharmacological use	For a swollen ligament ( <i>taul - litid na namaga</i> )
Scientific name	1) – 2) Calcium hydroxide
Common name/s	1) Unnamed plant no. 1 2) Apog
Local name/s	1) – 2) Apog
Part/s used	1) Leaf 2) Slaked lime
Preparation	Gather leaves then pound. Add ample amount of apog.
Direction for use	Apply preparation as poultice over the inflammation for a whole night or day.
Additional information	The preparation is more effective when applied at night.
Informant/s (place and year)	Casamis, Jun; Casamis, Elena (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 52. Malaria**

Ethnopharmacological use	For malaria ( <i>malarya</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Manihot esculenta</i> Crantz.
Common name/s	Kamoteng kahoy
Local name/s	Kamoteng kahoy
Part/s used	Leaf
Preparation	Gather 3 leaves of kamoteng kahoy then extract its sap.
Direction for use	Drink 1 tablespoon of leaf extract once.
Additional information	The patient will sweat and feel more comfortable after taking the medication. The leaf extract has a bitter taste.
Informant/s (place and year)	Valino, Angelo (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 53. Malaria**

Ethnopharmacological use	For malaria ( <i>malarya</i> )
Scientific name	-
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Lagtang
Part/s used	Bark
Preparation	Scrape bark of lagtang then put in 1 glass of hot water.
Direction for use	Drink 1 gulp of infusion every morning.
Additional information	The infusion will turn to yellow after placing the scraped bark to hot water. It will taste bitter.
Informant/s (place and year)	Bihasa, Felicito; Bihasa, Lucy (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 54. Measles**

Ethnopharmacological use	For measles ( <i>tipdas</i> )
Scientific name	1) <i>Capsicum frutescens</i> L.
Common name/s	1) Siling labuyo 2) Manok
Local name/s	1) Siling labuyo 2) Manok
Part/s used	1) Leaf 2) Feather
Preparation	Gather a few leaves of siling labuyo. Pound to extract the sap. Burn chicken feather until it turns to ashes. Mix ashes and sap.
Direction for use	Apply the mixture on the whole body of the patient.
Additional information	After the treatment, the measles will come out and the patient will get better. Patients with measles are prohibited to eat fish with "tibo" (spiky or thorn like dorsal fin).
Informant/s (place and year)	Molina, Jesus (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 55. Menstruation, Irregular**

Ethnopharmacological use	For irregular menstruation ( <i>natipid ang regla</i> )
Scientific name	1) <i>Diplazium</i> sp.
Common name/s	1) Dallewang 2) Saging ng bulog 3) Gabing uwak
Local name/s	1) Salipangpang 2) Arutay 3) Gabing uwak
Part/s used	1) Root 2) Flower 3) Leaf
Preparation	Gather and wash 1½ inch root of salipangpang and 1 fistful of arutay flowers. Boil these in half a glass of water for 3 minutes.
Direction for use	Drink decoction 3 times a day for 1 day. Place leaf of gabing uwak on patient's forehead.
Additional information	Gabing uwak will let the blood flow from the head to the uterus.
Informant/s (place and year)	Bihasa, Eustaquio (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 56. *Pasma sa bituka***

Ethnopharmacological use	For <i>pasma sa bituka</i>
Scientific name	-
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Apistula
Part/s used	Root
Preparation	Gather 3 roots of apistula. Cut the roots into small pieces then boil in 2 ½ glass of water until 1 glass remains.
Direction for use	Wet the wrist, ankle, and upper abdomen with the decoction then drink the decoction. Do this 3 times a day for 3 days.
Additional information	Vomiting and intestinal pain when hungry and after eating are the signs and symptoms of <i>pasma sa bituka</i> . <i>Pasma sa bituka</i> is caused by eating heavy meals after a long period of not eating.
Informant/s (place and year)	Casamis, Jun; Casamis, Elena (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 57. *Pasma sa bituka***

Ethnopharmacological use	For <i>pasma sa bituka</i>
Scientific name	<i>Oryza sativa</i> L.
Common name/s	Kanin
Local name/s	Kanin
Part/s used	Seed
Preparation	Get 1 tablespoon of cooked rice. Put the spoon over hot charcoal until the rice become embers and turns black. Mix the burnt rice in 3 tablespoons of water.
Direction for use	Drink the infusion once.
Additional information	Do not use overcooked rice or " <i>tutong</i> " because it will not be effective. Vomiting and intestinal pain when hungry and after eating are the signs and symptoms of <i>pasma sa bituka</i> . <i>Pasma sa bituka</i> is caused by eating heavy meals after a long period of not eating.
Informant/s (place and year)	Casamis, Elena (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 58. Post-partum care**

Ethnopharmacological use	For post-partum care
Scientific name	1) - 2) <i>Diplazium sp.</i>
Common name/s	1) Saging ng bulog 2) Dallewang
Local name/s	1) Arutay 2) Salipangpang
Part/s used	1) Flower 2) Root
Preparation	Gather and wash 1½ inch root of salipangpang and 1 fistful of arutay finger flowers. Boil in half a glass of water for 3 minutes.
Direction for use	Drink the decoction 3 times a day for 1 day.
Additional information	The preparation is for faster recovery of the mother and to prevent her from getting <i>baynat</i> .
Informant/s (place and year)	Bihasa, Eustaquio (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 59. Post-partum illness, To avoid**

Ethnopharmacological use	To avoid post-partum illness ( <i>para maiwasan ang baynat ng bagong panganak na ina</i> )
Scientific name	1) – 2) – 3) <i>Diplazium sp.</i>
Common name/s	
Local name/s	1) Arutay 2) Banban 3) Salipangpang
Part/s used	1) Flower 2) Root 3) Root
Preparation	Grate 1 inch of salipangpang and banban roots. Obtain a few arutay finger flowers. Place ingredients on hot water for 5 minutes. The infusion will turn into a blue shade.
Direction for use	Drink the infusion before sleeping.
Additional information	If the woman takes the medication after sleeping she will experience womb spasms.
Informant/s (place and year)	Casamis, Jun (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 60. Post-partum illness, To avoid**

Ethnopharmacological use	To avoid post-partum illness ( <i>para maiwasan ang baynat ng bagong panganak na ina</i> )
Scientific name	1) - 2) <i>Diplazium sp.</i>
Common name/s	1) Banban 2) Dallewang
Local name/s	1) Banban 2) Salipangpang
Part/s used	1) Root 2) Root or bark
Preparation	Gather 1 inch of banban roots and salipangpang roots. Chop the roots then heat roots in water.
Direction for use	Drink the infusion as desired. Put the residue on patient's forehead. Tie a cloth around the head to keep the plant in place.
Additional information	According to the informant, salipangpang bark is more effective than its roots. The preparation will prevent the mother from getting <i>baynat</i> and will strengthen her.
Informant/s (place and year)	Natividad, Nelson (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 61. Post-partum illness**

Ethnopharmacological use	For post-partum illness ( <i>baynat</i> )
Scientific name	-
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Kilawi
Part/s used	Bark
Preparation	Get a small portion of fresh or dried bark, around half of a thumb in size.
Direction for use	Chew the bark. Swallow the juice while the mastication may be placed on the forehead. Continue the process once a day until one gets well.
Additional information	Walking under the sun as well as eating sweet or sour food should be avoided for five days when taking the herbal medicine.
Informant/s (place and year)	Salcedo, Trinidad (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 62. Post-partum illness**

Ethnopharmacological use	For post-partum illness ( <i>baynat</i> )
Scientific name	-
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Matuod-tuod
Part/s used	Root
Preparation	Gather some roots of the vine. Boil in water.
Direction for use	Drink the decoction.
Additional information	After drinking the decoction, the new mother will experience body pains. But after that the <i>baynat</i> will be cured. One may choose to chew the roots of the vine instead.
Informant/s (place and year)	Salcedo, Trinidad (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 63. Pre-natal care**

Ethnopharmacological use	As pre-natal care
Scientific name	1) <i>Urena lobata</i> L. 2) <i>Andropogon citratus</i>
Common name/s	1) - 2) Tanglad
Local name/s	1) Pukut-pukotan 2) Salay
Part/s used	1) Root 2) Leaf
Preparation	Gather some roots of pukut-pukotan. Wash roots thoroughly. Get some leaves of salay. Boil the plant materials.
Direction for use	Drink the decoction starting on the seventh month of pregnancy to lessen the water inside the womb.
Additional information	Much water in the womb would cause longer labor.
Informant/s (place and year)	Salcedo, Trinidad (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)



**Table 64. Skin infection (ringworm)**

Ethnopharmacological use	For ringworm ( <i>buni</i> )
Scientific name	1) <i>Crinum asiaticum</i> L. 2) <i>Nicotiana tabacum</i> L. 3) Calcium hydroxide
Common name/s	1) - 2) Tabako 3) Apog
Local name/s	1) Bakong 2) Maskada 3) Apog
Part/s used	1) Sap 2) Leaf 3) Slaked lime
Preparation	Mix well the bakong sap, apog, and maskada.
Direction for use	Apply this as poultice on the infected part and leave it in place until it dries up. Use the preparation once.
Additional information	One shall feel pain as the poultice is initially applied on the skin. But after the application, the affected part will dry and heal. Avoid eating <i>malansa</i> food (food that smell or taste like fish).
Informant/s (place and year)	Casamis, Jun; Casamis, Elena (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 65. Skin infection (ringworm)**

