

THE LANGUAGE OF FOLK HEALING AMONG SELECTED ILOCANO COMMUNITIES

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ABSTRACT

Folk healing in the Philippines reflects the deep-seated cultural beliefs and practices of ruralites. Traditionally, both affluent and poor families sought the help of traditional healers that may be called mangngilot, albularyo, mangngagas, agsantigwar, agtawas among others but are rendering similar services to the people. This study looked into the practices of folk healing at the same time, made an analysis on the frequently used Iloko words and how these Iloko words used in healing have changed and understood in the passing of years. Moreover, this study aimed also to shed light on the multiple functions that traditional healers are doing in the society. This is qualitative in nature which utilized the phenomenological design. Data were gathered from five traditional folk healers through KIM or Key Informant Mangngagas and Special Informants Pasyente (SIPs). It came out that while folk healers are instrumental in enriching the rich cultural beliefs and practices of typical Iloko community, they also contribute in propagating the present-day Ilocano terms or words which are commonly encountered during the healing process. It was validated that these are now rarely used by the younger generation in this fast changing society where technology has invaded the lives of people from all walks of life.

Keywords: Culture, Qualitative Research, Ilocano, Northern Luzon, Traditional Healing

Introduction

Traditional Healing is the oldest form of structured medicine. It is a way of treating illnesses that include Chinese medicine, Graeco-Arabic medicine, and also modern Western medicine. Traditional Healing was originally an integral part of semi-nomadic and agricultural tribal societies, and although archeological evidence for its existence only dates back to around 14,000 B.C., its origins are believed to date back before the Ice Age.

Unlike other traditional medicines, traditional healing has no philosophical base, as its practice is totally founded on healing knowledge that has been accumulated over thousands of years, and upon the healer's personal experience, which includes his/her awareness of, and sense of unity with the natural world, as well as his/her understanding of the different levels of consciousness within the

human psyche. Traditional Healers see the universe as an living intelligence that operates according to natural laws that manifest according to specific rules and correspondences, and exercise their inner conviction that the purpose of life and the nature of disease cannot be understood without a knowledge of these laws and the individual's relationship to the natural world. Thus, traditional healers share a profound knowledge and a deep understanding of how natural laws influence living things. It is for this reason that Traditional Healing is often referred to as "wisdom medicine" or "Wizard Medicine" (the word wizard means 'wise man', not 'sorcerer') and Traditional Healers are often referred to as wise or "clever" men or women or as persons of knowledge. It is this knowledge and experience base that provides the similarity between the core principles of Traditional Healing through the ages and in different parts of

the world. (Traditional Healers fellowship, 2003)

Traditional healing is a part of Philippine society and culture. The Philippine socio-cultural beliefs and practice is known to have developed from both the Asian and European practices. All facets of the life of every Filipino has been influenced by the groups of settlers and colonizers including beliefs and practices along illnesses and diseases, its acquisition and treatment. Thus, the folk healers, known in various localities, especially in the rural areas across the country such as albularyo, hilot, mammaltot, mangngagas, mangngilot, agtalado, mangtatawas, mangluluop, manghihila or faith healers. Relatively, owing from various cultural orientation, intra-cultural diversity among Filipinos with regard to health beliefs and health practices is very evident. Consequently, folk healing in the Philippines is one way of treating illnesses in which people who acquired unexplainable diseases are the main concern. The capability of the folk healers may be acquired or inherited.

In the rural areas, by tradition and because of chronic economic constraints, the albularyos are the general practitioners, the primary dispensers of health care. As with other healers, there is usually a history of a healer in the family-line, their healing a continuum of a "calling," the power or ability bestowed by a supernatural being, often, attributed to the Holy Spirit. Often lacking in formal education, his skills are based on and honed from hand-me-down practices and lore, with a long period of understudy or apprenticeship with a family elder or a local healer. Years of patience and study bring the healer into a familiarity with the lore, rituals and modalities of diagnosis and healing, the prayers, bulong and orasyon, and the use of herbal medicinal plants. Some acquire an expertise in the art of pulse taking and diagnosis. (Apostol and Baet, 2007)

Laurino (2016) shared that the popular understanding about health is linked to natural environment and history. As a result, the Filipino culture has evolved as a mixture of indigenous as well as imported and borrowed elements. There is a combination of pre-colonial folk traditions with Catholic religious concepts brought during the Spanish colonization in the

fifteenth to eighteenth century, while the cosmopolitan elements are associated with Western allopathic medicine shared by the Americans in the late eighteenth century until present times. As such, each Filipino has his own context of experiences which propel one to socially interact, as well as instruct cultural practices to succeeding generations.

Moreover, a study of alternative medicine in the Philippines is, inevitably, a study of the origins of its people and the amalgam of cultures and influences: Centuries of Spanish colonial rule and the indelible consequences of its religion, hundreds of years of trade with China and assimilation of its healing arts, tribal and provincial diversities with its profusion of folklore and mythologies, all redounding into the Filipino's easy disposition for superstitions and the allure for the esoteric, mystical, and fringe.

For so many in the rural areas, health and healing are consigned and relegated to alternative forms of treatment: hand-me-down herbal concoctions or some form of rural alchemy; prayer-based folkloric therapies; a visit to the faith healer; a consultation with the albularyo or hilot with their bagful of indigenous modalities, dispensing treatments often spiced with a bulong, orasyon or occasional doses of pharmacy-based therapies.

But as time passes by, that kind of belief or practice is already slowly diminishing. Brought by modernity, new inventions in medicine, many people rely more on professional medical practitioners who use science or modern medicine to cure diseases. Hitherto, despite the extensiveness, power, and capacity of modern medical science, large portion of our human population can never avail its benefits, because of their impoverished economic situation. At the turn of the century, traditional medicine is practiced among the poor communities in rural villages. The healthcare needs of the Philippines is associated to power and capacity, because only the rich can avail to modern hospital facilities, while the poor is part of an estimated 50%, who rely on the use of folk healing. (Berdon et. al, 2016)

There is also another way, other than folk healing, that these traditional folk healers contribute in the community, without even being noticed by them. They

constantly use words that at present may not be used, or even be aware of, especially by the millenials. These Ilocano terms used in healing would reflect the richness of the Ilocano dialects that at present is gradually sprinkled with various words from different sources especially the influenced of technology. The study aims to dig deeper and provide understand well how the folk healers treat illnesses or diseases in a way that is different from the doctor technique and skills. It also focuses on how they are able to cure diseases made by unknown or mysterious creatures and to find out the experiences of the folk healers. On the other hand, it also aims to gather Ilocano terms used by them in folk healing and how well these terms are used and understood by the people in the community especially the millenials or the children of the computer generation.

Statement of the Problem

This study on language of folk healing in selected Ilocano communities aimed to answer the following questions:

1. What are the folk healing practices offered and patronized by the people in the selected communities?
2. What are the commonly used Iloko terms in their folk healing? How often are these words understood by the people?
3. What are the issues and concerns encountered by both folk healers and their patients in using these Iloko terms?

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

This research utilized the ethnographic design, among five folk healers who have practiced healing for more than ten years in the selected barangays. Participant observation was also utilized especially on the gathering of needed data from the folk healers. The folk healers served as Key Informant Mangngagas who were primarily chosen due to their popularity in their locality. In order to present two sides of the picture or balance the results, 10 Special Informants Pasyente (SIPs) were also interviewed. Moreover, five teenagers or the so called millennials served also as respondents whom the researcher asked how well they

know and understood the commonly used Iloko terms in folk healing. The Focused Group Discussion (FGD) was utilized to gather data from them. All respondents were purposively chosen.

An interview guide was constructed based on the foci of this study. The respondents were divided into three, the folk healers, being the Key Informant Mangngagas (KIMs), the 10 patients or the Special Informant Pasyentes (SIPs), and five millennials from the selected communities.

Table 1. Matrix of the Interview and Focused Group Discussion

MATRIX	
a. KIMs- folk healing practices offered and patronized by locals; Iloko words commonly used in their healing; Issues and concerns met in healing	
b. SIPs- services sought from the folk healing; Understanding of the Iloko terms used in healing; Issues and concerns met during the healing session	
c. Millennials- Familiarity of the words utilized by the folk healers	

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The researcher gathered various literature and studies related to aspects of traditional healing practices.

Traditional healing is generally viewed as a distinctly different system of giving treatment from modern medical treatment. But a study of two American Psychologists, conclude that there is a complementation of both systems of western and traditional healing as stressed by Berdon et. al. (2016). Among the more traditional forms of self-medication are certain Chinese oils or ointments, which serve as cure all in relaxing, heating, and comforting the muscles or providing relief for dizziness, colds, headaches, sore throats, and so forth. Other self-medication may include the use of folk healing techniques consistent with the Chinese hot/cold classification system of diseases and the concept of wind illnesses.

Medical practices in the Philippines is rich with history. Its coverage extends from the precolonial period to the 300-year Spanish and 50-year American occupation of the country, and finally down to the establishment of the Republic of the Philippines (Aping, 2016).

As defined by Saydoven (2009), "Traditional medicine also known as indigenous health knowledge and practices include approaches, knowledge and beliefs incorporating plants, animal and /or mineral based medicines, spiritual therapies, manual techniques and exercises, applied singularly or in combination to maintain well-being, as well as treat, diagnose or prevent illness". In the case of Filipino traditional medicine, it has been practiced for more than a thousand of years starting circa 8th century A.D as recorded in the annals of Asian travelers (Saydoven, 2009). It must be noted that traders from China, India, and Persia have been visiting the Philippine islands even before the Spanish colonization. As a result, the influences of the traditional Chinese medicine, Ayurvedic Indian medicine and Yunani-Tibb (Greek-Persian) Medicine can be traced in the Filipino traditional medicine (Saydoven, 2009).