Ethnopharmacological use	For ringworm ( <i>buni</i> )
Scientific name	1) - 2) Calcium hydroxide
Common name/s	1) - 2) Apog
Local name/s	1) Balod-balod 2) Apog
Part/s used	1) Sap 2) Slaked lime
Preparation	Cut stem of balod-balod. Put small amount of apog on the sap.
Direction for use	Apply sap on affected area once.
Additional information	The affected area will manifest wounds after application. The skin infection will disappear along with healing of the wound.
Informant/s (place and year)	Bihasa, Eustaquio (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 66. Skin infection (*Tinea versicolor*)**

Ethnopharmacological use	For <i>Tinea versicolor</i> ( <i>an-an</i> )
Scientific name	1) <i>Crinum asiaticum</i> L. 2) <i>Nicotiana tabacum</i> L. 3) Calcium hydroxide
Common name/s	1) - 2) Tabako 3) Apog
Local name/s	1) Bakong 2) Maskada 3) Apog
Part/s used	1) Sap 2) Leaf 3) Slaked lime
Preparation	Mix well the bakong sap, apog, and maskada.
Direction for use	Use this as poultice on infected part. Leave it in place until it dries up. Use the preparation once.
Additional information	One shall feel pain as the poultice is initially applied on the skin. But after the application, the affected part will dry and heal. Avoid eating <i>malansa</i> food (food that smell or taste like fish).
Informant/s (place and year)	Casamis, Jun; Casamis, Elena (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 67. Spitting out blood**

Ethnopharmacological use	For spitting of blood ( <i>dumudura ng dugo</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Belamcanda chinensis</i> (L.) DC.
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Aksibar
Part/s used	Leaf
Preparation	Gather 2 mature aksibar leaves then boil in a glass of water until half the amount remains.
Direction for use	Drink the decoction twice a day.
Additional information	The decoction will turn into a green shade. It is tasteless.
Informant/s (place and year)	Casamis, Jun (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 68. Sprain or strain**

Ethnopharmacological use	For sprains or strains in body accompanied by cough and colds
Scientific name	1) <i>Citrus microcarpa</i> Bunge 2) <i>Coleus blumei</i>
Common name/s	1) Kalamansi 2) Mayana
Local name/s	1) Kidya 2) Mayana
Part/s used	1) Fruit 2) Leaf
Preparation	Pound the mayana leaves then extract the sap. Mix the sap with the juice of the kidya fruit.
Direction for use	Patient must drink the leaf and fruit's sap while the healer massages her/his body using coconut oil.
Additional information	The mucus will come out after taking the mixture.
Informant/s (place and year)	Victoria, Rodolfo; Victoria, Delia Pagaspas (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 69. Sprain**

Ethnopharmacological use	For sprains ( <i>pilay</i> )
Scientific name	-
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Lipang kalabaw
Part/s used	Root
Preparation	Gather roots of lipang kalabaw then boil it in water.
Direction for use	Drink the decoction 2 to 3 times a day.
Additional information	
Informant/s (place and year)	Casamis, Jun; Casamis, Elena (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 70. Sprain**

Ethnopharmacological use	For recent sprains ( <i>bagong pilay</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Jatropha curcas</i> L.
Common name/s	Tubang bakod, tuba-tuba
Local name/s	Tangan-tangan
Part/s used	Bark and stem
Preparation	Gather a piece of bark and a 4-inch stem of tangan-tangan. Heat the bark on fire for a short period of time. Pound the bark and stem together. Separate the pounded bark from the stem.
Direction for use	Use the bark as poultice on the strained area.
Additional information	
Informant/s (place and year)	Casamis, Jun (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 71. Subi-subu**

Ethnopharmacological use	For <i>subi-subu</i>
Scientific name	-
Common name/s	Boa or python
Local name/s	Sawa
Part/s used	Apdo (gall bladder)
Preparation	Grill the gall bladder of sawa. Put ½ teaspoon of gall bladder in 1 tablespoon of breast milk.
Direction for use	Drink the preparation.
Additional information	<i>Subi-subu</i> is a sticky substance that blocks a baby's air passage. The child will defecate or vomit the <i>subi-subu</i> after drinking the preparation.
Informant/s (place and year)	Bihasa, Eustaquio (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 72. Subi-subu**

Ethnopharmacological use	For <i>subi-subu</i>
Scientific name	<i>Capsicum frutescens</i> L.
Common name/s	Siling labuyo
Local name/s	Siling labuyo
Part/s used	Leaf
Preparation	Get around 3 leaves of siling labuyo. Crush the leaves to extract the sap. On a tablespoon, mix the sap with breast milk.
Direction for use	Make the infant (until 7 months old) drink the mixture twice a day, morning and evening.
Additional information	After the treatment, the sticky substance that could block the air passage of the child will come out through the baby's feces.
Informant/s (place and year)	Bihasa, Elena (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 73. Stomach, Sunken**

Ethnopharmacological use	For a sunken stomach ( <i>nalubugan ng tiyan</i> )
Scientific name	1) <i>Mentha sp.</i> 2) <i>Citrus microcarpa</i> Bunge 3) <i>Allium ascalonicum</i> L.
Common name/s	1) Yerba buena 2) Kalamansi 3) Sibuyas Tagalog
Local name/s	1) Herba buena 2) Kidya 3) Sibuyas Tagalog
Part/s used	1) Leaf 2) Fruit 3) Clove
Preparation	Gather shoots of herba buena, 1 fruit of kidya, and 1 clove of sibuyas. Mash the plant materials.
Direction for use	Use this as poultice on patient's temple, nape, back, arms, and legs. Cover the patient with a blanket.
Additional information	Do not wet the patient's spinal bone, knee, and elbow.
Informant/s (place and year)	Bihasa, Lucy; Bihasa, Felicito (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 74. Toothache**

Ethnopharmacological use	For toothache due to cavities ( <i>sakit ng ngipin dahil sa bukbok</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Leucosyke capitellata</i> (Poir.) Wedd.
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Lase-lase
Part/s used	Bark
Preparation	Scrape the bark of the tree. Gather around half a handful of powdered bark. Boil the powder in a glass of water. Strain the decoction to separate the residue from the water.
Direction for use	Use the water to gargle. Get a pinch of the residue and place it inside the cavity.
Additional information	Leave residue inside the cavity until the pain subsides.
Informant/s (place and year)	Salcedo, Trinidad (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 75. Umbilical cord, Drying the**

Ethnopharmacological use	To dry the umbilical cord ( <i>para matuyo ang pusod</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Cocos nucifera</i> L.
Common name/s	Niyog
Local name/s	Niyog
Part/s used	Nutshell
Preparation	Remove the fibers of the nutshell. Scrape and gather the outer layer of the nutshell.
Direction for use	Put on the baby's umbilical cord every morning and afternoon.
Additional information	The mother of the child must avoid eating fish with <i>tibo</i> (spiny dorsal fin). Eating fish with <i>tibo</i> or spiny parts can moisten the umbilical cord when the child is breastfed.
Informant/s (place and year)	Natividad, Nelson (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 76. Unseen spirits, Protection from**

Ethnopharmacological use	As protection from unseen spirits ( <i>proteksiyon sa lamanlupa</i> )
Scientific name	1) <i>Areca catechu</i> L. 2) <i>Piper retrofractum</i> Vahl. 3) <i>Zingiber</i> sp. 4) <i>Nicotiana tabacum</i> L. 5) Calcium hydroxide
Common name/s	1) Bunga 2) Litlit 3) Luyang pula or luyang puti 4) Tabako 5) Apog
Local name/s	1) Bunga 2) Litlit 3) Luyang pula or luyang puti 4) Maskada 5) Apog
Part/s used	1) Seed 2) Leaf 3) Rhizome 4) Leaf 5) Slaked lime
Preparation	Chew the rhizome of luyang pula or luyang puti together with the <i>mama</i> (betel chew).
Direction for use	Spread the mastication on the forehead, calves and arms of the child or pregnant woman.
Additional information	This is done if the child or pregnant woman will travel far. The ritual must be done before leaving for a trip.
Informant/s (place and year)	Bihasa, Felicito; Bihasa, Lucy (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 77. Wounds**

Ethnopharmacological use	For wounds ( <i>sugat</i> )
Scientific name	-
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Banban
Part/s used	Root
Preparation	Pound roots of banban then wrap the pounded roots in a banana leaf. Heat these over fire.
Direction for use	Use the pounded roots as poultice on the wound.
Additional information	
Informant/s (place and year)	Valino, Veronica (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 78. Wounds**

Ethnopharmacological use	For wounds ( <i>sugat</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Barringtonia asiatica</i> (L.) Kurz.
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Buton
Part/s used	Fruit
Preparation	Gather fruits of buton then scrape flesh of gathered fruits.
Direction for use	Use plant material as poultice on wound.
Additional information	
Informant/s (place and year)	Valino, Veronica (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 79. Wounds**

Ethnopharmacological use	For wounds ( <i>sugat</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Cordia sp.</i>
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Kaddol
Part/s used	Bark
Preparation	Scrape 1 fistful of kaddol bark. Add a small amount of salt to it. Wrap these in a banana leaf. Heat the banana leaf over fire for 3 minutes.
Direction for use	Use the bark as poultice on the wound.
Additional information	The preparation has an anti-infective and antiseptic effect.
Informant/s (place and year)	Natividad, Nelson (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 80. Wounds**