Additionally, the Spanish chroniclers and friars were able to document accounts of indigenous healing practices in the archipelago. "Foremost among the Hispanic literature in the Philippines are the botanical descriptions of medicinal plants and trees and their uses by various types of traditional healers" (Saydoven, 2009). However, the spread and eventual dominance of Catholicism repressed the practice of indigenous healing because they were considered as pagan and 'works of evil'. During the early colonial era, the indigenous practice of medicine was coupled with the traditional European medicine using natural substances (e.g, herbs and minerals).

Apostol and Baet (2007) described the different types of healers and specialists in the Philippines. Each of them has a function that distinguishes them from the rest. Nonetheless, most of these healers and specialist believe that their healing crafts are bestowed to them by God or other supernatural being. This explains why their healing practices involves prayers, incantations and other religious rituals.

One of these is the albularyo which are referred to as the "general practitioners" and the "primary dispensers of health care" (Apostol and Baet, 2007). They usually come from a family-line of healers, which consider healing as its vocation or calling. Their ability is commonly attributed to a supernatural being, such as the Holy Spirit. Additionally, their healing prowess is developed through years of apprenticeship. There are differences in the healing practices of albularyo as a result of the archipelagic setup of the country.

Another is the hilot, who denotes to "both the midwife (magpapaanak) and the chiropractic practitioner (manghihilot)" (Apostol and Baet, 2007). On one hand, the magpapaanak assist the birthing process of mothers in rural areas. They have a basic knowledge on herbal plants, which they deemed as significant for prenatal and postnatal care. On the other hand, the manghihilot provide "chiropractic" manipulation and massage for the diagnosis of treatment of muscular ailments.

Third, the medico is the "pharmacist" of the traditional Filipinos. According to Apostol and Baet (2007), they are usually the albularyos who combined folkloric therapies with modern medicine (e.g. acupuncture, injection, prescription pharmaceuticals).

The fourth category is called as the "Diviners" composed of the mangluluop, manghihila and mangtatawas. The mangluluop is a specialist who diagnose an illness through a ritual of luop.

"The ritual paraphernalia consists of the kalanghuga (a kind of freshwater or saltwater shell), salt (to weaken the supernatural spirits), benditang palaspas (piece of blessed palm leaves from Palm

Sunday), charcoal made from a coconut shell, a coconut midrib and a tin plate" (Apostol and Baet, 2007). With a concoction of these materials in the tin plate, a diagnosis of the illness can be given based on the appearance of the kalanghuga. Next, the manghihila also uses various paraphernalia, especially coconut oil which is applied to the affected area. "If the strip of material sticks to the surface, resisting the pull, this area is assumed to be an area of affliction, usually a pulled muscle or sprain" (Apostol and Baet, 2007). A massage of the area will follow thereafter.

The mangtatawas is best known for the use of tawas or alum for diagnosis.

Lastly, the faith healers belong to a separate category of specialization. They seem to practice most, if not all, of the specializations mentioned above. According to Aping (2016), they

“come from either spiritist groups, diviners (a group that practice divination) or from persons who were previously saved from illnesses or death and had encountered epiphanies or mystical experiences who became convinced that they were destined to help sick people after receiving healing powers bestowed upon them by the Holy Spirit or other supernatural beings”. Thinking that their talent is God-given, some offer their services freely and receive voluntary contributions from their clients instead (Mercado, 1988). Others charge their patients for the sustenance of their families. They usually associate illnesses to elves, evil spirits, sorcerers, etc. Consequently, faith healers resolve their diagnosis in different ways (Apostol and Baet, 2007). Aping (2016) enumerated six categories of faith healers: (a) psychic healers, who treat patients remotely; (b) whisperers of prayers, who utter prayers over the inflicted part; (c) prayer blowers, who blow prayers on affected areas; (d) anointers, who rub saliva over the aching area; (e) those who use crucifixes and icons and hovers it on the body of the patient, and (f) psychic surgeons, who perform "surgery" without the use of surgical tools. (Labastida, 2016)

In the study conducted by Berdon et. al (2016) some people perceive traditional healing as a sin against the Catholic Church. This is because one of the varieties of traditional healing is sorcery. Sorcery can be viewed in different ways. It is considered as an art, a practice, or a person's spell, which is supposedly to be exercised with supernatural powers through the aid of evil spirits like: black magic and witchery. In Cebuano term, sorcery is called as barang. In the study of Gaabucayan, anyone who has the capacity to wreak witchcraft to an enemy is supposed to cause disease by forcing live insects or inanimate objects like hairpins, broken glass, fine sands or mud into the corpus of the intended victim". Ironically, most of the mambabarang or sorcerer consults to saints. In the study of

Gaabucayan, a mambabarang says that before doing anything evil, he or she consults Saint Anthony. Just like any other traditional healing practices, barang is accompanied with prayers often referred to as paghalad or offering. The weirdest and most dreaded character of traditional mananambal is doing a dual role of being a sorcerer and a healer, at the same time.