Ethnopharmacological use	For wounds ( <i>sugat</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Tabernaemontana pandacaqui</i>
Common name/s	Pandakaki
Local name/s	Pandakaki
Part/s used	Sap
Preparation	Obtain a small amount of sap from the pandakaki plant.
Direction for use	Apply the sap of pandakaki on the wound.
Additional information	One shall feel pain as the sap is applied on the wound but it will prevent tetanus and hasten the healing period of the wound.
Informant/s (place and year)	Casamis, Jun; Casamis, Elena (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 81. Wound, Anti-infective**

Ethnopharmacological use	As anti-infective for wounds ( <i>pangontra sa impeksyon sa sugat</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Saccharum spontaneum</i> L.
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Talahib
Part/s used	Petiole
Preparation	Gather petiole of talahib shoots. Heat the petiole on fire.
Direction for use	Pour warm petiole extract on the wound. After applying the extract, the stem can be pounded and used as poultice.
Additional information	There should be an open wound when applying the extract. Open the wound or put a small cut through the skin around the wound if there is no opening
Informant/s (place and year)	Natividad, Nelson (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 82. Wound, Bleeding**

Ethnopharmacological use	For bleeding wounds ( <i>pampatigil ng pagdurugo ng sugat</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Bambusa sp.</i>
Common name/s	Kawayan
Local name/s	Kawayan
Part/s used	Bark
Preparation	Scrape the bark of kawayan. The amount of scraped bark shall depend on the size of the wound.
Direction for use	Apply scraped bark on the wound and leave in place until the bleeding stops.
Additional information	
Informant/s (place and year)	Salcedo, Trinidad (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)



**Table 83. Wound, Bleeding**

Ethnopharmacological use	For bleeding wounds ( <i>pampatigil ng pagdurugo ng sugat</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Mikania cordata</i> (Burm.f.) B.L. Rob forma undulata
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Koberkrap
Part/s used	Leaf
Preparation	Gather 2-3 leaves of koberkrap.
Direction for use	Squeeze out the sap from the leaves and apply it on the cut. Use the squeezed leaves as poultice over the wound. Keep leaves in place using a cloth.
Additional information	The extract is painful when applied on wound. The bleeding will stop after the procedure and the wound will heal faster.
Informant/s (place and year)	Bihasa, Lucy; Bihasa, Felicito; Bihasa, Jeremy; Salcedo, Trinidad (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 84. Wound, Bleeding**

Ethnopharmacological use	For bleeding wounds ( <i>pampatigil ng pagdurugo ng sugat</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Paspalum conjugatum</i>
Common name/s	Carabao grass
Local name/s	Taeng baling
Part/s used	Aerial part
Preparation	Chew the aerial part of taeng baling.
Direction for use	Use the masticated aerial part as poultice on the bleeding wound. Remove the poultice when the bleeding stops.
Additional information	
Informant/s (place and year)	Dumagat of Dibut (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 85. Wound or cut**

Ethnopharmacological use	For wounds or cuts ( <i>sugat o hiwa</i> )
Scientific name	1) – 2) <i>Mikania cordata</i> (Burm.f.) B.L. Rob forma undulate 3) Calcium hydroxide
Common name/s	1) – 2) – 3) Apog
Local name/s	1) Kadiang-kadiang 2) Koberkrap 3) Apog
Part/s used	1) Leaf 2) Leaf 3) Slaked lime
Preparation	Chew the kadiang-kadiang and koberkrap leaf along with apog.
Direction for use	Apply mastication on the wound.
Additional information	
Informant/s (place and year)	Salcedo, Trinidad; Salcedo, Jeremias (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Galvan IC, Epa CJV (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 86. Wound (Kani-kani)**

Ethnopharmacological use	For wounds ( <i>kani-kani</i> )
Scientific name	<i>Psidium guajava</i> L.
Common name/s	Bayabas
Local name/s	Bayabas
Part/s used	Shoot
Preparation	Boil bayabas shoots in 1 glass of water. Cool the decoction until heat becomes tolerable.
Direction for use	Use the decoction to wash the wound twice every afternoon.
Additional information	The <i>kani-kani</i> wound is caused by frequent exposure of feet to dirty puddles brought about by rain) Washing the <i>kani-kani</i> using bayabas shoots will dry the wound faster.
Informant/s (place and year)	Bihasa, Lucy; Bihasa, Felicito; Bihasa, Jeremy (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

**Table 87. Wound on tongue or lips of child**

Ethnopharmacological use	<i>Laso</i> (wounds on tongue and lips of child due to too much heat)
Scientific name	<i>Mussaenda philippica</i> A. Rich.
Common name/s	-
Local name/s	Taligharap
Part/s used	Flower (the yellow variety)
Preparation	Gather enough flowers of taligharap. Use a thread to make a necklace out of the flowers.
Direction for use	Wear the flower necklace for two days.
Additional information	Although there is no devotion or other rituals in the process, community members shared that this necklace healed the wound in the mouth of a child.
Informant/s (place and year)	Salcedo, Trinidad (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)
Information gatherer/s (place and year)	Epa CJV, Galvan IC (Dibut, San Luis, Aurora 2010)

## APPENDICES

### Indications recognized and corresponding plants used

	Indication	Description	Plants used	No. of plants
1.	<i>An-an</i>	White spots in the skin caused by fungi. ( <i>Tinea versicolor</i> )	Bakong Tabako/maskada	2
2.	<i>Apendiks</i>	Appendicitis	Lalaki a kapaya	1
3.	<i>Baynat ng kapanganakan, Pag-iwas sa</i>	To avoid post-partum illness	Salipangpang Banban Arutay	3
4.	<i>Baynat ng kapanganakan, Gamot sa</i>	To cure post-partum illness	Matuod-tuod Kilawi	2
5.	<i>Batang may lagnat, kabag, at sakit ng tiyan</i>	Child with fever, gas pain, and stomachache	Buasaw	1
6.	<i>Bonog</i>	<i>Bonog</i> is unintentionally caused by a tired person who brings air that affects a person/child. One will suddenly feel dizzy and want to vomit. Cold and soft ears are the signs of bonog.	Guyabano Malunggay	2
7.	<i>Bukol</i>	Cyst (i.e. boil)	Unnamed plant #1 Taligharap	2
8.	<i>Buni</i>	Ringworm	Bakong Balod-balod Tabako/maskada	3
9.	<i>Dismenoriya</i>	Dysmenorrhea	Takip-asin Kilawi	2
10.	<i>Dugal</i>	Cough with blood stained phlegm and difficulty breathing.	Pakpak-lawin Palosapis Aksibar	3
11.	<i>Dumudura ng dugo</i>	Blood stained spit	Aksibar	1
12.	<i>Iti</i>	Diarrhea with vomiting	Lagitik Bayabas Taltalikod Taba-tabakuhan Turutumbung	5
13.	<i>Kahit anong kagat, Kagat ng may kamandag</i>	Poisonous bites (i.e. bite of snake, centipede, or dog [rabies])	Baling-baling Ditan	2
14.	<i>Kulebra</i>	Hot and reddish rash that suddenly appears	Pagong-pagongan	1
15.	<i>Lagnat, lagnat na may kasamang pananakit ng katawan</i>	Fever, fever with body pains	Dusol Herba buena Sibuyas Tagalog Kidya Bunga Litlit Tabako/maskada	7

16.	<i>Luslos</i>	A condition caused by carrying heavy things.	Bayag-usa	1
17.	<i>Malarya</i>	Malaria	Kamoteng kahoy Lagtang	2
18.	<i>Nalubugan ng tiyan</i>	Sunken stomach	Herba buena Sibuyas Tagalog Kidya	3
19.	<i>Natipid ang regla</i>	Irregular menstruation, few amounts of blood comes out	Salipangpang Arutay Gabing uwak	3
20.	<i>Pagbubuntis</i>	Pre-natal care (to lessen water in womb for easier labor)	Pukut-pukotan Salay	2
21.	<i>Pagtatae</i>	Frequent watery defecation	Pangin-naw Payetyet	2
22.	<i>Pampagatas sa nag-anak</i>	To induce lactation	Takip-asin	1
23.	<i>Pampigil sa pagkakaroon ng anak</i>	Contraceptive	Unnamed plant #2	1
24.	<i>Pangontra sa impeksyon ng sugat</i>	Anti-infective for wounds	Talahib	1
25.	<i>Pang-agas/ pampalaglag/ pampadugo</i>	Abortifacient	Dalunot Suob kabayo Unnamed plant #3	3
26.	<i>Para matuyo ang pusod</i>	To dry the umbilical cord	Niyog	1
27.	<i>Pasma sa bituka</i>	Vomiting and intestinal pain when hungry and after eating. “Pasma sa bituka” is caused by eating heavy meals after a long period of not eating.	Apistula Kanin	2
28.	<i>Pigsa</i>	Boil	Lipang kalabaw Pukut-pukotan Taligharap	3
29.	<i>Pilay Pilay na may ubo’t sipon</i>	Any kind of body strain/sprain. Strain/sprain with cough and colds.	Lipang kalabaw Aksibar Tangan-tangan Mayana Kidya	5
30.	<i>Proteksiyon sa lamanlupa</i>	Protection against unseen beings that may cause harm.	Luyang pula/puti Bunga Litlit Tabako/maskada	4
31.	<i>Pampurga</i>	Anthelmintic	Buton Manpol Tanulong	3
32.	<i>Sakit ng ngipin dahil sa bukbok</i>	Toothache due to tooth decay.	Lase-lase	1
33.	<i>Sakit ng tiyan</i>	Stomachache	Payetyet Kalingag Taltalikod Pakong dapu	4

34.	<i>Sakit ng ulo</i>	Headache	Guyabano Herba buena Sibuyas Tagalog Kidya	4
35.	<i>Sakit sa bato</i>	Kidney disease	Narra	1
36.	<i>Sakit sa ibaba ng likod</i>	Lower back pain	Lalaki a kapaya	1
37.	<i>Sinibigan</i>	Amenorrhea	Miloso	1
38.	<i>Sor ays</i>	Sore eyes	Turutumbung	1
39.	<i>Subi-subi</i>	The sticky substance that could block the air passage of the child.	Siling labuyo	1
40.	<i>Suka't tae</i>	Diarrhea with vomiting	Turutumbung Taltalikod Taba-tabakuan	3
41.	<i>Sugat</i>  <i>Kani-kani</i>  <i>Laso</i>  <i>Pampatigil ng dugo ng sugat</i>	Wound (general)  Wound caused by frequent exposure of feet to dirty water brought by rain  Wounds on the tongue and lips of children due to too much heat  To stop the bleeding of wound	Banban Buton Pandakaki Bayabas Koberkrap Kaddol Taligharap Taeng baling Kawayan Kadiang-kadiang	10
42.	<i>Taul</i>	Inflamed ligament	Unnamed plant #1	1
43.	<i>Tipdas</i>	Measles	Siling labuyo	1
44.	<i>Ubo,</i> <i>Ubo na may hapo</i> <i>Hirap sa pag-ubo</i> <i>Maplemang ubo</i> <i>Ubong tutuloy sa TB</i>	Cough, Cough with tiredness Dry cough Cough with phlegm Cough leading to tuberculosis	Apatot Kidya Talahib	3
45.	<i>Weres</i>	Difficulty to defecate because of knotting of intestines.	Bayag-usa	1

#### Animal products

	Indication	Description	Plants used	
1.	Sakit ng tiyan	Stomachache	Apdo ng sawa	
2.	Tipdas	Measles	Pakpak ng manok	
3.	Subi-subi	The sticky substance that could block the air passage of the child	Sawa	



## CASE STUDIES OF DUMAGAT HOUSEHOLDS AND KEY CONSULTANTS

### 1. Chieftain Eustaquio Bihasa's Household

The researchers stayed in the chieftain's house for nine days. The household was selected first since he is the chieftain of the indigenous community. Because the household is a mixture of different cultures (the chieftain's wife, Rosalina is an Ilocano and the chieftain himself is half-Tagalog and half-Dumagat), the lifestyle practiced in the household is more on the mainstream. Nevertheless, the chieftain had been an invaluable informant because he is one of the eldest in the community and he shared many of his experiences.

He was the one who first told us about '*amas*' and '*nabati*'. He said he had firsthand experience on the case, when his wife got sick many years ago. They had consulted a doctor but still his wife did not get better. After an *arbularyo* told them that an unseen being may have noticed her (*nabati*), they asked a pastor to pray for Nanay Rosalina. And according to him, she got well. It rained the day after she got better. Nanay Rosalina had to go outside and she got wet but her illness did not return. The chieftain considers it proof that the illness is really caused by spirits for if it was not, she would get *baynat*, her illness would have recurred.

Another experience that he relayed was when he himself got sick due to unseen spirits. He said his illness was caused by him unintentionally hurting an unseen spirit while he was cutting trees in the forest. He then described the method that the healer had planned to heal him but unfortunately the ritual was performed for some reason. He also mentioned another method to heal a "*nabati*" but this one according to him is a traditional Dumagat ritual he has seen only during a meeting with other indigenous people.

During our stay in the chieftain's house, we had observed that the family relies on modern medicine and religion rather than traditional methods. Though the chieftain once mentioned that he took *payetyet* (a plant) when he had stomachache and got better, it has been evident that generally the family relies on synthetic medicine. One proof is that when the researcher got an allergic reaction to the food she had eaten, the first question they asked was "*Did you take any medicine?*" Another is that when the mother of the family got a headache, she immediately took a pill for it. Also, one of their sons takes medicine every day because of his liver condition.



## 2. Natividad Household

Nelson “Tantan” Natividad, or more known as Kuya Tantan, was a former barangay captain of Dibut. He claims that his immediate family is one of the few “*puro*” or pure Dumagat families in Dibut. During our stay in his house, he had shared his knowledge about healing to us. More or less he had shared to us 15 herbal medicines that he knew could cure illness. His ‘expertise’ is on “*nag- anak*” or mothers who had just given birth. His stepfather, Marcelo Molina was a known *arbularyo* in the place when he was still alive. Based on the story of Kuya Tantan, when his stepfather was dying, he had called Kuya Tantan and offered to give him all his knowledge in healing including his *sobkal* (spirit friend). However, his stepfather changed his mind out of pity to Kuya Tantan. This is because when someone becomes an *arbularyo*, she/he will first undergo a trial. She/he will first get sick for weeks and face near-death experiences. When she/he overcomes these, she/he will have the power to heal any illness with the help of the *sobkal*. However, the family of the *arbularyo* will never be financially well-off. Apparently, Kuya Tantan’s *amahin* did not want Kuya Tantan and his family to experience such an ordeal. However, Kuya Tantan admitted that he did take one power to heal that is to remove “*bulo*” (tiny hair) stuck on one’s eye. Also, he tried to remember as many herbal medicines as he could, when his *amahin* was still alive.

### Kuya Tantan, knowledgeable of medicinal plants

According to Kuya Tantan, he was the one who assisted his wife and daughter when they had given birth and he truly believes that the herbs which they both took after giving birth helped them recover immediately. He also mentioned experiences on other illnesses that were cured after he had suggested the patient to take herbal medicine that he learned from his stepfather.

A particular experience that he related to us was when he accidentally stepped on a barbed wire. He said the wire had wounded his foot deeply and worse, it had rust so there might be a chance of infection. His foot had been swollen that time but he just relied on talahib leaves as cure for his wound. Everyday he heated talahib shoots and extracted the juice to be placed on his wound. He proudly showed us his foot – no trace of any wound and neither had he been treated for an infection. Another instance that the effectivity of talahib was put to test was when his nephew in Ditorin stepped on a sharp wood. The wood punctured three-fourths of the foot and could not be pulled out. The child suffered a severely swollen foot so he could not walk for a few days. Kuya Tantan then suggested to his parents that they use talahib. However, he cautioned child that it will really be painful or *mahapdi* when the heated juice of talahib enters the wound. The parents did as they were told and the next day an inch of the wood came out of the wound. They pulled out the

wood easily. By the afternoon the swelling had lessened and the child could walk again. These are two of the proofs that talahib is really effective. As he puts it, “*Ang talahib talagang apurbadu* (approved) *‘yan para sa sugat, pangontra ng impeksyon.’* (Talahib is really approved/effective for wounds and for countering infections.)

Another experience was with a centipede bite. He related that one night Ate Ofelia, his wife, was bitten by a centipede. Ate Ofelia had experienced excruciating pain that time and she could not control her cries of pain. She had fever and could not walk for a week. They had consulted many healers, they went even as far as Sarah (a barangay in San Luis, Aurora) but the swelling and pain did not diminish. Finally, Kuya Tantan remembered the sap of ditan (a species of rattan). He took a branch of the plant from their field. When he arrived home the sap had already come out which was then applied on the swollen centipede bite. It was afternoon when they applied the sap. The next morning the swelling had lessened and the pain was gone.

#### Illness and its causes according to Kuya Tantan

Illness is caused by germs, according to Kuya Tantan. He also believes that some illnesses can be transferred through air. Basically, his belief in illness causation is based on what he heard from TV, radio, and health workers.

He also believes that sickness can be caused by other creatures unlike us people. For instance *amas* can cause sudden illness to that person when the unseen are disturbed. *Mangkukulam* and *mambabarang* are humans that could cause tragedy to their enemies through their supernatural powers. *Sobkal* (spirit friends), although benevolent, could make someone sick if their human friend asks them to do so. *Talo* are spirits in the forest that causes confusion to a person about to return home. But spirits, according to him, are not harmful. They just want to be left alone, thus, when they are disturbed they might cause illness to a person. Although he also mentions an instance called “*pinagkatuwaan*”, when a person got sick just because the spirit took a fancy to her/him.

#### Researcher's notes

Kuya Tantan had been sick during the researchers' stay in the community. Although he has broad knowledge in herbal medicine, he went to San Luis to get synthetic medicine that he takes every night. This is another evidence that Dibut is really a community in transition in terms of health practices.

### 3. Molina Household/Family

“Yung ama at ina ko marunong maggamot. Yung tatay ko nga nakakagamot ng hhipan lang niya. At ewan ko, meron yata siyang anting. Hindi kasi siya tinatalaban ng bala o kaya ng itak.” (My father and mother know how to cure. My father can even cure just by blowing on it. And I just don't know if he has magic because bullets or bolos cannot hurt him.)