It is implied from the foregoing studies that folk healers utilize varied ways of healing. It surfaced that the introduction of Christianity in the Philippines also affected healing practices. Mercado, (1988) presented in his paper about Philippine folk healers that prayers are the most carefully-guarded part of the healing technique, because they control the power of the healers. They serve as the link between the practitioner and the supernatural power, which, in the local concept, is actually responsible for the cure of an illness; the healer is merely a tool, through which the supernatural gift is given to man. Prayers are, thus, regarded as sacred symbols, that hold the key to an unseen source of power of bisa to overcome diseases. As such, extreme caution is taken that they are not exposed to the uninitiated, or read by anyone who is not a practitioner. If written down, the booklet, or paper, must not be touched by any person, other than the healer. Any pollution destroys their healing potential. On the other hand, the healers may be motivated by the Christian way for doing good. One healer from Leyte feels that, unless he heals other people, he gets sick. He, therefore, does not carry out his mission for his own sake. Most healers seem to be moved by this call, that since they have freely received the gift of healing, they must also freely give it away to others.

There are several reasons why some people prefer to consult the traditional healers. As mentioned by Mansueto, Sia, and de la Pena (2015) in seeking for help when ill or not feeling well, the people first try to do the healing by themselves using herbal plants. If nothing happens, they go to the mananambal or healer. Doctors or hospitals are the last resort. However, they can do both ways, they simultaneously go to the healer to seek help and the doctor for medical help. If there is no progress in the condition, they refer to the mananambal again believing that if science could not

help them; there must be another cause for the illness.

It can be discerned from the reviewed literature that folk healing is still very much practiced not only in the Philippines. Many still believed that the folk healers can cure illnesses that cannot be treated by medical doctors. It is further noted that among the studies conducted, they focused more on the beliefs and processes of folk healing. This study aimed to document the common Iloko terms used in folk healing and how well these are understood by the people in the community.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents and analyzes the results of the interview and the Focused group discussion.

1. What are the folk healing practices offered and patronized by the people in the selected communities?

A phenomenological presentation of the folk healers answers during the data gathering are summarized as shown on the table below.

Table 2. Comparison and Summary of the Responses of both the Folk Healers and their Patients

Key Informant Mangngagas	Healing Practices	Description/Procedure
KIM1	Panagilot ti Bullo	-Rubbing/massaging the hurt/inflamed muscle and/or fractured bone/s with coconut oil until the bone is in place, then wrap with a cloth with mashed ginger overnight. This will be repeated for several days until the discomfort is gone or the patient is healed.
	Panagmasahe	-Massage for body malaise or body ache caused by fatigue, stress or flu through the use of oil. -Upper body massage, chest area and back, especially for children suffering from flu, cough, or fever due to flu. After the massage, she advises the patient to prepare a concoction of lagundi (dangla) and drink for several days -by massaging the body, she can discern through the body temperature if the illness is caused by the interplay of hot and cold elements in the body (Pasma), she advises the patient to drink a concoction of lagundi. Then, when the patient gets well, she has to boil water with bayog (leaves of a variety of bamboo) and use in taking a bath
	Panagsantigwar/Panagtako	-Through the use of egg yolk, mixed in a water after chanting an orasyon, the healer can determines the cause of any discomfort like when a child experiences unexplained fever, frequent crying for babies especially early evening up to late night, dizziness with vomiting (agdul-dul-ok) but with cold feet, hands, and ears. -In the case of a baby or child, he may be nadillaw/nausog/nabati by either a person or spirit, thus the cause of crying or fever. -The body of the patient is softly hit (maisaplit) through the use of Malunggay and Guyabano