The Molina family can be considered a family of healers. Although the children were not able to get all the knowledge their deceased parents possessed due to the conversion of the family to Born-again Christianity, bits and pieces of the knowledge especially with the use of herbal medicine remain with me.

Trinidad Molina-Salcedo

Being the oldest among the Molina siblings in Dibut, Trinidad or Trining is the most knowledgeable in medicinal plants. She said the initiative to learn the medicinal plants had actually come from her and not her parents. In the times she had become pregnant, whenever her parents gave her something to drink, she often asked from what plant or tree was the medicine obtained. Because her parents usually just give her the part of the plant to be used as medicine, she would inquire more about the plant or tree. And when she was already well and could go to the farm, she asked her parents to show her the plant or tree. She also learned through experience. When she was still a young child she had a toothache. Her father took a piece of bark from the lase-lase tree and he put it in her aching tooth. The pain went away. From then on she remembered that the lase-lase bark could be used to cure toothache. In other times she watched her parents when they treated her younger siblings.

Until now Trining still prefers herbal medicine over synthetic medicine. However she said sometimes her children and siblings contradict or even mock her when she uses it. It is because, as she puts it, “Sila kasi ang gusto nila kapag uminom sila ng gamot.. wala na silang mararamdaman. Pag yung gamot kasi ng tribo, parang yung gamot sa dugal, sasakit pa yung dibdib mo. Pero ganoon naman talaga. Pag minsan nga pag nagtapal ako, pumupunta sila dito tapos tinatawanan nila ako. Sinasabi nila na ‘ayan na naman si Ate nagtapal na naman ng kung anu-ano.” (In their case, when they take medicine, they don't want to feel any pain. But in traditional medicine like the one for spitting blood, it might cause chest pain. But it's just like that. Sometimes when I place medicine (leaves) on affected parts, they come here and laugh at me. They say “There goes Ate, using her herbs again.”)

Veronica Molina-Valino

Veronica or Ero knows a few herbal medicines. However, unlike her older sister Trining, her 'belief' in the effectivity of traditional medicine is not that strong. She was the one who taught the research assistants about *alagaw* being a cure for *buni*, and she told stories about *talo* and *aswang*. Her son Angelo said that when he had malaria, he believes that he was cured by herbal medicine rather than the synthetic medicine that he had been taking for a week. According to his story, he had been sick for a week and felt chilly every 2 o'clock in the afternoon. He had consulted a community healer and was advised to take the decoction of the dita bark. The healer also told him that "*pinapatay ng mapait ang malaria*" (bitter taste kills malaria). So he experimented on all the plants around him that were bitter. He pounded cassava shoots to extract its juice and drank it. He also used a sambong decoction as substitute for water. After two week he got better and he claims it is because of the medicinal plants he had taken.

Jesus Molina

Jesus or Itot knows just a few medicinal plants. He often relies on his older sister, Trining, for remedies for his illness. He also shared his experience when he was a kid and had contracted *tipdas* (measles). He said his father had used the leaves of siling labuyo and the feather of chicken to cure the disease. His father had crushed the siling labuyo leaves to extract the juice, then he took a feather of chicken and put it on fire. When the feather became charred, he mixed it with the siling labuyo extract and the mixture was applied all over his body. Itot said the medicine made him feel hot and feverish. The next day more measles had come out but afterwards the rashes started to subside then disappear. Itot said that the sudden surfacing of the rashes after the application of the herbal medicine is just part of the healing process.

Aside from his stories, Trining has always been using Itot as an example for the effectivity of traditional medicine. She said that when Itot was still working in a logging company, he had an accident. A big vehicle ran over him and his ribs were very much affected. He had begun spitting blood because of what happened. Trining only placed arutay leaves on his ribs and then she asked him to drink aksibar leaf decoction. Although until now Trining acknowledges that Itot's health hasn't fully recovered, she is just happy that he is well.

Pricilla Molina-Malate

Because Pricilla or Presing was born when the Molina family had already been converted to Born-again, she only knew that their parents had healing abilities from stories she heard from her older siblings. She also knows some herbal medicine she learned from her stay in Bayanihan, Maria Aurora and also from her experiences when her older sibling, Trining, would treat her for illnesses. But because of her exposure to other cultures, it is evident that Presing has the tendency to choose synthetic medicine rather than the traditional ones whenever someone is ill in her family. And also because of her strong belief as a Born-again Christian, when confronted with illnesses believed to have been caused by spirits, she chooses prayer rather than seeking help from an *arbularyo*.

#### 4. Felicito Bihasa's Household

Felicito Bihasa prides himself for his knowledge in healing. He said he acquired the knowledge from his grandfather. When he was young, he and his late grandfather had traversed the mountain separating Diatorin and Dibut. During these walks his grandfather had pointed to him the trees, shrubs, and vines that could be used to cure different illnesses.

Lucy Caldoza-Bihasa is the wife of Felicito. Although she is of Visayan descent, she has lived in Aurora most of her life. She said her family moved to Diatorin when she was around fourteen. Her father had worked for a logging company then. Later on, her family became the caretakers of the Angara (Senator Edgardo Angara's family) land in Diatorin. She married Felicito at a very young age, she said. After marriage, she moved to Dibut with her husband and children. According to Lucy all her knowledge in the use of herbal medicine comes from her husband, Felicito. So even though she is not a Dumagat by blood, her knowledge and practices in healing are almost all from Dumagat.

The children of Felicito and Lucy also have bits of knowledge in healing. During the stay of the research assistants in their home, Ernan, one of the adult children of the couple had been sick and he had been able to identify his illness. (He claimed that he had been greeted or noticed by a spirit. He first requested his older brother to call the *arbularyo*, Jun Casamis but the *arbularyo* was busy at that time. He asked his mother to massage him with herba buena, sibuyas tagalong, and kalamansi. When he did not get better, he used *suob*. After all these, he eventually got better.)

Jeremy Bihasa, the couple's first born also knows some herbal medicine. He said that sometimes he gets plants and herbs that are used by their neighbors to heal different diseases. Since he had

learned about herbal medicine the way his father learned them, he also doesn't know most of the names of the plants.

Show me the plant, don't ask me the name

*"Kapag nakita ko 'yung halaman, alam ko ang kagamutan niya. Kaso hindi ko alam ang pangalan ng maraming halaman."* (If I see the plant, I will know which illness it can treat. But the problem is I don't know the names of many plants.)

- Felicito Bihasa

As mentioned earlier, ancient Dumagats taught their children the traditional practices of healing through *pagkakatnig*. The method is very informal, oftentimes while they are walking in forests and mountains. And because the plants are just around them, they just point to the plants – the names are not that important. This had been the case of Felicito Bihasa. He had learned about herbal medicine while walking with his grandfather. Because he was able to see the plant – know its appearance, color, if it has a flower, if it is a vine or shrub or tree, and even its habitat – he had not been concerned about the name of the plant. He would often say that when a person asks him to get a plant to cure an illness, he will just go to the place where he saw the plant, get the plant part needed, and give it to the patient. If the patient or a researcher (in cases when some researchers come and document their practices like this one) asks which plant is for what kind of illness, he will not be able to answer for he does not know the names of plants for the different illnesses.

## 5. Casamis Household

Jose Casamis, Jr. or Jun is the only identified *arbularyo* in Dibut. Though there may be other names that will be mentioned when one asks about people knowledgeable in healing, but all the others are more identified as healers and not *arbularyo*.

Jun can be considered an immigrant of the place. Born from an Ilocano father and an Alta mother from Diteki, he settled in Dibut after he married his wife, Elena Victorio-Casamis. Jun's mother died while giving birth to him so he was born and bred as an Ilocano. Jun said that he had gotten his knowledge in healing from his grandfather and his father. *"Sa totoo lang, trese anyos pa lang ako marunong na akong magpa-anak. Nakikita ko na kasi dun sa aking lolo kapag tumutulong ako sa kanya,"* he shared. (Truth is, at the age of thirteen, I could already assist mothers as they gave birth. I learned from my grandfather when I was helping him.)

But he persisted to learn the art of healing after the death of his first four children. He said that after he got married, he and his wife had four kids. All of them died before they became toddlers. He got bothered by this fact so he went to his father in Gabaldon, Nueva Ecija and asked to be taught and be given knowledge on healing so he could protect his family from whatever was causing his children's death. His father taught him some hebal medicine as well as Latin prayers. After that he became an *arbularyo*.

#### Two kinds of Latin prayers

Jun told the research assistant about two kinds of Latin prayers – one, according to him is from the forces of evil and the other is from the cross of Jesus Christ when he died. He said that some *arbularyos* obtained their power from Satan himself. These are the '*arbularyos*' that can cause illness to people at the same time cure them. However, there are also some who can cure illness through Latin prayers which come from "*Amang Makapangyarihan*." (Almighty Father) He said that when Jesus was nailed on the cross, there were some Latin words written on the cross. Reading these may help cure the sick. He believes that the power he has now, as well as the Latin prayers that he learned from his grandfather and father, who are both *arbularyos*, came from the good side.

#### The ups and downs of being an *arbularyo*

During the research assistants' stay in the barangay, it had been evident that possessing the knowledge to heal holds some prestige in the area. Although it has been common to hear the community members saying '*Pumunta ka sa health center o kay midwife*' (go to the health center or to the midwife) or '*Bumili ka nga ng gamot sa tindahan o sa botika*' (buy medicine from the store or pharmacy) when a member of their family is sick, the phrases '*magpatingin ka kaya sa arbularyo*' (why don't you go consult a traditional doctor) or '*magpapulso ka kaya kay Jun*' (go have you pulse checked by Jun) are also commonly said.

On the other hand, there are also problems with being an *arbularyo*. "*Sabi kasi ng ilan, 'kung kaya niyang magpagaling, kaya din niyang magdulot ng sakit'*," (Some people say that if he can cure an illness, he can also cause it), said Jimmy, the son of Jun Casamis. And even Jun himself said that there were times that after healing a patient, some people instead of being thankful, spread bad rumors about him. But for him, he still holds on to his belief that so long as he is helping other people and he is doing good, he does not care about what other people say.

## Mga kuwentong-bayan ng mga Dumagat sa Dibut, San Luis, Aurora

### Ang pinanggalingan ng pangalang Dibut

Ayon kay Chieftain Eustaquio Bihasa, noong bandang taong 1995, nagkaroon ng pagpupulong ang mga Ilongot at mga Dumagat sa kapitolyo. Doon ay nabanggit ng “mataas na pinakamatandang Ilongot” na ang pangalan ng pinakamatandang Dumagat o ang kanilang unang lider ay si Kapitan Dangdang.

Sa unang titik ng pangalan ng kapitan kinuha ang unang pantig ng pangalan ng mga lugar sa Aurora tulad ng Dibut, Dikapinisan, at Dipaculao.

Mayroon ding epekto ang heograpikal na katangian ng baybayin ng Dibut sa pinagmulan ng pangalan ng kanilang lugar. Dahil ang baybayin at mga bahay sa barangay ay papaikot, kapag ang isang tao ay papunta sa ibayo, kailangan pa niyang “lumibot” sa baybayin. Sa salitang Dumagat ang salitang lumibot ay de libut.

Sa makatuwid, ayon kay chieftain, ang pangalang Dibut ay hinango sa pagsasama ng unang titik ng pangalan ni Kapitan Dangdang na titik “D”, at sa salitang de libut ng mga Dumagat. Kung kaya't tinawag ang barangay na Barangay Dibut.

### Ang kuwento ni Mog-got

Ayon sa paglalahad ni Nelson “Tantan” Natividad

*Ayon sa mga matatanda, noong unang panahon ang baybayin ng San Luis ay tinitirahan ng mga higante. Ang mga higanteng ito ay talagang malalaki, mababagsik, at kumakain ng tao. Noong panahon ding iyon nabuhay ang isang Dumagat na nagngangalang Mog-got. Walang nakakaalam kung sino ang mga magulang ni Mog-got at paano siya naging tao. Ang tanging alam lamang ay nag-iisa siyang tao noon sa baybayin kaya naman lagi siyang tinutugis ng mga higante. Subalit dahil sa angking katalinuhan at katusuhan ni Mog-got, lagi niyang naiiwasan na masaktan ng mga higante.*

Minsan si Mog-got ay masayang naglalaro sa isang tabag (slide) na mataas. Nagduduyan siya sa bagin ng isang punong kahoy at malayo ang kanyang nararating. Dumating ang mga higante at



sinabi sa kanya na, “Mabuti Mog-got at naitu ka. Ay ngay-un ay wala ka nang ligtas.”

Ang sagot ni Mog-got, “Ay wag kayung maingay at ehe pinupuntahan ko lang 'yung namatay kung magulang sa ibayung dagat. Tingnan ninyu naitu pa 'yung mga binigay nilang sigay sa akin.”

Pero ang totoo ay kinuha lang ni Mog-got ang mga sigay (cowrie shell) na ito sa paligid. Sinabi lang niya iyon upang lituhin ang mga higante. Naniwala naman ang higante at sinabing, “Da, pahalili ka at aku rin para makita ku 'yung mga kamag-anak kung namatay, kung nasaan na sila.”

Pumayag naman si Mog-got at tinulungan pa nga ang mga higante. Kumuha siya ng dawag ng malaking yantok at inutusan na tumuwid ang mga higante. Ipinasok niya ang dawag sa puwet ng mga higante, at saka itinulak ang higante. Nahulog ang higante sa bangin at namatay.

Isang araw muli, naglalaro na naman si Mog-got sa tabag. Pumapasok siya sa isang malaking tiklis at saka nagpagulong pababa. Dahil siguro ay may anting-anting si Mog-got, hindi siya nasusugatan o nasasaktan sa kanyang ginagawa. May isang higante na namang lumapit sa kanya at sinabing, “Ngay-un Mog-got, ngay-un ay papatayin na kita.” Sumagot si Mog-got na, “Ay wag nyu akung pakialaman at aku'y naglalaru. Ay tingnan niyu itung laruan ku!” Nainggit ang higante kaya nakiusap siya na payagan din siya na maglaro. Kaya naman inaya siya ni Mog-got na pumunta sa itaas ng tabag. Pagdating doon ay pinapasok niya ang higante sa loob ng isang malaking tiklis tsaka niya tinahi ang bunganga ng basket para hindi na makalabas ang higante. Pagkatapos ay inilagay niya ang basket sa gilid mismo ng tabag, at sinabi sa higante na kapag narinig niya ang tawag ni Mog-got ay 'kumibu siya'. Bumaba na si Mog-got sa tabag. Kumuha siya ng isang mahabang sibat at inilagay sa mismong babagsakan ng higante. Pagkatapos ay sumigaw na siya kaya gumalaw na ang higante, kung kaya't nahulog ang basket na may higante at natuhog ng sibat. May namatay na naman na higante.

Hindi talaga naging madali sa mga higante ang paghuli kay Mog-got. Bagaman kumpara sa mga higante ay maliit at mahina siya, ginamit niya ang kanyang utak upang magapi ang mga higante sa baybayin.

Isang pagkakataon, nasa may dapian si Mog-got, sa tabing dagat, nangangawil. Marami na siyang nahuling isda nang makita siya ng isang higante. “Ay Mog-got, 'di ka na makakaligtas,” wika ng higante. “Talagang papatayin na kita nitu ngay-un.” Sinabihan siya ni Mog-got na wag siyang maingay dahil siya ay nangangawil ng isdang kanyang uulamin. Maya-maya lang ay may inahon na naman siyang isda, kaya naman naengganyo ang higante. Sinabi ng higante, “Ay pahalili ka rin, aku rin at ng aku ay may ulam.” Pumayag namang muli si Mog-got. Kumuha siya ng ugat ng

makabuhay tsaka iyong malaking isda bilang pain. Ang kabilang dulo naman ay itinali niya sa bayag ng higante, pagkatapos ay ihinagis niya ang pain sa dagat. Ngunit sa loob-loob niya ay hinahangad niya na sana ay 'sibarin ang higante ng napakalaking kigting'. Pagkatalikod na pagkatalikod ni Mog-got ay may kumagat na agad na napakalaking isda sa 'tangad' ng higante, hinila ng hinila ang higante ng malaking isda kaya humingi ito ng tulong kay Mog-got. Hindi naman siya pinansin ni Mog-got kaya nalunod at namatay ang higante.

Isang araw, naglalakad si Mog-got nang makasalubong niya ang isa pang higante. Sinabi sa kanya ng higante na papatayin na raw siya nito sa pagkakataong ito subalit sabi ni Mog-got, "Wag kang maingay at ginagamot ko ang sarili ko." May hawak siyang isang baong sili noon at may tali ang kanyang noo. Nakiusap ang higante na gamutin din siya ni Mog-got dahil masakit din daw ang ulo niya. Inutusan siyang humiga ni Mog-got. Pagkatapos ay ibinuka ni Mog-got ang mata ng higante at ibinuhos ang isang baong sili doon, tsaka niya iniwan ang higante.

May isa ring pagkakataon na naglalakad si Mog-got na may pasan siyang palakol. Nakasalubong niya ang isang higante at sinabi ng higante na papatayin daw siya nito. Subalit sabi ni Mog-got na huwag daw maingay ang higante dahil masakit ang ulo niya. Sinabi ng higante na bago niya gamutin ang sarili niya ay siya muna ang gamutin. Inutusan ni Mog-got ang higante na isangkal ang leeg nito sa kahoy at gagamutin niya ito. "Apurbadu ang gamot na ito", wika ni Mog-got, kaya naniwala at sumunod naman ang higante. Pagkasangkal na pagkasangkal ng higante ng ulo niya sa kahoy ay pinalakol ni Mog-got ang ulo nito. Patay ang higante.

Minsan ay nakita niya ang isang malaking bahay ng 'pisukan' (pukyutan). Binabantayan niya iyon nang dumaan ang isang higante. Ang sabi nito, "O, anung ginagawa mu Mog-got rian? Ngay-un ay katapusan mu na."

"Ay, wag kayung maingay at ehe, pinababantayan nung mahal na hari 'yung banig niya, nakabilad, baka ulanin. Ehe, naitu nga 'yung espadang ibinigay niya sa akin, ay."

Ipinakita ni Mog-got ang espada niya. Talagang maganda naman ang espada kaya naibigan din ito ng higante. Kaya naman, nagsabi ang higante na siya na lamang ang magbabantay ng banig para mapasakanya ang magandang espada.