	Orasyon	<p>leaves to ward off the negative vibes or spirit. These leaves are kept below the bed for days.</p> <p>-if the patient has fever, herbal plants like atsuete leaves are wrapped around the back and chest, rubbing on leaves a little of her saliva</p> <p>-when healing a person during panagsantigwar or panagtako, she utters Latin words/prayers as she rubs the egg from head to the upper limbs before she breaks the egg and mixes it in a glass half full of water</p>
KIM2	<p>Panagilot ti tiyan ti naasawaan a marigatan nga agsikog, panagilot ti masakog wenno kalpasan ti panaganak ken kabayatan ti panagsudor</p> <p>Panagagas ti napayugpugan</p>	<p>-Pushing over the lower tummy of a woman (ipatal-o) (within the uterus portion) using an oil, this is for women with difficulty getting pregnant</p> <p>-A mild push over the tummy of a pregnant to check if the baby is in position for the forthcoming delivery with the use of a coconut oil (ipasimpa/ipwesto)</p> <p>-Massaging over the whole body of a mother who just delivered a baby with oil</p> <p>-underneath a blanket, she sits over a pot with heated charcoal and mixed leaves for a few minutes (Suob). This procedure will last for 14 days so as to keep the veins and muscles healthy and function normally after the delivery.</p> <p>-Rubbing an oil or sumang, soaked in a bottle for years with cut small roots of herbals plants found in the uplands (Iana ti niyog nga naiyuper iti sibibiag nga ramramot)</p>
KIM3	<p>Panagilot</p> <p>Orasyon</p> <p>Panagsantigwar/Panagtako</p>	<p>-Massaging the aching body parts with coconut oil</p> <p>-Chanting a Latin prayer while touching a certain part of the patients' body before the healing procedure</p> <p>-Using 9 palay grains dropped in a glass with half full water while whispering a Latin prayer. Through the position of the rice grains with tiny bubbles, the folk healer can determine if the patient was greeted by a wandering spirit (di kataw-taw-an) or a visiting dead relative, (kararua) who may need a prayer, a cup of rice mixed with a little salt is showered within and outside the house during early evening. The rice grains are wrapped with cotton or cloth then tie it on the clothes of the patient to ward off the spirit. This will stay for days until the patient is healed.</p> <p>If the healer finds the need to offer a prayer, a requiem mass is offered and/or the family sponsors a "palualo". During the palualo, the favorite foods of the dead relative are offered at the alter with candle, match, rice noodles (miki), sticky rice cooked with coconut milk, fresh egg.</p>

	<p>Panagtawas Panagagas ti Nagamud</p> <p>Panangagas ti naluganan</p>	<p>These foods are also served to the visitors. If the patient also experiences high fever accompanied with shivering-while lying on bed with the whole body covered with blanket, a bolo is used to massage the body, to drive away the spirit.</p> <p>-Using a lighted candle and a basin with half full water, the candle drips on the basin until it forms an image of either a man or a woman or a creature. The cure depends on the nature of the illness. If the patient has eaten something given by the alleged witch (Manggagamot), he advises the patient to drink a concoction of herbal plants and/or rubs an oil (prepared during Good Friday) on the affected part, this procedure is repeated until the patient is relieved or cured.</p> <p>-Another way is using a pointed object, the hand/finger is hit, not felt by the patient but by the manggagamud (witch)</p> <p>-another counter spell is also done by the healer through the use of a rope in hitting the body of the patient but physically felt by the manggagamud until the later surrenders and get rid of hurting the patient</p> <p>-He chants a Latin prayer while praying over the restless patient to ward off the evil spirit. After chanting the orasyon, he advises the family to offer live native chicken, suman, together with any of the following candle, Ginebra San Miguel, cigarettes. These are offered during midnoon or midnight, depending upon the “findings” of the healer.</p>
KIM4	<p>Panagtako/Panagsantigwar</p> <p>Panagilot</p>	<p>-Using grains of palay, placed in a half full cup of water, a way of determining if the patient is being visited by a dead relative, greeted and/or incidentally disturbed a sanctuary of unknown spirits, elves (ansisit)</p> <p>-If a sanctuary or home of elves or an elf itself was incidentally hit during playtime, cleaning, or just passing by, the patient may have unexplained rashes and/or swollen skin or blisters appearing to be insect bites, the patient may serve a peace offering like food while asking for forgiveness(panagdawat ti dispensar wenno pammakawan) during night time where they believed to be staying.</p> <p>-Massaging with blessed coconut oil prepared during Good Friday on the aching part of the body or fractured bone until it will be in placed.</p>
KIM5	<p>Panagtako/Panagagas ti nakabatbati</p>	<p>-Using 9 pieces rice grain, then whispering a short prayer before putting them on a basin with</p>

		half full water. Through this way, the cause of illness like fever, crying of a child, or any discomfort like dizziness and vomiting could be revealed.
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It is vividly shown that the folk healers offer similar services, have similarities on their methods in healing illnesses like chanting, praying, rituals, use of coconut oil, peace offering and some herbal plants. During the interview, it came out that their capabilities to heal were acquired, learned, inherited (natawid) and transmitted through their ancestors. Two of them mentioned that it was a calling from God.

One of them said that:

“Maysa nga rabii, nagtagtagainepak nga nasunutan iti mano nga rabii. It tagtagainepko, kasla adda mangibagbaga nga agagasak. Diak idi inkaskaso idi damo ngem gapu ta isu met la ti kanayon ko nga matagtagainepen, pinadas ko ti nagilot. Kabayatan nga il-ilotek toy kaarrubami babaen iti nasinglag a niyog, adda nakakita, ayinggana nga nagdinamag metten. Uray no adda nakabatbati, nakadalapus wenno uray tay dinangran ti manggagamot, umayda metten. Naagasanda met isu nga namati dan.”