"Ay baka pabay-an mu laang iyan, ay magagalit 'yung mahal na hari," wika ni Mog-got.

"Ay hindi!" pangako ng higante.

“Ay hala, pag umulan ay akyatn mu at titiklupin mu. Baka abutin nang ulan ay magagalit 'yung mahal na hari,” paalala ni Mog-got.

Pagkaalis ni Mog-got, nagdilim na ang langit kaya dali-daling umakyat ang higante sa puno upang ahunin ang 'banig ng hari'. Nang 'lulukutin' na niya ito ay kinagat siya ng maraming pisukan na nakatira rito kaya siya ay nahulog sa puno at namatay.

Sa ganito raw na pamamaraan inubos ni Mog-got ang mga higante sa baybayin. Lagi niyang inuutakan ang mga higante upang sa halip na siya ang masaktan ay sila ang mamatay.

*Pinaniniwalaang ang mga kuwentong ito ay tunay na nangyari noong unang panahon. Subalit kung tungkol sa ibang aspeto ng buhay ni Mog-got, ang kanyang pinagmulan at katapusan ay walang nakaaalam. Tanging ang kagitingan lamang niya sa harap ng mga higanteng higit na malalaki at malalakas sa kanya ang nananatili sa mga kuwentong ibinabahagi ng mga matatanda sa kanilang mga anak.*

#### Ang kuwento ni Kutikut

Ayon sa paglalahad ni Nelson “Tantan” Natividad

*Kaiba sa kwento ni Mog-got na pinaniniwalaang tootong nangyari, ang kwento ni Kutikut ay sadyang kathang-isip lamang. Ayon sa mga Dumagat, ang kwento ni Kutikut ay ginagamit na pang-aliw sa mga bata kapag sila ay umiiyak o kaya upang sila ay makatulog.*

Si Kutikut ay isang napakaliit na tao na nabuhay sa baybayin noong unang panahon. Minsan daw, habang si Kutikut ay 'namamako' (kumukuha ng pako) sa gubat ay nadaanan siya ng isang baboy-damo. Tinanong ng baboy-damo kung ano ang kanyang ginagawa at sinagot niya rito na siya ay kumukuha ng ulam. Sinabi ng baboy-damo na huwag na siyang kumuha ng pako, sa halip ay 'humiwa' na lamang siya ng konti sa hita ng baboy. Kaya kumuha si Kutikut ng itak at 'tumapyas' ng malaki sa hita ng baboy-damo. Nasaktan ang baboy-damo at nagalit kay Kutikut kaya't hinabol niya ito.

Tumakbo si Kutikut. Una'y nakita niya ang grupo ng tao na nag-aani ng kamoteng-baging.

“Itago niyo ako, hinahabol ako ng baboy-damo,” pakiusap ni Kutikut sa mga tao roon.

“Tumago ka riyon sa naani nang kamote,” sabi nila.

Kaya sumuot si Kutikut sa tumpok ng kamote. Nang dumating ang baboy-damo, tinanong niya sa mga tao kung nasaan si Kutikut. Sinabi ng mga tao na nasa ilalim siya ng tumpok ng kamote. Tumalon ang baboy-damo at dinaganaan ang tumpok ng kamote ngunit mabilis namang nakatakas si Kutikut.

Napadaan si Kutikut sa grupo ng tao na naglalabra ng bangka.

“Itago ninyo ako, hinahabol ako ng baboy-damo,” wika niya sa mga tao roon.

“Tumago ka riyon sa pinaglabrahan,” sabi nila sa kanya. Kay nagtago sa ilalim ng pinaglabrahan si Kutikut. Tamang-tama namang dumating ang baboy-damo.

“Nasaan si Kutikut?” tanong ng baboy-damo sa kanila.

“Nandiyan siya sa pinaglabrahan ng bangka,” sagot ng mga tao.

Biglang dumagan ang baboy-damo sa pinaglabrahan. Subalit talagang mabilis si Kutikut, nakaiwas siyang muli at tumakbo papalayo.

Tumakbo nang tumakbo si Kutikut, hanggang sa makarating siya sa aplaya. Nakita niya ang isang alimango sa bukana ng lungga nito.

“Itago mo ako, hinahabol ako ng baboy-damo,” hangos na wika ni Kutikut.

“Dali! Sumuot ka sa lungga ko,” dagling wika ng alimango.

Nang dumating ang baboy-damo ay nasa loob na ng lungga si Kutikut.

“Nasaan si Kutikut?” galit nitong sinabi. “Kung hindi mo siya ituturo ay papatayin kita.”

“Nandito siya sa lungga,” ang sabi ng alimango.

Sinilip ng baboy-damo ang lungga subalit bigla sinipit ng alimango ang kanyang ilong. Sa sobrang sakit nito ay namatay ang baboy. Pagkamatay ng baboy-damo ay lumabas na si Kutikut sa lungga, nagpasalamat sa alimango at kinarne ang baboy-damo.



## LEXICOSTATISTICS

List of terms: Dumagat of Dibut, San Luis, Aurora

<b>ENGLISH</b>	<b>FILIPINO</b>	<b>DUMAGAT</b>
Good day	Magandang araw	<i>Masampat a dow</i>
Good morning	Magandang umaga	<i>Masampat a abi-abi</i>
Good afternoon	Magandang hapon	<i>Masampat a apon</i>
Good evening	Magandang gabi	<i>Masampat a abi</i>
Where are you going?	Saan ka pupunta?	<i>Nadeno ka?</i>
Come here	Halika	<i>Dumeo ka</i>
We will eat	Kakain na tayo	<i>Namangan kita di</i>
Head	Ulo	<i>Ulu</i>
Hair	Buhok	<i>Sapok</i>
Cheek	Pisngi	<i>Pasingil</i>
Eyes	Mata	<i>Mata</i>
Nose	Ilong	<i>Angot</i>
Mouth	Bibig	<i>Nguso</i>
Teeth	Ngipin	<i>Ngipon</i>
Ears	Tenga	<i>Talinga</i>
Breath	Hininga	<i>Innawe</i>
Hands	Kamay	<i>Komot</i>
Feet	Paa	<i>Sinit</i>
Breast	Suso	<i>Suso</i>
Blood	Dugo	<i>Saggo</i>
Saliva	Laway	<i>Burak</i>
Urine	Ihi	<i>Pamasa</i>
Stool	Tae	<i>Tiduk</i>
Nail	Kuko	<i>Kuko</i>
Skin	Balat	<i>Katat</i>
Forehead	Noo	<i>Ibu</i>
Neck	Leeg	<i>Bong</i>
Nape	Batok	<i>Tingdun</i>
Buttocks	Puwet	<i>Sula</i>
Shoulder	Balikat	<i>Abe</i>
Chin	Baba	<i>Tumid</i>
Stomach	Tiyan	<i>Tiyen</i>
Knee	Tuhod	<i>Tud tud</i>
Leg	Binti	<i>Bitis</i>
Elbow	Siko	<i>Siko</i>
Arm	Braso	<i>Botkon</i>
Breast	Dibdib	<i>Alalang</i>
Back	Likod	<i>Idog</i>
Waist	Baywang	<i>Balawang</i>
Finger	Daliri	<i>Guramut</i>
Soul	Kaluluwa	<i>Kaliduwe</i>
Body	Katawan	<i>Lawes</i>
God	Diyos	<i>Makidepat</i>
Sea	Dagat	<i>Atab</i>

River	Ilog	<i>Orat</i>
Falls	Talon	<i>Tabi</i>
Lake	Sapa	<i>Sumanga</i>
Spring	Bukal	<i>Bubun/bukal</i>
Sky	Kalawakan	<i>Longaw</i>
Heaven	Langit	<i>Langot</i>
Sun	Araw	<i>Adow</i>
Moon	Buwan	<i>Bulan</i>
Stars	Tala / Bituin	<i>Butatala</i>
Clouds	Ulap	<i>Kunom</i>
Soil	Lupa	<i>Putok</i>
Wind	Hangin	<i>Palos</i>
Lightning	Kidlat	<i>Kilat</i>
Thunder	Kulog	<i>Lagpak</i>
Water	Tubig	<i>Orat</i>
Rain	Ulan	<i>Tapuk</i>
Mountain	Bundok	<i>Kalasan</i>
Forest	Gubat	<i>Bukod</i>
Rock	Bato	<i>Betu</i>
Wood	Kahoy	<i>Kew [ke-o]</i>
Typhoon	Bagyo	<i>Linumot</i>
Flood	Baha	<i>Bulangay</i>
High tide	Taib	<i>Taib</i>
Low tide	Hibas	<i>Minugut</i>
Tree	Puno	<i>Gemut</i>
Wave	Alon	<i>Labun</i>
Fire	Apoy	<i>Apoy</i>
Smoke	Usok	<i>Asuk</i>
Ash	Abo	<i>Depug</i>
Charcoal	Uling	<i>Usang</i>
Hill	Burol	<i>Masmus</i>
Mountain range	Kabundukan	<i>Pagotan</i>
Strong wind and rain	Subasko	<i>Tribunade</i>
Father	Tatay	<i>Ama</i>
Mother	Nanay	<i>Ina</i>
Grandfather	Lolo	<i>Popo/Bubu</i>
Grandmother	Lola	<i>Popo/Bubu</i>
Old man	Matandang lalaki	<i>Laki</i>
Old woman	Matandang babae	<i>Gupad</i>
Son	Anak na lalaki	<i>Anak a lalaki</i>
Daughter	Anak na babae	<i>Anak a mahuna</i>
Husband	Asawang lalaki	<i>Bebi</i>
Wife	Asawang babae	<i>Bebi</i>
Auntie	Tiya	<i>Nangnang</i>
Uncle	Tiyo	<i>Wawa</i>
Cousin	Pinsan	<i>Kabinsa</i>
Sibling	Kapatid	<i>Kabinsa</i>
Sister-in-law	Hipag	<i>Beyew a mahuna</i>
Brother-in-law	Bayaw	<i>Beyew a lalaki</i>
Parents-in-law	Biyenan	<i>Panuwengan</i>