(I dreamed one night, until it became very often. I heard a voice telling me to heal so that I can help sick people. I disregarded it, however, my dream was so frequent. Until one day, I tried when someone asked me to massage him which was seen by the neighborhood. That was the start when people came to ask my services. They believed because according to them, I healed them.)

In terms of their means of healing, a female folk healer shared that:

“Maragsakanak nga makatulong iti padak a tao aglalo

dagitay padak nga marigrigat nga awan iti pagbayad da iti doctor. No umayda kaniak, awan ti dawdawatek, mangtedda wenno saan okey laeng. Kaaduaanna nga um-umay ket dagitay nakasalapon ti di katao-taoan wenno ansisit, dagitay nakabatbati, naan-annongan wenno nablo. Agusarak iti itlog ken ibagak diay ritual nga ubraenda. Kaaduaanna nga umay agpapaagas kaniak ket taga-ditoy met laeng wenno taga-asideg nga barangay nga nakadamag kadagitay naagasak nga immunan”.

(I am happy helping others especially fellow poor ones who cannot afford to consult a doctor. I don't ask any amount if they come to me, what matters most is I can be of help. Most of my patients are those who incidentally disturbed the place of unknown spirit or elves, those visited by dead relatives or those with fractured or dislocated bones. I usually used egg yolk and do rituals to ward off the spirits. They learned about by through words of mouth from those I have previously treated.)

2. What are the commonly used Iloko terms in their folk healing? How often are these words understood by the people?

In healing different illnesses sought by the people from them, there are unique Iloko words that are often times used by them. These words are utilized depending upon the nature of the illness. These words are summarized below.

Table 3. Iloko Terms Commonly used in Folk Healing

Iloko Terms
Dayasan, aganger, agpaluwag, isapsapo. Panangital-o/ital.-o, Panagsudor, Suob
Naan-annongan, sarungkar, nakabatbati, nagamud, napayugpugan, nakasalapon/nakadalapos,
Sumang, anib, agwaris, panagiyatang, panagtanamitim, di kataw-taw-an,

naluganan, mammaltot, bullo,nablo

Agtako, agpatalado, agpasantigwar, agpailot, dapigen, agdul-ok, sagabasab, dengngepen, sukunen, sarsardam, aginnagaw ti sipnget ken lawag

▪ Multiple Response

When the patients were asked individually if they can understand these words utilized in folk healing, all of them agreed that they did understand the words because` all of them grew-up in Ilocano communities/neighborhood. Majority of them responded that:

“Maawatanmi met nakkong dagitay sao wenno balikas nga us-usarena no mapan kami agpaagas, aglalo dimmakel kami met ditoy nga lugar. No dagitay ubbingmi ti maagasan, kuyugenmi met latta no kasjay. Dakami met ti agisagana kadagijay agas wenno ritwal nga ipaaramidna.”

(There is no problem understanding each other during the healing process for we grew-up in Ilocano communities. If we go for consultation for our son or daughter, we always accompany them and follow all his advice for the healing.)

3. What are the issues and concerns encountered by both folk healers and their patients in using these Iloko terms?

As to the issues and concerns met by both during the seeking of services and healing process relative to the use of Iloko terms, all of them unanimously voiced out that they understand each other. Thus, they could respond to well especially during the healing process. However, majority of them shared that if their sons and daughters are the patients, they could hardly relate as to what the healer is saying. They disclosed that their children are unfamiliar with the words, thus, some of them kept on asking what the healer meant, while the others do not mind asking.

They told that:

“Awan met ti problemami no mapan kami agpaagas nakkong ta agkikinaawatan kami met. Malaksid no dagitay ubbingmi ti maagasan, dakami latta ti agpatang ken jay mangngagasen ah ta di met maawatan dagitoy ubbing ti dadduma nga saw-sawenna. Saanda met ngamin mangmangeg nga kanayon dagitoy nga sao iti Iloko.”

(There is no issue or problem in terms of using Iloko terms when we sought their services especially during healing. However, our children cannot understand the terms/words used for these are not commonly used during the usual conversation.)

However, some of them admitted that sometimes they are hesitant to approach the folk healer because there are rumors circulating in the community that the folk healer is a witch. (manggagamud). She allegedly derived it from her sumang, a concoction of oil and roots, that seemed to dictate her to take revenge against people who wronged her.

One respondent shared that:

“No dadduma adding ket adda panagamak ko nga mapan agpaagas ta ibagbaga da ngamin isuna nga manggagamot. Ta apay kano nga ammo ti agagas? Ken aglalo nalaing isuna nga aggangang iti ramramut nga usarena nga pagilot. Adda pay nakaibaga idi nga jay ramut nga adda lanana ket dumakdakkal wenno sibibiag. Ngem no siak nga maysa, saan nak pay met nga dinangdangran ken maag-agasannak met no mapanak agpailot, agpasapsapo iti lana no agbubudoak nga ibagada a napayugpugannak wenno saan dagitoy annakko no agsagabasab wenno bigla da nga aggurigur. Uray patomarak iti paracetamol, saan met bumaba gurigurda ngem no ipanko ipasantigwaren, ken maaramid ko tay panagwaris wenno panagpukkaw iti naganda iti sumipnget wenno mangikabil iti nabungon nga bagas a maisiglot iti bado na, kabigatanna ket awan met gurigurnan.”

They allegedly believed that these roots were alive for they kept on growing inside the bottle. But so far, I have not experienced this. She had cured not only me but my children especially when they have sudden fever that could be cured by a paracetamol. I just did the ritual she told me after I have consulted her and my

children usually were relieved from their illness.”

To check on how well they understand the commonly used terms, they willingly provided the meaning in Iloko or

other term which these words are known for among the people in the locality.

Some of the Iloko terms given by the SIPs that are oftenly used during the healing:

Iloko terms	Meaning Given
1. Dayasan	-Sibugan ti nadangran a parte ti bagi babaen kti naanger nga bulbulong
2. Aganger	-ipalwag ti bulbulong iti mabayag
3. Agpaluwag	-pagbureken iti mabayag
4. Dengngepen	-maipadalan iti naipapudot nga lupot iti nasakit nga parte ti bagi kas iti rusok
5. Isapsapo	-nalag-an nga panagiyapiras, mabalin nga lana, parte ti bagi wenno kudil
6. Naan-annongan/Nausog	-nadillaw ti maysa tao wenno banbantayan ti kararua ti minatay
7. Sarungkar	-binisita ti kararua ti minatay
8. Nakabatbati	-dinillaw ti di kataw-taw-an a rason ti panagkigtot wenno panaggurigur
9. Bullo	-napasaktan a parte ti bagi wenno tulang
10. Ginamud	-dinangran wenno kinursunada ti maysa nga tao gapu iti apal/gura
11. Napayugpugan	- nadangran babaen iti aramid t maysa nga manggagamud kas iti panaglabaga ken panagbubudo ti bagi
12. nakasalapon/nakadalapos	- saan nga nairanta nga pannakasagid iti balay wenno mismo nga kataw-tawan
13. Agpadispensar	- panagdawat iti pammakawan
14. Agpatalado/agpatawas	- agas para iti nakabatbati
15. Sumang	-kayo wenno ramot nga naiyuper iti lana
16. Anib	- kalasag tapno saan nga sagidenen ti nangdangran wenno
17. Agwaris	- agipalladaw iti bagas iti uneg iti balay wenno aglawlaw ti balay
18. Atang	- sagana nga makan wenno ania man nga banag nga para kadagiti kararua wenno di kata-tawan
19. Agtanamitim	- nakapsut nga panagsao/panagkararag,
20. Agpadispensar	-dumawat iti pammakawan
21. di kataw-taw-an	- ansisit wenno dagitay saan nga Makita nga aggigyan iti kaykayo wenno iti arubayan
22. Naluganan	- espiritu nga simrek iti bagi ti maysa`nga tao
23. tako/patalado/santigwar	- panangammo no adda sarungkar, nakabatbati, na-anongan, nagamot babaen iti danum ken itlog, wenno danum ken irik/bagas, wenno danum nga napatedtedan iti kandela
24. Buntuon	-naummong nga daga nga pattien a pagdidiyanan dagiti kibbaan wenno ansisit
25. Dapigen	- panangusar iti buneng nga usaren iti panangasahe iti bagi ti masakit nga nakakumot iti ules
26. Kinibbaan	-blisters on the skin caused by elves that patient could have hurt or disturbed
27. Mammaltot	mangiruwat iti maladaga iti tiyan ti ina
28. Ital-o-	- ipangato ti maysa nga parte iti bagi kas iti matres
29. Agdul-ok	- agsarwa

30. Sagabasab	- nababa nga gurigur
31. Sukunen	-mapan alaen
32. Sarsardam	- nasapa nga paset iti rabii
33. Aginnagaw ti sipnget ken lawag	- apaglennek iti init
34. Dangla	-mula nga makaagas iti uyek ken pasma
35. Bayog	-maysa nga klase iti kawayan nga makaagas iti bignat no maiyanger diay bulongna
36. Bulong ti Sua	-maiyanger kagiddan ti dangla nga isu ti pagdigos ti maysa nga napasma
37. Pasma	-sakit nga agtaud iti panaglaok ti bara ken lamiis iti bagi

It can be noted that some of these words are not only used in healing but can be used during conversation or when talking with people in the neighborhood.

On the side of the KIMs, they disclosed their dilemmas. Sometimes they are suspected who have the ability to hurt others, that they themselves are (manggagamud) witch.