Son/Daughter-in-law	Manugang	<i>Umaged</i>
Friend	Kaibigan	<i>Mangayun</i>
Foe	Kaaway	<i>Kapagebuk</i>
Neighbor	Kapitbahay	<i>Kabeloy</i>
Relative	Kamag-anak	<i>Kabinsa</i>
Leader	Pinuno	<i>Kaksaan</i>
Elder brother	Kuya	<i>Kaka</i>
Elder sister	Ate	<i>Kaka</i>
Youngest child	Bunso	<i>Kalog a anak</i>
Cooked rice	Sinaing	<i>Tinun</i>
Porridge / rice water	Lugaw	<i>Linogeo</i>
Banana	Saging	<i>Betag</i>
Coconut	Niyog	<i>Lubi</i>
Papaya	Papaya	<i>Kapaye</i>
Guava	Bayabas	<i>Beyebes</i>
Weed	Damo	<i>Demu</i>
Plant	Tanim	<i>Tanom</i>
Sweet potato	Kamote	<i>Kamoti</i>
Yam	Gabi	<i>Gebi</i>
Onion	Sibuyas	<i>Sibuyes</i>
Salt	Asin	-
Sugar	Asukal	-
Oil	Langis	<i>Kapa</i>
Meat	Karne	-
Fish	Isda	<i>Ikan</i>
Cassava	Kamoteng kahoy	<i>Kahoy</i>
Shrimp paste	Alamang	<i>Biguung</i>
Fish paste	Bagoong	<i>Biguung</i>
Animal	Hayop	-
Chicken	Manok	-
Pig	Baboy	<i>Beboy</i>
Dog	Aso	<i>Aso</i>
Cat	Pusa	<i>Posa</i>
Rat	Daga	<i>Degis</i>
Snake	Ahas	<i>Bebyak</i>
Fish	Isda	<i>Ikan</i>
Shark	Pating	<i>Lagyu</i>
Mosquito	Lamok	<i>Namok</i>
Cockroach	Ipis	<i>Delipus</i>
Grasshopper	Tipaklong	<i>Paklong</i>
Fly	Langaw	<i>Lango</i>
Earthworm	Bulate	<i>Beyod</i>
Catterpillar	Higad	<i>Gok</i>
Butterfly	Paru-paro	<i>Salibyangbyang</i>
Dragonfly	Tutubi	<i>Alituntun</i>
Ant	Langgam	<i>Langgem</i>
Small red ants	Alingatem	<i>Lumanatong</i>
-	Hantik	<i>Amtik</i>
Big black ants	Maitim na malalaking langgam	<i>Laki-laki</i>



Firefly	Alitaptap	<i>Sangop-sangop</i>
Mayfly	Gamu-gamo	<i>Gemo-gemo</i>
House	Bahay	<i>Beloy</i>
Window	Bintana	-
Floor	Sahig	<i>Salog</i>
Roof	Bubong	<i>Atop</i>
Door	Pinto	<i>Pintoan</i>
Table	Mesa	<i>Pangana (kainan)</i>
Chair	Upuan	<i>Lepan</i>
Boat	Bangka	<i>Beangka</i>
Wall	Dingding	<i>Sagbong</i>
Clothes	Damit (tradisyunal)	<i>Age</i>
Eat	Kumain	<i>Mamangan</i>
Plant	Magtanim	<i>Magtanom</i>
Harvest	Mag-ani	<i>Maggutu</i>
Song	Kanta	<i>Kanta</i>
Poem	Tula	<i>Tula</i>
Dirty	Madumi	<i>Madiplot</i>
Good	Mabuti	<i>Piyon</i>
Delicious	Masarap	<i>Piyon</i>
Bad	Masama	<i>Malot</i>
Cold	Malamig	<i>Magidnow</i>
Hot	Mainit	<i>Menit</i>
Big	Malaki	<i>Hanga</i>
Small	Maliit	<i>Untik</i>
Thin	Manipis	<i>Malapis</i>
Thick	Makapal	<i>Mokpal</i>
Fresh	Sariwa	<i>Melow</i>
Dried	Tuyo	<i>Mamala</i>
Spoiled	Panis	<i>Bianglis</i>
Rotten	Bulok	<i>Bungtot</i>
Broken	Sira	<i>Side</i>
New	Bago	<i>Bowon</i>
Old	Luma	<i>Den</i>
Many	Marami	<i>Makmuk</i>
Few	Konti	<i>Untik</i>
Black	Itim	<i>Malatom</i>
White	Puti	<i>Malapse</i>
Red and orange	Pula at kahel	<i>Maderag</i>
Blue and green	Bughaw at berde	<i>Malinow</i>
Yellow	Dilaw	<i>Madelaw</i>
One	Isa	<i>Isin</i>
Two	Dalawa	<i>Aduwe</i>
Three	Tatlo	<i>Tiluwon</i>
Hundred	Daan	<i>Biaktas</i>

Hours	Oras	<i>Odis</i>
Days	Araw	<i>Adow</i>
Weeks	Linggo	<i>Simbe</i>
Months	Buwan	<i>Bulan</i>
Before	Bago	<i>Dingan</i>
During	Habang	<i>Hanggen</i>
East	Silangan	<i>Petipaán ni adow (sinisikatan ng araw)</i>
West	Kanluran	<i>Pelinodin ni adow (nilulubugan ng araw)</i>
North	Hilaga	-
South	Timog	-
Left	Kaliwa	<i>Maluta kumot (masamang kamay)</i>
Right	Kanan	-
Up	Taas	<i>Ditas</i>
Down	Baba	<i>Sidung</i>
Beside	Tabi	<i>Kaginlan</i>
Between	Pagitan	<i>Pagetan</i>
Under	Ilalim	<i>Disalad</i>
Over	Ibabaw	<i>Disapow</i>
Front	Harap	<i>Kasagkad</i>
Back	Likod	<i>Idog (likod ng tao) Idogen (likod ng bahay)</i>
Pain	Sakit	<i>Apdis</i>
Cough	Ubo	<i>Abbu</i>
Diarrhea	Pagtatae	<i>Geppanginan</i>
Cold	Sipon	<i>Sippon</i>
Wound	Sugat	<i>Biged</i>
Measles	Tigdas	<i>Kupo</i>
Miscarriage	Nakunan	<i>Naagesan</i>
Bleeding of wounds	Pagdurugo	<i>Pesagu</i>
Dizziness	Pagkahilo	<i>Nagkelinug</i>
Mumps	Beke	<i>Beyiki</i>
Sore-eyes	Sore-eyes	<i>Ulap</i>
Root	Ugat	<i>Ramut</i>
Leaf	Dahon	<i>Agid</i>
Fruit	Bunga	<i>Anak</i>
Shoot	Talbos	<i>Ugbus</i>
Vine	Baging	<i>Lanu</i>
Sap	Dagta	<i>Tagok</i>



**List of cultural consultants/informants in Barangay Dibut, San Luis, Aurora**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Sitio</b>	<b>Type of informant</b>
Eustaquio Bihasa	Barrio	Chieftain
Nelson Natividad	Angara	Healer
Ofelia Victorio-Natividad	Angara	Mother
Jesus Molina	Barrio	Tribal council member
Pricilla Molina-Malate	Barrio	Mother
Trinidad Molina-Salcedo	Kalapnit	Elder, mother
Veronica Molina-Valino	Kalapnit	Mother
Bongbong Gonzales	Kalapnit	Father
Emelita Salcedo-Gonzales	Kalapnit	Mother
Angelo Valino	Kalapnit	Youth
Jose Casamis, Jr.	Dibitadon	Healer
Elena Victorio-Casamis	Dibitadon	Tribal council member, mother
Felicito Bihasa	Panongan	Tribal council member, healer
Jeremy Bihasa	Panongan	Father
Cipriano dela Torre	Barrio	Community leader
Amadeo Angara	Panongan	Community member
Jimmy Casamis	Dibitadon	Community member
Maricel Casamis-Esplandor	Dibitadon	Mother
Rodolfo Victorio	Ibayo	Father
Elena Bihasa	Kalapnit	Mother
Julita Orta	Kalapnit	Mother
Warly Victorio	Kalapnit	Community member
Delia Pagaspas-Victorio	Ibayo	Mother (Visaya; wife of Dumagat)
Resty Ascaraga de Guzman	Monsupla	Mother (Tagalog)
Lucy Bihasa	Panongan	Healer (Visaya; wife of Dumagat)
Rene Querijero	Barrio	Barangay captain (Tagalog)

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