One lamented that:

“Ammom nakkong,nagsakit man iti nakem ko ta mapagsussuspetsaandak pay nga manggagamot wenno mangkukulam. Nagrigat nga akseptaren ta ti met ammok ket makatultulungak iti padak nga tao ngem siak met gayam iti dakes no dadduma. Diak pay ket unay umas-asideg iti tattao no dadduman, no kayat da umay agpaagas kaniak, agasak met latta isuda.”

(You know what makes me sad, there are people in the community who think that I am a witch. It is really hard to admit because my only intention is to help people in the community, and yet, they are thinking differently. However, if they need my services, I give them still without any hesitation.)

One problem that was met by one KIM was that, she was blamed by the relatives of one her patients who died. He shared that:

“Adda maysa nga immay nagpaagas nga agalenna ti sakit ti tiyanna. Idi umay kaniak talaga nga dakkal ti bukol diay tiyan nan.Nagpapapaagas iti doctor ti nabayag ngem saan nga umim-imbag isu nga immayda kaniak. Nakitak nga adda umap-

apal kaniana isu nga gapu iti gura na, adda naipakan kaniana nga narigatko maikkat ta napigsa diay nanggamud. Naamoak met babaen met la ti maysa nga kabaggianna nga kanser ti sakit, nga saanen nga maagasanen. Ipanda man koma iti maysa nga mangngagasen, ngem adda da payl iti dalan ket natayen. Kunak met kaniada, ammoyo met nga bgrabe ti sakitna idi umayyo ipan kaniakon ken imbagak met nga narigat ko mapaimbag.”

(I had a patient before whose stomach was bulging/inflamed, crying of severe pain. One of his relatives told me that they had consulted already a medical doctor but despite of numerous procedures, his condition did not improve, so they came to me. I saw signs of gamud, (witchcraft), a very strong one, caused by a person who was very envy of him. He was able to eat a food given by him and that I could not reverse the spell. One of the relatives later shared that he was diagnosed with cancer, terminal stage, by his attending doctor. Due to lack of money and strong belief on traditional healing, they decided to bring him to another folk healer, but he met his untimely death while they were still travelling. When I heard from the neighborhood that they were blaming me, I openly said that he was already severely ill when he was brought to me and I frankly told them that I could not treat his illness.)

To validate the usage of these words within the community, a group of teenagers were subjected for a Focused Group Discussion.

When these words were presented to them, the initial reaction of some was

either amazement that eventually led to laughing or they raised their eyebrows for they cannot understand many of the words. The FGD turned out to be a session on learning more Iloko words.

Two of them disclosed that:

“Alla ania ti kayat na nga sawen dagita nga Iloko terms ma'm? Saanmi met mangmangeg ti kaaduanna, saanmi nga maawatan no ania ti kayat na nga sawen. Kayatmi man nga sursurwen ti kayadda a sawen ma'am”

(What do these words mean?)

We cannot really understand because these are not oftenly used when we converse with each other. We are interested in learning the words and their meaning.)

When the discussion on folk healing surfaced, one of them shared that during her younger days, her mother brought her several times to the old woman who is well-known along panagsantigwar in their place. She was suffering then from fever, rashes and blisters later appeared in her head and skin with foul odor. That was the time she heard about nakibbaan (elves), nakadalapus which meant to have touched their house (buntuon) incidentally, so they took revenge by hurting her also. Her mother made a concoction of guava leaves and used the word “dayasan” or undergo cleaning using the prepared concoction. She was also told to prepare peace offering and asked forgiveness exactly where they believe to be staying.

Based on the result of the conversations, it surfaced that if the parents believed in folk healing, the children would eventually learn from them, even the words that are spoken. Likewise, through the folk healers and their healing practices, they are instrumental in propagating the Iloko words.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Conclusions

After a thorough and careful analysis, the researcher advanced that:

1. Different types of folk healing practices continue to persist among the Ilocano communities. These include panagilot, panagsantigwar,

panagtako, panangagas ti nagamud ken napayugpugan, nakibbaan, nakabatbati ken nakasalapon.

2. Iloko terms used in folk healing are well understood by both KIMs and SIPs. However, understanding the language of folk healing tend to be a dilemma among the children of the patients and the younger generation or millennials.
3. Folk healers become well-known through words of mouth especially those healed by them, are tend to be blamed/hated by uncured patients, and are sometimes suspected as evil or witch, too.

Recommendations

The researcher recommends that:

1. The local government units, in partnership with the barangay leaders, should design program/s geared toward information dissemination about the common causes of illnesses to avoid casualties which may be due to adherence with folk healing.
2. Parents should take the lead in enriching the knowledge of their children by using applicable terms for daily conversation. Consequently, they will better appreciate Mother Tongue as subject and medium of instruction in Kindergarten to Grade III.
3. Other studies may also be conducted using other variables to unmask the other features of folk or traditional healing. Moreover, another study may also be done using other variables in order to validate how the Iloko words have transformed with the advent of technology.

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